Making Sense of the Architectural Production of 'Others': Architectural Design and Multiculturalism

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This article examines the lessons learnt in a studio on cultural landscapes of South Asian immigrants on Devon Avenue in Chicago, Illinois. It lists a series of values that may guide future studio explorations of cultural difference.[1] The article suggests that by refocusing our attention from "cultural difference" to "cultural contact" we are able to explore "the process of cultural formation" in ways that provide us a better understanding of culture as emerging from human encounters and interactional processes. The paper argues that studies of cultures in diaspora produce counterpoints to studies of non-western architecture in ways that help us avoid stereotypes and the reification of culture. This paper is about crafting the teaching and learning process associated with such pedagogy. It is not about the results, content, or analysis of the complex ethnic landscape of Devon Avenue and hence the latter will be used merely as an example to discuss studio instruction.

The Imagine Devon course is part of a curricular experiment in teaching architecture and culture that comes out of a new graduate and doctoral-level collaborative program between the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee's Architecture department and the University of Wisconsin-Madison's Art History department. Called *Buildings Landscapes Cultures*, this program aims to study culture and the built environment with transnational perspectives. By embedding the examination of the built environment within a global system of flows, this curriculum aims to transform the way we understand the relationship between culture and place. In the curriculum of *Buildings Landscapes Cultures,* design studios are important venues to explore the built environment as artifacts of culture.[2]

PROBLEMS OF TEACHING DIVERSITY AND DIFFERENCE

Teaching cultural diversity in the context of design studios creates unique opportunities and potential pitfalls. Studio courses that explore the culture of non-western people often do so in predictable ways. First, the architecture of the non-west is posited as distinct from western architecture, not merely in architectural form but also because of some (assumed) essential cultural difference. Such an emphasis on difference sometimes leads to fruitless searches for authenticity within reified architectural forms. Although such courses are important because they allow students to identify how lifestyles, climate, religious practices, social life have a dialectical relationship with built form, they also generate a dangerous misunderstanding of the term "culture." Culture is not a static concept. As recent anthropologists have shown us, culture is a process – a lived reality that changes with time, context and people. Not only do lifestyles and practices change, but so do people's identities and worldviews. Consequently, the buildings that may have had practical everyday value (lived reality) in lives of residents in the past may now hold different symbolic, economic and tourist functions. Thus to hold the architectural form as symbolic of culture assumes a constancy of meaning that is dangerous at worst and stereotypical at best.

It is important that I distinguish between the use of architecture to talk about culture in the context of an architectural history course and a design studio. Most discussions of the architecture, traditions and cultural practices of non-western cultures that oc-

cur in architectural history and theory courses occur within a set time frame, typically centered on the construction date. Few history surveys have time to talk about the transforming role/meaning of buildings in a society over time. For instance an architectural survey may consider the Taj Mahal as the architectural example of 17th Century Mughal Architecture but only a critical seminar will go further to show how this building was framed by intersecting social, cultural, economic and political conditions in the 18th, 19th and 20th centuries. This deeper consideration examines how the Taj Mahal held different references and meanings in the everyday life of people who lived around it within those changing contexts. Thus any isomorphism between culture and architecture within a design studio brings in the very problems that surveys tend to generate, reproducing a discourse of difference where static building forms, stylistic features and stock images are seen as representative of cultural difference.

In contrast to the study of architecture as a symbol of difference located in circumscribed geographies (Indian Architecture in India, Chinese Architecture in China etc.), consider architecture as a cultural artifact of people who migrate and travel away from their land of origin. Within a diasporic culture architectural form has very particular meanings and references. The architecture of the diaspora often challenges the fixed ideas of culture and architecture that emerge from historical surveys of architecture. The architecture of a diaspora is often not visually different from the architecture of the host country (although certain visually distinct forms do get reproduced; and such retention of exotic forms can become an object of inquiry). Rather, migrants occupy preexisting buildings and landscapes carved by preceding residents. The built environment therefore becomes a log of continuous interaction and engagement between buildings, material objects, people, practices, resource flows, environment, and politics. Within such a context the design student is forced to concentrate on lived practices as the beginning of their design explorations, not some predetermined building form or type.

One of the primary arguments against the survey mentality of architectural history can be traced back to the discussions of *Orientalism* by Edward Said. This argument posits the role of the "architectural production of others" as a project of producing a native subject as distinct from the western

(white) one. We find its architectural references in the tree diagrams of Sir Bannister Fletcher, an image that has long been removed from architectural history textbooks. In that diagram the various stylistic branches of Architecture – Buddhist, Islamic, Hindu- die off leaving the western forms to continue, evolve and develop over time. In that drawing the culture of the non-western or prehistoric subject assumes a static and dead form.

But the world has changed. Coinciding with the appearance of colonial and post colonial "natives" in the erstwhile metropolitan centers (i.e. Indians in London, Filipinos in the US, and Algerians in France), the immigration of non-white, non-western individuals, and the increased tempo of movement of people across national borders, the teaching, studying and framing of alterity have seen major shifts in the last four decades. The world has experienced major structural transformations that have made the east-west categories difficult to sustain.

Rapid opening up of the world produced what David Harvey calls the time-space compression.[3] It made established ideas unstable and changed the way we understand culture. Ideas, people, images, money and media crisscrossing the globe in ever faster circuits prompted Arjun Appadurai to suggest that we account for mobility and instability by seeing the world as scapes - "deeply perspectival constructs" of different kinds of actors such as "nations-states, multinationals, diasporic communities, as well as subnational groupings and movements (whether religious, political or economic), and even intimate face-to-face groups, such as villages, neighborhoods and families."[4] In 1992 Akhil Gupta and James Ferguson wrote a seminal article that challenged their readers to reexamine the complex relationship between the social and material worlds.[5] According to them, theorizing space produces a central ontological dilemma that mistakenly associates cultural difference and culture with place and geography. This mistaken isomorphism between the material and social worlds not only produces a static description of culture, but also renders non-western cultures immobile and incarcerated within a predetermined primal geographical location. It therefore becomes very difficult to imagine (for instance) Indian architecture in any place other than India. In the same vein, all modern architecture in the east is either seen as critical regionalist[6] (i.e., Colombo), an imposition

on eastern cultures[7] (i.e., Chandigarh), a mindless aping[8] (i.e., Shanghai), or a facile facsimile of the western original (i.e., Singapore). Gupta and Fergusson's argument therefore suggests that culture is not autochthonous, but performative, interactional and hybrid. The performative definition of culture can become central to the teaching of culture in architectural schools since it calls into question cultural authenticity and authorship.

PEDAGOGY OF *BUILDINGS LANDSCAPES CULTURES*

Buildings Landscapes Cultures delivers coursework content through immersive field applications. This strategy taken from Problem-Based-Learning (PBL) pedagogy helps cognitive learning in complex knowledge domains such as architecture and culture. This teaching strategy has been successfully applied in many classroom settings. [9] A real-life project allows students to study the building environment as part of a larger cultural landscape.[10] It provides an increased empirical emphasis on fieldwork: interactions with the physical world, measuring and drawing them, and experiencing built environments as embodied spaces.[11] In addition, projects make students aware of the built environment as part of a mutable (and lived) cultural process. Buildings Landscapes Cultures courses use scalar shifts as methodological strategy. This involves looking at the built environment at multiple social, geographical and temporal scales by shifting the vantage point from which students observe the world.[12] (Figure 1) This epistemological strategy ensures that the building is seen as a transforming product of processes larger than itself. It unmoors the analysis of architecture from the stagnant morass of exotic stereotypes and shallow clichés. As we shall see below, such a teaching strategy also allows students to see how multiple cultures often collaborate to maintain flexible cultural boundaries and differences.

The "Imagine Devon" studio studied a stretch of Devon Avenue, roughly between McCormick and Western Avenues located along the Northern borders of Chicago, adjacent to the village of Skokie in Cook County. (Figure 2) This street has a complex history of immigration.[13] Germans, Irish, Jewish and Croatians were succeeded by South Asians, Asians, and Russian Jews. Also listed as an endangered historic site in the Preservation Chicago list, this street is different from ethnic enclaves, which are circum-

scribed sites of difference. Instead, this street displays multicultural sites of heritage. Low-income, South Asian, Muslim and Hispanic immigrants reside next to the historic bungalow belt populated by middle class Anglo and Jewish residents. Since the 1970s the ethnic South Asian stores along this thoroughfare multiplied. Portions of the street have been renamed to honor Mahatma Gandhi, Muhammad Ali Jinnah, Mujib-ur-Rahman, and Golda Meir. While the main shopping section is composed of immigrant stores, the adjoining residential streets are inhabited by people of mixed racial, ethnic and class backgrounds, adding to the complexity of the area.

The Devon case study asked students to explore the lived-world of South Asian immigrants as part of a larger cultural landscape of the area. Muslim women wearing the hijab, unaccompanied children and groups of teenagers collect along the sidewalks of this crowded and heavily trafficked street during the day.[14] During late evenings, many of the restaurants turn into meeting places for young men from this community.[15] Social and civic services, street corners and local parks, religious spaces such as basement mosques, Hindu temples, Jewish synagogues and day schools serve this diverse residential community. Devon is more than a shopping strip. It is home for a variety of people.[16] (Figure 3)

Devon is also part of a regional landscape beyond the confines of the neighborhood. People come here from afar, making this locale a retail and cultural node within a larger tri-state ethnic landscape. The absentee landlords, storeowners and many customers who live outside the neighborhood define a "community without propinquity."[17]

When the West Ridge Chamber of Commerce decided to redesign the street as a public space it was confronted with difficult questions: who constitutes the public, whose history and heritage should it represent, and how can it envision a plan for growth, development, infill, and design? [18] The "Imagine Devon - Envisioning a Multicultural Street" studio explored the possibilities and limits of a designer's ability to design a truly multicultural space. The class grappled with the central debate of whether we can envision a *culture specific* or *culture responsive* design.

Arguing against the presumption that design should be culture specific, Amos Rapoport reflects on the

importance of flexible and accommodative design strategies that allow different groups and individuals to modify spaces.[19] He cautions us that cultural responsiveness is not "universal architecture," a one-size fits all norm or the erasure of all difference that has been the product of the modern movement in architecture and planning. According to Rapoport, "responsive environments are those which can be manipulated as culture changes, i.e. open ended, flexible and adaptive environments." At the same time, total open ended-ness is not desirable since "continuity stability and guidance are also necessary." But do we know which parts of the environment need to be adaptable and open-ended? Who does the manipulating and how is it done?[20]

The studio wanted to avoid epistemological shortcomings that frame some architectural and preservation interpretations of places of heritage. These shortcomings emerge from misconceptions about cultural/architectural authorship that govern definitions of historic places. Contemporary South Asian immigrants on Devon occupy and inhabit buildings that were built by past generations of Germans, Irish, and Jewish immigrants. Hence architectural preservationists do not see this built landscape as the architectural heritage of South Asians. The relevance of the landscape of Devon is different for South Asians (mostly working class and Muslim) who live in the neighborhood, those who arrive there from afar, and other stakeholders within an internally diverse immigrant community. We should not miss the complex demographic characteristics with internal divisions of race, gender, nationality, language, and class. This heterogeneous immigrant community requires a methodological strategy that doesn't over-simplify this diversity. Finally, in an automobile culture community heritage sites are not territorially bound to a neighborhood. They are spatially dispersed. The resultant cultural landscape is fragmented, networked and difficult to map, identify, and study. These gaps in our interpretive knowledge impact perceptions, policy decisions, and preservation efforts and render invisible important locations within cultural landscapes of South Asians. The "Imagine Devon" studio aimed to cast a critical eye as the participants examined the above issues.

TEACHING SCAFFOLDING

Theories of Problem Based Learning suggest that the cognitive learning in a hands-on context should

be carefully planned beforehand. This strategy by which complex knowledge is administered is called scaffolding. In the Imagine Devon Studio primary scaffolding divided the semester into four sections in which the focus of the investigation shifted by changing the scale at which students studied the neighborhood. Each stage had an assignment associated with it. In addition, the assignments required students to explore the development plan of this area over a 100 year period, making change and transformation part of the design process.

The first stage was called *Definitions and Context*. During this 2-week period students examined the urban context, identified patterns and documented typologies. Such patterns and types are found in the urban fabric, street façade/elevations, building form, open spaces, and in architectural details. It was also a period when students developed positions on public space, public domain, community-civic participation, and urbanism. The second stage, called *Program and Plan,* included charrettes and ethnographic engagements with community leaders, city government, local residents and storeowners. The third stage, called *Detailing Scenarios*, focused on the development of catalyst sites, change over time, and future scenarios that could nurture this community over time. In the final stage, *Coda*, students returned to the community with their designs in order to test their design.

The second scaffolding involved workshops that strategically introduced students to seeing the physical aspects of the built environment as if it were made of parts fitting within an encompassing whole. In addition to engaging with real people and contexts while developing their own understanding of culture, students also discussed two theories that addressed the morphological syntax of the built environment—from Renee Chow and Thomas Hubka—of how designers could embed diversity within the design process. Chow suggests that we need to add "capacity" to a design that allows "the spatial form of the setting – though its configurations, dimensions, and positions – to contain or suggest a variety of uses. Capacity extends the functional requirements of a program by holding multiple configurations of inhabitation and receiving multiple associations."[21] This strategy allows the form of the building to be flexible enough to accommodate functions and uses beyond those planned by the designer.[22] This notion of capacity

not only challenges the designer to learn ways to embed flexibility in the form and program of the building, but also entertains multiple forms of expression, use, and interpretation by subsequent users of the buildings. In other words, Chow argues for an architecture that can, in Michel de Certeau's phrase, be "poached" by its inhabitants.[23]   A building thus designed ensures that the design supports patterns of use, behavior, and practices without sacrificing formal and tectonic beauty and functionality. Chow also argues that rather than seeing buildings as independent objects we should see the built form as part of a larger built fabric. A design that integrates the building-artifact into a larger urban system can potentially promote a "great deal of individual variation in which the collective structure is still highly discernable."[24]

Hubka provides an alternative answer that suggests that we learn from ordinary and vernacular environments. Hubka compares the folk design process to that of a bricoleur whose "design method is characterized by a primary (dependant) and a secondary (independent) design component in which the primary or gross architectural arrangement is rigorously structured while allowing the designer a range of individual design interpretations in the secondary system."[25] Hubka's allusions to language and grammar are structuralist references and suggest a framework that allows the designer to accommodate individual creative ideas within a more structured grammar.

For the designer, an integrated strategy necessitates a rigorous analysis of ordinary places. This studio project therefore included a deep analysis of the formal and experiential orders that exist in the vernacular and quotidian environment along Devon Avenue. John Habraken calls this an analysis of the thematic, or traditional, socially embedded environmental knowledge.[26] For a studio designer this means that she studies the everyday landscape as an ordered environment. Her design relates to this encompassing ordered fabric as a generative and creative intervention.[27]

STUDENT RESPONSES

This section traces and compares the projects of two students to examine how the scaffolding produced particular results. The students noted that given the demographic heterogeneity, culture spe-
cific interventions could not sustain a long term development plan. Not only did the inhabitants of the neighborhood and their lived culture (i.e. culture performed via everyday practices and interactions) change over time, the built environment too displayed cycles of death and renewal. Rather than making culture-specific interventions, it was prudent to design a setting that accommodated multiple spatial practices.[28] Students designed spaces that lent themselves to adaptations and transformations by individuals and groups. Our focus on cultural contact made everyday activities, social interaction, and real and symbolic practices of boundary maintenance hermeneutic categories in the study of culture. The two examples discussed in the next section are representative of the work produced in this studio.

STUDENT WORK 1: Robert Gaddy Jr.

Robert Gaddy's initial design idea was what can be called the "Times Square response." He wanted his design to relate to the plethora of signage along Devon Avenue. The hypervisibility of the storefronts reflects the immigrant storeowners attempt to recreate an ambience, use a set bank of names and images to recreate an immigrant retail strip, and invite a variety of customers. Yet, research on similar streets in New York and Northern California has shown that the intensely visual environment often renders invisible the complex social, political, and economic processes that sustain these spaces.[29] A figure-ground map of the neighborhood showed the density of built spaces and 'unbuilt' or open spaces that followed a pattern determined by the generative grid of property lines. (Figures 4). Although in a map the building "grain" along the retail street seemed large, in reality it was not experienced thus. Over the years, building owners have rented out the lower floors of their buildings to tenants, subdividing and further subdividing the prime real estate along the ground level into thin slivers. It is a pattern that Roger Waldinger explains as the inverse of "economy of scales,"[30] For instance, as the new South Asian immigrants concentrate along Devon Avenue, the store sizes get narrower and there is quick turnover in the businesses. In addition, similar businesses gravitate towards one another, producing agglomerations of similar stores. (Figure 5) Thus one sees a cluster of jewelry stores selling a variety of jewelry ranging from high end expensive goods to cheap hand made trinkets.

Waldinger argues that smaller shops create conditions for upward mobility.

Gaddy's analysis and subsequent project found a correlation between the grain of the neighborhood and the economic logic of ethnic entrepreneurship. Gaddy planned short alleys perpendicular to the main street, creating a finer grain of smaller spaces that could be rented out to smaller vendors. (Figures 6-7) His design used unoccupied sites (gaps in the fabric) to produce an arcaded thoroughfare connecting the back alleys to Devon Avenue.[31] These spaces provided opportunities for adjoining stores to expand laterally or for new vendors and emerging small businesses to rent smaller stalls. Inserting this finer grain judiciously would accommodate small businesses, spurt growth and allow access (to resources) to a wider group of immigrant entrepreneurs.

STUDENT WORK 2: Kelly Adrian

Kelly Adrain gained insight from the scaffolding strategies. Based on her interviews, observations and charrette notes, Adrian identified stakeholders within the local South Asian communities (women, low income Muslim families, children) and designed for their daily life. She connected the disjointed quotidian spaces in the lives of local Muslim residents – the family dispensaries, salons, religious bookstores, grocery stores carrying religiously sanctioned food, mosques, residential apartment buildings, and green spaces – via sidewalks and back alleys. (Figures 8-12) This network of alleys and back-of-the-yards spaces acted as infrastructure in her project. She designed a connective tissue that linked disparate spaces within the home-range of local residents and produced opportunities of leisure, socializing, consumption and economic activities. Adrian's project related "systems of activities" to "systems of settings."[32]

CONCLUSIONS

The following values emerged from the Imagine Devon studio.

1. The value of Dependencies

The point of intervention and the designer's role within a complex hierarchy of decision-making is a central issue that sustains the coherence of the various projects in this studio. The hierarchy of decision making depends on geographical scale. For instance a planner's decision impacts policy and transformation at regional, urban and subsidiary scales. An architect's decision impacts the building, interiors, and surroundings. The building owner has the power to transform spaces within his property, but a storeowner who is leasing space has more limited control over the interiors of his rental space. Thus the nature of intervention at each of these telescoping levels is different and produces distinct results.

2. Value of Thematic Patterns

Patterns producing the built environment are significant ways of understanding the material world around us.[33] Habraken argues that thematic and systemic patterns are social contracts because they are recognized and understood by people who use them.[34] Thematic development and transformation, to Habraken, is social: "the theme allows us to connect to others. Someone else, recognizing the theme, will know what we are trying to do. This link enables us to work together once the theme emerges in the process."[35]

3. Value of Infrastructure

Infrastructure here refers to the connective tissue, the space in-between that joins disparate elements in the built environment. These spaces are also spaces of flows and fast movement – of people, goods, energy, resources, communication and media images.[36] The unique location of this space – betwixt and between – allows for dissonant use and adaptation by users. Because it connects more that one thing, the space of infrastructure can be part of more than one domain.

Interpreting Devon Avenue using the "values" mentioned above provides an alternative method to read the lived environments of "others." It moves away from types, styles and chronology and begins with spatial practice and politics. It serves as a counterpoint to viewpoints that bemoan the loss of authentic places and see "homogenization" as a loss of resistance, death of "locality," and an erasure of a "sense of place." The above criteria shifts our focus away from the production of places (by

designers, architects, builders) to the way places are consumed, translated, and occupied. The values suggested above provide an appropriate lens to evaluate lived environments of non-western cultures (diasporic or otherwise) without reverting to essentialist stereotypes.
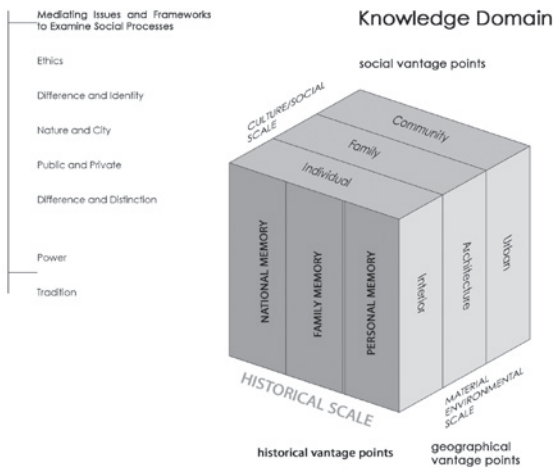

Figure 1: Methodological framework of studying culture
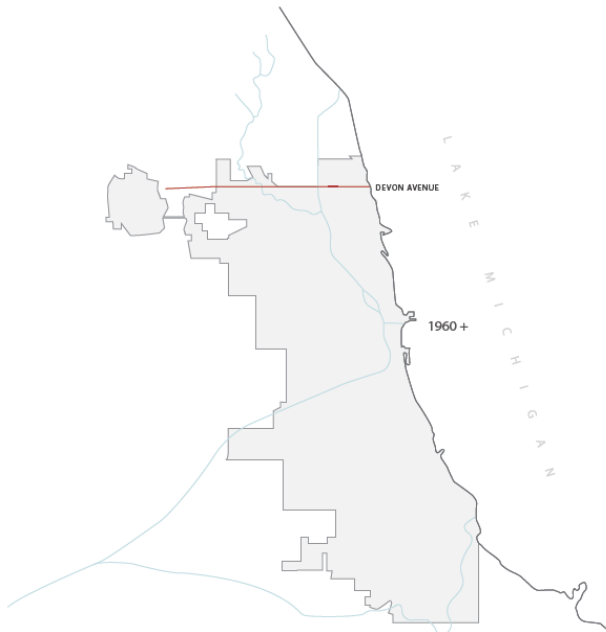

Figure 2. Location of Devon Avenue and the immigrant retail strip. This map shows the 1960 borders of the City of Chicago.

Figure 3. Images of Devon Avenue

Figure 4. Figure Ground Map of the neighborhood showing grain
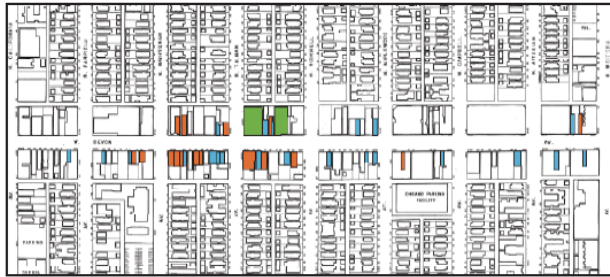
Figure 5. Business clustering producing experiential nodes within the streetscape. The red shows jewelry stores and green represents grocery stores.
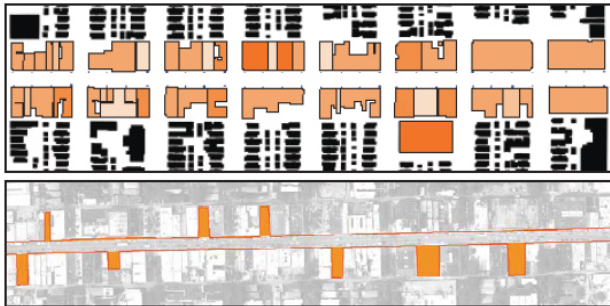

Figure 6. Insertion of fine grained shopping alleys perpendicular to the main street along empty sites.
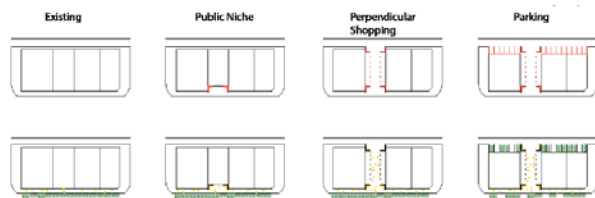

Figure 7. View of alley-stores

Figure 8. Modified figure-ground showing systems of settings networked across the neighborhood.

Figure 9. System of alleys as social infrastructure developed over time. These alleys connect the system of settings used by Muslim women living in the
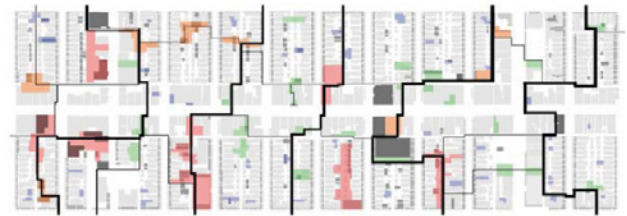

Figure 10. Adrian's design produced an armature with dimensional and programmatic diversity that could accommodate a variety of potential uses and practices.
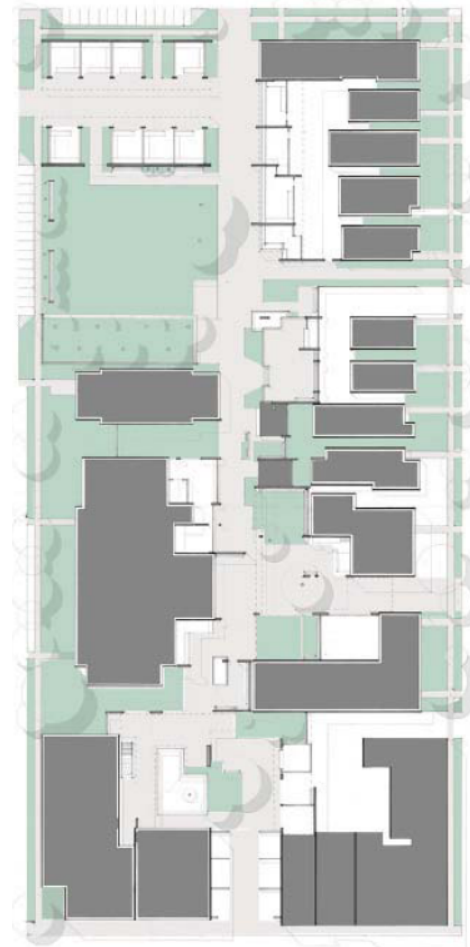

Figure 11. View of an alley-scenario

EXPERIENTIAL WALK THROUGH

Figure 12. Design as infrastructure and framework. Kelly Adrian's design.

ENDNOTES

1.   The help and support of many individuals were central to the success of this studio. My students and I thank everyone involved. Special thanks to Maribeth Brewer, Greg Brewer, Irving Loundy, Dorothie Shah, Amie Zander, Marcia Hermansen, Tausif Malik, Sadruddin Noorani, Lorraine Swanson, Rose Powers, and other community members for their support and help.

2.   The program includes affiliated faculty, scholars and students from cultural geography, landscape architecture, art history, design studies, and architecture enrolled in two separate campuses. The program builds on the institutional cooperation model of the Committee on Institutional Cooperation, a consortium of research universities in the Midwest, which allows individual researchers and students to access and use resources within the sister campuses.

3.   David Harvey, *The Condition Of Postmodernity: An Enquiry Into The Origins Of Cultural Change*. (Cambridge, MA: Blackwell, 1990).
See also Ulf Hannerz, "Notes on the Global Ecumene," *Public Culture* 1 (Spring 1989): 66-75.

4.   Arjun Appadurai, "Disjuncture and 'Difference in the Global Cultural Economy." *Global Culture: Nationalism, Globalization and Modernity*, ed. Mike Featherstone (London: Sage, 1990), 296.

5.   Akhil Gupta, and James Ferguson, "Beyond Culture: Space, Identity and the Politics of Difference," in *Cultural Anthropology* 7, No. 1 (1992): 6-23.

6.   Kenneth Frampton, "Towards a Critical Regionalism:

Six Points for an Architecture of Resistance", in *The Anti-Aesthetic. Essays on Postmodern Culture,* ed. Hal Foster (Bay Press, Port Townsen, 1983): 16-30.
Alex Tzonis and Liliane Lefaivre, "Why Critical Regionalism Today?" *Theorizing a New Agenda for Architecture: An Anthology of Architectural Theory*, ed. Kate Nisbett (New York: Princeton University Press, 1996).

7.   Peter Fitting, "Urban Planning/utopian Dreaming: Le Corbusier's Chandigarh Today"
Utopian Studies 13 (Winter, 2002).
Ravi Kalia, *Chandigarh: In Search of an Identity*, (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1987)

8.   Tim Adams, "Look! It's the brand new face of China," *The Observer* (Sunday 9 March 2008), < http://www.guardian.co.uk/artanddesign/2008/mar/09/design.china>, (accessed November 19, 2009)

9.   This teaching strategy has been successful in medical and law schools.
Gerald Choon-Huat Koh, Hoon Eng Khoo, Mee Lian Wong, and David Koh, "The Effects of Problem-based Learning during Medical School on Physician Competency: A Systematic Review," *CMAJ* 178 (January, 2008): 34-41.
D. Cruickshank, "Problem-based learning in legal education" in *Teaching Lawyers' Skills*, ed. J Webb and C Maughan (London: Butterworths, 1996): 187-239.
K. Winsor, "Applying Problem-based Learning to Practical Legal Training" in *The Challenge of Problem-based Learning,* ed. D Boud & G Feletti (London: Kogan Page, 1997): 224-232.
Website and new reports on Buildings Landscapes Cultures (URLs): http://www.news.wisc.edu/releases/14762; http://www.wkowtv.com/global/story.asp?s=9065717; http://badgerherald.com/news/2008/09/25/campuses_share_acade.php
Students enrolled in BLC will engage this method for the first time in architecture graduate/doctoral education. Examples of diverse immersive learning projects already underway include a study of urban history in New York, an urban project to explore social equity in an immigrant neighborhood in Chicago, a building-type study of Polish synagogues, and a comparative urban analysis of Indian cities.

10.   On the face of it, it may seem innocuous, but in the case of teaching architectural history, the above focus embeds any discussion of style and visual form within circuits of social, political, and economic networks that produce that form. This is not a new strategy. Diverse historians such as Spiro Kostof, Dell Upton, and Gwendolyn Wright have championed this method of teaching history. But in our case, this teaching strategy is supplemented with a focus on fieldwork or empirical analysis.

11.   In the case of *Buildings Landscapes Cultures* curriculum, seminars and studios field based. Study abroad and field schools during summer sessions supplement the regular semester activities. This experience allows students to ask how the actual form and layout of a building produces embodied meanings and experiences that go beyond the visual and formal aspects. It allows students to expand the questions of authorship to include the ever-changing *users* of the built environment.

12.   For instance shifting vantage points and scales of analysis during an analysis of mosque architecture among South Asian Muslim populations requires us

to study this artifact as part of personal, kin, and national history (historical scale shift); as a product of interior, architectural, urban and global circumstances (geographical scale shift); and as a artifact experienced at the individual, familial, community levels (social shift).

13.   Adam Langer, *Crossing California,* (New York: The Berkeley Publishing Group, Penguin Group, 2004).

14.   Ade Astuti and Susy Tekunan, "A Slice of South Asia Lives in Chicago," *Voice Of America*, October 1, 2007, http://www.voanews.com/english/archive/2007-1x0/2007-10-01-voa31.cfm, (accessed May 6, 2009).
Neil MacFarquhar, " Pakistanis find U.S. an Easier Fit than Britain," In *The New York Times* (August 21, 2006)

15.   Marcia Hermansen has done groundbreaking research on how Devon is used by the immigrants who live nearby. She has also studied the basement mosques and places of worship that has mushroomed in the area. Personal communications with Dr. Hermansen, Chicago, April 2009.
The diversity of South Asians living in this area is often not mentioned in other community discussions and scholarship.
Jacque Day Archer and Jamie Wirsbinski Santoro, *Images of America: Roger's Park*. (Charleston: Arcadia Publishing, 2007).
Kathleen Bubinas, "Gandhi Marg: the social construction and production of an ethnic economy in Chicago" *City & Society* 17 (December 2005): 161-179
Padma Rangaswamy, *Namaste America: Indian Immigrants in an American Metropolis*. (Philadelphia: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2000).
Padma Rangaswamy, "Asian Indians in Chicago" and "Devon Avenue: A World Market" In *The New Chicago: A Social and Cultural Analysis*. eds. Michael Bennett, Fassil Demissie, Roberta Garner and Kilijoong Kim, (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2006): 129-140; 221-230.

16. Their experience is that of *urban villages* a term coined by Herbert Gans to speak of the denizens of ethnic enclaves. Ethnic enclaves are the most researched ethnic landscapes in America. Gans, Herbert J. *The Urban Villagers: Group and Class in the Life of Italian-Americans*. New York: Free Press, 1982.

17. The focus on urban design also allowed us to fundamentally challenge/compare the ways by which the landscapes of "others" are studied in the US. The ethnic landscape of Devon therefore displays two very different kinds of settlement patterns as defined by urban and cultural geographers. On the one hand it is part of a regional network. Such spatial configurations are studied by researchers of suburbanized swatches of Southern California and similar dispersed settlement patterns.
The term "community without propinquity" comes from an article by Melvin Webber.
See Melvin M. Webber, "Order in diversity: Community without propinquity" *Cities and Space*, ed. L. Wingo (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1963): 25-54.
The following scholars have made important contributions in our knowledge of non-propinquitous landscapes
Michael Dear and Steven Flusty, "Postmodern Urbanism," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 88 (1998): 50-72.
Wei Li. "Anatomy of a new ethnic settlement: The Chinese Ethnoburb in Los Angeles," *Urban Studies* 35 (1998): 470–501.

Kevin M. Dunn, "Rethinking ethnic concentrations: the case of Cabramatta, Sydney," *Urban Studies* 35 (1998): 503–27.
Wilbur Zelinsky and Barrett Lee, "Heterolocalism: an alternative model of the sociospatial
behavior of immigrant communities," In *International Journal of Population Geography*, 4 (1998): 281–298.

18. The decision to study Devon Avenue as a multicultural public space created difficulties. Lyn Lofland offers us a working definition of the public realm as "constituted of those areas of urban settlements in which individuals in copresence tend to be personally unknown or only categorically known to one another." For a designer this definition creates a unique dilemma of values and representation.
Lyn H. Lofland, *The Public Realm: Exploring the City's Quintessential Social Territory*. (Hawthorne: Aldine de Gruyter, 1998): 9.

19. Amos Rapoport, "On the Cultural Responsiveness of Architecture," In *Journal of Architectural Education* 41 (Autumn, 1987): 10-15

20. An important issue in discussions of sustainability is that of social equity and a need for equal representation of minority voices in multicultural societies. Identifying social transactions, experiences and interactions in the daily life of South Asian immigrants in sites of domestic, leisure, service, market, and civic engagement not only helps us delineate the extent of the immigrant cultural landscape but also provides opportunities to examine how minority voices can be incorporated into mainstream architectural practices and studio-pedagogy. If we consider the three Es used in sustainability discussions (Environment, Economy and Equity) the response from architects and planners has been very divergent. While planners have attended to issues of environment in a holistic way, accounting for resource management, ecology, and social equity, architects have singularly jumped into the environmental science and resource management bandwagon, obliviously ignorant about issues of social, political and cultural inequity. Incorporating minority voices in the design process may indeed encourage sustainable practice.

21.   Renee Chow, *Suburban Space: The Fabric of Dwelling,* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002): 88.

22.   Chow's analysis of dwellings concentrate on ways we can manipulate four major attributes during the design process. These are access, or how people move through the space, claim, or how people establish control over spaces, dimension, the arrangement and structure of the size of various spaces, and assemblage, how the structure and infrastructure are put together. Her work gives us an idea how we can incorporate flexibility and open ended-ness into our design as we order the built form.

23.   Michel de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life,* trans. Steven Rendall (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988): xii.

24.   Chow, *Suburban Space,* 149.

25.   Thomas Hubka, "Just Folks Designing: Vernacular Designers and the Generation of Form," *Journal of Architectural Education* 32 (February 1979):29

26.   According to Habraken, design process should be informed by thematic forms of understanding the environment using a vocabulary of types, patterns, and

systems.
N John Habraken. *Structure of the Ordinary: Form and Control in the Built Environment,* ed. Jonathan Teicher (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1998)

27.   Such interventions can be seen in the designs of "open buildings" and in the projects done by the Foundation for Architects Research (SAR).
For a more sustained discussion on such a design process see the work of N. John Habraken.
N John Habraken. *Structure of the Ordinary: Form and Control in the Built Environment,* ed. Jonathan Teicher (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1998)
N John Habraken, J. Boekholt, A., Thyssen , and P. J. Dinjens. *Variations: The Systematic Design of Supports.* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1976)
Stephen Kendall and Jonathan Teicher. *Residential Open Building*, (New York: E & FN Spon, 2000)

28.   I borrow the term spatial practice from Lefebvre's use of it in *The Production of Space.*
Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, trans. Donald Nicholson-Smith (Blackwell, Oxford, 1991).

29. Arijit Sen, "Everyday Production of Ethnicity in Immigrant Stores," In *InTensions* 2 (Spring 2009), http://www.yorku.ca/intent/pastissues.html
Arijit Sen, "From Curry Mahals to Chaat Cafes: Spatialities of the South Asian Culinary Landscape" In *Curried Cultures,* ed. Tulasi Srinivasan and Krishnendu Ray. (Berkeley: University of California Press, Forthcoming, 2010)
Arijit Sen, "Methods of Reading the Cultural Landscape of South Asian Immigrants: The Jackson Heights Tour, New York," Vernacular Architecture Forum Conference, New York City, June 2006. "Ethnicity in the City: Reading Representations of Cultural Difference in Indian Storefronts." In *City, Space + Globalization: An International Perspective*. Proceedings of an International Symposium, ed. Hemlata C. Dandekar. (Ann Arbor, MI: College of Architecture and Urban Planning, 1998).

30.   "If the prevalence of self-employment and the importance of small business have declined for the population at large, they continue to be poles of attraction for immigrants and their descendants. Historically, immigrants have gravitated toward small business: in turn of the century New York, it was not only in the petty trades of peddling and huckstering that the foreign-born were over-represented, but also among "manufacturers and officials," "merchants and dealers," and other proprietary occupations. Small enterprise played an important role in the economic progress of a variety of immigrant groups that implanted themselves in business then - Jews, Italians, Greeks, and others - and their proportionally higher involvement in entrepreneurial activities continues to differentiate these groups from much of the native population."
Roger Waldinger, "Immigrant enterprise: A critique and reformulation," *Theory and Society* 15 (January, 1986): 249-285

31.   Gaddy also discovered during his project that the vendor-alley arrangement is also very common in South Asian cities, a cultural form he would have missed if he didn't consider the practices of business by the immigrant entrepreneurs.

32.   The systems of activities and systems of settings are discussed in detail by Amos Rapoport in the following article.
Amos Rapoport, "Systems of Activities and Systems of Settings," In *Domestic Architecture and the Use of Space: An Interdisciplinary Cross-Cultural Study*, ed. Susan Kent. (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1990): 9-20.

33.   Patterns not only explain the logic and structure of the whole but they also help us understand the hierarchy of parts that are assembled in order to produce the entirety. Patterns can be formal as Adrian shows in her design. She uses a series of formal and architectural elements to assemble an armature. This armature allows for future adaptation by individuals and groups via a secondary system of parts that can be changed and manipulated. Her development of the alley borrows its logic from Christopher Alexander's famous essay "The City is not a Tree," where the author argues for a semi-latticed complex structure with overlaps and complex systems.
Christopher Alexander, "The City is not a Tree," *Design* 206 (February 1966): 46-55.

34.   N John Habraken, "The Control of Complexity," *Places* 4 (1987): 3-15.

35.   Habraken, "Complexity," 6.

36.   In recent urban geography scholarship, the emergence of the in-between can be traced to Soja and Sassen, but anthropologists working on social behavior and communities have described the importance of liminal space in the past.
Edward W. Soja, *Thirdspace: Journeys to Los Angeles and Other Real-and-Imagined Places*, (New York: Wiley-Blackwell, 1996).
Homi Bhabha, *The Location of Culture*, (New York: Routledge, 2004).
Saskia Sassen, *Territory, Authority, Rights: From Medieval to Global Assemblages*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2008)
Fredrik Barth, *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries*, (Long Grove: Waveland Press, 1988)
Victor Turner, *Dramas, Fields, and Metaphors: Symbolic Action in Human Society*, (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1975).
Jeff Weintraub and Krishan Kumar, *Public and Private in Thought and Practice: Perspectives on a Grand Dichotomy*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997).
Arjun Appadurai, "Global Ethnoscapes: Notes and Queries for a Transnational Anthropology," in *Recapturing Anthropology: Working in the Present*, ed. Richard G. Fox. (Santa Fe: School of American Research Press, 1991): 191-210.