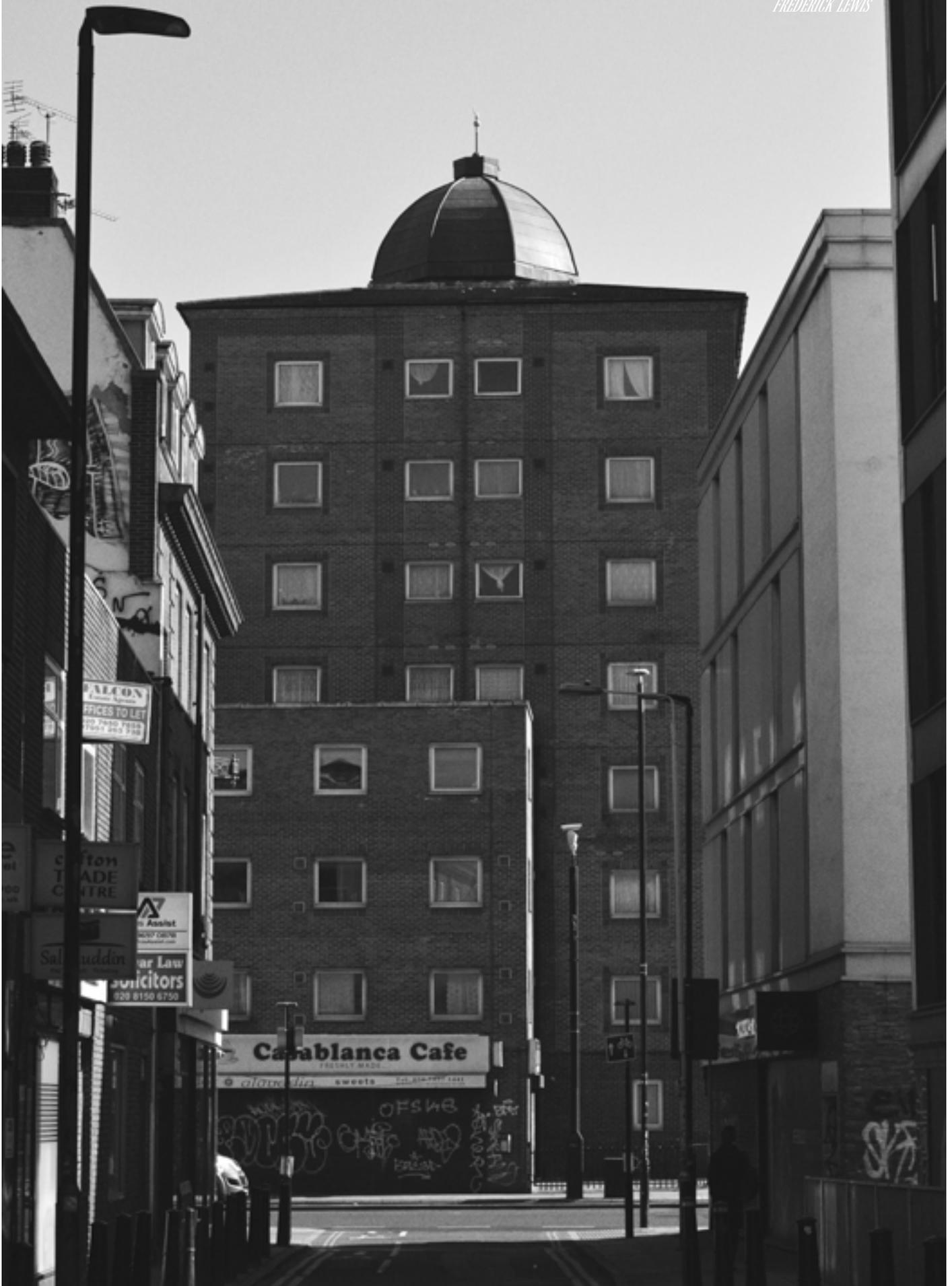


# MIGRATING STYLES

What Influence, If Any, Will Tomorrow's Climate-Refugees Have On The Architectural Language Of Britain?

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28th May 2020  
6,661 words

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I have therefore taken every care in the work submitted here to accurately reference all writings and ideas that are not my own, whether from printed, online, or any other sources.



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I. Bangladeshi business' in the shadow of Canary Wharf  
Tower Hamlets, London

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NOTE:

Throughout this essay I have used a few terms interchangeably.

I have flipped between the use of the terms 'the sub-continent' and 'India' to refer to Bangladesh, Pakistan, the Republic of India, and Sri Lanka. Furthermore, before becoming its own nation, Bangladesh was part of the Bengal region in 'India,' and therefore those terms have also been interchanged.

I have also interchanged the use of 'Flemish', 'Dutch', and the 'low-countries', to refer to the Protestant refugees, and Dutch speaking peoples of present-day Belgium and the Netherlands.



II. British Identity?  
Greco-Roman Columns on St.Paul's  
Cathedral  
London

## MIGRATING STYLES

What Influence, If Any, Will Tomorrow's Climate-Refugees Have On The Architectural Language Of Britain?

### INTRODUCTION

Architecture and the built form have played a vital role in conveying socio-cultural and political identity throughout recorded history. From the ancient Egyptians erecting monumental pyramids to colonial Europeans stamping classical architecture on their subjects as a reminder of their power. However, architecture has not only been used to express power, but has also been used to convey belonging, with ideas of 'home' being that of an anchor keeping us grounded and giving us a foothold in society. The architect Juhani Pallasmaa believes that architecture helps to express and relate humanity's being in the world – it is our foremost tool in relating us with space and time and enabling human comprehension. As he states it 'domesticates limitless space and endless time to be tolerated, inhabited, and understood by humankind.'<sup>1</sup> With architecture giving us a sense of belonging and helping to orient ourselves in the world, what happens when people leave their homes to live in an entirely new culture or country? Is the umbilical cord cut, or do they bring their ideas and tools for positioning oneself in space and time with them? This essay intends to try and understand what role cultural identity has in shaping the built environment in the age of globalisation and mass migration. This essay will look at historical waves of migration, such as the protestant refugees from the low-lands coming into 16th century England and colonial Britons moving to the sub-continent, and comparing them to modern waves of migrants into post-war, post-colonial Britain. Through this essay I intend to understand why some cultures may have had a bigger impact than others and what this may mean for the potential climate-refugee crisis of tomorrow.

1. Pallasmaa, Juhani. 2012. *The Eyes Of The Skin*. Chichester: Wiley, 19.



III. The Dutch Gables at Manwood Court  
 Crow-steep Gables and Brick Construction Brought Over From the Low-Countries. Decorative 'S' Tie Bar (Sierankers). Tie-Bars Typical of Netherlandish Architecture Due to The Need For Extra Support in Alluvial Soils. Further Informative Tie-Bars (Jaartalankers) Date the Building to 1564.  
 Sandwich, Kent



IV. The 'Dutch' Gables and Brickwork at Poulton Manor.  
 The Two Gables Were Added to the Existing Half-timbered Structure Typical of 17th Century Kentish Housing.  
 Woodnesborough, Kent

## TRANSCULTURATION

It is important to note that not all architectural styles are absorbed, familiarised or forced upon cultures and identities through conquests and colonialism. Although the geographical area of present-day England was conquered by the Romans, the Anglo-Saxons, and later the Norman aristocracy that formed what we now know of as 'England', were Germanic peoples who were never conquered by Rome. Yet despite this we see the classical orders of Greek and Roman architecture throughout England, having been built long after any Romans left these shores. Furthermore, although the 'Glorious Revolution' of 1688 saw William of Orange replace James II and VII as ruler of England, Scotland and Ireland, William co-ruled with the former King's English daughter, Mary II. The 'revolution' was backed by much of Protestant Britain and was seen as a means to prevent another Catholic dynasty rather than a Dutch invasion. Yet despite this, the 'original form of the curved or shaped gable...' that is prevalent across East Anglia and Kent, 'undoubtedly came to Eastern England from the Low Countries...' <sup>2</sup> with examples such as Manwood Court in Sandwich predating the revolution by over 100 years (1564). [III.] This was not a case of a dominant power coming in and imposing their culture and way of life on the conquered, but rather a process of 'transculturation.'

The term 'transculturation' was first coined by the Cuban anthropologist Fernando Ortiz in the early 1940's. Felipe Hernandez describes it as the 'multi-directional and endless iterative process between various cultural systems' and states how it goes against the 'idea of "acculturation", which implies the eventual elimination of non-dominant cultures' due to the 'unidirectional imposition of one dominant culture upon another.' The idea being to highlight that a 'process of mutual interaction exists between cultures.'<sup>3</sup>

So how did the transculturation of architectural ideas between England and the Low Countries occur? On top of the close trade links, English and Scottish troops fought side by side with Flemings against the troops of Alva and his successors in the 16th and 17th centuries in the Low Countries. These soldiers came to know and appreciate their customs, both military and social, and took them back to Britain. Notable people of power such as the aforementioned Mary II and the Archbishop of Canterbury, John Morton, also spent time in the Low Countries. Anthony Quiney claims that while the reintroduction of the Roman practice of building in brick may have received a stimulus from 14th century Flemish migrants, it was given authoritative support in major buildings in the reign of Henry VII after Archbishop Morton returned from exile in Flanders.<sup>4</sup> [IV.] Furthermore, Protestant Flemish civilians were fleeing their home countries by the thousands to escape persecution from the Catholic furies in the wake of the Spanish Inquisition. Immigrants were not only refugees however, with the 16th Century Tudor government inviting craftsmen over to settle and practise their trade to reduce England's dependency on foreign imports, with a further 'steady stream of Dutch craftsmen, mainly stonemasons and woodworkers, seeking employment in Britain during the late-Stuart period.'<sup>5</sup> Many of these immigrants prospered and poverty was rare. These Flemings came to be known as 'Strangers.' Although they 'intended to be English, the Strangers could see no

2. Cudworth, Cyril L. 1939. "The Dutch Gables Of East Anglia". *The Architectural Review* 35: 113-118.

3. Hernandez, Felipe. 2005. "Introduction: Transcultural Architectures In Latin America". In *Transculturation: Cities, Spaces And Architectures In Latin America*, 1st ed., ix-xxiv. Amsterdam: Rodopi, x-xi.

4. Quiney, Anthony. 1993. *English Domestic Architecture: Kent Houses*. 1st ed. Martlesham: ACC Art Books, 93.

5. Louw, Hentie. 2009. "Dutch Influence On British Architecture In The Late-Stuart Period, C. 1660-C. 1714". *Journal Of Low Countries Studies* 33 (2): 83-120. doi:<https://doi-org.ezproxy.brighton.ac.uk/10.1179/155909009X461902>, 90.



V. Rajabai Clock Tower  
British Colonial Architecture Built in a  
Fusion of Venetian and Gothic Styles.  
Mumbai, India



VI. Asian Cuisine, Western Architecture  
Tower Hamlets, London

reason to abandon the amenities of life to which they had been accustomed.’ and so ‘when they built their homes, they incorporated in them nostalgic reminders of their Flemish ancestry.’<sup>6</sup> Furthermore, Dutch money financed many industries, with ‘Dutch doctrines on insurance, banking, stock exchange etc... eventually [being] incorporated into the British financial structure.’ As John J. Murray states: ‘The Low Countries were the bridge over which many European concepts and customs of the 16th and 17th centuries crossed into England.’<sup>7</sup>

## UNEVEN SOCIO-CULTURAL EXCHANGE

Whilst we have looked at Felipe Hernandez and Ortiz’s ideas about the process of transculturation rather than acculturation, it is important to note that there is not an equal or harmonious interaction between different cultures. Whilst all cultures that come into contact end up exerting some sort of influence on each other, the structures of power, technology, agency etc. prevent an equal and fluent interaction. So how has England’s relationship between the Low Countries and the Indian subcontinent differed? Although often rivals, the interactions between England (and later the U.K.) and the Low Countries have generally been on an equal footing, with one Amsterdam bookseller writing in 1727 describing the English as ‘our neighbours by situation, our friends by inclination, and our brothers in religion.’<sup>8</sup> The same relationship cannot be said between England and the Indian subcontinent. Until the age of discovery, India and Britain had lived in relative ignorance of each other, with little to no contact. However, after the Battle of Plassey in 1757, the Indians started to become subject peoples of the British Empire and were seen by many as an ‘inferior people’. Churchill reportedly stated: ‘I hate Indians,’ and that ‘they are a beastly people with a beastly religion.’<sup>9</sup> Not exactly the foundations of a harmonious interaction. This being highlighted by Gandhi who in 1942 described India under British rule as a ‘country in bondage and slavery.’<sup>10</sup> While relations have definitely improved since the days of Empire, the former colonies of the subcontinent differ from the U.K. much more than the Low Countries – both culturally and economically.

The lack of a fluent or equal interaction between cultures is probably more evident in architecture than in any other form of cultural production. While Indian cuisine is a staple of many British peoples’ lives, Indian architecture is not. As is highlighted by Magali Larson, while other cultural producers can still operate in the face of being overlooked by their target audience – an artist without a market can still paint or draw, a songwriter without a record deal can sing, and a chef without a restaurant can still cook for his friends, family, and community – architects however, are reliant on their client’s patronage.<sup>11</sup> True, an architect or a builder could design and build their own house if they so wish, but this is a massive economic undertaking, and may even prove impossible those leaving their country of birth due to issues of poverty. Therefore, if economically impoverished migrants coming over to the U.K. would like to express their design ideas on the built environment, they need patronage. Patronage in architecture is important, and as Edward Lutyens stated, ‘without great patrons there would be no great architecture.’<sup>12</sup>

6. Murray, John J. 1957. “*The Cultural Impact Of The Flemish Low Countries On Sixteenth- And Seventeenth-Century England*”. *The American Historical Review* 62 (4): 837-854. doi:10.2307/1845516. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/1845516>, 838.

7. Murray, John J. 1957. “*The Cultural Impact Of The Flemish Low Countries On Sixteenth- And Seventeenth-Century England*”. 854.

8. As Quoted in Osselson, N. E. 1973. *The Dumb Linguists*. Leiden: Leiden University Press, 119.

9. Churchill, Winston, as Quoted in Selby, Jenn. 2015. “*Winston Churchill: Accusations Of Anti-Semitism, Economic Inexperience And The Blunt Refusal That Led To The Deaths Of Millions*”. *The Independent*. <https://www.independent.co.uk/news/people/winston-churchill-from-accusations-of-anti-semitism-to-the-blunt-refusal-that-led-to-the-deaths-of-9999181.html>.

10. Gandhi, As Quoted in Dāsa, R., 2005. *The Global Vision Of Mahatma Gandhi*. 1st ed. New Delhi: Sarup & Sons, 180.

11. Larson, Magali Safuri. 2004. “*Grounding The Postmodern: A Story Of Empirical Research On Fuzzy Concepts*”. In *Matters Of Culture: Cultural Sociology IN Practice*, 1st ed., 324. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

12. Lutyens, As Quoted in Jones, Paul. 2011. *The Sociology Of Architecture*. 1st ed. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press.



VI. Umaid Bhawan Palace  
Jodhpur, India



*Drawn & Engraved by J. Bruce, Brighton.*

**THE PAVILION AT BRIGHTON.**

VII. Brighton Pavillion  
Indo-Islamic Domes, Minarets, and Arches  
Decorate the Exterior of the Brighton  
(Royal) Pavilion  
Brighton, England

Due to the huge economic means of creating ‘architecture’, there is a ‘deep complicity of architecture with social order.’ As Dovey and Dickson state: ‘as the practice of imagining and building a new world, architecture will always be political...’ and therefore architecture should be ‘stripped of the illusion of autonomy.’<sup>13</sup> It is those in power that get to dictate what is ‘beautiful’ or ‘worth-while’ architecture. Those in power set the fashions, with the average architect or citizen being anonymous. And it is those in power (the patrons) that get to dictate what is built or not. A prime example being that of British Colonial architecture in India. It was the British who had the power and resources to build the monumental structures such as Victoria Terminus and therefore it was their taste that dictated what was built. Indeed, as shown before, the imposition and building of tastes and culture is not a unidirectional process of one dominant form over another, with the process of transculturation being multi-directional. This is evident in the works of Samuel Swinton Jacob, who combined local Indian styles with Classical Revival, and Art-Deco, such as in ‘Umaid Bhawan Palace’ in Jodhpur, [VI.] and John Nash’s ‘Royal Pavilion’ in Brighton. [VII.] However, these are isolated examples of white British architects’ cherry-picking styles under the patronage of white British powers.

While the patrons ultimately decide what is to be built, architects do play an important part in influencing what the patrons value as ‘good taste’. It is those at the top, the so called ‘starchitects’, that have this sway. Therefore, ascendancy in the profession allows increased capability to influence what aesthetics are valued. However, this is not necessarily a meritocratic system. Those at the top have the power to decide who can gain access into the field to compete for its cultural capital. Part of this was done merely through terminology. By European architects traditionally categorising architecture as either ‘Western’ or ‘Non-Western’, Gülsüm Baydar believes it ‘indicates that architecture needs a prefix (that is, non-western) to accommodate other cultures than the west.’<sup>14</sup> It describes ‘non-western’ architectures as “Other” and constitutes them all as a separate identity. As Laclau states, ‘an identity’s constitution is always based on excluding something and establishing a violent hierarchy between the two resultant poles – man/woman, etc. What is peculiar to the second term is thus reduced to the function of an accident as opposed to the essentiality of the first.’<sup>15</sup> This hierarchy is highlighted in Sir Banister Fletcher’s *A History of Architecture on the Comparative Method for the Student, Craftsman and Amateur* (1901 ed.) – an inaugural text in its field. Appearing toward the end of the colonial era, it reflects the desire to project the supremacy of the colonizers’ world. The book is split into two sections: ‘Historical styles’ which covers the chronological evolution of ‘Western’ architecture, and ‘Non-historical styles’ which covers ‘non-western’ architectures. According to the author, whereas historical styles are based on the primacy of structure and construction, nonhistorical styles are overly ornamented and lack constructional logic.<sup>17</sup> Fletcher made a ‘tree of architecture’ where ‘Western’ Classical and Gothical styles sit above the ‘Non-Western’ styles from around the world. Baydar believes that this west/non-west divide perpetuates their unequal relationship, where the West needs the license to judge, and the Non-West needs to be legitimated.<sup>18</sup> Indeed, Dutch styles counted as Western styles and therefore

13. Dovey, Kim, and Scott Dickson. 2002. “*Architecture And Freedom? Programmatic Innovation In The Work Of Koolhaas/OMA*”. *Journal Of Architectural Education* 56 (1): 5-13.

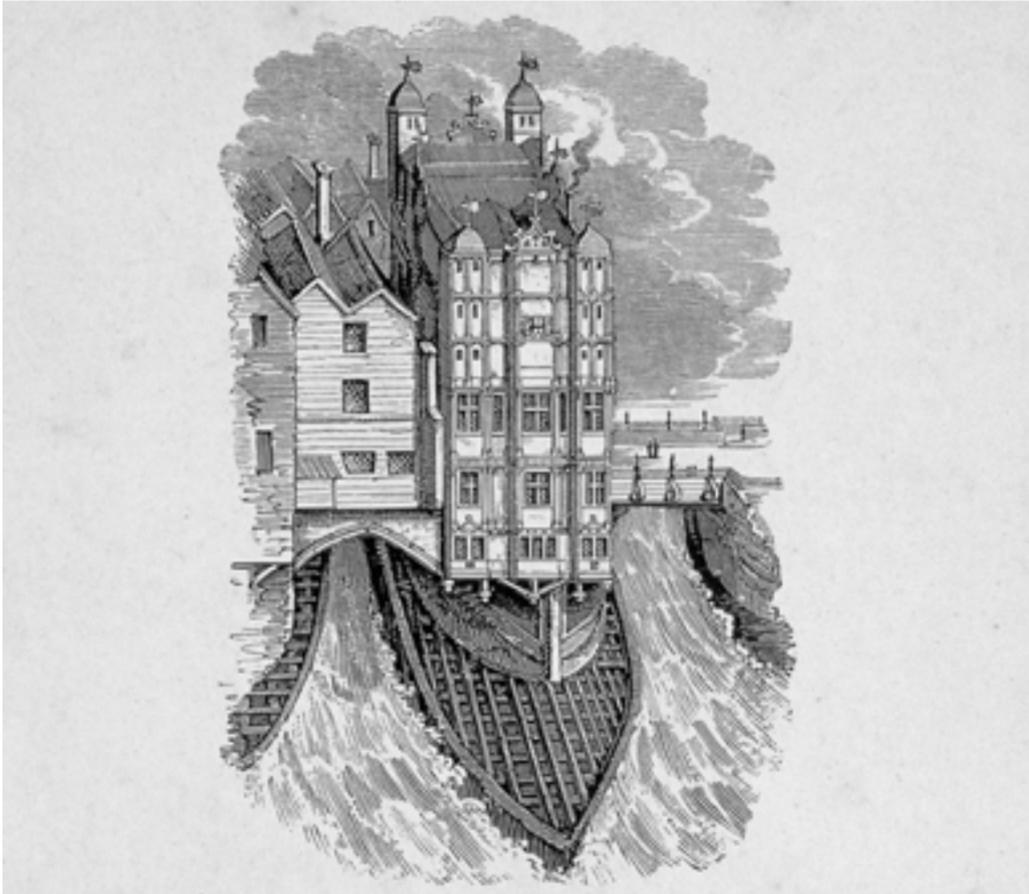
14. Baydar, Gülsüm. 1984. “The Cultural Burden Of Architecture”. *Journal Of Architectural Education* 57 (4): 19-27. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/40480507>, 22-23.

15. Laclau, Ernesto. 1990. *New Reflections On The Revolution Of Our Time*. 1st ed. New York: Verso, 33.

16. Fletcher, Sir Banister. 1901. *A History Of Architecture On The Comparative Method For The Student, Craftsman & Amateur*. 4th ed. London: B.T. Batsford, Ltd.

17. Fletcher, Sir Banister. 1901.

18. Baydar, Gülsüm. 1984. “The Cultural Burden Of Architecture”. *Journal Of Architectural Education* 57 (4): 19-27. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/40480507>, 23.



VIII. Nonsuch House. Designed and Built in the Netherlands  
London, England



IX. Jaswant Thada  
'Non-Western' Architecture.  
The Building Style of Children?  
Jodhpur, India

didn't need to be legitimised. Dutch styles were actively celebrated, and according to John Alfred Gotch, 'from 1550 on, British architects tended to copy the Dutch.'<sup>19</sup> This trend was apparently encouraged by the great number of books on architecture published in the Low Countries,<sup>20</sup> with Flemish pattern-books being extensively used in the design and decoration of major English buildings.<sup>21</sup> Indeed, the first ever pre-fab house, 'Nonsuch House' on the old London Bridge, [VIII.] was originally constructed in the Netherlands and then shipped to London in 1578.<sup>22</sup> Indian architecture however, was not always appreciated. In letters to his wife, Lutyens called Indian architecture the 'building style of children' and claimed it 'very tiresome to western intelligence.'<sup>23</sup> He therefore strived to include as many 'western' elements as possible in his colonial work. Even when 'non-western' elements were incorporated, such as in Orientalism, it was still born out of a hierarchical viewpoint. According to Edward Said, 'Orientalism divides men into 'them' and 'us'; it is an instrument for exerting western control over the east.'<sup>24</sup> People who consider themselves as modern humanists and generally liberal minded individuals may like to think this would not be a precedent for denying any future transculturation or adoption of 'non-western' styles. However, it is interesting to look at what may have prevented some styles from crossing over in the past.

If those at the top still have the power to decide who can gain access into the field to compete for its cultural capital, but patrons and architects no longer view a hierarchical structure of Western and non-Western architectures, then what may prevent 'non-Western' designers from making more of a mark on the built environment? The long, demanding, and expensive architectural education means that not everyone can 'play the game' and many of the poorer migrants coming over will not have the resources to become chartered. Indeed, some architects who have already qualified in another country have to re-qualify under the RIBA – which is a huge economic burden. Stevens makes the crucial distinction between those in the 'mass' of architects and those in the 'restricted' sub-fields.<sup>25</sup> Those in the 'mass' of architects make up the vast majority and are mainly anonymous. They are mainly concerned with functional buildings that fail to capture the imagination or attention of the wider public. Those in the 'restricted' field, however, have greater capacity to define what is 'valuable' and what is not. They are the tastemakers and they have the ability to assign and remove capital to others. Larson points out that famous architects (those in the restricted field) are 'in a dominant position within a field configured by the changing outcome of competitive struggles for symbolic capital.'<sup>26</sup> They can refract economic reward into their own terms to a greater extent than those in the mass part of the field. Paul Jones states that the majority of practicing architects (mass) are more concerned with economic reward and professional recognition.<sup>27</sup> However, this is not necessarily out of choice. Those in the 'mass' are more likely to give into their patrons or developers' tastes or needs due to their need to get paid. As Stevens states: 'rare is the architect, who, due to his or her transferable capitals, can dictate terms and conditions to a client.'<sup>28</sup> Not even Lutyens got to dictate terms and conditions when designing New Delhi. Despite his distaste of Indian architecture, and the majority of British commentators preferring a 'western

19. Gotch, John Alfred. 1901. *Early Renaissance Architecture In England: A Historical & Descriptive Account Of The Tudor, Elizabethan & Jacobean Periods, 1500-1625*. 1st ed. London: B. T. Batsford, 8-9.

20. Murray, John J. 1957. "The Cultural Impact Of The Flemish Low Countries On Sixteenth- And Seventeenth-Century England". *The American Historical Review* 62 (4): 837-854. doi:10.2307/1845516. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/1845516>, 850.

21. Louw, H.J. 2020. "Anglo-Netherlandish Architectural Interchange C. 1600-C. 1660". *Architectural History* 24: 123-144. doi:10.2307/1568393. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/1568393>

22. Podell, Janet, and Steven Anzovin. 2000. *Famous First Facts, International Edition : A Record Of First Happenings, Discoveries, And Inventions In World History*. 1st ed. New York: H.W. Wilson, 14.

23. Lutyens, as Quoted in Percy, Clayre, and Jane Ridley. 1985. *The Letters Of Edwin Lutyens To His Wife, Lady Emily*. 1st ed. London: HarperCollins Publishers Ltd, 231-51.

24. Said, Edward W. 1995. *Orientalism*. 2nd ed. London: Penguin, 40-45.

25. Stevens, Gary. 1998. *The Favoured Circle: The Social Foundations Of Architectural Distinction*. 1st ed. Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press, 74.

26. Larson, Magali Safuri. 2004. "Grounding The Postmodern: A Story Of Empirical Research On Fuzzy Concepts". In *Matters Of Culture: Cultural Sociology IN Practice*, 1st ed., 324. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

27. Jones, Paul. 2011. *The Sociology Of Architecture*. 1st ed. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 15.

28. Stevens, Gary. 1998. *The Favoured Circle: The Social Foundations Of Architectural Distinction*. 1st ed. Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press, 205.



X. Traditional Banggolo (Bungalow)  
Showing A Curved 'Chala' Style  
Thatched Roof.  
Bangladesh



XI. Salim Singh Ki Haveli  
Curved 'Overturned Boat' Roof Adapted  
During the Moghul Period.  
Jaisalmer, India

style,' it was the Viceroy, Hardinge, and King George V who advocated for a mix of Oriental and European classical elements.<sup>29</sup> Following this, it stands to reason that due to migrants forming a minority group, the chances of a 'representative' architect of a minority culture being able to dictate conditions to a client is very slim.

## THE BUNGALOW

Regarding the multi-directional process of transculturation, it is interesting to look at the history of the 'bungalow'. In the earliest known 17th century use of the term in India, the term had cultural and economic connotations. It described the common hut of the Bengali peasant, which had a sloping roof on two sides, two gable ends and a curved ridge which had a 'resemblance to a boat when overturned.'<sup>30</sup> [X.] The first adaptations of this form were made during the Moghul period, with the dominant Moghuls introducing this style to other cities such as Jaisalmer and Agra. [XI.] The bungalow was later influenced by contact with Europeans, becoming a 'product of cultures in contact, an indigenous mode of shelter adopted and adapted for Europeans living in India.'<sup>31</sup> [XII.] So why were the local Bengal peasants' 'Bungalows' adopted by the Europeans? The early visitors to India were travellers and traders and so the 'bungalows' were built for the sake of cheapness and were not envisaged for long term or permanent use. Manual labour was undertaken by the corresponding Indian Castes with the local materials and technology. As John Hendrix has stated, 'all architecture throughout history is subject to the limitations of the material production of its culture, and the limitations of the economic systems of labour.'<sup>32</sup> This statement is true of the architecture first commissioned by these travellers and traders. Whilst the Europeans overseeing this work may have had their own ideals for their desired dwelling, it was the local population who conducted the work and so the end result was more of a native product, which became a frequent source of amusement.<sup>33</sup>

Indeed, the use of local materials, the local labour force and a need for cheapness may explain the complete lack of an Asian architectural imprint whilst walking through Tower Hamlets in London. More than two thirds of the borough's population belong to minority ethnic groups, with 32% of the total population descending from Bangladesh<sup>34</sup> – the 'Bungalow's' country of origin (Along with Bengal in India). Maybe the Bangladeshis are adopting the local building styles for the same reason the British did in the sub-continent? However, in a densely populated and highly built up area such as London, there is less opportunity and space for migrants to build or commission their own buildings, than there was for British travellers in rural Bengal. This was the same problem facing the Flemish and Dutch Settlers in Sandwich and other towns/cities across England. In reference to Sandwich, historian Arthur Percival pointed out how (much like today's migrants) the settlers 'had their work cut out to establish themselves in their new surroundings...' and that it 'took time.' He further explains how 'once they had set down firm roots, towards the end of the 16th century, they had little need and hardly any opportunity to build new properties...' as 'most of

29. Ridley, Jane. 2008. "Edwin Lutyens, New Delhi, And The Architecture Of Imperialism". *The Journal Of Imperial And Commonwealth History* 26 (2): 67-83. doi:10.1080/03086539808583025, 74.

30. Buchanan, Francis. 1838. *The History, Antiquities, Topography And Statistics Of East India*, 3 Vols. London: WH. Allen, 922-924.

31. King, Anthony. 1984. *The Bungalow: The Production Of A Global Culture*. 1st ed. London: Routledge, 14.

32. Hendrix, John. 2012. "Epilogue: The Necessity Of Architecture". In *The Cultural Role Of Architecture: Contemporary And Historical Perspectives*, 1st ed., 217-223. New York: Routledge, 220.

33. King, Anthony. 1984. *The Bungalow: The Production Of A Global Culture*. 1st ed. London: Routledge, 29-31.

34. Ethnicity In Tower Hamlets. 2013. Ebook. 1st ed. London: towerhamlets.gov.uk. [https://www.towerhamlets.gov.uk/Documents/Borough\\_statistics/Ward\\_profiles/Census-2011/RB-Census2011-Ethnicity-2013-01.pdf](https://www.towerhamlets.gov.uk/Documents/Borough_statistics/Ward_profiles/Census-2011/RB-Census2011-Ethnicity-2013-01.pdf).

35. Percival, Arthur. 1966. *Dutch Influence For Sandwich*. Ebook. Sandwich, Kent: The Journal of the Sandwich Society. [https://www.academia.edu/5718165/Dutch\\_Influence\\_for\\_Sandwich\\_Soc\\_300807\\_v\\_3\\_for\\_pix](https://www.academia.edu/5718165/Dutch_Influence_for_Sandwich_Soc_300807_v_3_for_pix), 2.



XII. British Colonial Bungalow  
Bengal, India



XIII. Rows Upon Rows of Seaside  
'Bungalows'  
New Romney, Kent



XIV. Indian, Bangladeshi, Pakistani and Sri Lankan Businesses in the Existing British Architecture London, England



XV. East London Mosque  
Islamic Iconography and Architecture  
Adapted to the Construction and Materials of its East London Setting.  
London, England.

the town's houses... did not need redeveloping. And in a place so densely built up, there were few empty building plots.<sup>35</sup> Indeed, walking along the A11 from White Chapel to Tower Hamlets I noticed vast clusters of shops, restaurants, and people from the sub-continent – yet they were all situated within the existing Georgian and Victoria landscape. [XIV] Where the Settlers did manage to build, the scale and finish differed from those of their homeland, as they too had to make use of the local materials and labour force. Percival noted how the builders of these 'Dutch' houses – 'probably Kentish – chose to work with the bricks which they were familiar and that 'these were larger than their Netherlandish counterparts, so detailing could not be as refined. As a result, East Kent's "Dutch" houses and gables have a kind of hearty English flavour – they are bolder and simpler.<sup>36</sup> The only 'non-Western' building I encountered between White Chapel and Tower Hamlets was the East London Mosque. [XV. & Front Cover] Although the use of Islamic domes, arches, towers, and iconography clearly distinguished the Mosque and its adjacent buildings as 'non-Western,' the use of the local bricks, standardised plastic windows, cladding and building techniques very much make it a product of its East London setting. This would seem to convey an egalitarian mirror image and suggest that maybe further down the line, these Bengali descendants (amongst other migrant groups) may be able to imprint on the architectural landscape of Britain, much like the British did to Bengal and the Dutch and Flemish did to England. However, the East London Mosque is not purely a Bengali mosque, nor does it show any traditional Bengali characteristics such as the curved 'Chala' style roof that became popularised throughout the sub-continent [IX-XI] Rather it is a Mosque designed for the differing Muslim groups and identities that have settled in London from around the world.

## WESTERNISATION

Furthermore, as stated before, transculturation is not an equal process, and it is important to understand the power imbalances at play. The adoption of the local 'Bungalow' and the use of the term itself underwent a gradual process of 'Westernisation.' By the late 18th century, the term 'Bungalow' referred to 3 separate typologies: that of the Native Bengali hut, the Anglo-Indian adaptation and also to any kind of small European house in India. By 1824, the cultural, economic and ethnic connotations of the 'Bungalow' had changed from that of the Bengali peasant to that of white European officers.<sup>37</sup> Growing interest in India back in Britain, along with the consolidation of power and Empire over the native peoples, brought in a new need for more 'western styles.' In 1865, the leading architectural journal decried the state of British architecture in the sub-continent, stating how the British 'succeeded in inventing a style which for ugliness beats everything that was ever constructed by man.'<sup>38</sup> And while some of the main rationale for these designs were due to those of climate -,the belief in the need for a more 'European' style and influence persisted. Writing for the Royal institute of British Architects, T. Roger Smith stated that: 'as our administration exhibits European justice, order, love of law, energy and honour, so our buildings ought to hold up a high standard of European art... [these buildings] ought to be European, both as a rallying point for ourselves, and as raising a distinctive

36. Percival, Arthur. 1966, 2.

37. King, Anthony. 1984. *The Bungalow: The Production Of A Global Culture*. 1st ed. London: Routledge, 37.

38. As Quoted in King, Anthony. 1984. *The Bungalow: The Production Of A Global Culture*. 1st ed. London: Routledge, 45.

39. Smith, Tomas Roger. 1869. "On The Buildings For European Occupation In Tropical Climates, Especially India". Proceedings Of The Royal Institute Of British Architects 1: 18.



XVI. Greek Columns, English Signage, and Capitalism in the Heart of Delhi, India



XVII. The Ever Growing International Skyline Mumbai, India

mark of our presence, always to be upheld by the Natives of the country.<sup>39</sup> And so, as the British exerted more control over the sub-continent, the form and idea of the Bungalow strayed further from its origins. Evolving from the thatched 'overturned' boats of rural Bengal (Chala) [x.] to the single storied brick and mortar houses seen throughout the western hemisphere [xiii].

As shown, those in power with the cultural capital (in this case, the colonisers) have the ability to present arbitrary values about worth as seemingly natural, neutral and unproblematic. Something which Bourdieu constitutes as 'symbolic violence.'<sup>40</sup> Symbolic violence involves the attachment of legitimacy and value to a particular aesthetic or practice within the field. Jones points out that the more this process is hidden from sight and left unchallenged, the more powerful it is in reproducing dominance.<sup>41</sup> Not just an aesthetic dominance, but also in a way of life. De Botton believes that to 'describe a building as beautiful suggests more than a mere aesthetic fondness; it implies an attraction to the particular way of life this structure is promoting...'<sup>42</sup> Furthermore, the American scholar Robert Gutman stated that 'rare is the building not designed by an architect that represents the supreme values of a civilisation. This has been true for temples, palaces, libraries, and city halls in Greece, Rome, and Europe during the Renaissance.'<sup>43</sup> Not only does the built form reflect the social order, but the physical and spatial urban form help to constitute much of social and cultural existence.<sup>44</sup> This 'symbolic violence' occurred in India due to the steady implementation of European styles and industry. This in turn caused the 'westernisation' of domestic life. This started at the top, and advanced most rapidly in the urban centres, such as in Calcutta and Bombay - places with large and influential European populations. Writing in 1878, Lord Napier noticed that 'the moment a native of [India] becomes educated and rich, he abandons the arts of his forefathers and imitates the arts of strangers...'<sup>45</sup> While the early developments of the Anglo-Indian 'Bungalow' came about due to practical reasons such as an adaption to the climate, the same could not be said of the Indian's adopting European styles. In regards to the interior courtyards of the 'old-fashioned Indian dwelling', Lord Napier noted how they reflected the necessities of climate, and how they were 'the feature which the Indian house-builder should never forsake [yet] it is just the feature which he is giving up.' This comment was in relation to visiting an Indian nobleman's country residence, where he noted how 'every trace of native style had disappeared.'<sup>46</sup>

This 'westernisation' was not just a case of acculturation and the destruction of old identities but of new identities evolving and forming as peoples' familiarity changes from that of the past to that of the present. According to attachment theory, people become attached to certain objects in the world and then identify themselves with those objects. People then try to preserve this sense of identity and belonging in their day to day lives.<sup>47</sup> When it is a place that one is attached to, we have 'place identity' and when it is a place which is central to the individual concerned, we have 'home.'<sup>48</sup> This attachment and therefore identity with one's home increases over time, which the social researcher Peter Saunders believes to be the result of the home being 'an embodiment of past memories.'<sup>49</sup>

40. Bourdieu, Pierre. 1977. *Outline of a Theory of Practice*. 1st ed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

41. Jones, Paul. 2011. *The Sociology Of Architecture*. 1st ed. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 16.

42. De Botton, Alain. 2006. *The Architecture Of Happiness*. 1st ed. London: Hamish Hamilton.

43. Gutman, Robert. 1992. "Architects And Power: The Natural Market For Architecture". *Progressive Architecture* 73 (12): 39-41.

44. King, Anthony. 2016. *Writing The Global City: Globalisation, Postcolonialism And The Urban*. 1st ed. New York: Routledge, 134.

45. Napier, Lord. 1870. "Modern Architecture In India". In *The Builder: An Illustrated Weekly Magazine For The Architect, Engineer, Archaeologist, Constructor, Sanitary Reformer, And Art-Lover*, 1st ed., 680-682. London. [https://archive.org/details/gr1\\_33125006202085/page/n691/mode/2up](https://archive.org/details/gr1_33125006202085/page/n691/mode/2up).

46. Napier, Lord. 1870.

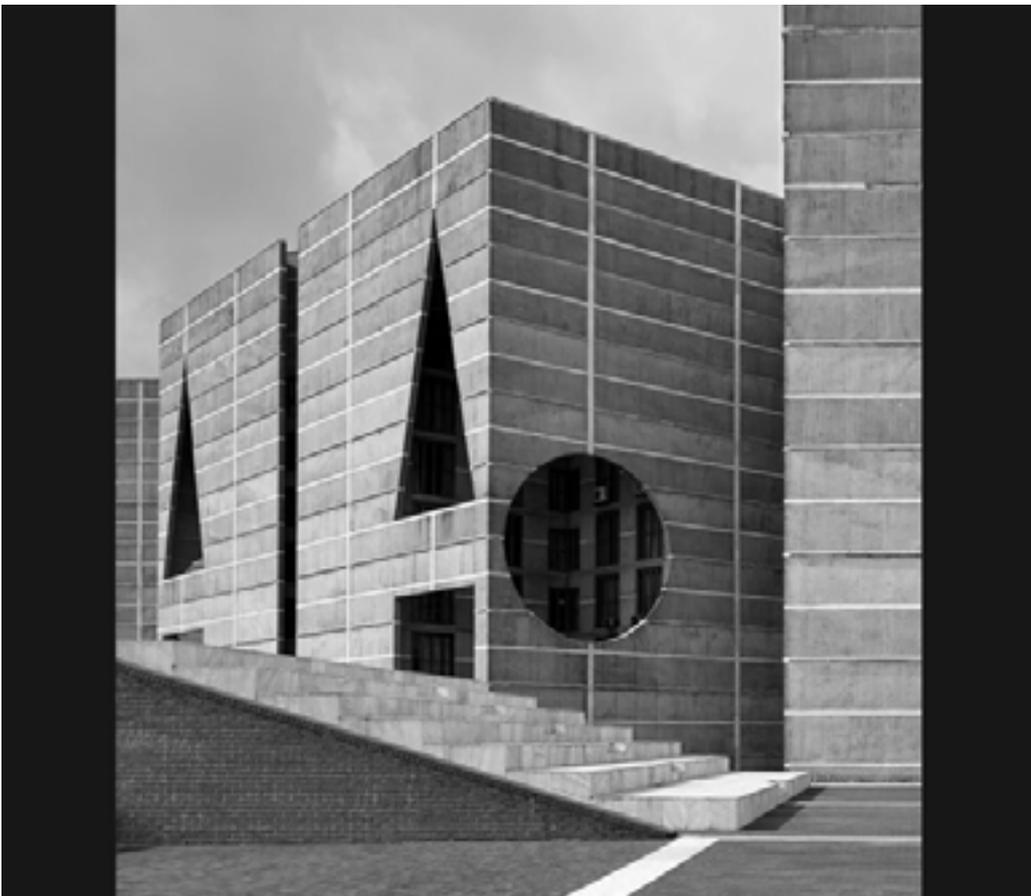
47. Bretherton, as Quoted in Somerville, Peter. 1997. "The Social Construction Of Home". *Journal Of Architectural And Planning Research* 14 (3): 226-245. [https://www.researchgate.net/publication/285634870\\_The\\_social\\_construction\\_of\\_home](https://www.researchgate.net/publication/285634870_The_social_construction_of_home). 234.

48. Giuliani, et al quoted in Somerville, Peter. 1997. "The Social Construction Of Home". *Journal Of Architectural And Planning Research* 14 (3): 226-245. [https://www.researchgate.net/publication/285634870\\_The\\_social\\_construction\\_of\\_home](https://www.researchgate.net/publication/285634870_The_social_construction_of_home). 234.

49. Saunders, Peter. 1989. "The Meaning Of Home In Contemporary English Culture". *Housing Studies* 4 (3): 177-192. doi:10.1080/02673038908720658.



XVIII. Le Corbusier's Chandigarh Modernist Form Showing No Attempt to Incorporate Traditional Indian Elements or Motifs. Chandigarh, India



XIX. Louis Kahn's Citadel Assembly Flat Roofs Being a Far Cry From the Traditional Curved 'Chala' Roofing Types of Bengal. Dhaka, Bangladesh

The sociologist Peter Sommerville therefore claims that ‘the maintenance of identity requires continuity and stability of experience and therefore familiarity...’ and therefore the construction of familiarity is ‘one and the same with the construction of identity.’<sup>50</sup> This may further explain why there may be a lack of ‘non-Western’ building styles brought over from ‘non-Western’ migrants. Elizabeth Edwards claims that despite mainly arriving in the late 16th century, the ‘majority of the [Flemish and Dutch] immigrants were not able to build for themselves until the late 17th and 18th Century and by then they were far more likely to adopt the current English fashions.’<sup>51</sup> Suggesting that the so called ‘Dutch gables’ were not due to the refugee influence. Arthur Percival, however, believes the fact that most of these ‘Dutch Gables’ are on, or close to, England’s east coast, suggests that the refugees did in fact have an influence.<sup>52</sup> In any case, whether it was the British or in-fact the Low Country refugees who built these designs, a notable process of transculturation occurred.

If current and future waves of immigrants have to live in ‘British’ or ‘Western’ style houses before they can build for themselves, will the familiarity with these forms cause the construction of a ‘Westernised’ new identity? Indeed, many migrants coming from the sub-continent may already identify with ‘Western’ styles. Nezar AlSayyad claimed that in post-colonial societies, there was an ‘obsession with modernity that accompanied the early years of nationalism and independence.’ This obsession has preoccupied most governments in the developing world as ‘an instrument of nation building.’ Therefore, ‘as a result, the Western pattern of urban development has continued to serve as the reference for indigenous populations.’<sup>53</sup> Due to India’s aspiration to become modern, and the state’s bureaucratic demand for cutting edge modernity in technology, affluence and material abundance<sup>54</sup> the Indian’s brought in Western architects such as Le Corbusier and Jeanneret to design their cities and monumental architecture. Le Corbusier stuck to designing monumental civic buildings due to his belief of the impossibility of combining modernist ideals with the 3rd World condition.<sup>55</sup> [XVIII.] This is not a far cry from Colonial architect William Emerson who believed that it was ‘impossible for the architecture of the West to be suitable to the natives of the East.’<sup>56</sup> Jeanneret on the other hand was more sympathetic to local Indian perspectives and strived to apply the Gandhian ascetic world view with the affluent modern ideal being promoted – creating what F.S. Karim described as a ‘true hybrid.’<sup>57</sup> Jeanneret was assisted in his work by the Chandigarh bureau of architects and further trained many of them. Yet despite Jeanneret’s conscious attempts to create a hybrid style, it was still another case of western architects bringing over western ideals.

The Indian government may have hired the modern architects due to the modern movement being seen as the ‘disruption of outdated power structures in architectural form.’<sup>58</sup> However, Chris Abel believes that a case may be made that the modern movement was seen as ‘an opportunity – duly taken up – for the dominant culture to readjust to changed circumstances, and in so doing to reassert its authority.’<sup>59</sup> According to John Galtung et. Al.’s centre-periphery theory – present patterns of development are effectively an extension of well-es-

50. Sommerville, Peter. 1997. “*The Social Construction Of Home*”. *Journal Of Architectural And Planning Research* 14 (3): 226-245. [https://www.researchgate.net/publication/285634870\\_The\\_social\\_construction\\_of\\_home](https://www.researchgate.net/publication/285634870_The_social_construction_of_home). 235.

51. Edwards, Elizabeth. 2002. “*Interpretations Of The Influence Of The Immigrant Population In Kent In The Sixteenth And Seventeenth Centuries*”. *Archaeologia Cantiana* 122: 275-292. <https://www.kentarchaeology.org.uk/arch-cant/vol/122/interpretations-influence-immigrant-population-kent-sixteenth-and-seventeenth>, 287.

52. Percival, Arthur. 1966. *Dutch Influence For Sandwich*. Ebook. Sandwich, Kent: The Journal of the Sandwich Society. [https://www.academia.edu/5718165/Dutch\\_Influence\\_for\\_Sandwich\\_Soc\\_300807\\_v\\_3\\_for\\_pix](https://www.academia.edu/5718165/Dutch_Influence_for_Sandwich_Soc_300807_v_3_for_pix), 3.

53. AlSayyad, Nezar. 2013. “*Identity, Culture, and Urbanism*”. In *The Territories Of Identity: Architecture In The Age Of Evolving Globalisation*, 1st ed., 135-144. New York: Routledge.

54. Karim, Farhan Sirajul. 2010. “*Modernity Transfers: The Moma And Postcolonial India*”. In *Third World Modernism: Architecture, Development And Identity*, 1st ed., 189-210. Abingdon: Taylor & Francis Group, 203.

55. Frampton, Kenneth. 2001. *Le Corbusier*. 1st ed. London: Thames and Hudson, 187.

56. Smith, T., Wise, W. and Emerson, W., 1873. *Discussion*. *Journal of the Society of Arts*, [online] 21(1059), pp.286-87. Available at: <<https://www.jstor.org/stable/41324078>> [Accessed 27 May 2020].

57. Karim, Farhan Sirajul. 2010. “*Modernity Transfers: The Moma And Postcolonial India*”. In *Third World Modernism: Architecture, Development And Identity*, 1st ed., 189-210. Abingdon: Taylor & Francis Group, 203.

58. Abel, Chris. 2000. *Architecture & Identity: Responses To Cultural & Technological Change*. 2nd ed. New York: Routledge, 137.

59. Abel, Chris. 2000, 137.



XX. The Taj Mahal  
The Use of Islamic Domes, Minarets,  
and Arches Were a Change From Traditional Indian Forms.  
Agra, India



XXI. Chhatrapati Shivaji Maharaj  
Terminus  
Built in the Gothic Style  
Mumbai, India

established colonial patterns of domination and exploitation – with the underdeveloped nations (periphery) being dominated and controlled by the developed nations (centre).<sup>60</sup> Seen through this lens, Abel believes that the ‘international style and related Western movements can be understood as an outcome of the same neo-colonial domination of the peripheral cultures by the centre, producing its own cultural side-effects in displacing local forms of building.’<sup>61</sup> Seen in this light, Le Corbusier and Jeanneret are no different from colonial architects such as Lutyens or Emerson. One could even argue that Le Corbusier was the least sensitive to the local people and culture, for even Lutyens, Jeanneret, and Emerson strived to include local elements in their designs. Amita Sinha seemingly agrees. In her essay on architectural history in India, Sinha notes how ‘the International style of architecture that Le Corbusier Initiated in India... effectively put an end to any lingering respect for [Indian architectural] history within the educational system and profession.’ Stating how it was a ‘process of neglect, [which] of course, had begun with the colonial system of education...’<sup>62</sup> Therefore continuing what the colonists had started.

Speaking in reference to Louis Kahn’s ‘Citadel Assembly’ (National assembly) building in Bangladesh [XIX.] (another Western Architect brought in for the modernisation of the sub-continent), the historian Lawrence Vale remarked: ‘At what point did the pyramid become an Egyptian form? Like the pyramids of Giza or the Eiffel Tower, the Citadel Assembly may someday be seen as quintessentially of its country as well.’<sup>63</sup> This familiarity with Modernist forms brought through ‘westernisation’ may indeed become part of the sub-continent’s architectural identity and so too may the previous colonial architectures. A Hindu or Buddhist living in 16th century Agra may have seen the design of the Taj Mahal [XX.] as distinctively foreign and a sign of foreign Mughal rule, yet now Hindu tour guides proudly show off the ‘architectural marvel’ as a national symbol to millions of tourists every year. Does this mean that British Colonial architecture will be accepted as quintessentially of its country and form part of modern Indians identity – not as a reminder of oppression but as a symbol of pride? Take the example of the ‘Victoria Terminus’ in Mumbai [XXI.] that was built in 1887 to commemorate 50 years of Queen Victoria’s rule. Every Indian living in Mumbai today was born after its construction, so you would therefore assume them to be familiar, and therefore identify, with its Victorian Gothic style. However, there are still people alive today who lived under colonial rule, and so may still associate it with foreign oppressors and therefore distinctively Other. But as the architect and urban historian Nezar AlSayyad has stated: ‘one must recognise that there comes a point in life of all formally colonised peoples when they must cease to perceive their history as colonial and start absorbing the heritage as their own.’<sup>64</sup> Furthermore, selection and distortion also prove to be ‘essential tools in the process of memory and identity construction.’ Indeed, this distortion has already started. In 1996 ‘Victoria Terminus (VT)’ was renamed ‘Chhatrapati Shivaji Terminus (CST)’, and then later changed to ‘Chhatrapati Shivaji Maharaj Terminus (CSMT)’ in 2017 to honour Shivaji, the 17th-century Hindu founder of the Maratha Empire. The idea being to change the Terminus from a reminder of colonial oppression to a symbol of national pride. A symbol of col-

60. Glatung, J., Heiestad, T. and Ruge E. 1979. *On the decline and fall of Empires: The Roman Empire and Western Imperialism Compared*. The UN University

61. Abel, Chris. 2000. *Architecture & Identity: Responses To Cultural & Technological Change*. 2nd ed. New York: Routledge, 204.

62. Sinha, A., 2014. “*Architectural History In India: A Post-Colonial Perspective*”. *Tekton*,1(1): 32-47. [https://www.researchgate.net/publication/280051731\\_Architectural\\_History\\_in\\_India\\_A\\_Post-Colonial\\_Perspective](https://www.researchgate.net/publication/280051731_Architectural_History_in_India_A_Post-Colonial_Perspective), 42.

63. Vale, Lawrence. 1992. *Architecture, Power, And National Identity*. 1st ed. New Haven: Yale University Press.

64. AlSayyad, Nezar. 2013. “*Identity, Culture, and Urbanism*”. In *The Territories Of Identity: Architecture In The Age Of Evolving Globalisation*, 1st ed., 135-144. New York: Routledge, 141

65. Passerini, as Quoted in Radstone, Susannah. 2000. *Memory And Methodology*. Oxford: Berg, 9.

lective unity and identity as opposed to one of division. While it may still today be referred to as ‘Victoria Terminus,’ in 100 years that may not be the case. Furthermore, despite the re-naming of major monuments, many Indians may even embrace the architecture whilst still acknowledging its colonial past. Writing for the Times of India, Travel Editor Arka Chowdhury acknowledged the major changes that happened to many Indian cities under colonial rule, but stated how ‘one of the things we [Indians] cherish presently are the buildings that were built in British style architecture...’ with ‘colonial architecture in India being proof of a time gone by...’<sup>66</sup>

## NEW VALUES? NEW IDENTITY?

It is not just familiarity with new forms that plays a vital role in the shaping of identities. The destruction of architecture also plays a vital role. As Bevan states, ‘the destruction of the built environment not only eases and promotes the introduction of new values and order; it also encourages the forgetting of the past, of collected memories which formed part of previous identities.’<sup>67</sup> A prime example of this in recent times is ISIL’s destruction of ancient Assyrian sites in Syria and Iraq.<sup>68</sup> The idea being to leave no traces or memories of any past polytheist cultures, and to give them a platform to allow them to fashion their own identity and leave their own mark on history. This would seem to suggest that an age of mass migration, would also be an age of mass identity loss. And that the destruction of the built environment and architectural heritage due to rising sea levels may also sever previous identities. However, in trying to understand the impact migrating cultural identities may have on the built form of their new host nation, it is important to note that ‘identities are never unified, and in late modern times, increasingly fragmented and fractured...’<sup>69</sup> Therefore, we cannot assume that the loss of some architectural styles may prevent these styles and identities from crossing over, as many migrants may not even identify with them. Are there any building styles we can assume migrants will bring?

There has been a movement of contemporary regionalism that has rejected international movements, in favour of emphasising regional building forms and environmental conditions. This can work for smaller building types such as rural settlements or housing, but according to Abel, this becomes more ‘problematic’ when it comes to more recent urban building types, such as universities, offices, and hospitals where ‘traditional architecture does not offer such clear models.’<sup>70</sup> However, he suggests that even if these ‘universal building types are unavoidable, they can still be adapted to local climatic, site and social conditions,’ and that ‘elements of traditional form may also be incorporated.’<sup>71</sup> This move away from homogenous modernism seems to follow Louis Sullivan’s ‘Form ever follows function’<sup>72</sup> – which ironically, was the same maxim championed by modernist architects such as Le Corbusier. However, future displaced refugees are not likely to have the agency to create some of these ‘universal building types’ and are therefore much more likely to have an impact on smaller building types. Nevertheless, if they were to emphasise regional building forms and environmental conditions, they would be creating an architecture adapted

66. Chowdhury, A., 2019. *Colonial Architecture In India For The Inquisitive Traveller*. [online] Times of India Travel. Available at: <<https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/travel/things-to-do/colonial-architecture-in-india-for-the-inquisitive-traveller/as67683440.cms>> [Accessed 27 May 2020].

67. Bevan, Robert. 2006. *The Destruction Of Memory. Architecture At War*. London: Reaktion Books, 95.

68. See: Curry, Andrew. 2015. *“Here Are The Ancient Sites ISIS Has Damaged And Destroyed”*. Nationalgeographic.Com. <https://www.nationalgeographic.com/news/2015/09/150901-isis-destruction-looting-ancient-sites-iraq-syria-archaeology/>.

69. Hall, Stuart. 2003. *“Who Needs Identity?”* In *Questions Of Cultural Identity*, 8th ed., 1-17. London: SAGE Publications Ltd, 4.

70. Abel, Chris. 2000. *Architecture & Identity: Responses To Cultural & Technological Change*. 2nd ed. New York: Routledge, 204.

71. Abel, Chris. 2000, 204.

72. Sullivan, Louis. 1896. *“The Tall Office Building Artistically Considered”*. Lippincott’s Magazine, , 1896. <https://archive.org/details/tallofficebuild-i00sull/mode/2up>.

to their new adopted country rather than their country of origin, and therefore losing their original regional identity. Furthermore, using traditional regional building techniques and adapting to the local climate is not always the most economically viable option. Whilst the early British settlers in Bengal did so when adopting the 'bungalow,' and the early Dutch did so in Sandwich, on a recent trip to Morocco, our Berber guide decried the growing loss of the traditional adobe building technique in favour of the much cheaper, quicker, yet much less climate suitable concrete bricks.

Abel defines 4 different cultural types, that of traditional, colonial, consumer (modern), and also defines a future 'eco-culture.' In here, global homogeneity is a characteristic of the consumer culture, while eco-culture 'suggests a further and more positive evolution toward global complexity' and shares 'ecological values similar to those of traditional cultures.'<sup>73</sup> This eco-culture is seen as an expansion of the contemporary regionalism described beforehand. As the architect Mark Rakatansky has stated: 'All architecture is social architecture. All architecture is political architecture.'<sup>74</sup> One would hope to assume that in a world facing the displacement of hundreds of millions due to climate change, issues of climate would be of prime social and political importance, and therefore the architecture would reflect this. However, unless scientists have severely underestimated the effects of climate change over the next 100 odd years, traditional ecologically harmonious architectures from countries such as Bangladesh or Egypt would not translate to the U.K. and therefore these migrants would have to adopt local British styles.

## CONCLUSION

In short, by comparing previous waves of migration into the U.K. it is very hard to accurately speculate the stylistic effect future migrants and refugees may have on the architectural landscape of Britain. This essay is only a brief overview of some of the themes whilst not having room to touch on others such as 'critical regionalism.'<sup>75</sup> However, it appears that the main issues influencing the migration of styles are that of agency and the unequal process of transculturation. As mentioned before, throughout most of their histories, Britain and the low-countries have grown and evolved, culturally, politically, religiously, and economically in tandem. Britain and the sub-continent, however, until fairly recently, had lived in relative ignorance of each other. When they did finally start making regular contact with each other, it was on a coloniser vs colonised basis. Undoubtedly, one of the main reasons Britain and the low-countries were more alike was due to geography. Indeed, since antiquity the very concept of identity developed out of a 'geographically conceived world.'<sup>76</sup> However, you can now fly to Mumbai quicker than it took 16th Century sailors to sail to the Netherlands, and an architect working in Delhi can e-mail new designs to London in an instant. Furthermore, with European Empires now over, a new age globalisation, and the Indian economy ever growing, there is plenty more chance for a more equal process of transculturation to occur.

73. Abel, Chris. 2000, 209.

74. Rakatansky, Mark. 1995. "Identity And The Discourse Of Politics In Contemporary Architecture". *Assemblage* 27: 8-18. doi:10.2307/3171424.

75. See: Lefavre, Liane, and Alexander Tzonis. 2003. *Critical Regionalism: Architecture And Identity In A Globalised World*. Munich: Prestel.

76. Hendrix, John. 2013. "Psychoanalysis and Identity in Architecture". In *The Territories Of Identity: Architecture In The Age Of Evolving Globalisation*, 1st ed., 65-76. New York: Routledge, 76.

In an age of globalisation, how will future identities be formed, and will architectural transculturation occur? Indeed, as stated by Elizabeth Edwards, by the time Dutch and Flemish Settlers managed to build their own houses, they were ‘far more likely to adopt the current English fashions.’<sup>77</sup> Can the same be said of post-colonial migrants settling in the U.K? They have been here for a comparatively short amount of time, and so it may be too early to tell. But if so, would it be safe to assume the same of any future immigrational group? If as Stuart Hall declared: Identities are ‘never unified’ and are ‘constantly in the process of change and transformation,’<sup>78</sup> then we cannot assume that a particular group may bring over a particular style. However, we can assume that future climate refugees may have to adopt the local building styles or move into pre-existing structures. By the time they have the agency to build for themselves, they may have become accustomed to the local ‘western’ or ‘modern’ styles. Indeed, they may already have come accustomed to the modern movement, with the ‘forms spatial principles, and technologies of modernism...’ being seen as a ‘matter of universal knowledge unrestrained by national boundaries and an expression of zeitgeist... that no society [can] escape.’<sup>79</sup> Writing in 1962, Kubler described the modern movement as ‘an expression corresponding to new interpretations of the psyche, to a new attitude of society, and to new perceptions of nature.’<sup>80</sup> If there is a mass refugee crisis due to the devastating effects of climate change, this will likely have an impact on human psyche and perceptions of nature. If Kubler’s view holds true, this will have a profound impact on architectural movements. As modernism strived to navigate a post-colonial world, and reflected modern economic progress, a mass global climate crisis may cause even more profound effects. And if one is optimistic, (based on current technologies) this will be characteristic of the ‘eco-culture’ as defined by Abel – where architectures are adapted to the local climatic needs and resources – and not dependent on consumerism or stylistic trends. However, even in that case, unless the migrants have the right means or agency, they may have to settle for the pre-existing or ‘out-dated’ fabric. The current economic burden of building ones home, the cultural capital needed for great patronage and the continuing globalisation may be forces too strong to overcome. Unless those with capital (both cultural and economic) actively make an effort to embrace the oncoming cultures, then their influence will be minimal.

77. Edwards, Elizabeth. 2002. “Interpretations Of The Influence Of The Immigrant Population In Kent In The Sixteenth And Seventeenth Centuries”. *Archaeologia Cantiana* 122: 275-292. <https://www.kentarchaeology.org.uk/arch-cant/vol/122/interpretations-influence-immigrant-population-kent-sixteenth-and-seventeenth>, 287.

78. Hall, Stuart. 2003. “Who Needs Identity?”. In *Questions Of Cultural Identity*, 8th ed., 1-17. London: SAGE Publications Ltd, 4.

79. Conrads, Ulrich. 1971. *Programs And Manifestoes On 20Th Century Architecture*. 1st ed. Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press.

80. Kubler, George. 1962. *The Shape Of Time*. 2nd ed. London: Yale University Press, 70.



XXIV. Dutch Influence?  
'Dutch Gables' in Soho  
Soho, London





XXII. Housing on the Walk along the A11 from White Chapel to Tower Hamlets. Predominantly Asian Population Living in Modernist Housing.



XXV. Unified Identity?  
Bengalis and Indians are just two of many different cultures and nationalities moving to the U.K. and living in Western 'Historical style' buildings.



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