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7 Diversity and Architecture

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A Brief Description of the Discipline of Architecture

Architecture can be defined as the art and tectonics of place making. The discipline of architecture involves a broad set of practices including design of the built environment, development of architectural projects either community-based or oriented towards a (private) client, and advisory work for governments. Architecture also involves a wide spectrum of knowledge including urban design and urban planning, and a variety of architectural ideas, theories and movements. Various dominant ideologies have manifested themselves in built form, whereas other, marginal cultural parameters have emerged in the vernacular or traditional architecture. Architecture is considered the medium through which society is organised and materialised. It resonates with symbolic meaning as well as pragmatic order through built places.

The Meaning and Categorisation of Diversity in Architecture

Architecture is perceived as a cultural product, but the architectural community and discipline have been slow to engage with diversity as a cultural parameter in architecture. Diversity in architecture, particularly the debate of inclusion and exclusion, is not a part of the mainstream discourse. Mainstream architecture is largely dominated by the publicity and discussion of the work of internationally established architects, something that has become more dominant through globalised information technologies. The notion of the 'starchitect' has been a rising phenomenon in the architectural world to the extent that nations that are rising in the global economy of late capitalism seek the 'starchitect' for the design of significant and large projects. Agents engaged in nation-building have added the dimension of cultural capital to its contemporary agenda of economic strength. One example of this is the 'Bilbao effect', named after Frank Gehry's design for the Guggenheim Museum in Bilbao, which engendered a dramatic increase in international tourism to Bilbao.

Another example is the major facilities developed for the Olympics in Beijing (China), many of which were commissioned to, and consequently built by the world's most renowned architectural firms.

As stated, cultural diversity is largely marginal in architectural discourse and not often considered an influencing factor in architectural practices. There is not much evidence of currency of terms related to cultural diversity such as identity, ethnicity, culture, multiculturalism, cultural difference. In 2007, Carey Lyon, former president of the Royal Australian Institute of Architects (RAIA), argued that architects have not participated or contributed to the debates about culture and identity (Lyon 2007). This is despite the usage of the term *diversity* or related themes in other cultural disciplines for more than four decades. Art disciplines such as literature, cinema, music and the visual arts have no trouble engaging with issues of value, colonisation, multiculturalism, ownership and authorship, also in the form of internal critique.

Although not centred in the mainstream of the discipline, these themes do seem to have their place at the fringes of architectural practices and research. Some ideas regarding diversity appear to have entered the thinking about architecture at the end of the 1960s. Key practices and texts such as the works of Hassan Fathy and Christopher Alexander induced the architectural profession to look at diversity within sustainable design and argued that this was a creative potential in architecture. A surge in work on women and architecture emerged at this time, putting gender and sexual identity on the radar of architectural discussion. Paul Oliver's research on vernacular architecture has documented diversity as a form of an architectural culture that emerged from the way people organised their spatial world. He argues that such vernacular architecture is eroding and much of it is already extinct due to the effects of globalisation on ways of living as well as on materials and construction techniques. At the community level, architects in the 1970s attempted to develop design processes that entailed user participation, especially if they involved underprivileged communities, in order to produce a more relevant and dignified architecture. Interest in the vernacular and the local prompted research on 'regionalist architecture' and 'critical regionalism' aiming to understand and categorise the work of architects that attempted to work with local traditions. Some architects have had success within this paradigm of 'critical regionalism'—developing languages of architecture that mediate the (Western) modern and (local) tradition. Through his work in Rural Studio, Samuel Mockbee has built aesthetically attractive and inexpensive structures for needy people and communities located in one of the world's most advanced economies.

Some of these practices of diversity in architecture were only significant in their particular period or era, while others continue to be relevant, sometimes

in different guises. Work around architectural and urban heritage, relevant to international organisations such as UNESCO and to local policy organisations that produce town planning codes and laws, have emerged from a re-valuing of and research in architectural history and architectural tradition. To some extent, their efforts aim to prevent the erasure of symbolic structures and/or local traditions in the wake of urban growth and building development. The development of heritage value in the built environment is a movement largely driven by an elite community protecting their cultural and economic capital. While significant heritage value may have been assigned to a place and structure in India, the Indian community in a city like Melbourne, Australia built on immigration has not established a dynamic forum for the discussion of heritage value to the Indian community in Australia.

This brings us to the issues of diversity in architecture that are underrepresented and relevant to our contemporary society. As outlined in the introduction, the conditions of diversity, largely produced through migrations and resettlement of people, present challenges to a discipline like architecture. The following section expands on these areas.

Theoretical Discourse on Diversity in Architecture

The general debates around inclusion and exclusion through architecture revolve around conceptual frameworks of cultural diversity, cultural difference and multiculturalism. These terms are sometimes used interchangeably and yet theorists elaborate on some of the distinctions. A literature review of diversity in architecture can be organised under four main categories.

- 1 concepts of multiculturalism in architectural production,
- 2 ethnicisation of architecture;
- 3 the role of tradition and vernacular architecture;
- 4 ownership and authorship of architecture.

Multiculturalism in Architecture

Gunew's study of Australian multiculturalism in relation to the cultural industry is informative for a global context. Gunew (1993: 2) distinguishes between two types of multiculturalism: "a system of government policies designed to manage cultural diversity, and multiculturalism in so far as it arises from the desires of various communities and individuals who feel excluded by the discourses and practices surrounding (Australian) nationalism". In the policy definition, multiculturalism is advocated as "cultural diversity", and it

serves to challenge both unequal power relations and a fully homogeneous national culture. Elaborating on this earlier work, Gunew again addresses the concept of multiculturalism as a concept by nations with the agenda to “represent themselves as transcendentally homogeneous in spite of their heterogeneity”, and in its service towards minorities assumes itself always in relation to a majority (2006: 16). Architectural theorists have drawn from cultural and postcolonial theories to formulate a discourse of cultural diversity in architecture. Lozanovska (1997) has argued that signs of cultural difference are produced even in the most normal and assimilatory processes of home ownership and homemaking. Because houses are public artifacts, at least their facades produce appearances of an aesthetic perceived to be different from the context. Baydar (2004) promoted the need to shift from cultural diversity to cultural difference in architectural thinking. Homi Bhabha (1994) portrayed cultural diversity as a category of comparative ethics and aesthetics that emphasises liberal notions of multiculturalism and cultural exchange. Cultural difference, on the other hand, “focuses on the problem of the ambivalence of cultural authority: the attempt to dominate in the name of a cultural supremacy which is itself produced only in the moment of differentiation” (Bhabha 1994: 34).

One of the main causes that brings about conflicts is the difference between the systems of values treasured by different groups or ethno cultures. Friction may emanate from ideology and find its way into the minds of the common population, encouraging it to perceive this friction as a confrontation of cultural values and symbols. Architecture and artifacts of the cultural-built heritage are usually perceived as strong historical evidence for the grievances of certain groups. Preservation or in many cases destruction and demolition of such symbols are attempts to delete such physical evidence. There are many global incidents of violence deliberately targeting not only the people but also their cultural built heritage(s), for example in Iraq or Bosnia. Riedlmayer (2002) explained how the military violence in Bosnia aimed to deconstruct a heterogeneous and plural culture in order to destroy all records of co-existence.

Ethnicisation of Architecture

The ethnicisation of architecture has a long tradition and is made evident in the canonical publications disseminated within the Anglo-Saxon world. Gulsum Baydar Nalbantoglu’s essay (1998) analyses the so-called non-historical styles of Banister Fletcher’s well-known book and the illustration of the ‘Tree of Architecture’ in the sixteenth edition (Fletcher 1954). The front inside cover of the

sixteenth edition shows an illustration of the Tree of Architecture comprising mainly European styles branching out into various cultural and geographical locations. The architecture of the 'others' are not given the place of architectural histories in their own right.' The twentieth edition (1996) demonstrates the geopolitical scope of the field of 'architecture' (Lozanovska 2004b) with what was once described as 'grotesque' now embraced as 'non-West'

The anthology of essays in 'Postcolonial Space(s)' (Nalbantoglu et al. 1997) addresses questions of ethnic identity, tradition and culture through paradigms framed by postcolonial theory (Lozanovska 2004b) The text is an exploration of the disciplinary boundaries of architecture. Investigating issues of representation, interpretation and identity, it challenges regionalist positions that often critique studies on intercultural architectural encounters and hardly question their own mechanisms of legitimacy (Nalbantoglu & Thai 1997: 7). Many of the architectural writers in this publication draw on the work of postcolonial theorists such as Said (1978) who argued that the relationship between the occident and the orient is a relationship of power and domination. Spivak (1990: 1) argued that 'the imperialist project [which] had to assume that the earth it territorialised was in fact previously uninscribed'.

Postcolonialism, combined with the creation of the profession 'architect' itself in postcolonial environments (McGarry & Elkadi 2008), have influenced the design practice of architecture. First, the interplay between power and society that emerged after colonialism influenced both the aesthetics and procurement of the built environments. Second, it stimulated the visionary capacity and fantasy of architects, who turn the imagined unreal into visual projections of the manifest and physical. Two outcomes become evident. One is discussed by Çelik (1997) as the visual fantasy at play in the projection of new colonial cities. The other is the often expressive and novel structures of worship erected by ethnic communities in the diaspora. Beynon (2005, 2002) has investigated various temples, mosques and churches in the culturally diverse outer suburbs of Melbourne, calling them 'Third-World Looking Buildings' after anthropologist Ghassan Hage (1998). These buildings have altered the physical and social fabric of the city and yet there is little representation of such buildings in architectural discourse.

Tradition and Diversity in Architecture

Sociology is rarely more akin to social psychoanalysis than when it confronts an object like taste, one of the most vital stakes in the struggles fought in the field of the dominant class and the field of cultural production

Lozanovska (2008) has examined how Pierre Bourdieu's theory of taste produces categories of diversity in architecture. In his seminal book *Distinction* (1984), Bourdieu explains the ways in which aesthetic taste gives appearance to a division of classes, and is an instrument to reproduce that class division.

The production, publication, dissemination and policymaking is what Bourdieu terms 'cultural capital'. A national architecture invariably reflects and defines a dominant aesthetic taste evident in many fields: lifestyle, biography, history, production of goods, access to the products, collections of objects, etc. Bourdieu highlights the significance of social origin as a defining mechanism of taste and class. A crucial component of Bourdieu's theory is the capacity of 'social actors' to impose their particular aesthetic and symbolic systems and actively reproduce these social structures of domination. The effect is what Bourdieu calls 'symbolic violence'. Through the mechanisms outlined above, the dominant aesthetic taste renders other architectural traditions undesirable and denies their architectural history and value.

Recent studies illustrate how symbolic violence manifests itself for example in the Australian multicultural society Ghassan Hage (1997) argues that there are two types of multiculturalism. Cosmo-multiculturalism is the classy, sophisticated, cosmopolitan multiculturalism evident in official displays and manifested in people's choice of restaurant or food. This also applies where architecture conservation of certain styles in towns and cities is associated with a privileged globalisation without their indigenous population. The other, inhabited multiculturalism is a lower-class lived tradition, mostly experienced by migrants. Hage argues that in satisfying their own search for diversity, the cosmo-multiculturalist group tends to emphasise the otherness in the traditions of those who inhabit multiculturalism.

Good taste in architecture is of interest to any community that values a range of aesthetics from popular and kitsch to high architecture (including heritage, retro and the new super luxurious). For most nations a spectrum of literature exists on reflections of national identity in architecture. For example, in Australia numerous books propose and establish the idea of the 'Australian house'. Very rarely are houses that belong to migrants or identified as migrant houses included in this literature. The idea of bad taste in architecture reappears in discussions with terms like 'grotesque' (Parker & Phillips 2007: 3-7). However, more problematic is how the 'other' has become associated with the 'grotesque' in architectural discourse without sufficient resonance to its cultural discursive meanings. In this way, the engagement of architecture with diverse cultural fields is minimised, even while the cultural discussion has become more explicit.

Baydar Nalbantoglu illustrates Fletcher's simultaneous fascination and disdain for non-Western architectures through the terms 'excessive' and 'grotesque' (1954 and other editions) that frequently appear in Fletcher's analysis to indicate undesirable exaggeration. Baydar Nalbantoglu (1998) argues that, from this perspective, other architectures that are excessive in ornament were defined as not having or lacking a history. Ghandour (1998) argues that authentic local identity is a condition of postcolonial societies. Consequently, he deems the architect's role in the production of buildings in such societies to be minor, as he observes a tendency towards stylistic imitation of local traditions, which he regards as a pastiche of a developer's palette towards a certain consumer audience.

Ownership and Authorship of Architecture

The issue of identity is entangled with local and global movements and forces but is invariably assessed against a meta-history embedded in Eurocentric narratives. However, as Colquhoun elaborates in *The concept of regionalism* (1997), an essay that revises earlier theories on 'regionalism in architecture', this is not a straightforward divide. He argues that modernism and modernity is already infiltrated through other cultures and otherness, pointing to the travels of Le Corbusier to the East (Balkans and North Africa) that had a significant impact on his thinking about separate vernacular traditions. The historical reference to the eighteenth century is key, as for the first time, Europeans are directly subjected to cultures that are not part of the ancient classical tradition. Ethnographer James Clifford has noted how these other cultures became appropriated by modernity (in art and architecture), later to be labeled 'primitive' (Clifford 1988).

From these contexts, the notion of 'authenticity' in architecture emerges, but as Colquhoun points out, this only occurs as the object it describes is threatened and about to disappear. In the same publication John Bilm (1997) provides a meticulous analysis of the Arab World Institute Building in Paris and how an internationally acclaimed (and Western) architectural firm under the directorship of Jean Nouvel positions such a project. Bilm elaborates the architectural strategies of Nouvel that resists oppositions between Paris (Europe) and Arab (Orient), including the displacement of authenticity, appropriation and appropriation through a visual gaze.

More radically, Rem Koolhaas has stated that "the 'Western' no longer belongs to Europe exclusively, and that decades of exchange and transformation of universal languages and local practices have resulted in various modernities, rightly owned by many". In his work about the 'culture of disappearance',

Ackbar Abbas (2004) confronts the theories of Colquhoun with Koolhaas's statement, examining the architectural and cultural production of Hong Kong, which exemplifies both. Wong Chong Thai (1997) investigates the production of this hybridity in Singapore's built environment.

Relevance of Diversity in Architectural Research

Architecture can never embrace the challenges of the future without infusion of new ideas, technologies and especially diverse individuals and approaches. If we refuse, we are destining ourselves to be suspended in the past.

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Architecture is determined by prevailing social and economic conditions. Architects will unconsciously acquire the underlying ideological assumptions of their society and these will influence design (Gelenter 1995: 9). Architecture and the built environment ultimately require material resources. As the built environment is associated with a particular culture or class, it becomes embroiled with that class or culture's power, through either the domination of one overriding style or the wealth used to build. Anthony D. King argues that in every society, economic and political power is "probably the major factor explaining the actual form of the built environment" (King 1984: 5) The way such power is expressed varies from culture to culture, and the creation of architecture itself can be thus evidence of some sort of material power. The grander the scale and style of the architecture, the more powerful were the creators of the building. The relationship between architecture and power is not always instructed by clients or instigated by architects; it is a more complex relationship that finds its root in the very definition of *culture*. Markus (1993) discussed how a building can shape both the socially constructed power relations and the bonding interaction between individuals and society.

McGarry and Elkadi (2009) explain that decisions concerning the built environment may result from a wish to strengthen a person's or an institution's social or economic place, while other incentives might include the reinforcement of community and institutional self-identity. In these cases, "fundamental decisions about buildings make links between society as a whole and the building culture itself" (Davis 1999: 91-92).

The expression of power and status in architecture traces back to the individual's own space, the house. Citing the so-called 'gift relation' as a motive for building new one-off contemporary homes, Keohane and Kuhling argue that

the statuses of the house owners and their community are interlinked. The houses, they say, are seen to be beautiful objects:

in the mind of those who own them, they retain the quality of a gift to one's family and community. These houses are [] given to others for the edification of the community. Their owners seek recognition, reciprocity, honour and self-esteem: status, [.] in the eyes of the community, thus raising the standard of the community overall. The next person to build in the community (according to the obligatory nature of the gift relation) must build to an even higher standard (Keohane & Kuhling 2004: 113)

The elementary representation of power in the house is therefore related to the environment and community in which they occur. Such complex visual interpretation of power in a community can only be read by the insiders and leads to exclusion of the other. Chris Abel (2000: 86) states, "architecture can only be understood from within according to the terms of its own criteria as established by the history of architecture". The built environment can therefore not only be associated with a certain culture and identity but also with power; the power of the ruling authority that created or used architecture, the dominant culture or even race associated with a particular vernacular style.

Architects are thus positioned in any society as agents of power, but what about the question of the diversity of the architect? Prakash (1997) points out that the issue of identity is usually only raised when an architect from the non-West is involved. The idea that an *Asian* architect, for example, will naturally do *Asian flavour* buildings, is more a reflection of the categorical ways that identity is perceived than a contribution to the debate about how identity might intersect with architectural design and building practices. This cultural debate, it is argued, needs to address the 'routes we take' rather than the 'roots that have become frozen in time'. However, the architect functions in an environment in which the 'starchitect', produced by a network of politics and publicity, holds a transcendental position to which budding architects aspire. Émigré architects, especially those from the Bauhaus, produced the momentum of postwar architecture in the US, but many recent migrant architects have not been well documented. At one end of this spectrum of architect diversity is someone like Zaha Hadid (and other internationally acclaimed female architects, Itsuko Hasegawa and Kazuyo Sejima). At the other end is the National Organization of Minority Architects (NOMA) in the US formed in Detroit in 1971 by twelve architects who left the American Institute of Architects (AIA). Somewhere in the middle might be internationally acclaimed Indian architect Charles Correa. Questions emerge about the impact

of international figures, whether these bring different cultural references to the centre stage of architecture and about the effect of a separate organisation for and by self-acclaimed minorities. Further research on architects in relation to cultural diversity is needed to unravel these fields.

Migration and Diversity in Architecture Research

In many places, the particular matrix of existing architectural and urban fabric encounters the impact of migration that engenders the nuanced parameters of diversity in architecture. Cultural diversity and cultural hybridity in architecture is often shaped by a history of colonised space and territory. The issue of migration and architecture has not had much discussion or presence in the architectural community, even though migration is generally perceived as integral to the recent development of migrant-receiving nations like Germany, UK, Sweden, Canada and Australia. Scholars in other disciplines have generated many studies of migration and perceive it as a central issue in these national societies. Architectural and urban history is entangled with the story of migration (Lozanovska 2002). Castles and Miller (2003) explain how present ideas about cultural diversity are an outcome of the impact of transnational migration, which escalated in the period after World War II, leading to both the immense growth and cultural diversification of cities as places of immigration and the erosion of traditional villages and towns as places of emigration. Numerous publications elaborate on the impact of migration on aspects of the built environment such as place, home and city. Jane Jacobs and Ruth Finchers' *Cities of Difference* (1998) and Leonie Sandercock's *Towards Cosmopolis* (1998) address the topic from geo-cultural perspectives, introducing questions about multicultural cities and associated analyses of belonging, agency and production. In addition, Dovey (1999) and Woodcock (2005) have produced significant urban studies that look into the relationship between migration and the production of place, through field research of particular 'ethnised' streets. The concept of 'other architectural cultures' emerging from Postcolonial Space(s) is further elaborated by studies of 'other places' and 'other architectures within the same place'. Datta (2006) has researched the construction and meaning of home and city of Polish construction workers in London. The next generation of scholars including Winkler and Levine elaborate on the changes to the urbanism of many inner city streets, the stock of 'migrant houses' (and heritage and densification policies), as well as the redevelopment of diminishing manufacturing sites. Winkler (2008) elaborated the idea of 'white space' in her examination of people movements against the

developments, specifically examining a group called Save Our Suburbs (SOS) that emerged from the affluent leafy suburbs in Melbourne in protest against medium density development. Using the idea of neighbourhood character, their protest was effective enough to change policy. All these theorists demonstrate that policies in planning and heritage are not always congenial to cultural diversity, even if cultural diversity is noted in policy.

Less studied are the transformations to the places of origin, that of emigration and departure. Lozanovska (2004) developed analytical methodologies for the study of villages to bring the quintessential places of emigration into the migration equation. Datta and Young (2007) have examined new migratory patterns involving global and transnational settlements in sites that were historically departure sites. Specifically, they discuss the rise of communities on the Izmir-Cesme expressway in Turkey, made possible by new planning and building laws that enable 'villafication' to replace low density farmhouses on agricultural land. In addition to Turkish residents escaping the congested urbanism of Izmir, there is the immigration of American and European military personnel and their families due to the opening of a North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO) base in Izmir.

In addition to the authors noted so far, the International Association of Settlement and Traditional Environments (IASTE) group, under the director Nasser Alsayed, has examined transformations of places in relation to all the above forces of migration, globalisation and modernisation. Their ongoing work produces new methods and approaches to research in these fields. The journal *Space and Culture* regularly publishes and explores cross-disciplinary fields between built environments and cultural studies, and thereby provides a fertile forum for many dimensions of diversity in architecture. More recently, the Dutch-based journal *OASE* with a broader readership interested in mainstream architectural discourse has published a special issue titled 'Homelands' that includes discussions on the impact of migration on the built environment.

Diversity in Architecture Policy

The concept of cultural diversity is increasingly present in art and architecture policies, backed by action plans and national and international declarations. The UNESCO Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity, which was adopted unanimously in November 2001 in Paris, sets out the agenda for future research and policies with its statement: "The cultural wealth of the world is its diversity in dialogue." Cultural diversity is defined as a 'living

and thus renewable treasure' and as a capacity for expression, creation and innovation. The Universal Declaration makes clear that cultural plurality and dialogue sustain each other in a mutually reinforcing manner. A number of people have expressed their reservations on the UNESCO declaration. Elkadi (2009) highlighted the shortfalls of the UNESCO approach in architecture, with its lack of acknowledgment of the role of place and local references. Rapaport (1984) explained that architecture stresses social identity and indicates status. Status is still one of the features of a building to strike a viewer, after function, scale, etc. McGarry (2008) argued that the design of built environments responds to the prevailing bureaucratic order of a society. Similarly, Rapoport (1984) focuses on the relation between architecture and power, as architecture provides settings for certain activities that signify power status or privilege. It expresses and supports cosmological beliefs, communicates information, helps establish individual or group identity, encodes a value system and separates domains. Literature reviewing the interrelationships between policies of procurement and diversity in the built environment tend to emphasise either the products or the producers, the diversity of architecture within a particular context, or the impact of the diversity of architects on a global setting.

The Future of Diversity in Architecture

The long tradition of the relationship between architecture and power led to various efforts to promote inclusiveness and participation in the production of architecture. Architecture is an expression of the age and society in which it was made. Sumita Sinha-Jordan (2009) conjectured that the fact that our built environment is difficult to navigate not just for the person in a wheelchair but also for a mother with a pram must surely be seen as terrible design, not just political (in)correctness. She argues that women and ethnic minorities should be able to express themselves openly with a refreshing new view of diverse architecture. Emphasis in recent literature remains, however, on the role played by cultural and visual dialogue in shaping the articulation and management of architectural diversity in society.

There are mainly two distinct perspectives on diversity in cultural dialogue: the first perspective maintains the line of the 'ethnicisation of architecture', calling for the continued assertion of beliefs and practices grounded in a 'homeland culture', irrespective of how distant or even imaginary such a culture may have become. The second perspective follows the integration and multicultural approach in a Western context. It supports the need for creativ-

ity and innovations in the built environment that are born out of contemporary living conditions, through which diverse cultures come to share the assets and goals directed at securing a pleasing and sustainable environment(s) for a better future. While generalising what in fact are highly nuanced inclinations, these two perspectives influence many of the decisions that regulate funding in the arts, from music and artistic performances, to the production of public places and which, in turn, influence their articulation across the media.

Keuschler and Elkadi (2010) argue that both perspectives on diversity in cultural dialogue subscribe to a concept of culture that takes ethnic criteria to be a given and an unproblematic factor in the fashioning of identity, and which ignores the possibility that contemporary societies have complex networks of interests among different constituencies that are notoriously difficult to map. Lozanovska (2008) argues that the relation between ethnicity and architecture is a problematic myth and that houses assumed to have an 'ethnic appearance' are hardly different from houses that are assumed to fit a cultural norm. Architectural references to immigrant houses cannot readily be found in countries of origin. The ethnic aesthetics rather appears to be an outcome of diaspora contexts and not mimicry or direct imitation of other ethnic architectural traditions. The idea of cultural diversity in the architecture of the house in large cities of migration is a subtle and nuanced field.

The Metapolis Dictionary (Gausa 2003) describes a newly erupted urban phenomenon between the rural, urban and suburban contexts, calling it 'rurban'. It especially refers to housing developments and the inhabitants: "information workers no longer need to live in cities to live an urban life...A big house in the country, a small, jointly owned apartment in the city. The entire territory is now inhabitable...New dwellings...can be located on farm land that continues to be productive. Superposition of uses. Multiplicity of lives." (Gausa 2003: 530). The textual definitions are accompanied by graphic montage-style architectural projects combining actual landscape with nature selected from a graphic palette, producing a contrasting visual and creative perspective. However, this version of 'multiplicity' manifests itself as a class-divided development where the marketed lifestyle of one group absorbs, transforms and eclipses the lives of the others. The persons that do the rural 'production' (farmers) are not named or identified, nor are their lives inscribed in this 'multiplicity'; rather such physical production is subsumed by the representation of multiplicity as belonging within the lifestyle of the information workers and technicians. The story about the land as agricultural land, and about the peasants who inhabit it and are the cultivators of that land, disappears. Such disappearance of histories, elaborated eloquently by Ackbar Abbas (2004: 129-141) reveals the ways in which an optimistic ar-

chitectural promotion approach to the countryside is founded on a narrow illusional view. It is positioned as informed, privileged and mobile as if this existed independently of other productions, and also as if an abstract and virtual version of a mobile lifestyle does not depend on actual roads, physical infrastructure and cars. Saskia Sassen (1993: 5-35) argues that a narrow narrative of globalisation often omits the actual physicality of place that accompanies 'global centres', and the actual multiplicity of lives that contradict the multiplicity of a favoured global lifestyle.

Note

- 1 Gulsum Baydar is also known by the name Gulsum Baydar Nalbantoglu

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