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Built Space: Social Issues in Architecture

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Introduction

South Asia will witness its greatest spatial and material transformations in the next decades, a process that will test both its practitioners and its educators. Yet, epic changes underscore its history. Entire ecologies were destroyed and transplanted for colonial agriculture and cities were created as simulacra of European places. The changes occurring today: rapid urbanisation, infrastructure development – the hypermodern superblock and flyover- had their counterparts at a smaller scale under colonial rule and at independence. Colonial and nationalist institutions or infrastructure made similar incursions into the quotidian landscape. War, famine, political restructuring and environmental disasters produced equivalent needs for refuge and resettlement. These social questions that are increasingly silenced by neo-liberal preferences have persisted and, we may argue, have been aggravated by the dislocations and displacement of globalisation. However, architecture as a profession has frequently failed to address them.

This issue on Built Space provides us with an opportunity to review the transformation of the profession during half a century, dating from the time when local schools of architecture were first set up in the mid-twentieth century; and to scrutinise the degree to which they decolonised or indigenised institutional and pedagogical models inherited from the West. The term indigenised used here references the work of two prominent scholars of South Asia, Jyoti Hosagrahar and Nihal Perera, who reflect on such processes (Hosagrahar 2005; Perera, 2002). They are part of a new generation whose scholarship, which has access to local-language sources, has transformed research on South Asia during the past two decades (See, Scriver 2010). Their most important contribution along with numerous others working on South Asia has been to identify colonial systems of power and knowledge that underscore architectural and cultural representations. As argued further by Jyoti Hosagrahar, these systems not only shape academic curricula in South Asia, more generally, but inform South Asian preconceptions of historic places and the significance of local architecture (Hosagrahar, 2002).

As argued by scholars like Sibel Bozdogan, Zeynep Aygen and Gulsum Baydar, the notion of the History Survey and the text books used in Western institutions need to be decolonised (Bozdogan, 1999; Baydar- Nalbanto lu 1998 and 2000; Aygen 2010). They need to reflect the diversity of the student body, due to increases in diasporic and international

students, and moreover, they need to engage with the disciplinary lacunae exposed by post-colonial critique. Similar changes must be prompted or provoked in non-Western contexts.

This essay offers a review of a period of self-determination in South Asia and the structures that were, or failed to be, decolonised. Its objective is to identify the links between practice, pedagogy and research and call for increasing commitment to achieving their symbiosis. Historical spatial practices, studied in their many dimensions, may (we feel) reinvigorate and critique architectural practice. Our review is necessarily shaped by our education and teaching experiences.

The task of historiography

The debate on the historical survey, the issue of culture and the asymmetries underlying architectural historiography has scarcely penetrated South Asian institutions and it is important to ask why this is the case. An easy answer would be that the journals in which they are published are circulated within a political economy of privilege, outside South Asia, and are largely incognisant of such a necessity. The voices that identify such shortcomings are marginal to Euro-American meta-narratives and ontological constructs. This does not explain why such discussions do not occur within South Asia, mirroring the revisionist histories and deconstructive processes pervasive in fields like South Asian history, anthropology, geography or feminism. Architectural scholarship does not offer similar degrees of reflexivity or self-awareness. South Asian architectural programmes remain passive recipients of structures and curricula shaped elsewhere –by British accreditation criteria and text books.

The resilient recurrence of Bannister Fletcher's much maligned tome in history reading-lists [and reliance on earlier and problematic editions of the same] along with outdated texts like Gideon and Pevsner, suggests that old ideas linger (McKean 2005). As argued by Jyoti Hosagrahar, although the more contemporary scholarship of Frampton and Curtis have made inroads into Indian institutions the reciprocal insertion of non-Western histories into both World History and the Modern Survey occurs along restricted pathways (Hosagrahar 2002: 356). The limitations of these pathways and their colonial period pre-histories in the works of John MacKenzie, William Jones, William Chambers, James Fergusson and others have been explored by both Peter Scriver and Stephen Cairns (Cairns 2001: 14-23; Scriver 2004: 419-424). Yet none of these evaluations have ventured an opinion on the contribution of historiography to practice. Historiography ultimately shapes a world-view: an understanding of historical positions and contributions that determine how architects intervene in built space. The limitations of historiography, pointed out by these various scholars, have affected the delivery of architecture. Only once this critical link is established might we embark on a more relevant and meaningful historiography attuned to the pressures of globalisation.

There is a structural difference between schools of architecture in South Asia and the West, which impacts such an undertaking. The main prerogatives of South Asian architectural schools are pragmatic and aimed at servicing the profession. As explicated by Hosagrahar, postgraduate research programmes have not been developed, so far (2002: 358). Critical thinking and historical research is conducted largely within the limited space supplied by an undergraduate curriculum leading up to the first professional degree in architecture. The work of the humanities in producing critical and historically engaged approaches must be executed through a limited number of art or architectural history courses. The kind

of postgraduate research encouraged in many Western universities – through coursework, written and oral examinations, a quantifiable publication culture and training in teaching and public presentations is not replicated in the South Asian context. A postgraduate research degree is typically pursued in isolation without encountering these critical mileposts and typically produces detailed empirical research. The critical theoretical task of history is seldom addressed.

The second difference, already hinted at, is the lack of a publication culture that might nurture local research, or it might be construed differently as an over-dependence on Western sources. This condition is invariably linked to global circuits of power and knowledge which privilege particular academic constituencies, architectural networks and markets. Yet, it also exposes the negligence of such critical-historical research agendas on the part of local architectural historians. The lack of research programmes and scholars trained in historical research exacerbates this condition. South Asian scholars who engage critically with topics of history, theory and criticism have invariably ventured out of South Asia for their postgraduate degrees. Consequently, their writings, which are published for an international audience, may merely trickle into South Asia unless simultaneous local publishing contracts can be achieved. The difficulties encountered by such scholars in finding audiences, both internationally and locally, can only be circumvented once architecture's publishing culture is decolonised. These two arenas of research and pedagogy and the publishing culture that modifies them will be reviewed next, in further detail.

Knowledge and pedagogy

The link between history, design and architectural education in South Asia is blurred and complex. Writing on the architectural history of South Asia in English commenced in the nineteenth century. Since inception, the production of this historiography has been 'an exercise in dominance and not an act of charity' (Guha 1997: 155). It was the prerogative of European intellectuals and their institutions. Despite the decolonisation of South Asia, an imbalance in the conditions determining production of knowledge about architecture persists. According to Peter Scriver a critical historiography of South Asian architecture emerged in the 1990s (Scriver 2010: 394-57). Also produced in the West, it has been accused of reinforcing the orientalist gaze ever more strongly even while claiming not to do so. It secures an 'academic eternity' for Western scholars and their interests (Panicker 2008: 66).

Ranajit Guha argued that 'no historiography of colonial India would be truly Indian except as a critique of the very fundamentals of the power relations which contributed to colonialism itself' (Guha 1997: 195). Whether the new historiography in architecture takes this agenda on board is a moot point, but what is distinctive about this effort is that South Asians in South Asia do not engage with it. So the question is this: why is South Asia not training its own historians of architecture? As far as one can tell, the only answer forthcoming so far is that it is due to a lack of theory courses attributed to the negligible importance given to architectural history in architectural institutions (Hosagrahar 2002:362). This has been called a simplistic explanation (Panicker 2008: 58). It may therefore be useful to set the failure of architectural historiography in the context of a much wider inadequacy of South Asian historiography itself which is dominated by a mode of colonialist knowledge that is typically modern and Western (Guha 2002: 5).

Here our task is limited to drawing attention to a few connections between history, design and pedagogy that might shed some light on the discussion. At discourse level colonial intellectuals invented a theory of decline that framed the European history surveys of world architecture of the nineteenth century. According to this theory, living non-Western architectures were judged as in decline and inferior to that of the West. The colonised were allowed a past golden age, but required the redemptive power of the coloniser to bring them into the modern present. Consequently, living indigenous architecture now branded as tradition and equipped with a dead past, was banished to the institutional regimes of the discipline of archaeology. Interpretation of material culture passed to the department of archaeology. The colonial rulers usurped leadership of the new imagined tradition and drew on it at will in order to embellish a new imagined modern architecture that in turn moved in to occupy the space of the displaced living architecture. Modern and tradition were two parts of a single construct in the colonial discourse and practice of architecture.

New colonial institutions like the Public Works Department denied South Asian architects, trained in indigenous modes, professional recognition and employment as architects. They were displaced by new architects trained in Western modes. The new architect was estranged from his/her own history when indigenous knowledge and pedagogy were displaced in the new system of education and colonial professional practices set up in the twentieth century. In the European style schools, Eurocentric surveys and journals became the main sources of knowledge. South Asian architects learned to see their own architecture as tradition through the eyes of colonial historiography. The new curricula excluded knowledge of the construction of tradition, empire and the history of the nineteenth century, denying any understanding of the complex processes of the replacement of indigenous knowledge with Western knowledge. It denied the new architects the intellectual and material resources to challenge the myth of the tradition/modern construct. Following independence, the colonised architects and their elite clients largely elected to ignore living architecture in their anxiety and haste to develop a modern architecture which they believed would place them on an equal footing with the West. The liberal elites and the architectural community failed to recognise that the cultural exchange in education was also an exercise in power.

A recent study blames the monopoly of European languages in the writing of architectural history for the exclusion of the other in global surveys (Aygen 2010: 98-122). The reason why the world-history surveys that form the core teaching material for architectural history globally were produced in Britain in the nineteenth century is no accident. It is the result of a form of complicity between imperialism and world history that is not merely about expropriation of the past of the colonised. 'It also stands for the globalisation of a regional development specific to modern Europe –that is, the overcoming of the prose of the world by the prose of history' (Guha 2002: 45). For example, James Fergusson had access to the material resources of the Department of Science and Arts (DSA) - the largest bureaucracy in the world. The DSA imperial state archive is unmatched by any other even today. Fergusson did not need to travel the world to write about buildings, the world was at his feet in the DSA collections in London (Dutta 2007: 23). The archive is now the property of the Victoria & Albert Museum in London. We can surmise that Banister Fletcher was another beneficiary of imperial acquisition. Moreover, these colonial writers had access to international publishers to distribute their work.

In a rereading of Banister Fletcher, Gulsum Baydar -Nalbantoglu searches for strategies of postcolonial discourse based on 'negotiations of incommensurable difference between architectural cultures' and argues that awareness is a necessary but not sufficient category of critique. Any scholar, armed with 'a historical critique of [his/her] position as the investigating person' including certain other attributes, can earn the right to criticize the other. Cultural representation cannot simply be reduced to that of Western or non-Western scholars writing their own history, because an ethical enunciation is above race, nationality and ethnicity (Baydar-Nalbantoglu, 1998: 6-17) In contrast, Walter Mignolo suggests that the celebration 'of cultural difference silences colonial difference' (Mignolo, 2005: 10 and 44).

Sibel Bozdogen argues that inclusion of non-Western architects in the canon does little to challenge the relations of power integral to the initial construction of the canon. The task today is not to discard Eurocentric surveys but to reconfigure them, because the 'Western canon is too deeply imprinted in the culture of the non-Western world for so long as to become as much their property as that of the west' (Bozdogan 1999: 207-15). What then of the unchanged power relations? Will they not dictate whose theoretical models and disciplinary protocols will frame the project? Who has the resources and the training to undertake the proposed reconfiguration?

Ranajit Guha, caught up but standing at the limit of world history, takes a very different view. In an autocritique, published in 2002, he claims that the poverty of historiography 'seen from the perspective of the colonised is nothing other than a measure of the dominance exercised by a mode of colonialist knowledge' (Guha 2002: 5). The colonised are so well schooled in this knowledge system that they barely apprehend their thralldom to it - it is not seen as a problem. His real concern is how the invention of world history - a narrowly constructed Western historiography - has come to speak for all of history (Guha 2002: 45). Guha lays bare a general aspect of the problem by asking difficult questions about world history and 'the morality of colonisers who claim to be authorised historians of the lands and people they themselves put under the colonial yoke'. He has no desire to tinker with Western modes of thought - they need to be transcended through a different historical practice.

Architectural historiography has not kept pace with developments that call for a historiography that transcends world history. Equally, South Asian architectural historians have not voiced a need to recover a past appropriated by colonialism let alone the need for different modes of thought to Western ones. Despite the best of liberal intentions, it is difficult to see how the dominance of world history will end – until the colonised begin to speak for themselves. The task of transcending world history belongs to a new generation of historians. That the appearance of the initial world history surveys on architecture relied on the material support of the DSA suggests that release of the untapped intellectual imagination of the colonised will require state support and a different pedagogy as the necessary starting point. We, who trained partly in the West, are as ensnared in world history and offer these comments as recognition of the problems in architectural history.

The architectural establishment in Sri Lanka is a colonial legatee looking to Britain for leadership. Sri Lanka is tied to the RIBA professionally and pedagogically while India, Bangladesh and Pakistan appear to have loosened institutional ties. The architectural establishment is still ambivalent as to how to engage with the past. As mentioned previously, critical history is marginal in architecture schools in South Asia and history is divorced from

the design studio. Here we examine how a new historiography shaped the architecture of Geoffrey Bawa, of Sri Lanka, whose work is renowned for its references to indigenous architecture. According to Nihal Perera, Bawa's architecture and similar approaches seen in India, Egypt, Indonesia and Yemen are profoundly different from a new style because they incorporate indigenous spatial sensibilities, building methods, architectural elements etc. They are not nationalistic, but a response to the inappropriateness of European or American models (Perera 1998: 144).

Bawa was educated in England. When he returned to practice in Sri Lanka in the 1960s there were very few books on the subject of native architecture apart from the world-history surveys and those produced by colonial and national archaeologists. So how did Bawa learn about indigenous architecture? He was self-taught. Two primary sources of learning have been suggested; a cursory study of living architecture made by Bawa's friends, who were architects and artists (Sansoni 1978) – capturing the aesthetic characteristics and some technical aspects of indigenous buildings – and Senake Bandaranayake's book Sinhalese Monastic Architecture, published in 1974 (Bandaranayake 1974; see Jayewardene 1984: 216). Senake Bandaranayake is a professor of archaeology. His book is not a standard text for architects. It is the outcome of research undertaken for a doctoral thesis.

On this evidence it can be deduced that Bawa's engagement with indigenous knowledge was limited. Nevertheless, it is this small auto-didactic link that makes his work different. The parliament building design, in particular, reveals a clear connection between one kind of historical knowledge and design practice. Bandaranayake's thesis examined the nature of the lost superstructures of the thousands of ruined structures found all over the island, dating from around the sixth century onwards. The earliest extant timber and tile superstructure is from around the eighteenth century. Although Bandaranayake did not provide a single conjectural reconstruction of a lost superstructure (Jayewardene 1984: 217), Bawa, in the parliament project, dared to give physical form to a ground-breaking thesis in architectural history, in a manner that no one before or since has attempted (see Figures 1&2). That historiography assisted Bawa to prise tradition out of its dead colonial past and revivify it as a living evolving phenomenon of the present is not well known. Bawa's access to a new kind of knowledge from archaeology (architectural history) is what made his designs very different to those of his peers. Nevertheless, history is marginal in Sri Lankan architectural pedagogy.

During the early colonial encounter Indian specialists refused to share knowledge of their past with their masters. Guha thinks that the refusal forced colonial authorities to turn to history as the surrogate of ethnology to gain knowledge of the past. But the colonial recovery of the past made for a very different kind of knowledge from the one denied. Native material was recovered by the operation of metropolitan models and rules (Guha 1997: 162). In contemporary Sri Lanka, under the patronage of elites and the architectural community a few British architects are given information and invited to produce knowledge about history and modern architecture. The encounter, insignificant in metropolitan architectural circles, is more telling of a Sri Lankan debility than a British strength. This liberal, hagiographic, design studio-led knowledge follows metropolitan rules and is similar to that found in the journals and few books on architecture produced in Sri Lanka (as described by Bozdogan 1999). Since the multinational publisher Thames and Hudson has published four glossy books on the subject, the knowledge may have acquired a commercial value

hardly predictable in the initial encounter (see Taylor 1995 [revised ed.]; Robson 2002; 2008; 2009).

Bawa's brush with history suggests that the vitality of design has something to do with the designer's exposure to new kinds of historical knowledge. Access to different indigenous histories has the potential to generate many different kinds of architectures. These other architectures are latent because South Asian historians have not recovered their architectural past expropriated by colonialism. In other words, a thralldom to Western knowledge stifles design exploration, limiting it to formulaic explorations of 'East' or 'West'. It may be the failure of historiography and a denial of their own complex history that prevents South Asian architects from speaking on their own terms.

Borrowed paradigms

A striking example of the globalisation of South Asian architecture via Western discourses and Western paradigms is evident in the continued reference to 'climatic' tropes in Asian architecture. Whether it be Tropical Modernism, climatic regionalism or bioclimatic urbanism, the appropriation of Asian examples as addendums to Western ideas of modernity and sustainability; and their adaptation or borrowing for the self-promotion of Asian architects; suggest the perpetuation of colonial era dependencies. For example, Western discourses on regionalism and sustainability have been made much of in recent architectural publications, while other more salient concerns affecting the rapid urbanisation of Asia have been ignored.

One might ask why regionalism's advocates, such as Alexander Tzonis et al. in their work on North America (1995) and Kenneth Frampton (1983) in his essay on the "critical regionalism" of the modernist avant-garde, later turned to Asian examples as illustrative of their approach; or indeed why Asian architects could not find an alternative regionalism of their own making. We may ask why architects like Correa, Bawa, Doshi and others are being categorised via the regionalist taxonomy, when their architecture may have very different motivations or strengths. We may also point out that the term has a very different history and meaning in Asia, far more appropriate to local concerns.

Regional alliances were first formed in Asia during the Cold War era, spurred by non-alignment at Bandung (1955) when the ideologies and asymmetries of competing organisations such as the British Commonwealth were first challenged. The term 'regionalism' was familiarly used to describe the postcolonial politics of Southeast Asia (Reid 2008) and later the pro-market shift of Asia in the late 1980s (Dash 2008). The unification of Europe into a single market and NAFTA (North American Free Trade Agreement) gave an economic basis for regionalism, but also changed its meaning from a vehicle for self-determination and political visibility to an avenue for marketisation; a shift reflected in architectural discourse.

The emergence of South Asian architects from positions of relative anonymity to international circulation was prompted, initially, by a publishing platform geared towards broader regional concerns. The shift to a locally attenuated and cultivated aesthetic was consolidated after the OPEC oil crisis, due to import substitution and reactions to the globalisation of the Middle East. The agent of this resistant stance was the Geneva-based Aga Khan Cultural Trust, financed by the Aga Khan Foundation, which focused on craft-based, community architecture - and frequently 'architecture without architects'. South and Southeast Asia

were included in its broad definition of the Islamic or Muslim world (Lai and Pieris 2011).

The shifting agendas of the trust, its academic programmes (Aga Khan Program) at Harvard and MIT (in Cambridge, Massachusetts) and its preferences and omissions have been subject to scrutiny by Samer Akkach (1997a, 1997b). The AKP advanced a particular cross-fertilisation of design studios, academic research and community consciousness not replicated in institutions elsewhere. It created pathways for non-Western students to be educated about their cultures and others in a Western setting. But the Cultural Fund's most pervasive outcome was the MIMAR journal and design monograph series that selected and advanced the work of non-Western architects under the rubric of identity. The Aga Khan Award's regional seminars on 'Architecture and Idenity' (Kuala Lumpur 1983) and 'Regionalism in Architecture' (Dhaka 1985) saw the participation of many local architects including Charles Correa, Balakrishna Doshi and Bawa and raised topics on pedagogy and practice in the region (Powell 1983; 1985). Issues of "Asian consciousness" and "Islamic architecture" were raised. Through these formative regional events, the wide reach of the AKP's Islamic paradigm across South and Southeast Asia was questioned and refashioned in keeping with its liberal agendas.

MIMAR was the first journal to be edited by and contributed to by a diverse non-Western lobby, and it was published out of Singapore with Malaysian, Hasan-Uddin Khan as editor. The monographs were the first of their kind. The South Asian architects featured in them, such as Correa, Raj Rewal and Bawa, were deemed representative of their specific cultures. They had strong political links and affluent client bases, as evident in the commissions they attracted, and formed the 'favoured circle' of architects regarded the architectural gurus of South Asia; the indigenous equivalent of the master architect. Trained in Europe and North America these individuals returned and led specific practice and pedagogy orientations producing a generation of architects in their mould.

The non-Western focus of MIMAR is reiterated by its specific omissions. Architects, like the modernist, Doshi, were not included in these monographs although published by well-known Western authors (Steele 1998). Emphasis on local sources and cultures was inflected with anti-imperial and anti International style positions particular to the postcolonial period. And yet, the liberal values and global positioning of the AKP remained linked to Western circuits of symbolic and economic capital and Western academia's prerogatives. Frampton, William Curtis and architect, Paul Rudolph were observers at the second regional seminar in Dhaka. A discourse that was initially rooted in local, regional and postcolonial concerns was about to be globalised.

Shaji Panicker implies that they [Indian architects featured in MIMAR monographs] were promoted as reactionaries against a 'degenerative' postmodernism, in a Western discourse on modernity (Panicker 2008: 113) with the involvement of architectural luminaries like Kenneth Frampton (2001). The public institutions, elite homes and resort hotels, typically celebrated in the MIMAR monographs as bearers of a culturally attenuated discourse, revealed their local, political and global leanings. By the late 1980s, the AKP discourse had shifted to issues of critical regionalism and the vernacular (Ozkan 1985; Lim and Tan 1998), and by the 1990s the work of its Asian architects was being published as illustrative of Western ideas. As argued by O'Coill and Watt (2008) such associations are meaningless in the case of architects like Bawa, who never advanced himself through regionalist agendas. Yet his work and that of other architects is repeatedly drawn into its discursive frame. When

Bawa received the Aga Khan Chairman's Award in 2001 the steering committee included Correa and Frampton as well as architects Frank Gehry and Zaha Hadid (Aga Khan Awards, 2011).

This transformation from local/regional to global concerns is evident in the work of Correa, who was hailed as a 'pioneer in developing low-cost shelter' (Correa, 1983; 1989) and made much of his references to history. His adaptation of the nine-square diagram in two of his projects, the Jawahar Kala Kendra [multi-arts centre], Jaipur (1991) and Vidhana Bhavan [capitol], Bhopal (1996) is based, Correa claims, on Vedic principles around the idea of the Surya Kund, the open to sky space, which informed his courtyard based designs (Correa, Frampton: 1996: 186-7). Modelled on water ponds/tanks - the Surya Kund in Delhi (1986) was conceived as a place of reflection, building on an essentialist notion of shunya or the empty centre in Indian cosmology/geomancy. Its impenetrable mystique drew on Orientalist notions of India's spiritual basis, particularly appealing (and marketable) to Western audiences

Correa's re-orientation towards local history and cosmology was advanced in the architectural exhibition, Vistara, which invoked indigenous themes, traditionally neglected vernacular architecture and buildings from the colonial era, in an unconventional pluralistic approach (Bhatt and Bafna 1995:85-9). In this new interpretation, Indian architecture was presented as a series of epiphanies where the various historic epochs, including Vedic, Islamic and British colonial periods were presented as a succession of myths or paradigm shifts; and formalized Hindu structures were given mystical and metaphysical meanings (Bhatt and Bafna 1995:85-9). Architects Charles Correa and Ashish Ganju were involved in designing its manifesto, placing their own architectural agendas at the centre of a discourse on Indian identity.

Such examples illustrate that in the absence of a deeper understanding of history and its relevance to architecture, architects may freely manipulate historic paradigms to service global expectations. Meanwhile, class-based opportunities and services, national projects won through political connections and global expectations and liberal values will continue to steer the profession, to the detriment of more complex, socially useful and aesthetically challenging programmes. This phenomenon is increasingly apparent in India post-liberalisation as evidenced in a recent book by Rahul Mehrotra (2011). Aesthetics is often valorised above both the social and functional dimensions of architecture, values borrowed from post-industrial nations where social problems are not as acute as in Asia. Local, corporate, architectural firms that have emerged alongside these favoured practices, published in professional journals, and won accolades and recognition, locally, emulate similar preferences with very few exceptions, leaving urgent spatio-physical concerns to sociologists, NGOs and government agencies. Resistance to criticism and a weak publications culture exacerbates their negligence.

Publication culture

Following the closure of the MIMAR journal (in 1992), regional architectural publishing is dominated by aesthetically sophisticated but socially limited architectural agendas. Broadly, the consumption of vanity publications far exceeds that of research monographs. A pedagogical emphasis on the visual has limited the scope of published material and the publishing

industry is oriented towards a less-specialised readership. Moreover, architecture students world-wide are drawn primarily from the sciences and uninitiated into the discursive cultures of the humanities. In the case of South Asia, they have varied language competencies. Although architecture is primarily taught and published in English, it operates as a culturally second language. Such priorities and conditions of reception shape the profession in particular ways, advantaging urban elites and creating avenues by which foreign experts and writers might assume authoritative roles. They in turn have little access to indigenous languages and are poorly attuned to everyday social concerns. They act as interpreters for the more affluent social classes that are most likely to commission architects.

These are the main avenues through which South Asian architecture enters the global stage, through a practice of Western or Westernised scholars dependent on native informants, thus mimicking the orientalist practices of the colonial era (in reference to Spivak 1999). Their publications, which are overly dependent on scenographic effects and avoid social issues or politics, demonstrate their bias towards latent hierarchies that have resisted decolonisation. Their consuming public approaches local cultures through the lens of tourism and absorbs and retains only the aesthetic stimuli on offer. They include elite and expatriate residents as well as the more temporal tourist visitors. It is easy to identify such publications as they usually take the form of folios and propose to advise their audiences on stylistic agendas. These agendas, in turn, frequently reference conditions of modernity, Asian location, life-style or climatic experience which emphasise their difference from the West. We may speculate that the depoliticised discourses framed in them are embellished with spectacular and visceral effects well attuned to global consumer agendas. And yet, despite high levels of English-language proficiency in the region, when compared with East or Southeast Asia, there is little else on offer.

South Asian Art and Architectural history comes to us predominantly through heritage publications with limited local distribution, as the legacy and continuation of a colonial archaeological tradition lodged within national institutional frameworks. In Sri Lanka, publications by the National Heritage Trust and UNESCO Central Cultural Fund fulfil this need, and are biased towards the monuments and artefacts of the majority culture. In India, which has a vibrant local publishing culture, D.B. Taraporevala & Sons, Mapin, Permanent Black, Orient Longman, The National Book Trust, museum publications, archaeological surveys and many other sources offer diverse levels and standards of English-language publishing, but appear confined to empirical research.

Academic publications on India, produced in the West, increasingly, showcase a number of South Asian scholars educated overseas. This shift, which occurred from the 1980s onwards, follows the trajectories of South Asians who were educated in professional undergraduate programmes prior to research degrees in the West. The absence of an equivalent postgraduate culture in South Asia, and the scarcity of academics trained to supervise doctoral students, prompted their migration (see Scriver 2010). A growing inter-disciplinarity and deepening of architectural studies the influence of postcolonial theory and desire for critical analysis, shapes their scholarship. A quick overview of their themes and subjects suggests they can be divided into colonial, nation-building and identity-based explorations of a period roughly beginning in the early nineteenth century and culminating in the independence era (Hazareesingh 2007; Kalia 1999; Prakash 2002; Chattapahyay 2005; Glover 2008; Perera 1998; Dutta 2006; Scriver and Prakash, 2007; Masselos 2007; Chopra 2011). The

approaches, according to King, are influenced by the critical scholarship of Michel Foucault and Edward Said and are focused on urban planning and institutional architecture (see, King 1995). We may venture that they parallel postcolonial theoretical efforts at deconstructing the operations of power and knowledge in the formative years of the nation-state and around the issues of modernity. Indeed 'modern' is a term frequently encountered in their titles. Yet, as pointed out by Hosagrahar, the modern period in South Asia seldom enters historical surveys, either as World History or its modern counterpart (Hosagrahar 2002: 360).

So who is the readership for such critical histories? Academic publications published in Europe or America, by publishing houses which have South Asia series, would, firstly, fall outside the expected channels of architectural scholarship and, secondly, be priced out of the South Asian market. The future for such books, which fulfil tenure-track publications criteria in Western institutions lie in dual contracts for publishing in South Asia and the West, as with Oxford University Press and Sage Publications. The critical series Cities and the Urban Imperative, published by Routledge, India and edited by the sociologist Sujata Patel, offers interdisciplinary perspectives on India's cities, e.g. Urban Navigations discussed in our book-review section (Anjaria and McFarlane, 2010). Yet, the alternative: publications within South Asia aimed at a South Asian readership, sometimes with collaborations between Indian and Western authors, such as Shanti Pillai (2007); Anoma Pieris (2007); Peter Scriver and Vikram Bhatt (1990), or Jon Lang, Madhavi Desai, Miki Desai (1997) are less likely to be distributed overseas and short publication runs necessarily limit their reach.

The gap between pedagogy and publication culture in South Asia could be a possible reason for its comparative apathy, which brings the issue of journals to the fore. South Asia was the generative site for Marg, the magazine produced by the Modern Architecture Research Group. Marg was founded by Mulk Raj Anand, architect Minnette De Silva and her sister Anil in 1945 (De Silva 1998: 78-9). Articles on architecture published in Marg were particularly critical of the Indic styles of late colonialism and the magazine was a stage from which an alternative tropical modernism was first launched. The Delhi-based A+D and Mumbai-based Indian Architect & builder, or even the Colombo-based The Architect could have been legatees of this agenda but have been subsumed by professional interests. A scholarly commitment equivalent to the National University of Singapore's Journal of Southeast Asian Architecture has not emerged (Tajudeen 2010). What we witness instead is the domination of these journals by professional agendas.

Shaji Panicker argues that A+D was the site of a struggle between two generations of architects, desirous of become representatives of contemporary Indian architecture (Panicker 2008). Such struggles and divisions occurred elsewhere in Asia around issues of identity, modernism and architectural genealogies. They suggested that a favoured circle with specific privileges in terms of class, access to English and to global academic and professional networks was exercising their hegemony across both professional and publication culture. More critically, their orientation towards specific class-interests and circuits of cultural capital were incompatible with more pressing issues of social justice, labour or a need to decolonise the profession.

The evaluation of research foci and professional practice is critical for re-positioning architecture at the cusp of this transformative era. We have identified institutional strategies and publication culture as being areas in which innovation is needed. Progress along these lines needs to be accompanied by an understanding of the temptations of neo-liberalism,

its beneficiaries and its victims. We need to understand how architecture mediates such relationships. The papers in this themed issue have been deliberately selected for their social relevance both within the frame of cultural production and cultural resilience. The time frame is fairly broad and includes two essays that span the late colonial and nationalist periods and four others that are clearly postcolonial and contemporaneous. The papers are framed around two separate discourses. In the case of the subcontinent, authors are preoccupied by issues of urban versus rural identities, nationalism, and India's emerging middle class, as they are played out in different arenas - in post-war development programmes around the ideal village (Karim); nation-building strategies (Ahmed) and housing development (Mathur). In each essay, we are offered a different pathway into this argument, which exposes the activities of architects, foreign experts and their often anonymous client base of citizens, residents or villagers.

Karim's discussion of the ideal village scrutinises state-led and local efforts that span varied developmental and social ideologies, during the Cold War era, imagined both from within and outside the nation. He looks at a range of experts including Englishwoman, Jacqueline Tyrwhitt, the American Albert Mayer, and the colonial town planner Patrick Geddes – exposing the politics underlying idealisations of the village. Ahmed describes how the creation of post-colonial Islamabad - "The City of Islam," required an effacement of a previous colonial identity, and legitimation of another forged on very different political and cultural terms. In his view, the resultant re-invention of traditions through public architecture, as a form of cultural production, led to the suppression of inherent contradictions within the constitution of a nation. National ideologies of identity found their representative platform in the architecture of the capital city and its new institutions.

Mathur's essay is less concerned with identity production focusing instead on how a project deemed to capture particular Indian attributes fails to consider the needs of its recipients. Her study of user responses to Correa's much feted Artists Village in Navi Mumbai, suggests that post-occupancy research may offer lessons for architects. The desire to confer greater agency to users is an underlying theme that connects this to the essays that follow on contemporary Sri Lanka.

All three essays on Sri Lanka clearly regard the Indian Ocean tsunami as a pivotal moment that transforms architectural concerns. Although writing on very different aspects of architecture they each reference the impact of the disaster and its exposition of specific gaps in practice and pedagogy. Both Silva and Chen address shelter provision in resettlement - addressing pedagogical strategies for encouraging community-oriented development (Silva) and the disjunctions between RNGO (Religious Non Governmental Organisations) objectives and community housing solutions after the tsunami. Silva argues that subscribing to vernacular processes rather than producing architectural artefacts, offers more meaningful strategies for reconstruction. He calls for architectural curricula to include approaches to community design projects where hands-on practical exposure is encouraged. Chen illustrates the problems encountered in current reconstruction practices when a Taiwanese Buddhist NGO is mandated to deliver housing to a displaced Muslim community, who are unreceptive to their ideological framework. It exposes how ideology impacts resettlement.

Whereas Silva and Chen remain focused on design-based practices and their conflict with community agendas, Pathiraja highlights failures in the process whereby labour/ skills-training and appropriate technologies and methods are lacking. He feels that architects

should take a more proactive role in capacity building, a sentiment he shares with Silva. Pathiraja proposes a practice manifesto for bridging the gap. Mathur, Silva and Pathiraja approach architectural practice from the perspective of design demanding greater professional responsibility and deeper social engagement. They question prevailing applications of the 'vernacular' and 'regionalist' paradigms, questioning their seemingly Western genesis and offering alternative interpretations of the terms. However, the professional orientation of architectural scholarship diverts many of these essays away from theory and criticism and towards solutions for real problems. They must be measured in relation to what precedes them. None of them advocate the pervasive aesthetic discourses of the late twentieth century that have dominated publishing culture, narrowing its focus to constituencies with symbolic and economic capital. In offering a platform for such deviant readings of the built environment we propose that architecture is a social art, mindful of the society it serves. We ask whose social experiences we mediate in new directions for writing and research.

End Notes

1. Panicker is assistant professor at the School of Architecture, R V College of Engineering , Bangalore.

2.   Based on discussions with students and colleagues from South Asia.

3. In 1980, Bawa mentioned to K Roberts (1980) that he consulted the book.

4.   The list includes Andrew Boyd, Michael Brawne, J M Richards, Peter Buchanan, Rupert Scott, Robert Powell and David Robson et al.

5.   See interview with the journal's editor Hasan Udin-Khan in Fabrications 19:2 "About Asia," April 2010, 163-68.

6. In reference to Tropical Modernism, an approach advanced by Maxwell Fry and Jane Drew at the Architectural Association School in London.

7. They include the 'Style' books and books themed around houses or resorts such as Tropical Asian House or Tropical Resorts, produced by publishers like Taschen, Periplus, or Thames and Hudson. Many monographs on Asian architects adopt this style.

8.   Peter Scriver (2010) has traced the legacy of specific scholars, programmes in architecture, and research methodologies.

9.   Along with Roshan Sabawalla, Minoo and Pheroze Mistry and Jehangir Billimoria.

10.   "Ceylon's First University," Marg, Vol. 3 (1), (1949): 12-19, 12; Minnette de Silva, "A House at Kandy," MARG, vol. 6, Issue no. 3; June 1953, 4-11.

11. The term refers to Garry Stevens, The Favored Circle, Cambridge, Mass.: The MIT Press, 1998, which provided a sociology of architects, architectural history and education.

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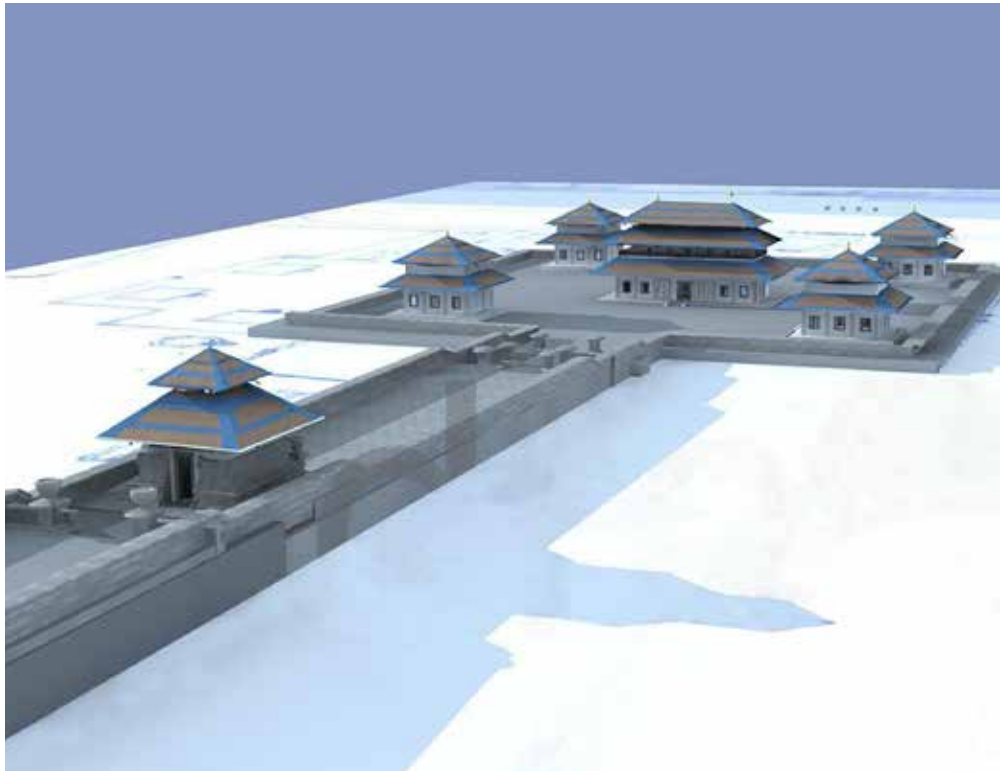
Figure 1. Conjectural reconstruction pancayatana dwelling complex, Abhayagiri, Anuradhapura, 6-11 CE. [Drawn by Shanti Jayewardene and Tharanga Dissanayake, for Surath Winckramasinghe Ass. Colombo, Central Cultural Fund (CCF) Abhayagiri Project, © CCF]

Figure 2. Sri Lanka Parliament, Sri Jayawardenapura, Kotte, 1982, by architect Geoffrey Bawa
[© Studio Times, Colombo]

Figure 1. The Secretariat [Photo: Arif Yasin Choan, January 2005]

Of Hybrid Angels: Islamabad[1]

Imran I. Ahmed

The post-colonial city

In Salman Rushdie's Satanic Verses, Gibreel Farishta (the arch- angel Gabriel), the *Kala Sahib* (Indian perjorative for a wog), masquerades in the clothes of Rosa's dead ex-colonial landowner husband, Sir Henry Diamond. Through this post-colonial mimicry, Farishta exacerbates the rupture between the image of a post- colonial continuist national history and the cracks and absences that exists within it. Farishta, the hybrid in masquerade, mimics the collaborative colonial ideologies of patriotism and patriarchy, appropriating the imperial authority of those narratives. As the belated post-colonial individual, he marginalizes and singularises the totality of national culture. He exists at that limit where the West must face a peculiarly displaced and decentred image of itself.

Likewise, a post-colonial city like Islamabad, in all its claims to modernity, lies within the unequal matrix of exchange between the dominating and the dominated. The legacy of Western culture as a synonym for modernisation and progress, first introduced within the colonial encounter, persists. The societal nature of this architectural and urban modernity is accompanied by evolutionary changes in behaviour and perception. The debris of a created urban environment becomes the quarry for new developments within continual, ideologically motivated evolution.

Within the post colonial urban and architectural ethos there is marked contrast between the indigenous and the Western parts of any city or town with pre-colonial origins. The typical post-colonial city in the Indian sub-continent consists of what is popularly referred to as the congested old section, adjacent to which is the carefully planned modern section, which often subsumes it. The architectural and urban morphology of this co-existence exhibits a syncretism - the dialogic presence of the indigenous and the hybridized Western forms of cultural expression. This curious juxtaposition of the pre-industrial traditional settlement and the Western city exhibits a persistence of traditional aspects of culture despite the process of modernization (King 1976: 2-3). Changes in the built environment demonstrate the transitional social reality of cultural modernity in the post-colonial world.

Formerly colonized countries have tried to construct their cultural forms by hy-

bridizing the indigenous culture with the colonizer's culture. Oftentimes the result is a pale shadow of the former master, but strategies of resistance, of identification and of mimicry are all present. Mimicry can be subversive but is always dependent: the alloyed forms of the master can be used in order to deflect the imposed domination within a conjuncture of evolving ideologies.

Islamabad as a created post-colonial city attempts to solder together different cultural traditions to produce a brave new cultural totality. The city's architecture and urbanism resonates with a nationalist narrative, Western in origin, which normalizes its own history and exploitation by inscribing all conflictual forces in a fixed hierarchy of civil progress. The pattern is distinctly derived from its powerful precedent, New Delhi and the institutional character and building programme of the two cities exist in a dialogic state. Though the specifics have been altered to accommodate a claim to a different source of authority - the religious community of Islam as opposed to a certain dynastic legitimacy - the rhetoric of Imperial British India persists in the projected coherence of a narrativized national identity of Pakistan.

The making of Pakistan

After the Indian Mutiny of 1857, people like Syed Ahmed Khan and Amir Ali called upon Muslims of India to strengthen the bonds of community (Rashid 1985: 72). The events of 1857 themselves contributed to the sharpening of the contours of a "Muslim" identity. Two factors were mainly responsible for this. Firstly, given the sources and the pattern of the uprising, those who bore the brunt of British vengeance were the Muslims. Secondly, influential Muslim leaders like Syed Ahmed Khan in the wake of the mutiny made a conscious effort to denigrate its methods and stress its futility. They advocated instead a closing of the Muslim ranks and complete loyalty to the British. In his quest to consolidate an all-India Muslim identity, Syed Ahmed Khan deemed it essential to deny the existence or validity of any ethnic or regional ties to which an Indian Muslim might adhere, as shown in a speech delivered at Meerut on 16 March 1888:

> As regards Bengal, there is, as far as I am aware, in lower Bengal a much larger proportion of Mohammadans than Bengalis. And if you take the population of the whole of Bengal, nearly half are Mohammadans, and something over half are Bengalis (Zaidi 1975-79, v.1.: 51).

The idea of a separate state for the Muslims of India, for the first time, was presented in some detail by the poet ideologue Allama Mohammed Iqbal in his presidential address at the annual session of the Muslim League - the political organization for Muslim representation - in 1930, he said: "1 would like to see the Punjab, North-West Frontier Province, Sind and Baluchistan amalgamated into a single state. Self-government within the British empire or without the British empire, the formulation of a consolidated north-west Indian Muslim state appears to me to be the final destiny of the Muslims of north-west India" (Zaidi 1975-79, v.4.: 67). Iqbal recognized with remarkable clarity that the basis for such a state had to lie not simply in Muslim majority areas but in Muslim majority areas in India which were geographically and therefore culturally contiguous. This is why Bengal, where

the greater number of Indian Muslims lived, was conspicuously absent from his formulation. "The life of Islam", he contended, "as a cultural force in this country very largely depends on its centralization in a specified territory" (Zaidi 1975-79, v.4.: 67). The defining characteristic of lqbal's state was therefore autonomy, not sovereignty, as is clear from his phrases such as "within the British empire" or "is a cultural force in this country". Equally, lqbal's formulation in the address, makes it clear that the inherent ideology shared by Muslims in terms of Islam is a necessary but not a sufficient basis for the autonomous Muslim state he envisions. He prescribes a homeland only for the Muslims of north-west India, thereby recognizing the specificity of cultural configurations which could equally be defined as Islamic. His statement was prophetic, when East Pakistan became Bangladesh in 1972.

The political framework, in Iqbal's consideration, could be the British Empire or an independent India. There could be one autonomous Muslim state in the north-west, or there could be a number of such states throughout India, and, further, lqbal categorically dismissed the possibility of "religious rule" in such states. Though never explicitly stated, Iqbal appears to have envisaged the coming together of the different autonomous Muslim states as they consciously elaborated Islam in an unreservedly Indian context. This was the "Muslim India within India" that lqbal talked about, and his concept was not theocratic but cultural. As he said, Hindus should not "fear that the creation of autonomous Muslim states will mean the introduction of a kind of religious rule in such states". On the contrary, he saw such development as giving Islam "an opportunity to rid itself of the stamp that Arabian imperialism was forced to give it, to mobilize its law, its education, its culture, and to bring them into closer contact with its original spirit and with the spirit of modern times" (Zaidi 1975-79, v.4.: 67).

Thus, for lqbal, the oneness of the Indian Muslims was a desirable end, never an as-sumption. He considered the differences among Muslims living in different parts of India as significant with regard to the constituent units of his proposed autonomous state. He could, presumably, foresee the possibility of these differences being rendered non- antagonistic within a progressive Islamic framework which could convincingly protect and promote the legitimate rights and interests of the constituent units. That others too may have held some-what similar views at the time is indicated by the fact that the well- known Lahore Resolution adopted by the Muslim League in 1940 did not even mention Pakistan, saying that the north-western and eastern zones of India should be grouped to constitute "independent states", in which the constituent unit shall be "autonomous and sovereign"(Rashid 1985: 79).

Though Mohammed Ali Jinnah, the president of the Muslim League at the time of the Lahore resolution and now acknowledged as the founder of Pakistan, was preoccupied with the task of acquiring this homeland, he was never unaware of what remained: "We shall have time for a domestic program and policies but first get the government. This is a nation without any territory or any government" (Sayed 1967: 59). Nor was he unaware of the limi-tations of the Muslim League as he exhorted his constituency to "vote for a Muslim League even if it be a lamp post" (Sayed 1967: 54). And as he desperately tried to put together an election-winning coalition, the imperative of presenting a powerful Muslim front forced him to recognize the interests of those whom he might otherwise have entirely dismissed. As he once said, "the Muslim camp is full of those spineless people, who, whatever they may say to me, will consult the deputy commissioner about what they should do" (Sayed 1967: 58).

To the extent that Jinnah himself conceived of Pakistan in an Islamic context, his

perception rested on Islam viewed as a broadly defined set of regulating principles, an ethos which the Muslim nation inherently possessed and sought to incorporate into its socio-economic fabric: "Islam was not only a set of rituals, traditions and spiritual doctrine. Islam is a code for every Muslim, which regulated his life and his conduct - all aspects: social, political, economic, etc. It is based on the highest principles of honor, integrity fair play and justice for all. One God, equality and unity are the fundamental principles of Islam" (Rashid 1985: 79, 90).

It is not difficult to discern the imprint of Iqbal's thought in such statements of Jinnah, though of course the former was much more articulate in dealing with matters ideological. Of the Two-Nation Theory he remarked as follows as early as 1930:

> A community which is inspired by feelings of ill will towards other communities is low and ignoble. I entertain the highest respect for the customs, laws, religious and social institutions of other communities... Yet I love the communal group which is the source of my life and my behaviour and which has formed me as what I am by giving me its religion, its literature, its thought, its culture, and thereby recreating its whole past, as a living operative factor, in my present consciousness (Zaidi 1975-79: 66).

Within days after the creation of Pakistan, in 1947, in his inaugural speech to the assembly, Jinnah indicated his concern at any blatantly self-serving use of Islam by downplaying its role in the affairs of state. He said, "You may belong to any religion or caste or creed—that has nothing to do with the business of the state"(Mortimer 1982: 208). It is unlikely that Jinnah at this late stage considered Islam unimportant, all of a sudden. More than anyone else, he realized that the *raison d'être* for Pakistan was a fair and just society striving to conform to the highest Islamic principles, but equally he believed that the route to this end was not through a maze of stultifying theocratic institutions and duplicity. Such goals had to be achieved in through the harnessing of the consent and energy of the millions whose backing and support had made Pakistan possible. The Muslims of India had voluntarily come together as a state. By definition, they had an Islamic ethos. The state was not required to make them into what they already were. It could only end up lending its machinery and power to manipulation if it acted on this premise, unfortunately, despite Jinnah's efforts, the years of political instability following independence resulted in the subsequent leaders of Pakistan using the call to Islam as the rallying point for a unique national identity, in service of their own agendas.

Field Marshall Mohammed Ayub Khan who came to power in 1958 after a military coup-d' etat decided to shift the capital city of the country from its initial location at the colonial port city of Karachi to a site near Rawalpindi, the military cantonment town which was his power base. Ali Faruqi, the chairman of the Capital Development Authority which was constituted in the September of 1960 to oversee the creation of the new city, published the following statement:

> Though a new country we, as a people, are an old nation, with a rich heritage. Inspired by a historical past... (We are) eager to build a new city which, in addition to being an adequate and ideal seat of government,

should also reflect our cultural identity and national aspirations" (Faruqi 1967: 6ff).

At a cabinet meeting the same year, it was decided to name the new city Islamabad, "the city of Islam".

The City of Islam

After independence Karachi was selected as the capital of Pakistan. It was the largest city with a developed railway system, an international airport and a large number of cultural institutions. Early Karachi had been a commercial city promoted as a colonial port, and in 1947 it was the most developed city in the country. Independence brought with it two significant problems for the city. First, the increase in population brought about by the influx of Muslim *muhajirs* (refugees) from India, who by 1951 comprised more than half of the city's population; and, second, the felt need to establish the physical structures for administrative functions and governmental institutions (Khan 1967: 96).[2] The creation of a strong national spirit was perhaps uppermost in the minds of the political apparatus. There were a number of schemes to develop a permanent federal capital as part of the Greater Karachi Plan. The report accompanying the Plan stated that the capital should "manifest to the people of Pakistan and to the world the ideal for which the state stands", and that "the vision and fate of the nation will be materialized by artistic and architectural means" (Mumtaz 1985: 184). However, none of the grand schemes proposed were carried out, because of political uncertainties which marked the country's early years. The years between 1947 - 58 were marked by an ascendancy of the bureaucracy, through the help of the army. Ayub's ascension to power in 1958 signalled the army coming into its own as a political force (Burki 1979: 131-137).[3] His decision to shift of the capital from Karachi was reflective of a fresh start in "the fashion of the Mogul emperors, where each dynasty created its own capital city" - the desire to make history (Meier 1985: 212).

In February 1959 a Site Selection Commission was appointed by Ayub under his second in command General Yahya Khan, to consider the suitability of Karachi as the capital. The factors to be considered were: location, climate, availability of adequate water and food supply, communications and defence. If Karachi was determined as being unsuitable, then another site was to be recommended. The Commission's objectives were veiled by nationalist rhetoric, as is explicit in its final report:

> The capital of a country is not merely another city, it is a leader amongst cities. To this city come leaders of administration and politics, of commerce and trade, of literature and art, of religion and science. From this city flows the inspiration which pulsates life into the nation. It is a symbol of our hopes. It is a mirror of our desires. It is the heart and soul of the nation. It is, therefore, essential that the environments of the capital should be such as to ensure continued vitality in the Nation (Khan 1967: 97).

Karachi was deemed inappropriate for sundry reasons, which included defence, the climate, inadequate facilities, lack of civic amenities, un-hygienic conditions, agitational

populace, corruption, and high costs of extension. The early capital's fate had been sealed prior to the study. Karachi had come to be dominated by the refugees from India, and the political alliances that Ayub had forged in his rise to power were designed to displace this Urdu speaking *muhajir* community as a strong political force and weaken their economic advantages. By disrupting the existing power structures, Ayub had succeeded in uniting the traditionally powerful Punjab with the military (Burki 1979: 164-65).[4]

The site for the new capital chosen by the Commission was the Potwar plateau, in the Punjab and adjacent to the cantonment town of Rawalpindi, the location of the country's military headquarters (Specht 1983: 37).[5] The proximity to Rawalpindi was justified as a logistic and strategic virtue (Faruqi 1967: 20).[6] Spread over an area of 351 square miles, the site was a panoramic expanse of natural terraces rising from 1700 to 2000 feet. The Margalla range lay at its north. The lofty lush green Murree Hills provided a soft backdrop. Nearby lay the historic Graeco-Buddhist ruins of the fabled Taxila, cradle of civilization in the region. Sheltered by the northern hills, the area was thought to be "strategically safe, scenically beautiful and climatically pleasant". Located on the ancient road linking the Khyber Pass - the historic gateway into the Indian subcontinent - and the Kashmir valley with the cities of Lahore and Delhi, the site would permit close access to the rebellious border provinces of North-West Frontier and Kashmir, over which Pakistan was in dispute with India. On an international level the new political center was centrally placed between the USSR and China, and India' (Specht 1983: 37). Free from the colonial associations of Karachi, the new capital city was to be an expression of the new regime's ability to effectively take and implement policy decisions, and to foster feelings of nationalism, in heralding a new era of prosperity and security.[7] As Ayub was to write:

> My own thinking was also that capitals are not built, nor do they exist, just for the sake of, shall we say, utility. Utility is important, but at the same time the capital of a country has to encompass much bigger vistas, and provide light and direction to the efforts of the people. It must, therefore, be located in the best possible surroundings... the city has become a symbol of the unity of the country and reflects the hopes and aspirations of the people (Khan 1967: 97-98).[8]

In June 1959 the recommendations of the Commission were accepted and the final decision to build a new capital was taken. The Federal Capital Commission was formed in September 1959 to produce a masterplan, and it appointed Doxiadis Associates, a Greek firm which had already been working on refugee settlements in Karachi under the auspices of the United Nations, as its consultant. In May 1960, the "Preliminary Plan for Islamabad" was presented, and between 1959 and 1963 the final plans were worked out. A masterplan prepared in October 1960, fixed the location of the site, its size in successive stages of development, and its relation to surrounding areas, and divided it into various sectors. The agency entrusted with the gigantic task of building Islamabad, the Capital Development Authority (CDA), came into being on September 8 1960. Work at the site began in 1961 (Faruqi 1967: 20).

Islamabad, according to Konstantinos Doxiadis had been located in a high development area which was undergoing rapid expansion. The construction of new dams and vari-

ous other industrial complexes in the area inscribed by Sialkot-Lahore-Multan-Peshawar, an area of 25,000 square miles, which held a majority of Pakistan's population further justified the new city's location. Doxiadis felt that in the future there would be even greater concentrations of population in this area, and he made sketches as to how each one of these cities would become part of a megalopolis, resulting eventually in "the greatest city that man has seen - the universal city, or ecumenopolis" (Doxiadis 1968: 376ff).[9] In the early reports, he mentions a number of reasons behind the choice of location, size and shape of Islamabad, and his rhetoric closely echoes the official ones. He provided the "expert" justification. In the choice of site, the north of West Pakistan and the lower part of East Pakistan were overlooked for "strategic reasons". Doxiadis felt the area also offered the best geographical and climatic conditions, ensuring major strategical advantages. The variety of the land according to him offered possibilities for a suitable solution. The historical and cultural aspects of the chosen area were stressed, as he wrote: "In our case it was quite clear that there was only one strip of land on which most successful capitals existed for centuries, and this was along the Grand Trunk road of the Indian peninsula. Tehran, Kabul, Peshawar, Lahore and Delhi marked this line, and when Alexander invaded this area, it was in Taxila that he created his capital. The British had to move from Calcutta to Delhi. Geographical forces placed the capitals in the same line" - the legacy for Islamabad was established (Doxiadis 1965: 9).

Islamabad's proximity to Rawalpindi was presented by Doxiadis as a practical advantage, because the latter could offer facilities and meet initial housing needs, while existing facilities such as airport, railroad and highway connections would lower the expenses while building the capital, as the infrastructure could be used and construction could begin immediately. He wanted to avoid the problems which had confronted the building of two other recently constructed cities, Brasilia in Brazil and Chandigarh in India. Likewise, he argued that the work-force would be located within the area, thus avoiding additional investment for their installation (Specht 1983: 42). The juxtapositioning of the two cities satisfied the need to "create the new settlement at such a distance that we can minimize the weaknesses while making the best use of the existing settlement and its networks for the creation of new ones" (Doxiadis 1965: 15). Conscious effort was made to avoid a collision between the two cities, by the orchestration of a unidirectional growth which would lead to a parabolic form or dynapolis - in this case a two nuclei dynapolis. He wrote: "thus Islamabad begins as a dynapolis fed by another nearby city, the city of Rawalpindi, will continue as a double dynapolis, will then merge as with Rawalpindi into a dynamic metropolis, which will again become a part of the megalopolis along the Grand Trunk Road on the basis of the theory which explains how our major settlements are led towards ecumenopolis" (Doxidis 1965: 20). The principles of Ekistics which governed the design of Islamabad, in the mind of Doxiadis, was premised on an equinanimous cognizance of the "economic, social, political, administrative, technical, ecological and aesthetic factors" (Tyrwhitt 1978: 12-20). The masterplan of Islamabad itself echoes the social and functionalist logic of the English New Towns after the Second World War (Specht 1983: 54; Pott, 1964: 49-52).

The masterplan divided Islamabad into two main parts. The first part is the Central and Administrative Area, located in the north-eastern triangle of the city. This area included special functions related directly to the Federal Capital, such as the Secretariat of the Central Government, the President's House, the Parliament, the National Museum etc. The national functions to be established were organized into specific sub-sectors. The administrative

functions were located close to the hills, expanding south-west along the foot of the hills and the national highway parallel to the residential area and northeast of the military headquarters. The cultural sector was to develop in continuation of the administrative sector northeast of both the administrative sector and the military headquarters. The second part was the residential areas which were to grow south-west, provided with all the usual city functions (Doxiadis Ass. 1962: 148).[10] The functional division of the overall masterplan creates a sharp demarcation and segregation between the two cities. Islamabad existing exclusively as an administrative centre with only service industries, essential to its symbolic existence. Rawalpindi on the other hand was provided with all the industrial and wholesale functions. The population of Rawalpindi was to be separated from that of Islamabad by zones of military housing and park land, with the highway terminal proposed to serve Islamabad located within the network of roads enclosing Rawalpindi; the pre-colonial settlement and the colonial parts of the city were completely encompassed and subsumed by the universal grid of the Doxiadis masterplan (Specht 1983: 50-54).

The rectilinear grid was laid across the site, enclosing and separating the two cities, and was based on axes running parallel to the hills. Doxiadis justified the rigidity of his formal grid in light of the significance of geometry in Islamic art: "Every large and important synthesis of Islamic culture is based on pure geometry'(Doxiadis 1960: 428).[11] The dimensions of the grid being determined by the need of rational organization and the size of the various classes of communities. The extent of the city was determined by the foot of Margalla and the Murree Hills, to the north and east of Rawalpindi. Growth could only occur along the south. The area of the masterplan was divided into three distinct areas: Islamabad, National Park and Rawalpindi, and the Cantonment. To allow for future expansion, the city was to be surrounded by a belt of land known as the Capital Federal Area (Specht 1983: 43-44).[12] In contradiction to his ecological focus as a part of Ekistics, the brute force with which the grid was imposed on Islamabad severed any sensitivity towards the landscape. The undulations of the natural environment were flattened - ironically in the British military tradition - "by bulldozers and teams of donkeys and camels carrying baskets of earth" (Pott 1964: 50).

The basic form of the grid layout was composed of 2000 yards square sectors, based on the assumption that a person could reach the centre of a given sector in 10 minutes. Each sector is purely residential, and was expected to hold a population of 30,000 to 50,000 inhabitants. Avenues 22 yards wide separated the sectors. Each sector was divided into five community classes, giving the community class V the highest priority, representing the whole sector. Each sector was conceived of as a self sufficient community with its own municipal administration and institutions. The last community class I was the individual family.

The functional structure was to be organized into three categories: First, the class V centre, holding the public and private administrative functions such as municipal administration, offices, banks etc., and a large shopping centre. Social facilities such as a college, a health centre, restaurants, movie theatres etc. are also provided within the centre, in order to serve the whole population of one sector. Second, the class IV centre, which was represented in each sector, provided a secondary school, a shopping centre and a mosque. And finally, the class II centre consisted of a primary school, a collection of shops, a tea house and a small mosque.

A hierarchy, based on incomes, was to determine the development of the city's

housing. Various types of housing were designed, lettered from A through L, supposedly keeping in mind the "traditional" way of living, whereas individual needs were of no consequence.[13]

The sector planning of Islamabad fulfilled, in every aspect, the interests of the military/ bureaucratic oligarchy; a "pure" city with hardly any undesirable blemishes and a "functional separation reflecting a refined policy' of socio-spatial segregation (Specht 1983: 54). As Richard Meier has written: "In Doxiadis' mind there was no doubt that the orthogonal pattern would be the only one possible. The need of a capital city for a formal processional way leading to the seat of power settled the issue quickly. The long view lines imposed a hierarchy based on squares. After that the rank of a person could determine the section of the city which he should live in perhaps he would have had no choice if the 'client' had demanded that the epaulettes of the bureaucrat be represented by his house and address" (1985: 213). Additionally, the physical structure in the first built up areas of Islamabad was planned with special attention to the ground elevation, emphasizing the buildings of administrative and civic significance. The masterplan was explicit in its instructions about the building heights and site elevations in the specific sectors and sub-sectors. Particular attention was paid to the national functions, expressing the authority and dominance of the nation, with ideological symbols - the President's house and the Parliament, forming the terminal feature of the Capitol Avenue, at the north-eastern end of the layout. Care was taken in emphatic regulatory guidelines, so that no building may surpass the roof level of the President's House, which was to be located on an artificially created earthen mound, and was to become the dominant feature of the city - the symbol of "divine authority" in a city of the "pure" (Doxiadis Ass. 1963: 109-112).[14]

Architecture of the city of Islam

Sir Robert Matthew who served as a consultant to the CDA, gives significant evidence of Ayub's personal involvement with every aspect of the new city's development, and also of the bureaucratic processes which determined the selection of architects and projects. In a letter he wrote: "Certainly it was a matter of national pride that the architects selected should be internationally famous. But it would be wrong to suppose that the client was naive. The authorities were advised by their own professional staff, and were aware of the styles and capabilities of those selected. President Ayub took a personal interest and he and the CDA were guided both by Doxiadis and myself, especially in the early days" (Nilsson 1973: 178). The Pakistani government wished its capital to display the "Islamic touch". So perhaps the most significant question remained whether foreign architects could be made to compose forms that would recall Islam, and at the same time reflect the character of a country which "is both so old and so new, and at the same time, satisfy the pride of a people who intended to be up-to- date?"(Lee 1967: 47) - the new capital had to be functional and expressive of its functionality. The architecture had to "act as catalysts in the search for an indigenous style for Pakistan in the 20th century - one which uses predominantly native material and employs local skills and talents and can capture and embody the ideals of a young nation establishing itself in the modern world" (Walmsley 1965: 22).

One of the first international architects chosen for an important commission in Islamabad was Gio Ponti who willingly supported the general idea of the project and wrote:

> when I happen to meet people who are ambitious to live on in History, I
> never fail to advise them to invest in the Bank of Architecture which will
> assure them of security which is their name of unfailing quotation, and
> I quote the benefits obtained by Popes, Kings and patricians who loved
> architecture and whose names have remained in the splendor of History
> and I quote what Mies and Skidmore, Owings and Merrill have meant for
> Seagram and Lever respectively (Nilsson 1982: 125).

The desire to make history was coupled with the desire to seem modern and at the same time establish a link to the glorious Islamic past of the Indian subcontinent. As Hassan Usmani, a senior technocrat who had commissioned the American architect Edward Stone to design the Atomic Energy Institute near Islamabad, wrote in letter to the architect: "Faruqi is very keen to get our Islamic heritage of architecture reflected in the public buildings of Islamabad. He likes your designs for our Institute but has not seen the design of other buildings done by you throughout the world, particularly those which have domes, verandahs etc., typical of the old Mogul buildings" (Nilsson 1982: 125-127). Stone whose name has become inextricably linked with the architecture of Islamabad's public buildings, picked up on the rhetoric of Mogul architecture during the design of his United States Embassy building for New Delhi, in 1954. He wrote: 'The architects for the Mogul Emperors were the first to perceive the feeling of serenity given their temples by the reflection of temple images in calm lagoons. I placed a large circular lagoon in front of [the Embassy to give the building the same sense of tranquility" (Stone 1962: 139). Of his building for the Pakistan Institute of Nuclear Science and Technology, designed in 1961, he was to write, "The buildings are to be arranged around large rectangular courts which are to be landscaped with the reflecting pools characteristic of the Mogul gardens", the elements of Mogul architecture he was particularly drawn to were the *chujja* and the *jaali*, these were essential in any response to the "intense Pakistani sun" " (Stone 1962: 153).

Climatic response, coupled with techniques and materials of modern design and construction, were to become the solution to an "Islamic" architectural expression. This attitude was generally in keeping with the contemporary mind-set that no state wishing to take its place in the world at the turn of the mid-twentieth century could ignore the role of technology. The case was made that the techniques and structural methods which formed the essentials of "historic Islamic style" had ceased to be relevant and were becoming obsolescent, the problem was one of translation. A creative challenge was presented in the expression of what was "truly Islamic" through new and evolving processes. Structure, technique, materials, environmental control, the design and application of ornament, were to evolve with universal technology towards which the world was moving. There was only one solution evident: the simplicity of an "international style" which pandered, in its accents, to an indigenous or regional response. As Vale has written: "Modernization, in its architectural manifestations, has led to the gradual globalization of cheapened and diluted versions of the so-called International style" (Vale 1992: 51).[15] For Islamabad's premier institutional buildings; the Secretariat, the President's House and the Shah Faisal Mosque, the implications of globalization with an indigenous or regional twist are best expressed in the words of Lisa Jamoud:

> The question was to determine what was meant by "Islamic" style; except in religious buildings such a style does not exist. It seemed illogical to stick to traditional forms and at the same time, impose modern standards. Domes and minarets do not look their best on top of skyscrapers... To blend conservative and modern lines, regional and universal features, manage the functional aesthetic, there was one answer: simplicity. But simplicity being the general trend in international modern architecture, what has come up in Islamabad, the good and the bad alike, has the anonymous look of new western European or American buildings (Jamoud 1965: 953).

The secretariat

Located at the northern tip of the administrative sector, the Secretariat complex exists as a monument to the bureaucracy and its role in the administration - a legacy of Imperial British India (Fig. 1). Covering an area of almost a million square feet of terraced landscape, the buildings of the complex sit at the foot of the picturesque Margala Hills. Work on the project began in April of 1963 and was completed in 1969. The design by the Italian firm of Ponti-Fornaroli-Roselli was described by Albert Roselli, the partner in charge, in the following words:

> Being Western architects designing for the East, we tried to establish a method of approach to Muslim tradition: we interpreted it as not bounded to the forms of the past but to its general ambiance, to present culture, to the actual way of life and to the local climate. We went beyond rationalism as regards our interpretation of the environment. But on the other hand we had to keep a rational position before the problems of technology, economy and structure they are not imported European buildings and are completely different from what we have designed for Italy or abroad (Nilsson 1973: 176).

The complex conceived of as an exemplar of "mechanistic functionalism", was intended to introduce the Pakistanis to the logic of modem architecture in as much as it responded to the specificities of its environment (Ponti 1990: 225). The office blocks have been housed behind two different systems of pre-cast concrete panels which are alternating and repetitious, and act as sun screens, while staircases and elevators are housed in towers on the corners of the buildings (Ponti 1990: 215). The group of buildings, outwardly reminiscent of a middle-eastern desert fortress, is made up of straight and L-shaped blocks placed on different level terraces and at right angles to each other. Through a systematic geometric manipulation of space and form, the disparate elements of the ensemble are given the semblance of apparent cohesiveness. A visual continuity between the terraces is established by means of vistas which at times penetrate the lower levels of the buildings. The landscaping around the complex, done by Derek Lovejoy, is comprised of a series of terraces with pools and fountains, which weave their way around and through the buildings. The red brick terraces together with their blue glazed tile accents, washed by water in an attempt to emulate the Mogul garden tradition, is an arrangement orchestrated very elegantly providing a sharp

contrast to the austerity of the 5-storey white-washed modem buildings themselves (Nilsson 1973: 176).

The arrangement of buildings in the administrative sector, the Secretariats to the north with the President's at the centre and the cultural buildings to the south, bears a striking resemblance to New Delhi in both its external manifestation and political reality. There is however one major difference; Ayub in effect declared himself as the sole source of all authority with the new constitution which was ratified on June 8 1962. Likewise, the President's House now became the focus of all attention, and the Capitol Avenue which up to that point was not on axis with the building, was realigned to terminate at the building, so that it may "give the impression of being the heart of the city" (Capital Development Authority 1961-4: 143).

The President's House

The four buildings comprising the most prominent square at the north-eastern end of Islamabad and at the terminus of the Capitol Avenue, namely the Supreme Court, the National Assembly, the Foreign Office and the President's House, were the prize architectural commissions in the city (Fig. 2). Originally it had been intended that different architects of international repute would design each one of the projects, but Arne Jacobsen's project for the national assembly building was rejected as were schemes by Louis Kahn. The architect selected for the President's House and the accompanying group of buildings around it was Stone (Nilsson 1982: 125-27).[16]

The crucial point of discussion at the meetings in the following months was the combination of the central layout of Doxiadis' masterplan and the proposal put forward by Stone. The approach of the American architect was rather formal; in his scheme the president's house was in the centre with the buildings of the assembly and the foreign office on either side of the national square. This arrangement presupposed a corresponding symmetry of the masterplan which was not at hand. Consequently it was proposed that the Capitol Avenue be shifted northwards on axis of the president's house. This measure aimed at Beaux Arts monumentality, celebrated the newly defined "divine' and "supreme" significance of the President (Nilsson 1982: 127).[17]

The design of the President's House was seen as being based on the Mogul style of architecture but at the same time providing all the amenities of the modern age. The plan was organized around an internal courtyard with administrative and social elements on the west, domestic elements in the east and an arcade on the northern and southern sides. The internal courtyard was to be landscaped on the Mogul garden pattern with pools and fountains. Additionally, there was also be a back garden on the same pattern as the Shalimar Garden at Lahore (Nilsson 1973: 178-79). The building, as it was completed on its artificially created mound, is the locus of all Islamabad. Monumental in its horizontality, the white concrete edifice takes the form of a three tiered pyramid sitting on a massive plinth, recalling the Buddhist monasteries of Taxila, and is explicitly reminiscent of the Mogul emperor Akbar's tomb at Sikandra (Khan 1967: 98).[18] The horizontality of the structure is further accentuated by the continuous *chujja*, referred to as the "canopy" by Stone, at each level. The projected image is that of an impregnable modern fortress, which like the Viceregal Mansion at New Delhi in its monumental affirmation of temporal power and self assurance bears testimony

to a profound sense of insecurity.

Dominating the square and its other buildings (the Supreme Court, the National Assembly and the Foreign Office), which fall prey to their own non-descript Stonian modernism, the President's House can be seen as an embodiment of every aspiration and ambition Ayub may have had for himself and the country. The dual legacy of Akbar and Taxila was a powerful one, Akbar had seen himself as the divine emperor and Taxila was the most significant historical site in the land; the two coupled and enshrouded in the rhetoric of an American modernism perhaps epitomize this period of progress and self determination in Pakistan's history.[19] The irony of this project is of consequence in this discussion because of all this glorification of the 'self' by Ayub, in the ostensibly equinanimous city of Islam.

The Faisal Mosque

The years between 1965 and 1969 were of great insecurity for the Ayub government (it collapsed in 1969). The war with India in 1965 and the subsequent treaty signed at Tashkent in 1966, were accompanied by a rise in ethnic sentiments, unrest amongst the population and feelings of discontentment about Ayub's dictatorial domestic policies.[20] The national question arose in the wake of this unrest. The answer to the problems was an increase in the official rhetoric about Pakistan's Islamic identity - this time marked by an increasingly fundamentalist sentiment. Islamabad was soon to see a manifestation of this rhetoric as a physical artifact. As Meier has noted there was no provision in the original masterplan for a state mosque, and now there was a need felt to build one as the symbol of popular representation within the Islamic state (Meier 1985: 213-214).

A site of some 44 acres was selected at the foot of the Margala Hills, terminating the Islamabad highway which was the major cross axis of the city. The site would boast the largest mosque in the Islamic world. An international competition was held in 1969, with the competition brief clearly stating that a design which fitted the "contemporary planning and design ideals of the modern city of Islamabad", was an essential requirement for the winning entry. The winning entry by the Turkish architect Vedat Dalokay was described by the Jury as such: "the classical approach of formal mosque architecture is blended in this project with modern form and technology. The simplicity of the general layout is appreciated". The jury recommended some revisions to the initial design so that it may "more strictly conform to a modernist paradigm"; all traditional-references were to-be eliminated (Mumtaz 1985: 188-89).[21]

Construction began in 1978 and was completed in 1988. The tent-like granite mosque with its four corner minarets is a marvel of structural engineering (Khan 1987: 22-23) (Fig. 3).[22] The colossal prayer hall with its folded roof, clad in white Greek marble, slopes effortlessly upward from an Italian granite platform to peak at a height of 148 feet. The platform is made of polished Italian Granite. The four minarets are 396 feet tall each. The interior of the hail, enclosing an area of 50,000 square feet, can accommodate 10,000 people with room for a further 90,000 on the platform. Along the back wall, over the entrance, is a women's gallery large enough to accommodate 1500 worshippers screened by a lattice. The whole complex is to be a place of Islamic learning, to be called the International Islamic University. Some 704 acres of land, seven miles south-west of the site have been reserved for further expansion (McGrane 1992: 20-29).[23]

This complex, together with the modernist mosque, was to become the most significant architectural and urban icon of Islamabad. At an ideological level the competition itself marks a crucial juncture in the Muslim journey from "autonomy to sovereignty". In all this it should not be forgotten that the structure symbolic of Islam was above all to be modern.

Islamabad: the "King's God Child" meets his Guardian Angel

With the Faisal Mosque (without arches and domes), the myth of post-Mogul Islam in the Indian subcontinent was formally manifest and predominant. The instrumentalizatiion of religion for the purposes of a nationalist discourse to suppress ethnic, linguistic and popular sentiments assumed a tangible presence. Popular representation took on a new dimension – one solely dependent on religion. Enshrouded in rhetoric of progress and modernity, the distinctively centralized form of the mosque assumes an indeterminacy which emerges as the representation of change that is itself a process of disavowal: religious fundamentalism. As Ayub was to write about the role of Islam within the ideological construct he proposed for Pakistan:

Such an ideology with us is obviously that of Islam. It was on that basis that we fought for and got Pakistan, but having got it, we failed to order our lives in accordance with it. The main reason is that we have failed to define that ideology in a simple understandable form. Also in our ignorance we began to regard Islamic ideology as synonymous with bigotry and theocracy and subconsciously feel shy of it. The time has now come when we must get over this shyness, face the problem squarely and define this ideology in simple but modern terms and put it to the people, so that they can use it as a code of guidance (Khan 1967: 196-97).

However, the ritualized monumentality of Islamabad's architecture and urbanism, much like New Delhi, was devised for a post-colonial military/bureaucratic oligarchy which replaced a colonial autocracy, and was already anachronistic when construction began. Architectural and urban modernism within the context of the Indian subcontinent has its origins in pre-independence colonial traditions (Tillotson 1989: 127). Islamabad, as the symbol of the new Pakistan, was to be distinctively modern, something which would look ahead into the country's future, but Pakistan's future was to be enshrouded in the rhetoric of tradition and religion. The irony in this situation was that, to Ayub, as to most of Pakistan's ruling military and bureaucratic elite, modernism meant a simulation of the West; they turned to the West to find the forms of modern architecture which came to elaborate the institutional patterns of a not so distant colonial past, which ironically they most wished to escape. The separation between the rulers and the ruled persisted – the legacy of imperial British India.

The New Delhi plan and its manifestation clearly reflect the British quest for legitimacy and the unequal relationship of force between the colonizer and the colonized apparent in the suppression of contradictions in favour of their substitution with a fictive coherence. The monumentality of the scheme, the locations of buildings, and the architectural style all served to reinforce the image of colonial supremacy, strength and durability. The existing culturally diverse context had been instrumentalized and subsumed by the colonial master narrative (King 1980: 205-10).[24] Native historical monuments were turned into picturesque follies and deprived of their context and history, devalued of their significance. This use of indigenous structures is the clearest expression of the relentlessly exclusionary nature

of the new capital's invariable geometry. The contrived coherence of the generated pattern is symbolic of the imperial attempt to impose unity and uniformity on Indian institutions. By viewing the native culture in this new urban context, discriminatory and authoritarian forms of control were considered appropriate. Islamabad is repetitious in its mimicry of New Delhi's architecture and urbanism.

The system for the allocation of housing within Islamabad portrays the priority given to aesthetics and class consciousness over social concerns. The value of housing increased with proximity to the Governmental sector. High officials with the most ostentatious houses would live in the closer sectors, with the highest officials of all living closer to the Secretariat. Fanning out from the core, residences for administrative officials would be located according to status, ending with menial clerks living at the peripheries. This preordained residential organization reflects the class structure of the imperial British society, and demonstrates the marginalization of the subjects.[25]

Denial of Rawalpindi and its subsumption within the grid of the new masterplan leads to a dispossession of its traditional significance. The adjacency and chaotic appearance contrasted it with the homogeneous clarity of Islamabad across the cordon sanitaire of park land, in the New Delhi tradition. The placement of symbols of power at prime focal points also served to reinforce the image of institutional supremacy. The placement of the President's House on the artificially created hill and on the main axis reflected the supreme authority placed in the head of state as the source of all authority – the imperial presence. The processional route from the Capitol Avenue, through the Azadi Chowk – Freedom Square – to the raised President's House, is symbolic of the ascension through the hierarchies of governance. The Governmental Sector as the "keystone" of rule is the place of Government in its highest expression. The physical form of Islamabad was used to suppress the very people it was meant to represent.

New Delhi offered an example of the power of physical form and planning to influence society, Islamabad repeats it. Although the British have been gone for almost half a century, their institutional attitudes persist. The Pakistani bourgeoisie has replaced the colonial force with a new class based on exploitative force. Instead of liberation after decolonization, Pakistan got old colonial structures replicated in new national terms. As a result, the original British imperialist, elitist symbols continue to connote social and political hierarchies of Pakistan today in Islamabad – the hybridization of meanings through appropriation allows strategies of colonial signification to persist. The exercise of authority is conducted through the figure of a constructed narrative of national identity. The persistent mimicry emerges as one of the most elusive and effective strategies of colonial power and knowledge, within the post-colonial context (Bhabha 1984: 126).

End Notes

1. This chapter was originally submitted as part of a Master of Science in Architectural Studies thesis at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (Ahmed 1992). It has been reproduced with the permission of the author who is no longer an architectural scholar.

2. Karachi, a city of some 250,000 in 1941 had grown to over a million by 1951, and the census figures of 1961 showed a figure just short of two million.

3. It may be mentioned here that the entire post-colonial period of Pakistan's history has been marked by the pre-eminence of the military/ bureaucratic oligarchy. The representative legislative bodies have been relegated to a secondary position. True authority has rested in the hands of the executive state organs.

4. The new military regime sought to separate and mediate between the three major classes within the social hierarchy - the indigenous bourgeoisie, the neo-colonial metropolitan bourgeoisie, and the land owning classes - the result was a relative autonomy for the military bureaucratic elite.

5. A twin city concept would eventually centralize the decision making process of the bureaucratic military elite. Rawalpindi had served as the military centre of the colonial forces, for the northern areas, 'the establishment of the military installations in the old district town, by the British, completely dominated the city's character and functions, In effect the city exhibited all the traits of a colonial cantonment town. The traditional city and the cantonment manifest in the juxtaposition of the unplanned bazaars in the old city and the regimented rectilinearity of the cantonments, as in so many of the Indian colonial cities, became its hallmarks. Being the colonial headquarters of the British northern forces it developed certain specific traits. The British administrators and, after independence, the Pakistan army recruited skilled professionals and others with specific administrative and military skills making for carefully selected population. The social, political and economic changes produced by the arrival of the British in Rawalpindi, therefore, were totally different from those produced by them in Calcutta, Bombay and Delhi. The arrival of the Pakistani army quickened the pace and not the direction of these changes right upto 1958. Rawalpindi remained a city steeped in conservative politics.

6. N. A. Faruqi writes: "Being located close to Rawalpindi, Islamabad will have the additional advantage of utilizing facilities and services already available".

7. Islamabad, 1400 miles from Karachi, effectively allowed for the isolation of the administrative functions of the government and the power of the Karachi based business elite was curtailed. The new capital was to attract investors and accelerate industrial development in the agricultural areas of the north.

8. Though the notion of unity referred to in this quote has been attributed to physical distance between the two distinct wings of the country, East and West, it also deals with the internal differences between the four provinces of West Pakistan: Punjab, Sind, N. W. F. P. and Baluchistan.

9. This theory of the ecumenopolis had been based on his observation of developed industrial countries, particular   examples being the Randstadt region in Holland and the Great Lakes Megalopolis in North America.

10. The national functions to be established in Islamabad were; "1) Central administration of the country and central cultural activities within the administrative sector. 2) Residences of high officials directly related to the above in sector F 5-2. 3) Headquarters of the city administration which are considered as forming a link between city functions and national functions and are thus located at the junction of these, in the sector F 5-1 4) Headquarters of national organizations, such as public and private institutions, government corporations, professional and business associations, banking and finance corporations of national importance, as well as some tourist installations, in sector 0 5-2. 5) Basic installations for tourism and temporary residences of high ranking officials and visitors, etc. in G 5-1.

11. Doxiadis justifies, this almost naive reading of the situation in the service of his sectors through the presence in every community - on a suitable scale - of a mosque as the locus; an ostensibly Islamic concept.

12. Each area had distinct functional requirements associated with it. Islamabad, was to have

the following functions: a) National and Federal administration b) Cultural functions of a national character. c) auxiliary functions related to the Federal Administration. d) Normal functions of a city; National Park, was to have the following functions: a) Educational function of national importance. b) Institutions of a National character, i.e. National research Center etc. c) National Sports Center. d) National Park Functions. c) Zoo. f) Exhibition grounds; Rawalpindi and the Cantonments were to have the following functions: a) Regional administration, b) Business and Commercial center of the region, c) Army. installations, d) Industry and warehouses, e) Metropolitan transport installations, f) Normal functions of a city, g) Agricultural functions.

13. The family of an office peon or an employee earning less than Rs. 125 a month was to live in a low-cost row-house of the A-type house: 125 square yards divided into two rooms, a kitchen and a small corner for shower and toilet. It was amongst the tenants of the A- and 13-type houses that the most conservative Muslims, belonging, not surprisingly, to a lower social class, were to be found. The Anglicized high government officials were to find themselves living in the west of the city, close to the central governmental core, residing in opulent 9-room, 5- bathroom bungalows, located in 5500 square yard plots.

14. The document states: "In the sub-sector F 5-1 provision should be made for 6 to 8 storey buildings according to their location on the ground elevation. In sub-sector F 5-1, along Capitol Avenue, care should be taken for the Town Hall to be placed at a dominating height. The number of storeys of the Town Hall can be up to 9 to 10 provided that this height does no surpass the roof level of the President's House. Ground elevation of the Town Hall is 1930 ft. while that of the President's House hill is 2,003 ft. In sub-sector G 5-2, the prevailing number of storeys should not be more than 6 in the part racing Capitol Avenue and 4 to 5 storeys on all other sides. In all cases, the design of the buildings should be carefully studied in connection with the final designs of the buildings of the Cultural Centre. In sub-sector G 5-1, the prevailing number of storeys should be 5. In the particular case of buildings facing the Federal Highway the prevailing height of buildings should go beyond 4 storeys in order to avoid sharp contrast with the buildings in the Diplomatic Enclave and Sector G 6. Heights of the buildings in the Civic Centre of Sector F6 should range between 6 and 8 storeys along Capitol Avenue. In the Diplomatic Enclave area, embassies will have 2-4 storeys, on the opposite, in the Administrative sector, buildings in the southern part will have a height corresponding to 3-4 residential storeys, in the (…)

15. L. Vale goes on to write: "If anything post-colonial urban architecture has been far less attuned to the specifics of place than were its hybrid predecessors designed under colonial regimes creating an international style far more ubiquitous than anything out of Hitchcock and Johnson".

16. S. Nilsson has shown how substantial lobbying on Stone's behalf by Dr. I. H. Usmani was in large part responsible for the dismissal of the other projects in his favor.

17. According to S. Nilsson the idea for this change is to be attributed to E. D. Stone's preoccupation with the New Delhi embassy, and his thorough study of the center of power of united India which happened to be an attractive a model for Ayub.

18. About the choice of Islamabad's location Ayub wrote: "The reason these Buddhists (who were followed by the Greeks) chose on the other side of the hills was because only on that side did they have an assured water supply. The first thing that I did was to order the building of the Rawal Dam, to recreate the conditions that existed for Taxilla some two and a half, thousand years ago. We thus went back to Taxila which was a notable seat of civilization and learning long before the dawn of the Christian era. It was the cradle of Gandhara art".

19. Pakistan, along with Iraq, Iran, Jordan and Turkey assumed a significant place in the American foreign policy which was motivated by a desire to replace colonial Britain as the new neo-colonial force in the region. The Baghdad pact of 1955 for cooperation in all forms, signed by all of the above mentioned countries and orchestrated by the Americans, was just such an arrangement to set up a buffer against the pro-Soviet Arab League under Gamal Abdul Nasser. The countries formally committed themselves to the American sphere of influence.

20. It was generally felt that what had not been lost in the war, had been lost in concessions to the Indians at Tashkent. Ayub's weak resolve was generally accepted as the main reason for the loss.

21. King Faisal bin Abd al-Aziz Al-Saud of Saudi Arabia decided to fund the project, and in 1976 the foundation stone was laid by King Khalid bin Abd al-Aziz of Saudi Arabia. The funding is significant because since the seventies, Pakistan has become increasingly dependent on a Saudi subsidy for its economic survival.

22. The distinctly Ottoman character of the mosque seems ironically too fitting, given Ottoman imperialism and the desire to establish an Islamic identity independent of the Arab world.

23. The faculty of Shariah Law, one of four, trains the lawyers and judges in Pakistan's Islamic legal system implemented in 1979.

24. A. D. King defines three distinct periods, the first period being pre-twentieth century, and revolving around ideas of military and political dominance; the second, the development of formally stated town planning theory, ideology, legislation and professional skills in Britain, which were exported unevenly to the colonies, and to which New Delhi belongs; and the third, this being the post-colonial, i.e. neo-colonial phase, which he sees as the process of cultural colonialism with the continued export of values, ideologies and planning models – Islamabad.

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Figure 2. Supreme Court [Photo: Arif Yasin Choan, January 2005]

Figure 3. Faisal Mosque [Photo: Arif Yasin Choan, January 2005]

Negotiating a New Vernacular Subjecthood for India, 1914-54: Patrick Geddes, Jacqueline Tyrwhitt, and the Anti-Utopian Turn

Farhan S. Karim

At the ruin of Old Delhi Fort on 12 February 1954, Jacqueline Tyrwhitt – one of the most prominent mid-century thinkers of urban design (Soshkes 2006), and perhaps the most significant organizer of global architectural forums (Wigely 2011) – was writing from the exhibition grounds of the I*nternational Exhibition of Low Cost Housing*.[1] It was an open letter to her extraordinary group of global colleagues, telling them of the 'Ideal Indian Village' that she was designing for the show:

> An Indian "village" can be anything from 300 to 3000 people, almost all of whom live in the walled courtyard of small mud huts … the villages are the only "liveable" kind of places in India. In them there is a certain informal order – an accepted place for everything that goes to make up life. The Indian himself has not learned to live as a townsman: either he apes the foreigner or he tries to bring his village life into the towns (animals etc.) and the result is plain hugger (Jacqueline Tyrwhitt Papers, 1954: Box 32, Folder 1 a, hereafter TYJ 1954: 32/1 a).

It can be argued that this brief description is an over-simplified rendition of multidimensional and complex construct of Indian villages, one of numerous colonial-modern efforts to present a generalized, reduced and simplified conception of the 'other.' An exclusive consideration of the specific issue – transformation and generalization of complexity into simplicity – may hide the conditions and context of the procedure. It may also present an uncritical view of the end product of generalization and simplification, in this case the concept of an ideal village. However, by looking at selected case studies of pre- and post-Independent India's 'ideal village project,' this essay will focus on the complex context of state aspiration, the global design movement, and local trade interest that devised the discourse of the simplified ideal village. The first section will present a brief survey of the discursive evolution of village from imperial sociology to Gandhi's politics, and post-Independence village reformation projects and introduce Patrick Geddes' ideas on town planning. The second section will explore Tyrwhitt's Village Centre for the UN's International Exhibition of Low Cost Housing. The last section will trace the Village Centre's roots in CIAM's idea of the 'core' and Geddes' bio-regionalism.

The discursive evolution of rural space: from the typecast to the utopian

This section will briefly trace the key moments of history when the village as an idea was considered by pre- and post-independence politicians, researchers, and designers as the essential utopian space through which to resist the inhuman modernization process. Under British imperial rule, the village was understood through census-based studies: gazettes, district handbooks, and regional surveys; the prime goal of which was for administrative purposes and revenue collection. This understanding was enhanced further by bureaucratic and extra-cultural curiosity that sought to understand the governed population in which the Indian village was considered external to the natural process of civilization. In 1810, Sir Charles Metcalfe, the imperial sociologist described villages as 'self contained little republics,' and Sir Thomas Munro also described them as 'mini republics' (Dumont 2002). The 1812, House Commission Report gave typical representations of villages in which they were perceived as disconnected, self-sufficient, and introverted spaces characterized by an immutable economic and social reality (Campbell 1852). The colonial Rural Agrarian Reformation triggered the development of new survey techniques that focused more on micro-level issues like ethnic composition, and on grass roots' level economic issues. Among these surveys, the 1901 ethnographic survey of India was the pioneering study, followed by major village-based surveys carried out by Gilbert Slater in 1916, and H.H. Mann in 1917 and 1921 (Cohn 2007: 3-28).

Bernard Cohn comments that the cumulative effect of colonial surveys and quantification efforts conceptualized an image of the Indian village that was devoid of its everyday experience, and was rendered an 'archetypical peasant community.' The dominant imperial perception of a village was driven by the idea of self-sufficiency, and caste hierarchy. This method eschewed the existing economic and political power structure to prove that the village was an amalgamation of immutable and least perishable institutions. The prevailing self-sufficiency myth – that villages produce and consume locally without any external interference – considered villages to be the perpetual retainer of pristine culture, and hence as a site of anti-civilization. Similarly Baden-Powell categorized or typified Indian villages in a narrow manner dividing understandings neatly between its Aryan and Dravidian roots (Baden-Powell 1899). The main limitation of the imperial perspective was its failure to recognize villagers' performances as active agents or their capacity to affect the economic and or political power structure. Furthermore, it sought and anticipated only the commonness of structures – economical, political, social and cultural – to reach a universal knowledge instead of searching for and anticipating diversity and differences that only appear so to those from a culture outside the culture being judged. The schism between the lived experience of village life and the extrapolation of that experience into a discursive form transformed the village as an idea – into a specific and stagnant state of human existence.

In contrast to the imperial approach, Gandhi took the village as the cardinal space from which to reach higher civilizational goals; but interestingly, his conceptualisation- included the self-sufficiency myth. Inspired by John Ruskin's theory of anti-industrial society, Gandhi took a unique position that sought communal liberalism within the hermetic and controlled demonstration of an ideal village life in his ashram (Brantlinger 1996). Gandhi established his first ashram in India on his arrival from South Africa in 1915 and in the following decades, the ashram served the utopian space of Independence – a post-colonial ideal mode

of rural living (Maddipati 2011). Ashram members abandoned their old lives of industrial modernism and lived the physical equivalent of a metaphorical everyday life of working villagers.

The performance of disciplined everyday life involved spatial rituals in which villagers' interactions with the material world were employed to reach a universal harmony beyond the rigid caste system. Scholars argue that the projection of Gandhi's bodily images – a working villager in a utopian space – was a strategy to combine the space and body to forge postcolonial subjecthood. The practice of physical and environmental hygiene, and dietary and sexual restraint in the daily life of the ashram framed a counter-modernism that sought to fend off Eurocentric modernism. However, in doing so, Gandhi formed a complex collation of myths of science with a set of ritualistic performances in the space. Hand spinning was one of the strongest metaphors that worked at the intersection of body, space and economy. Gandhi's Indian 'new self' was the working common villager who had total control over his capitalist and libidinal desire. This metaphorical self was perpetuated through the pedagogical space of his ashram to teach 'new' India's potent citizens. A physical manifestation of this pedagogical space, the new body together with the new landscape of material culture offered a context for a new architecture.

Several nationalist architects responded to the Gandhian utopia and attempted to construct it (Gupta 1991). Among them was the prominent Calcutta (now Kolkata) based architect and planner Sris Chandra Chatterjee (1873-1966) who translated the Gandhian pedagogical space of the ashram into a universal 'Indian architecture and human planning' (Chatterjee 1954). His architecture was conceived as a monolithic scheme based on visual symbols taken from India's pre-colonial past – prior to both British and Muslim rule. In his early career during the 1930s and 1940s, Chatterjee had worked as a civil engineer on several renovation projects in Bikaner state. This work was closely related to architect Swinton Jacob's Indo Saracenic style. Chatterjee eventually became interested in the ancient crafts of building and advocated the promotion of a national architecture through a renaissance of old building techniques and metaphoric visual images (Chatterjee 1948). Among his other polemical proposals, an ideal village for three thousands inhabitants added to the then current debate of the appropriate form of village life in post colonial India. His proposal hardly strayed from Gandhian space and was difficult to accommodate within Nehru's socialist development-oriented strategy. However, although Chatterjee was a chairman of the Planning Committee, and Nehru agreed to his suggestion of an Indian Renaissance, in reality, Nehru preferred a modern expression for independent India.

Chatterjee's 'ideal village,' albeit arguing for renewed traditional practices, adopted a strictly regimented modernity - in the uniform setbacks, paved roads, predictable streetscapes, and overall adherence to a modern town-planning ideal. The 'village' reflected the image of a town, in that it hardly connected to an agricultural landscape, but instead assumed distance from daily labour in fields in its very layout. Villages were conceived of as parenthetical entities governed by an ambiguous bureaucracy that differed little from the imperial myth of self-sufficiency. In this regard, Chatterjee's ideal village was an ambivalent concept, on the one hand, it was structured on Gandhi's alternative modernity that conceptualized a non-capitalist economy, subaltern empowerment, a decentralized state, spirituality and a liberal scientific method. On the other, the strategic reformulation of tradition was a response to the expanding home market and the middle class attraction to a modernist

aesthetic. This version of Gandhi's utopia was well appreciated by Chatterjee's political co-terie, but failed to attract support for its practical application.

Patrick Geddes's critique of colonial developmentalism

Patrick Geddes, an internal detractor from the colonial modernist discourse, moved to India in 1914-24 with an invitation from Lord Pentland, Secretary of State for Scotland and the Governor of Madras, to stage his much praised 'Cities and Town Planning Exhibition.' During his stay he was commissioned by princely states and colonial authorities such as municipalities and Town Improvement Trusts. Working within the colonial structure, Geddes accepted it as a positive framework that would bring unity throughout the British Commonwealth. His criticism of colonial 'development' policy was reserved for its submissive attitude and its inability to define 'development' (Geddes 1917). Development as an abstract goal was widely and uncritically adopted in various colonial policies to manage poverty, to tackle civil unrest, to define public health, and thus to devise 'colonial citizenship'. Geddes chose to operate at a pragmatic level, and adopted a micro-level, problem solving attitude. However, in the colonial discourse, 'development' became a strong polemic that determined the trade, exploitation and philosophical relation between the East and the West, between the colonized and the colonizers.

Geddes' pragmatic critique of colonial 'development' policy was two pronged. First, colonialist attitudes rested on assumptions of a passive Indigenous population and second, colonialist development projects over emphasised visual order, based on orthogonal lines. For many colonial endeavours, the role of the immediate users – the colonized 'natives' – were assumed to be passive. As a result, the exclusive imagination, and actions of the various improvement trusts, and municipal engineers took little or no account of the existence of the vernacular. In Geddes' terms, these actions were incongruent with the bio-regional entity of a settlement, and forged the colonial myth that the colonized poor were unaware and incapable of appreciating the potential of their own development. Such presumptions validated authoritarian external operations – the work of municipalities and Improvement Trusts – that sought to create idealistic environments from which the poor would learn what 'development' meant so they would then become desirous of 'real development.' (Geddes 1915: 82).

While colonial authorities denied the existence of a collective desire for development, Geddes argued that the 'desire' already existed but needed to be structured into a civic will that colonial rule had suppressed. Geddes' proposition was radical in the sense that a wilful Indigenous population shaped his development theory: 'Individuals' develop into citizens, ideas will become organized into personal purpose and public life, instead of being diffused and scattered – like new dust over old – as at present (Geddes 1918: 38).

Such evolutionary transformation of individuals into self-developing citizens was politically challenging to the colonial structure as it proposed a public cooperative body capable of dissent, and the drive to advance their own will – in Geddes words 'a body of citizens who will be both desirous and acceptant of expert leadership' (Geddes 1918: 37). Geddes' confrontations with the colonial structure were conditioned by the formation of the evolutionary human being who could be transformed into citizens (Geddes 1915). Similarly Geddes equated the act of forging political will and devising various institutions to retain

that collective will with a tendency to consume natural and nutritional resources. And Geddes proposed that ecological humanism and development theory are universally applicable principles, for both towns and villages, East and West. The proposition gained iconic status through his famous regional planning model the 'valley section.'

Geddes bio-regionalism argued that the conventional understanding of separated and segmented human settlement was limited as it did not comply with the natural laws of evolution and thus 'humanism' (Welter 2003: 187-91). Geddes' humanism was generated from his biological research following Darwin's thesis of 'evolution by natural selection.' The collective existence of a species and variations in its representatives is now considered reflective of surviving characteristics of members best equipped to live in a specific environment. Emphasis was placed on the environmental setting, and environmental knowledge was deemed indispensible to acquire knowledge of a species. Geddes' idea of 'biological region' emerged from this conceptual orientation published with Arthur Thomson in *Life: Outlines of General Biology* (Thomson & Geddes, 1931). In his later career, Geddes emerged as one of the most significant town planners and elaborated his theory to relate human settlement design to the relevant stage in natural evolution. Jacqueline Tyrwhitt – inspired by Geddes' theory of bio-regionalism, and its potential application in a post-war, postcolonial world – extracted passages from his numerous reports produced between 1915 and 1919, and published them in *Geddes in India* (Tyrwhitt 1947). The book, a major influence on contemporary urban planners and architects, was published the same year that India gained Independence from British rule, and it appeared as a guide for the new built environment of the post-war, post-colonial global order.

Geddes in India offered optimism for a post-fascist world of democracy in which ecology would integrate environment, people and its institution – democracy. It related the evolutionary ecological utopia with human settlement, and related the pattern of the built environment with the nature of political institutions. Drawing on the laws of scientific evolution, Geddes argued that any settlement needs to be of an optimum size. While a state's political aspirations strove to broaden its territory, ecological law tends to minimise it, and by balancing these dual forces the sustainability of any settlement and development of political institutions that would encourage human evolution might be achieved. Instead of seeking for an ideal pattern of living, Geddes' evolutionary theory appeared as an eugenic project of natural selection that sought to improve the human condition through a built-environment devised to improve human condition.

The Post-colonial Anti-Utopia

Architecture's failure to produce an appropriate nationalist utopia coincided with a transatlantic endeavour for framing a new utopia in post-independent India. A pre-Independence utopia in which the 'dissenting vernacular man' was the central icon, needed to be redefined to suit the postcolonial context. Entangled in a self-referential cultural code, the Gandhian 'self' lost the ability to address its location in the global market-economy, and in Cold War cultural dynamics (Mazzarella 2010), as earlier presented in Chatterjee's project. The utopian space of the Gandhian village that was a radical inversion of the colonial generalization seemed non-operable in the real politic. The Gandhian utopia was also incompatible with the contemporary theory of development economy that was based on the global trade defi-

cit between the First World, the previous colonizers, and the newly emerging Third World, the previous colonized countries. In the new Cold War global order, development theory was based on two basic principles. First, since it considered the village as a microcosm of development, it abandoned the imperial and Gandhian myths of self sufficiency. In economic theory, self-sufficiency meant an arena incapable of responding beyond its boundary, and thus incapable of addressing any change or adaptation in the evolving socio-economical space. And second, to consider the village as the primary site for Third World development, a new kind of spatial generalization was required in which Third World villages would be conceived within a global network of capital (Preston: 1996). In this changed perception of networked development - the integrated global capital flow - the only universal event was the network itself: the connection through which the village as a Third World identity was to be expressed (Hajer 2000). Within this network the village can retain its unique cultural identity but in order to join market-driven global development it must be rearticulated ceaselessly according to the evolving network.

The conceptual rearticulation of the village as a site of post-colonial development considered villages as internally connected entities, and externally connected with the larger socio-economic context outside the spatial boundaries of the specific village. Scholars such as Milton Singer and McKim Marriot confronted the imperial perception to prove that the apparently introverted Indian villages had deep connections to the outside world, and thus challenged the previous concept of villages as disconnected from global trade (Marriot 1995; Singer 1972). The new wave and next generation of scholarship by William and Charlotte Wiser, Ruth and Stanley Freed, M.N. Srinivas, A.M. Shah and I.P. Desai, described the space of the village as a dialectical result of a caste-based introverted economic system, combined with an open system of intricate networks that connected the inner space with the wider outside (Madam 2010: 9-10). To comply with this paradigm shift, Nehru attempted to give Gandhian a-political subjects a critical edge by assimilating them with global capital flows and endorsing their cultural visibility and spatial existence.

Through various midcentury village reformulation projects India attempted to empower the vernacular within the Cold War global order. In 1945 Albert Mayer, once protagonist of the American Regionalist Movement, met the would-be first Indian Prime Minister, Jawaharlal Nehru with a unique proposal: a sweeping programme of village-based urban redevelopments intended to channel not only the national economy into a Gandhian mould, but also to cultivate the new man of Indian democracy. So began the largest village-reformation project of India to build the 'ideal village' as a representative symbol of the emerging Third World democracy. When Ford Foundation assistance arrived in 1951, this program dared to take up a nation wide scheme of fifteen pilot projects, one in each of the major states. Beginning in 1952, partly because of the availability of US assistance through the Joint Indo-American Technical Cooperation Agreement, the Indian Government decided to devote a substantially increased proportion of its resources to a proliferation of Community Development Projects (CDP) throughout India (Mayer 1998).

More than just a spatial operation or physical improvements of villages – Mayer's village reformation constructed a framework within which village institutions could promote the development of modern citizens who could navigate further development on their own. The emphasis was on pedagogical and administrative reformation to train Village Level Workers (VLW), and young bureaucrats who would help the villagers harness their own

desire for development. The spatial transformation would thus be mobilized as a natural consequence of this desire. Mayer's Pilot Project had major epistemological implications elaborated in a different context by sociologist André Betéille (b.1934), as an anti-utopia (Gupta 2005). Betéille's anti utopian stance stemmed from similar inspiration to produce social institutions and argues that that a utopian erasure of inequality will either fail a social project or will transform it into an autocratic system. An anti-utopian society acknowledges a host of natural inequalities and values universal social policy as its foundation (Betéille 1991: 196). His philosophical emphasis was on the creation of institutions that mediate between the state and its citizens (Betéille: 2000). This particular emphasis on mediating institutions questioned Non Government Organization (NGO) based development. For example, in the case of Mayer's CDP project, when the Ford Foundation assistance came through the state's involvement, the process was dominated by non-state organizations. An ideological skirmish arose around whether or not people should be trained to be capable of desiring and effecting further development. The Foundation's Rapid Expansion Phase (REP), the second phase of the initial CDP, pushed Mayer's anti-utopia too rapidly so that it failed to create successful rural institutions (Sussman 1975).

The other substantial anti-utopian stance was directed by the Associated Cement Companies Ltd. (ACC), an institutional behemoth of the Indian cement factories established in 1936. The ACC attempted to resume rural development through strengthening private ownership, expanding private trade and creating an immediate visual aura of development. The ACC did not confront the main anti-utopia theme that development of citizens' institutions should be the instigation point of development. Whereas Mayer and the Ford Foundation's CDP considered built structures solely as natural and automated consequences of institutions, and therefore to be built by the institutions, the ACC preferred to have the space or built form first, so as to give the institutions a visible form. The main argument of the ACC, obviously derived from trade interest and privatization. They sought to create the primary visible space – a defined site to contain the citizens' institutions for mediating development. One of their earliest efforts was to erect an ideal village for practical demonstration at Virar near Bombay (now Mumbai) in January 1945 (Anonymous 1945: 23-25). In this project the ACC built a few 'cement [sic] concrete' structures for village residences, and various public structures that included cattle sheds, water wells, temples and community rooms. However, as elaborated elsewhere (Karim 2010), the scarcity of resources to achieve a visible modernism constructed the discourse but not physical ideal, in which sporadic efforts of state and NGOs took turns to present and demonstrate an ideal future for citizens to pursue their objectives with their own private resources. Driven by a similar enthusiasm, the invited guests included G.F.S Collins, Adviser to the Governor of Bombay, Sir Charles Bristow, Adviser to the Governor of Bombay, Mr Bedekar, Collector of Thana, Municipal and Public Works Department (PWD) engineers and District Local Board (DLB) members were in agreement on the central theme of the demonstration project – the self-help approach and private trade's intervention into the state's development effort. Tellingly, Collins, the keynote speaker announced that in 'these days of scarcity of practically everything' the appropriate thing to do was to encourage private intervention (ICJ 1945). The colonial rural development effort located at the juncture of a Gandhian and an imperial utopia was thus substantiated by the ACC through privatization of development.

Figure 1 . The ACC's Proposal for an ideal village that is universally applicable at any context. Source: Associate Cement Corporation (ACC), 1949 (?) Our Villages of Tomorrow: How Shall We Build Them?, Bombay: ACC, unpaginated. © ACC

The public imagination of 1950s Indian rural development was dominated by the images ACC presented in *Our Villages of Tomorrow: How Shall We Build Them?* and other similar publications on 'ideal modern living' and 'low cost houses' (ACC 1949). The modern structures of this new village, and the introduction of functions such as a cinema hall and clubhouse, absent in the Gandhian proposition, appeared to be more appropriate, more modern and more practical. The concept of this new village was more compatible with global trade relations, that eventually replaced the Gandhian ascetic utopia of self-reliance. Two themes underpinned this anti-utopian proposition, first the coveted rural sanitation, the visual evidence of an absence of poverty, had to be achieved by using modern materials and modern techniques: concrete. Vernacular materials were to be abandoned outright and throughout to keep with the zeitgeist. The practice of vernacular techniques and aesthetics were only to be practised at a moral level; its presence in material culture was no longer desired. By advocating the local production of concrete hollow blocks – the prescribed unit for constructing the ACC's two-roomed modern genotype – there was an attempt to contract the distance between the production of construction-materials and their consumption on local sites. The ACC also advocated integration of the villagers' unskilled labour with the construction of the development project under the rubric of Self-help. The role of self-help was institutionalised by the UN and prescribed as the official technique to solve the post-war post-colonial housing problems of the Third World (Muzaffar 2007). The ACC also adopted Self-help as its preferred mechanism to substitute the skilled construction workforce as much as possible. With the labour production at a local level, it complied with the UN's global development goal (Muzaffar 2007). However, what was missing in the UN's programme was that while engaging the villagers in an intense construction programme, it overlooked the villagers' real involvement in their original economic sector. The UN defended this criticism by arguing that self-help would only claim the work hours of the unemployed population or that the time was to be carved out solely from their leisure hours (Ward 1982). The ACC on the other

hand painted a nationalist gloss over the entire polemic by clothing the workers in typical Congress attire, to give them a heightened status as sacrificing volunteers.
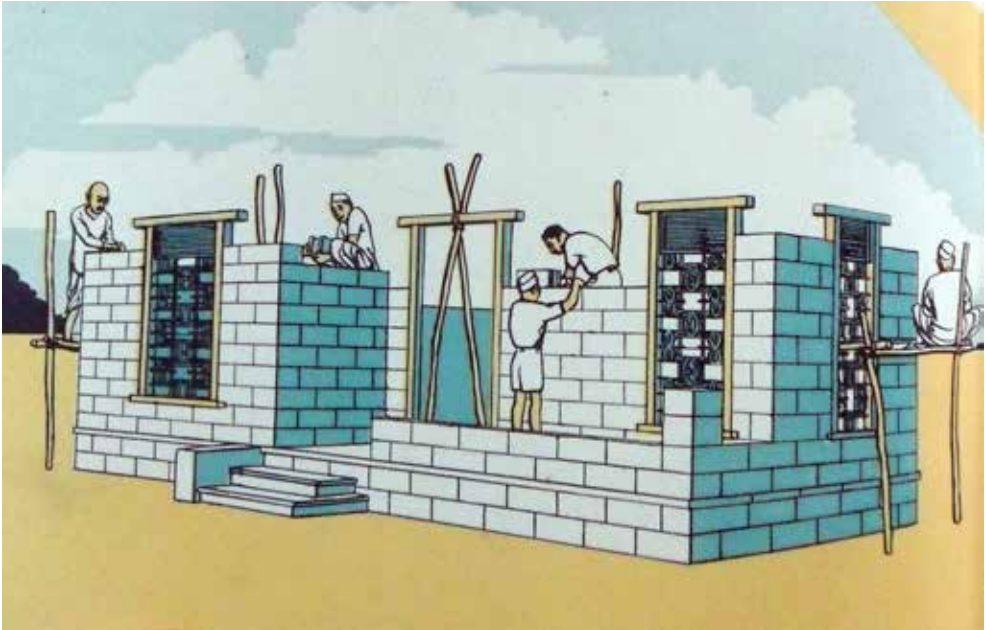

Figure 2. Local villagers construct rural houses by self-help method. Source: Associate Cement Corporation (ACC), 1949 (?) Our Villages of Tomorrow: How Shall We Build Them?, Bombay: ACC, unpaginated. © ACC

The ACC's ideal village was conceived as an amalgamation of various public institutions – institutions that in Betéille's sense would facilitate the formation of citizens. The layout of the village was composed around a central core in which the main building was the Village Hall – the central community building. From this centre, pathways radiated outward to create a systematic layout of radial residential plots. Along with the Village Hall, two other institutions occupied the central core: the Village School and the Rural Health Centre. The Village Hall was proposed as a second level civil institution, and would be required only by a rural community that had already entered a 'developed civic and social life.' This proposition differed from the rural civic life of the colonial imagination in that it did not presume a degenerated rural social and cultural status, rather it assumed only an absence of civic sense and was optimistic that it would gather disconnected actions into a common arena. The ACC Village Hall would provide such a space, as 'its appearance of quiet dignity and good taste, ...[could]... do much to rouse the villagers' spirit of civic consciousness and civic pride' (ACC 1949: 65).

The other interesting addition to the ACC's village core was the cinema. In the 1940s, rural community cinema, only meant for entertainment, was generally considered

to be a space of moral degeneration. The ACC, however, presented the cinema as a didactic space: a timely and effective instrument for mass communication. The booklet reads:

> Not only has it [Cinema] brought with it a new world of entertainment but it has placed in the hands of the rural reformer a most potent weapon of education. By means of the cinema the rural population can be reached easily and effectively…which would surely work a change for the better in the habits of the rural population (ACC 1949: 67).

With the growing concern for global integration, cinema as a form of mass media provided a unique opportunity to inform society at large. Driven by this popular preference and cinema's power to draw a large assembly, the ACC proposed a Rural Cinema Hall as one of its new pedagogical and civic spaces. In a very controversial way the ACC proposed a small town club as its most significant civic space– reminiscent of elitist colonial culture – and a makeshift ladies club formed by rearranging the village well. A gendered conception of human grouping was embedded in these spaces and Jacqueline Tyrwhitt, whose Ideal Village centre for the 1954 Delhi exhibition is the subject of the next section, told us, 'Social life for the woman is at the well very photogenic, and for the men at the panchayat' (TYJ 1954: 32/1a). In this regard, an interesting picture could be found in the ACC's narration of the village well:

> It has from time immemorial been a centre around which the village wives meet and relax for a short half hour from the drudgery of their existence. It should then be more than a bare utilitarian structure. Without erring on the [sic] side of over-elaboration, its design should be such as to please and attract, a sort of informal "Ladies' Club" (ACC 1949: 69).

In addition to this makeshift ladies club, the ACC also imagined a formal village club. This space was considered the culmination of the evolution of rural life into a matured civic society, in which rural society overcomes its inherent gender prejudices and mixes freely. In describing the club's character the ACC states,

> In small towns where social life is developed in a different way from that in villages, a club is a necessity. Here men and woman could spend their evening together playing games or cards, dancing, or just sitting out on the lawns to relax after a hard day's work (ACC 1949: 72).

Such clubs were at the ideological threshold of colonial self, liberal bourgeoisie, and the working class. The clubs assume the presence of a large cohort of domestic servants that support the hard workingmen and women and take over their everyday domestic drudgery, thereby liberating such a civic society to indulge in evening leisure.

Tyrwhitt's ideal village: analogous limbs of the troubled craftsman

Jacqueline Tyrwhitt, being a prominent person in Europe for organizing various intellectual forums of architecture, was invited by the UN in 1954, to mount its first international seminar and exhibition (mainly focused on South Asia) on low cost housing in Delhi. The exhibition had two sections: housing (semi urban and rural) and an ideal village. Tyrwhitt divided the space of the ideal village into two sections: a residential zone and the Village Centre. The residential zone was comprised of six experimental houses and two houses under construction to demonstrate the ease of techniques and the effectiveness of the Self-help method from locally available materials and labour. Each of the houses had its own context, and was designed by various government research organizations. Each showed different understandings of economy and affordable modernism. In this article, however the sole focus is on the Village Centre, the only part in which Tyrwhitt had direct involvement. Tyrwhitt conceived of this centre as an accumulation of three sections: mind, hand, and body. To emphasise a symbiotic interdependence among the parts, she rendered the village as a living organism and made an anthropomorphic analogy in which the mind-hand-body of the organic system works in a harmonized way.

Figure 3. Village Centre at ACC's ideal village. Source: Associate Cement Corporation (ACC), 1949 (?) Our Villages of Tomorrow: How Shall We Build Them?, Bombay: ACC, unpaginated. © ACC.

The mind of the centre was the school building that would also be used as a panchayat meeting place. The multi-use of a single structure, according to Tyrwhitt, indicated the direct relation between the space for learning and the space of responsibility. The main inspiration of the design came from her visit to Gandhi's ashram where she experienced students of various factions and caste backgrounds dining together, and practising spinning as a collective act of moral, and physical discipline (TYJ 1954: 32/1 b). Similar to Gandhi, Tyrwhitt adopted

the disciplined and selfless workers as the foundation of an ideal society. Her school was centred on the practical lessons of horticulture and agriculture but also had a carpenter's bench and a small forge where boys could learn the elements of two of the basic trades apart from their general education of horticulture and agriculture. A 'smokeless chula' (earthen stove) had also been installed where girls could be taught the principles of preparing a balanced diet for their families (UN bulletin 1954; Raju 1947).

Figure 4. Local villagers demonstrating construction of rural houses by the self-help method. Source: United Nation's Bulletin, March 1, 16(5), pp. 186-191, p. 186, © UN.

While the 'mind' processed the information to navigate action, the second section, 'the hand' transformed the action into a meaningful work – 'meaning' in a sense that contributes to the overall development process. The hand was mainly the craft shade, in which the village potters, blacksmith and carpenters demonstrated their skill by producing elements for housing construction: pipes, chulas, cottage tiles, bolts, hooks, latches for doors, window frames and doors. The emphasis on the production of construction material by local craftsmen was driven, along with cost considerations, by the general and pervasive attitude that modern industrialization was destroying Indian culture and craft. This attitude has a long and complex history mediated by various nationalist politics and imperial trade interests (Mathur 2007). Tyrwhitt justified her position by adopting Gandhi's idea of a self-contained village as she quoted from Gandhi's popular remarks:

> The revival of the village is possible only when it is no more exploited. Industrialisation on a mass scale will necessarily lead to passive or active exploitation of the villagers as the problems of occupation and marketing come in. (TYJ 1954: 32/1 c)

The Village Centre conceived of an alternative development: independent of foreign and state aid and through an ingenious application of indigenous working methods. Other than any external intervention, this alternative encouraged internal development processes in which participants were motivated spontaneously to self-develop. (TYJ 1954: 32/1 d). The third section of the Village Centre was 'the body' – a network of managing, disciplining and caring for the corporeal existence of the village. It consisted of a small health clinic, a demonstration of a scientific latrine, and a plant operated solely by the village cooperative for generating methane gas from manure. A village woman boiled water on two chulas using fuel from the plant and a room was lit by a gas burner. Thus, the circle of working villagers was continuous – starting in the 'mind' where the village girls learnt to cook in a 'smokeless *chula*' and finishing in the 'body' where they cooked for the larger society.
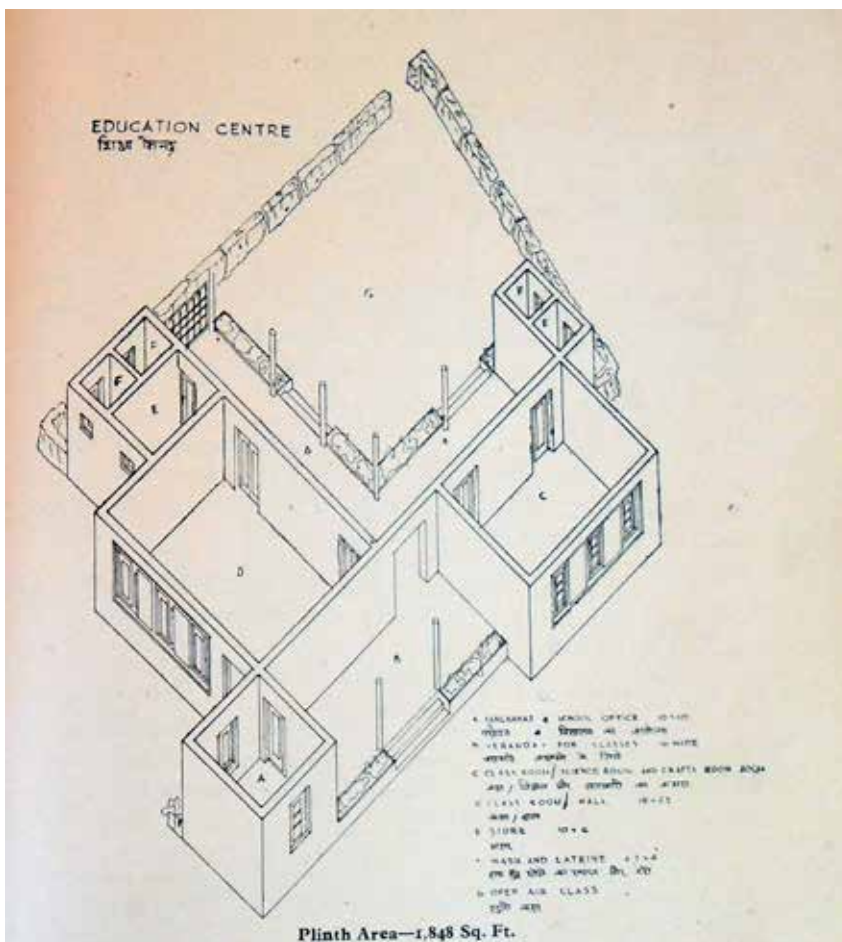

Figure 5. The Education Centre. Source, Government of India, Exhibition Souvenir, International Exhibition on Low Cost Housing, 23. © RIBA.

A replica of Gandhi's hut – a stylised social space in which to practise individual and social liberty through ascetic rituals (Trivedi 2007: 16-17) – eventually proved to be the most popular attraction of the village centre. It was not part of the initial scheme, as the exhibition's focus was more upon new construction methods, using vernacular material and adapting modern space to local demands. The hut was intended more as a technical rather than an aesthetic exhibition. However, Tyrwhitt ultimately became involved in a subtle, political row over the issue of Gandhi's hut. Gandhian disciples, Shrimati Mridula Sarabhai and S.N. Aggarwal, Secretary of the Congress Party, both were exceedingly anxious that Gandhi's views on village improvement were not incorporated in the exhibition (TYJ 1954: 31/9 a). Tyrwhitt was sent to placate Sarabhai, who expressed annoyance, because the Government of India had sent a foreigner to talk to her," (TYJ 1954: 31/9 b). Finally, it was decided that Tyrwhitt would visit Wardha in December and return with a report of Gandhi's ideas that could be incorporated into the exhibition. It seems that in order to avoid political acrimony, Tyrwhitt had already decided to build a replica of Gandhi's hut, appreciated by most of the designers and audiences as the 'most beautiful' (UN Bulletin: 1954) exhibit. Shortly before December, Tyrwhitt set out for Sevagram to study the original hut, and details of her journey, undertaken to understand pastoral India, appear in her daily journal:

> We drove off to Wardha, to Sevagram where we slept on boards and sat on our haunches for hours on end, listening to endless recitals from various scriptures; eating cold porridge made from mixed cereals; contemplating in the chilly hour before the dawn amid the whirr of a hundred and fifty spinning wheels in the dim light of two hundred lanterns … Gandhi was a great teacher – probably a saint … his life in this "ashram" was a sincere attempt to develop an ideal way of conducting the simple life (TYJ 1954: 31/9 b).

Tyrwhitt however could never appreciate the exaggeration of the ascetic life that was practised in Gandhi's ashram. She eventually considered its remaking only instrumental in fulfilling a political stipulation. By forming political difference and cultural uniqueness, Gandhi sought an alternative to the consumerist and capitalist society, and his promotion of 'ascetic domesticity' – a hermit's life in a distant rural Ashram – had major implications for the shaping of the Indian psyche towards postcolonial identity discourse (Parel 1969; Hoeber & Rudolph 2006). However, Gandhi's new India project had an equally unrealizable or utopian dimension that scholars variously identified as anarchic, conservative and reactionary (Young 2001: 337-38). Tyrwhitt felt that Gandhi's ashram and its practised daily life were 'phoney.' She wrote '[A] natural way of life being turned into a formalised religion: inessentials have become exaggerated and codified' (TYJ 1954: 31/9 a). Nevertheless, Tyrwhitt's and many later village based development projects extended Gandhi's concept by problematizing the utopian dimension of his ascetic domesticity and trying to give it a synthesized and seemingly negotiated form that would comply with the situation of India's midcentury aspirations within large-scale industrialization (Patel 2002).

After the close of the exhibition, a number of government and non-government organizations showed their interest in the possibility of erecting similar Village Centres with

the objective of "creating a visible focus of integration for all the different phases of village life – economic, social, educational, etc" (TYJ 1954: 31/9 c). Finally, the Indian Government decided to erect a full-scale replica at the village of Mukhmailpur, located approximately ten miles from Delhi, with a slight enlargement in view of the policy and emphasis relating to this new centre. Treating the village as a spatial container that accommodated an integrated community, with the post exhibition taxidermy of the village centre as 'a veritable museum' (TYJ 1954: 28/7), appeared to be a critique of stylizing the Indian village merely as an 'architectural and demographic entity' (Srinivas 1987). Tyrwhitt's overemphasis on the village centre as an ideal space for containing the village *panchayat* (TYJ 1954: 32/1 e) – an autonomous judicial mechanism – gave the centre a discursive position amidst local power distribution (Guha 2008: 9). Several scholars have shown that Indian villages are, in general, driven by para-political systems (Chakravarti 2004; Frankel et.al 2002) whereby individual leadership emerges as a powerful agent among the various local agencies that operate to maintain the balance between traditional and modern political mechanisms and authority (Madan 2004). Recognition of this has only emerged in the post-Independence period with the implementation of land reform and the introduction of grass roots democracy or *panchayat* (Chakravarti 2004; Guha 2007). In this context, campaigning for a village centre promotes ideal social space for practising grass roots democracy. The UN's association with this kind of endeavour increased its perceived global reach, a fact noted by the Vice President S. Radhakrishnan during the opening ceremony of the exhibition (TYJ 1954: 29/3). The UN's post-war involvement – partly financial but mostly intellectual – in improving the housing conditions of the Third World was to pre-empt any Marxist appeal to poverty-stricken, newly decolonized countries by making First World achievements available for their own development (Mansingh 1976: 156). In this context, the 1954 exhibition, and eventually its preservation as a permanent display, could be understood within the broader perspective of global politics.

Figure 6. The Village Hall. Source: United Nation's Bulletin, March 1, 16(5), pp. 186-191, p. 188. © UN.

Tyrwhitt's vernacularization of the CIAM core

Tyrwhitt devised the Indian Village Centre to be '[b]ased on the CIAM 'core'... an open space enclosed by community buildings'(TYJ 1954: 32/1 f). It showed her interest in CIAM's (Congrès Internationaux d'Architecture Moderne) post-war experiments of a 'core' – a physical and notional meeting point of the community, both in rural and urban areas. The British Modern Architecture Research group (MARS), of which Tyrwhitt was a significant member, organized CIAM's eighth conference in 1951 at the Bridgewater Arts Centre in London (Welter 2001). The central theme of the conference was to reassess the functional myth of modernism and to review CIAM's so-called fifth function, which was to provide a nexus or 'core' to forge a sense of community. The conference discussed aspects of designing new cores, and as well as reviewing those older, and explored a core's capacity to forge a sense of community by attracting people towards a spatial centre. Through the discourse of the core, the conference promoted the idea of a collective yet democratic community in the changed post-war situation (Mumford 2002).

In CIAM 8, Siegfried Gideon's historical (1888-1968) survey of the core's development as an essential and integral part of human-settlement was introduced. This gave the necessary context on which Tyrwhitt and others built various aspects of the core. This collective effort was edited by Sert and Tyrwhitt and was published in 1952 as T*he Heart of the City: Towards the Humanisation of Urban Life*. In the book, Tyrwhitt's essay 'The Core within the Urban Constellation,' expanded CIAM's cumulative effort to incorporate people's ex-

pressive dimensions within the urban environment. Tyrwhitt's view emphasised the every-day experience of the common people instead of heightening the dignity of an urban civic core (TYJ, 1945: 45/6). In Tyrwhitt's remarks she argued that the city core's basic function was to support the 'urban constellation.' This new term introduced by Tyrwhitt described an urban environment that intensified the human habitat, promoted human expression, and subjective emotion that in turn generated a sense of community. It was a methodological strategy that confronted the idea of decentralization and the garden city development and instead created new 'innovative places' for people. Tyrwhitt's idea of an urban constella-tion was crystallized in her visit to György Kepes' 1950 MIT exhibition *The New Landscape* (TYJ 1954: 45/6 b; Kepes, 1956). The exhibition showed a collection of scientific images of biological and physical matter, revealing the inner structure of matter and life through then cutting edge visualization techniques.

Tyrwhitt's adaptation of the CIAM core to an Indian village showed a fundamen-tal shift. The prevalent political dimension of the CIAM core – devising human liberty in a communicative society – was transposed into a cultural project. The dominant perspective shifted radically from perceived uninterrupted communication between individuals and the freedom of society, to the Gandhian spiritualization of the working body and the integration of everyday work into the very nucleus of the core. Tyrwhitt's initial conviction lay in capac-ity of the core for social transformation (TYJ, 1954, 32/1 b). However, in terms of physical materialization of the Indian Village Centre, it did not fully align with CIAM' definition and it sought a new kind of adaptive constellation that had its roots in Patrick Geddes' (1854-1932) idea of ecological humanism and bio regionalism (Tyrwhitt 1947:6).

Tyrwhitt claimed to be 'an ardent disciple of Patrick Geddes' at a time when she was working as the Director of the Association for Planning and Regional Reconstruction (APRR, UK). Its founding director E.A.A Rowse had left for war service and passed the responsibility to Tyrwhitt to train a large number of planners for post-war reconstruction (TYJ 1954: 60/2; Hofer 1971: 121-22). However, she played the central role in disseminating and popularizing Geddes' ideas globally through editing and reproducing Geddes' work. Through her efforts, Geddes' ideas substantially influenced not only Tyrwhitt but also the contemporary gen-eration of architects and designers in forming the alternative strain of CIAM's functionalist credo of modern settlements. Tyrwhitt's global colleagues, the 'UN experts',were deeply influenced by Geddes' development theory in which the village poor were considered as the inception point of Third World development. Geddes' work in India provided a unique foun-dation for the next wave of Western experts, especially since Tyrwhitt and her colleagues championed his approach: a symbiotic modernization process accommodating the appar-ent irrationality of a traditional society.

Conclusion

The postcolonial rendition of an ideal Indian village postulated that there needed to be a dialectical journey of the Indian self from spirit to logic, from underdevelopment to develop-ment – what Ashish Nandy termed an 'ambiguous journey' (Nandy 2001: 72-97). Both the Western architects and the Indian designers and politicians who are discussed in this article appreciated that it was not the pastoral life per-se that was important, but the possibility of its re-articulation to generate a social revolution. This article has followed an inductive

historical method in which selective examples were studied to trace a historical theme, and it is consequently limited in portraying how contesting global and Indigenous stakeholders defined these possibilities. Tyrwhitt and Geddes were discussed in detail, because the focus of this study was to review and challenge the monotheism of Western modernity by reassessing the action of Western agents, and their confrontation with Indigenous bureaucracy and knowledge. During the nineteen thirties and forties, the Indian architects' role in this particular area was crucial. As Nikhil Rao argues, the professional architects were then struggling to define their disciplinary and professional boundaries (Rao 2007). Issues like affordable housing and rural reformation were of secondary importance to the Indian Institute of Architects (IIA). On the other hand, the government effort was mainly concentrated on Industrial Housing Schemes and rural Community Development Projects (CDP). However, the ACC's trade interest perfectly supplemented the CDP and Tyrwhitt's UN project that produced and disseminated Indigenous knowledge of low cost or affordable buildings, and rural reformation. The ACC's vast publications on these matters nevertheless were directly informed by architects and designers – a chapter that is generally overlooked in mainstream scholarship. By tracing the discursive formation of the 'ideal village', this article showed a normative acceptance of architects' anonymity that conceptualized architecture as common sense knowledge or as a collective unconscious. Organisations that employed formally trained Indian architects to design the 'ideal village' forged a very different pattern of knowledge of it. Yet, cumulatively, this pattern of knowledge proposed a new vision of Indian domesticity that could be extended to new social spaces or to a different mode of social relations.

Acknowledgements

End Notes

1. Tyrwhitt was a South African born British landscape architect and urban planner, who also had a diploma in horticulture and lived in Canada, the US and Greece. For an overview of Tyrwhitt's career see (Ekistics 1985).

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Figure 1. Published pictures of the project in Contemporary Indian Architecture: After the Masters (1990) showing picturesque houses clustered around a courtyard, reminiscent of pastoral imagery. Photo credit: Vikram Bhatt

Evaluating 'Lived' Experience in Middle-Class Housing: A Post Occupancy Study at Navi Mumbai

Deepika Mathur

Introduction

The house is a formal space for dwelling shaped by cultural and social practices of sleeping, eating, child-raising and socializing with the community amongst others. The significance of cultural values and everyday experiences to decisions related to dwelling become most apparent in the design of housing. Using Henri Lefebvre's writings (1991; 2002) as an analytical starting point, this paper discusses some influences on the production of domestic space such as economic pressures (affordability, choice of construction materials), changing spatial needs (changing family size and needs) and cultural preferences (types of spaces required, use of space and need for community). It focuses on an architect designed community project in Navi Mumbai, India.

Importance of everyday practices

Although the French theorist Lefebvre's framework for analyzing the 'production of space' is rooted in capitalist societies, there are lessons in his writings which make his work relevant in the Indian context. If we compare urbanization in India with that in industrialized European cities, the main conditions of difference would be organization of labour, system of governance, level of technology and the type of urban growth. According to Breman half the population in India is employed in the 'formal' sector which implies permanent employment with wages, while the other half works in the informal sector (Breman 2006:81). The latter is unorganized but plays an important role in the production of space by contributing a considerable workforce to the construction industry. This, in turn, facilitates a labour-intensive construction industry in India that utilizes very basic and primitive building technologies. Additionally, unlike other industrialized countries, the Indian state maintained a hegemonic control over its cities, before economic liberalization, closely monitoring and determining the direction of urban growth (Deb 2006:341). In the 1980s, after the liberalization of the economy, the socialist welfare attitude of the Indian state was replaced by a capitalist approach. The spatial developments thereafter became similar to those in Euro-

pean countries with changes in land allocation, ownership patterns (Narayanan, 2003:345, Parthasarti, 2002:143-144), infrastructure provision (Kundu 2003, 2001), and with market forces dictating development rather than the state (Shaw and Satish 2007, Kundu, 2003). Therefore it is evident that the factors identified by Lefebvre (1991) such as labour, technology, knowledge, property relations, institutions and the state do impact the production of space in India albeit, differently.

Lefebvre's writings on every day practices expose the political, economic and technical dimensions of space. He defines the 'everyday' as the intersection between private and public, consisting of banal activities as part of daily existence (Lefebvre 2002: vii). He further explains that this level of activity is defined by the gap between everyday activities and the level at which the state, technology and high culture operate. Lefebvre also emphasizes that before industrialization, everyday life was more closely integrated with cultural practices, a reality evident in India, particularly in rural locales. However, in industrialized societies there is an 'increasing disparity between the levels of the everyday and the higher levels...' (Elden, Lebas and Kofman 2003:100-101), and whereas India has not witnessed the forms or levels of industrialization studied by Lefebvre, the nation is at a cross roads where the theory of the everyday has particular relevance.

Lefebvre contrasts the everyday experience of 'lived space' in the domestic environment with 'designed space,' which is the space conceived by architects and other state actors (Lefebvre 1991: 38-39) suggesting that the 'production of space' is an artificial construct, linked to professionalization and governmentality. Conceived or designed space may be understood as spatial designs by planners and architects represented through drawings and other representational abstractions, while 'lived space' is the world of everyday habitation and action. This representational space is based on "self-referential understandings and ideologies linked to production relations" (Prakash 2010:260) where design is approached through the "lens of concepts and codes appropriate for the dominant social order" (Prakash 2010:260). The site becomes the canvas on which the architect organizes houses, dictating how the inhabitants should live.

For an architect, space is only 'a space reduced to blueprints, to mere images' and architectural discourse,' too often imitates or caricatures the discourse of power,' argues Lefebvre, and moreover the architect 'suffers from the delusion that an 'objective' knowledge of 'reality' can be attained by means of graphic representations' (Lefebvre 1991: 361). On the contrary, the actual lived space of the user – of everyday activities – is real and subjective, and cannot necessarily be represented through images. Therefore the manipulation of space so that it projects vernacular architectural attributes, for example, without adaptation to contemporary needs, would, in Lefebvre's terms, be degrading space (Lefebvre 1991: 362).

The abstraction of space from a culturally integrated model to a space produced for specific consumer agendas is and will be increasingly achieved with the mediation of architects. Although this study looks at an example designed before economic liberalization, its lessons are valid for future discussions of housing design. This paper uses the example of Artistes' village in Navi Mumbai to illustrate how an architect's design is challenged by residents who renovate their houses to reflect their cultural preferences and economic choices. The paper first discusses the project and its significance. The next section is a quick summary of the design by the prominent Indian architect, Charles Correa, and it also draws upon the

context of his work known internationally for regionalism and socially relevant architecture. The discussion thereafter picks up the themes of cultural identity, environmental suitability and social sustainability; and criticality interprets the design in terms of 'designed' and 'lived' spaces, the internal contradictions, and its relevance for rapidly urbanizing Indian citizens.

Artistes' Village: the design project

Artiste's Village (AV), located in Navi Mumbai, is a housing prototype developed for a low and middle-income group of residents. Navi Mumbai is an ambitious new town project conceived in the early 1970's by CIDCO (the City and Industrial Development Cooperation), Pravina Mehta (architect planner), Shirish Patel (engineer) and Charles Correa (architect). The main objective cited behind the development of the new town was to decongest the rapidly growing city of Mumbai by moving some economic activities and residential areas from the island of Mumbai to the mainland to its immediate east (Sharma 2000:1). The development is planned around dispersed growth centres called nodes and one such centre is Belapur. Several reputed architects were invited to design housing in the newly developed nodes. Charles Correa, who was appointed the chief architect of CIDCO from 1970 to 1974 (and was also one of the directors of CIDCO) was commissioned to design housing in the Belapur node. Creating Navi Mumbai was a landmark project for Correa and since the primary objective of this new town was accommodating some 2 million people (Frampton 1996: 10-11), he gained an opportunity to express his ideas about mass housing appropriate for a rapidly urbanizing city through the design of Artistes' Village.

Artistes' Village was initially a scheme to house artists from fields such as art, music, sculpture, performing art, architecture, etc., which is why it came to be called Artistes' Village. It was a space 'produced' for a specific group of consumers, who projected an 'aesthetic' identity (interest or involvement in the Fine Arts). Since Mumbai is known for its Marathi and Hindi theatre and has a large population of 'artistes', it was an attempt to introduce their cultural activities in the new town. The houses were subsidized by CIDCO so as to attract 'artistes' from Mumbai to Navi Mumbai.[1] Since the response was low, the scheme was opened to the general public while keeping 25% of the units reserved for people in the arts. Though still known officially as Artistes' Village both in CIDCO records and popularly by the locals, Correa refers to it as 'incremental housing' in his subsequent publications.

Artistes' Village was designed for 550 families and was developed over an area of 5.4 hectares (Khan 1987:70). Varying plot sizes, from 45 to 75 sq. m, accommodated residents from a range of income groups. There were 5 types of houses based on the plot size with minor design variations arising out of specific plot-orientations and location. The resultant design of Artistes' Village is a ground and one storey high-density development with a mix of different size houses laid out in clusters. Each cluster consists of seven houses arranged around a court, which forms the basic module (Fig 1). Three of these modules are clustered around a larger court to form a larger module and this pattern is repeated to achieve the desired number of houses. Although at first glance, the plan seems loose and random, Bhatt and Scriver (1990:93) argue that its order is, in fact, tightly controlled, with clusters repeated in a regimented pattern. The influence for this pattern making could be from Christopher Alexander who had been a source of inspiration for Correa during his years of education in the United States (Frampton 1987). This project is an example where the apparent randomness

is deceptive and is generated by a highly rationalized design strategy.

The Artistes' Village project was first published in 1987 (Khan 1987) and received a great deal of publicity for its inventive incremental design. Even two decades after its completion it remains an iconic project, firstly, because it was designed by Charles Correa who is well known internationally, and secondly, because of the innovative concepts it used. It has become one of the 'must see' projects in Mumbai for architecture students and visitors interested in contemporary Indian architecture. Since then it has been repeatedly analysed and published in *Contemporary Indian Architecture: After the Masters* (Bhatt & Scriver 1990), *Housing and Urbanization* (Correa 1999), T*he Making of Navi Mumbai* (Shaw 2004), *Issues in Urban Development: A Case of Navi Mumbai* (Sharma & Sita 2001), *Charles Correa* (Correa 1996), S*lumdogs vs Millionaires: balancing Urban informality and Global Modernity in Mumbai India* (Chalana 2010). The pictures in the architectural journals and books mentioned above show small picturesque houses with red tiled roofs arranged around courts in conjunction with images of cows and villagers, reminiscent of pastoral imagery (Fig 2). The pictures represented a nostalgic view of village life and an idyllic lifestyle unachievable in a conventional urban centre. This preference reflected Correa's approach to architecture.

Correa as a "Third World' designer

Correa's architecture is well known for its 'critical regionalist' approach, a term initially used by Tzonis and Lefaivre and then made popular by Frampton (1983) in reference to European and American examples. "The fundamental strategy of Critical Regionalism," wrote Frampton, "is to mediate the impact of universal civilization with elements derived *indirectly* from the peculiarities of a particular place" (Frampton 1983: 21). Critical-regionalist architecture was meant to promote local cultural and technological practices as a reaction against the universal modernist style that fostered place-less-ness. The focus was on moving away from universal technologies and solutions with a design reflecting the locality and place through local materials and climatic responses. Since Frampton argues that critical regionalism is a process and not a style, by adopting this 'process' of design, Correa's work resonated with that of regionally located architects like Geoffrey Bawa in Sri Lanka, but also with other non-Western architects like Hassan Fathy in Egypt and Tadao Ando in Japan.

Lim and Tan point out that the notions of identity are intricately related to traditions (Lim and Tan 1998) and from the 1970s, prominent figures in the architectural profession conceived and produced Indian identity through a revival of regional themes. These themes were initially advanced in a 1985 seminar in Dhaka, 'Regionalism in Architecture', where local interpretations of regional attributes were aired (Powell 1985). Later, this interpretation was linked to the Western critical regionalist debate, with Frampton invited to write an introduction to a monograph on Correa's work (Correa 1996). Some of Correa' projects that combine the modern with the local are Gandhi Smarak Sangrahalaya, National Crafts Museum and JN centre for Advanced Research and Koramangala house (Correa 1996). The simple design of Gandhi Smarak Sangrahalaya with rooms casually arranged around a meandering path and constructed of tiled roof, brick walls and stone floors communicates a sense of place. Similarly the Crafts Museum, according to Correa, is the 'metaphor for an Indian street' (Correa 1996:35) in which exhibition spaces are clustered around inter-

connected courts. Kenneth Frampton observes"…Correa's preoccupation with what he call "open-to-sky space" …irrespective of its many variations, is still a pervasive theme in his architecture" (Correa 1996). Apart from being accepted as cultural symbols these buildings also responded to local climatic conditions. Open to sky spaces or the courtyards that provide light and ventilation to spaces around them, filtering the harsh sunlight.

Prakash suggests that Indian planners and designers, in order to be modern and at the same time different, like to maintain a link to India's past (Prakash 2010: 263). Often as in the case of Artistes' Village, this is achieved via a return to vernacular imagery. Mennon, critical of the regionalist approach, argues that Indian architects publicized in the Western media produce architecture that serves the purpose of creating an artificial image of a specific Indian architecture. He adds that such architecture does not necessarily serve Indians interests to the extent that it serves the non-Indian markets (Menon 2000). A similar view is held by Eggener who asserts that regionalism is a construct imposed and validated by Western positions of power (Eggener 2002:228). It is likely that first Correa's education at the University of Michigan and at Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT) and subsequently his teaching at MIT had some influence on his approach to architecture in India, especially regarding urban issues.

Correa's work equally reflects social issues resulting from rapid urbanization in India such as the low-income housing crisis. Addressing issues of urbanization and housing Correa writes in the foreword of his book,

> … The contents of this book address a range of issues concerning a great many sections of our society, from the poorest to the most wealthy. And working here in India, one is constantly aware that the solutions have to be kept simple as possible, using only locally available materials, in technologies that are almost timeless. This is of course the great advantage of the life in the Third World. The issues are so much bigger than you are (Correa 1999:7).

Correa constantly reiterates that there are invaluable lessons in traditional construction systems, not only in terms of aesthetics but also for the 'appropriate socio-economic processes involved in their production' (1985:42). By this, he means that traditional construction is from locally sourced materials (and therefore cheap) and constructed by local craftsmen (and therefore supports the local economy).

Bhatt and Scriver explain that in post independent India, architects often tried to bring about social change and that this was possibly due to the socialist strains within modernism (Bhatt & Scriver 1990:89). They mention two types of architects involved with issues of development in India: one, the activists who eschew their middle class lifestyle and do hands on work with the poor and the other, those who successfully collaborate with the Government to bring out new solutions to urbanization and housing, in order to replace existing limited design interventions (Bhatt and Scriver 1990:90). Correa's work can be seen as a good example of the second category of architects. As mentioned earlier, Correa along with others had advocated the creation of Navi Mumbai, a suggestion that was ultimately implemented by the Government.

Correa's work is not only an important influence for architects in the developing

world but is also labelled developing world architecture in the international arena. Not only have his projects been published internationally in journals such as *Architectural Review* (London), *Architectural Design* (London), *Mimar* (Singapore), *L'Archectura* (Rome), *Architectural Record* (New York), *Casabella* (Milan), *Techniques & Architecture* (Paris) (Correa 1999:140), he has also contributed essays to several of the journals mentioned above. His wide ranging list of publications, which are still in circulation, have situated Correa's as an "exceptional Third World architect working between the tenets of international Modernism and Third World conditions" (Panicker 2008:86). Artistes' village figures prominently as a project through which Correa realised his design approach to cultural identity, climate and social sustainability.

Artistes' village: the designed experience

Correa gives an idealized example of village life in his book *The New Landscape* (1985:33), "The people (in Village) are poor, in fact perhaps even poorer, but they are not so dehumanized. In the village environment, there is always a space to meet and talk, to cook, to wash clothes. There is always a place for the children to play. Need we take a look at how these same activities occur in our cities?"

The idealisation of rural life is apparent in the design for Artistes village where the clusters of low rise, high density houses were reminiscent of village houses and the illustrations for the project projected a bucolic ambience. This contrived cultural imagery was taken further by designing the houses with a single multipurpose room, similar to traditional settlements, where this enclosed space would be used for sleeping, a verandah used for entertaining guests, and a kitchen and the rest of the plot maintained as an open-to-sky area. He justifies this design in his book 'The New Landscape', which was published in 1985, after the completion of this project.

Through this publication, Correa raises issues of rapid urbanization and planning for a new city and also of housing for lower income groups. He enumerates four hierarchical elements that would typically illustrate living needs in India. Firstly, private spaces for cooking and sleeping followed by the threshold areas where you meet your neighbour, thirdly neighbourhood meeting spaces and lastly the common urban area –common to the whole city (Correa 1985:34). Correa applies the same concept of hierarchical spaces in the design for Artistes' Village. Through 'The New Landscape' he also promotes the concept of low rise high density housing, explaining its relevance to Indian socio-economic conditions. The book with its simple, clear line-diagrams and easy text makes a convincing argument for the growth pattern proposed for Navi Mumbai and the mass housing of Artistes' Village.

Correa's orientation towards social issues is apparent in this book. He explains the rationale for having low rise, high density housing which can be increased incrementally. Incremental housing, he argues, can grow and change with the changing economic conditions of the owner, is closer to the Indian social and cultural living patterns, takes less time to construct and does not need expensive construction materials or construction technologies (1985:51-52).

Correa's advocacy of low-rise high-density development instead of market driven high-rise development was unusual for Mumbai. He further explains his preference as cost-conscious, citing the high cost of production for high-rise housing. He argues that specifica-

tions for single to five storied buildings compared to those for twenty storey buildings vary enormously and a range of low cost materials can be used for the construction of a single storied house. The use of commonly available construction materials such as bricks, clay tiles, cement and timber; a superstructure constructed from load-bearing brick walls with a roof of clay (Mangalore or Marseille) tiles; in-situ cement flooring, internal walls finished in smooth finish neeru (lime slurry) render and external walls finished in a rough sand-finished cement render (Specifications in CIDCO drawing 141/2 of Artistes Village) are all achievable locally, according to Correa, without employing specialist trades.

The arguments advanced by Correa seem praiseworthy. After all, flexibility, incremental growth, open-to-sky spaces and low-rise, high density environments appear laudable motivations for design in the 'Third World'. This is the descriptor that has won him many accolades including the RIBA gold medal in 1984. The ultimate test is the success of the scheme and the satisfaction of the users – an assessment that should be based on their 'lived experience'.

Artistes' village: the lived experience

The 'lived experience' of the Artistes Village was investigated through a case study approach including data collection via interviews, on-site observations and published materials. However, semi-structured interviews of the inhabitants provided the most significant material for this project. The interviewees were selected to ensure that they represented a) those who owned property; b) those who rented it; c) those who had made major modifications to the original house; d) those who had made minor modifications and e) residents of different house types.

The interviews were semi-structured in order to give the interviewees an opportunity to freely discuss various aspects of living in Artistes' Village and were conducted in Hindi and English, depending on the comfort level of each respondent.

The respondents, typically, were first-time home owners who had moved out of the high density high-rise housing of Mumbai and the informants interviewed belonged to the lower and middle-income group. Most of them were home-owners and few rented their homes. Although urbanized in terms of lifestyle, the demographic was a mix of nuclear families and extended families where each nuclear family typically included two adults and their children while the extended family included grandparents or young adults. The occupations of the interviewees ranged from self-employed and public servants to people in private employment.

These interviews provided valuable insights into the satisfaction or dissatisfaction of resident-experience. The aim was not to arrive at generalizations but to understand design issues from the users' perspective, and to do this, moreover, after a period of habitation.

At the time of the fieldwork, twenty years after completion, the houses were completely transformed from their earlier idyllic imagery and they had little resemblance to the houses that the architect had designed and envisaged. Instead of independent load-bearing structures with one or two stories, the new houses were two or three-storey concrete-frame structures covering almost the entire plot (Fig 3). Houses that had once been described, as "petite cottages with colourful shutters and exaggerated gables" now resembled typical mid-

dle class plotted developments found in any small town or suburb, both in terms of imagery and construction practices (Bhatt and Scriver 1990:93). However, in his public presentations of the project Correa still uses the images published in 1987, which no longer provide an accurate representation of its current condition (Inaba, C-Lab 2010:178).

Once transformed, the houses resemble freestanding homes on crowded plots. Their new exteriors with finishes of painted cement-render or stone cladding with metal balustrades are typical of middle class housing in post colonial India (Evenson 1989:235). Whereas modernist architects shun references to traditional ornamentation, the homeowners are quite content to own a modern bungalow embellished with ornamentation in a local style. It is quite evident that the residents of Artistes' Village have rejected the architect's vision of the village vernacular and transformed their environment along the lines of conventional middle class housing.

Conflicting or overlapping design objectives revealed inherent contradictions in the scheme. For example, the courtyards in individual houses were meant to function as open-to-sky spaces for light and ventilation but, due to the rigid cluster design, they could not always be oriented towards the appropriate direction. As a result, most of them do not give adequate protection from the elements. Likewise, the larger open-to-sky spaces or the community spaces do generate a sense of familiarity between the residents but are frequently encroached upon. The low cost materials and associated technology did not lead towards incremental construction, nor did the vernacular imagery and house layouts match the aspirations and sense of privacy of an urban middle class population. Disparities in the outcomes of 'designed' and 'lived' housing suggest a need to review the design concepts employed.

Although the architect's plans and images did resemble traditional housing of the early the 1900s, the spatial needs of domestic architecture had moved on in the 1980s. It has been argued that architecture needs to be in harmony with modern life-styles reflected through changing trends in food, dress, habits, family structures, social customs as well as social roles of various family members (Evenson 1989:69; Rapoport 1990:10).[2] One assumes that the building renovations that took place in the Artistes' Village reflect such real requirements and lifestyle changes of the occupants.

The changed buildings had a specific room for each activity instead of one multi-purpose room. The modern Indian home, modelled after the colonial bungalow, now accommodates different domestic activities, new appliances and furniture. It requires rooms for specific functions rather than a large room accommodating several activities (Lawrence 1987:113).[3] For example, the traditional Indian custom of eating meals whilst sitting on the floor can be accommodated in a single multipurpose room, but the Western habit of dining at a table suggests a specific room for eating (Bahga, Bahga, and Bahga 1997: 7).[4] Since the FSI (Floor Space Index) permitted expansion, most residents added a floor to accommodate more rooms. The much celebrated 'open-to-sky' space was reduced to that mandated by regulations. The new constructions illustrated how little value was placed by residents on open space when compared with covered space (Fig 4).

In the new constructions, the separation of the single room into bedrooms and a living room also reflects the changing privacy needs of urban dwellers. This was especially true in houses with growing children where it was observed that individual members had a variable need for privacy. This privacy was not, as Willis explains, an effort to isolate oneself but to be able to carry out certain activities without the interference of others (Willis 1963).

For example, a separate living room meant that some members of the family could watch TV without disturbing the others.

While redesigning and rebuilding their homes, the residents also had the opportunity for self-expression. The housing was liberated from a mass housing prototype into a scheme where each dwelling was unique in expression. Amos Rapoport (1968: 303) argues for the need for self expression in housing: 'The general symbolic and emotional ties with the house, the need to territorialize and personalize, the need for expression, may be more important than physical flexibility, although they are related.' We must credit Correa for anticipating self expression in the Artistes' village, which he thought to be one of the strengths of low-rise housing.

The climatic rationale of open-to-sky spaces was also extended to the hierarchy of open spaces in the design of clusters. Despite Correa's argument that climate was one of the determinants for cluster design and 'open-to-sky' spaces, the geometry of clusters seemed to take precedence over all other aspects. The houses around a typical cluster did not make concessions for solar orientation but were simply fixed by their position in the cluster. Solar passive responses were ignored in spite of all proclamations to the contrary. Conventional means of acquiring thermal comfort such as air-conditioning, ceiling fans, etc., were required. Simple devices such as sun shades were not adequately designed to provide protection against Mumbai's south-westerly sun or driving rain.

The architect's intent was to generate a sense of community through the clustering of housing around shared public courts (open spaces) designed at a human scale. Small courts had seven houses around them and the larger courts had three such clusters enclosing them. In Correa's design, pedestrian paths around the courts increased interaction of the inhabitants around and across the open space, hopefully inculcating a community feeling through familiarity and chance encounters. The interviews revealed that the ensemble of low-rise housing and shared communal open spaces certainly led to a higher familiarity and interaction between the residents. Typically streets were the most common place for social interaction while going to and or returning from work. In one instance, the interviewee mentioned, "Our front door is always open. I have a chat with neighbours when they are passing by" (Kulkarni 2005, interview 24 July). Cluster design facilitated socialization in the neighbourhood and in forming closer associations with neighbours around the court. For example, an inhabitant observed that they knew everyone in their cluster and whenever there was a family celebration in their house all the neighbours were invited to celebrate (Kamble 2005, interview 25 July).

However, increased density demands a greater need to understand the complex relationship between people and environments in regards to privacy. Although there was a strong sense of community amongst the residents, several members complained about the lack of privacy and complained of being overheard by the neighbouring house (Menezes 2005, interview 22 July). Another grumbled, rather humorously, 'We cannot even fight without the neighbours overhearing it' (Lobo 2005, interview 22 July). Although there is no absolute criterion for maintaining privacy, it is construed as a dynamic need where one has a choice as to when to allow access to the family (Pollack and Menconi 2005:2). The concept of privacy appears to be a middle class concern, clearly related to the individuation of family units in middle-income groups and maybe influenced by what is expected of an ideal home-environment.

One resident mentioned his discussion with Correa regarding cluster design and privacy as follows:

> I had a discussion with Correa once and he said that he had designed the housing with the criteria that one can see the doors of six other houses from your window. This does not happen in an apartment situation. This is community living concept. If you want privacy then shut your window. This design gives us sufficient privacy and at the same time a connection (Ajgaonkar 2005, interview 23 July).

On the one hand, the provision of these semi public spaces led to a sense of community; while on the other hand, it created problems of encroachment and maintenance. Several irregular spaces, neither private nor public and labelled 'incidental' spaces in CIDCO drawings, were generated by the informal clustering, and in the absence of enforced regulations, they became a problem. The residents were constantly encroaching upon them, first, by fencing them off and later, by placing a temporary roof or permanent structure (Adusimilli, 2000: interview 25 July) (Fig 5). Several residents resented such encroachments and complained to CIDCO. Thus, in some situations, the design of irregular open-to-sky spaces led to conflict.

Jamel Akbar (1988: 14) criticizes the simulation of semi- public spaces derived from traditional settlements. He points out that architects use 'private, semi-private and semi-public spaces without fully understanding the dynamic relationship between form and responsibility'. He further explains that residents look after the streets for which they share a sense of ownership. In the case of a street that acts like a thoroughfare, there is little sense of ownership. Conflicts occur when people who use the street are not those who control the street or those that maintain it, because the users have no interest in maintaining a street that is someone else's responsibility. In the Artistes' Village, the development regulations are laid down by the developers CIDCO, the maintenance is provided by the Municipal Corporation and the users are the residents. This overlapping of responsibilities results in the users encroaching upon residual spaces and unoccupied open spaces are neglected.

In Mumbai's multi-storied apartments, issues of encroachments and maintenance are taken care of by self-regulatory committees called cooperative societies. In fact, it is mandatory for all high-rise housings to have co-operative societies and the developer is legally required to register the society at the time of hand over. These are non-commercial societies registered under Maharashtra Cooperative Society Act of 1960 and follow the Model Byelaws laid out in the Act. Apart from maintenance, the society also facilitates the transfer of property shares at the time of a sale, since each member holds a share rather than outright part-ownership of the land on which the building sits.

Artistes' Villages has been construed as a plotted development where the criteria of property shares or cooperative society are not legally binding. However, several clusters voluntarily formed unregistered societies for the upkeep of their cluster. They were to ensure that public courtyards and community open spaces are kept clean and that gardens were maintained. However, in the absence of a legal mandate, these societies became dysfunctional and people lost interest or became too busy to maintain them. At the time of fieldwork there was only one registered and functioning society for a group of 24 houses.

The democratically elected committee that runs it ensures security, cleanliness and also maintains the central green area by employing gardener and security staff. One of the founding members of this society explains,

> We have employed a round the clock security, a gardener to maintain the central green area and a sweeper to clean the area and collect the garbage. It is the first environment movement here. It is simple- if you see dirt, then you will throw dirt there. But if you see a beautiful area you will hesitate before even throwing a matchstick there (Ajgaonkar 2005, interview 23 July).

The committee meets monthly (or as necessary) at a member's house enhancing social interaction and cohesion between members. Correa's design of high density low rise housing was one of the major factors that attracted the residents to this project. Space being at a premium in the island-city, the only affordable housing-type that a middle class family can own in Mumbai is a flat in multi-storied apartment block. All the interviewees had migrated from the island-city of Mumbai where land prices were high compared to those at the Artistes' Village. Since land in Navi Mumbai is comparatively cheaper, a larger piece of land was procurable for the same price as a small flat in Mumbai's outer suburbs; it was a better economic investment and a dream come true. One resident explained his decision to a buy house in Artiste village as follows:

> I have been living in flats for 20 years and wanted a ground floor house. The advantage is when one buys a flat one pays for super built-up[5] area. Here whatever I have paid for, I have got (Kamle 2005, interview 24 July).

Another resident who had shifted from a chawl[6] mentioned his reasons as:

> The home where I was born and brought up was in a chawl in Lalbaug in Lower Parel. Before shifting, there was my mother, sister and the two of us. We felt a shortage of space. As I was brought up in chawl, I decided my house would not be in an apartment. I wanted a garden in the front and a courtyard at the back (Ajgaonkar 2005, interview July 23).

Both the above-mentioned residents now lived in a detached house knowing they have the option of expanding and modifying their house to meet their changing needs. This is empowering for the owners as the product after renovations is more suited to each individual owner's lifestyle and space requirements. Hence it seems appropriate that the architect designed low rise detached units as opposed to high rise apartment blocks, anticipating their changing circumstances. And yet, although Correa anticipated changes to the original design, most of the interviewees were very critical and unhappy with the layout. As one resident explained:

> Earlier this was a very small house. If two people stood in the hall there was no space left. There was no ventilation in the kitchen. I have fallen

> down from the steps several times. We managed as we were financially not very well off. The minute we could afford, we changed it. In 1996 we demolished the house and reconstructed it (Radha 2005, interview July 24).

Consequently, many residents lived in the original house, unchanged for up to 6 to 8 years renovating or modifying it when they were financially able to. A considerable amount of their savings would have been expended in buying the house in the first instance and it would be a few years before additional savings could be accumulated for renovations. A certain number of years may also have been required at a workplace to qualify for a loan, delve into one's provident fund or to use insurance policies as collateral.

Admittedly, the options of housing finance were limited in the past and it is only in the last two decades, with the liberalization of the housing finance sector, that house loans have become easily available. Whereas the Housing And Urban Development Corporation (HUDCO) was the only public sector or government owned housing finance company until the early 1980s, the privately established Housing Development Finance Corporation (HDFC) and the National Housing Bank (NHB) (in the 1990s) (Shah 2002) have been created to fulfil such needs. As HDFC services the upper (affluent) classes and retail sector, it was only through NHB, which had a regulatory and refinancing role, that banking funds were channelled to housing (Shah, 2002). This housing finance was only provided by insurance corporations and the employee provident fund. Therefore, the decisions to modify or buy a house were determined by one's savings. These savings, supplemented by a loan from insurance companies or the individual's provident fund (superannuation), would finance house ownership or renovations. And yet, despite these difficulties, residents sought to overcome the limitations of the design.

With changing spatial needs, it was difficult to reposition the load-bearing walls of the original house and major reconstruction was required to suitably modify the structure. Therefore the residents used framed concrete structures with brick infill walls or cement blocks and concrete flat roof – shifting to newer and more expensive technologies. This became the preferred structural system due to its flexibility, but, there could have been many other reasons such as - easy access to cement, steel and bricks; contractors favouring this because of familiarity with the system; and lack of dissemination of information about other low-cost construction systems. When the structure for the new house was designed, owners ensured that the foundations were capable of bearing three floors so that the next generation had the option of expansion. Though far more expensive, the framed structures had the advantage of being flexible and hence allowing for incremental expansion or modification.

Such changes suggest that the policies of economic liberalization introduced in the 1990s have had a significant impact in changing the socio-spatial aspirations of middle classes Indians. Studies show a rise in consumer culture due to newly available commodities, higher wages and a projection through the media of aspirational new lifestyles (Fernandes 2000:88). It has been suggested that there is a direct relationship between the emergence of a large middle class and increased investment in the housing sector (Nijman 2006:759). As the middle class grows from the current 250 million to 800 million by 2020, their borrowing for buying or renovating housing will be a significant portion of the national wealth (Karnad 2010:43).

Conclusions

From the above discussion it is clear that the design approaches adopted by the architect in his quest for sustainable outcomes were only partially successful. The architect attempted to graft a design more suitable to rural lifestyles onto an urban context. The renovated/re-constructed two-storied semi-detached houses were a more astute expression of an urban lifestyle than the quaint rural style houses designed by the architect.

The one and two-room tenements could not satisfy the middle class urban dwellers whose sense of land ownership, privacy, spatial needs, capacity for controlling and changing their environment were conditioned by apartment living. Though the cluster planning did foster social networks and increased interaction between residents, the absence of a community-based regulatory authority led to encroachments and maintenance problems.

The criteria addressed by the architect, although valid, were masked by the architect's own agenda of producing an idealised model based on traditional Indian housing. It fitted into a discourse produced for a Western audience ignoring the processes of modernity in India. This was a result of the architect's own Western education and was prompted by the prerogatives of Western discourses and publications, rather than engagement in and understanding of the 'lived experience' of locals.

The architect's identity, contribution and self-construction through the project has receded, and in many examples been effaced by user modifications. The architect is reduced to a service provider whose product has been found wanting. As consumer capacity and urban growth place fresh demands on housing the pressure to address socio-cultural aspirations will increase. Post occupancy studies suggest that user experience plays an important role in teaching architects how to incorporate socio-cultural agendas into the planning process as well as at the level of house design, so that long term goals are not lost to immediate needs. The concept of incremental housing and cluster planning can be a successful strategy for attaining sustainable outcomes provided lessons from such studies are sought after by practitioners.

End Notes

1. The concept for an artiste's village might have been derived from the Choladamandalam Artists Village on the outskirts of Chennai. It was established in 1964 as a residential art school where the artists from different fields lived together as a community.

2. Rapoport argues that the notion of culture is too abstract to understand in terms of built form. He suggests that social expressions of culture such as groups, family structures, institutions, social networks, status relations that are reflected in the built form can be used to understand cultural influences.

3. Lawrence discusses development of house designs from the mid-nineteenth century with respect to the definition of a modern sanitary house as well as from the aesthetic requirements of the modern movement. He mentions one of the implications on design as change from several activities taking place in a room to the modern house including rooms for specific purpose.

4.   Bahga, et al. discuss engineer R.S.Deshpande's writings where he advocates adopting Western models of houses as well as Western furniture.

5. 'Super built up area' includes a share of the common facilities like lifts and lobbies

6. A chawl refers to a late nineteenth to early twentieth century industrial housing typology for Mumbai. Typically, it implies a series of single room tenements strung along a balcony that doubles up as corridor access to the tenements. The toilets and sanitation facilities are shared and centrally located on each floor of the usually 4- 5-storeyed structure.

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Figure 2: Published pictures of the project in Contemporary Indian Architecture: After the Masters(1990) showing picturesque houses clustered around a courtyard, reminiscent of pastoral imagery. Photo credit: Vikram Bhatt

Figure 3: Example of a modified house with an exterior finish of painted cement render appropriating the architect's vision of the village vernacular and turning it into conventional middle class housing Photo credit: author

Figure 4: Twenty years after completion, the houses and the courtyard are completely transformed from their earlier idyllic village imagery. Photo credit: author

Figure 5: Residual space encroached upon by a resident. Photo credit: author
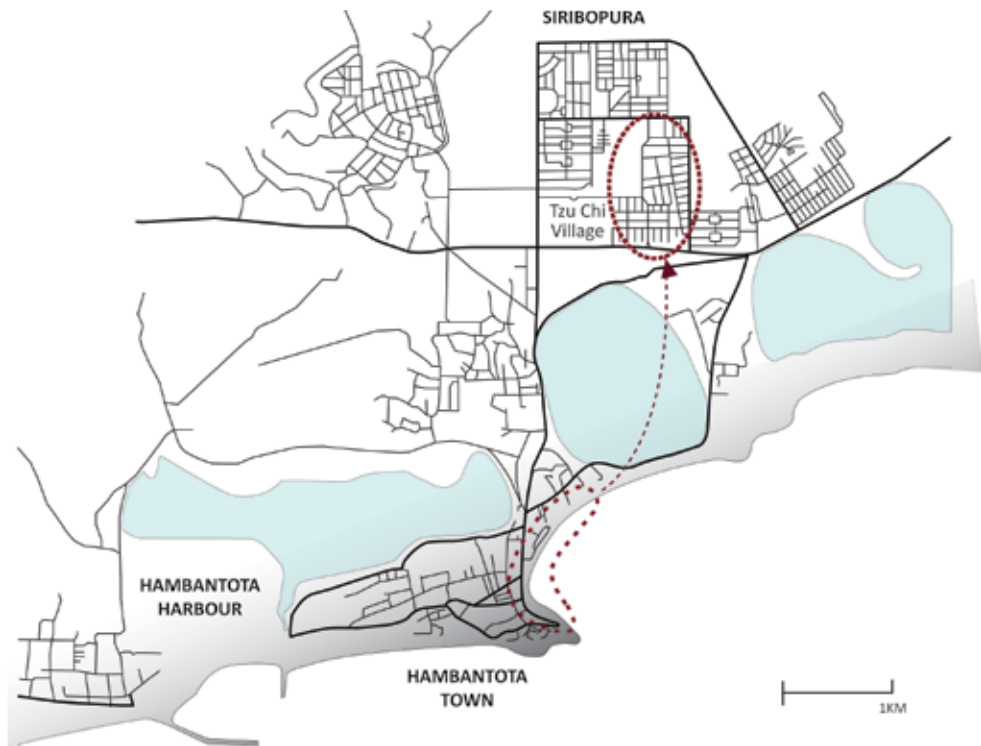
Figure 1: Relocated New Town of Siribopura (Source: author).

Religious NGO Housing: Buddhist Tzu Chi Foundation's Post-tsunami Resettlement in Sri Lanka

Ted Yu Shen Chen

Introduction

Religion is a sensitive and complex issue in post-disaster reconstruction. This has been recognised in the literature on many fronts, in particular by the need for greater sympathy towards local religious cultures in housing designs (Barakat 2003). In Sri Lanka these include simple but often neglected considerations such as care in the position of toilets and windows as some Muslim communities cannot accept places of ablution inside the house and avoidance of eye-level windows into the women's sleeping areas. Religious sensitive considerations can also include larger ceremonial cultures during construction; for example some families may seek Buddhist priests to chant the pirith (for cleansing and protection) when laying the foundation stone or abide by auspicious times when breaking earth and laying the main ridge beam. It can also include broader planning considerations such as traditional Hindu houses in Sri Lanka (Kalaeswaran 1988) that have particular orientation and spatial sequence requirements that satisfy the residents' religious and spiritual relationships with the environment.

Research in the development context suggests that religious NGOs (RNGOs) have a higher level of sensitivity to the needs of religious communities and can contribute to the effectiveness of aid delivery (Ali 1992; Fountain et al. 2004; Merli 2005). However, little is known about how RNGOs behave when it comes to housing reconstruction. The literature suggests that there is no distinct differences between permanent post-disaster housing built by a RNGO as opposed to any other NGO (Ahmed 2011; Lyons 2009; Nakazato and Murao 2007; Shaw and Ahmed 2010). This paper aims to shed light on this issue by delving deeper into the behaviours of RNGOs, their operations, motivations and how these can influence their delivery of housing in the context of disaster recovery.

The case study for this paper is based on the Hambantota District which was second among the worst affected areas in Sri Lanka with more than 4,000 houses damaged (Government of Sri Lanka 2005: 12). Most of the survivors were relocated to the 'New Town' of Siribopura where more than 1,500 permanent houses were built on a 240 hectare site (Integrated Regional Information Networks 2007). This was the largest tsunami hous-

ing precinct in Sri Lanka located four kilometres north of the affected coastal Hambantota Town where most of the residents were relocated from (Fig 1). Within the context of this post disaster reconstruction the Government of Sri Lanka (GoSL) also intended to take the opportunity to rebuild Hambantota District as the second urban capital of the country. This agenda was personally driven by President Mahinda Rajapaksa who wanted to develop his home town and use it as a national showcase for 'Building Back Better' (Mulligan and Nadarajah 2010: 10).

Since the GoSL chose to withdraw from reconstruction due to a lack of funds and ministerial capacities (Shaw and Ahmed 2010: 4), this opened up the opportunity for large scale donor agency intervention in housing reconstruction. In Hambantota, these agencies included international-secular NGOs such as the Red Cross, Care, Oxfam and Plan; private companies such as Colliers International and Hydropower international; a group of Sri Lankan philanthropists and RNGOs including one Christian NGO (World Vision Lanka) and ten Buddhist NGOs (Table 1).

The existing literature surrounding the post-tsunami housing reconstruction experience in Sri Lanka stops at identifying these donor agencies, with little insight on their diverse building practices. This paper aims to unpack the risks and rewards of RNGO interventions; in particular the Buddhist RNGOs, given their prominence in Hambantota and pertinence in the Sri Lankan context as a Buddhist majority country. The RNGO case study for this paper is the Buddhist Compassion Relief Tzu Chi Foundation (hereafter Tzu Chi) from Taiwan: the single most significant housing contributor in Hambantota with a resettlement village that was the centrepiece for Siribopura.

The first three sections of this article will introduce RNGOs in the disaster recovery context, then go on to define the characteristics of housing RNGOs and RNGO housing. Sections four to six aim to build upon this framework with preliminary findings from my PhD research on Tzu Chi's Great Love Village resettlement in Siribopura. Although the approach to the case study is framed by the RNGO intervention, it is hoped that some of the gaps in relief-delivery can be exposed.

What is a RNGO?

RNGOs are a growing sector of NGOs in the circle of international aid and development. Examples of well-known international RNGOs include World Vision (Christian), Habitat for Humanity (Christian), LEEDS (Christian), Christian Aid, Caritas, Muslim Aid and Buddhist Compassion Relief Tzu Chi Foundation. This sector of NGOs is unique in their religious identity which stands in stark contrast to their secular counterparts.

This religious identity can be derived from religion-influenced approaches to projects and programs. A good example is Davis and Wall's (1992) handbook for 'Christian perspectives on disaster management: a training manual outlining how to set about disaster recovery and reconstruction the 'Christian way'. This manual is also designed for educating new Christians in the scriptures and their religious message. In this way Christian doctrinal beliefs are interpolated into the professional field of disaster management. For example, disaster mitigation is illustrated using Biblical examples (food storage in Egypt, Genesis 41.34-36), disaster preparedness (Noah's ark, Genesis 6.13-22), disaster events (e.g. Earthquakes, Zechariah 14.5, Revelation 16:18 Luke 2.10-11), relief (food aid to Judea, Acts 11:27-30),

rehabilitation (restoring mortgaged land, Ruth 4.1-12) and reconstruction (rebuilding of Jerusalem, Nehemiah 6:15). Significantly, the 'attitude' of disaster management professionals is just as important as their skills and knowledge and this is nurtured through the first section in the training manual by posing three important questions that science cannot answer: Why is there suffering? Why do disasters occur? What is our responsibility to the poor?

A Christian approach differs from secular approaches in that beyond solving the 'problems of disasters' it also strives to understand the broader meaning of disaster in the context of one's relationship with God. Although this relationship of faith is very private, it is exhibited in public through activities such as praying in congregation, helping the suffering and assisting the poor. The training manual points to a 'Christian's responsibility' to the poor and suffering and how Christians can cultivate their relationship to God through their relationship with the survivors of disasters. Such attitudes of RNGOs are often hidden and ambiguous in practice, however, in a post-colonial and multi-religious country like Sri Lanka people can be very sensitive towards Christian conversions in the guise of development and aid and hence the evidence of hostility towards Christian RNGOs in recent years (Goonatilake 2006) particularly through the drafting of the Anti-conversion Bill in 2009 that is aimed specifically at Christian RNGOs (Gospel for Asia 2009).

While Christians seem to have thought deeply about their religious attitudes to disaster management, other religions seem to be less specific. For example, de Silva's (2006) study "The tsunami and its aftermath in Sri Lanka: Explorations of a Buddhist perspective" suggests a series of general Buddhist concepts that can also be relevant in the context of post-disaster recovery. According to de Silva, Buddhist practices such as 'impermanence' (anicca) can enhance one's ability to accept the temporal nature of worldly existence and can assist with the coping of loss; the concept of *kamma* (*karma* -fate), which explains disasters as nature's system of causation and consequence and not acts of god/s, can help people overcome a sense of guilt if they had previously believed that disasters were punishments inflicted by god/s; and the practice of 'compassion' (*karuna*) can encourage both people affected and unaffected by the disaster to assist with the alleviation of post-disaster suffering.

It is important to point out that RNGOs come in all shades and forms; in some cases their religious philosophy lies at the centre of their operations while others carry a religious name but operate like any secular NGO. To avoid confusion, this paper shares Berger's (2003) observations and definition of what constitutes a RNGO.

> At all levels the underlying process governing much of RNGO activity is that of spiritual guidance – the implicit and/or explicit propagation of religious and spiritual values, which the RNGO considers essential for the realisation of its aims. As such, RNGOs differ considerably from their secular counterparts by venturing beyond notions of social responsibility to assertions of "rights" and "wrongs", "truths" and "untruths" (Berger 2003: 31).

Thus the RNGOs of interest to this research paper are those that actually perform spiritual guidance, whether overtly or hidden.

Housing RNGOs

Housing RNGOs are distinguishable within the RNGO sector as they are usually large and prominent, equipped with the complex skills, knowledge and resources needed to carry out the task of reconstruction. In the housing reconstruction program the most significant resource is capital; even inexperienced RNGOs can implement housing reconstruction programs if they can find the capital to employ building professionals such as architects, engineers, project managers and contractors to manage the process.

The methods used by RNGOs to secure funds are usually quite different to those of secular NGOs. They use their religious identity to attract memberships and volunteers, who can tap into larger religious networks for donations. Since RNGOs are accountable to their donors they also have to demonstrate that their works are in accordance to the principles and teachings of their religion. For example, in Islam, Muslims give Zakat which is a percentage of their earnings to help other Muslims; moneys collected as Zakat cannot go to build houses for non-Muslims. However, these sorts of RNGOs are usually local, limited in growth by their religious orientation and membership and usually cannot build houses in great numbers. Therefore most RNGOs that wish to increase their donor base usually choose to dilute their religiosity in order to appeal to non-believers with a view to a larger funding base.

A well-known example is the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) where the religious identity is not only diluted but completely abandoned. The ICRC, which started as a Christian NGO, was founded by Jean-Henri Dunant and four other Christian men in 1863, originally known as the 'Committee of the Five'(IFRC 2011). Now the ICRC and the International Federation of the Red Cross (IFRC), together, are the largest secular humanitarian network with 186 national Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies around the world. In its climb in influence it had to forego its Christian roots and emblem to include the 'Red Crescent' and the 'Red Star' for Muslim and Jewish communities that find the Christian 'cross' offensive. This 'de-Christianisation' of the ICRC and IFRC's identity has boosted its growth in non-Christian areas; it has also attracted the financial resources of mainstream secular funders such as the World Bank. As ICRC and the IFRC are the only civil society organisations that enjoy the support of international funding agencies and the UN, their pledging capacity for post-disaster housing programs is now unrivalled in the world.

Many housing RNGOs have attempted to dilute their religious identities or find ways to hide their spiritual guidance agendas in order to attract funding from large secular donors. This is often a double-edged sword for RNGOs that still rely on the support of people and networks from their own faith (and therefore have to actively provide spiritual guidance) while appearing more secular and results-focused when confronting the general secular public. The most difficult challenge for housing RNGOs, however, is in trying to integrate subtle-levels of spiritual guidance in housing programs that also fit in with the logistical nature of reconstruction. The necessity to re-package spiritual guidance in the most unassuming ways has given rise to a new form of housing that this paper will call 'RNGO housing'.

RNGO housing

RNGO housing is a kind of architecture that hopes to facilitate the transformation of people –with regards to their physical and mental well-being and their spiritual orientation. Hous-

ing provision as a process and product is an important tool by which RNGOs communicate that people from their faith are good, benevolent and charitable to their beneficiaries, and supporters. Their intention is to demonstrate that with the right faith, strangers can love one another like family, support those in need through recovery and reconstruction and in the end offer survivors an unimaginably generous gift – a house, something that even their own families and government cannot give. Housing provision in this framework is not just a 'noun' or a 'verb' (Hamdi 1995; Turner 1982) but becomes a mechanism for religious persuasion.

This sort of convincing takes time, openness and a certain amount of trust that can only be built if RNGOs have access to families at the most grassroots level for an extended period of time. This time is precious especially in the first twelve months after the disaster when survivors maybe physically vulnerable as well as emotionally and spiritually displaced. In a post-disaster situation this need for time with the beneficiaries is legitimised because the RNGOs are there to offer material aid and their access to families is warranted and welcomed.

Since direct proselytising is frowned upon and now off-limits, due to the new 'Anti-Conversion Bill' in Sri Lanka, RNGOs need to find new ways of offering spiritual guidance that do not seem to proselytize. Preliminary findings from my PhD research where I interviewed thirty-eight households, eight RNGO officers as well as participatory observations as a volunteer within the case-study RNGOs, confirm that RNGOs give houses mainly as a vehicle to building relationships with survivors with the objective of offering spiritual guidance. The following examples from Tzu Chi and Habitat for Humanity suggest this underlying pedagogical motive:

> Of course it seems like giving houses are the key point, but it is not so… the key is for them to learn our (Tzu Chi) spirit. Otherwise, if we just gave them the houses, they would just take it and continue the same way as before. That is why we spent so much time to stay with them… What we are really after is taking Ven. Cheng Yen's teaching of Great Love and let it take root in their society. (Tzu Chi Foundation officer. Interview 15th Jan 2011)

> The house is never the end product. I think the end product we are all searching for is Truth. (Habitat for Humanity officer. Interview 12th Sept 2010)

In order to imbibe this way of thinking, survivors are encouraged to join the RNGO volunteer team and contribute to the reconstruction process as mediators and representatives who look after the other survivors in the temporary shelters. They are taught the organisational philosophy as new-comers and surrounded by existing RNGO volunteers that live and breathe the organisation ethos. Friendships begin to form and loyalties are established in those networks, which facilitate a voluntary conversion to the operative ideology (Tan 2008: 129). This is why RNGOs need the opportunity of sustained interaction to create human connections that transform their beneficiaries into believing and committed members of their organisation.

While the housing process aims to build human relationships for spiritual guidance,

the housing product on the other hand is designed to be a memorial to this relationship between beneficiaries and RNGO. Plaques and religious architectural features are integrated into the RNGO houses (Fig 2, 3) as permanent reminders of their mutual commitment. Such material manifestations reiterate and commemorate the role of the RNGO in the community.

The rest of this paper looks closely at these dimensions of RNGO housing through the case study of Tzu Chi. The significance of this RNGO will be analysed firstly in their religious, spiritual and ethical approaches to disaster recovery, secondly in their values and priorities in the design of the resettlement village and lastly in the delivery of the house as a symbolic image of the RNGO.

Tzu Chi's 'great love army'

At the core of Tzu Chi's Buddhist philosophy and practice is the cultivation of 'Great Love' (*Da Ai*) while their ultimate goal is to transform people through activities and programs that encourage social engagement with the poor, sick and suffering. Through this process, newcomers are expected to learn, struggle and embody the principles of *Da Ai* and gradually change the way they live, relate to one another and think about this world. This philosophy permeates all of Tzu Chi's programs and projects including post-disaster relief and reconstruction. According to Ven. Cheng Yen, the Buddhist nun that founded the organisation (Huang 2008), the approach to housing reconstruction must be holistic; involving firstly, 'settling the body' then 'settling the mind' and finally 'settling life and livelihood'. This mantra emphasises holistic recovery in three inseparable and equally important dimensions - the physical, emotional and spiritual.

As with many organisations involved in post-tsunami reconstruction, Tzu Chi began their disaster recovery works in Hambantota, Sri Lanka, by attending to the survivor's physical needs: providing immediate medical attention, food, clothes and shelter. However, what was unique about Tzu Chi's volunteers is that they are trained to offer holistic assistance. A rotating group of volunteers gave medical attention, put up temporary shelters, offered food, conducted spiritual healing and rebuilt houses.

These volunteers called '*Zhi Gong*' ('missionary workers') are trained Tzu Chi Buddhist practitioners. *Zhi Gongs* are seen as ambassadors for Tzu Chi overseas and contributed to the reconstruction process in three particular ways: (1) in providing construction expertise and promoting Da Ai philosophy; (2) unskilled human labour; (3) nurturing the *Da Ai* atmosphere on the construction site.

At the top level of the *Zhi Gong* structure, there is a construction advisory group consisting of a handful of CEOs from large construction companies in Taiwan. These *Zhi Gongs* have a supervisory role on the construction site, to share knowledge and skills through their experience in the industry as well as to upkeep the Tzu Chi attitude and construction culture on site; such as the strict prohibition of smoking and consumption of alcohol and the maintenance of site cleanliness and recycling of waste.

A second body of *Zhi Gongs*, consisting of tsunami-survivors, locally recruited by Tzu Chi, offers unskilled labour in the reconstruction process. The responsibility of these *Zhi Gongs* was to cultivate plants and maintain the landscape at the resettlement village. The Tzu Chi nursery thus became an important place where trained Taiwanese and local

Zhi Gongs would spend long hours together, building relationships, exchanging experiences and transferring Tzu Chi philosophies. To help the new-comers identify with the philosophy better, daily *Zhi Gong* sharing sessions were organised to ask people to talk about their emotional and spiritual transformation through their volunteer experiences (Jones 2009: 9-13). The organisation's architect observed,

> The main reason why we sought the residents' participation was to first build their ownership and sense of care on this village property. Another important reason is we need to let people know that reconstruction is not an easy job so they will have an appreciative heart (Tzu Chi Foundation architect. Interview 15th Jan 2011).

These local novice *Zhi Gongs* also helped nurture the *Da Ai* atmosphere on the construction site through preparing cool drinks and snacks for construction workers and supervising project officers. Although everyone was under pressure to deliver houses on time, Ven. Cheng Yen constantly reminded *Zhi Gongs* to 'use their hearts' (cultivate their spirituality) by paying attention to the details of every task. The Tzu Chi Foundation project manager observed,

> The reason for the participation of Zhi Gongs was to allow the experience to transform people's hearts and minds through the engagement with local suffering.

> I often saw Zhi Gongs in clown costumes going into the tent areas to engage the children. This created a whole different feeling and atmosphere. By that time people in the tent areas had already gotten use to the Tzu Chi Zhi Gong uniforms of 'Blue sky white clouds' (blue tops and white trousers) and were calling us 'blue angels'. So every time our Zhi Gongs showed up the whole energy would change (Tzu Chi Foundation project manager. Interview 15th Jan 2011).

Although Tzu Chi is a Buddhist RNGO, seemingly favourable in a Buddhist country like Sri Lanka, doctrinaire differences between the Mahayanic concept of *Da Ai* – transcendental love- and the more contemplative Theravada tradition of Sri Lanka must also be highlighted. To Tzu Chi, Da Ai is a universal truth that can transcend religious, political and ethnic boundaries (Tan 2008: 120) but in fact it is an idea found within specifically Mahayanic Buddhist practices alien to the Buddhist Theravada tradition in Sri Lanka. Overcoming this potential divide Tzu Chi had to repackage itself as "Buddhism in action", seemingly without sectoral or traditional variations, making the claim that "all Buddhism[s] are the same" (Tzu Chi Foundation officer. Informal conversation 18th Aug 2011). Yet, even such a claim could not prepare Tzu Chi for working with a Muslim community.

Promoting Da Ai as a universal concept to the majority Muslim housing beneficiaries was a challenge too great for Tzu Chi. According to local Tzu Chi officers that continue to work in the Great Love Village, seven years after the tsunami, the Muslims residents con-

tinue to only participate in Tzu Chi's environmental activities such as cleaning up the village or recycling household garbage; and none of the Muslim residents were interested in the philosophical teachings of Da Ai. While this is understandable, even the few Buddhist residents that attended informal Tzu Chi teachings seemed only able to understand Da Ai as 'volunteering', not as a religion comparable to their Theravada beliefs and culture. This gap between the structure and intent of the RNGO and the reception of its religious practices by its beneficiaries was also evident in the attitudes towards planning for the resettlement village.

The 'great love village'

The idea of a Buddhism branded village for post-disaster survivors is not new, not too far from Tzu Chi's village another Buddhist NGO had named their village 'Singhapura Maithri Gama' (Lion-city Future-Buddha Village), but Tzu Chi wanted the identity of their village to be constructed according to the Buddhist practice of *Da Ai* rather than on Buddhist icons. This was a significant consideration because they wanted their philosophy to be practiced in the village so that it would become more than just a Tzu Chi landmark. Drawing from precedence, Tzu Chi's original Great Love Village (*Da Ai Cun)* in Taiwan after the 1999 earthquake was not only built to house survivors but it was a 'Da Ai precinct'. Similar to the silence expected and observed in a public library, the Great Love Village was a clearly defined Tzu Chi urban space that came with the expected social practice of *Da Ai.*

Siribopura, however, was Tzu Chi's first attempt at a permanent housing resettlement. This was a big commitment for Tzu Chi because prior to building in Sri Lanka they had only built temporary shelters in the post-disaster context. Although this prior experience would prepare Tzu Chi in Sri Lanka in terms of knowing how to embed their philosophy in an urban housing intervention, Tzu Chi was ultimately ill-equipped with the kind of developmental knowledge on infrastructure and processes that would be needed for permanent housing. As a charity organisation, Tzu Chi prides itself on being apolitical, always choosing to interface with the survivors directly with as little involvement with the local government as possible, so as to bypass any corruptive practices. However their philosophy of working at a distance to the local government, choosing to 'hand over' houses after completion would ultimately lead to most of their disappointments with regards to realising the full vision of Great Love Village.

Tzu Chi's vision for the Siribopura Great Love Village entailed a picturesque Buddhist utopia with houses sitting among a serene lush landscape of tree-lined entry boulevards with a 'reflection lake' that would encourage a rich biodiversity of animal and plant species. The architect envisioned the Great Love Village to be a place where people would live in harmony with nature and wildlife (Fig 4) given that the site used to be a part of the national park, with wild elephants and birds as a common sight.

Despite the best of intentions, however, this vision was significantly compromised. Whereas in the case of temporary relief Tzu Chi could control what they were offering as an experience or a product; envisioning, building and managing permanent houses as long term interventions ultimately required the commitment of all the stakeholders, in particular the local government.

One of the biggest challenges for Tzu Chi's utopia was water. Hambantota was one

of the driest regions in the country, and having little rain over the year the envisioned lush landscape relied on a mains water supply that came only few days in a week. For these poor residents, the need to pay for the water also meant that maintaining a garden for visual effect was out of the question. Most houses had edible plants that were looked after but flowers, lawn and hedges were generally missing. Another big challenge for Tzu Chi's envisioned environment was the lack of local government mechanisms for garbage disposal. Although Tzu Chi responded to this by creating recycling programs and encouraging compost for household biodegradable waste; it did not stop residents disposing rubbish by burning it in outdoor and sometimes public spaces. The Buddhist vision of a lifestyle in harmony with nature and animals was also compromised by wild elephants feeding out of people's fruit gardens. Residents who were mostly relocated from the urban town of Hambantota complained of the resultant traumatic experiences. Some have even sustained injury from elephant attacks, forcing them to build tall fences for security. Some houses have put up electric wires fences which became a hazard to children and other animals within the village.

Despite Tzu Chi's investment of a number of neighbourhood centres, parks, playgrounds and a large assembly hall, so as to create a vibrant social scene in Great Love Village, this too was compromised. Forced to relocate to Siribopura, residents continued to rely on coastal Hambantota Town for their shopping, work and recreation. Compared to their pre-tsunami lifestyle in the coastal town where they could walk to the Mosque, market place, government administration offices, post office, hospitals, beach, fishery and shops; their new life was dependent on the public bus timetable, which, according to the residents was often unreliable. Distance had other social repercussions on the function of families.

Before the tsunami, families lived within the one house or within 3-5 minutes walking distances to their relatives which helped them sustain a particularly inter-connected lifestyle of mutual help and protection. Now, in the Great Love Village, residents lived, in some cases, up to 45 minutes' walk from their nearest relative. Since the houses were allocated on a lottery system, families that used to live together or were neighbours were now displaced across the Great Love Village. Conservative Muslim women from Hambantota, who depend on male family members for protection and activities outside of the house, increasingly lived with a sense of fear and frustration as their men were away in town for most of the day and their mothers and sisters were at a distance too far to call for an emergency.

Furthermore, with the continued dependence on the coastal town, many beneficiaries decided not to move into their allocated Tzu Chi houses. Vacant lots and uncared for gardens became a common sight, as some beneficiaries who chose to return to the (rebuilt) coastal town sold their Tzu Chi houses or rented them out. A sense of community was further discounted when most of the women that stayed in the Great Love Village found themselves housebound during the day, gated by the patriarchal norms that kept them away from other women-folk, and subservient to their absent husband's directives. As for the men, who usually gather around tea and snack shops in town at night in a form of social interaction after work, the distance from town acted as a deterrent and they increasingly stayed at home to watch television. This isolation resulting from relocation contributed to a weakening in social relationships, vital for poorer families that depend on interaction to seek out opportunities for their livelihood. Far from building an ideal community, the separation of the village from its surroundings threatened social cohesion. A different kind of social disjunction was evident in the reception of housing types.

The 'great love house'

The housing reconstruction guidelines offered by the GoSL prescribed a roll out of single detached houses for nuclear families (NHDA 2005: 10). While this type of suburban development is unprecedented in Hambantota, it was familiar to the majority of international aid providers that were mostly from developed and wealthy countries. The language of housing was based on the 'household' which was the standard family unit. While the families in Colombo and the majority of Sinhalese-Buddhist families in Hambantota tended towards this mode of nuclear family living, for the majority of urban Muslims relocated from Hambantota Town, 'household' was not equivalent to 'family'.

As a religious and ethnic minority in the country, living together and living close was important to offer mutual protection as well as to safeguard traditional religious values. Home was understood to be where the women and children remained, while the male family members were more transient, often working out of town or overseas. Living in clusters within walking distances to mosques was an organic social pattern that these Muslim families understood, because it was a type of planning that mapped their social and family relations anchored by the religion as the physical and spiritual centre.

Relocating into a modern, egalitarian, Western form of abstract planning, based on individualised, modular, nuclear family houses became an awkward and disorientating experience for the residents. This type of housing stripped away the foundations of the social, material and spiritual connections underlying traditional Muslim family sociality which shapes how they work, communicate, understand, spatialise and rationalise their world. After a disaster, when these human and spiritual connections are most important for healing, grounding and offering an emotional centre of assurance, the types of housing provided offered no consolation. In fact, they separated large families into smaller 'standard units', putting them into strange and abstract organisations of households; exposed them to unfamiliar neighbours of different religions and ethnicities; and removed them far from their place of confidence and emotional security such as mosques and Muslim schools, causing residents more stress and unnecessary trauma.

> [We] have cried here [in the house] for two three days, mother, sister and myself…thinking of father, neighbours…this place was like a desert, no friends, no neighbours, no fence…no shop, market…one day I forgot how to come home, all[houses] looked the same. (Resident interview. 18th Aug 2011).

While Tzu Chi as a RNGO is sensitive to the spiritual dimension of housing, their considerations seemed ill-adapted to the cultural specificity of the beneficiaries; and were more universal, based around family life rather than the spirituality of Sri Lankans or Hambantota Muslims. The architect explained that Ven. Cheng Yen's focus was on how to make the houses look elegant, solid and, most importantly, safe to live in. She also asked the architect to add a dining room into the housing plan that could be easily divided into a third bedroom when the children grew up and needed more privacy. The architect also considered a front porch as part of the design which for locals was an important place for socialisation and sitting out in a hot climate; and he also proposed a low hedge so neighbours could engage

one another as well as people on the street. As a practicing Tzu Chi Buddhist, the architect was also careful not to cause negative spiritual karma through the gifting of houses,

> Although we had the ability to give bigger houses, the thing about charity is that we don't want to encourage greed (Tzu Chi Foundation architect. Interview 15th Jan 2011).

While Tzu Chi promoted a type of spirituality based on human closeness and harmony with the environment, what ultimately undermined their efforts were the larger reconstruction guidelines as prescribed by the GoSL that preferred separate houses on large plots of subdivided land. As a RNGO choosing to disengage from the processes of local government, Tzu Chi was not interested in imposing their values upon the local government's approach to planning and beneficiary selections, although other RNGOs such as the Christian Habitat for Humanity was actively making such requests. Thus what Tzu Chi offered was houses that embodied their universal ideals within the framework of government guidelines. This created a village that catered to dual aspirations of Western-style modernisation projected by the GoSL and Tzu Chi's religious identity advocated through their branding of Great Love Houses (*Da Ai Wu*).

The 649 Great Love Houses in the village were modelled after Ven. Cheng Yen's own house and shrine (Still Thoughts Abode) in Hualien, rural Taiwan (Fig 5). The 'spiritual abode in the garden' was an important image that Tzu Chi sought to replicate as a symbol of their philosophy. Tzu Chi as a modern and humanistic Buddhist movement has for the past 50 years of their existence reinterpreted traditional Buddhism into the social cultural context of Taiwan (Huang 2009). A significant interpretation of their philosophy is expressed by turning the traditional Buddhist temple that used to be a place of worship, incense, offerings and faceless pilgrims into 'spiritual homes' (Weller 2008) for their members whom they identify as a 'family'.

According to Tzu Chi literature, the Still Thoughts Abode was designed by Ven. Cheng Yen herself. The pebbled external wall surface represents her dedication to countless sentient beings; the 'ren'-shaped roof line ('Ren' is a Chinese calligraphic character for 'humanity' that looks like a curved pitch roof) represents Tzu Chi's commitment to humanity; the four pillars that hold up the front pediment represent the 'Four limitless states of Minds'- loving kindness, compassion, joy and equanimity which translates to Tzu Chi's four main missions (Charity, Medicine, Education, Culture) and the three circular sections of the ridge beam symbolise the Buddhist Three Gems – Buddha, Dharma, Sangha.

Tzu Chi literature also emphasises that Ven. Cheng Yen and her nuns participated in the construction of the Abode as part of their engaged spiritual practice. In order to repay the loan, they also made handicraft and food items to sell and cultivated the land for food and sustenance. The architecture was therefore embedded with a philosophy of an honest, earnest, self-dependant lifestyle that served to inspire Great Love Village residents in their effort to reclaim their life after such great adversity. Some Buddhist families, upon learning the meaning behind their house-design (Fig 6) found it spiritually reassuring, equivalent to asking for a monk's blessings when moving into a new house in their own culture. There were also instances where such families painted the Tzu Chi logo or plastered Ven. Cheng Yen's portrait on their living room walls to further sanctify their houses. However, for most

of the Muslim residents, the Tzu Chi symbols and embedded stories on their houses had little meaning, and could be interpreted as disrespectful towards their religious culture and beliefs.

Beyond the house, spirituality of the dwelling place is also considered in the garden. The land and natural environment as a provider of food and source of spirituality was a considered Buddhist practice of 'interdependence'. This is evident in Tzu Chi's national and international recycling campaigns as well as the architect's original intention of using mud brick construction for sustainability (that unfortunately did not eventuate because of the need to expedite reconstruction). However, the way Tzu Chi manicures their gardens in their Hualien campus (similar to Japanese Zen gardens) demonstrates that the garden is considered a metaphor for spiritual cultivation. This intention was carried over by the architect in the planning of the Great Love Houses by setting the house back to create a large front yard, encouraging the cultivation of a public garden that contributes to the larger peaceful and green atmosphere of the village. The upkeep of this garden, however, as mentioned previously, was dependent on the availability of water.

Conclusion

Housing that is intended as an instrument for transforming people materially, socially and spiritually produces an architecture that celebrates the human and spiritual connections formed during the process of construction and in the everyday living within the house and village. This driving motivation is frequently reduced to the by-product of a different mandate (defined by the government), in this case of funding provision: to simply 'hand-over' houses or give 'cash-hand outs' for owner-driven houses. For many RNGOs such projects are wasted opportunities because of the lack of attention to building relationships for spiritual transformation. In fact, RNGOs measure the success of a reconstruction project not by how fast or how cost-effective the end product can be, but rather on how many people could participate, be influenced and transformed by the process through imbibing the RNGO's philosophy.

While on the surface an Asia to Asia, Buddhist to Buddhist charity model (Laliberte 2003) can be perceived as less invasive if not transferable in a Buddhist country like Sri Lanka, in reality because of the differences in Buddhist traditions, historical tensions and cultural interpretations can limit opportunities to build genuine relationships on an equal footing. Foreign and religious NGOs that have a modern humanist attitude need to be more careful when working in developing countries where religion is not about individual choices or personal socio-political agendas but rather about loyalties to families, communities and a way of life that structures identity and often determines survival. Attempts to convert such communities may prove difficult, because they do not see religion as a choice, and conversion may ultimately prove harmful to them, by removing them from a social support-framework intricately connected to their religious identity. The resultant vulnerability cannot help their recovery, long term, as they may become increasingly dependent on RNGOs for spiritual guidance and economic support. In the context of rural towns or villages in Sri Lanka these people may become isolated into an even smaller community when seeking life's essentials such as finding jobs, partners in life and places to live. In more traditional religious communities these people can even be seen as betraying their original faith, which could expose them

to further risks.

In reviewing the experience of the Great Love Village community it is evident that RNGOs can address a pressing need in filling an existing gap in international humanitarian assistance. Their practices, which reach beyond material recovery to address and integrate emotional and spiritual well-being, can bring a level of sensitivity to post-disaster recovery that is focused more on the survivor than the disaster. In communities where religion permeates the way people perceive the causes of disasters and paths towards recovery, RNGOs of a similar faith or spiritual mindset can also bring a level of confidence and expertise that allow them to utilise existing religious frameworks to facilitate long term recovery. Local RNGOs connected to the community are better placed to deliver such outcomes. However, wherever this is not the case, the strengths of the RNGOs are often undermined by their perceived intent to proselytise which contributes to growing resistance towards their activities and suspicion of their objectives in the wider community. Quite apart from internal conflicts in the delivery of ideologies, the success or failure of RNGO housing may be determined by such conditions.

Bibliography

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Foundations	Buddhist Compassion Relief Tzu Chi Foundation	Taiwan	1,000	Hambantota	Siribopura
	Theravadi Samadhi Foundation + Dharma Drum Mountain	Taiwan	300	Ambalantota	Beminiyanwila
	Meththa Foundation	Sri Lanka	50	Hambantota	Siribopura
	Bodhiraja Foundation	Singapore	50	Tangalle	Various
Temples	Bellanwila Rajamaha Vihira + Singapore Sri Lanka Buddhist research society	Sri Lanka + Singapore	200	Hambantota	Godagama North
	Thames Temple England	England	64	Tangelle	Galagodakanda Temple land
	Kelaniya Rajamaha Viharaya	Sri Lanka	50	Tangalle	Water tank land
	Tissa Rajamaha Vihara	Sri Lanka	50	Tissa	Perumpamulla
	Lions club and Houston Temple	America	50	Kapuwatta	Kapuwatta
	Houston Buddhist Temple	America	21	Ambalantota	Godakogalla

Table 1: Buddhist RNGOs that pledged for housing reconstruction in Hambantota District (Source: adapted from Humanitarian Information Centre Sri Lanka 2005)

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Figures 2: Habitat for Humanity and Tzu Chi house plaques (Source: author).

Figures 3: Habitat for Humanity and Tzu Chi house plaques (Source: author).

Figure 4: Proposed master plan of the Great Love Village (Source: Alex Kuo Architects)

Figure 5: Tzu Chi Still Thoughts Abode, Taiwan (Source: author)

Figure 6: Tzu Chi Great Love House (Source: author)

Figure 1. A post-tsunami re-housing project for a Muslim community in Kirinda, Sri Lanka designed by Shigeru Ban. In almost all the houses, residents have covered the wall-less open area at the back of the house with either permanent or temporary materials for safety, privacy and culturally-appropriate gendered use of space. It is a classic case of not understanding the culture specific needs of the people.

Resettlement housing design: moving beyond the vernacular imagery

Kapila D. Silva

Introduction

Research on resettlement projects for post-disaster recovery efforts or those affected by myriad social, economic and political reasons suggest that, in most cases, the housing solutions given reflect the ideals of the providers (state, donors, and designers) rather than the true needs of the displaced and their culture (I. Davis 2006, Oliver 1986 & 2006). On the part of the state agencies and donors, immediate provision of adequate numbers of shelters has been the imperative. Resettlement projects, provided mostly for underprivileged segments of the society, are undertaken as low-cost constructions, swiftly built to respond to an impending crisis of housing with aims of efficient use of finite resources of land, infrastructure, and finances. The resettlement thus tends be centrally controlled, turning the re-housed community into helpless passive recipients of relief.

On the design front, designers of re-housing projects make efforts to develop settlements that evoke regional and vernacular imagery in its formal and visual appearance, assuming that the new settlements would create a familiar place for the community which is in harmony with its regional environmental identity. Research suggests that simply emulating forms of local buildings does not provide the desired benefits in resettlement housing (Oliver 1986, Rapoport 2005, Heath 2009). Evaluation of post-tsunami resettlement projects in Sri Lanka indicated that designers often, erroneously, subscribed to the view that rapid provision of housing units would effectively solve the resettlement needs (Silva 2007).

Such misconceptions demand a critical rethinking of the way design and planning of resettlement projects are carried out. The reasons architects tend to capitalize on local building patterns indicate their belief that those vernacular buildings accurately represent what the displaced need. It also indicates the fact that the designers do not possess the type of knowledge required for handling resettlement planning and a framework of guiding principles. Many such projects have failed purely due to the inaccurate understanding of the vernacular context and its processes of building production (Rapoport 1983, 2005) and due to reducing a culture's architectural expression to basic physical attributes divorced from their function and social meaning (Heath 2009).

This paper argues that it is an understanding of the attributes of vernacular processes of housing, rather than the formal attributes of local houses, which would truly fa-

cilitate the creation of successful re-housing settlements. Based on a review of literature on resettlement housing and vernacular design, it first discusses some key objectives of resettlement programs. Those themes are then connected to the critical attributes of vernacular building processes in order to derive a set of principles that can be followed in re-housing efforts.

Successful resettlement planning: some critical concerns

A review of literature on resettlement planning suggests that community building, community empowerment, and incremental development are essential components that guarantee success in resettlement projects, irrespective of whether the displacement was induced by development, conflicts, or natural disasters (Silva & Broderick 2007, Fernando, Fernando & Kumarasiri 2009). These components affirm that a fundamental theme in resettlement planning concerns the meaning attached to dwelling provision, in which housing should be identified as an issue of quality as well as quantity. It has been argued that there is a difference between the notion of *shelter* or *house* and the concept of home and that housing means not simply providing a physical shelter (a quantitative issue) but enabling displaced persons to make homes (a qualitative issue) (Cunny 1983, Davis 2006, Dayaratne 1995). It should be a process that engenders an emotional connection to one's house and community, through which one could gain hope and the capacity to achieve greater recovery in the social, economic, and psychological realms of life.

Such a process invariably involves steps taken to address the sense of incapacity and inadequacy experienced by displaced persons which is generated from the lack of opportunities for social equity (Silva & Broderick 2007, Fernando *et. al.* 2009). While design alone cannot fix the issues of social isolation and lack of community sense, opportunities for building their lives, skills, houses and communities should be made available. Opportunities for livelihood (Winchester 2000, I. Davis 2006, Subasinghe & Miranda 2007), a greater choice and control over housing themselves and building communities (Koenigsberger 1952, Turner 1976), capacity building in community organizing and construction skills, and engaging them throughout the housing process (Silva & Broderick 2007) are key aspects in this empowering process. In empowering the community, it is also important to appreciate the resiliency and resourcefulness in the displaced and not get trapped in the usual portrayal of the displaced as helpless victims. Community consultation and participation in recovery efforts could even happen in building transitional housing (Balikie *et. al,* 2004, Subasinghe & Miranda 2007). Recovery could very well be based on local knowledge and capabilities rather than external input (Berke & Campanella 2006).

Studies on post-disaster recovery suggest that the perception of urgency to provide permanent housing and relief is mostly misplaced and such urgency could lead to failures or poor results (Hass *et.al.* 1977, Quarantelli 1982, Schilderman 2004). Since communities cannot be created at once and at a large scale, community building and empowering, therefore, has to be a situation-specific incremental effort. This is also due to the limited, localized resources available and the long-term efforts required for alleviation of issues of social inequality. Such an objective requires housing solutions that match the given situation – places, groups, times, and the nature and type of displacement – which in turn requires time-consuming settlement planning. Research also suggests the effectiveness of re-building

lives within the original settlements rather than in new locations (I. Davis 2006, Oliver 2006). Thus, emphasis should be on small-scale, doable objectives where the provision and change of housing conditions is incremental.

Learning from the vernacular precedent

This primary focus on community building and empowerment is indeed about the process of resettlement rather than the final *product* of the house and the settlement. Achieving these resettlement objectives on a physical dimension through planning and design mechanisms, therefore, requires a critical rethinking of housing provision. It demands going beyond the reliance on formal analysis and stylistic reference of a local building product, even if the harmonizing visual imagery thus created may have some familiarizing psychological effect on the displaced communities. Could the process of vernacular building production be emulated here, instead of the product, so as to come closer to achieving the objectives of the resettlement process?

Von Osten (2010) cautions us that any attempt to follow the vernacular precedent as a didactic model should be critically examined so as to reveal the true intentions behind such an exercise. She points out, based on an analysis of French colonial public housing in Morocco by Michel Écochard and others, that in the context of colonial and post-colonial modernity, the vernacular studies have been used to improve and affirm hegemonic design practices and their supremacy, rather than actually helping the poor. Her critique is clearly directed at the focus on formal and stylistic use of the vernacular and the exclusion of the inhabitants in the settlement planning process. Instead of top-down design, Von Osten advocates learning from every-day actions of people in their use, self-expression, and appropriation of space; in other words, the vernacular process of the production of space by the users themselves.

Study of the vernacular process has been marred by various misconceptions of the subject. Edge and Pearson (2001) mention that the view held by designers and planners on the vernacular environments of a region generally tends to be incomplete, static, and historical; based on partial information that ignores the evolving nature of vernacular traditions in response to a multitude of social, political, and economic forces. This is partially due to the narrow focus of academic studies on vernacular environments and due to their documentation and examination in terms of styles, technology, typology and geographic distribution. Such biases have defined vernacular environments as a historical category rather than an ever-emerging informal process of settlement production. The anxieties and prejudices of the design profession regarding the restrictive influence of vernacular precedents on creative thinking, and their perception as historical, static, and unprofessional examples of architecture, further limit perceptions of their ongoing relevance.

Addressing this issue of the relevance of vernacular precedent in both study and practice of architecture, Rapoport (1999) argues that one could either ignore it, admit its existence but still deny it has any use, copy it, or derive lessons and principles from it, and suggests that the latter is the way to deal with the vernacular precedent. Yet, if the focus is merely on the formal and stylistic analysis of vernacular design, this too could be limiting. As vernacular architecture is an evolving category and not necessarily historical, deriving lessons from both the vernacular product and the process is essential. Rapoport (1990, 1999)

provides an elaborate framework for such analysis which lays down sets of both product and process characteristics of vernacular architecture (Table 1).

Architects generally study buildings through a similar set of product characteristics as described in this framework. Yet designers are not very familiar with the characteristic processes of local building production, i.e. 'process characteristics' nor are they committed to learning from them. A careful analysis of Rapoport's list of seventeen process characteristics of vernacular precedent shows that these characteristics could be regrouped under five key themes that define some essential attributes of the vernacular process, as follows:

> 1. Prominent involvement of the users themselves in the design and construction process (process characteristics 1, 2, & 3)
> 2. The close congruence between the built environment and the culture of the group (process characteristics 10, 11, 12, 13, & 14)
> 3. Houses as well as other place-types in the settlement follow one or few model(s) and its/their variations (process characteristics 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, & 9)
> 4. Rate of change in the settlement, which is usually a slow, incremental process (process characteristics 15 & 16)
> 5. Process of the transmission of know-how of building production (process characteristics 13, 14 & 17)

I argue that these aspects of vernacular processes could be connected to the objectives of community building and incremental growth desired in resettlement planning in order to build a set of design applications for resettlement housing. As mentioned above, community building and empowerment requires greater community participation in the resettlement activity, rebuilding the existing settlements, and in-depth understanding of their needs and lifestyles. I argue that these relate closely to the vernacular process themes 1 and 2 mentioned above. In addition, building community capacities in construction relates to the process theme 5 above. The need for carefully planned incremental development could be achieved by adhering to the process themes 3 and 4. These connections and how they should materialize within the resettlement planning process could still be quite abstract and thus need more discussion, which is given below.

Guiding principles for resettlement designs

Emulating the *vernacular process* of environmental production in resettlement planning could be further discussed under the following themes, which could be suggested as guiding principles in the design process.

Just folks, not professionals making decisions

Vernacular architecture is generally characterized as the buildings by people for the people or architecture produced without architects' involvement. This is not necessarily accurate – there are many instances where trained craftsmen and developers were involved in creating vernacular settings throughout history (Rapoport 1990). Nevertheless, participation of owners or users in the creation of their home environments is an essential factor in a vernacular

context. Not only are users engaged in building, but they also design their environments (Hubka 1986). If emulating vernacular examples is an objective in resettlement housing, the future residents should then actively participate in the production of their future home environment. This should not be limited to the self-help construction of houses; but at all levels of the decision-making process, including the design of the settlement and houses.

Oliver argues that active community engagement in housing is both an ethical imperative as well as a success determinant in resettlement housing:

> The ethics of one-off elite architecture may require that the designer meets the brief to the best of his creative abilities, but the ethics of housing for communities requires more. The architect may design responsibly, but the process fails when he ignores the values, morés, building skills, experience and wisdom of the cultures whose housing needs are to be met. Housing that involves the active participation of the community, which accommodates its values, relates to its vernacular traditions while meeting its aspirations. That which retains or remains substantially as the housing of and by the people, is the housing most likely to succeed (Oliver 2006: 408).

For more successful outcomes, community involvement should occur at greater depths in every step of the decision-making of the resettlement project, including decisions to relocate or not, studies on defining rehousing priorities, settlement patterns, and cultural life patterns, site selection, site layout planning, determining essential physical and social infrastructure, stabilizing local economy and livelihood, designing dwellings and community facilities, construction skill training, self-help construction, and community governance. People's participation is also important in self-initiated action towards the disaster hazard mitigation, out of their own self-interest for safety and economic stability (Prakash 2008). If rehousing is for an eclectic group of displaced individuals coming from different places, their collective participation is critical for bringing them together to form a new community.

A greater degree of community participation means that the professionals involved should take the role of community organizers, motivators, counselors, advisers, trainers, and arbitrators who facilitate community decision-making rather than the role of decision-makers and executors. Professionals would in this case offer 'another' point of view, instead of 'the only' point of view. Their role should be to help and intiate the development, not to control it (Koenigsberger 1983). In order to play this role constructively, an attitudinal change is necessary. Howard Davis (2006) reminds us that professional expertise does not mean professional dominance: a genuine respect for the community, an interest to learn from the community, and be willing to follow the situations is needed rather than forcing community cooperation. Establishing trust with the community, maintaining a collaborative spirit, and adhering to the collective will is salutary for better results.

Professionals should also devise ways of encouraging the community's active participation in this process. This approach is quite unfamiliar to architects, especially in the case of architectural design. Sanoff (1979) has devised many tools and techniques that designers could deploy in making community involvement in design and planning housing a more effective, easier, and efficient activity. These methods could be appropriately modified

to match the local context, morés, and needs. Engaging the community in the design process also engenders a design sense and design education in future residents, which is crucial in maintaing the character and design quality of a settlement (Jann and Platt 2009).

Another aspect is improving community's skill levels in construction. In constructing new towns for refugees in the wake of the partitioning of India, new settlers were educated in the construction skills not only for building their own houses but also for developing new infrastructure for the town. This has helped as well through initiating local economic productivity (Koenigsberger 1952). Pathiraja and Tombesi (2009) advocate developing a kind of 'robust' design languages and building technologies that make self-aided construction uncomplicated so that the final design outcome would not be hampered by the lower technical skill levels of the user-builders. Their proposed schema incrementally advances the local technical capacity to higher levels. An experimental house unit could be constructed as a pilot test for community feedback on the design and as a construction training mechanism (Heath 2009). Since resettlement takes time, for example three to four years in the case of post-disaster recovery (Quarantelli 1982), there is ample time for establishing proper community engagement.

Consolidate, not relocate

In the case of post-disaster recovery, the general tendency is to relocate the affected population. Research on post-disaster recovery suggest that the most beneficial and successful approach is to provide temporary shelter within or close to original settlements and then to rehabilitate the original housing rather than to relocate the displaced (I. Davis 2006). This approach preserves the means of livelihood, local economy, social ties, neighborhood stability, psychological comfort, territorial claims, ownership concerns, and place-attachment. Relocation, being unresponsive to these social, economic and emotional needs, could add another dimension of trauma on those already affected. Consolidation of original housing is, therefore, a far more acceptable approach than relocation. For example, Oliver (Chapter 23, 2006) describes how the towns in the Greek island of Santorini thrived due to the consolidation, rather than relocation of the original settlements following a devastating earthquake. Irrevocably damaged houses had to be replaced, but the new designs, developed through community participation, followed the vernacular patterns and allowed future expansions. "The over-riding impression was one of a continuing vernacular tradition," Oliver (2006, 408) observes, "which established continuity between the past and the future while meeting, with safety and sensitivity, the physical, social, and environmental needs of the culture."

The decision to relocate usually comes as a hazard mitigation solution; yet such policy could be based on unfounded fear and may bring unintentional negative outcome. For example, Ingram et. al. (2006) point out that the hastily designed buffer zone policy enacted in Sri Lanka after the tsunami in 2004 resulted in a reactive policy that increased long-term vulnerability of the affected population. Having given disproportionate attention to reducing exposure to future tsunamis, this policy incited a massive relocation of affected populations and resulted in social, economic, and environmental problems that threatened the well-being of poor coastal communities. Silva (2007) found this to be accurate in his evaluation of post-tsunami rehousing in Sri Lanka, especially in terms of the disruption to social ties and livelihood caused by the relocation efforts. Disaster mitigation strategies could be incorpo-

rated in settlement planning or in re-housing within original locations. Some hazard mitiga-tion strategies include community protection systems (dams, levees, drainage systems, and the like), land use regulations, and upgraded building construction systems (Wu & Lindell 2003).

Study the patterns of settings and activities

As already mentioned, the view held by designers on vernacular settings generally tends to be incomplete, static, and historical, based on partial information, that ignores the evolving nature of vernacular traditions in response to a multitude of social, political, and economic forces (Edge and Pearson 2001). When guided by this inauthentic view of local places and processes, re-housing planning would become unresponsive to the realities on ground. Rapo-port (2005) points out that the relationship between the culture and the built environment cannot be easily understood until we study the connections between the activity systems, lifestyles, social patterns, and the place. Here instead of the house as a unit of analysis, the place should be conceived as a system of settings. The life-ways of the displaced is generally beyond the realm of the designers' personal experiences, and making uninformed assump-tions of the former is clearly an erroneous point of departure. Detailed studies of both the place and people are, therefore, imperative before sketching the resettlement blueprints – based on the misguided assumption that the designers already know what the place and people need (Figure 1 and 2).

The studies should investigate the place, its use by people, and how it is understood by people. Local settlement patterns, housing genotypes and variations, trends of change occurring in housing in terms of design, use, materials, and technology, and the forces be-hind such change is useful. The projects in contexts where re-housing had previously been carried out should also be examined in order to understand the processes of assimilation, adaptation, or change that may have occurred in them (Oliver 1986). Rapoport & Hardie (1991) suggest examining the core social units (castes, kin, age, ethnic, social networks, etc), patterns of social interactions within group and inter-groups, institutions of the community (social, economic, recreational, ritual, political, etc), and the physical spaces that correspond to these social patterns. Privacy needs, gender-related spaces, ritualistic needs and the like, are critical aspects to understand. Koenigsberger (1952) points out the importance of study-ing people's attitudes towards outdoor space use, such as gardening and public gathering, in determining plot sizes and neighborhood planning. Engaging the community about to be settled in identifying the patterns of place and use is crucial as they could provide useful in-sights into these ethnographical aspects. As Oliver (1986) points out, need for resettlement means that the cultural change has already occurred and thus this change should be clearly understood before designing.

The value of such detailed study of place and people is amply demonstrated in a participatory housing initiative for 130 rickshaw drivers and their families in Vellore, India (Heath 2009). A tem of architects, social workers, and community members collaborated on the project. Based on the principles of Pattern Language (see Alexander et.al 1977), the team undertook extensive fieldwork on existing settlement patterns in surrounding villages. This 'social mapping' exercise helped in developing about thirty-five specific observations on site organization, local building culture, and spatial behavior that had implications for the

site layout and design of community buildings and individual houses. These observations were discussed with the future residents, and verified and adjusted as needed. The resultant environment, thus, reflects the values and priorities of the future inhabitants, since the design team 'left themselves behind when they travelled to Vellore' and immersed themselves in the situational context of the daily life of the community (Heath 2009, 60).

Provide support structures

Building local communities and fostering incremental development require laying down physical and social support structures. The community-level public domain (including site planning, infrastructure, public spaces, etc) can be provided by the state, designers and property developers. This physical and social support structure provides the general framework to be later filled in and adapted by the private domain: the individual dwelling units (Dayaratne 1995). The community can participate in the planning and maintaining of the support structures of the public domain, and the individual can exercise more control in the making of his/her dwelling. The public support structure should be sufficiently flexible to evolve as the nature and needs of the community evolve.

Design a model and variations

Shelters provided in most resettlement projects tend to be rigid, standard, cookie-cutter designs in order to make them affordable and swift to build (Oliver 1986). While this may provide a uniform character to the new settlement, it rather neglects the diverse personal needs of dwellers and their desire for individual identity. Vernacular settlements also do look uniform in character, but that uniformity and harmony comes not from following cookie-cutter designs but from adhering to a relatively small number of design types or models that are adapted for various functional needs and other conditions (economic, site, material availability, etc) (Rapoport 1990). In some vernacular traditions, one or two 'models' or 'genotypes' would be employed for a range of functional requirements such as houses, religious buildings, and institutional buildings, albeit elaborated differently (Rapoport 1990). Hubka (1986) points out that the vernacular design method is characterized by a primary (convention-dependent) and a secondary (independent) design component in which the primary architectural arrangement (plan arrangements, room proportions, structural grid systems) is rigorously structured while allowing the designer a range of individual design interpretations in the secondary systems (such as materials and motifs and stylistic elements). This notion of 'model and variations' produces settlements of complex visual character, yet with an underlying harmony, order, and communal identity.

This essential characteristic in the vernacular design process can be effectively adopted for resettlement housing: instead of developing a single, standardised house design, designers and community collaborators could work out a few design types or models with possible variations of them, and then help the individuals in the community to select their preferred variant. Other community facilities could perhaps be based on the models developed for housing as well. The initial set of genotypes could be devised by studying the existing vernacular models and people's cognitive schemata of those vernacular types. A similar approach could even be followed so as to determine the range of the design vocabulary

available for other building elements such as fenestrations, roof forms, and materials. For example, Low and Ryan (1985) conducted a public survey in order to identify what specific features of a variety of building elements would define the sense of place of a particular rural setting. They developed a range of variations for each building element in question (windows, chimneys, roof forms, materials, shutters, porches, etc) and asked people to select the variations for each element category that would evoke the image of the place. The 'genotypes' identified by the locals were used to suggest design guidelines for preserving, modifying, or filling in the existing physical setting.

Make room for adaptations

Another aspect related to the previous point as well as to the acceptability of resettlement housing, is the degree to which the new shelters facilitate personalization and future extensions by individual families. Need for adaptations could be immediate or arise later, induced by personal, cultural, and economic reasons. Provision of standard, 'cookie-cutter' designs restricts personal adaptations of house units and could lead to the unacceptability of the resettlement housing. In many rehousing projects, the inadequacy of the shelters provided becomes evident within a short period of time after the new users have moved in: one could see extensions built around houses for living spaces, kitchens, work yards, storage, barns, garages and the like with whatever materials available. For example, Oliver (1986) found, that in the case of several rehousing projects in Turkey, how settlers in one project adapted the housing by building extensions, in another, houses were used as barns and storage spaces rather than for living in. The nature of these adaptations – whether they are temporary or permanent, how quickly they occur, if attached or detached, and the purposes for which they are built – indicates the degree to which the initial housing was adequate and whether their designs inhibited or facilitated the need for adaptations.

In most cases such adaptations occur due to the lack of understanding of the users' needs, aspirations, lifestyles, and what constitutes their true 'home environment'. A home enviornment does not necessarily suggest that every household activity takes place under one roof within a single house unit. Activities of dwelling occur in many settings within and without the house unit as well as in and beyond the immediate neighborhood. Consequently, it is more meaningful to understand the home environment of a given community as a system of settings, and ensure that this organization of spaces and activities is culturally variable (Rapoport 2005). When conceived as a system of settings, a true dwelling cannot be created by just building a standard house unit without any opportunity given for adapting it and its surroundings for various activities of the group's lifestyle, cultural practices, and livelihood means. This is another reason for conducting a detailed study of the community and engaging them in the resettlement process.

One solution to this problem is to follow the 'model and variations' approach suggested above. Another solution is to develop house designs that could grow incrementally, over time, starting from a basic unit. Ideas such as 'core & infill", 'kit of parts', and 'growth corridor' have been developed by designers to facilitate such incremental transformations. As the individual families grow and gather resources, they could make the necessary adaptations of the basic house unit following the order embedded in the initial design. Habrakan (1976) has proposed a way to systematically design such incremental growth through a sys-

tem of supports, in-fills, and detachable units. Two proclaimed exemplars of an incremental approach to housing include Aranya low-income housing at Indore, India designed by B. V. Doshi (Sharma & Mehta 2007) and incremental housing at Belapur, India designed by Charles Correa (Correa 1996). No critical evaluation studies has been carried out on these projects so far, however, in order to determine whether the approaches adopted by the architects have actually delivered the expected results eventually and, if found to be otherwise, how to make such design strategies effective. This is a crucial gap in the knowledge on such incremental growth design strategies, which an essay in this journal has addressed (see Mathur).

Other possible design solutions could be identified by studying patterns of incremental growth that have taken place in public housing projects. On the one hand it provides critical information on user needs, patterns of space use, and the spatial configurations that promote or hinder adaptations. On the other hand, as Von Osten (2010) advocates, it points out the limits of contemporary design practices in public housing planning, ills of public policy and housing economics, and a political reading of people's resistance to such failed approaches.

In a study on user-initiated transformations in government-led low-cost housing in several devloping countries, Tipple (2000) found that the physical characteristics of the houses are likely to have more effect in the decision to transform than the household size or income. Triggers for such transformations were the inadequacy of housing in terms of house size, plot size and privacy needs as well as due to the desire to stay within the community and the place. The user-initiated adaptations were inhibited by small plot size, ill-defined plot boundaries, siting of the houses in relation to the plot, streets, and adjacent houses that do not allow adequate space for expansion, house designs that restrict easy expansion due to tight spatial composition of rooms, internal circulation system, and roof forms, and lack of services, finances, and regulations. Silva (2007) found similar design problems in the post-tsunami resettlements in Sri Lanka, which have triggered users to build detached, temporary structures because the houses provided do not support acceptable types of transformations (Figure 3).

In order to facilitate user-initiated incremental growth, Tipple (2000) recommends the provision of larger and wider plots, rather than smaller and narrow plots; clearly demarcated plots; fairly spacious and roofed non-habitable spaces such as verandahs and balconies which could easily be transformed into habitable spaces; adequate sturctural systems that could carry the load of upward for extensions; high-enough roofs and roof forms suitable for easy extension without major changes to the roof system; cues and clues incoporated into the house designs that suggest possible expansions and direction of expansion; extendable service lines; and room and internal circulation configurations that facilitate expansions without major internal alterations. Tipple (2000) also argues for provison of finances and regulations that help such user-initiated adaptations, pointing out a range of positive effects such adaptations bring into settlements in terms of private investment in housing, higher densities, increased property value, effiecient use of finite financial, physical and social resources, and neighbourhood-stability.

What Tipple's study indicates is that even if the design is a minimal standard house, provided on a low budget with urgency, it could still be designed to facilitate and guide future growth. What is important here is to accept the fact that no house-design is going to

remain unchanged forever and fit all types of housholds in a community, and then to take a pro-active approach to provide adaptable housing. Tipple (2004) also advocates maintaining a sense of realism in devising planning and design regulations and standards that acknowledge the need for eventual transformation in housing.

Planning for user-initiated transformations makes the provision of shelter a democratic process in which a greater degree of choice, control and freedom of home-making is transferred to the users. The resultant settlement would eventually bear the visual character generally inherent in organically developed vernacular environments, since users themselves have more opportunity to design and build their houses over time. Vernacular enviornments are never static and pristine; they are dynamic and ever changing, though the rate, degree, agents and nature of change may vary (Vellinga 2006). Making room for user-initiated adaptations in resettlement housing is, in essence, adheres to this dynamic attribute of the vernacular process.

Adopt traditional practices to housing construction and disaster response

Studies evaluating resettlement programs indicate that adopting local technologies with some improvement is more beneficial in the housing construction than introducing alternative technologies (Mackay 1978, Maskrey 1995). Where resettlement housing is a response to a natural disaster, incorporating certain hazard mitigation mecahnisms against future disasters in the housing planning and construction is imperative. In places where natural disasters are frequent, Schilderman (2004) points out that indigenous building practices for disaster mitigation and coping do exist and advocates incorporating such practices in resettlement planning. These practices may be inadequate for coping with hazards of great magnitude, may have been lost due to having followed fashionable trends in construction, or may have been ignored due to economic pressures or lack of knowledge in traditional craftsmanship.

Such limitations in informal approaches could be mitigated through training and improving upon construction practices. Adopting local approaches to disaster response in resettlement planning preserves local knowledge, strengthens social capital, and makes the reconstruction more acceptable to the community in terms of culture, climate, technology and economy. Schilderman (2004) mentions that such community-based planning for disaster mitigation has proven to be more successful than formal, institutional approaches imposed upon the community; since the new construction standards introduced by formal approaches usually tend to be alien and costly to local groups. Relatively small changes and improvements in traditional construction could make housing more disaster resistant, yet remain affordable and climatically and culturally acceptable. For example, in Bangladesh, a study led by the German Red Cross organization identified minor construction changes – using metal bracings for bamboo joints instead of usual nylon ropes, preservative treatment of traditional materials, and improvements to foundations – that would strengthen houses made predominantly out of bamboo against impact from cyclones (Haq 1999). In Peru, a local technology called 'quincha'- a wattle and daub construction method – has been made more earthquake resistant with improvements in foundations, roof framework, and application of preservatives to timber poles (Schilderman 2004).

Incorporating new materials and technology into a local building culture should be

carried out in a careful and critical manner. New technology should not completely replace the local technology. A good practice is to replace certain steps in the building process, material procurement, material processing, and stages of construction, rather than propose a total negation of the traditional method. The intervention could take the form of incremental replacement in order to allow time for the local community and tradesmen to adjust to the new systems in their perceptions and skills. A small-scale semi-autonomous technology system, which still facilitates user involvement in the construction, is preferable to mass-scale autonomous systems that simply replace manual labour with heavy machinery. Another important factor is that the new technology should be, as far as possible, carried out on-site instead of off-site, whether it is the production of building material or assembly of building components. The introduction of a cement block-making machine is a good example of an unobtrusive, successful technological intervention into local practices of brick-making. It is a small-scale intervention that preserves user-participation in the on-site production of building materials.

Change perceptions on building standards

Incremental growth also means the acceptance of substandard housing conditions of the communities to be resettled, not in any negative terms but in a more appreciative manner. As Rapoport and Watson (1972) show, expectations and standards on acceptable comfort levels may differ cross-culturally and intra-culturally. Conditions that designers think imperfect may be quite acceptable to the community. Such 'imperfect' conditions could form the starting point of housing standards, and part of these could remain for some time until each condition is eventually improved. All inferior situations do not necessarily require fixing at the outset: As Tipple (2000) mentions, maintaining a realistic perspective of housing standards is important. Thus, critically evaluating the substandard aspects, prioritizing what should be fixed first and allocating available resources to that end is important (Silva & Broderick 2007). The users themselves would determine what could remain and what should be changed in terms of their housing needs. Their view could change the designers' attitude of their dire living conditions.

One important aspect of this proposition is the re-thinking of conventional views on aesthetics and functional merits of certain building materials, technology, and spatial attributes (Silva & Broderick 2007). In occasions of severe economic conditions, people have shown how ingenious they could be in identifying the unseen potential of materials for sheltering. The functional value of salvaged materials and imperfect techniques can be improved dramatically if we change our conventional opinion of them. Some materials, such as bamboo, maybe abundantly available locally, yet their potential as sustainable low-cost building material may not have been recognized due to cultural misperceptions of their aesthetics, structural quality, and use. Developing innovative ways of using materials and promoting them aggressively is also vital.

Conclusions

The points discussed above recur in many studies on resettlement housing, affordable hous-

ing, and post-disaster recovery projects, in some form, either as reasons for thriving projects or as those unheeded in failures. The question is why this knowledge is not transferred to design professionals who undertake resettlement housing projects. This problem of knowledge transfer is related to the management of knowledge on disaster prevention and response (Chua, et.al. 2007).

One reason is that such knowledge has been primarily accumulative than cumulative, in which a careful meta-analysis of research on these projects resulting in a set of principles to follow in resettlement housing designs have not been derived. This paper is an attempt to fill in this lacuna in the knowledge domain. Many similar attempts are desired in this respect. A related issue is the dissemination of studies on resettlement housing: they are rather scattered and appear in non-design disciplinary fora and thus are not directly accessible to design professionals.

It could be a problem related to the education of environmental designers, their professional elitism, and disciplinary isolationism (H. Davis 2006, Oliver 2006). Community design, especially examples where the communities are engaged in design processes as primary participants, should be encouraged as part of architectural curricula. Instead design-led curricula are primarily focused on producing aesthetically focused high-end design and shy away from projects such as resettlement housing. Such educational projects should involve hands-on learning models rather than merely hypothetical or theoretical exercises. They should involve input from other disciplines like sociology or economics, as well as public policy, fundraising, and community advocacy; as the knowledge and experience in these domains have become crucial for achieving truly civic-minded design (Capps 2011, Hawthorne 2011). Examples for such pedagogical efforts are abundant in the South American context (Di Paula 1996, Fernandez 2001, Jann and Platt 2009). Furthermore, new criteria should be developed to evaluate resettlement designs, in which the design priorities are more concerned with community development than purely high-end aesthetics (Hawthorne 2011). These criteria could also be aspects of continuing professional education for architects.

Moreover, it is crucial to identify how these concepts could be applied to given situations and to devise the appropriate strategies to implement them based on local scenarios. Innovative solutions could come from the community itself, from their ingenious ways of dealing with the difficulties of life. This would demand a repositioning of perceptions of both the professionals and the people alike on many facets of housing (Silva & Broderick 2007). Designers of resettlement programs should also educate other constituencies – development agencies, policy makers, and local authorities –regarding these principles and direct housing provision strategies along these lines. This is a real professional responsibility and it goes beyond the mere designing of physical shelters. Professional organizations of architects could take initiative in establishing specific programs for resettlement planning and disaster response and recovery in order to train and connect professionals with local officials and humanitarian organizations in post-crisis planning and rebuilding.

In summary, resettlements should be built upon the values and aspirations of the communities rather than any aesthetic preferences of designers or visual evidence of vernacular form alone. Salutary lessons are gained only when vernacular contexts are understood as a part of an evolving ecology rather than static, architecturally pristine, historic entities. Constructive dialogue between communities and designers is paramount for success.

Table 1: Attributes of Vernacular Design (based on Rapoport, 1990 & 1999)	
Process Characteristics	Product Characteristics
1. Identify of designers	1. Degree of cultural and place specificity
2. Intentions and purposes of designers	2. Specific model, planform, morphology, shapes, transitions, etc.
3. Degree of anonymity of designers	3. Nature of relationship among elements and the nature of underlying rules
4. Reliance on a model with variations	
5. Presence of a single model or many models	
6. Extent of sharing of model	4. Presence of specific formal qualities:complexity. solid-void relations,fenestratons, massingand volumes, articulation, level change, use of flight, use of vegetation, etc.
7 Nature of schema underlying the model	
8. Consistency of use of a single (same) model for different parts of house-settlement system	
9. Type of relationship among models used in different types of environments	5. Use of specific materias, textures, colors
10. Specifics of choice model of design	6. Nature of relation to landscape, site, geomorphology,etc.
11. Congruence of choice model and its choice criteria with shared ideals of users	7 Effectiveness of responses to climate
	8. Efficiency in use of resources
12. Degree of congruence and nature of the relafion between environment and culture lifestyle	9. Complexity of largest scale due to place specificity
13. Use of implicit/unwritten vs. explicit/legalistic design criteria	10. Copplexity of other scales due touse of a single model with variations
14. Degree of self-consciousness/ unselfconsciousness of the design process	11. Clarity, legibility, and comprehensibiltty of the environment due to the order expressed by the model used
15. Degree of constancy/invariance vs. change/originality (and speed of change over time) of the basic model	12. Open-endedness allowing additive, subtractive, and other changes
16. Form of temporal change	13. Presence of 'stable equilibrium' (vs. unstable equilibrium of high-style)
17. Extent of sharing of knowledge about design and construction	14. Complexity due to variations over time
	15. Open-endedness regarding activities
	16. Degree of multisensory qualities of environment (large range of non-visual qualities)
	17. Degree of differentiation of settings
	18. Effectiveness of environment as a setting for lifestyles and activity systems and other aspects of culture
	19. Ability of settings to communicate effectively to users
	20. Relative importance of fixed-feature vs semi-fixed features
	21. The relafive importance of, and chages among, different levels of meaning

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Figure 2. A post-tsunami re-housing project in Tangalle, Sri Lanka, sponsored by HelpAge, Sri Lanka. When moved into the houses, the first thing people demanded from the sponsors was to build them a kitchen outside, since the one that was provided within the house was not appropriate for residents' way of cooking. The sponsors had to provide these temporary structures eventually. Such extensions, especially for kitchens, built by people themselves are common in other post-tsunami re-housing projects in Sri Lanka.

Figure 3. A post-tsunami re-housing project in Nonagama, Tangalle, Sri Lanka. In this house, residents built a kitchen outside, but cannot extend the existing roof, as it is too low.

Architecture of a 'Third-World': Design, Technology and Architectural Education

Milinda Pathiraja

Introduction

In recent decades, Western scholars and a publishing culture oriented towards Western audiences have increasingly evaluated cultivated architectural practices in South and South-east Asia within a 'regional or critical regional,' 'tropical modern' or 'vernacular' design framework based on references to traditional building systems and their picturesque re-interpretation in space and form (Lai and Pieris 2011). This framing, which imposes a borrowed design paradigm on a different and complex set of social concerns (Frampton 1980; Tzonis and Lefaivre 2003) is largely provoked by a Western rejection of postmodernism and search for contextual modernist alternatives outside the West. While useful for focusing on certain cultural and climatic attributes in architecture, they often ignore the broader socio-economic, socio-cultural and socio-technical frameworks of the local building production process. Sri Lanka is one of the countries where this type of cultural alignment has been most evident, with many of the architectural elements and spatial solutions found in traditional dwellings, temples and historical remains – particularly roofs, verandas, internal courtyards and decorated building components – are borrowed and reconceptualised for modern architectural use, especially in high-end residential construction and high-end tourism. This coincides with the state domination of public architecture and subsequent professional estrangement from the state-led infrastructure projects, social housing and a range of industrial and institutional buildings, which are under-examined, while experimentation in such programmes is under-valued. Indeed the architecture that is recognised as representative of the nation seems to be ignorant of its most pressing social concerns.

Since the 1960s, and also thanks to publications such as *Mimar* and *The Architect*[1] as well as monographs on individual architectural practices, an ostensibly critical approach to Sri Lanka's building heritage has grown to represent the country's architectural identity and refined canon, as epitomised in the design of the new Parliamentary complex in the 1980s by Geoffrey Bawa – whose work has been identified (through international publications and awards) as exemplifying the regionalist approach. Although Bawa did not claim this label for his architecture, his work has been used by Western scholars to illustrate concepts and discourses that originated in the West and were inserted and circulated in the Asian region (O'Coill and Watt 2008). Increasingly, through the dissemination of regional publications, awards and public lectures, such ideas are being circulated and validated with-

in the profession, and used to advance the work of the other local architects (See, Cooper 2011; Wijetunge 2010).

While the rise of such an architectural language may have raised cultural awareness and stimulated necessary reflection on Sri Lankan society's history and conditions in the 1960s,[2] its application at present must be read differently. The original adoption of regional styles in the institutional building fabric of the country was indeed part of an iconographic exercise in nation-building with collective aims. By contrast, the evolution and the success of this so-called 'regionalist' architecture to the present day has ended up diluting the symbolic political dimension of such work to the advantage of its visual allure, branding power and commercial declinations. The essentially Western label has been appropriated for describing and defining local architecture to the detriment of other ways of seeing, responding to or representing the work of local architects. This orientation has also limited the range of programs explored by talented designers.

Given that the materials (i.e., timber), the architectural elements (i.e., the large overhanging roof) and the processes (i.e., the use of highly skilled craftsmen) required and employed are either expensive or scarce, the technological paradigm subsumed by this type of architectural production is paradoxically self-limiting in the context of the Sri Lankan industry, and ends up serving only a very selected market. Certainly, such architecture can hardly be applied as a measure of the profession or its capacity.

The architecture profession is the body traditionally entrusted with fiduciary and public good responsibilities, which could indirectly act as the facilitator of the processes outlined. They could do so by embedding their logics into the projects that its members are commissioned to work on and the resultant architectural language that they may develop. Although public architecture is typically dominated by the state sector – a legacy of the colonial period and subsequent nationalisation of industries – its institutions such as the Public Works Department and later the State Engineering Corporation were the original training grounds for local architects. During the late twentieth century, other institutions such as the Urban Development Authority, the Mahaweli Development Authority and National Housing Development Authority expanded upon these roles, but few talented architects were drawn to their agendas. Urbanisation, rural development and housing were among the primary concerns of these institutions, yet the decline of this sector, its politicisation and the rift between public and private practice have caused a withdrawal of talent from these socially-led agendas. This was evidenced in the involvement of numerous client groups in the post-tsunami reconstruction work.

The aftermath of the tsunami created an opportunity for private sector architects to re-engage in the social arena, and there were many who took up the challenge. For example, Madura Prematilleke designed a civic and community precinct in Kalametiya to relocate a fishing village affected by the disaster; Pradeep Kodikara, Varuna de Silva, and Sanath Liyanage developed a well thought-of reconstruction plan and subsequent housing facilities for the tsunami-hit Southern coastal town of Kirinda. However, their capacity was limited. Despite considerable levels of assistance from various sources, the profession as a whole seemed unable to absorb and put into effect credible building solutions. As outlined by Shaw and Ahmed (2010), limited state capacity led to dependence on local and international donors. Yet the reconstruction of these devastated communities required levels of engagement with sites and services, construction processes and material allocation for which the architects were untrained.

After almost seven years from the day of the disaster, the local townships are still plagued by damaged buildings and ruined infrastructure. Most of the new buildings that replaced those that were destroyed have failed in quality and character. Above all, the opportunity offered by the disaster to re-think and re-develop the coastal belt has been lost in the process. The successes and failures of private-practice engagement in post-tsunami reconstruction exposed a gap in the education of architects in dealing with such concerns.

The broadening gap between private and public practice suggests a separation of goals, and the education of architects accentuates this divide. Do architects carry a social responsibility or are they merely service providers, subservient to the pecuniary ambitions of a private clientele? How might they reinsert themselves in social agendas and contribute to the public responsibility of professionalization? To do so in Sri Lanka may mean a clash with the nature of both mainstream and learned architectural practice, their connection with the development of a 'regionalist,' 'vernacular' or 'tropical modern' architectural discourse impinging on a picturesque representation of 'traditional' building products and processes, and their reluctance to embrace the virtues of industrial technologies and the prosaic aspects of building.

The purpose of this essay is to divert attention from these narrow regionalist definitions that measure architectural production internationally, and ask how the 'critical' relationships underlying them may be transformed. It asks whether the opportunities for social engagement typically provided by the state sector can be availed upon by architects, and if so on what terms. It seeks to expose the limitations of the representative regionalist frame in order to make space for a different kind of discourse where architects may address wider social agendas. In doing so it ventures a different interpretation of critical practice appropriate to an indigenous and regional context, defined in terms of the technologies, labour, materials and skills available in a country like Sri Lanka with a specific developmental history. The ultimate objective of this essay is to offer a position on architectural education that combines the intellectual dimension of building with the realities of construction, hoping that such position on training would encourage future architects to deal with the 'critical' problems (regional or otherwise) of the local building production process.

The term 'regionalism' was usually applied to describe regional political alliances in Asia formed during the Cold War period (Pieris and Jayewardene 2012, in this issue). the reflective appropriation of indigenous ways of building was part of a wider anti-imperialist struggle and a search for a social, economic, and environmental appropriateness. Viewed more narrowly, the roots of so-called 'regionalist' architecture in Sri Lanka have been linked with a period of inward-oriented development, forced industrialization and import-substitution policies: these, after all, were the conditions that forced the building industries involved in these transformative processes to experiment with forms of construction using local materials and methods.

Eventually, however, the use or the adaptation of technological configurations from the past came to be seen and promoted as a 'style' capable of reinforcing the reconstruction of national cultures and the consolidation of threatened identities. Because of this, architectural interventions started to move away from the provision of concrete responses to the context, toward symbolic representations of a gilded past.

However, the impetus for self-determination that prompted the shift to an appropriate aesthetic resonates with the earlier politics of regionalism, and suggests a broader definition of the term. This essay explores an alternative application of regional knowledge and resources by reassessing what it means to be 'critical' and 'regional'. This effort, introduced at a time when the term is being appropriated and normalised in local architectural discourse offers a different interpretation, linked to an earlier socially oriented ideology that may prove useful in advancing such practices within architecture. This essay maybe regarded as an experiment in a different way of approaching the subject through the lenses of construction technologies, labour and skills development.

Gaps in the regionalist discourse

In the late 1970s/early 1980s, architectural theorists like Alexander Tzonis and Liane Lefaivre (1981), and eventually Kenneth Frampton (1983), introduced the notion of a 'critical' regionalism, in which the adjective – 'critical' – qualified the associated activity as a proposition embedded with testing ambitions (as in the Kantian notion of 'test of criticism') rather than a sentimental, prejudiced, and irrational attachment to established traditions.

Lefaivre and Tzonis, in particular, complained that regionalism, as a concept, was being repeatedly misused by transporting it "back to its obsolete, commercial, and chauvinistic campaigns" (Lefaivre & Tzonis 2003, p 10). By contrast, the priority of regionalist practices should be that of identifying and responding to particular rather than universal dogmas, and to evolve a 'bottom-up approach' on the physical, social and cultural situation rather than "imposing narcissistic formulas from the top down" (Ibid.: 11).

Conversely, the historic emergence of the concept in the context of European nationalism also sought to establish links between geographic belonging, freedom and liberty against foreign impositions, as an emancipatory narrative: attributes that could be translated – in their view- into the contemporary context. The position held by Tzonis and Lefaivre is important in this discussion, since it is posited that the romanticisation and the 'nationalistic' aura of regionalism is theoretically constructed, and has been detrimental to the social function of architecture.

In a critical essay on an exhibition on Indian Architecture held in 1986, Bhatt and Bafna emphasize the paradigmatic shift in Indian Architecture from the quasi-scientific, social concerns of the early independence period to a 'nationalistic' and culturally based agenda on 'Indianness' (2001: 48). The exhibition, with contributions from the renowned Indian architects Charles Correa and Ashish Ganju, was themed as a spiritual interpretation of Indian architecture as a succession of 'epiphanies', or myths, from the Vedic period (the period during which the Vedas - texts related to early Indo-Aryan religion - were being composed) to today. In the opening statement to the exhibition catalogue, Correa writes: "As the centuries progress, the myths change. New ones come into being, are absorbed, ingested, internalised, and finally transformed into a new architecture. Each time this metamorphosis occurs, a new area – vistara – opens up to our sensibilities. The history of Indian Architecture has been an extraordinary progression of such vistaras" (Correa 1986: 8).

Bhatt and Bafna argue that the representation of Indian architecture through such a mysterious, metaphysical and transcendental framework simplifies the complex social and political realities of the region. In fact, as they point out, the section on housing and settle-

ments in the exhibition was not only limited but also physically and conceptually separated from the larger 'succeeding myth'-based argument (Bhatt and Bafna 2001: 47).

A similar critique is advanced by O'Coill and Watt (2008) regarding the work of Bawa. They argue that the complexities of the local context and the challenges of identity construction are ignored in the desire to represent Bawa as a regionalist. According to O'Coill and Watt, Bawa's work is often celebrated by the so-called 'regionalists' as a narrative about the larger conflict between 'local tradition' and 'global modernity'. Yet, this dualistic thinking of 'regionalism' fails to discuss the 'local' conflicts of identity politics and the subsequent socio-cultural, socio-economic, and socio-technical needs of building production. In-fact, O'Coill and Watt state that, within an alternative reading of Bawa's architecture outside of the regionalist discourse, one may even "acknowledge the possibility that it could be simultaneously oppositional in the global context yet oppressive in the local" (Ibid: 493).

However, such operative limitations are built into the theory of regionalism as a critical practice, justifying the distance of regionalist architecture from social agendas. In his seminal writings on critical regionalism, the architectural historian Kenneth Frampton states this condition clearly: regionalism needs to be marginal in order to be critical, and can therefore flourish only in the "cultural interstices" of practice, where "in one way or another, one is able to escape the optimising thrust of universal civilization" (Frampton 1980: 327). The resistance offered by regionalist architecture translates into decided reaction against the normative standards, practices, forms, technological and economic conditions ostensibly entering and affecting every cultural and physical region. Reaction, however, is feasible at the small, 'naturally interstitial' scale, which is in fact favoured over "the big plan". Champions and opportunities for critical regionalism thus become sophisticated architects such as the Mexican Luis Barragan, the Portuguese Alvaro Siza, the Danish Jorn Utzon, for example, and the small bespoke projects they build for an enlightened, 'choosing' clientele. As with the case of Bawa, the selective representation of their work - through publications - reproduces these architects as operating at the margins.

Yet, as Keith Eggener maintains (Eggener, 2002), the choices of language and scale, together with the dialectic sets employed by Frampton as tools in search of a culturally relevant 'identity', end up producing "scenographic simulacra of resistance" that are geared more towards emotional responses to the work than concrete explorations of architecture's role in the region.

As an example, Eggener uses Louis Barragan's work to show how the use of colour and form so distinctive of his production is essentially an "attempt to evoke sentimental responses" and "recall an imaginary of the regal Mexican past"; architecture's ability to deal with socially-infused problems of the place are not exploited in his work – an issue instead addressed in the low-cost, utilitarian schools, housing, hospitals, offices and factories built by his Latin American contemporaries like Juan O'Gorman, Jose Villagran Garcia, Lina Bo Bardi, etcetera. Similarly, in Sri Lanka, the focus on Bawa marginalises the work of a number of architects – such as Nihal Amerasinghe and Turner Wickramasinghe - who have worked consistently with what may be termed as place-sensitive and socially-oriented considerations. Far from occupying the margins, architects like Bawa operate at the centre of architectural visibility in a language attuned to Western/global audiences, an example of a top-down design approach. The more critical issues of the region – such as urbanisation, development, and the complex processes underlying architectural production - are absent from these representations.

The preferences and omissions of the Western regionalist discourse raise questions regarding the appropriateness of applying a term coined for a post-industrial society on a very different social context in the developing world. Does it, in fact, excuse the neglect of social issues while validating specific, culturally attenuated aesthetic preferences? Is it useful to use, adapt or reconceptualise the discourse in a way that it might inform more urgent architectural agendas? Does the dominance of design-led knowledge, which advocates regionalist approaches prevent us from developing alternative pathways into architecture?

The following sections propose an alternative critical practice, with a different basis explored during my PhD research at the University of Melbourne. My research hopes to inform practice and is oriented towards the priorities of private practitioners, their education and their involvement with industry. The essay concludes with a manifesto for design as a 'bottom-up' process.

Labour intensity and urbanization: the need for a critical practice for the region

The ideological basis of regionalism has shown to affect its technological framework because, as architectural historian Anoma Pieris (2005: 23) notes, the development of a place-based language of aesthetic seduction, emulating "the desire of postcolonial elites to construct a sense of geographic belonging", has come to rely on the use of labour-intensive building systems, highly skilled craft traditions, and scarce local materials.

Ironically, if one takes the skill component momentarily out of the picture, this emphasis on labour-intensive methods of construction appears to be in line with policies taken at the other end of the construction industry spectrum, and in particular with labour policy makers' view of the construction sector in the developing world as an employment generation engine.

The International Labour Organization (ILO) uses the term 'labour-intensive' to describe a "technology that applies a labour/equipment mix that gives priority to labour, supplementing it with appropriate equipment where necessary for reasons of quality or cost" (ILO 2005). For the same level of investment in local infrastructure, the use of labour-based technologies can create between "two and four times more employment (mostly unskilled), drop foreign exchange requirements by 50% to 60%, decrease overall cost by 10 to 30%, and reduce environmental impacts" (Ibid). This is because labour-intensive methods can also imply high(er) use of associated local resources, including locally available materials, tools and equipment, skills and knowledge, as well as finance.

As mentioned, the impetus behind ILO's support for the use of labour-intensive technologies is not connected with 'handicraft' but rather with the need to generate employment opportunities for the armies of unemployed individuals populating the social landscape of developing/urbanising economies. Yet the generalised adoption of such technologies in industries that are essentially non-regulated can be problematic, even when the application of proper labour standards and minimum working conditions is promoted (including minimum wages, non-discrimination, the elimination of forced and child labour, protection of wages, safety, health and insurance against work accidents, etcetera).

More specifically, the policy-makers' such as ILO's primary objective of maximizing job-creating opportunities for the unemployed is a quantitative approach aimed at merely setting

up an entry-point to the job market; the subsequent skill development that may help the workers to move into better social and economic conditions is not built into that strategic approach. It is imperative to recognize the need for flexible training opportunities and career development paths for the workers, especially with the collapse of traditional apprentice-ship structures. Opportunities such as using real building projects as training grounds, for example, can be explored by finding ways to bring together policy makers, design profes-sionals, manufacturers, contractors and subcontractors, etc., within possible industry-wide training programs. The bottom line is that, unless the technological environment is embed-ded with an inherent capacity for labour up-skilling, the advance of labour from low-waged, entry-level, informal workers to well-paid, skilled workers does not occur as smoothly as policy makers may have implied.

From the architectural profession's standpoint, such inclusion of wider social and industrial applications through the building process calls for a change in approach and at-titude. More specifically, it becomes necessary to recognize a 'place-based' definition for architecture, which however, must deviate from the idea of 'regionalism' that projects tradi-tional histories and technologies as a way of legitimizing ideological and cultural boundaries. Instead, an alternative definition for 'regionalism' must be derived out of its ability to discuss grass-root problems of the society at large.

In a seminal history of the labour process in the production of the built environment in the UK, Linda Clarke claims that urbanization is the result of social agreements and human behaviour in construction, and the concentration and division of the labour force (Clarke, 1992: 16). Possibly by default, this is evident as well in almost all the major conurbations of the developing world – Mumbai, Lagos, Caracas, Brasilia, Mexico City, Lima, Karachi, Dakar, Cairo, Nairobi, Luanda, La Paz, Teheran, Durban, Ankara, Cali, Kinshasa, Colombo, etcetera – where rapid urbanization have resulted in the proliferation of under-serviced buildings and ad-hoc urban growth. If changes in the urban environment are direct manifestations of changes in production and labour processes, the quality of the workforce must have a direct impact on the performance of the city as a whole.

In traditional urban studies, however, the city is treated as an ensemble of finished products comprising infrastructure and buildings, each providing specific use and exchange values. According to Clarke (Ibid: 17), the problem with this physical conception of urbaniza-tion is that it can conceal the social relations involved in the production of the built environ-ment. By contrast, if cities were imagined "as a building site", the production process would become decisive to, and reflective of, the result. In this context, the factors of production of the city – land, capital, materials, labour, tools, machinery, energy, etcetera – would be the elements necessary to consider for its design, whereas formal and discursive ideas – such as regional 'identity' – would turn out to be secondary to them.

There is no reason why such intellectual position cannot be applied to the highly urbanizing economies of today, while keeping in mind the characters of their production networks and labour markets: to address the consequences of urbanization from a built en-vironment perspective, it is important to understand patterns of social behaviour as well as changes in the technological environment and the building labour process. It becomes also necessary to understand how these changes transform social relations within building pro-duction and the subsequent efficiency of the building delivery process, both quantitatively and qualitatively.

Clarke points out that, when buildings are looked at purely as distinct objects for market exchange, building production concepts tend to be site-specific and lead towards on-site assembly processes, complex and spatially-fixed designs, subsequent low productivity, casual labour structures, greater divisions of labour and construction markets, etcetera. But, if urbanization was to be seen as part of an inclusive production process based on social relations – and therefore geared towards a unique product generated over time, then the benefits of other modes of production such as standardization, prefabrication and mass production, combined with continuity of labour relations and up-skilling, could be explored and captured (Ibid: 17).

Accordingly, a design theory addressing the building challenges posed by urbanization should try to comprehend and appropriate the organization, skill-base and internal links of various industrial actors and processes that make up the industry, because it is only within this scale that the rationale and the means for action can be found and possibly activated. Obviously, the form of regionalism discussed earlier in the essay leaves the macro-dimension of the problem untouched.

If one adopted Keith Eggener's stance, that the problem with critical regionalism lay in the fact that its conception is often developed outside 'the region', and therefore fails to absorb the socio-centric concerns of the locale, the challenge would be to produce work that performs a 'critical function' for the locals, incorporating the idea of 'resistance' not as a mere reaction to the West – or world culture – but in response to the problems, potentials and aspirations of the local/regional building industry.

Such resistance would inevitably have to be about the industry's ability to withstand the polarization of production modes and building delivery networks, the fragmentation of labour markets, the de-skilling of the construction workforce, the technical vulnerability of building systems and strategies, and possibly even the failure of design professionals to take part in large building production efforts. In view of all this, a critically regionalist architecture in the developing world cannot be a marginal practice, but an industry-based, bottom-up operation, aimed at addressing 'critical' and 'regional' problems both by example and by policy steering and facilitation.

If it is true that 'third-world' architects should not be burdened with the responsibility for solving complex social and industrial problems in their native countries – in the same way as this is not demanded from 'first-world' architects (Robson 2003, p 103), one can still argue that the architect's role is first and foremost determined by and against local conditions. Asking one to equate architectural practice in the first world with that of the third world is in effect a request to ignore the entire colonial experience and its impact on knowledge and practice. Today, more than ever, architects in the former colonies need to define their role by defining the industry within which they work. A location-sensitive architecture, in this case, would be one that enabled architectural design to engage with issues of industrial organization through the definition or the adoption of specific technological strategies, thus producing 'meaning' via strategic impact.

Architectural education in Sri Lanka: local needs vs professional aspirations

Although possibly accidental, the self-confinement of the architectural profession into selected building product niches signals a move away from its historical roots, since the impe-

tus to its establishment in Sri Lanka emerged in response to urbanization pressures not un-like those at work today. In the 20 years after independence in 1948, Sri Lanka's population increased from seven to thirteen million people, at an average annual rate of urban growth just below 5 per cent (UN 2004: 210). While urbanization dynamics demanded intense construction efforts in city-building, the total number of qualified architects in Colombo in the 1950s was less than 20 (Robson 2002: 50).

The dearth of qualified architects and the tough exchange restrictions affecting foreign training had necessitated the training of architects locally as well as the formation of an institute to organize the profession. As a result, the Ceylon Institute of Architects (CIA) was established in1956 by a group of overseas-qualified architects with membership of the Royal Institute of British Architects (RIBA). CIA obtained the status of an allied society to RIBA in 1960, and in the following year managed to set up a school of architecture attached to the Institute of Practical Technology in Katubedda (Karunaratne & Dias 1997).

Although the commencement of a professional course at Katubedda was motivated by local building demand, course curriculum and structure were organised along lines deemed acceptable by RIBA.[3] Indigenous intellectual traditions regarded as irrelevant became inaccessible to the new generation of architects. This created a paradox in terms of local aspirations and professional training realities. On the one hand, the RIBA-targeted course curriculum failed to discuss the socio-economic, socio-technical and socio-cultural problems specifically related to city-building in Sri Lanka. On the other hand, locals' attraction to the course impinged on the fact that RIBA qualifications would give them opportunities to find work in other RIBA-recognized territories, such as the United Kingdom and India (Karunaratne & Dias: 1997). While the need to align with RIBA can be understood from a professional point of view, the dislocation between education content and local motives has proven to be detrimental in the long run.

Responding to RIBA Board of Education's recommendation that the education of an architect should take place entirely at university level, a university course in architecture was first established in Colombo (affiliated to the University of Colombo), and then moved back to Katubedda with the establishment of a Department of Architecture at the University of Moratuwa (SLIA 2007). This peripheral geographic positioning indirectly retarded the plans for advancing architectural education in Sri Lanka, at a point in the country's history when ambitious industrialization programs had been launched. Physically, socially and intellectually set away from the main centre of professional and building action – i.e., Colombo - the new architecture program minimized the opportunity to position, engage and encourage future professionals to take part in the production of social space, at least from a cultural point of view. Training at Katubedda was aimed at attaining professional recognition from RIBA. It could almost be said that local architects learned to understand and reproduce the meanings of their work and places through a British/European eye.

The remnants of this educational heritage inform canonical representations of Sri Lankan architecture, and the importance assigned to geographic specificity and climatic belonging, material crafts and spatial phenomenologies is frequently based on European constructions of non-Western traditions, rather than local knowledge. In the official disciplinary discourse, the production of meaning viz a viz the iconography of precolonial architecture seems symbolically more important and professionally more tangible than the production of physical space for the larger needs and social agendas of a developing nation.

While the elevation of architecture to pure formal and experiential objects is legitimate and certainly valuable for a theory of architecture, the inability to apply the principles espoused to the vast majority of the building types and the highly constrained construction contexts of a growing Sri Lanka has reduced the professional impact of design intellectuals such as Bawa. Consequently, the social front remained a marginalized field of endeavour amongst the members of the cultivated profession in Sri Lanka, particularly in cities and in the private sector. It is possible that this behaviour was and is still related to tactics of professional legitimization typical of challenging social environments, which consider it important for professional work to engage in areas where intellectual autonomy or appropriate resources are guaranteed, and where ideas can rise above contingent circumstances.

The tendency to look at architecture as a gentleman's profession, however, has generated three perceivable outcomes, which orient the profession towards private capital: an ideology of forms and form-making along the lines discussed previously; a divergence of education and practice towards these ideologies and private interest groups; and an undersupply of technical resources.

In 2002, Sri Lanka had 746 architects in the country serving a population of 18.9 million, for an architect-residents ratio of 1 to 25,000. Australia, by comparison, has a ratio of 1 to 1,700. In the same year, the overall number of architectural students was less than 500 (Tombesi 2004: 49).

These figures suggest that, if the role of the architect is not reconsidered, the current and future supply of professionals will not be enough to respond to the physical challenges of an urbanising Sri Lanka. Meanwhile, the spatial needs of the wider society will continue to be fulfilled through informal networks of actors and the functional processes that bring them together: 'bass'-led work-gangs, informally procured labour, labour-only sub contractors, informal skill development, incremental work, etcetera. New analytical models of the sector but also new tactics of professional aggregation may be needed, not only to appreciate the structural limitations of the present situation but also to delineate adequate policy responses that could help Sri Lanka take advantage of the situation rather than becoming a victim of its own opportunities.

'Design' as a bottom-up process: understanding the technological base

Succinct though it may be, the description attempted above highlights the contradictions that pervade professional training and intervention in socio-economic environments such as Sri Lanka's. So what then is the way forward? This essay argues that, in those economies defined by industrialization trends, low rates of urbanization and minimum levels of per capita wealth, architectural design must incorporate a technology-infused function. In other words, the definition of an appropriate technological framework, impinging on elements that are directly related to local socio-technical, socio-cultural and socio-economic conditions, is a critical requirement for the development of an adequate professional architectural practice. By adequate, I mean a practice that is capable of: (1) responding to the functional and cultural needs of these environments, and (2) narrowing the gap between architectural production and shelter supply that traditionally defines building output in such environments. It is only by transcending the constraints and the traditions of these two 'worlds' of practice, one internal and one largely external to architecture as a profession, that a 'third'

idea of practice, functional to the needs and the opportunities of developing economies can be imagined and construed. In fact, it is through the disciplinary understanding and strategic construction translation of regional characteristics, idiosyncrasies and limitations that the technical and cultural performance of designed artifacts (and the built environment in general) can be improved and made relevant to ameliorating social circumstances.

Architects' contribution to these agendas can be 'cultural', in the sense of reforming or updating the notions such as critical regionalism around which the profession congregates, as well as 'technical', in the sense of showing, at project level and through project detailing, how ideas about the industry can be embedded in a design language, and the professional instructions that help construct it.

Within this perspective, a bottom-up architectural and technological framework can be conceived and organised along lines assisting industry actors in:

(1) Valuing money and time:
Scarce, expensive and labour-intensive materials and processes should be avoided, thus making the components and subsystems cost-effective compared to other systems available in the market.
(2) Allowing flexibility in production, assembly and use:
To accommodate different cultural and technological performances, building components and subsystems should have a capacity to be scalable, and to be coupled/decoupled as required without compromising the intended structural, environmental and formal performances.
(3) Providing tolerance for human errors of design, manufacture, assembly or use:
The resolution of a problem should be achieved without the need for care and precision in the making, and strategies must be in place to prevent the failure of one module or element of a system from triggering a chain of failures.
(4) Allowing great adaptability to social circumstances:
Different permutations of products and processes need to be established, so as to give rise to different but equally valid solutions in terms of the functional and social make-up of technical objects.
(5) Building workforce capacity:
Less skilled labour can be used through limited training and modular breakdown of activities, while the gap between operative and professional/technical skills (or informal/formal) should be reduced by translating explicit knowledge into tacit knowledge, and vice versa.
(6) Establishing organic and cooperative links:
Finally, organic cross-industry links, naturally connecting or acknowledging all participating actors, must be in place to incorporate their concerns, incentives, and capacities to the building process as early as possible.

'Third-world' practice: architecture of the building process

Certainly, the idea of building-related design pushed forward above is broad, in fact broader than what traditionally considered part of the architect's services: It draws on economic policy, labour issues, industrial organization, social trends and alliances, technology trans-

fer, technical innovation, buildability, building maintenance and cultural identity. The design task thus defined becomes an inclusive and inherently social activity that enters all the dimensions of the building procurement process: formulation of building scope, building production, building erection, building use and maintenance, project definition and control. "Subscribing to this hypothesis turns the building project into a complex ensemble of design functions, possibly autonomous from and yet connected to architectural design when understood as an act of cultural synthesis. A building is the combined result of their implementation, whereas the building process designates the space in which their gradual refinement and integration occurs, following ongoing negotiations/conciliations between different technical as well as social agendas" (Tombesi 2010). In this operative framework, design challenges without a strong visual dimension can be critical to the success of the enterprise, whereas tasks with an immediate impact on the appearance or the marketability of the built artefact may be marginal to the assessment of the process, or to its broader value. A practice trying to connect the worlds of building (production) and (cultivated/sophisticated) design must remain cognisant of these differences and work to reduce them.

Highlighting the design status of most activities within the building procurement cycle not only takes pressure (as well as perhaps relevance) away from architectural design as traditionally conceived and discussed; it also forces one to look at buildings for what they are socially: the result of the combined work of multiple entities and often internally contradictory decisional processes. Against a design framework based on a multiplicity of design programs, dimensions and social constituencies, the practicing of design has to be collaborative and certainly spread across building management, design and production operations.

What transpires out of these situated reflections on the nature of design versus the nature of building is that the term 'architecture' may have to take up a different connotation in developing world contexts; within them, architectural design means designing the criteria of the entire process and the linkages between the parts of this process rather than the principles of the building (for someone else to execute). The architecture of the process, in other words, has a natural project management and social planning component that extends to the various types of intellectual activity required to conceive a building and implement its construction.

As both a network and a collation of specialized knowledge contributions, building design implies that managing the building procurement process is a matter of bringing distant dimensions into contact. The ability to understand and negotiate differences in cultural, economic and eventually operative frameworks (while keeping all activities within the 'orbit' of the project) becomes key to its success and significance. This could mean, of course, that the application of a collective, social paradigm to the structure of building design does more than presenting an expanded landscape of operations: in fact, the ability to coordinate, define and manage design success-related interface within this structure could very well be the hallmark of a great third-world architect/practitioner.

Whether from within or without, then, working on these issues or at this scale calls for an amplification of the role of the architect in the developing world. Rather than continue standing by the old principle of non-compatibility between professional services and the production of goods (e.g. construction), architects in tune with the times must find a way to bring the ambitions of design and the realities of construction together – devising, if possible, coalitions and solutions to make socio-technical novelty manageable in terms of

labour skills as well as building results. In Sri Lanka, such an outlook requires change in both professional attitude and cultural appreciation.

Conclusion: architectural education

Cultural change and transformations in technical mission, however, cannot be entirely practice-based. Professions rely on higher training and educational institutions to establish and renew the bases of practical and intellectual knowledge that the new generations of practitioners will have to acquire.

As explained earlier, current professional architectural education in Sri Lanka is steeped in an intellectual and cultural framework dominated by Western knowledge that is, at best, context-selective, impinges on a specific narrative celebrating the picturesque alongside nostalgic representation of traditional building products and processes, and relates to technological frameworks that reflect aspirations for high craftsmanship. Within an academic culture that is essentially mono-disciplinary, a sharp divide exists with engineering, construction and social and economic sciences. If poetic transcendence cannot be contaminated by modicums of enlightened technocracy, necessary managerialism and social activism, it will be very hard for other design domains to enter the picture.

Perhaps the idea of a 'design laboratory' as a way of bridging disciplines as well as mixing distant areas of concern could be entertained in the immediate future. If so, however, it will be necessary to move away from the traditional design studio model, which as Ray (2009) notes, relies on intuitive processes to transfer design skills and sensibilities to students. If critical areas of knowledge (such as the ones addressed in this essay) are learned unconsciously, students' ability to enquire rigorously about the cultural and technical underpinning of specific practices, or to employ acquired tools strategically to overcome perceived conditions, will be lost. Instead, the academe needs to experiment with alternative models of teaching that brings together the intellectual dimension of building with the realities of construction so that the future design profiles can receive, evaluate, and facilitate architectural and building innovation by relying on the industrial resources available.

End Notes

1. This journal is published by the Sri Lanka Institute of architects (SLIA).

2. On the "continuity and the contexts of the traditional" in Geoffrey Bawa's work, the Sri Lankan architect C. Anjalendran writes: "the restrictions at the beginning of the 1960s on imports and travel abroad no doubt encouraged this creative impulse" (Anjalendran 1992: 22).

3. The course previousy set up at the Technical College in Maradana by the architects of the Public Works Department (PWD) was considered inadequate for professional training in architecture as recognized by RIBA, both in content and depth. On the contrary, the new professional course, also developed with assistance from PWD architects, aimed unequivocally at gaining RIBA's recognition (Karunaratne and Dias 1997).

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Jonathan Anjaria and Colin McFarlane (Eds.)

Urban Navigations: Politics, Space and the City in South Asia.
Routledge, New Delhi, 2009,
pp. 347, ISBN: 978-0-415-61760-4. INR 895.00.

Andrew Harris
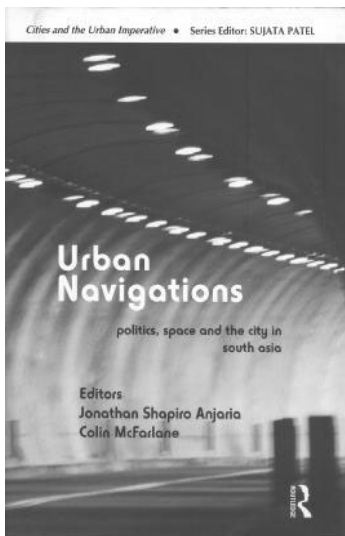
An increasing international focus on, and fascination with, South Asian urbanism over the last decade has been accompanied by a dominant narrative of urban change framed through the lenses of neoliberalisation and globalisation. There has been a generalised emphasis on state withdrawal, privatisation, new transnational consumption practices and the fracturing and fragmenting of older social relations and spatial solidarities. Aspects of this broad story frame the twelve chapters brought together in *Urban Navigations'* exploration of contemporary urban landscapes of South Asia. The book covers the rise of private property regimes, attempts at privatizing urban infrastructure and dismantling labour laws and environmental regulations. It features accounts of elite hopes of inculcating 'world-class' urbanism, and an accompanying decline in urban cosmopolitanism and rise in violence, anti-poor discourse and new forms of spatial exclusion.

What marks out this collection are its efforts at grounding this largely abstract narrative of globalised neoliberalisation in the specific and often contradictory urban contexts of South Asia. Authors take care not to rely necessarily on pre-fixed categories and understandings, but to investigate the particularities and peculiarities of urban space and politics in the sub-continent. This means class and citizenship are not mapped onto state-society relations in straightforward ways. In the opening chapter, Asher Ghertner emphasises how elite power in Delhi needs to be analysed through specific political mechanisms, such as new legal discourses of nuisance. Malini Ranganathan's chapter highlights how middle-classes in peri-urban Bangalore do not necessarily distance themselves from the urban poor, and their engagement with neoliberal water reforms cannot be understood simply through notions of 'civil society' (173). Similarly, spatial enclaves associated with recent urban change in South Asia are shown to encompass more than fortification and exclusion. Andrew Nelson details how life in a gated community in Kathmandu also involves democratic ideals of open exchange and participation.

Urban Navigations moreover demonstrates the necessity of opening up accounts focused on urban political economy to the realms of imaginations, dreams, aspirations and

fantasies that inherently shape the multi-layered and contested landscapes of contemporary Asian urbanity. This includes the reputation, 'soul' and personal emotions connected to experiences and understandings of a city such as Karachi (as examined by Yasmin Jaffri and Oskar Verkaaik). It includes highlighting the importance of aesthetic norms in reshaping understandings of public space and housing in Delhi (Asher Ghertner), how mega-events such as the Delhi 2010 Commonwealth Games can imbue a place with 'an affective charge' (140) that helps manufacture new urban collectivities (Amita Baviskar), and the role of nostalgia and the drift of memory in transcending and enriching the violent realities of contemporary Karachi (Huma Yusuf).

This emphasis on carefully situating broad-brushed accounts of urban change across a wide array of cities in South Asia, and opening up more culturally-nuanced analyses, means *Urban Navigations* offers what the editors Jonathan Shapiro Anjaria and Colin McFarlane suggest are routes for 'new urban arrangements' (1). Urmi Sengupta's chapter on squatter movements in Kathmandu shows how social and political alternatives, albeit small-scale and fledging, exist for grassroots modifications to housing provision and urban development. Vinay Gidwani and Bharati Chaturvedi posit a model of 'democratised privatisation' (72) for non-formal waste-pickers in Delhi, which deftly subverts the new entrepreneurial ethos of urban planning in India and helps to legitimise the role of waste-pickers in the city.

In a similar manner to Gidwani and Chaturvedi's recognition of the 'artistry' in scrap collecting and waste segregation (55), Nikhil Anand, in one of the best chapters in the book, explores how hydraulic engineers are the 'artisans' of Mumbai's water system (205). Counter to the World Bank's marketised 24/7 system of water provision, engineers are able to offer 'a somewhat effective, personal and compromised citizenship' (211) to the urban poor through mobilising both their knowledge and ignorance of intermittent water supply in negotiations with residents and elected councilors. This challenging of simplistic narratives of urban failure and disintegration is also developed in a fitting final chapter by Yasmin Jaffri and Oskar Verkaaik on the Karachi-based charitable organisation the Edhi Foundation. The Edhi is presented as a symbol of hope, sincerity and selflessness, cutting across divisions of class, ethnicity and language, and offering 'a more subaltern optimism of livelihood, social justice and equality' (320).

Despite bringing together some excellent in-depth, sophisticated and critical analysis, aspects of the book's overall framing could cohere more effectively. Although *Urban Navigations* importantly creates new dialogue between cities such as Karachi, Colombo and Kathmandu with the more widely featured Delhi and Mumbai in coverage of contemporary South Asia urbanism, in its bid to provincialise understandings of the North American or West European city, it runs the risk of instigating a new rigid and paradigmatic cartography. South Asia, like the nation state, could be problematised more as a 'taken-for-granted scale of analysis' (12) and more attention paid to how a 'globally circulating urban imaginary of a South Asian city' (1) has been produced. More could have been developed on connections and similarities across the rest of Asia, and greater attempts made to introduce comparative discussion and theoretical reflection across global South and North, particularly in debates on waste, law and insurgent citizenship. The editors acknowledge the difficulties of securing chapters on Bangladesh (9), but there remains a reliance on a handful of large cities, especially Delhi. There is little on *mofussil* India or smaller cities in South Asia (with the exception of a chapter on Shillong by Daisy Hasan), and nothing on how urban experiences are

navigated and imagined in rural contexts. The editors might also have tried to include more writing beyond academia. It is revealing that the most engaging and richly written chapter in the book is by a Pakistan-based journalist, Huma Yusuf.

What might have been more effective in navigating through this region and the urban thematic is to have focused on a particular aspect of the South Asian city, such as infrastructure or informality (especially given the research specialisms of the editors). This might have allowed the different parts of the book - the tripartite structure of 'contestation, materiality, imaginary' (17) – to offer more conceptual and empirical convergence. A tighter focus on a particular aspect of South Asian urbanism might also have helped develop more insights on issues of gender and sexuality, and allowed the 'street-level emphasis' (2) to be more intertwined with ethnographies of actors from state and private sectors. It might also have drawn out more on the importance of 'accumulations of the past' (6), 'historical layers' (7) and the need for 'a longer historical view' (12), as emphasised in the introduction but largely explored only in passing by the book's authors. Lastly, one possible way of more sharply framing the focus of a collection on South Asian urbanism such as this might have been around urban movement and mobility. For a book with the title *Urban Navigations* there is surprisingly little on experiences of actually navigating in, through and between cities.
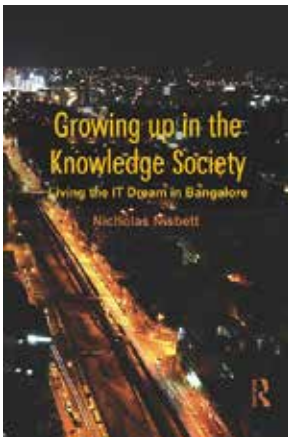
Nicholas Nisbett
Growing Up in the Knowledge Society: Living the IT Dream in Bangalore.
Routledge, New Delhi, 2009.
PPxi; 208, ISBN: 978-0-415-55146-5. INR 695.00.

Bharat Dave

Bangalore has accommodated and adjusted to influx of all imaginable kind in the last few decades- of ideas, people, politics, cultures, and others, both from within India and the rest of the world. There are small signs- the dandy hats worn by traffic cops or the quaint and very red letterboxes, of the times past but they almost serve as markers of how much the city has changed. Indeed the frenetic pace of life in Bangalore is perhaps best felt when ducking traffic to cross roads, many of which have no sidewalks nor marked pedestrian crossings. Fold in your mirror and occupy space, any space that is available. Anyone who is not agile had better get out of traffic. So how indeed does one learn to grow up, run and cope with motion in Bangalore? And what happens to those who just barely manage to catch up with traffic?

As captured in the extended title, this book sheds some light on this phenomenon of 'growing up in the knowledge society' and 'living the IT Dream in Bangalore'. The book is 'a study of young people rooted in the social space and place of Bangalore' (p.4) 'to extricate some of the everyday impacts of the knowledge society'. It draws upon observations from fieldwork that stretched over 20 months between 2001 and 2007.

The book starts by tracing the genealogy of the knowledge society and how it came to manifest as part of the Indian nationhood. This discussion, in Chapter 3, recapitulates key forces that shaped the national plans and policies, post Independence to the rise of India Inc. The next chapter then moves south to the specific focal site of this study, the city of Bangalore. The rise of cybercafés- from the earliest public call office booths to their subsequent morphing into multivariate spaces for transactions- ranging from social bonding to courtship, from cultivation of skills 'capital' to conduits for delivery of cheap services, and others, are captured in Chapter 4. The next three chapters are devoted to passages of growing up – of friendship, courtship and employment. Here is where individual voices are heard, desires revealed, pretences put up and prejudices laid bare. As main informants and their lives are reported, quoted and reflected upon, the surrounding fabric of families, neighbourhoods,

and other networks– where they draw sustenance, support and acknowledgement, are brought into some relief. These observations are then brought together in the summative chapters 7 and 8. We get to know about informants' passage from dreams into real life, and what became of them at the time that the text was presumably drawn together. The starting chapters in the book begin with broad themes, move focus to more fine-grained substance in the middle, and then again move back out again to assume a broader perspective. These shifts in scale across chapters are reflected in the shifting flow of text and their references to related literature throughout the book. The initial chapters are very well knit together in that they provide succinct introductions to the topic in general and its specific grounding in the Indian context. The middle segment is episodic, sometimes clear and lucid, at other times a bit clouded due perhaps to the Indian propensity for ambivalence and contradictions. The final chapters provide a retreat back to the threads with which the books opens.

The book, as the author makes clear in the introduction, is 'a limited ethnographic sketch' (p.6) which it renders admirably. In the main chapters of the book, the identities of informants remains textured and present without being subsumed in overarching theorising or abstractions, most of the time. A sketch, however faithful of a moment in time and place, can serve more than documentary purposes. This is where it would have helped to have a slightly considered account of the spaces which remain abstractly rendered in the book. The cybercafés, their locations, their connections with the rest of the neighbourhood and urban fabric, and their co-option in everyday practices remain lightly described, in a way as if the specificity of Bangalore does not matter much in the subsequent discussion once introduced in the beginning. It would have perhaps also helped the book to include a bridging and somewhat critical commentary that moves from individual moments to broader themes by laying bare inherent difficulties in anthropology in the urban context, of being part of what is being observed, and in leaping from highly individualised journeys of joys and agonies to collective but impersonalised construction of 'national imagining'.

The book is a welcome addition to the growing literature on urban modernities in general and on the rapidly transforming contemporary India in specific. It highlights complexities of studying modern urban experience that is increasingly pulled and pushed by processes that simultaneously enable and challenge identity and mobility.

Preeti Chopra

*A Joint Enterprise: Indian Elites and the Making of British Bombay***.**
Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2011,
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Jim Masselos
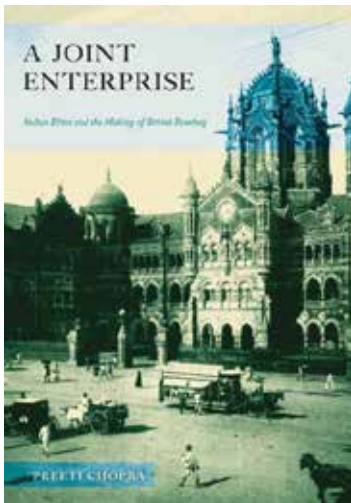
As one among the handful of the world's largest cities Mumbai rightly demands attention. Its antecedent existence, when it was officially Bombay and a colonial city under British rule, also attracts significant scholarly study as demonstrated by Preeti Chopra's recent detailed analysis of the public space and built environment of the (mainly) late 19th century city. She uses the form and appearance of the city to query assumptions about the nature of the colonial experience and of the operation of colonial domination. Hers is consequentially an urban exploration of a colonial city, an account of the application of architectural ideas to built structures and environs, and a study of social and political interactions – all in a colonial urban environment whose dimensions, limits and capabilities constitute one of the main leitmotifs of the book. The inquiry goes further, with her claims that colonial 'cities are key to any understanding of the historical processes of colonialism', that such cities are not the products of the 'singular visions and needs of the colonial regimes that founded them' and finally that 'British Bombay was envisioned and built jointly by colonial rulers and Indian and European mercantile and industrial elites to serve their various interests' [p.xv]. Hence the titling of the book as *A Joint Enterprise* and the way the subtitle assigns Indian elites a formative role in the making of colonial Bombay.

The volume covers a lot of ground. It opens with an account of public – and usually Parsi - philanthropy in funding wells, tanks and fountains throughout the city in mainly the first half of the century. Successive chapters look at the nature of public space and its utilisation, an issue made urgent and relevant following the pulling down of the old city walls in the 1860s and the consequent freeing of land for grand buildings and other imperial projects.

An account of debates about what was the most suitable style of building for Bombay's climate and Indian social dynamics, leads into an assessment of Bombay's predominant 19th century form of public building – Gothic Revival or, variously, High Victorian Gothic. It became the signature style for the city, despite the occasional excursion into the Indo-Saracenic mode favoured elsewhere in the British Indian empire. A chapter is devoted to the architects and civil engineers behind the city's new buildings with the focus

given to a relatively unknown Parsi Civil Engineer, M.C. Murzban, who in his 36 years of government service, was behind many of the major buildings that appeared on the Bombay streetscape during those years. Subsequent chapters look at hospitals and asylums in terms of their external appearance and internal layouts, and note the role of public philanthropy, especially again from Parsis, in subsidising such buildings. An important theme of these chapters is the issue of caste, religious and racial segregation and various attempts, largely unsuccessful, to secure separate hospitals and asylums, or at the least separate space within them, for specific social groups. The book does not however follow the issue into the Plague Hospitals at the end of the century when kin care became critical. The final chapter concludes with an assessment of the joint enterprise in terms of the city's secular landscape, the overall appearance of the city and its various kinds of street furniture.

A great deal about the city as a built environment is packed into *A Joint Enterprise* though it is largely unconcerned, despite references to the overall urban form, with the layout of the city, its precincts and ground plan. It is concerned however with the form and appearance of city structures, a concern conveyed through a dense and detailed text and through a plethora of maps, diagrams, plans and photographs – they work well not only as illustration of the argument but as part of the argument. Much excellent research has gone into bringing such richnesses of illustrative material together and in publishing them here – something for which both author and publisher are to be commended. That a handful of the overall maps of the city reproduced are too detailed to be easily interpreted is only a minor blemish. As to the text itself, it is dense, at times meandering and repetitive in places – a tighter editorial pen would have been beneficial. There are nevertheless such richnesses in detail and range of concerns as to ensure the study becomes an important reference and starting point for future research.

And what of the substantive argument, the assertion of the joint enterprise between Indian elites and the British raj in the making of the city? The argument rests on three elements: that the government and city elites jointly shaped an urban infrastructure to serve their different interests; that European architects, engineers and workers collaborated to design and build the city; and lastly that the two sectors combined in financing institutions for the public good. The collaboration interpretation has a lot going for it, given the large sums Indian elites donated for impressive causes and given the way the book argues that though government and élites converged in bringing about specific changes, their interests and motivations differed. It is of course a notion that has some pedigree, referencing Anil Seal's competition and collaboration thesis popular among Cambridge historians from the 1960s. It also goes back into the late 19th century and the way city elites then expressed great pride in Bombay the beautiful and as the first city in India. Professor Chopra echoes what many Parsi magnates and others thought and articulated about the city in which they lived and which they considered they had had a formative impact in moulding.

As to the term elites while Professor Chopra uses it selectively to cover colonial Bombay's leading wealthy citizens of any ascribed social or religious group she largely ignores the intellectual and educated elite, the leaders of Bombay civil society. Moreover in practice among the mercantile and financial elite it is one numerically minute group that gets most of her attention, the Parsis. Parsis are Zoroastrians who fled to western India when Islam spread through Persia. Centuries later they made use of the opportunities opened to them by British rule and some became immensely wealthy, and proudly philanthropic. Parsis were not the only members of the city's elite who were donors to city causes but they were particularly

generous and concerned with improving the city. Professor Chopra sees a processual pattern in 19th century philanthropy with its focus in the first half of the century on fountains and tanks and after the mid century on large institutions like hospitals, schools dispensaries and the like (p.25). While this provides an enticing trajectory of change it does somewhat ignore the founding and funding of the city's leading higher educational institution, Elphinstone College, by the city's elites at the end of the 1820s and through into the 1830s. Similarly, her own account of the setting up of various kinds of medical institutions late in the first half of the century with private elite support suggests the typology might need some re-thinking.

The book is to be welcomed. More than most studies concerned with Bombay it succeeds in evoking for us readers the character and feel of the 19th century city as inhabited space and as a place of buildings and structures. In looking at the intermix of foreign ideas and trends with local conditions, workers and philanthropists Professor Chopra tells us a great deal about a collective whole - a shared public landscape in a new-fashioned and re-fashioned city, one where the colonial power was not the only determinant of city form and appearance.

Socialist Cosmopolitanism:
The Ceylon Industrial Exhibition 1965

Anoma Pieris

The Ceylon Industrial Exhibition was held at the Colombo Race-Course ground in February 1965. Nine foreign countries participated in the event including East Germany, West Germany, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Israel, China, India, Pakistan and America, eighteen government corporations and several private entrepreneurs. Held at the height of the Cold War the event was particularly revealing of regional contestations and alliances. The grand stand was occupied by various government departments and industries corporatized under the Socialist government under Prime Minister Sirimavo Bandaranaike's Mahajana Eksath Peramuna (MEP - Peoples' United Front, 1956-1965). There were pavilions for Local Government, Marketing, Electrical undertakings, Agrarian services, Irrigation, Marketing, Labor, Post and Telecommunications, Education and Shramadana (self-help). The exhibition had a pigeonry for an aerial orchestra, an international film center and a music and dance centre. PWD architect Bilimoria and his assistant Tangavale designed the main entrance (Fig. 1), a restaurant (Fig. 2), a reception hall for the Ministry of Industries, and the Ceylon Pavilion (Fig. 3) among others. These were erected by the State Engineering Corporation (SEC), which had replaced the colonial Public Works Department and executed all major construction projects. Third year students from the school of architecture were commissioned in the design of some of the pavilions; for example, Anura Ratnavibushana's Steel Corporation Tower which resembled Vladimir Tatlin's 'Monument to the third international' (Fig 4). The star attraction of the exhibition was the planetarium designed by engineer A. N. S. Kulasinghe (Fig. 5) and erected by the SEC. It borrowed its imagery from two recent examples: Sir Frederick Gibberd's Cathedral for Liverpool (1960) and Costa and Niemeyer's Great Cathedral at Brasilia (1960-70). The building has a reinforced concrete floor and a pre-stressed concrete folded plate roof, which was pre-cast on site and erected using cranes. It was funded and maintained by East Germany as a gift to the Sri Lankan government. The exhibition expressed the Socialist cosmopolitan ideals of the Bandaranaike government, which would collapse under economic liberalisation policies over a decade later in 1977. Its modernist representations, Socialist alliances and defiant subjectivity differed radically from a past tradition of colonial exhibitions in which Ceylon was represented by replicas of palace and temple architecture. The exhibition turned its back on the postcolonial Commonwealth of Nations and its history of colonisation.
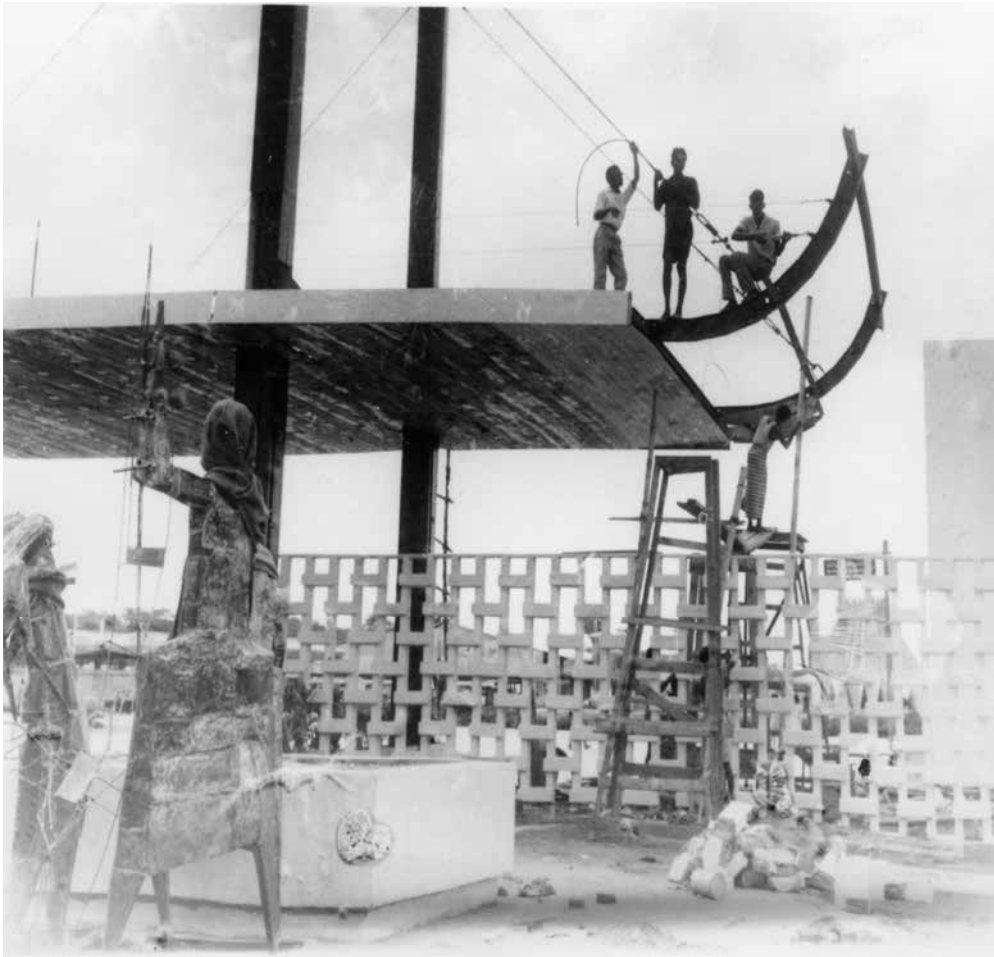
Figure 1. Entrance under construction. (Source: Library, Associated Newspapers of Ceylon Ltd.)

Figure 2. Restaurant. (Source: Library, Associated Newspapers of Ceylon Ltd.)

Figure 3. Ceylon pavilion under construction. (Source: Library, Associated Newspapers of Ceylon Ltd.)
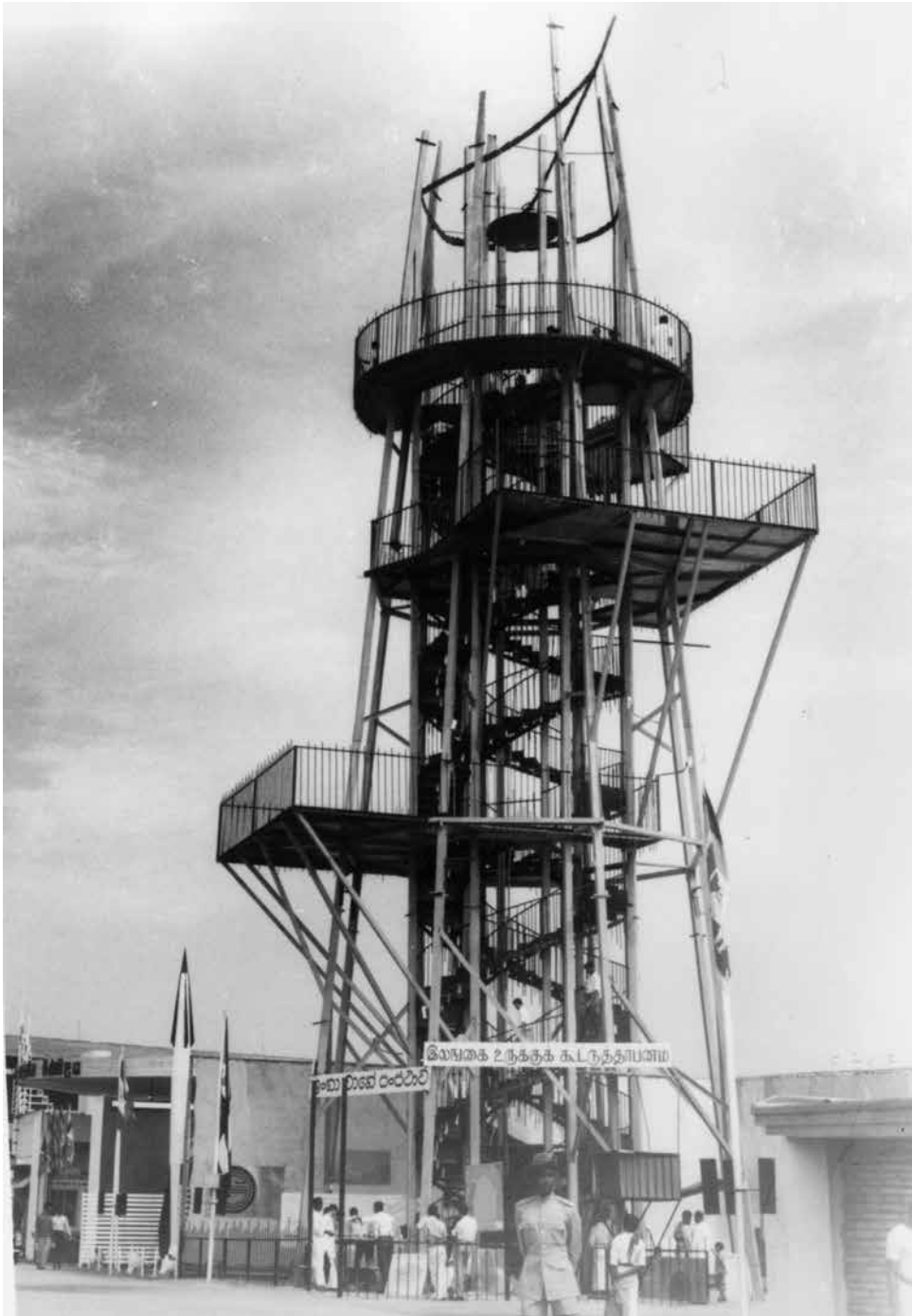
Figure 4. Steel Corporation pavilion. (Source: Library, Associated Newspapers of Ceylon Ltd.)

Figure 5. Planetarium. (Source: Library, Associated Newspapers of Ceylon Ltd.)

Figure 6. Aerial view of grounds. (Source: Library, Associated Newspapers of Ceylon Ltd.)

Notes on the Contributors

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Ted Yu Shen Chen has consulted for religious INGOs such a Christian Habitat for Humanity on housing designs for their post-disaster beneficiaries in Sri Lanka. He also has more than ten years of experience operating, establishing and teaching at Kadhampa Buddhist Society International; including designing their ten acre Atisha Buddhist University Monastery in Bangladesh and co-founding Kadhampa's centres in New Zealand and Australia. Ted's expertise is in religious NGOs and their architecture; his doctoral research at the University of Melbourne, Australia is on faith based organisations and their post-tsunami housing reconstruction in Sri Lanka.

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Farhan Sirajul Karim received his PhD in architectural history from the University of Sydney, Australia for his thesis, 'Global Transference of Architectural Modernism: India between 1937 and 1959.' His research involves theoretical and historical inquiry of design ideology as a partner concept to twentieth century development economics, and how that forged a global discourse to institutionalize poverty. He is an Assistant Professor at the University of Kansas, USA..

Andrew Harris is a Lecturer in Geography and Urban Studies at University College London, U.K. His research focuses on the role of art and artists in recent processes of urban restructuring, and on three-dimensional geographies of contemporary cities. He has recently finished research on a project exploring the construction of flyovers and skywalks in Mumbai.

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Jim Masselos is an Honorary Reader in History at the University of Sydney, Australia and a Fellow of the Australian Academy of the Humanities. Recent publications include *The City in Action: Bombay Struggles for Power* (Oxford, Delhi), and (with Naresh Fernandes) *Bombay Then and Mumbai Now* (Rolli, Delhi). His co-authored book *Beato's Delhi* was reprinted last year by Penguin India while Thames and Hudson have recently issued his edited volume, the *Great Empires of Asia*.

Milinda Pathiraja received his architectural training in Colombo and Melbourne before completing a doctoral thesis in architectural design at the University of Melbourne. Currently attached to the Department of Architecture at the University of Moratuwa in Sri Lanka, his research interests focus on the relationship between architectural design, labour theory and the socio-technical aspects of building procurement in developing countries. Milinda is the winner of the 2011 RIBA President's Award for Outstanding PhD Thesis. He also received the 2011 CIOB (Charted Institute of Building) Australasia Excellent Building Post graduate Award.

Anoma Pieris is a Senior Lecturer at the Faculty of Architecture, Building and Planning, University of Melbourne, Australia. Her recent book, *Hidden Hands and Divided Landscapes: A Penal History of Singapore's Plural Society* (University of Hawaii Press, 2009) explores the links between the plural political model and the colonial prison system.

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