

School of Built Environment

**Architecture and Belonging:
Migration, Re-territorialisation and Self-Identity**

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**This thesis is presented for the Degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
of
Curtin University**

June 2015

Declaration

To the best of my knowledge and belief this thesis contains no material previously published by any other person except where due acknowledgement has been made.

This thesis contains no material which has been accepted for the award of any other degree or diploma in any university.

Signature: 
Date: 10th June 2015



Deserted House, island of Korcula, Croatia (Glusac 2007).

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This thesis is an investigation into the connections between architecture, culture, memory and *habitus* and the role architecture and the built environment play in defining and perpetuating self-identity and belonging. It uses migration and migrants as a vehicle to examine and illustrate the importance of the built environment and architecture in structuring individuals' understanding of who they are and where they belong. As well as the overall theoretical enquiry conducted throughout this study, Bourdieu's notion of *habitus*, which outlines the way any system of dispositions is socially and culturally conditioned, is used as the main theoretical framework. This thesis maintains that it is *habitus*, which in conjunction with culture and memories of built surroundings, defines and forms lasting connections with places and architecture that more closely inform personal identity and belonging. Together with the investigation into identity construction, place, culture, memory and migration, this research offers a comprehensive overview and analysis of the complex phenomenon that comprise identity, and the role of architecture and the built environment in structuring and restructuring it.

The highly unstable nature of self-identity that is constantly being defined and redefined due to external pressures such as migration is examined in this study. Central to this investigation is the exploration into feelings of longing and anguish that arise because of leaving behind known and familiar places, and of confusion and alienation that many migrants feel during their re-territorialisation process when they are settling in a new built environment. By analysing and exploring the role of architecture in defining identity and belonging within the context of migrants and migration, this thesis establishes that connections between architecture, culture, memory and *habitus* do exist, and argues that they play a vital role in defining people's expectations and their sense of who they are. Ultimately, the knowledge gained from this analysis is used to form a critique of the architectural discourse and practice and its failure to genuinely acknowledge and respond to the issues concerning architecture's role in informing identity and belonging that the findings of this research suggest.

Acknowledgements

My sincerest thanks go to my two supervisors, Dr Steve Basson and Dr Nonja Peters, who have provided me with invaluable expertise, guidance and encouragement. I am forever grateful for the time and effort you have kindly donated to reading my drafts and giving me the confidence required to complete my PhD. Very special thanks go to Dr Basson, whose enthusiasm and exceptional thirst for knowledge have awakened a researcher in me. Thank you, Steve, for not only being my supervisor but also being my mentor and role model.

To my mother, father and brother: thank you for believing in me and for supporting me through some very challenging times. Your love and support are deeply felt.

To my friends and postgraduate students within the School of Built Environment: thank you for your support and much-needed friendship and understanding.

To Elite Editing: thank you for professionally proofreading my thesis. The editorial intervention was restricted to Standards D and E of the Australian Standards for Editing Practice in accordance with the 'Guidelines for Editing Research Theses' adopted by Curtin University.

Lastly, I would like to thank all my respondents for sharing with me their stories of migration to Australia and their experiences of architecture and the built environment. Your contributions have enriched this thesis with new and valuable information.

It is easy for most adults to recall some architectural setting, such as a church, school, childhood home, or store, that was once known intimately but that has since disappeared. Years later, these vanished settings can still evoke interest, nostalgia, or even a form of mourning. ... Understanding the psychological dynamics of human interaction with the built environment is thus of more than passing descriptive or historical interest.

(Roberts and Carlisle 1992, 230–231, 235, cited in Peña 2006, 786)

Problematising the role of architecture in the construction of identity and belonging

Architecture¹ and the built environment that people inhabit affect and more closely define the view they have of themselves. As Roberts and Carlisle (1992, cited in Peña 2006) suggest, architectural settings that individuals feel connected to form a part of their psyche even after the built fabric of these structures no longer exists. Such architecture continues to reside in people's memories and stories, informing their image of who they are.

Even though architectural settings form a part of humans' existence, the traditional views concerning identity (and indirectly, belonging)² generally focus on wider territorial frames and borders such as country, region or city, and often exclude architecture. For example, the very language that people use to describe themselves is saturated with adjectives derived from territorial constraints such as nationality, be it Australian, English or American. These adjectives are commonly used to express who individuals are, or at least the part of the world from which they come or with which they associate. Similar associations can be observed on a smaller scale when people embrace the identity of the place in which they live, identifying themselves as New Yorkers, Londoners or Sydneysiders. This identification with the built environment can be refined even further to particular

¹ For the purpose of this research, the term architecture encompasses any construct that serves the objective of inhabitation.

² In this thesis, 'belonging to a place' refers to a feeling of being 'at home', which individuals develop when they can identify with and relate to the built environment and geographical location they reside in; where they can experience a connection with a place and feel comfortable being themselves; where 'we hang our hat'.

suburbs in which individuals reside, enhancing or more clearly denoting the identity of its occupants. Suburbs such as Manhattan and Bronx in New York City, Surrey Hills and Redfern in Sydney (New South Wales), and Dalkeith and Balga in Perth (Western Australia) each communicate a very definite sense of the identity of their residents to outsiders.³ Although territorial references relating to national borders and cities are widely accepted as a means of identifying individuals and structuring their view of who they are, we rarely acknowledge the role that architecture plays in influencing and constructing personal identity.

Identity is, according to a number of authors and researchers (Bourdieu 2005, 1993b, 1990b, 1984; Croucher 2004; Cooper Marcus 1995; Manning 2005; Maugham 1949), a product of humans' continuous exposure to and engagement with the environment that surrounds them, from social and cultural to built and physical. Elements as diverse as culturally defined food, music, dance, religion and traditions are seen as affecting the residents' outlook and understanding of the world and their expectations. Much research has been carried out in areas that have conventionally been seen to contribute to identity formation and construction, such as culture, memory and *habitus*. However, there is only limited research that relates these components to architecture or brings them together with respect to forming peoples' sense of who they are.⁴ Moreover, although many studies on place attachment and the role that architecture plays in structuring bonds and connections to places have already been conducted, the architectural discipline has traditionally remained reluctant to acknowledge and incorporate the findings of such studies into practice (Rapoport 2000 (1983b), 1987, 1983a; Diaz Moore 2000).

Architecture, as a part of the living environment to which individuals are exposed from the moment they take their first breath, can be seen as a framework or a 'stage' (Walter Benjamin 1924, 417, cited in Caygill 1998, 122; Glusac 2012, 1) on which the everyday takes place. It serves as a canvas for expressing personality and individuality whereby the initially *bare* architecture is adapted and appropriated to suit the occupants' needs and wants more closely. In this process, cultural

³ The above-listed suburbs are selected for being representative of the two very different sociocultural conditions within the same city; Manhattan, Surrey Hills and Dalkeith are suburbs or boroughs occupied by the upper socio-economic class, while Bronx, Redfern and Balga are generally populated by people in the lower socio-economic class.

⁴ Place attachment is a theory developed by a number of environmental psychologists who seek to relate memory, feelings and experiences to the places and architecture in which humans live. The theory of place attachment aims to explain the bonds and meaningful connections that individuals develop with places (Florek 2011; Lewicka 2011).

aspects that define individuals are projected onto the architecture of their homes, enabling memories of experiences, habits and *habitus* to be created, forming a part of the wider collage that is expressive of their identity. Subsequently, the utilitarian shell that is architecture subconsciously informs and structures people's understanding and expectations of what, for example, a house or living quarters should be. This supposed expectation regarding architecture is particularly noticeable in instances when the familiar built fabric is replaced by a new and alien one, as is often the case when people move house (Ballantyne 2002, 19). This effect of architecture on the sense of identity and on expectations is even more strongly experienced when individuals migrate between cultures and countries.⁵ With this in mind, the reason that the architectural discipline does not readily consider its effect as a valued contributor in the construction of self-identity must be examined.

The discourse on identity that has traditionally been established within the social science disciplines views architecture and the built environment as fleeting components in identity construction, often overlooking them or taking them for granted. Questions pertaining to architecture's role in expressing identity are seldom raised or openly discussed. The architectural discipline itself has possibly contributed the most to the dismissive outlook that currently persists. For a number of decades, the design of architecture, at least in Australia, has been approached from a very impersonal level. Architectural projects that are currently fashionable in Australia, especially on a domestic scale, are rarely expressive of the occupants' identity, expectations and needs. Instead, they are governed by market forces and prevailing global trends, dictated by iconic architects of our time: for example, Glen Murcutt and Peter Stutchbury dictate the appearance of domestic projects in Australia, while Frank Gehry and Daniel Libeskind dictate the public ones on a more global scale. Arguably, it is no longer the culture of the occupants or their expression of identity that are considered in designs. Rather, it is the ease with which the 'low-end' architectural outputs,⁶ in particular generic domestic projects,

⁵ Susan Stanford Friedman (2004, 202, cited in Du, 2010, 38) argues that 'home comes into being most powerfully when it is gone, lost, left behind, desired and imagined'.

⁶ According to Glendinning (2010, 87), there is a clear division in the architectural profession between 'upmarket' and 'downmarket' architecture. Upmarket architecture generally includes collective and generic projects such as office buildings, apartment blocks, commercial premises or affordable housing. The success of collective and generic projects are, however, judged by 'upmarket writers and commentators such as Koolhaas' who, by downplaying the quality of the design of these projects, are ensuring their own status as elite architects remains unchallenged (Glendinning 2010, 87).

can be sold (Stevens 1998, 84).⁷ In regard to the ‘high-end’ building designs, it is the implementation of the architect’s own signature style which determines their identity. These considerations take the centre stage during the design process, influencing and governing the way architecture is considered and executed today.

This problem is not new. Ever since Modernity, the conventional approach to architecture has involved addressing issues of function, aesthetics and form, paying very little attention to anything else (Leach 2005, 297; Brand 1994; Rapoport 2000 (1983b), 1987, 1983a). Architecture that is produced in this fashion is usually over-designed, with every detail being resolved to fit the overall scheme of the project, making it inflexible and poorly adapted to individual needs. One simply needs to think of Frank Lloyd Wright’s prairie-style houses (Brand 1994) or Mies van der Rohe’s Farnsworth House to see the problems of over-designing. The architecture of these houses is difficult to modify or make personal without ruining the overall appearance and the intended impact. The occupants of such projects are described by Stewart Brand (1994, 58) as curators, as rather than inhabiting homes they own, they are safeguarding the architect’s creations. It is this narrow focus on aesthetics, styles and trends, coupled with the rejection of matters concerning the occupants’ cultural and personal identity, which has ultimately led to questions of architecture’s relevance in today’s society.

This thesis, by demonstrating the importance of architecture and the built environment in forming self-identity and belonging, aims to raise awareness among architects of a looming crisis if the discipline refuses to change its ways.⁸ To achieve this end, migration and migrants⁹ are used as a vehicle to demonstrate the significance of the built environment and architecture for the creation and perpetuation of personal identity.

As a significant number of Australian residents are born and raised in substantially different built environments to those found in Australia (Glusac 2012, 1), it is imperative to ask—What effect has the loss of the familiar and known architecture of migrants’ homes had on their sense of identity? Equally, what effect has settling in

⁷ Crawford and ADOBE LA (1994, 12, drawing from Harvey 1987, and Holston 1991) suggest that ‘by investing their dwellings with the personal values’, Mexican and Latino migrants to the US ‘remove them from the context of mass-market values, and thereby decommodify them’.

⁸ Stewart Brand (1994, 53) suggests that the architectural profession in America ‘regards itself these years as being in crisis’.

⁹ Examples of both transnational and internal migration are considered and discussed in relation to architecture and the built environment in Parts II and III of this thesis.

the unfamiliar architecture of the new built environment had on their well-being, on their sense of belonging? Do migrants appropriate the architecture of their new homes to express their identity, their expectations and understanding of what architecture is or should be, and if so, what architectural aspects do they introduce, and more importantly, why? Some evidence of ‘foreign’ additions, such as classic porticoes and lion statues safeguarding the entry to some migrants’ homes (Baldassar 2006, 47),¹⁰ already exist and can be seen in suburbs traditionally occupied by migrants from southern Europe, such as Italians and Greeks.¹¹ Over the years, these decorative add-ons have become almost synonymous with migrants and the region they came from. However, why migrants introduce these architectural elements is often not clear.



Figure 1. Lion statues at the entrance to some Italian homes (Glusac 2009).



Figure 2. Classical portico entries decorating the entrance of homes belonging to some South-European migrants (Glusac 2009).

Understanding some of the issues surrounding the effect of migrants on the built environment and architecture of their receiving countries is therefore an area that demands scrutiny, especially considering the expanding world population, increase in natural catastrophes, scarcity of food and water resources, oppression of diverse ethnic groups and accounts of wars leading to increasing levels of migration. A greater interest in the phenomenon of migration has already developed in the

¹⁰ Loretta Baldassar (2006, 47) argues that ‘it is common to find twin white lions guarding the entrances to Italian homes’ and that ‘these statuettes are clear markers of ethnicity in the Australian suburban landscape—one that Italians and non-Italians alike recognize’.

¹¹ Migrants from south-east Asia also use statues of lions at their gates and front entrances.

pertinent fields of demographics, economics, entrepreneurship and social and political studies. The statistical data outlined below, and cited by Sheila L. Croucher (2004) in her book *Globalization and Belonging: The Politics of Identity in a Changing World*, provide some reasons for this heightened interest in migration and the impact it has on the host societies. She notes that:

Beyond travel and tourism, recent decades have also witnessed a profound increase in more permanent forms of human migration. ... By 1996, it is estimated that one in every twenty-one people on Earth was on the move as either a refugee or displaced person. In 1999, the UNDP¹² estimated that 130 to 145 million people lived outside their countries of birth, up from 104 million in 1985 and 84 million in 1975 (UNDP 1999, 32). ... As of 1999, foreign-born residents made up 24 percent of the population in Australia, up from 10 percent in 1947 (Australian Bureau of Statistics 1999).

(Croucher 2004, 16)¹³

It is these overwhelming, some might even say alarming, numbers that have made the issues of migration the subject of interest for many disciplines (Brettell and Hollifield, 2008, 2). An interest in migration from an architectural and built environment perspective, however, is yet to emerge. The very diverse and socially and culturally defined architecture of migrants' places of origin has been largely ignored in architectural discourse and practice to date. The built environment of both the country of origin and the receiving country are seen simply as a place in which one lives, often with no emotional bonds or deeper meaning being credited to it.

This thesis, in looking at the issues of migration in relation to identity and belonging, culture, memory and *habitus*, will demonstrate that architecture and the built environment, of both old and new countries and places, have a critical influence on an individual's identity. The aim of the thesis is to investigate the connections that exist between architecture, culture, memory and *habitus*, as seen from a migrant's perspective, and to demonstrate how they are used to inform self-identity and belonging. This knowledge will be used to critique the widely monocultural, undifferentiated and aesthetically driven approach that is prevalent in architectural discourse and practice, which fails to acknowledge the importance of architecture

¹² United Nations Development Programme.

¹³ Brettell and Hollifield (2008, 1) go even further in suggesting that in Australia, '40 percent of population growth in the post-World War II period has been the result of immigration'.

and the built environment in the construction of the image people create of themselves.

Significance of architecture in constructing self-identity and belonging

The reasons for conducting this research are both academic and personal in nature. As an architecture graduate, now educating new generations of architects, I have always been interested in built edifices and the effect they have on us. Even as a child, I regularly designed and built houses from Lego blocks. The decision to study architecture was not surprising. What was surprising, however, was that just after my 17th birthday, I became a migrant. Escaping the atrocities engulfing the former Yugoslavian republics, my parents, brother and I travelled to Germany and eventually decided to apply to migrate to Australia. The novel environments of Germany and Australia offered new challenges for my family, from learning new languages and making new friends and acquaintances to navigating our way in foreign places.

While the whole experience of migration was overwhelming, it is the processes linked to the way that humans perceive places and built environments, and the way they start appropriating them to suit their needs and match their expectations, that has come to fascinate me. This fascination became more intense following an observation my mother made regarding certain pieces of furniture we shipped from Germany to Australia. Before migrating to Australia, my parents hired a container to ship to our new point of settlement all the things that we had acquired over the years while living in Germany. We needed to purchase some items, such as dining table and chairs, and we bought a round, extendable, dark-brown table with six matching chairs with patterned, soft cushioning. Some four years after utilising these pieces of furniture on a daily basis, my mother noticed that this set of table and chairs was almost identical to the set we had in our home in Bosnia. The question of whether this was a coincidence, or whether we were drawn subconsciously to something with which we were familiar, began to occupy my mind. Many other questions related to migration, settling in and belonging soon followed, such as: What is it that people bring with them on the journey that is migration? Is it personal possessions and memories; is it expectations? To what extent do these affect individuals' perceptions of their new environments, both social and physical? Do the personal artefacts that migrants carry with them make alienation more bearable? Do they help define who individuals are and forge their identity and belonging?

The issue of migration has also been the subject of investigation by numerous scholars, among them Peter Read, who in his book titled *Returning to Nothing: The Meaning of Lost Places* offers a good example of certain processes some Dutch migrants employed to overcome alienation upon their arrival in Australia in the 1950s. Read explains:

Some migrants who come voluntarily to Australia seek to re-establish the old land in the new. The archetypal Dutch male migrant of the 1950s was a dairy farmer or market gardener while the archetypal female re-created Holland inside the house. A typical Dutch-Australian house, according to the sociologist Jerzy Zubrzycki, was neat, trim and tidy, with dark-coloured oak furniture, a tapestry over the fireplace, teaspoons in a cup on the sideboard, Delft-blue china, a cuckoo clock, small brass or copper objects placed round the room, and souvenirs with the name of the home town in Holland engraved on them.

(Read 1996, 27, drawing from Zubrzycki 1964, 107)¹⁴

This personal interest in migration acquired a new dimension when, for my undergraduate dissertation in architecture, I endeavoured to map out my own journey of immigration, intertwining it with notions of belonging, identity and memory, as the basis of a design for an Immigration Centre. While conducting my research into identity and belonging, I came across the article 'Belonging: Towards a Theory of Identification with Space' by Neil Leach (2005 (2002)) that, while not specifically dealing with migration, outlined how individuals can begin to forge deeper understanding and connections with the built environment and architecture. This article prompted me to investigate further the role of architecture and the built environment in constructing and perpetuating identity and belonging.¹⁵

Understanding the effects of architecture and the built environment on the construction of identity, and the connections that exist between culture, memory and *habitus*, is important for a number of reasons. First, this study more clearly defines the interaction between humans and urban contexts that aids in forging feelings of belonging to a place. By understanding this interaction more clearly, an opportunity

¹⁴ Zubrzycki's (1964, 107) findings were also cited in Sherington (1990, 147–148).

¹⁵ My interest in the topic of architecture, identity and belonging, explored in this thesis, led to the publication of two papers, 'Territorial Loyalty—Migration, Reterritorialisation and Architecture' (Glusac 2006) and "'How Much These Walls Have Seen": The Role of Architecture, Place and Memory in Re-constructing the Sense of Self-identity in a New Built Environment' (Glusac 2012). These papers draw from selected research, examples and discussions outlined in this thesis. The parts that were used in those two papers have been identified and referenced in this document.

is provided to shift the way we view architecture, from seeing it as an aesthetic object to seeing it as an active contributor that is framing and supporting lived experience, life and the everyday. Currently, the architectural discipline is almost exclusively focused on matters pertaining to function, aesthetics and form, with very little attention given to questions of personal identity and belonging. Understanding the role that architecture plays in framing and defining the lived experience that is contributing to the development of self-identity and a sense of belonging to a place can enrich the reading of architecture and the built environment, raising the profile of architecture in the general community and other relevant disciplines.

Another reason is the importance of combining research related to architecture, culture, memory and *habitus* and drawing connections between them to provide a more comprehensive understanding of how individuals form an awareness of their personal identity through architecture. As suggested earlier, many disciplines investigate the way self-identity develops, from the social sciences to psychological and phenomenological ones. All of these disciplines investigate identity and belonging from their own particular points of view, but very few take a combined approach and consider identity from multiple perspectives. Moreover, architecture and the built environment, as previously indicated, are often omitted from the analysis and the discussion concerning identity construction. This thesis aims to build on the existing body of knowledge regarding the formation of self-identity and belonging and establish a sound basis for viewing architecture and the built environment as important contributors to that process.

The significance of this research lies in exploring other ways of understanding and critically evaluating architecture. In particular, the narrow focus of most research on function, aesthetics and form in architecture has not served the architectural discipline well. Projects produced since Modernism have often been described as inflexible and ill conceived, as they have not allowed for modifications or personalisation of spaces without the overall design intent being compromised. Some critics have even suggested that Modernist architects took it upon themselves to 'redesign' humanity because humanity could not relate to the designs they were producing (Kostof, 1989, xiii, cited in Stevens 1998, 14–15). This attitude contributed significantly to an even greater alienation of architecture from socially important issues, a problem that has been growing ever since Modernism to the point where some architects are talking of the profession and discipline being in crisis (Brand 1994, 53). Ultimately, this thesis is adding to the calls for reform in the

way architecture is taught and understood. This is seen to be of utmost importance if the discipline is to remain relevant in today's society. The findings of this thesis are not only potentially beneficial for the future of the architectural discipline. They can also benefit the broader community, should the architectural profession and discipline alter their ways, as the shift away from pure aesthetics and form to a greater emphasis on identity and belonging could result in built edifices that are more responsive to individuals' social, cultural and personal needs and concerns.

While the above reasons for this study are almost exclusively focused on architecture, the final reason for undertaking this research is more social in scope and relates to an understanding of the issues surrounding migrants' settlement and their effect on the architecture and built environment of their receiving countries. As mentioned earlier, the world in which we live is marked by migration (Croucher 2004; Brettell and Hollifield 2008). The ever-increasing number of people migrating from one place to another is changing the demographics of many countries more rapidly than ever before, raising questions such as 'Where do we belong?' and 'What place do we call home?' As Australia is a country open to immigration, providing newcomers with the opportunity of making this 'land of plenty'¹⁶ their home, the importance of exploring and establishing any potential links between migrants' identity and architecture is seen as essential for improving their psychological well-being and assisting them in the process of their transition. At the same time, greater understanding of these links and of the effect that migrants have on the built environment of their host countries opens up potential areas in which the architectural profession can specialise, and capitalise on the importance awarded to the expression of self-identity through architecture that the findings of this research begin to suggest.

In demonstrating the role that architecture plays in the process of forging identity, a greater understanding of the issues that migrants face while undergoing the settling-in process is gained. This in turn helps to identify ways of easing the transition from one environment to another, potentially leading to an easing of alienation-related issues, greater integration of some migrant groups, tolerance and acceptance. In addition, this research offers an opportunity to build on the existing body of knowledge in terms of migration, the built environment, belonging and identity. In

¹⁶ The colloquial expression 'the land of plenty' is often used in Australian media and everyday conversations to refer to Australia's riches and abundance in natural resources. Also common is the expression 'the lucky country', which is often used to describe Australia.

analysing the connections between architecture, culture, memory and *habitus*, particularly in the context of the selected migrant community living currently in Perth, Western Australia, the findings and knowledge gained can be extrapolated and applied in the wider national and international contexts. Moreover, by highlighting the effect that migrants have on the built environment, this research can be of benefit to the greater community and various local and national government organisations, potentially leading to the development and introduction of policies designed to ease migrants' transition and re-territorialisation through architecture. Thus this thesis, by providing a greater insight into migrants' experiences and the difficulties they encounter in their new countries in respect to architecture, the built environment and belonging, offers opportunities to revisit policies and practices related to the treatment of migrants and refugees that include, but are not limited to, accommodation and detention concerns.

It should be noted, however, that this thesis, while using migrants and migration as a vehicle for exploring the effect of re-territorialisation on architecture and the built environment of receiving countries and vice versa, does not consider in depth the social implications of migration, such as discrimination, employment and treatment of migrants by their host societies. While these issues are mentioned to describe the often-challenging conditions in which migrants' re-territorialisation takes place, they exceed the scope of this thesis, which focuses on the role of architecture and the built environment in assisting the development of identity and belonging.

Methodological frameworks exploring the role of architecture in constructing self-identity and belonging

Theoretical enquiry

For this thesis, the considerations outlined above have been explored through an overall theoretical enquiry. First, the existing theoretical frameworks relating to issues of belonging and identity were investigated to form a basis for the analysis of the connections that exist between architecture, culture, memory and *habitus*, and the role they play in informing and structuring self-identity and belonging. An investigation into primordialist and constructivist discourse provided a general understanding of how identity is formed. These two schools of thought approach identity formation from very different paradigms: one sees identity as pre-given and natural; the other sees it as a product of numerous factors that are constantly defining, constructing and reconstructing an individual's sense of self. The primordialist and constructivist discourse on identity was supported with further

investigation into identity construction through storytelling and culture, as passed from one generation on to another. External pressures that affect identity, such as politics and certain global events, were also considered, as well as the theory of performativity, which investigates how identities are produced via repeated performance and reiteration of norms. While there are many other theories and approaches that define what identity is and how it is fashioned, the approaches to identity formation used in this thesis were selected for their relevance to the research that concerns connections between architecture, culture, memory and *habitus*, leading to a well-rounded understanding of identity.

The findings drawn from this theoretical investigation into identity were used to inform the analysis of the construction of identity in relation to place, architecture, *habitus* and memory. For this, notions of shelter, safety and security, dwelling and place connectedness were investigated for their contribution to the development of sense of place and belonging, which together with theories of territorialisation and identification with place and architecture, form part of the discussion of the role of architecture and the built environment in the construction of self-identity. The notions of *habitus* and memory were further considered for their contribution in strengthening ties between personal identity and the physical environment that people inhabit. These elements offer a way of providing greater understanding of the parameters responsible for the formation of a sense of belonging between individuals and built environments that is ultimately contributing to the development of their identity.

In this study, particular attention was given to the work of Pierre Bourdieu and his theory of *habitus*. This theory offers explanations of the way humans view and perceive the world around them and the factors that influence and condition their views, behaviours and perceptions. As such, *habitus* is a tool that can be utilised for analysing and clarifying various activities and ways of life in general. In this thesis, *habitus* is used as a method of exploring and discussing the way migrants perceive and experience the built environment and architecture that surrounds them, governing their decisions regarding re-territorialisation and the appropriation of architecture within the built environment of their receiving countries. Bourdieu's notion of *habitus* is also used as a means of identifying and analysing migrants' differing expectations and attitudes towards the built environment and architecture of their new countries, and the way that the sense of one's own place, 'self' and the

'other' is played out for migrants on a daily basis in their new social and physical contexts. This is discussed more fully in Chapter 2.

Finally, the theory of migration was utilised to investigate how easily the connections between architecture, culture, memory and *habitus*, which contribute to the formation of a sense of identity and belonging, are destabilised in the course of migration. To understand how migration affects individuals' connection to place and the role that architecture and the built environment play in it, a brief overview concerning the history, theory, types and modes of migration is provided, in addition to the reasons, motivations, settlement patterns, difficulties and obstacles faced by migrants in their new country. It is necessary to understand these conditions to gain a greater appreciation of migrants' different re-territorialisation processes and practices, which affect the architecture and built environment of their host societies. While there are different types and kinds of migrants and reasons for migration, this study focuses on examples of colonial and cross-community migration and their very different approaches to architecture and the built environment. Literary data on colonial and cross-community migration were analysed with the aim of understanding the processes linked to spatial re-territorialisation undertaken by these different migrant communities. Through the extensive analysis of different theoretical frameworks and examples, this thesis demonstrates that architecture and the built environment play an important role in structuring self-identity. This furnishes background knowledge against which a critique of the architectural discipline for its failure to respond to questions of culture and personal identity is formed.

Fieldwork data—population, field trip, interviews and observations

To supplement the already documented examples of Roman, British and Mexican re-territorialisation, this research studied migrants who came to Australia from the island of Korcula, off the Dalmatian coast, Croatia. A significant number of Korculani live in and around the city of Perth, in particular Fremantle, Spearwood and Swan Valley. However, little research has been undertaken into the effect they have had on the architecture and the built environment since they first arrived in Western Australia in the early 1920s, and later, in much greater numbers, during the 1950s and 1960s.¹⁷ Little is known about this community because members from this

¹⁷ While a number of publications investigate Croatian migrants living in Western Australia and Australia (Budak 2012; Colic-Peisker 2010, 2006, 2004, 2002a, 2002b, 2000, 1999; Fozdar 2009; Colic-Peisker and Tilbury 2003; Lalich 2010; Zubcic 2010; Kolar-Panov 1996), these do not specifically study Korculani migrants. Moreover, none of these publications investigate Korculani or Croatian migrants' impact on architecture and the built environment of Western Australia. These papers focus

cultural region are often placed under one umbrella, collectively referred to as either Croatians or more specifically, Dalmatians.¹⁸ For anyone familiar with Croatia, this collective grouping is not representative of the vast cultural and regional diversity of this country.¹⁹ Even within Dalmatia itself, there are variations between geographical subregions and cultural identities, as every island, city and village is unique (Violich 1998, 116, 189).

Korcula, the friendship city of Fremantle, and Korculani who have started new lives in Perth were selected as the population for this research because the architecture, customs and traditions to which they were exposed prior to migration can be regarded as being highly contained. As Kathleen M. Eisenhardt (2002, 12) suggests, having a clearly defined population is imperative, 'because the population defines the set of entities from which the research sample is to be drawn. Also, selection of an appropriate population controls extraneous variation and helps to define the limits for generalizing the findings'. Having a small population also enabled a more thorough analysis of the connections between architecture, culture, memory and Bourdieu's theory of *habitus*, which were used to better inform the link between the built environment, identity and belonging.

While Dalmatians and Croatians have settled in a number of suburbs across the city of Perth, the area in and around Spearwood is where 'the majority of long-term Croatian migrants' live (Colic-Peisker 1999, 356), including Korculani. In particular, the village of Blato on the island of Korcula has provided the greatest concentration of migrants from one place currently living in Spearwood. The high concentration of Korculani in this suburb is partially a product of chain migration, where previously migrated relatives and friends would sponsor newer migrants to Australia, who then stayed with them or settled nearby. High concentrations of Korculani in this part of Perth can also be attributed to the earlier availability of land for market gardening and the desire to own one's own home, as discussed in Chapter 6. This level of concentration of Korculani in these southern suburbs of Perth influenced the decision to select this group of migrants for interviewing for this thesis.

instead on Croatian migrants' class and socio-economic background, employment, status, language and language barriers, and their integration within Australian society.

¹⁸ Prior to the 1990s, migrants from this part of the world were commonly referred to as Yugoslavs or Slavs.

¹⁹ Topographically, there are three different regions in Croatia. These vary from the fertile plains of Slavonia in the north-east, to green, mountainous Zagorje, close to the Slovenian and Hungarian border, and to arid and Mediterranean Dalmatia in the south. These regions are also culturally and architecturally very different from one another.

Several different methods of gathering information on this migrant group were utilised. The following outline of the methodology that was employed is extensive and describes the precise processes applied in gathering original data relating to the Korculani community. One of the methods involved conducting field research on the island of Korcula, which was carried out in August 2007. The aim of the trip was to gather as much literary and visual information as possible regarding the historical development of the town and the island of Korcula, and to experience and analyse the patterns of urban and architectural space usage and design practices employed there, both historically and contemporaneously. Most importantly, the field trip furnished the means to critically understand and analyse the architecture of the island, how it came into being, and what the decisive factors were in terms of construction, location, materiality and space usage. This information was used in the analysis of the resettlement patterns prevalent among the Korculani community, and allowed a juxtaposition of the findings and impressions from the field trip against the responses given by the interviewees.

To generate primary data on Korculani's re-territorialisation practices and the effect these had on the built environment of Perth's southern coastal suburbs, a series of interviews with members of this migrant community were conducted. My own position as a migrant meant I could follow participants' stories and empathise with them regarding the difficulties they encountered in the process of their re-territorialisation in Western Australia. According to Nonja Peters (2001, xii, drawing from Callan and Ardener 1984, 10), 'the research benefits even further when undertaken by a researcher who has undergone the same experience as the interviewee'.

Conducting interviews, or adopting the oral history approach, is one way of generating data about a relatively unknown community. This approach provided a means to appreciate the narratives and experiences of first-generation Korculani migrants during their process of re-territorialisation. First-generation migrants were singled out for this study because, unlike second- and third-generation migrants (who are born in the country of settlement), first-generation migrants were generally born and lived in the country of their fathers and forefathers. Thus, the architecture and built environment of their former homes helped to shape and define their understanding and expectations of what architecture and the built environment is, or should be. This research aimed to examine the notions of 'old' home that migrants tend to carry with them and try to reconstruct in their new countries, to recreate a

feeling of home away from home and in the process, project their own sense of identity through architecture.

The oral history approach gave participants an opportunity to express their understanding and experiences related to architecture and the built environment of Korcula and Western Australia during the 1950s and 1960s. Structured as a series of open-ended questions, the interviews aimed to uncover the experience of migration and the role that architecture and the built environment played in the process of Korculani's re-territorialisation. During the interviews, the participants shared their feelings, memories and experiences linked to migration, architecture and the subsequent recreation of their sense of home away from home. Their stories painted a picture of a particular period in Australian history (Supski 2003, 56, drawing from Anderson et al. 1990 and Geiger 1986), of hard living conditions and the uphill struggle that was common to migrants during the period of the 'White Australia' policy, and especially the built environment that was all too alien and different in their eyes.

An oral history approach to data generation is not without problems. Largely drawn from memories, stories told offer only glimpses into participants' lives (Supski 2003, 60) that are constantly changing in response to the contexts and conditions in which they are told. Peters (2001, xiii, drawing from Penrose 1998, 19–20) observes that 'the perceptions and memories of those interviewed have been influenced by the passage of time, by the age of the storyteller, by the process of telling and retelling the story, and by the retrospective understanding of the situation'. Nevertheless, the benefits of the oral history approach outweigh the concerns in that 'oral history can breathe life into official records and other material culture' (Supski 2003, 61, drawing from Gilding 1981 and Waaldijk 1995). Further, with participants being interested in sharing their stories about the hard times they had upon arriving in Australia and of the heartbreaking farewells they said to their families and the places in which they spent their childhood and young adulthood, there is little reason to doubt the data provided is accurate (Supski 2003, 61). Their stories of loss associated with leaving their place of birth, of discrimination faced in the job market and rejection by mainstream Australian society, echo numerous other stories published in various texts on migration to Australia during the 1950s and 1960s (Colic-Peisker 2010, 2006, 2004, 2002a, 2002b, 2000, 1999; Richards 2008; Peters 2001, 2000, 1999; Yiannakis 1996), adding credibility and reliability to the collected data.

The recruitment of participants began in February 2009, with an introduction to a Korculani migrant and an initial meeting to explain the nature of this research. That contact led to a connection with a former president of the Dalmatinac Club in Spearwood, who kindly agreed to advertise through the club for research participants. The Dalmatinac Club was largely financed and built by migrants from the island of Korcula, and while there are a number of Croatian clubs in and around Perth (e.g. the Croatian Club in North Fremantle and Gwelup, and the Adriatic Club in Balcatta), it is the Dalmatinac Club that draws members of the Korculani community together.

The initial meeting with six potential participants was held in the club and the nature and aim of the project was explained in detail, with an opportunity for the potential participants to ask questions about the research project. The individuals who agreed to participate in the study were then telephoned to arrange the interview at their homes. A good rapport with the participants was established during the initial telephone conversation, and this was further strengthened during the actual interview meeting, when I had the opportunity to answer questions about my own background and interest in migrants' re-territorialisation processes (Supski 2003, 58; Harvey and MacDonald 1993, 206). The participants, mostly in their mid to late sixties and early seventies at the time of the interview, were very friendly and welcoming, offering me the Dalmatian sweet pastry specialty *hrstule* and a drink soon after my arrival, as a sign of their hospitality.²⁰ Prior to commencing the interview, respondents were given a participant information sheet, which outlined the nature of my project and explained their right to withdraw from the study at any point of the interview, and their right to anonymity and confidentiality. The interview proceeded after the participant consent form was signed. Pseudonyms were used to disguise participants' identity and any other personally identifiable information was erased or altered. Where possible, spouses of the respondents were present, occasionally providing their own perspective and opinion on the subject matter. In the period from the end of April to the end of May 2009, ten in-depth face-to-face interviews were carried out with first-generation Korculani migrants.

The interviews aimed to reveal more about the Korculani community living in Perth and the re-territorialisation practices they had employed following their migration to Australia. The interviews also explored the notions of architecture and the built

²⁰ One participant even packed some *hrstule* for me to take home.

environment they had carried with them from their former homes and how their appropriations of architecture, in line with their expectations, had affected the built environment of Perth. Semi-structured open-ended questions sought information regarding respondents' personal experiences of migration, their motivations for migrating to Australia and difficulties they faced upon their initial arrival during the 1950s and 1960s. The questions particularly sought information about their memories of their old home, their experiences of the built environment of Western Australia and the subsequent appropriation of houses they acquired and built to make them feel more like home. The interviews began by asking respondents about their old homes and surroundings on the island, to get an appreciation of the urban fabric in which they were raised. Respondents often addressed a number of sub-questions indirectly while answering the initial questions posed. This, as Supski (2003, 55) and Harvey and MacDonald (1993, 200) observe, is fairly common during the semi-structured interview.

Prior to commencing the interviews, respondents were given the option of the language in which they wished to be interviewed. With Croatian being the mother tongue of both the respondents and the author, 80 per cent of respondents felt more comfortable speaking Croatian. All the interviews were recorded on a dictaphone and back-up copies were created. The interviews conducted in Croatian were translated and transcribed by the author, who is fluent in both languages. During this process, great attention was given to the accuracy of translation to ensure that the meaning was retained at all times. The two interviews that were conducted in English were transcribed verbatim. To ensure intelligibility, the information obtained from the interviews and used in the text of this thesis has been edited. The duration of interviews ranged from 45 minutes to two hours, averaging 1 hour and 15 minutes. The copies of the interview recordings and their transcriptions are held by the author.

The interviews were conducted at interviewees' homes so that visual evidence could also be gathered and consequently used to further inform and enrich the data collected from the interviews. Aspects of participants' homes were photographed, with particular attention to additions that were not characteristic of Australian architecture, artefacts that evoked the old place and plant species found in gardens, among other things. This observation of the participants' homes enabled an

understanding of patterns in how domestic space was used and how well the feeling of the 'old country'²¹ and culture had been recreated, both internally and externally.

Qualitative evaluation of data was employed to ascertain the level and degree of connection between architecture, culture, memory and *habitus*, and architecture's role in creating and perpetuating a sense of identity. The gathered data were assessed with the method suggested by Lee Harvey and Morag MacDonald (1993, 178–179, 210) and Sian Supski (2003, 68–69), which maps out nine stages from the data collection, vertical and horizontal reading to identify major themes, to analysing and evaluating the data and writing. Each interview was read vertically several times to identify the important sections, which were copied and pasted into a new document (one document per interview), thus reducing the overall size of the transcripts from an average 18.5 pages down to an average 6.5 pages. These reduced transcripts were read vertically again, noting the key themes for each paragraph. The annotated paper transcripts were cut up into smaller pieces according to the key themes identified, and these were then arranged and piled up around central themes, allowing for easier horizontal reading. The compiled information was subsequently analysed and evaluated, and relevant examples have been used during the writing of this thesis.

Thesis overview

The analysis and discussion of connections between architecture, culture, memory and *habitus*, of architecture's role in structuring self-identity and belonging, and the resulting critique outlining the failure of the architectural discipline to respond to and address issues of cultural and personal identity, extend across the four parts of this thesis. Part I (chapters 1 and 2) establishes the general parameters of identity construction and the role that architecture plays in creating and perpetuating perceptions of self-identity and belonging. For this, an investigation into the way identity develops is carried out in Chapter 1, via analysis and discussion of various relevant theoretical frameworks that deal with identity formation, particularly in relation to place and architecture. Schools of thought such as primordialism and constructivism are considered, as are theories linked to performativity, storytelling, culture and the politics of identity, to form a general understanding of issues pertaining to identity construction. More specifically in reference to architecture and the built environment, Chapter 2 investigates the notions of place, *habitus* and

²¹ Respondents often used the term 'old country' to refer to Korcula and Croatia.

memory, together with concepts of security and safety, territorialisation, identification with the built environment via projection and introjection, and via 'the internalization of externality and the externalization of internality' (Bourdieu 1985, 72, cited in Basu 2001, 340). These theoretical frameworks relating to identity are used to explore individuals' connections to places and architecture that more closely inform their image of who they are.

With a specific focus on migrants, Part II (chapters 3 and 4) investigates how the connection to place outlined in Part I is destabilised during the course of migration and the effect this has on the migrants' identity. The frameworks of place, architecture and memory are also questioned in regard to how, if at all, these are used by migrants to adapt and appropriate the architecture and built environment of their receiving countries in line with their understanding and expectations of what these are, or should be. Using migrants as a vehicle to demonstrate the connection between architecture, culture, memory and *habitus*, and the effect this connection has on the construction of migrants' sense of identity, calls for an understanding of the general issues linked to migration, which are explored in Chapter 3. A brief overview of the history, theory, types and modes of migration reveals how migration affects the connection that a person develops to their place of birth, their sense of identity and the role that architecture and the built environment play in this. Reasons for migration, motivations, settlement patterns, difficulties and obstacles (such as rejection and discrimination in the new country) are also examined, to provide a comprehensive picture of the experiences and problems that spring from migration, which uproots individuals and communities from the built environments in which they once lived and felt connected. Some of the problems and difficulties associated with the loss of the familiar and known architecture and the built environment are outlined and discussed in Chapter 4. Examples range from the wide-reaching instances of internal displacement in the wake of Hurricane Katrina in New Orleans, US and the construction of the Three Gorges Dam in Hubei Province, China, to migrants from small European villages settling in Australian metropolises during the 1950s and 1960s at the height of the White Australia and assimilation policies.

The discussion of issues regarding the loss of familiar and known architecture and built environments leads to questions of re-territorialisation and migrants' adaptation and appropriation of the architecture and built environment of their host countries. These are explored in Part III (chapters 5 and 6). Chapter 5 also describes various aspects of migrants' re-territorialisation. It contends that migrants, by continuing to

cook their traditional ethnic dishes, speak their own language, observe their traditions and customs, and appropriate the built environment and architecture to suit their preconceived notions and expectations of what domestic living spaces should look and feel like, are recreating conditions that they are familiar with, conditions that they experienced while living in their home countries. This appropriation of living spaces and continued observance of certain cultural practices can be employed to create conditions that can help bridge the gap between the life before and the life after migration, between old and new environments, and assist migrants in overcoming their initial sense of loss and alienation. It can ultimately contribute to migrants experiencing a feeling of being 'at home' in the new environment, helping them to become accustomed to their new country.

Chapter 6 examines historical and contemporaneous examples of re-territorialised communities. These illustrate how the appropriation of new living spaces in line with migrants' expectations allows them to express and project their own sense of identity through architecture, and thus leave a stamp of their presence on the built environment of their receiving countries (Ruble, Hanley and Garland 2008). The examples of Roman settlements across Europe, and the British colonisation of India and Australia, together with those outlining the cross-community migration of Mexicans and Latinos to the US, and of Korculani to Perth, Western Australia, illustrate the importance of architecture in establishing oneself in a new built environment and in perpetuating one's identity. Both the well-documented examples of re-territorialised communities and the locally gathered information on Korculani are used to answer the main research question of this thesis concerning the connections between architecture, culture, memory and *habitus*, and the role they play in the creation and perpetuation of identity and belonging.

Part IV (Chapter 7 and Conclusion) provides a critique of the architectural discipline for its failure to recognise and respond to questions of culture and self-identity. Using the findings discussed in the previous chapters, this chapter questions the discipline's persistent focus on aesthetics, global trends and signature styles, which have led to regionally and culturally non-responsive architecture and ultimately the creation of an artificial sense of identity. Regional indistinctiveness and the diminishing cultural diversity associated with globalisation, and the preservation of cultural and regional identity through heritage theme parks and the recreation of 'traditional' styles of architecture, are also critiqued for their contribution to the artificial sense of regional, cultural and personal identity.

This introduction has provided the reader with a brief overview of the analysis and discussion contained in this thesis. It has stated the research problem and aim of this study, along with the significance of investigating the nature of individuals' interactions with architecture and the built environment, with the goal of clarifying architecture's role in influencing the life and the everyday lived experience of humans in general. This introduction has also outlined the strategy used to explore and address questions surrounding the connections between architecture, culture, memory and *habitus*, and the role of architecture in creating and perpetuating identity and belonging, that are explored further in the ensuing chapters.

PART I

Establishing the general parameters: Architecture, the built environment and the construction of self-identity

men and women are not only themselves; they are also the region in which they were born, the city apartment or the farm in which they learnt to walk, the games they played as children, the old wives' tales they overheard, the food they ate, the schools they attended, the sports they followed, the poets they read, and the God they believed in. It is all these things that have made them what they are ...

(Somerset Maugham 1949, 2)

In just a few lines, Somerset Maugham gave expression to a complex array of factors that inform people's identities, stating that individuals are a product of many variables that have been and continue to influence them and their perceptions of the world. There are many who would share this view, who see identities to be the product of people's continuous engagement and dialogue with the environment that surrounds them, from social and cultural, to built and physical. Elements as diverse as food, music, dance, religion and architecture structure an individual's outlook of the world in which they live and in turn, their understanding of who they are.

As with every engagement and every dialogue, these variables are constantly changing. Modifications in the urban fabric of homes and cities are regularly executed and so are the more internalised shifts within individuals, produced by wide-ranging factors, from growing up and maturing to later exposure to ideologies, social circles and personal preferences that affect and influence the development of identity. Arguably, every time one or more of these variables change, alteration occurs in the way people view their surroundings or the way they conceive of themselves. Changes in who people are can be identified easily in the way they dress, walk and talk or with whom they associate. However, these changes are not always reflected in the architecture and built environment in which they live, wrongly giving the impression that these play an insignificant role in the construction and projection of the image that individuals have of themselves.

Throughout Part I, and the thesis as a whole, it is argued that both architecture and the built environment play an active role in the process of identity construction. Part

I, consisting of two chapters, outlines how identity is produced, first in general terms, and then, more specifically, in respect to architecture and the built environment. It shows why it is important for architecture and the built environment to be responsive to the sense individuals have of who they are by investigating the importance of cultural identity and self-identity, how these relate to architecture and the built environment, and how personal identity and belonging are forged out of this relationship. Components such as place, *habitus* and memory, which contribute to and further inform the construction of one's identity and belonging, are also considered. Thus, this part is focused on establishing a general understanding of issues pertaining to identity construction, in particular those concerning relationships that presuppose a connection between architecture, the built environment and self-identity.

Chapter 1 specifically investigates how identity, especially individual identity, is formed. It aims to provide the reader with the necessary foundation upon which the other chapters are built. The views of the two different and opposing schools of thought—primordialist and constructivist—are considered and discussed with respect to identity formation, along with other methods that people utilise in the process of constructing their self-image, such as through storytelling, performativity, politics and culture. Central to the analysis of these different modes of identity construction is the notion of territory, which is explored through examples in which place and territory have been used by individuals to define who they are and with what community, ethnicity or nationality they identify. Together, these different approaches to identity construction present a comprehensive overview of the factors that act upon and shape identity, which is the core of this research.

Chapter 2 focuses on the issues of place, *habitus* and memory and how these define and influence humans' engagement with architecture and the built environment and which, in turn, informs the view they have of who they are. Notions of shelter, safety and security, dwelling and place connectedness are investigated in relation to the sense of place and belonging, which together with territorialisation and identification, form a part of the discussion of the connection between architecture, the built environment and self-identity. This connection is further analysed in relation to *habitus* and memory, two components that while not exclusive to architecture and the built environment, do contribute to and strengthen the ties between identity and the physical environment that people inhabit. More specifically, this chapter argues that both *habitus* and memory play a decisive role in

defining and redefining the level of individuals' engagement with place, its architecture and the built environment and, by extension, the development of their identity. By understanding the connections between architecture, culture, memory and *habitus*, and the role of these in structuring the image people have of themselves, the foundation is provided for the later critique of the architectural profession for its reluctance to respond to and incorporate issues pertaining to identity construction through architecture.

To address and outline some of these complex matters, the works of various theorists and philosophers are discussed, from Judith Butler to Pierre Bourdieu, from Barbara Bender to Martin Heidegger and Jeff Malpas. This more refined understanding of the parameters of identity construction that influence the formation of bonds between individuals and the built environments they inhabit forms the basis for the later analyses of the processes linked to the construction and reconstruction of migrants' identity in the largely unfamiliar built environments of their receiving countries.

Constructing self-identity

What would be left of me if by some ungodly edict I were to be stripped of all that is Polish in me [?] First of the language, which ... remains part of the furniture without which the inner space would be empty; of the poems and verses with which I lull myself to sleep; of the recollection of landscape, its singular sights and smells ... Were one to lose the link with that language and landscape ... one would feel bereft, impoverished, incomplete.

(Felek Scharf, cited in Lichtenstein and Sinclair 2000; cited in Bender 2001, 12)

There are many ways of looking at identity and many fields of study that have tried to interpret the complexity of this phenomenon. According to Stuart Hall (1996, 1, cited in Croucher 2004, 36), recent years have seen 'a veritable discursive explosion' in research surrounding identity. This raises the question of why identity and, in particular, self-identity is important. The *Shorter Oxford English Dictionary* (2002, 1311) defines identity as 'the condition or fact of a person or thing being that specified unique person or thing, [especially] as a continuous unchanging property throughout existence'. While this definition is not without its problems, specifically in regard to the assumption that identity is both 'continuous' and 'unchanging', it provides us with insight into why research into identity has gained importance in recent times. With individuality and self-awareness playing a greater role in contemporary Western societies, the quest for finding who we are, what our place in the world is, and what makes each of us a unique person, has arguably contributed to the identity discourse 'explosion', as observed by Hall above.

Whereas identity discourse has become firmly established within the social science disciplines, the fields of architecture and the built environment are only beginning to recognise and discuss the importance of identity in generating meaning within the environments in which people live.²² As a profession that has been more concerned with stylistic movements and aesthetic issues, architectural discourse is slowly

²² Clare Cooper Marcus (1995, 4) argues that disciplines 'who are interested in people–environment relations—geographers, anthropologists, architects, and the newly emerging field of environmental psychology—have for the most part ignored issues dealing with emotional attachment'.

realising that being responsive to questions of identity does not detract from the design but enriches it, while also fostering the process of identity formation through architecture and the built environment. With this in mind, a brief overview of key narratives relating to identity development in general, and different ways of constructing and reconstructing identity in particular, need to be understood prior to discussing the role of architecture and the built environment in constructing self-identity.

While there are many different theories, schools of thought and ways of analysing and talking about identity, primordialist and constructivist discourse is discussed in this chapter, to explain the two prevailing but opposing views regarding identity formation. Notions of constructing identities from stories, via performativity, politics and culture, are also considered. These different approaches to identity were selected because of their relevance to this research on the connection between architecture, the built environment and one's sense of identity.

Identity formation

In very simplistic terms, it can be said that discourse on identity, in particular ethnic identity, is marked by two different schools of thought:²³ primordialism (or essentialism) and constructivism, more often and loosely described as 'nature versus nurture'.²⁴ As their names suggest, the approach to identity that is assumed in these two schools could not be more different; one portrays identities as stable and unchanging, the other considers them to be in a state of constant flux.

For many years, primordialism has dominated the discourse on identity formation. Its view of identity as 'static, essential, and unidimensional ... fixed and organic—something pre-given, predetermined, or "natural"' (Croucher 2004, 36) prevailed well into the 1960s, when it began to be questioned as being too rigid and failing to provide explanations on how identities are developed. At the core of primordialist teaching is the work of the two prominent researchers, sociologist Edward Shils and

²³ The third school of thought is known as 'instrumentalism'. According to Croucher (2004, 125) instrumentalism emerged in the 1970s as a reaction to the primordialist doctrine that had been treating ethnicity as deeply rooted and natural. The instrumentalist view considers ethnicity to be 'the result of rational calculation in pursuit of political or economic gain' (Croucher 2004, 117). With instrumentalism focusing on ethnicity, and by extension identity, as 'a political strategy' (Brettell 2008b, 131), this approach has not been included in the discussion on identity formation as it falls outside the scope of this thesis.

²⁴ Frederik Barth (1969, referred to in Brettell 2008b, 131–132) uses the term 'situational approach' instead of the term 'constructivism' to denote ethnic identity as fluid and contingent. This identity, Brettell (2008b, 132, drawing from Banks 1996) observes, is 'constructed in specific historical and social contexts'.

anthropologist Clifford Geertz, who, in the 1950s and 1960s, explored ‘the deeply held emotional, natural’ even “‘spiritual’” ... affinities or attachments that exist within human groups or communities’ (Croucher 2004, 122, drawing from Geertz 1963, 110; Shils 1957). Shils and Geertz, together with their primordialist followers, considered that bonds between kin and community members were natural and biological. The bonds that tie members together were seen to exist, *a priori*, as the ‘assumed givens of social existence’ (Geertz 1963, 109, cited in Croucher 2004, 122; see also Zubrzycki 1977, 134). As Harold Isaacs observes regarding ethnicity:

[it] consists of the ready-made set of endowments and identifications that every individual shares with others from the moment of birth by the chance of the family into which he is born at that given time in that given place.

(Isaacs 1974, 26, cited in Croucher 2004, 122–123)

Primordial attachments or bonds, according to Geertz (cited in Zubrzycki 1977, 132–133), arise ‘from being born into a particular religious community speaking a particular language, or even a dialect of a language and following particular social patterns’. A number of other defining aspects can be added to this list, such as sharing common heritage, interests, or even territorial attachment. It can be said that these are often unreservedly passed from generation to generation and reinforced through various traditions and customs. Through their transferral, one’s sense of identity as a member belonging to a particular group, and by extension to a particular place, is strengthened and maintained, giving an impression that the ties that bind kin and group members together are indeed natural and biological.

These same bonds also inform ethnic and national loyalties. The primordialist view relies on the assumption that individuals with a certain ethnicity or nationality are naturally predisposed to feel more connected to their fellow compatriots than to any other ethnic or national group (Croucher 2004, 36). Because these bonds are perceived to exist within all humans, informing their sense of obligation and loyalty towards groups or communities they belong to, these connections can be considered responsible for the way people view themselves, for their sense of identity. Moreover, identification based on these ties is seen to inform ‘the ethnic group’s very nature’ (Croucher 2004, 36), creating distinction between ‘us’ and

'them',²⁵ between those who belong to the same ethnic, national or any other shared group, and those who do not. Patricia Jeffery (1976, 88), for instance, maintains that 'it is very common for ethnic group members to believe that they are inherently different from outsiders, and that these differences result from biologically heritable traits'.

Unfortunately, primordial attachments are often used to justify instances of oppression, aggression and discrimination, as individuals and groups see themselves as being better than those who do not share their views or who do not belong to the same ethnic or religious group or nationality as them. These highly negative traits, such as the feeling of racial or ethnic superiority, explosive temperament or aggressiveness, are often ascribed to one's nature (Croucher 2004, 36), limiting, in the eyes of perpetrators, their accountability for the choice of actions they take. Within the primordialist model of identity formation, it becomes difficult for individuals to step outside the group or community they belong to, since their actions would be seen as non-conforming resulting in them being ostracised from their social and cultural circles. We simply need to look at our recent history to find a number of examples that testify to the dangers associated with primordialist teaching and the ideas of ties linking kin, clans and groups being natural and biological. Such ideas usually give rise to illogical hatred of the 'other', often with deadly outcomes; examples are the systematic annihilation of anything non-Aryan during the Nazi regime in Germany and the senseless killing of thousands that took place in Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina and Rwanda late last century. There are many other examples of documented and reported cases of atrocities committed through the justification of blood ties, and ethnic and national loyalties, that primordialist doctrine embraces.²⁶

Although highly problematic for treating identity and place as a fixed and stable entity, and for considering ethnic and national loyalties to be based on blood ties, thus potentially playing on people's emotions and inciting hatred and discrimination in the process, it is only in the last four decades that sociologists have challenged

²⁵ According to Epstein (1978, xii) 'every act of identification implies a "we" as well as a "they"'.
²⁶ The primordial doctrine can also be observed in architecture and the built environment through the phenomenology of place theories. Authors such as Martin Heidegger and Christian Norberg-Schulz see place as fixed and pre-invested with meaning, with genius loci, and individuals' connection to places as a product of the 'four-fold'—of the 'togetherness' of 'essential' elements being 'sky', 'earth', 'mortals' and 'divinities' as seen by Heidegger (1971, 149; Todres and Galvin 2010, 5445), which are brought together in dwelling, in the feeling of being at home. Issues pertaining to place and phenomenology of place are discussed in more detail in Chapter 2, with an analysis of place and of humans' connection with it.

primordialism and its approach to identity. The shift in thinking away from primordialism, from believing kin and group ties to be pre-given and inherent, to treating these as constructed, resulted in the emergence of an alternative model emphasising the 'multidimensional' and 'fluid' nature of personal identities, which is referred to as constructivism (Croucher 2004, 36).

Constructivists, unlike primordialists, view self-identity as a sum of many identities, from national and ethnic, to religious, social, cultural and political. These are constantly evolving, changing due to internal and external pressures. According to Croucher (2004, 38), 'some of those identities intersect or collide with others, and all vary in salience across time and across contexts'. Therefore, identities can be seen as being in a constant state of flux, with their 'content and meaning' shifting 'across time and place, for individuals, groups, and whole societies' (Croucher 2004, 38). They are outcomes of ongoing battles that individuals fight within themselves to define and redefine who they are and what image of themselves they want to project to the world. As Stephen Cornell and Douglas Hartmann (1998, 77, cited in Croucher 2004, 40) point out, identity is what 'people accept, resist, choose, specify, invent, redefine, reject, actively defend, and so forth'.

Despite the fact that constructivists portray identity as fluid and ever transitioning, they stress that the formation of identity is far from arbitrary (Croucher 2004, 39). The constructivist model draws from 'political, economic, and sociocultural conditions' in order 'to explain the emergence, variation in, and reconfiguration of different identity/belonging formations' (Croucher 2004, 39). Regarding ethnicity, Kathleen Conzen et al., for instance, argue that:

ethnicity itself is to be understood as a cultural construction accomplished over historical time. Ethnic groups in modern settings are constantly recreating themselves, and ethnicity is continuously being reinvented in response to changing realities both within the group and the host society. Ethnic group boundaries, for example, must be renegotiated, while the expressive symbols of ethnicity (ethnic traditions) must be repeatedly reinterpreted.

(Conzen et al. 1992, 5, cited in Croucher 2004, 128)

This shows that previously held notions of ethnicity, and by extension, of culture, traditions and customs, as being stable and unchanging entities are inaccurate.

They are not simply passed from generation to generation, nor are they inherent and specific to particular groups. Identities, as constructivists have pointed out, are always changing under diverse pressures, both from within and outside of ethnic, social or cultural groups. Contact with, and exposure to, other views, customs and traditions inevitably influence and stimulate change in the many identities that individuals have. The constructivists' view of identity formation exposed issues that undermine and negate the various arguments favouring monoculturalism, which sees groups and societies as coherent wholes consisting of individuals with similar identities and culture. The constructivists' position acknowledges the difference between cultures, ethnicities and personal identities, and suggests that even within one culture, not all people are the same.

It is worth noting, however, that the constructivist model, as with the primordialist one, relies on the active differentiation between knowing who one is and who others are, and the fact that individuals often base their image of who they are on who they are not. By defining what they do not want to be or become, they determine their identity, or as Sheila Croucher observes:

Individuals, groups, nations, and so on understand and define who they are by specifying who they are not. Identity, in other words, always relies upon an 'Other,' and belonging to an 'Us' necessitates the existence and recognition of a 'Them'.

(Croucher 2004, 40)

While both schools of thought consider the 'us' and 'them' distinction to be at the core of every identity, constructivists believe the cause for this distinction to be based on individuals' preferences and choices as opposed to it naturally existing in blood ties. However, it is questionable to what extent the constructivist model of identity formation can be viewed as being totally choice driven and free from any external conditioning. In accordance with Pierre Bourdieu's notion of *habitus*, people's choices are manifestations of 'the socially conditioned systems of dispositions' (Scahill 1993) to which they are steadily exposed. The social, cultural and physical setting in which individuals are born and raised exercises the influence over and conditions the way they perceive the world, their thoughts and behaviour. This conditioning affects individuals on both a personal and professional level. For example, it can be argued that architects, as professionals responsible for creating, stylising and making the built environment effective, are themselves conditioned by

the surroundings in which they live, by what they have been taught and by the prevailing theories and philosophies on architecture to which they subscribe. These affect their approach to architecture, the built environment and the designs they produce, further strengthening and influencing their own sense of identity in the process. Conditioning of identities via the physical form is a subject of further analysis in Chapter 2, where the fashioning of identities in relation to place, architecture and the built environment are discussed in more depth.

The constructivist model was considered to be liberating, providing individuals and groups with the possibility of choice regarding who they might want to be, thus freeing them from the primordialists' restraints of predetermined, never-changing identities stemming from people's engagement with a particular place or territory. However, recent social science discourse is beginning to acknowledge that this 'liberation' might not be as easy as first thought. Roxane Caftanzoglou points out that:

Hastrup and Olwig (1997, 11) have recently observed ... a certain irony in the fact that while social scientists have been actively 'liberating' the concept of culture and identity from previously assumed bonds to location in place, social groups are actively involved in constructing and defending all the things under re-examination: rootedness and belonging, ways of life, realities and senses of place, boundaries that certify and maintain distinctiveness.

(Caftanzoglou 2001, 21)

Croucher (2004, 39) argues that 'the powerful and seemingly irrational passion and sense of embeddedness that often surround identity', as portrayed by the primordialists, never fully disappeared. The appeal of the primordial teaching remains strong to this day, and 'some scholars, politicians, media personalities, and other observers continue to describe identity—ethnic, national, gender, or otherwise—as primordial or organic, and invoke static or essentialist interpretations of identity and culture to explain a range of phenomena' (Croucher 2004, 37). The resilience of the primordial teaching and the appeal of the blood ties explanation for the emotional attachment that individuals have towards their fellow compatriots, nation, state, place and territory prompted some scholars 'to combine insights from both approaches, or to speak of "constructed primordiality"' (Croucher 2004, 39); that is, they argue that 'a careful constructivist approach can preserve an

appreciation for the emotional appeal of belonging, while shifting needed attention to the dynamic processes and politics of identity formation and reconfiguration' (Croucher 2004, 40).

The implications of the above statement are that for many people, the bonds to the place of their origin and to their community are as strong as ever, despite various hypotheses that try to explain or negate these. It can be speculated that these bonds first start to manifest themselves once individuals remove themselves from the midst of their territory and from all they know, when the difference between familiar and foreign becomes more apparent and can no longer be ignored. In those instances, the realisation of what place one calls home, of where one belongs, is reached and sets in motion other accompanying sentiments such as nostalgia, longing and loyalty. In these instances, individuals recognise and become more aware of who they are and what part of the world they call home (Ballantyne 2002, 19). The existence of the invisible yet persistent links between belonging and place are discussed by a number of researchers, including Nadia Lovell (1998, 1), who asserts that 'belonging to a particular locality evokes the notion of loyalty to a place, a loyalty that may be expressed through oral or written histories, narratives of origin as belonging, the focality of certain objects, myths, religious and ritual performances, or the setting up of shrines such as museums and exhibitions'. It is these elements in their tangible and intangible form that perpetuate individuals' sense of identity in relation to place and indirectly, architecture, effectively affirming Bourdieu's position that humans' identities are very much conditioned by the society and the environment, both built and unbuilt, that surrounds them.

It can be seen that the primordialist and constructivist approaches offer different perspectives of identity. While there are also other directions and movements that deal with identity formation, these two schools of thought were briefly investigated in this chapter as they provide the means to explore the degree to which architecture and the built environment influence and affect the development of self-identity, which is discussed in Chapter 2. Although these two approaches stand in direct opposition to each other, when aspects of each are considered together, as is the case with the constructed primordialist teaching, they offer a more comprehensive and inclusive explanation of identity, reflective of what Bourdieu refers to as *habitus*. The theory of *habitus* stipulates that individuals, while influenced by the socially and culturally conditioned systems of predispositions, can select the fields in which they

wish to practise or take part (Bourdieu 2005; 1993b; 1990b; 1984), thus forming their identity in line with both primordialist and constructivist teaching.

The next section examines the construction of identity through stories. In particular, it investigates the way personal sense of identity can be forged via verbal transmission of numerous stories told and retold to individuals by their parents and grandparents and the effect these have on their understanding of who they are.

Identity as a story

Storytelling is one of many ways of creating and perpetuating identity. Walter Benjamin (1969, 87, cited in Zabunyan 2002, 85) suggests that ‘the storyteller takes what he tells from experience – his own or that reported by others. And he in turn makes it the experience of those who are listening to his tale’. In his book *Narrative and the Self*, English Canadian philosopher Anthony Paul Kerby puts forward the argument that people’s lives are a story and individuals are characters within it, further proposing identity to be ‘delineated and embodied, primarily in narrative constructions or stories’ (Kerby 1991, 1). Kerby argues that throughout their lives, humans construct stories of who they are, giving meaning to the way they view themselves, to their sense of identity. Narratives, he observes, ‘are a primary embodiment of our understanding of the world, of experience, and ultimately of ourselves’ (Kerby 1991, 3) suggesting that it is in and through narratives that people tell the story of their lives, constructing and communicating their identity to the world. The narratives that individuals fashion of themselves are not, however, free of the context in which they reside. Kerby (1991, 6) points out that ‘narratives are considerably influenced by the social milieu in which the human subject functions. The stories we tell of ourselves are determined not only by how other people narrate us but also by our language and the genres of storytelling inherited from our traditions’. Language, traditions and the way people narrate their experiences and their stories reflects their social conditioning, educational level and preferences; in a word, their *habitus*.

In the way humans construct their sense of identity through a series of stories they tell about themselves, they also construct identity from the stories they hear from others, as suggested above by Benjamin. For centuries, stories of great battles, heroes, loves and wars were orally transmitted from generation to generation. One such story, the *Iliad*, existed for centuries in a verbal form only, via the oral deliveries of numerous storytellers (Foley 2007, 1–2). This epic was written down

much later, with its most famous version being credited to the Greek bard, Homer. The story of the *Iliad* was shared by many, and as Benjamin points out in the short excerpt above, once an experience is shared in the form of a story or a narrative, it ceases to be the experience of only one person and becomes shared with those who are listening to it. In the same way the story about an experience is shared, so too are stories about an individual's ancestry, such as a village or town in which great-grandparents were born. Stories about the special connection they had to that place are told repeatedly, creating for listeners a point of identification with a place that they, in some cases, have never seen. This aspect of identity construction is particularly important with regard to certain groups of people, such as second- and third-generation migrants; they do not necessarily possess many (or any) experiences and memories of the old home country, but they nevertheless, to some extent, identify with the stories linked to the place from which their ancestors came, their stories of hardships and triumphs, and their often comical and innocent childhood adventures. It can be said that these stories passed on by parents and grandparents create a foundation for identity formation particularly regarding national and ethnic identity and belonging.

The evidence of individuals constructing national and ethnic identity from stories can be found in countless examples. Paul Basu (2001, 335), in his paper titled 'Hunting Down Home: Reflections on Homeland and the Search for Identity in the Scottish Diaspora', discusses some of the cases where third- or even fourth-generation Scottish émigrés visited Scotland in pursuit of their ancestry and roots, which they deemed important for their sense of identity. The respondents conducted 'their genealogical research, visiting libraries and archive offices, scouring overgrown graveyards for ancestral tombs, making pilgrimages of sorts to the ruins of the houses and villages they left behind' (Basu 2001, 335). These actions, Basu (2001, 335) suggests, reflect a deep-rooted 'desire to find somewhere incontrovertible on which to ground identity'. This can be illustrated by the following two statements:

I want to be able to tell my children where their ancestors came from. I think it gives them a sense of 'belonging' in a world that sometimes moves too fast ...

(Respondent from New South Wales, Australia, cited in Basu 2001, 335)

And:

I have found, after being in the States for a few months [born in Canada], that there is an opinion that the reason a number of people here feel lost and hopeless, is the loss of roots. I have found a great deal of people are realizing this. I have always felt that it is important to know these things and have passed many of the family stories on to my children and plan to write a family history for the benefit of the whole family.

(Respondent from California, US, cited in Basu 2001, 335–336)

Constructing a sense of belonging and identity from narratives can also be seen in the light of what Bourdieu (1985, 72, cited in Basu 2001, 340) describes as the 'dialectic of the internalization of externality and the externalization of internality'. Ancestral homes, among others, are seen in this context as 'sites of memory', sites where the past is 'externalized in the landscape' (Basu 2001, 340). By narrating the stories and myths of ancestral homes, for example, the memory of these places is kept alive and in turn, projected onto the landscape and the sites of ancestral homes, externalising what is internal, the ancestral memory and past of these places. Sites of memory and the past they embody, however, do not only become externalised in the landscape, they too can 'become internalized through individual engagement and encounter' (Basu 2001, 340). By listening to stories and myths about ancestral places and visiting these, individuals develop greater bonds and connection to the place from which they consider they draw their roots. This internalisation of exteriority is, according to Basu, responsible for the development of individuals' sense of identity:

Through the 'interiorization' of collective memory, the sites of memory thus become 'sources of identity'. Myths of place may be seen as forming a reservoir of 'cultural resources' from which individuals may draw to construct a myth of the self. Both place and person are thus seen as intertwined in narrative: narrative as myth, as history, as memory.

(Basu 2001, 342)

Following from the above, many people would be able to recall occasions where they listed the nationalities of their distant ancestors when asked who they are: 'I am a bit of this and a bit of that'; 'My great-grandmother was German, the other one

Italian, and my great-grandfathers were Croatian and Serbian'; or 'my ancestors are from France, England and Ireland'. These are not isolated accounts of identification based on stories once narrated to individuals by their forefathers. These idealised constructions of one's national identity are indeed very common. Without ever stepping foot on the soil of a country with which people identify, or without sharing in the language, traditions and customs, people seem to be ready to proudly make a claim on everything that country stands for. Why? Because someone used to tell them a story of a great-grandfather who once came from that part of the world.

With countless examples of individuals constructing their identity and attachment to place and territory from stories, the following questions arise: 'What form of attachment would people develop regarding architecture and the built environment, if the stories about houses, villages and towns, streets and neighbours' gardens, public squares and private courtyards, are passed to them by their parents and relatives? What if these were also shared, together with the experiences of the storyteller—would humans then develop an attachment to architecture and the built fabric as they do to nations and countries?

It can be argued that architecture and the built environment do form an important part of these stories, providing a setting and a framework within which experiences, memories and stories develop, and that they do condition people's views of, and preferences for, certain architectural styles and built environments, which are ultimately reflected in the listeners' sense of identity. If this is the case, why is it that the architectural profession seems so unwilling to perpetuate and reinforce this aspect of individual identity through design? Could it be due to the profession's preoccupation with aesthetics and function, the two aspects of design that have dominated architecture from the early years of the Modern movement up to this day?

Questions about people's attachment to the physical fabric and the critique of the architectural profession for its reluctance to embrace and play a greater role in addressing issues of self-identity are discussed in later chapters. The evidence and discussion presented in this section, however, reveal that identities are not necessarily physically bound to places and territories; they can exist and be created from intangible sources, from stories that individuals listen to, engage with and themselves construct. This assertion is also reflected in Nigel Rapport and Andrew Dawson's (1998, 30, cited in Basu 2001, 334) claim that individuals are 'at home in

personal narratives that move away from any notion of fixity within a common idiom'. Their stance reiterates the possibility of structuring self-identity in relation to nationalities and ethnicities, and even creating bonds to places, territories and countries that individuals have never experienced for themselves, by merely listening to and sharing in the experiences and stories of others.

In light of this discussion, it can be concluded that the construction of personal identity can be based on the stories that people tell of themselves as well as those they hear from their parents and grandparents, stories of their ancestors and places from which they come, which they seem to make a part of them. In Kerby's (1991, 1) opinion, 'such a self arises out of signifying practices rather than existing prior to them', a concept covered in more depth in the next section, which examines the development of a sense of identity through performativity and the reiteration of norms.

Performativity and reiteration of norms

The term performativity, although used in a number of different fields of study,²⁷ usually 'denotes a production of identities via repeated performance or enactment of certain actions' (Glusac 2012, 6, drawing from Butler 1995a, 134, cited in Fraser 1999, 111; Loxley 2006; Stoller 2010; Tyler and Cohen 2010). Performativity theory rose to prominence in the works of feminist theorist Judith Butler (1999, 1997, 1993). Her writing on gender identity influenced many modern sociologists and researchers to investigate the effect that performativity has on identity building in their respective fields of study, not least in the fields concerning the connection between individuals or groups and the built environments they occupy.

Butler's theory of performativity has at its core the notion 'that what is called gender identity is a performative accomplishment' (Butler 1988, 520, cited in Stoller 2010, 99) suggesting that gender identity is a construct present only during its performative enactment. For Butler, gender is not a pre-existing 'essence' ready to be expressed through actions, as some phenomenologists maintain; rather, as Stoller (2010, 99) observes, it 'comes into existence only in the very moment of its performative constitution'. It is worth noting that for any identity to become established, performative acts ought to be re-cited and repeated on a regular basis.

²⁷ The theory of performativity was initially linked to linguistic theory (Bell 1999b, 1; Ginet 1979). However, within the past two decades the theory of performativity has become established in a number of other fields, particularly, performance studies, anthropology and sociology, including gender studies, and philosophy (Loxley 2006, 139).

Thus, according to Moya Lloyd (1999, 197), 'it is not in a single act of constitution or invention that the subject is brought into being, but through re-citation and repetition'.

This non-essentialist, constructivist view of identity can be extended beyond gender studies and applied to a number of different aspects, including architecture, that are contributing to identity formation. In particular, the temporary quality of the performative constitution and identity-building nexus is very important in constructing one's self-identity, especially in a new physical context. Throughout this thesis, it is argued that by executing performative acts such as certain rituals and customs, individuals are able to connect with the architecture and built environments that they occupy and form deeper attachments to these. This is particularly significant for migrants, who give us alternative ways of looking at architecture and the urban environment, and possibilities for understanding the role that the built fabric plays in structuring a personal sense of identity and belonging. Migrants, by executing and performing the rituals and customs they carry with them to a new physical context, generate for themselves an opportunity to recreate their sense of identity and build connections with the new built environment in which they have settled, while at the same time, reconnecting with the past through the execution of these performative acts.

In terms of this research, performativity is not only significant due to its ability to generate identities. It is more due to the acts of a performative nature being played out within specifically designated spaces, potentially creating a connection between past and present, between here and there, that the theory of performativity is considered in this study (Glusac 2012, 6; Glusac 2006, 2, drawing from Fortier 1999, and Bell 1999b). Performativity and the reiteration of norms, assisting migrants in establishing their connection with the built environment and the architecture of their new countries, is discussed further in Chapter 5, which deals extensively with the processes of migrants' re-territorialisation. What remains to be discussed in this chapter, however, are the close overlaps between Butler's notion of performativity and Bourdieu's notion of *habitus* and how they affect the construction of identity.

One of the central arguments of the theory of performativity, as discussed by Judith Butler in a number of her works, including her 1993 publication *Bodies that Matter: On the Discursive Limits of 'Sex'*, is the premise that identities are a product of repeated performances of named qualities; that is, the performative 'enacts or

produces that which it names' (Butler 1993, 23, cited in Lloyd 1999, 197). With this assertion, Butler aligns herself with Bourdieu's notion of *habitus*, in particular, his view of *habitus* being the result of one's exposure to both socially imposed, and particularly, individually selected influencing fields. Both Bourdieu and Butler argue that one's self-identity is constructed via the naming and enacting of certain qualities embraced by an individual. In Bourdieu's discourse, this is achieved through selection and acquisition of dispositions prevalent within fields of one's choice and those that are socially imposed to the point that these dispositions become a part of one's being; that is, of one's *habitus*. In Butler's discourse, this is achieved through performativity and reiteration of norms.

The link between performativity and Bourdieu's theory of bodily knowingness and *habitus* is also the subject of Butler's 1997 publication *Excitable Speech: A Politics of the Performative*. According to Bourdieu (1990a, referred to by Butler 1997), certain actions are embodied to the extent that they are not consciously performed but form a part of one's everydayness. Building on this, Butler (1997, 152) argues that any given culture utilises the embodied aspects of *habitus* to produce and sustain 'belief in its own "obviousness"'. The body absorbs gestures, manners and movements, such as the manner of greeting, talking and eating, which are socially and culturally conditioned. The embodiment of such socially and culturally conditioned gestures and mannerisms and their continuous performance perpetuates the sense of a culture's reality, hence generating and sustaining the feeling of its 'obviousness', and its distinctiveness when compared with other cultures.

In addition, Butler (1997, 153) argues that 'the social life of the body is produced through an interpellation that is at once linguistic and productive'. Interpellations, in this sense, refer to socially established performative practices of everydayness that according to Butler (1997, 153) 'are central to the very process of subject-formation as well as the embodied, participatory *habitus*'. Continuous performances of named qualities through individuals' bodies are essential in maintaining and preserving their sense of identity and their *habitus*. The reverse, however, is also correct. Identity and *habitus* can be used to project a certain image people have of themselves through performative actions, thus creating dispositions that differentiate 'them' from the 'other', or as Butler (1997, 155) observes, the *habitus* is both 'formed' and is 'formative'.

An example discussed by George Reid Andrews (1980, cited in Betancour and Hasdell 2000) offers an interesting demonstration of the above. This example examines the role the performance of the African dance *candombé*—enacted by Afro-Argentine slaves living in Buenos Aires since the 1860s—played in maintaining a connection with their past. Andrews (1980, 166, cited in Betancour and Hasdell 2000, 165) claims that ‘the *candombé* were occasions at which the Africans performed their national dances, calling up memories of their homeland and recreating, even if only for an afternoon, a simulacrum of African society in the New World.’ Dance, as a socially and culturally defined performance, is an expression of what Bourdieu (1990a, referred to in Butler 1997, 152) refers to as ‘bodily knowingness’, in which a body, through repeated actions, develops an almost automatic response to the rhythmical beating of drums or other musical instruments. Both music and rhythmical bodily movements can arguably act as memory triggers, thus serving as connection points with the past. More importantly, however, through the practice of dancing, individuals or groups express certain aspects of their identity, meaning that performativity both connects individuals with their past and informs the process of self-projection and externalisation of their culture, tradition and customs. Through the performative acts of dancing *candombé*, Afro-Argentine slaves projected their own sense of identity onto the built fabric of Buenos Aires, ‘giving meaning to the environment by collective or individual behaviour’ (Leach 2005, 302) while asserting their identity and belonging in the new urban context.

The analysis and discussion provided thus far indicates the importance of performativity and reiteration of norms in constructing and reconstructing identity. As indicated earlier, further discussion of performativity and its contribution to the development of identity and belonging in relation to new physical environments and investigated from the perspective of migrants is covered in Chapter 5, in which different examples of migrant communities connecting and colonising spaces and places via performance are outlined. The next section of this chapter examines the culture and politics of identity formation and how these contribute to the manner in which individuals see themselves and portray themselves to others.

Other ways of constructing self-identity

There are many different perspectives from which the construction of self-identity can be approached, from individuals’ own preferences of social and cultural fields, and performative actions signifying these preferences, to stories they tell of themselves and those told to them by their parents and grandparents. There is a

greater context outside people's immediate surroundings, however, that equally affects and helps form and shape their identity. These include, but are not limited to, factors such as cultural, national and ethnic identity, which are seen to contribute to the overall sense that people have of who they are. While this research does not investigate the above-mentioned identities extensively, it uses the existing discourse to investigate how these different aspects of identity affect and are influenced by architecture and the built environment. More specifically, the customs and traditions in which individuals are raised and continue to practise, together with the culture and ethnicity with which they identify, all affect their understanding of the world and are woven directly or indirectly into the built fabric of their homes and cities. These help to define and form recognisable national and ethnic architectural traits, styles and idiosyncrasies. For this reason, some of the aspects that contribute to the development of national, ethnic and cultural identities are briefly discussed in this section, as these are often considered the foundation for all other identities that individuals create.

According to Manning (2005, 161), the culture and cultural traits of certain groups and communities are easily observable qualities, expressed through various external indicators such as clothing, gesticulation and body language. Culture is one of the vital aspects that actively creates the image that people have of themselves, and as such is one of the essential components contributing to their sense of belonging and identity. '[Furnishing] us with cognitive, aesthetic and moral standards that we take almost for granted' (Yinger 1997, 328, cited in Peters 1999, 13), culture affects a range of factors that more closely define not only individuals but also communities and populations. According to Boyle, Halfacree and Robinson:

Cultures belong to both individuals and groups, existing through the shared and negotiated practices of everyday life. Cultures are both deeply felt and taken for granted; they are dynamic; and there are a wide variety of them, even within one small country.

(Boyle, Halfacree and Robinson 1998, 207)

Amos Rapoport (1987, 11, drawing from Rappaport 1979, and Rapoport 1981) further states that 'cultures ... may be seen as *properties of populations*, i.e. the distinctive means by which such populations maintain their identity and relate to their environment'. Through the perpetuation and recitation of culturally informed practices such as traditions, customs, values and belief systems, people tend to

maintain their sense of identity on both an individual and collective level. Further, by partaking in and expressing their culture, individuals and populations are equipped with the knowledge that fosters greater understanding of the unspoken rules and practices that exist within social and cultural environments, and that differentiate one culture from the next. This unspoken consensus, which defines individuals as members of one culture, is also visible and expressed in the way people approach and relate to the architecture and the built environment in which they live, as they can more easily identify with one architectural style than another, and they can read cities and buildings within it more confidently.

As with identity, the popular belief that culture is a constant, inherited entity is disputed by a number of scholars, including Croucher (2004, 27), who sees culture as a process of 'hybridisation or creolization', implying its malleability and instability, rendering it capable of adapting to new conditions and times. In this regard, culture is but a mosaic, the representation of wholeness from fragments, a collage made from many pieces combining one's own culture with aspects often taken from other cultures. Numerous examples of cultures from different parts of the world being freely adopted and integrated into individuals' *habitus*, as well as the fabric of whole societies, attest to this. For example, fast-food cuisine, forms of entertainment and certain words and phrases associated with the American culture have permeated the fabric and culture of many different societies across the globe. Hence, fast-food chains such as McDonalds, Burger King and others can be readily found in most Western countries, affecting food production and eating practices and by extension, the culture as a whole. The presence of the fast-food outlets affects the built environment, due to the incorporation of the highly branded and specific forms of architecture expressing the corporate identity of the specific companies. The presence of these arguably affects and changes the streetscape and urban experience of cities and towns that contain such outlets. Fast-food cuisine, while transforming the dietary habits and urban fabric of places can, nevertheless, be seen as an example of voluntary cultural exchange. There are also examples of foreign cultures being imposed on populations through colonisation, with the enforcement of the English language, customs, traditions and architecture on the native peoples of India and Australia.

As suggested earlier, people tend to use culture, nationality and ethnicity, together with other identity traits, to define who they are, as well as who they are not (Croucher 2004). This is particularly evident in the case of migration, where many

migrants are determined to cling onto their culture and tradition, to assert their difference as well as their sense of being. In other instances, a form of cultural exchange can be observed, with migrants adopting some of the values and the way of life prevalent in the new environment, simultaneously enriching their own experience of culture and that of their 'host' nation. It can be said that culture is more a product of daily interaction between individuals and may, according to Lovell (1998, 5, drawing from Olwig and Hastrup 1997), be bound to territory, but equally, and more importantly, exist 'in the everyday experience of extraordinary events such as forced migration or exile'. It is by sharing traditions, belief and value systems, language, ways of thinking and interacting that some aspects of one's culture are maintained and perpetuated, while others are constructed and reconstructed under the influence of the new context. Maintaining one's culture and language, among other things, can be seen as a way of maintaining one's self-identity and hence, it can be cited as one of the reasons that many migrants continue to embrace and celebrate their own culture long after their resettlement. However, can the same be said about architecture and the built environment? In light of the discussion presented so far, the following questions arise: 'Why is it that the effect of architecture and the built environment on the construction of identity remains largely ignored?'; 'Why is the architectural profession still failing to acknowledge and respond to the identity-based challenges and opportunities?'²⁸

One of the possible explanations to the first question, regarding why architecture and the built environment do not feature more extensively, if at all, in the discourse surrounding identity construction, is that the built environment and architecture within it are often not actively perceived. In being surrounded by the built fabric all the time, individuals tend to view architecture and the greater built environment as a background only, as a stage overshadowed by the activities and experiences that are taking place in it. Clare Cooper Marcus (1995, 4) argues that 'psychologists whose domain is the study of emotional development view the physical environment as a relatively unimportant backdrop to the human dramas of life'. However, while individuals are aware that the towns and cities in which they live are formed and defined by architecture and the built environment, and while they manoeuvre their way in and around this built fabric with ease, when it comes to details, noticing forms, sequences, colour schemes and other stylistic peculiarities, they often do not actively take in these.

²⁸ This is discussed further in Chapter 7, which presents a critique of the architectural profession for its reluctance to acknowledge and incorporate identity-related issues within design.

It is only in relation to national identity, however, that architecture is actively noticed by the wider population. The examples of architecture associated with ancient civilisations such as the Egyptian pyramids, Greek temples and Roman amphitheatres are widely considered as symbols of national identity and pride for these countries, representing their ancestors' achievements and excellence. Francis Violich (1998, 302) suggests that during the 1992–1994 war in Croatia, the armed Yugoslav forces deliberately targeted the old centres of Dalmatian towns such as Zadar, Split and Dubrovnik to inflict the greatest damage possible to the architecture of these centres, since it is in the walls of these centuries-old cities that aspects of the Croatian national identity were seen to be encapsulated.²⁹

While architecture symbolic of the national identity is given prominence and importance and is thus actively noticed, the characteristics of the more humble architectural achievements such as houses, their spatial arrangements, materiality and aesthetics, together with their responsiveness to culture, are often overlooked in the scholarly discourse concerned with the construction of identity. However, these very structures can strongly reflect individuals' identities, and the traits that influence and express the occupants' tastes, preferences and expectations in matters related to the built environment.³⁰

Apart from culture and culture-related practices, other factors also affect the construction and reconstruction of individual and collective identity. These factors include, but are not limited to, governments' actions and events, discussed here under the term 'politics of identity'. The politics of identity, as used within this thesis, refers to the process of forging the national and ethnic image and sentiments through occurrences and events in what are often called 'home countries'. David Parkin (1998, ix) argues that 'groups ... set up collective memories of themselves against a view of what is happening elsewhere in the world'.³¹ It can be argued that

²⁹ Violich (1998, 302) writes: 'It became crystal clear that the military motivation and strategy had been to strike at those buildings that carried the cultural, historical, and religious meaning closest to the hearts of the dwellers of these places—a spiteful sort of "cultural cleansing," as it were. The ministry's records show that the attackers completely ignored the plaques signifying which buildings were to be exempted from war damage according to the Hague Convention of 1954. Indeed, rather than safeguarding the buildings, the designation highlighted them as priority targets for bombardment'.

³⁰ Diverse aspects of identification such as social status and class, income, ethnicity and gender can equally be expressed through the built fabric of individuals' homes, signalling to others the occupants' sense of identity. Cooper Marcus (1995, 12) argues that 'the house interior and its contents as a mirror of our inner psychological self have received much less attention' than the analysis of a house as a social symbol.

³¹ Kolar-Panov (1996, 290) in her paper 'Video and the Diasporic Imagination of Selfhood: A Case Study of the Croatians in Australia', suggests that the war in Croatia and the images of atrocities committed in Croatia and captured on videotapes that were sent to Croatians living in Australia, led to

depending on the events occurring in an ethnic group's homeland, such as the tragic accounts of wars and oppression, members belonging to that ethnicity, even though not directly affected, would be more inclined to raise their voice in protest, thus publicly identifying with and demonstrating their belonging to that ethnic group. The long-persisting questions of Palestine sovereignty and national identity, and the more recent protests across the Arab world that led to the overthrow of the dictatorial regimes in Tunisia, Egypt, Libya and Yemen, are examples of this. Protests associated with the 'Free Palestine' and the 'Arab Spring' movements were not just carried out in these affected countries, but were staged in Australia and all over the democratic world, strengthening the collective identity of these diasporic communities in the process, due to some migrants identifying strongly with what was happening in their home countries.

Politics of identity can further be seen within the context of various decrees and laws that are often passed under the pretence of being for the 'greater good' of the nation,³² examples of which can be found in recent Australian history. In an attempt to define who we are as a nation, as an ethnic group or community, conscious efforts on behalf of media and politicians are in some instances employed to raise the profile of one group, often at the expense of the other. Numerous paper headlines and resolutions passed in the wake of the 'Tampa crisis'³³ and 'Children

polarisation of different Yugoslav ethnic communities living in Perth. She further observes that even 'before the war (in former Yugoslavia) ... the ethnic audiences moved from cultural maintenance strategies within the Australian context towards cultural production and reproduction of nationalist ideologies directly imported from the homelands' (Kolar-Panov 1996, 290, drawing from Kolar-Panov 1994a, 1994b).

³² In her review of Pamela Sugiman's 2005 paper titled 'Memories of Internment: Narrating Japanese-Canadian Women's Life Stories', Vijay Agnew (2005, 11) comments that 'the migrant's self-perceptions and self-definitions were never simply a matter of individual choice and volition; rather, their consciousness was affected by political acts and the behaviour of many white Canadians'.

³³ On 24th August 2001, the Indonesian vessel Palapa 1, carrying 438 people, broke down in the Indian Ocean some 140 kilometres north of Christmas Island, Australia (Doherty 2011; Marr and Doherty 2011). Following the distress call being sent out, the Norwegian freighter Tampa came to the rescue. However, the Australian government, led by the then Prime Minister John Howard, refused the request made by the Tampa's captain, Arne Rinnan, to dock on Christmas Island, threatening instead to prosecute Rinnan as a people smuggler should he attempt to enter Australian waters (Marr and Doherty 2011). The incident reached the international arena, with the Norwegian government reporting Australia to the United Nations for exhibiting an 'unacceptable and inhumane' attitude towards the refugees that was 'contravening international law' (Thorbjørn Jagland address to the United Nations, cited in Marr and Doherty 2011). The 'Tampa crisis' prompted the Australian government to introduce the Border Protection Bill, designed to further protect Australian borders from 'illegal' immigrants and excise certain islands from Australia's migration zone. The Border Protection Bill passed in the House of Representatives by 73 to 62 votes, but was defeated in the Senate by 34 votes to 30 (Marr and Wilkinson 2003, 98). Island excision was nevertheless declared legal under the Australian Migration Act. The present Australian federal government is currently engaged in operations designed to deter immigrants from entering Australia, by launching the operation 'Sovereign Borders' as a matter of priority.

overboard affair',³⁴ for instance, are just some of the examples in which a certain group of people is demonised, vilified and made undesirable in an established democratic society. According to Anthony Moran (2005, 175), this is due to 'the asylum seeker, the "illegal immigrant," being portrayed as 'a potent symbol of the permeability of boundaries, and because of this has come to represent an amorphous threat to national sovereignty'.

Protecting the national sovereignty of first-world countries against the asylum seekers and refugees, who are perceived as a threat to national interests and values, is often seen as everyone's duty and not only the job of the media and politicians. David Marr and Marian Wilkinson (2003, 100) observe that in the wake of the 'Tampa crisis', 'a reader's poll in Melbourne's *Herald Sun* on Tuesday, August 28, produced 13 572 votes for keeping the *Tampa* people out and only 615 votes to let them in'. This suggested that compassion for those willing to risk their lives by attempting to enter a developed country like Australia via unseaworthy boats, to escape hardship and prosecution at home, could not be found among the vast majority of everyday Australians. The devastating effects of the vilification and demonisation of the 'illegal' immigrants and asylum seekers are, however, not only felt in respect to issues of 'who enters the country and under what circumstances'³⁵ but also extend to the treatment of these immigrants once they reach their destination. 'Illegal' arrivals to Australia and other Western countries are generally placed within detention centres that are designed to further reinforce their alien status and the feeling of not being welcomed and accepted by the host society. Additionally, and as the 1993 example in Solingen, Germany sadly demonstrates (Editorial, 1993, *The New York Times*), more extreme cases of right-wing factions trying to 'clear' their county of unwanted asylum seekers by burning down asylum hostels offers further evidence of the harmful consequences that a misplaced politics of identity can have.

With the increasingly anti-immigration sentiments that can be observed in many Western countries, including Australia, the 'sociological paradox' describing the surge in ethnic identification among integrated migrants can be explained (Croucher

³⁴ The 'Children overboard affair' ensued, as the result of public allegations by then Prime Minister John Howard, Immigration Minister Philip Ruddock and Defence Minister Peter Reith that the asylum seekers stranded on the unseaworthy Indonesian fishing vessel 'Olong' threw their own children overboard, to ensure their passage to Australia. The asylum seekers were thus portrayed as willing to 'go to any lengths to play on the Australian navy's obligations to rescue drowning people at sea' (Marr and Wilkinson 2003, 186).

³⁵ Famous rhetoric of the then Prime Minister John Howard.

2004, 116, drawing from Cohen, cited in Nagel 1986, 94; see also Epstein 1978). In the light of the overwhelmingly negative publicity and verbal attacks on their system of values and predispositions, many migrants feel obliged to defend themselves and what they stand for, and thus use this 'threat' to reinforce their sense of cultural and ethnic identity.³⁶ Epstein (1978, xiii) observes that 'ethnicity arises so often in circumstances of social upheaval and transformation, which are frequently accompanied by severe cultural erosion and the disappearance of many customs that might serve as marks of distinctiveness'. The development of a greater sense of ethnic and cultural identity among integrated migrants points to the transterritorial nature of identity and the possibility of constructing a personal identity independent of territorial constraints (Lovell 1998, 5, drawing from Olwig and Hastrup 1997; and Appadurai 1991). This view is shared by many social scientists and anthropologists, including Arjun Appadurai and Homi Bhabha, who in their respective fields of research came to similar conclusions, that identity, like culture, can be forged independently of an individual's homeland (discussed by Lovell, 1998, 5). As Manning observes:

if a migration took place long ago, the tie of diasporic community to the homeland is conceptual rather than practical. The links are maintained not so much by the movements of young people as by the memories and traditions of older people. ... the conscious badges of group membership took on great importance—names, dress, religion, and even cuisine become ways to express one's identification with a diaspora. These emblems of identity also preserved the memory of homeland.³⁷

(Manning 2005, 161)

This section has demonstrated that the formation of self-identity, in particular cultural, ethnic and national identity, can take place free of the territory in which one was born and raised, and can instead be forged transterritorially, between different places and different countries. Such identity draws from first-generation migrants' stories and memories of the homeland, as well as from events of war and unrest

³⁶ Kolar-Panov (1996, 289) suggests that 'ethnic identities are as much constituted actively through the diaspora-homeland relation as they are in reaction to exclusion or marginalization by the host culture'.

³⁷ Practices linked to observing religious rituals, cooking ethnic foods, and dressing and talking in a particular way are referred to by Manning (2005, 161) as 'emblems of identity'. While these are more prevalent among first-generation migrants, they are also passed onto their offspring, conditioning their tastes and preferences. It should further be noted that certain ethnic dress styles, textures and patterns have permeated the fashion industry and are more readily available to a wider audience and individuals who often possess no cultural or ethnic connection to the ethnically inspired clothing they are wearing.

occurring in the lands of origin and from rejection and stigmatisation by the host societies. This transterritorial identity is expressed through visual reference points such as cultural and ethnic 'emblems', identity badges (Manning 2005) and architectural gestures that are often recreated from memory and feel, and which are passed down to migrants' offspring. These practices keep the memory of the homeland alive and in turn, help to perpetuate migrants' identity long after the migration has taken place.

The aim of this chapter was to demonstrate different ways that personal, cultural, ethnic and national identity is forged and perpetuated, providing the reader with the necessary foundation upon which the ensuing chapters are built. The general overview of approaches to identity formation that have been discussed in this chapter (such as primordialist and constructivist teachings), together with the role that stories, performative acts and the culture and politics of identity play in constructing the image that humans have of themselves, provides an understanding for an analysis of the ways identity is created and recreated. While these approaches occasionally clash with each other, offering very different readings of what self-identity is, together they present a more comprehensive picture that starts to highlight the multilayered and multivalent nature of the phenomenon we refer to as identity.

More importantly, this overview also began to outline the important, though often overlooked, role that architecture and the built environment play in structuring an individual's sense of identity. This role is analysed in more depth in the following chapter, which specifically focuses on the issues of place, *habitus* and memory as vital components that more closely define and influence humans' connections to place. The next chapter also examines notions of shelter, safety and security, dwelling, territorialisation and identification, which are considered here in relation to the sense of place and belonging, while the notions of *habitus* and memory are explored for their contribution in strengthening the ties between self-identity and the physical environment that individuals inhabit.

Architecture, the built environment and self-identity³⁸

A home fulfils many needs: a place of self-expression, a vessel of memories, a refuge from the outside world, a cocoon where we can feel nurtured and let down our guard.

(Cooper Marcus 1995, 4)

The presence of homes, one might say, parallels humans existence. Many archaeological studies suggest that Palaeolithic caves served as the first ‘homes’, providing shelter and protection from the elements and other threats. These and other places of special importance were often demarcated with totems, stones and paintings that some cultures and peoples, such as Indigenous Australians, still revere to this day. These first shelters and place markers offer evidence of occupation and efforts on the part of early humans to record their surrounding environment and events (Kostof 1995). As such, they suggest that adaptation and appropriation of the natural environment, in line with human needs and beliefs, is a practice that has endured to this day, albeit in a differing form (Glusac 2012, 18–19).

This practice, driven by what Maslow (1954) considers a basic human need³⁹ for shelter, promoted the progressive development of structures, from simple huts and tents to more stylised and complex shelters, customarily referred to as architecture. Common to these architectural edifices, whether vernacular⁴⁰ or professionally designed, is a feeling of security and safety that familiar and known places emit, ultimately distinguishing a place of home from locations elsewhere (Glusac 2012, 19; Glusac 2006, 167). This notion of security, safety and familiarity is explored in this chapter, and how the connection between architecture, the built environment and personal identity is formed. To date, this connection has largely been ignored in

³⁸ Extensive sections of this chapter were used to inform two published papers (Glusac 2012; Glusac 2006), thus, where these sections appear they have been appropriately referenced to these papers.

³⁹ According to Abraham H. Maslow’s hierarchy of needs, the need for shelter is considered essential for humans’ psychological well-being (Maslow 1954).

⁴⁰ While some architects have reservations about referring to vernacular buildings as architecture, it can be argued that it is through these structures that we know about former civilisations and their way of life, how the spaces were occupied and places appropriated, and as such these structures deserve to be referred to as architecture and design. Amos Rapoport (1987, 11) argues that ‘almost anything humans do to alter the face of the earth and anything they build is design—not just what professionals do’.

architectural discourse (Cooper Marcus 1995, 4), which predominantly focuses on questions of style, stylistic developments, programmatic requirements and design execution. Moreover, while the connection between architecture and culture has been explored in the writings of Amos Rapoport, planting a seed for the greater consideration of architecture as an expression of culture, it should be noted that his work has not been fully embraced by the architectural profession. The intent of this thesis, therefore, is to form a critique of the architectural profession for its failure to consider not just the cultural implications but also architecture's potential in supporting the development of self-identity. To form this critique, an understanding of issues concerning the construction of self-identity in relation to place needs to be established. This chapter aims to do that by exploring the connection between architecture, the built environment and self-identity with regard to the three different components, place,⁴¹ *habitus* and memory.

Sense of place, sense of belonging

The notion of place can be approached from a multitude of theoretical and philosophical positions. Foucauldian discursive analysts, Derridian deconstructivists, primordialists and phenomenologists, for instance, all view and interpret place from their specific paradigms. While these different theoretical approaches contribute to and expand our understanding of place, in this section certain phenomenological interpretations of place, Bourdieu's dialectic of internalisation and externalisation and de Certeau's notion of territorialisation are used to investigate the feeling of security and safety that familiar settings give us. In particular, the connections that emerge from experiencing security and safety in a well-known and familiar location, and which affect a personal sense of identity and belonging, are analysed here. For some of these connections to be explored, an understanding of various aspects that define a place and govern humans' interactions with it needs to be provided.

⁴¹ When talking about place, it is important to acknowledge that the word 'place' in some discourses is readily substituted and interchangeably used along with the word 'space'. To avoid any confusion stemming from this irregularity, the difference between space and place, as referred to in this research, is as follows: 'place' is concrete in essence, possessing material properties such as texture, mass and colour. Place is a stage on which 'spaces' are created. This closely follows de Certeau's definition of place as 'an instantaneous configuration of positions' (de Certeau 1984, 117; see also Rendell 2006, 19). While de Certeau's definition implies a certain degree of fixity in relation to place (Rendell 2006, 18), in this thesis place has physical properties but is still subject to alterations and modifications. 'Spaces', on the other hand, are defined by places; they are the in-betweens, products of human engagement within the place. For de Certeau, 'space is composed of intersections of mobile elements. It is in a sense actuated by the ensemble of movements deployed within' (de Certeau 1984, 117; see also Rendell 2006, 19). Further, while the word place is all encompassing and can refer to any physical environment, it is in relation to the built form that the word place is used.

Architectural theoretician and phenomenologist Christian Norberg-Schulz (1980, cited in Violich 1998, 48) suggests that 'man dwells where he can orient himself to and identify with an environment'. Implicit in his statement is the need on the part of humans to experience the feelings of safety and security within any built and natural environment in which they find themselves. Orientation, particularly, is considered critical in this regard, since it not only enables legibility and comprehension of any given place, it also instils individuals with a greater 'sense of emotional security' (Lynch 1960, 4, cited in Norberg-Schulz 1979, 19). However, in order for orientation to be possible, it is necessary to grasp the physical properties that define and distinguish a place. A place, in terms of its physical properties, is described by Norberg-Schulz (1979, 6–8) as a 'totality made up of concrete things having material substance, shape, texture and colour' that affect its 'environmental character' and hence its essence. These features of the built and natural environment have been constantly moulded and fashioned over the course of human history, reflecting individuals' identity, and their needs and desires. This continuous appropriation of the built and natural environment has created man-made points of reference, points such as 'paths' that intersect in 'nodes', walls that define 'edges' or even shape 'districts' (Norberg-Schulz 1979, 12, 19, drawing from Lynch 1960). Together with qualities such as 'boundedness, distinctiveness, scale, and proportion' (Cuba and Hummon 1993, 113, drawing from Steele 1981), they assist in marking out a place, ultimately rendering orientation within that place possible (Glusac 2012, 19; Glusac 2006, 168).

Place and the built environment, however, are not solely defined by their physical attributes. The character of a place, Norberg-Schulz (1979) believes, is equally indebted to *genius loci*, which he describes as the spirit, protector or even creator of a place's character and essence. John B. Jackson (1994, 157) considers this Latin term to not only imply a spirit or a sense that a place enjoys, but a presence of a 'guardian divinity' that watches over that place. According to Jackson (1994, 157), rituals and celebrations venerating guardian divinities were regularly performed, generating strong connections between place and its people that promoted a sense of belonging and identity with that place. Norberg-Schulz (1979, 5) similarly reiterates the actuality of these connections by suggesting that 'man cannot gain a foothold through scientific understanding alone', thus implying that a more spiritual dimension ties humans to the places in which they live.

The above connection between humans and place imbued with spiritual consent is also the subject of Martin Heidegger's (1971, 149) 'philosophy of the Fourfold', where four 'essential' elements (earth, sky, divinities and mortals) are brought together in dwelling.⁴² For Heidegger, the notion of *dwelling* is closely aligned with the notion of *being*. Dwelling, according to Heidegger (1971, 149), is only possible when one resides in a place because, as he observes: 'To dwell, to be set at peace, means to remain at peace within the free, the preserve, the free sphere that safeguards each thing in its nature'. Heidegger's concept of safeguarding echoes the assertion made by Maslow in his 1954 seminal work *Motivation and Personality*, which as indicated earlier, sees shelter and the safety it provides as essential for humans' psychological well-being.

By residing in one place and being 'among things and locations' (Heidegger 1971, 157), a feeling of familiarity with that place is generated and provides individuals with a deeper understanding of their surrounds. Equally, it presents them with an opportunity to actively adapt and appropriate their living environment to reflect their needs and their sense of self. While adopting and appropriating their places, particularly the homes they occupy, people also subconsciously absorb all the components that constitute that built environment (Glusac 2012, 19). Through this interaction, an exchange of personal preferences and influences is made possible that further informs the development of their identity. As Clare Cooper Marcus (1995, 9) observes: 'people consciously and unconsciously "use" their home environment to express something about themselves'.⁴³ This can be likened to the aforementioned 'dialectic of the internalization of externality and the externalization of internality' that Bourdieu (1985, 72, cited in Basu 2001, 340) writes about. This was also discussed in relation to the bonds one forms with ancestral places by projecting stories from memory onto the place, while at the same time absorbing and identifying with the place and making it part of the self.

Bourdieu's dialectic, broadly dealing with the notion of identification with place and its architecture, reveals another critical aspect of the development of identity and indirectly, belonging. Identification, defined in psychoanalytic theory as the process

⁴² A similar concept of the Fourfold can be found in Balinese culture. According to Ottino (1998, 104), 'the Balinese define the person as the nexus of a web of relations stretching into most dimensions of the world. The condition of being human is to be 'tied' ... to other beings, to the village, the land, the deeds of past generations, and to spiritual entities, ancestors and gods'.

⁴³ This conviction is shared by Russell W. Belk (1992, 38), who argues that 'to be attached to certain of our surroundings is to make them a part of our extended self'.

'of recognising—or mis-recognising—the self in the other' (Leach 2005, 303), is seen to consist of 'a series of mirrorings', of 'projection' and 'introjection' of the self onto the social and built environment and vice versa (Leach 2005, 303–304, drawing from Metz 1982, 48, 51). This identification with the built environment necessitates a dialogue between an individual and his or her surrounds. Accordingly, Barbara Bender (2001, 4) claims that 'it is through our experience and understanding that we engage with the materiality of the world', meaning that individuals' perceptions of the world are based largely on their surroundings, their level of learning and exposure to narratives, traditions and beliefs passed on to them via their family, friends and wider social and cultural networks. With narratives, traditions and beliefs arising from humans' engagements and interactions with their built and social environments,⁴⁴ it can be concluded that the relationship between the two is largely interdependent (Glusac 2012, 20).

In addition, Heidegger's assertion that 'building as dwelling ... is from the outset "habitual"', as 'we inhabit it' (Heidegger 1971, 147) suggests that the act of dwelling may indeed be seen as a habit, supporting a set of spatially defined routines performed on a daily basis. These habits can potentially contribute to a feeling of longing for the familiar and known spatial configurations, and the sense of being at home, in times when individuals are faced with new and alien living environments. Some phenomenologists even argue that the connection between individuals and the architecture and built environment in which they are born and live is not just habitual but is, moreover, inherent, whereby the primordial bonds that tie people to the place of birth never weaken, following them wherever they go. The act of migrating, in this regard, can be viewed as a detachment from not just *habitus*, but also from a spatial habit that forms around particular architecture and the urban fabric. In the course of migration, many of the intimate and sentimental items that fashion individuals' homes are left behind. The coldness of stone and the warmth of the family hearth, textures and colours, spatial arrangements and gardens are all abandoned as a result of moving from one place to another. In considering dwelling as a habit and migration as a detachment from that habit, the comprehension of why

⁴⁴ Frances Violich (1998, 54) argues that 'experience provides the starting point toward identity with a place'. Moreover, Bernd Jager (1989, referred to in Violich 1998, 55) observes that experience through body helps to shape our attitudes towards the built environment that surrounds us. From this bodily experience and the engagement with our surroundings, 'we build into our subconscious visual images from which we learn and develop sets of values' (Violich 1998, 55, drawing from Jager 1989) that are then later externalised through the way we furnish and decorate our rooms and houses. We form our expectations and preconceptions from the built environment and we express these in the spaces we occupy.

individuals feel lost and alien in a new physical context may thus become possible (Glusac 2012, 19).

The discussion above effectively points towards the significant role that place and architecture play in structuring peoples' identities. They condition their world view and their system of beliefs to the extent that individuals may become a reflection of the environment in which they live. Worth emphasising, though, is the degree to which the attachment to a place is experienced, since not every individual responds to a place in the same manner. While some may experience no connections to a place, consequently finding it relatively easy to move from one environment to another, for others, especially older people, the feeling of attachment to a place can be particularly strong even if there is nothing left of it (Glusac 2012, 19). In his research on lost homes, historian Peter Read outlines a story of Luka Prkan, an Australian Croatian, who following the end of the 1990s war in Croatia, returned to the rubble of his old home, which had been in his family's possession for 600 years. Luka's mother, Read (1996, 25) recalls, 'who had somehow survived the mortar attack on her home, had at first refused to leave the ruin'. Placed in a refugee camp, 'it was said that from time to time she scrambled back to the wreckage of the family home,' only 'to be extricated from the stone fragments and returned to the refugee camp' (Read 1996, 25). This sombre story of the attachment Luka's mother demonstrated towards her home illustrates the above assertion, which sees connections to places continuing to exist even after material things that once tied these humans to their places have vanished.

The phenomenological perception of place can further be extended to consider the concept of 'meaningful existence' in relation to place. Eyles (1989, 109, cited in Mazumdar and Mazumdar 2009, 257) argues that 'place ... is not only an arena for everyday life ... [it also] provides meaning to that life'. The aforementioned Palaeolithic caves can thus be viewed not just as mere testimonies of early living conditions, but as testimonies of human attempts to record their surroundings, to project themselves and their activities onto the environment they are inhabiting, thus inscribing their existence with more meaning (Kostof 1995). Norberg-Schulz's (1979, 166) statement that 'man's most fundamental need is to experience his existence as meaningful' adds weight to this argument. However, while this notion of 'meaningful existence' might appeal to many, it is not without problems. Meaning, identified by Norberg-Schulz (1979, 166, 170) as 'a *psychic* function', 'part of "truth"' that 'constitute *culture*', is highly contestable on the grounds of being generalising and

overarching. Moreover, any meaning should only be considered on an individual level, since every person interprets and forms meanings for him- or herself. Notions of meaning and 'meaningful existence' are constructs, in the same way identity and culture are, and their interpretation is very subjective. Nevertheless, it should be noted that constructs, meaning and 'meaningful existence' are important elements to consider on an individual level, since it is precisely these unexplained sentiments that determine how people view themselves, and how they form and project their sense of identity in relation to particular territory and place.

These deeply rooted phenomenological sentiments linking the assumed 'meaningful existence' to territory are discussed by Paul Basu (2001). In a series of interviews conducted with some members of the Scottish diaspora living in North America and Australia, Basu observed a strong feeling of hopelessness and loss among respondents as a result of emigration and detachment from their perceived ancestral roots. In the words of a person from Louisiana, US:

How can I, a USA national, get a passport and/or some form of citizenship with the homeland of my heritage? I shall never feel like a whole being until I can feel and be part of Scotland. Please Scotland give to me some form of simple citizenship, for then I may no longer have to suffer the slings and arrows of mental and physical separation from my true homeland.

(Cited in Basu 2001, 336)

The phenomenological understanding of place and dwelling discussed thus far closely resembles the definition taken from the field of botanical studies that sees 'a pre-existing harmony between the species and its habitat'⁴⁵ (Rabinow 1995, 31). This *a priori* position was ultimately challenged by Lamarck and other nineteenth-century theorists who saw no such 'harmony between living beings and the milieu to which they sought to adapt' (Rabinow 1995, 31). Instead, for Lamarck, this relationship was more *a posteriori*, defined by an active adaptation process by living organisms to the ever-changing needs and circumstances dictated by the environment in which they exist (Rabinow 1995). This nineteenth-century view thus points towards the scientific, almost mechanical understanding and explanation of the issues related to dwelling and place, disregarding the psychological, emotional

⁴⁵ This view echoes the primordialist discourse surrounding identity formation, discussed in Chapter 1, which sees identities as pre-given and natural.

and phenomenological dimensions of humans. However, if people indeed adapt to but do not forge any connections with the place in which they live, as suggested by Lamarck, then it is unclear why second- and even third-generation migrants still experience strong connections, both physical and emotional, to their countries and more importantly, their places of origin, as the above example by Basu (2001) suggests.⁴⁶

While phenomenology provides us with some insights regarding the way humans' attachments to place may develop, there are alternative ways, free of the deterministic phenomenological and primordialist doctrine, which also tackle the question of place attachment and the self-identity formed from it. The aforementioned orientation within the urban context can be seen as a way of becoming familiar with the physical features of any given built and natural environment, and is considered essential if an attachment to a place is to develop. However, it is the more individual reading and use of space that creates deeper understanding and lasting connections with places. This personalised reading of space is discussed next under the term territorialisation, considered here within the boundaries of the architectural discipline.

Territorialisation, defined by Michel de Certeau (1984) as a process of active interaction and bodily engagement with a place, can be seen as one of the initial steps in attaining a level of familiarity with any new urban and natural setting. Together with orientation, territorialisation enables personal and subjective experiences and understanding of a place to form and connections with that place to develop. Central to the notion of territorialisation is the practice of walking that, according to de Certeau (1984, 93), is comparable to the process of writing a narrative. In comparing walking to a narrative, space is provided with a new reading that transcends the purely 'geometrical' and 'geographical' realm (de Certeau 1984, 93), and instead becomes associated with that of the experience and meaning⁴⁷. Via repeated bodily engagements with the urban fabric, 'by covering and recovering the same paths and routes' (Leach 2005, 299, drawing from de Certeau 1984), walkers are presented with an opportunity to feel the place and learn the world of the immediate through various senses, whether sight, touch, smell or sound, creating a

⁴⁶ According to Caftanzoglou (2001), there is a shift away from the purely scientific and mechanical view of identity formation towards a hybrid theory combining the constructivist and primordialist insights, as discussed in Chapter 1.

⁴⁷ While both Norberg-Schulz (1979) and Heidegger (1971) refer to experience and meaning, they treat these as universal. Meaning and experience, in de Certeau's theory of territorialisation, are discussed from the subjective, individual perspective.

mind map of sorts by imprinting these sensations onto their bodies and onto their psyche (Glusac 2012, 21; Glusac 2006, 168).⁴⁸

Faced with a challenge of navigating their way through a place, pedestrians move around buildings, cross streets and avoid obstacles. In this process, they generate invisible webs of 'intertwin[ing] paths' and innumerable experiences, they 'weave places together' (de Certeau 1984, 97), transforming the inorganic matter of buildings and streets into lived spaces, inscribed with personal memories and meaning. Through walking, individuals enter into a dialogue with the environment they occupy, simultaneously projecting themselves onto places while absorbing the essence and qualities of that same environment, which as noted earlier, is the very process essential to the construction of self-identity (Glusac 2012, 22).

This active interaction and bodily engagement with a place stimulates the production of mental images loaded with meanings and values drawn from individuals' own understandings of that particular urban context. These self-informed meanings can be said to influence peoples' selection of paths and routes and with it, the very habit of using these spatial elements (Glusac 2012, 22; Glusac 2006, 168). Gail Lewis, in her memoir titled 'From Deepest Kilburn', offers a very good example of this. In this short story, Lewis compares the London neighbourhoods in which she grew up as a young black girl in the 1950s to a 'patchwork of no-go and go areas' (Lewis 1985, 219; also cited in Back 2005, 19). In her efforts to evade potential danger incited by racism Gail, according to Back (2005, 19), 'learned to draw a coded map of the area in order to both make sense of it and to move through its hospitable and inhospitable places'. This example, together with de Certeau's theory of spatial narrative, reaffirms territorialisation as a vital component responsible for developing a deeper understanding and the level of familiarity that further informs meanings and habits in relation to place.

The same can be said of much smaller, more humble places such as homes. In an interview conducted with American artist John Outterbridge, Richard Cándida Smith (2002) observes how Outterbridge, while drawing from the personalised mind map of his old home, recollects and in a way reconnects with one of his childhood

⁴⁸ The process of bodily engagement starts very early. A baby, for example, takes its first steps and learns to walk around a house, developing an understanding of different textures, surfaces and spatial distances.

experiences as well as the place in which he spent many of his days as a young boy. Cándida Smith writes:

John, in recalling his childhood in North Carolina, accompanied his vivid recollections of his mother making soap with a flurry of alternately subdued and expressive mime movements. As he spoke, his fingers paced out the dimensions of the kitchen and porch where she worked, carefully locating the stove, the counters where she placed her vats, and the storage area where she put the long, freshly prepared slats of soap to cool before cutting them into bars. For a few seconds, his fingers traced her steps in the old house where they had lived ...

(Cándida Smith 2002, 1)

In experiencing places with all our senses, we are provided with an opportunity to bond with a place and its architecture, to develop connections, emotional attachments, meanings and memories that are relevant to the development of a sense of belonging and self-identity. It can be said that the importance of experiencing place through the body is therefore one of the central ideas of de Certeau's philosophy, which argues that 'the opacity of the body in movement, gesticulating, walking, taking its pleasure, is what indefinitely organizes a *here* in relation to an *abroad*, a "familiarity" in relation to a "foreignness"' (de Certeau 1984, 130). This hypothesis gains further importance when viewed in relation to de-territorialisation⁴⁹ and those minority groups, such as migrants who, due to a variety of reasons, have become subjected to the process of physical detachment from their places of origin and resettlement in foreign and alien environments.

The detachment from the familiar and known, and resettlement in foreign and alien contexts, can cause individuals to experience culture shock, the feeling of being lost in a strange environment with a different language, culture, customs and architecture (Glusac 2012, 22). In these instances, when people are faced with the unknown and unfamiliar, they seem to undergo a recognition of the meaning of

⁴⁹ De-territorialisation and re-territorialisation, discussed here from the architectural discipline's perspective, concern the processes of uprooting and leaving one place or territory and subsequent resettlement in another place or territory respectively. As such, they inform the connections that exist between individuals and the built and social environments in which they live and the creation of the sense of identity that is generated in the process. Furthermore, processes of de-territorialisation and re-territorialisation are used to inform how the self-identity is redefined and reinterpreted once individuals are placed within new contexts. First-generation migrants, in particular, are of interest in regard to re-territorialisation practices, since they are directly involved in the process of familiarisation with a new environment. These issues will be analysed and discussed in more depth in chapters 5 and 6.

belonging and of knowing 'their' place, the 'here', as opposed to 'there'. This feeling of being lost in a foreign environment can be experienced even more intensely by migrants, who not only need to come to terms with the difference in the social and built fabric but are also expected to adapt to the new setting almost immediately (Glusac 2012, 22). Nevertheless, the process of territorialisation, coupled with individuals' readiness to engage with the new context, can potentially ease the feeling of alienation and culture shock experienced by many migrants and travellers alike, or as Violich suggests:

This immersion into a place allows us to get outside the pressures of daily life, to enter a realm where we can fully experience human identity with a given place. Both my father and my grandmother maintained their deep sense of rootedness to their particular Dalmatian homes, but they worked to achieve a similar connectedness to California by fully embracing their new settings for family life.

(Violich 1998, 298)

A number of obstacles can adversely affect this process of territorialisation and bodily engagement with the built fabric, particularly cultural sensitivity. Due to strict cultural, religious or traditional values, some migrant groups tend to avoid certain places that might be perceived as culturally insensitive, dangerous, or even hostile. As a result, these places are consciously rejected and made invisible, as demonstrated in the earlier example of Gail Lewis. For some, this can hinder the process of establishing a connection with both the place and its people.

Another interesting point that can limit the extent to which territorialisation is experienced is the mode of journeying through places. In the case of many Australian cities, most of the distances are covered not through walking but by comfortably navigating the streets in a car. This mode of travelling takes the bodily engagement component out of the equation. Instead, city maps become the medium to guide us from point A to point B, maps that de Certeau opposes as they only abstract connection points, and transform spaces into lines with no life and no personal meaning attached to them. The emotional, human component is thus discarded from the process of exploring a city, or as de Certeau (1984, 97) points out: 'The operation of walking, wandering, or "window shopping," that is, the activity of passers-by, is transformed into points that draw a totalizing and reversible line on the map'.

In addition, it can be said that globalisation has had detrimental effects on the way people experience places. Arguably economic, technological, social and 'cultural interconnectedness' worldwide, as identified by Croucher (2004, 24), has contributed to the free flow and interchange of ideas, goods and information, as well as tastes and preferences in architecture and built environments, which are influencing the way places are approached and experienced (McNeill 1999). Cultural and national distinctiveness in relation to architecture are, for example, fading away, concurrently being replaced by built environments of sameness and indistinctiveness, as will be discussed in Chapter 7. Further, following the advent of the internet, it is possible to view places virtually, removing bodily engagement and presence from the overall experience. Globalisation and technological advancement have thus created a different kind of reality, in which places are not experienced but only viewed. With this in mind, the question of whether the virtual viewing of places could ever be sufficient if a connection with these is to be forged needs to be raised. While virtual viewing offers opportunities to see a place, it is often not enough for developing lasting connections with that place. The processes of territorialisation and bodily engagement instead are still necessary if one is to understand any new environment and become familiar with it, as discussed by Jane Rendell (2006) in her book, *Art and Architecture: A Place Between*.

An art critic and architect, Rendell participated in a number of art tours around London, a city with which she is familiar as a place in which she lives and works. Even though, as an architectural theorist and practitioner, her level of familiarity with London would have been extraordinary, the tour guides opened up a new dimension and a way of looking at and experiencing London that she had not seen before. In particular, the tour designed by artist Marysia Lewandowska brought to her 'attention neither historical facts and dates nor famous monuments or sites of architectural interest in the area, but rather the sort of stuff that is all around us but so ordinary that it remains ignored and invisible' (Rendell 2006, 184).

The simple practice of walking is also advocated by Rendell as a way of learning via experience. The following two excerpts from her book testify to the importance she places on walking and bodily engagement with the place, to assist individuals in developing greater understanding and familiarity with the places in which they live. Rendell notes:

All along the river, ancient tributaries are falling apart, removing a special way of experiencing London. I learn so much that day, not just facts about the Thames, but a new way of relating to this city. Walking to the Thames along the Fleet offers a particular sense of 'being in the world', an ecological view that connects me to an environment that is both natural and cultural. Unlike reading a book or watching television, I walk the river as I find out about it. Ley lines, song lines, story lines, some lines only speak as you walk them. The stories I was told that day are intimately connected with the places in which I first heard them.

(Rendell 2006, 183)

And:

Through the act of walking new connections are made and remade, physically and conceptually, over time and through space. Public concerns and private fantasies, past events and future imaginings, are brought into the here and now, into a relationship that is both sequential and simultaneous. Walking is a way of at once discovering and transforming the city; it is an activity that takes place through the heart and mind as much as through the feet.

(Rendell 2006, 190)

In the light of the above discussion, it is clear that place and its architecture play an important role in the development of personal identities. Both phenomenological understanding of the place, and bodily engagement and practices of territorialisation discussed in this section, provide some explanations of the way that lasting connections to a place and memories of it can be forged, contributing to the way people view themselves.⁵⁰ Further explanations of the way humans develop their identity based on the attachment and connection with the place are offered by the theory that is commonly referred to in scholarly discourse as 'place identity'.

Place identity has been defined by Cuba and Hummon (1993, 112) 'as an interpretation of self that uses environmental meaning to symbolize or situate identity'. This is seen to be the outcome of the bounded nature of places said to be 'imbued with personal, social, and cultural meanings' forming 'an integral part of the social world of everyday life' (Cuba and Hummon 1993, 112). As individuals invest

⁵⁰ Architectural and urban elements, textures and details can also act as memory triggers reconnecting individuals with built environments of places visited. The connection between architecture and memory is discussed further in the last section of this chapter.

places in which they live with personal values and meanings, they tend to develop emotional ties and attachments to these places, which are frequently 'experienced as a sense of being "at home"—of being comfortable, familiar, and "really me" here' (Cuba and Hummon 1993, 113, drawing from Relph 1976; Rowles 1983; and Seamon 1979), a place 'where we hang our hat'. Moreover, these strong feelings of familiarity and connectedness that people develop with places are seen as instrumental in structuring 'a significant framework in which identity is constructed, maintained, and transformed' (Cuba and Hummon 1993, 112).

Li, Hodgetts and Ho (2010, 787) observe that place attachment and identification 'can emerge on a range of scales from a house to a neighbourhood, community, town and country', implying that place identity is a far-reaching component of self-identity. This is what gives rise to individuals referring to themselves in the territorially defined terms such as New Yorker, Londoner or Sydneysider, or American, English or Australian. Additionally, it is worth noting that place identity, as mentioned earlier in regard to ancestral places, stories and memories formed around these, relies on the processes of 'projection' and 'introjection', of 'internalisation' and 'externalisation', 'mediated by the characteristics people bring to places and the structure of their experiences with places' (Cuba and Hummon 1993, 114). Place identity is thus a result of people's direct engagement with the built fabric that surrounds them and, as Proshansky, Fabian and Kaminoff (1983, 59, cited in Mazumdar and Mazumdar 2009, 257) observe, it is 'a substructure of the self-identity of the person consisting of broadly conceived cognitions about the physical world in which the individual lives'.

From this analysis and discussion on place, territorialisation and place identity, it can be concluded that architecture and the greater built environment are pivotal in structuring one's outlook, expectations, sense of belonging and ultimately, self-identity. Whether the connection with place is invested with spiritual consent, as some phenomenologists argue, or whether it is the result of a conscious and habitual engagement and dialogue with the built fabric, the place and the architecture of people's homes more closely define and express who they are and who they want to be.

While this section has considered place, the connection that humans forge with it and how this connection affects the development of self-identity, the next section looks more specifically at the habitual activities (for example, moving through the

built environment) and the contribution these have in strengthening and further informing human's connection with architecture and the built fabric. The habitual activities that individuals perform on a daily basis, often without consciously taking note, are discussed in the next section under the term *habitus*.

***Habitus* and self-identity**

The 'socially conditioned systems of dispositions' (Scahill 1993), or *habitus*, 'refers to our overall orientation to or way of being in the world' (Sweetman 2009, 493). Dispositions include, but are not limited to, the way we think, act and move and are expressed in our 'posture, demeanour, outlook, expectations and tastes ... the way we walk, talk, sit and blow our nose' (Sweetman 2009, 493, drawing from Bourdieu 1984, 466; 1977, 93–4; 1990a, 69). The ideas surrounding *habitus* are believed to go back to the ancient Greek philosopher Aristotle (Mauss 1973). However, the contemporary notion of *habitus* emerged in the writings of Marcel Mauss in the 1930s, and in the 1960s, in those of Pierre Bourdieu.

Bourdieu's theory of *habitus*, offering ways of explaining how people view and perceive the world around them, and more importantly, what conditions their views, behaviours and perceptions, has been embraced by many social science disciplines as a tool to analyse and explain various day-to-day activities and ways of life. Its ability to more closely explain who individuals are and how they have come to be what they are have made the theory of *habitus* significant in regard to the construction of self-identity and the way people perceive and experience the built environment and architecture around them. This section briefly outlines what *habitus* is and how it is manifested in certain fields of social construction, and then focuses on the way *habitus* influences the way people experience and perceive architecture and the built environment.

Bourdieu (1990b, 9), who refers to *habitus* as 'feel for the game', argues that dispositions are '*acquired through experience*' via both objective and subjective impulses. *Habitus*, in this sense, is the result of individuals' upbringing within a particular social milieu, with its rules and expectations, ranging from family-imposed value systems to those of school and the wider community or class. These objective conditions, when paired with conditions prevalent in the field of individuals' own choice (e.g. art, music or sport), create their dispositions in a wider field that more closely define their interests, preferences, opinions and their view of the surrounding environment. As with social environment, the urban environment and architecture

shape people's outlooks and expectations of the world. For example, it can be argued that simply by occupying large spaces such as 10- or 15-bedroom mansions, preference for these is developed and in the eyes of the individuals occupying these lofty structures, such spaces may be seen as a norm, forming expectations regarding what living quarters should look and feel like. This, in turn, conditions them to differentiate between which spaces feel normal, offering the feeling of comfort, of 'being at home', and those that feel alien, strange and abnormal, where they feel out of place.

Habitus 'in action' is well illustrated in Bourdieu's (1993b) discussion on art objects and museums, which forms a part of his wider analysis relating to the historical origin of a pure aesthetic. He argues that to engage and comprehend the work of art, or an art object, an individual has to possess a certain level of exposure to the history of art, the *a priori* knowledge that is called upon to decipher the references on which the artwork is drawing. Bourdieu (1993b, 256) maintains that 'the eye of the twentieth-century art lover is a product of history', history of one's extended exposure to learning, be it institutional or self-directed, and the history of exposure to and frequenting places exhibiting art objects, such as museums and galleries.

This exposure to artworks generates certain dispositions in the keen, knowledgeable observer, 'the cultured habitus' that is required to be able to engage with, and appreciate the meaning and the value of, an art object (Bourdieu 1993b, 257).⁵¹ In the process of acquiring these dispositions, one becomes aware of the sense of self that feels comfortable within the surrounds of a museum or an art gallery. At the same time, Bourdieu (1993b, 257) explains, an individual whose schooling did not emphasise an art education, or who was not exposed to the artistic field, would lack in 'the cultured habitus' and as a result would most likely feel out of place in a museum or an art gallery. As Paul Sweetman argues:

situations where there is a lack of fit between habitus and field can bring habitus to the fore, causing one to feel like a fish out of water and rendering conscious what was previously taken for granted. In such situations one becomes aware of oneself – *self conscious* – precisely because one is unsure what to

⁵¹ John Berger (1972, 8) in his book *Ways of Seeing*, argues that 'the way we see things is affected by what we know or what we believe', suggesting that people's outlook on things and world in general is conditioned by the social and cultural milieu in which they have been raised, their education and belief system that together form their *habitus*.

do and how to behave, and no longer has a clear 'feel for the game'.

(Sweetman 2009, 494–495, drawing from Bourdieu 1990b, 11, 108; Bourdieu et al., 1999, 511)

People who lack in 'the cultural *habitus*' would not, in most instances, be tempted to enter an art gallery or a museum, as they would not feel comfortable in these surroundings. This ultimately supports Bourdieu's (1993b, 257) observation that 'museums could bear the inscription: Entry for art lovers only. But there clearly is no need for such a sign, it all goes without saying'.⁵²

The acquisition of certain dispositions is not just limited to the world of art or the artistic field to which Bourdieu refers, but to possibly any single field of social construction, from family, school and religious institutions, to clubs, circle of friends, work, and so on. All of these fields, depending on the value system they are imposing, would influence and to some extent determine, temporarily or permanently, one's preferences and through this, a sense of identity. These are used to define people's sense of what is normal and abnormal. As an individual defines who he or she is, the recognition of the *other*, the one who does not comply with that individual's own *habitus* is created, giving rise to the '*me*' or '*us*' and '*them*' manner of forming identity.

The intergenerational disparities, socio-economic status and cultural and ethnic diversity that result from migration are instances where distinctiveness and awareness of self-identity in relation to *habitus* becomes noticeable. In her book titled *Split Lives: Croatian Australian Stories* (2004) and the paper 'Migrant Communities and Class: Croatians in Western Australia' (2002a), Val Colic-Peisker points out the intergenerational differences between the 1950s and 1960s migrant cohort and the more recent one (late 1980s and 1990s), and the effect of these on employment, social status, way of life, views and expectations.

⁵² The study conducted by Pierre Bourdieu and Alain Darbel in 1969 (cited in Berger 1972, 24) investigated the link between educational level and interest in art. Their findings suggest just 'how closely an interest in art is related to privileged education' (table cited in Berger 1972, 24).

These differences, which exist in almost all communities, are illustrated in the words of a more recent migrant from Croatia, who was interviewed by Colic-Peisker:

I've never been to Croatian clubs, am not sure where they are. I went to a Croatian Catholic church once out of curiosity, St. Lawrence's church in Balcatta, but people I saw there were the kind of people my parents might fit into, and my grandparents definitely would, nice people, but I felt we had very little in common.

(V. B., cited in Colic-Peisker 2002a, 35)

This intergenerational difference was not the only one that Colic-Peisker identified that can be attributed to *habitus*. The differences resulting from *habitus* could be best demonstrated by the way some migrants felt about their looks, which they identified as one of the reasons that they had little success with Australian girls, as suggested by Joe: 'We were foreigners, dressed differently, different hairstyles, different shoes ... we were migrants, New Australians, not desirable' (cited in Colic-Peisker 2004, 62). The author, herself a migrant, offers what is possibly the best example of cross-national and cross-cultural *habitus*. In the last chapter of her aforementioned book, Colic-Peisker (2004, 289) describes, in a humorous way, her experiences in the new social and cultural environment of Perth, and the slight, yet significant nuances she had to learn in her day-to-day dealings with Australians:

during our early time in Perth I made an effort to go to the parties we were invited to in order to learn about Australia and Australians. But instead of learning beyond the obvious—that the parties were big because houses and backyards were spacious, and that Aussies seemed to like superficial small talk—I had to answer the same questions: 'Where do you come from?' 'Why did you migrate?' and 'Is it very different over there?' Before long I learned that giving long, engaged answers, when only perfunctory chatter was expected, was not polite in Angloland, and that emotional intensity, even when it was positive, could be interpreted as a lack of manners. Parties were not meant for serious conversations in the first place. In any case, God only knows how many subtle signals were lost on me, a newcomer from a different world.

Colic-Peisker (2004, 289)

While some may think of dispositions as fixed and unchanging, Bourdieu (2005) argues that these are subject to change in relation to both place and time. He

argues that dispositions are not stable, but are constantly evolving, depending on the social environment in which an individual is placed:

where dispositions encounter conditions (including fields) different from those in which they were constructed and assembled, there is a *dialectical confrontation* between habitus, as structured structure, and objective structures. In this confrontation, habitus operates as a structuring structure able to selectively perceive and to transform the objective structure according to its own structure while, at the same time, being re-structured, transformed in its makeup by the pressure of the objective structure. This means, that in rapidly changing societies, habitus changes constantly, continuously, but within the limits inherent in its originary structure, that is within certain bounds of continuity...

(Bourdieu 2005, 46–47)

As the above examples by Colic-Peisker (2004) demonstrate, all the migrants would have acquired some form of dispositions early in life.⁵³ These are very much tested in the new environment and ultimately moulded and shaped under the pressure to integrate into the prevailing social, cultural and architectural conditions. According to Bourdieu (1990b, 11), the ability of *habitus* to change, to adapt to new conditions, is possible 'since the habitus ... is a product of the incorporation of objective necessity' and because of that, 'it produces strategies which ... turn out to be objectively adjusted to the situation'. The necessity to adjust to the new living conditions would stimulate some migrants to modify certain aspects of their *habitus* to lessen and ease the burden of alienation and discomfort of feeling out of place.

In certain situations, however, dispositions, informed by strong cultural and traditional backgrounds, can be so deeply engrained in some migrants' being that they are perceived as natural,⁵⁴ potentially leading to conflict and the rejection of the new social and built environments, ultimately hindering the process of settling in. Colic-Peisker (2002a) suggests that while some Croatian migrants have accepted Australia and continue to live here with their families, for others the longing for home, for the feeling of being among the known and familiar social, cultural and

⁵³ Saint-Blancat (2008, 98–99) points out that 'immigrants bring with them different cultural norms and values' suggesting that dispositions, acquired in one's homeland, are not left behind in the course of migration but are carried to any new social and physical environment, where they often clash with the dispositions of the receiving society.

⁵⁴ This contradicts Bourdieu's (2005, 45) opinion, which holds that 'the habitus, as the Latin indicates, is something *non natural*'.

architectural environments that support their *habitus*, has never ceased. As one migrant recalls:

No, I never felt at home here ... my first thought every morning is my old courtyard back home in Blato, it's an incurable illness, and it's actually getting worse over time.

(A. M., cited in Colic-Peisker 2002a, 32)

Others had found the challenge of the difference in the social and physical Australian environment too difficult to overcome and had returned home to Croatia.⁵⁵

Bourdieu (1990b, 131) further argues that 'the *habitus* implies a "sense of one's place"' in the society and that all the 'social distances' that eventuate from it 'are written into bodies, or, more exactly, into the relationship to the body, to language and to time' (Bourdieu 1990b, 128). This suggests that it is individuals' *habitus* that more closely defines their actions, gesticulations and expressions, making it possible for '[them] to act, to participate effectively in the various social fields in which [they] play a part' (Sweetman 2009, 493). By implication, the above statement suggests that when people are removed from their familiar social fields and built environments, their *habitus* ceases to support their day-to-day interactions effectively, instead becoming an obstacle that allows their actions, gesticulations and expressions to be misread and misinterpreted.⁵⁶ Socially conditioned practices, such as the manner of greeting and body language,⁵⁷ may cause individuals to feel uncomfortable in the new built and social environment, prompting them to perceive such places as hostile. Consequently, these places, although inviting to individuals from different social, cultural or religious backgrounds in terms of their urban and natural qualities, may be avoided altogether (Glusac 2006, 169), resulting in individuals failing to forge any bonds or connections with that environment.

⁵⁵ Colic-Peisker (2010, 53, 56) observes that since the financial year 2003–2004, the number of Australian Croatians returning permanently to their homeland has for the first time 'exceeded the number of permanent arrivals'.

⁵⁶ John Friedmann (2005, 326), specifically referring to Kabyle migrants living in Germany, observes that the reception these migrants receive from their German hosts is generally not friendly. He cites numerous barriers that exist between these two groups, such as 'physical appearance, religion, language, dress, the smell of their food and even of their bodies'. Saint-Blancat (2008, 98, drawing from Goffman 1971, and Davies 1992) further adds that individuals who are seen to 'disturb the "normality of appearances" by not respecting the habitual codes of everyday social interaction' are perceived to be threatening, invoking fear among the majority, who call for these nonconformists to be expelled 'from the urban scene'.

⁵⁷ Marcel Mauss (1973, 72) argues that 'the positions of the arms and hands while walking form a social idiosyncrasy, they are not simply a product of some purely individual, almost completely psychical arrangements and mechanisms'.

As mentioned previously, Bourdieu (1990b) sees these very determinants of individuals' understanding of their surrounds as the product of the environment in which they live (Glusac 2012, 20). The built environment and its architecture, particularly the homes in which people live or are brought up, have the potential to influence their *habitus*, to shape their dispositions and to condition their minds regarding what homes should feel like or what cities should be.⁵⁸ This raises Heidegger's (1971, 147) assertion that 'building as dwelling ... is from the outset "habitual"' as 'we inhabit it', which intimates that habitual activities, performed on a daily basis, start defining individuals' *habitus*, structuring their perceptions and expectations in the process.⁵⁹ The architecture of people's homes and their cities can, in this regard, be viewed as a museum, as mentioned by Bourdieu, and individuals as knowledgeable art lovers who feel at ease in a museum's surroundings because they know what to expect and how to view and experience it. Thus, it can be said that occupying and moving in and through the familiar architecture forms a part of humans' habits and by extension, of their *habitus*.⁶⁰

Further, in adapting and shaping their surroundings, thus aligning these more with their own needs and wants, people are ultimately shaped by that same environment. This position is reiterated by Jeff Malpas (1999, 5, drawing from Bachelard 1969), who maintains that the place individuals occupy gives form to their mind by influencing the way they think and feel, based on what they see and experience. This psychological connection between humans and the places in which they dwell indicates the importance that place has in fashioning individuals' perceptions, their outlook of the world and their *habitus* (Glusac 2012, 20). In the words of Bender (2001, 4): 'We make time and place, just as we are made by them'. Things as minor as a painting on the wall, a chair placed in the corner of a room, the colour of a brick, or the grain texture of a timber wall and the smell of an old fireplace are all

⁵⁸ In the novel *The Dark Labyrinth*, Lawrence Durrell (1969, cited in Buckland 1977, 178) describes the city of London as seen through the eyes of one of his characters, an old abbot living in Crete. Durrell (1969, 181) writes:

'in his mind's eye he was seeing a picture of London – a town slightly bigger than Megara – in which the citizens spent the day sitting on chairs outside their front doors and gossiping; an occasional shepherd passed with his goat, and sold the milk direct from the udder to the customer, milking it into any receptacle that was handy and receiving his payment at once; occasionally a lord in a top-hat passed in a car.'

⁵⁹ Habit and *habitus*, as used in this research, are not interchangeable, in line with Bourdieu's (2005, 46) assertion that 'habitus is never a mere principle of repetition', clearly delineating the difference between the two.

⁶⁰ Different social classes have different experiences and expectations of home. Hence, members belonging to the same ethnic and national group but of a different social class and cultural and educational background will develop different expectations regarding what a home should look and feel like. For example, someone from the upper middle class, who has been raised in a bourgeois apartment, would generally feel out of place in a single-room worker's home.

transcribed and incorporated, directly or indirectly, into people's expectations regarding architecture and urban form. These elements all inform and mould individuals' identities, leaving an imprint on their memories, and their *habitus*. In linking individuals' *habitus* and memories with the place, a potential connection with and attachment to that place is created, which can assist in developing the sense of belonging and ultimately, identity (Glusac 2012, 20).

Habitus also plays a decisive role in territorialisation and the way people engage with any given place. De Certeau's theory of trajectories or 'ways of operating', as seen by Michalski (2002, 103), are 'tactics people use in everyday life to negotiate the interlocking systems of the city'. These tactics are the product of individuals' *habitus* and their way of being, and help them to define, and to some extent discriminate between, desirable and less desirable sections of the city; for example, between places associated with work, recreation, and those considered public and private. Michalski (2002, 103) argues that 'the city is written through this interaction in a kind of daily social poiesis' and that 'we perform roles, interpret events, and participate in the interplay which writes the city large'.

Further, it can be argued that personal identity is influenced by the connection that exists between *habitus*, place, and memories of that place. This connection, when considered in relation to migrant communities living in a new built setting, can be seen as a reason why different migrant groups experience places differently. The variances in the urban fabric can cause an initial feeling of disorientation, due to the new environment not corresponding to the environment in migrants' minds. Landscape, architecture and scale, for example, are all components of a particular place that individuals acquire early on, and these components condition their perceptions and expectations, while at the same time providing a stage for the formation of their memories and experiences. Place can thus be seen as '*integral to the very structure and possibility of experience*' (Malpas 1999, 32); removing these points of reference in relation to architecture and urban settings, 'the life of the mind,' as Malpas (1999, 5; see also Glusac 2012, 21) calls it, is temporarily interrupted, since it can no longer draw on the familiar or known. Spatially defined habits, such as moving in and through houses and cities, where individuals know with ease where to go, what buildings are used for and what they look like, cease to operate effectively in a new urban context. Instead, one is expected to learn everything anew (Schutz 1967, referred to in Peters 2001, xi) and to familiarise

oneself with a new built fabric and its architecture, to build new habits and *habitus*. Ballantyne suggests:

Moving house involves vague but persistent feelings of things not being quite right, which are quite different from knowing that one is visiting a strange place and will return home tomorrow. It involves finding a new set of habits, and therefore becoming a slightly different person. The building is only part of the story. It is caught up in a variety of activities, both physical and mental, that influence how we feel about that particular place. Architecture involves this cultural aspect of buildings, which can range from something very personal and idiosyncratic to something that everyone seems to agree upon. We are shaped by the culture that we grew up in, and by the culture in which we participate, whether we think about it or not – and most of the time we don't think about it at all. In fact we are least aware of this at home. It is when we travel that we see that other people do things differently, and this can be disconcerting.

Ballantyne (2002, 19)

To overcome the feeling of alienation in a new social and physical environment, many migrants tend to bond with members of the same community, where the difference in language, culture and *habitus* is markedly reduced.⁶¹ Croatian migrants from Blato on the island of Korcula, who largely came to Perth in the 1960s, offer a good example of the close knit diasporic community that sprang out of this need to be among the known and familiar, to perpetuate the old habits and customs. It is believed that about one-third to a half of all people who migrated to Perth from Blato live in Spearwood (Jela, cited in Colic-Peisker 2004, 156). Jela, another Croatian migrant interviewed by Colic-Peisker explains:

in two streets around me there are about thirty families from Blato. We should really say that a 'New Blato' has been created in Spearwood. We have streets with Croatian names or named after Croatians, and there is a Blato Crescent. ... At the Dalmatinac Club in Spearwood, the people are mainly from Blato too. ... They have a 'Blato night' every year, a big celebration of local customs, and they always make video-tapes of their 'dos'; I've got them all. For the last Blato night

⁶¹ John Friedmann (2005, 324) observes in reference to Kabyle migrants living in Germany, that they stick together because they are 'glad to find people like themselves, similarly disoriented, to whom they could pout their pain, recall familiar scenes from the old country, and who would help each other cope with their new life'.

they enacted real grape-picking in the club's main hall—on the dance floor—and brought out the old olive press. They also made a replica of a building in Blato inside the club ... quite amazing. In that respect, they truly represent the old spirit of our native village.

(Colic-Peisker 2004, 156–157)

This ethnically inspired bonding may have serious repercussions for some migrants, as they may fail to establish themselves in a new physical context and develop a new set of habits and a sense of identity and belonging with that place and its urban setting. For these migrants, integration might imply detachment from their past and from their origins, which equates more or less to an act of betrayal of their ancestors. To preserve their identity, a number of migrants are therefore hesitant to openly embrace and adopt *new* conditions and ways of life. Instead, they mainly tend to interact socially with members of their own community, where language barriers and cultural and social differences springing out of *habitus* do not exist (Colic-Peisker 2006, 215; 2002b, 159–160).⁶² In this regard, architectural spaces, such as community centres and religious and ethnically based educational institutions, provide many migrants with the opportunity to maintain the traditional value system and order that is synonymous with that of their homeland (Glusac 2006, 169–170).

Remaining loyal to one's origins and maintaining aspects of one's culture and tradition can contribute to the formation of perceived ghettos, in which sections of cities and suburbs become inhabited almost exclusively by members of one community, ultimately giving an impression of social and racial segregation (Glusac 2006, 170).⁶³ '[T]he adoption of a ghetto mentality', according to Salman Rushdie (1991, 19), is 'the largest and most dangerous pitfall', suggesting that if we are 'to forget that there is a world beyond the community to which we belong, to confine ourselves within narrowly defined cultural frontiers, would be ... to go voluntarily into

⁶² Barth (1969, 15, cited in Jeffery 1976, 85) observes that 'the identification of another person as a fellow member of an ethnic group implies a sharing of criteria for evaluation and judgement. It thus entails the assumption that the two are fundamentally "playing the same game" ... On the other hand, a dichotomization of others as strangers, as members of another ethnic group, implies a recognition of limitations on shared understandings, differences in criteria for judgement of value and performance, and a restriction of interaction to sectors of assumed common understanding and mutual interest'.

⁶³ Friedmann (2005, 325) argues that Kabyle, Turkish and Moroccan migrants in Germany initially settle within the so-called *affinity environments* that, 'by virtue of migrants' proximity to each other, offer material and cultural support and eases the psychological pain of coping with the strains of surviving in a city where none of the familiar cultural cues are present'. He further maintains that these affinity environments may eventually 'turn into a foreign ghetto', due to German residents moving out into 'nicer' and 'safer' neighbourhoods with markedly fewer migrants concentrations (Friedmann 2005, 327).

that form of internal exile which in South Africa is called the “homeland”. Implicit in Rushdie’s statement is the criticism of the insular, monocultural view and approach to a world that is seen to encourage intolerance and conflict. This intolerance arises from the fear of the unknown, of *otherness*, which thrives on individuals’ reluctance to understand and appreciate different cultures and people. Unfortunately, our history abounds with examples of the deadly consequences to which this fear could possibly lead (Glusac 2006, 170).

As this discussion indicates, people’s *habitus*, as a product of the social, cultural and physical environment in which they live and operate, is a decisive component of the development of their sense of identity and belonging. According to Bourdieu (2005), *habitus* is acquired early in life and is constantly changing and evolving, structuring individuals’ dispositions and more closely informing their outlook of the world and the way they think and behave. It enables people to act and play their part effectively within the fields in which they live and operate (Sweetman 2009, 493), thus more closely informing and supporting the connection between their identity and the place they inhabit. However, as this section has demonstrated, *habitus* can also play a part in hindering individuals’ social interaction and engagement with a built environment that is seen as alien and outside their expectations, ultimately contributing to and exacerbating their feelings of loss and non-belonging.

Some of the issues that deal with loss and alienation experienced in a new built environment as a result of migration are outlined in Part II of this thesis. However, before these issues are discussed in greater depth, the third component that is considered important in structuring one’s sense of identity in relation to place, architecture and the greater built environment needs to be addressed. This component is memory; more specifically, memory linked to place and its architecture.

Memory and the self-identity

We preserve memories of each epoch in our lives, and these are continually reproduced; through them, as by a continual relationship, a sense of our identity is perpetuated.

(Maurice Halbwachs 1992, 47)

Memories, in very broad terms, can be seen as mental reflections of some past occurrences. Although they might seem accurate at first sight, memories are not unchanging (Busteed 2007; Agnew 2005; Marot 2003; King 2000; Halbwachs 1992). Whenever they are recalled, they are modified by the new context into which they are brought. This context, according to a number of researchers (Corcoran 2000; Lowenthal 1985; Nora 1996; Robertson and Hall 2007; Slater and Peillon 2000), is closely linked to what is happening currently. David Lowenthal (1985, 210, cited in Robertson and Hall 2007, 19), for example, maintains that 'the prime function of memory ... is not to preserve the past but to adapt it so as to enrich and manipulate the present', while Linda Grant (1998, 294–295, cited in King 2000, 175) suggests that 'memory ... is a fabrication, a new reconstruction of the original'. Both Lowenthal and Grant effectively reiterate the fleeting nature of memories, portraying them as untrue and inaccurate representations of people's experiences, where elements are added or subtracted, slightly altering their past experiences according to the beliefs, thoughts and feelings they have at the time of recollection (Glusac 2012, 20).⁶⁴

Memories, and their construction, recollection and reconstruction, have been the subject of interest and exploration of many philosophers, reaching back as far as Aristotle and Plato, and later by sociologists and psychologists such as Maurice Halbwachs, Pierre Nora, George Armitage Miller and Richard C. Atkinson. The recent research by psychologists and scientists into the complex physical and chemical processes that occur in the human brain in the course of memory formation and recollection exceeds the scope of this thesis. However, it is worth briefly considering modes such as memory frameworks, involuntary memory and mnemonics, and the way they relate to the built environment and its architecture. This section provides a brief overview of these modes of memory and the role they play in structuring and informing the self-identity in relation to architecture and the urban fabric.

According to French sociologist Maurice Halbwachs (1994, cited in Marot 2003), the formation of memory requires holding onto external classification systems. These classification systems or frameworks, such as 'systems of logic, of meaning, of

⁶⁴ Slater and Peillon (2000, 3–4) argue that 'remembering the past – and deciding on what to remember as well as how to remember it – constitutes a way of sustaining the present, of fixing contemporary points of reference, of defining oneself', while Thomas (1996, cited in Bender 2001, 4) suggests that 'memory is not the true record of past events but a kind of text which is worked upon in the creation of meaning'.

chronology, of topography' (Halbwachs 1994, 325, cited in Marot 2003, 30), essentially act as filing systems of past events, helping recall these when required. For example, if a conversation between friends is something a person is trying to recall, systems of chronology and meaning would be called upon, and the cause-and-effect strategy or the location in which the experience took place. However, Halbwachs argues that these frameworks are memories themselves, more "stable and dominant" ... stable because they have served as a fixed point of organization over a long term ... dominant because other memories will be linked to them as to a centre of organization, according to their logic and their worldview' (Halbwachs 1994, 329, cited in Marot 2003, 30).

Cities and places, in this regard, form the spatial frameworks of memory construction in which individual and collective experiences are staged. Experiences are tied to built and natural environments, and memories of these experiences are also tied to these (Glusac 2012, 21). For this reason, memories of particular events, when recalled, seem to appear within the given spatial contexts in which the events in question transpired. This place-bound nature of experiences and memories underlines the importance of bodily engagement with the built fabric, and of the aforementioned processes of territorialisation as activities contributing to the construction of the memory of place and by extension, the spatial memory frameworks. The previously outlined example of John Outterbridge's recollection of his mother's movement through the old family kitchen further alludes to this importance and to that of architectural configurations hosting an experience linked to memory.

In addition, Anne-Catrin Schultz (2000, 47) suggests that 'human memory draws references to places and pulls images from the past', thus reiterating the place-bound nature of memories and memory frameworks. This statement, when applied to migrants, helps explain the reason for migrants experiencing an initial sensation of being lost and alien in the new built environment. Migrants, when faced with the new social and physical environment, do not find much grounding in memories in terms of who they are, what they know and what they can draw on. The architecture of houses and the built environment seems foreign to them, with unusual layouts and construction materials. In these circumstances, the memories of the place of birth and youth that many migrants carry with them are activated as memory frameworks, calling images and experiences of 'old home' to mind, helping them recall how things were, how places were designed and the feelings they evoked. It

is these very same memory frameworks of place that a number of migrants, in their attempt to overcome the gap between present and past, between here and there, draw from when altering and adapting their new living surroundings to make them resemble their old homes.

As well as memory frameworks, which are described by Halbwachs (1992) as conscious, stable memories, there are also involuntary memories, which are seen as neither stable nor dominant. Because they are not stable, involuntary memories often rely on objects, words or senses (e.g. smell) to be brought into consciousness. Souvenirs from journeys to foreign and exotic places, together with holiday photographs and the fragrant scents of flowers and fruit that are etched into individuals' minds, can trigger their recollection of particular places and experiences that flash in front of their eyes when simply sighting these objects and sensing their scents (Mace, Clevinger and Bernas 2013).⁶⁵ Nadia Lovell (1998, 16) suggests that 'objects very much serve as mediating elements in the recreation of (the memory of) place, and act as surrogates for a memory—time—space which can never be fully recovered, yet which is also precisely recreated through the use and display of the objects themselves'.

A good example of the importance of objects in perpetuating or recalling memories linked to a place can be found in Anna Bohlin's (1998, 177) paper titled 'The Politics of Locality: Memories of District Six in Cape Town', in which she observes that objects, 'while stimulating individuals to reflect on their personal perceptions of the past' also 'simultaneously allow for the comparison and mirroring of personal memories with those of a larger group'. District Six, once a very vibrant section of Cape Town populated mainly by artists and artisans, was bulldozed to make way for an upmarket residential development that was never carried out. Small, tangible remains such as street signs, Bohlin (1998) explains, were gathered and kept by the District's former residents as the most treasured belongings. Now exhibited in the District Six Museum, these objects serve to reconnect visitors, mainly former occupants, with memories of past experiences and places. In Bohlin's words:

Each sign, displaying the name of a street in the former district, serves to establish a mnemonic and metonymic link connecting the present in the exhibition and the past in the district. A name like 'Hanover

⁶⁵ Mace, Clevinger and Bernas (2013, 324) argue that involuntary memories 'may be triggered by a variety of different experiences or cues (e.g., a thought, percept, sensory experience, activity, etc. ...)'.

Street' evokes associations to the entire row of houses, homes, shops, meeting points, traffic and pedestrians that constituted that particular street as a social environment. In its entirety, the mobile of street signs captures and signifies the memory of the whole area, with its conglomerate of streets and buildings.

(Bohlin 1998, 175)

Even though some memories seemingly reside in material objects, the power of these objects to trigger memories is not absolute and cannot be fully relied upon. Lovell (1998, 16), for example, argues that 'the meaning(s) ascribed to and inscribed onto objects are contestable, and rely again on memories of collective identification which are often codified in the present for political purposes'. This suggests that depending on certain political, cultural or social agendas, new meanings are assigned to objects and new stories surrounding these are created to fit the situation for which they are intended, in the process moving the original significance or the initial memory of those objects further and further from their original connotations. This assertion suggests that, similar to memory frameworks, involuntary memories are also subjected to manipulation by the current context, continuously assuming new meanings and interpretation.

This malleability of the meaning that is assigned to objects is particularly worth mentioning with regard to migrants and migration. Objects, according to Mazumdar and Mazumdar (2009, 262, drawing from Mehta and Belk 1991, 408), 'are "tangible manifestations" of an immigrant's desire to hold on to identity'. Through objects, people tend to personalise spaces, to project aspects of themselves, of their own identity, onto the new built environment (Ureta 2007; Cooper Marcus 1995). In doing this, living spaces are created that individuals are familiar with and that act as reference points to their past, but that equally serve to express and reiterate their sense of identity from the present perspective. By surrounding themselves with objects from their 'old home', people continue to have elements from their past reminding them of their identity, but this identity is not the same one they had prior to migration; it is ever evolving and so is the meaning that is assigned to these objects. Objects that in the context of the 'old home' reminded one of travel or childhood experiences, may serve in the context of the 'new home' as tokens of the life before migration, as nostalgic reminders of what was left behind.⁶⁶

⁶⁶ The importance of objects in providing migrants and re-territorialised persons with a feeling of 'being at home' is discussed in more length in Chapter 5 of this thesis.

The final mode of memory considered in this section is mnemonics, or the art of memory, a discipline of rhetoric that was recognised and respected in ancient Greece and Rome. Following the Aristotelian thesis that ‘the soul never thinks without a mental picture’ (cited in Yates 1966, 32), ancient statesmen and performers reached for mnemonics, the ‘technique of impressing “places” and “images” on memory’, to memorise texts or speeches (Marot 2003, 10).⁶⁷ Memorised texts and speeches would be then recalled to the consciousness of the speakers as soon as they set their body in motion, either physically or mentally, through the selected space.⁶⁸

While the analysis of mnemonics as practiced by the ancient statesmen and performers is outside the scope of this thesis, this technique of imprinting images and places on memory can, nevertheless, be extrapolated to explain how aspects of individuals’ interaction with the built fabric that surrounds them may become ingrained in their memories. Taking homes and cities people inhabit as an example, it can be argued that these act as the mnemonic stages upon which the everyday evolves (Marot 2003, 18). On the walls and streets defining these places, images from individuals’ past experiences are mentally imprinted, absorbed and etched in their memory. In line with the theory of mnemonics, by simply walking through and around these spatial configurations, memories of experiences that occurred there may be called to mind. This process of imprinting images and places on memory, although in most instances subconsciously executed, becomes more apparent once the remembered urban elements defining these places are modified. Modifications, such as the house of an old childhood friend being demolished to make way for a new development, signal the demise of and disruption to architectural place markers and with it, the possibility of memory recollection linked to these elements. Correspondingly, migrating to a new and alien environment can be seen as a further example of this disruption (Glusac 2012, 21). The recreation of the ‘old home’ architecture in a new built environment reconstructs the familiar mnemonic stage

⁶⁷ Cicero, in his famous work *De Oratore* (cited in Yates 1966), draws from Simonides of Ceos, who offers a vivid explanation of mnemonic processes. Simonides ‘inferred that persons desiring to train this faculty (of memory) must select places and form mental images of the things they wish to remember and store those images in the places, so that the order of the places will preserve the order of the things, and the images of the things will denote the things themselves, and we shall employ the places and images respectively as a wax writing-tablet and the letters written on it’ (Cicero II, lxxxvi, 351–354; cited in Yates 1966, 2).

⁶⁸ Cándida Smith (2002, 2, drawing from Yates 1992, 17) suggests that it was Simonides of Ceos who ‘advised that memory training might best start by an adept imagining himself inside a building. Visualizing movement through this space provided a sequence to recollection. Each of the rooms should arise clearly in the mind’s eye, decorated in a manner appropriate to the subject under recall. The texts themselves were to be marked by striking icons, the contemplation of which stimulated the hidden words to flood into the speaker’s body’.

that emits a feeling of security and familiarity while also allowing the feeling of 'being at home', and with it, allows the sense of personal identity in the new environment to be perpetuated.

Further, the new built environment, with its architecture and sequence of spaces, can be seen as a blank mnemonic stage waiting for new images, events, experiences and memories to form as a result of territorialisation and the individual's bodily engagement with the new built fabric taking place. Tilley (1994, 59, cited in Caftanzoglou 2001, 31), suggests that 'events are anchored and given significance in terms of particular locales' and that 'particular locales are of essential importance in "fixing" events and acting as mnemonics, thus creating a sense of social identity and establishing linkages between past and present'. Impressing images of experiences, places and architecture on memory is different, however, from the conviction shared by some postmodern urbanists and architects that architectural places, built environments and landscapes stand for memories, somehow locking and preserving these for posterity.⁶⁹ The assumption that buildings and places are keepers or guardians of memories is highly questionable, not least because memories, in the first instance, are subjective, saying different things to different people. To consider buildings and architecture as keepers of memories is to overly simplify, generalise and ignore the very nature of memories as intangible, malleable, ever-changing recollections that are as varied as the number of individuals. As Adrian Forty (1999) suggests:

There was no shortage of warnings against this assumption in the literature and philosophy of the twentieth century ... and we might add a book widely read by architects, the French philosopher Gaston Bachelard's *The Poetics of Space*, in which he argued that while memory might be described in terms of buildings, he warned that memory did not lend itself to physical description, let alone construction.

(Forty 1999, 15–16, drawing from Bachelard 1969, 13)

From the discussion presented thus far, it can be inferred that the self-identity is a product of numerous experiences and exposures to places, architecture, people and events that have left an imprint on individuals' memories. This sense of identity is,

⁶⁹ Adrian Forty (1999, 15) observes that some postmodern architects, such as Aldo Rossi, tried to create 'a consciousness of collective memory' through architecture, mistakenly assuming 'that the objects created would come to stand for memory'.

according to Julian Thomas (1996, cited in Bender 2001, 4), 'continually crafted and recrafted out of memory, rather than being fixed by the "real" course of past events'. Memories, while not accurate depictions of past experiences, places and events, are nevertheless crucial in fashioning individuals' identities and the views they have of themselves, because it is through memories that their attachment to places, built environment and architecture is perpetuated and recreated, even if they no longer live in that place. Further, places, built environments and architecture, as demonstrated earlier, are the arenas in which experiences and events are carried out. As such, they assist memory production and recollection as spatial memory frameworks and as mnemonic stages onto which individual images, experiences and meanings are projected and impressed, strengthening identity and the connection people develop to places.

The intention behind this chapter, and Part I as a whole, has been to demonstrate that self-identity is a complex, multidimensional phenomenon, a product of humans' continuous engagement and exposure to social and built environments they inhabit—their homes on a small scale, and their cities and countries on a larger scale. This continuous engagement and interaction with the social and built fabric that surrounds them enables individuals to project aspects of their identity onto the built environment, to 'externalise what is internal', to use Bourdieu's words, and to internalise what is external by impressing images of experiences, stories of places and architecture onto their memory, onto their being. Central to these processes of internalisation and externalisation is the creation and perpetuation of the feeling of security and safety that individuals feel when they can relate to and identify with the built environment in which they live. The feeling of 'being at home', of being in a familiar and known environment in which they can orientate themselves, and can know how things are and what to expect, caters for this feeling of security and safety. The research suggests that this feeling is experienced more strongly when people are willing to engage with the environment through the processes of territorialisation.

Moreover, 'the socially conditioned systems of dispositions' (Scahill 1993), or *habitus*, has a bearing on the way places are experienced and the territorialisation processes are performed. These simple yet significant aspects more closely define individuals' sense of identity, which they project onto the social and physical environments they occupy, determining their selection of paths and routes and their overall openness to embracing the place and what it has to offer. In the process of

territorialisation and bodily engagement, memories of experiences and built surroundings are formed, forging lasting connections with place and its architecture, ultimately assisting the creation and recreation of personal identity.

However, as this discussion has indicated, the connection to the place in which people are born and raised is not stable and can easily be disrupted by activities such as moving house or migration. In these instances, individuals more clearly recognise the importance that place, built environment and architecture have on their identity. Part II of this thesis explores just how strong the ties to place can be and how their loss is experienced and overcome. More specifically, while Part I demonstrated how the connection between individuals and their homes and places of birth is developed and maintained, and how architecture and the built environment affect the construction of self-identity and belonging, Part II explores the fragility of this connection. Part II outlines a brief overview of migration and the challenges it imposes, focusing on specific examples in which architecture has been seen as completely foreign and non-responsive to widely accepted ideals and notions of what built environments and the homes within them should look and feel like.

PART II

De-territorialisation: Challenging the general parameters through migration

Goodbye dear house, old grandfather house. Winter will pass, spring will come again, and then you won't be here any more, you'll be pulled down. How much these walls have seen!

(Anton Chekhov, 1951, cited in Read 1996, vi)⁷⁰

This short passage from Anton Chekhov's play, *The Cherry Orchard*, succinctly portrays the emotions produced by a loss of a grandfather's house, of the place that was once used as a playground staging many experiences and events. The demise of the familiar architecture generates a sense of absence and a feeling that something is missing (Glusac 2012, 17). This feeling of loss is often paralleled and even surpassed by the loss experienced from migration. Though often considered necessary and mostly beneficial, according to Manning (2005, 2) 'the very core of human behavior', migration has a tendency to leave in its wake feelings of emptiness, disembodiment and uncertainty. In the course of migration, it is not just walls and cold and lifeless stones and bricks that are abandoned. Family and friends, social and cultural environments, traditions and customs, language and old habits are also left behind (Glusac 2012, 17), causing a number of psychological and emotional difficulties along the way (Peters 2010, 2001; Kovacs and Cropley 1975).

Within the disciplines of social, political and economic sciences, among others, there has been extensive research on the loss of the social and cultural networks associated with migration (Brettell and Hollifield 2008). These disciplines investigate questions such as who the newcomers are, how they adapt to new conditions, the costs related to their integration, and where their national and communal loyalties lie. However, an overview of the disciplines involved in migration research (sociology, anthropology, psychology, history, demography, geography, economy and politics) clearly indicates that spatial transition resulting from migration and

⁷⁰ The discussion around this short excerpt from Chekhov's play *The Cherry Orchard* expressing the feeling of loss associated with the demise of a grandfather's house was first developed in my paper "How Much These Walls Have Seen": The Role Of Architecture, Place And Memory In Re-constructing The Sense Of Self-Identity In A New Built Environment' published in 2012. Where these sections appear they have been appropriately referenced to the paper.

considered from the architectural perspective of spatial occupation, inhabitation and engagement is often not questioned or at best, is left underexplored. Further, as Douglas Massey et al. (1994, 700–701, cited in Brettell and Hollifield 2008, 2) point out, ‘social scientists do not approach the study of immigration from a shared paradigm, but from a variety of competing theoretical viewpoints fragmented across disciplines, regions, and ideologies’, thus additionally impeding the overall understanding of the relationship between migration and the built environment.

One might be excused for thinking that migration-related issues have no role to play within architectural discourse and practice.⁷¹ After all, matters such as the way people view each other, and the way self-identity and belonging is constructed and reconstructed, are generally considered within the more socially oriented disciplines. However, the discipline of architecture can also be considered socially oriented, as this field of study, involved in the production of places and spaces, renders social interaction and occupation possible. Chekhov’s words allude to precisely this role of architecture as another player in the construction of people’s identity. In fact, his words specifically refer to the way place, architecture and the built environment are all responsible for the image that individuals have of themselves. This helps us see that the walls are not just cold and lifeless assemblages of bricks or stone, but are containers that define more intimately who individuals are and to what part of the world they belong (Glusac 2012, 18).

When this observation of the close connections between architecture and built environment and identity is considered from the perspective of a migrant, the fragility of these links comes into view. It becomes easy to see how the destabilisation of this connection can be achieved. The house does not necessarily need to be demolished; it is often enough for people simply to move from one place, or from one country, to another, for it to be lost to them. Then, although it is no longer an integral part of them, the connections remain engrained in them, in their daily movements and habits, in the sensation that something close to them is missing.⁷²

⁷¹ Most of the research to date that focuses on the questions of migration and re-territorialisation has been conducted within the fields and disciplines of social science, law and economics. While some disciplines such as anthropology and geography consider architecture and the built environment in terms of migrants’ settlement patterns, grouping, distribution or networking, they fall short of acknowledging architecture and the built environment as important contributors in the construction of self-identity.

⁷² Similar notions of loss and absence resulting from the destruction of the built form are also explored in the work of artist Rachel Whiteread. The highly controversial projects titled ‘House’ (built in London’s East End in 1993) and ‘Nameless Library’ (also known as ‘Judenplatz Holocaust Memorial’, built in Vienna, Austria in 2000) are works that materialise the immaterial. ‘House’ captures the space that was

Building on the issues of the identity construction in relation to place, architecture and the built environment discussed in Part I, Part II examines the fragile side of this connection. By exploring how much walls may have seen, chapters 3 and 4 demonstrate that the connections outlined in Part I are not stable, that they are often shattered under certain pressures such as migration. Examples that indicate how the continuation in people's connection with place is interrupted,⁷³ affecting their sense of identity, are analysed, as are examples in which the architecture of new places and countries is rejected for being foreign and non-responsive to the preconceived notions of what built environments and the homes within them should look and feel like.

To assist an understanding of how migration affects individuals' connection to place and the role that architecture and the built environment play in this, Chapter 3 offers a brief overview concerning the history, theory, types and modes of migration. Some issues pertaining to migration are outlined as a basis for a greater appreciation of the effects migration has on individuals and ultimately the architecture and the built environment that are produced, altered and occupied by migrants. As this thesis is a critical investigation of ethnic, cultural and self-identity representation through architecture, with the focus on first-generation migrants, it is equally essential to examine migrants' reasons for migration, motivations and settlement patterns, and the difficulties and obstacles faced by migrants in their new country.

The issues outlined above are further analysed in Chapter 4 through a number of examples of individuals and entire communities who have been displaced, either voluntarily or forcefully. These examples investigate experiences and problems springing from the uprooting of individuals and communities from the built environments in which they once lived and to which they felt connected. The ways in

once occupied by everyday people and 'Nameless Library' the void that was left behind after the forceful deportation, and mass extermination of members of the Viennese Jewish community (Walker 2011; Burn 2005; Searle 2000; Vidler 2000).

⁷³ Qumran, an ancient Judaic settlement, is an example that demonstrates the possible effects of discontinuity in the connection to place. When first discovered in the early 1950s by Roland de Vaux, the site of Qumran was initially linked to the Dead Sea Scrolls, found only a few years earlier in close proximity to the settlement. This close proximity between the settlement and the Scrolls led de Vaux to conclude that the site was an ancient scriptorium used by the Essene community (Hirschfeld 1998). Subsequent research and archaeological findings have since overturned this interpretation, with some scholars suggesting instead that the settlement was possibly a Roman villa, commercial hub or even a hostel (Hirschfeld 1998). Archaeologist Yizhar Hirschfeld (1998, 162) argues that none of the speculation surrounding the site takes the site's architecture into consideration and thus often draws conclusions that are not fully substantiated. The true nature of the settlement, however, may never be known for certain. The few artefacts and architectural imprints that remain can be interpreted and reinterpreted in many ways, thus suggesting that the passage of time and migration away from the settlement can break the continuity between the place and its use that once might have existed.

which the architecture and built environments of host countries are perceived and judged by migrants, based on the experiences and expectations they acquired in their country of origin, are discussed, as well as the existing discrepancies and differences and the manner in which they are played out and overcome.

These issues are addressed with reference to a number of authors (e.g. Bade and Manning, Kovacs and Cropley, and Peters and Richards), researchers whose common interest in migration, and the lasting effects it has on those subjected to it, has helped shed some light on this often-difficult experience. Their views and observations are underpinned by Bourdieu's notion of *habitus*. In this section, the notion of *habitus* is used to identify and analyse the differing expectations and attitudes that some migrants have towards the built environment and architecture of their new countries.

History and theory of migration: Brief overview

The effect of mass migrations has been the creation of radically new types of human being: people who root themselves in ideas rather than places, in memories as much as in material things; people who have been obliged to define themselves—because they are so defined by others—by their otherness; people in whose deepest selves strange fusions occur, unprecedented unions between what they were and where they find themselves.

Rushdie (1991, 124–125)

In very broad and general terms, migration suggests movement from one place to another. Although often looked upon with some reservation, scepticism and negative sentiments (Richards 2008; Moran 2005; Bade 2003), according to Ruble, Hanley and Garland (2008, 4, drawing from Lucassen and Lucassen 1997), migration is ‘simply part and parcel of human existence’. Moreover, migration is as old as humans themselves (Bunbury 2006, 143; Manning 2005; Bade 2003; Peters 2001). Many archaeological and anthropological studies indicate that early humans moved from place to place, following the seasonal changes, in search of food and shelter. These seasonal migrations, which can still be found among some nomadic peoples, were mostly carried out in groups, thus presupposing the formation of communities within which we now believe early humans lived. Today’s migration does not differ greatly from that of our forefathers. Although these days the very act of migrating is arguably⁷⁴ executed much more easily with the help of planes, ships or cars, the purpose of migration has remained mainly the same—the search for a better life somewhere else. Bade (2003, 101) observes that ‘the motivation to emigrate as reflected in popular contemporary reading ranged from ideas about greater personal freedom and opportunities, to better chances on the marriage market, to the idea that everything in the New World was somehow “bigger and better”’. While the reality a large number of migrants face in the New World fails to

⁷⁴ It can be argued that migration is far more difficult today than it was several decades or centuries ago. While the mode of transport might have improved the speed and ease of travel to the intended destination, increasing governmental restrictions and laws are making migration for certain groups of people more difficult. The White Australia policy, erection of physical barriers such as the wall currently under construction in Israel, or patrolling of Australian waters with the aim of intercepting ‘illegal immigrants’ arriving on boats, are some examples that support this claim.

live up to the exuberant promises of a better life, the ethos expressed through the catchphrase 'to chase the American Dream'⁷⁵ still seems to be too strong for many to ignore.

One could be excused for thinking that the decision to migrate is easily made and that there is a large demand for both emigration and immigration. However, according to Boyle, Halfacree and Robinson (1998, 155), there is 'a logical fallacy' with this assumption since it 'ignores the very powerful forces that tie people to their home regions: inertia, the desire to be amongst likeminded people, the pull of family and social networks, and the comfort of familiar surroundings and practices'. A discussion on the familiar surroundings and sense of belonging to a particular community forms the basis of this chapter. More specifically, Chapter 3 provides a brief analysis of the issues pertaining to community and migration, including types and reasons for migration, settlement strategies, challenges and the benefits that migration brings with it.

First, an overview of the defining characteristics of communities is provided, because it can assist with understanding the difficulties that migrants face in the New World. Moreover, an understanding of the defining characteristics of communities can be used to explain certain settlement patterns common to some migrant groups, such as maintaining close ties and living adjacent to one another. This enables an investigation of the effect that community ties have on migrants' identity, both in sociocultural terms and in relation to the built environment, as it is the family and wider community who are responsible for perpetuating a sense of belonging and of self and group identity by passing stories and recounting memories of the home country and place.

Community: Defining aspects and migration

There are many different defining characteristics of communities. Manning (2005, 3) cites language as one of the most important aspects contributing to community formation. He considers language to be as definable characteristic of early communities as spatial proximity, since it 'enabled each community to develop and pass on an extensive set of customs – the many patterns of family, economic, and ceremonial life' (Manning 2005, 4). In the 1970s, language was also one of the most

⁷⁵ The phrase 'American Dream' refers to the supposed equal opportunity that anyone who chooses to live in America is entitled to, or as James Truslow Adams (1933, 317) in *The Epic of America* writes, 'life should be better and richer and fuller for every man, with opportunity for each according to his ability or achievement'.

decisive factors that influenced Yugoslav settlers to return to their home country, due to parents wanting 'their children to learn their languages and cultures' fearing that 'without this, the children will lose their identity and their sense of pride for their origin' (Noussair 1977, 20).

Yugoslavs were not the only ethnic group who insisted on passing on the mother tongue to their children. The threat of losing one's identity via the loss of language and culture is common to almost any minority ethnic group⁷⁶ living in Australia, including the English. The English, who have long been seen as possessing the 'same' language and culture as that of Australians (Bunbury 2006), also experience the threat of losing their identity as a result of migrating to Australia. As with other ethnic groups, they strive to maintain their identity by passing language and culture onto their offspring. Vera Hobby, a young English migrant to Australia, observes:

We were told that we were English and spoke with a plum in our mouth. ... So we decided we'd be Aussies and we would speak Australian. So at school we spoke Australian. Then when we came home, my father, who was very strict, he would say, 'I'll teach you to speak English.' And we would have to speak English at home and Australian at school.

(Cited in Bunbury 2006, 124–125)

Today, spatial proximity is perhaps as important as language because of the larger number of people belonging to one community living close to each other. According to Buckland (1977, 175), this can be attributed to the fact that 'people usually feel more at ease in the company of those who share the same language, customs, values and attitudes to life as themselves', further adding, 'when they are under stress, as most migrants are on their arrival in a strange country, they are more likely than ever to seek the security of a familiar group'. This tendency to group together can only be described as a coping mechanism, since it reinforces the life that once was by maintaining the sense of the former home between some migrants (Colic-Peisker 2006, 2002b; Friedmann 2005, 325).

⁷⁶ While various migrant groups cling onto their language in the privacy of their own homes, passing it on to their children, Peters (2000, 57–58) maintains that many Dutch migrants failed to pass on the Dutch language to their offspring, since they thought that continuing to speak in their mother tongue would hinder them from integrating and assimilating into Australian society.

Examples of this can be found in a number of major cities across the world, from New York to London, Los Angeles to Toronto, where large concentrations of people belonging to one community contributed to the creation of quarters and districts such as Little Italy and China Town. These ethnic quarters generally incorporate the architectural language associated with the area of origin, thus pointing towards the importance architecture has in preserving and promoting ethnic and national identity. Further, this also alludes to the notion that built environments are not expressive of one national identity only but can be compared to a collage of disparate architectural styles and languages associated with different cultures and ethnic groups, effectively undermining the prevalent conception that individuals somehow live in culturally uniform societies. This criticism can, by extension, be applied to a large portion of the architectural profession in Australia, for example, that only seems to see value in architectural projects that are closely aligned with the contemporary and Modernist style of architecture (see Chapter 7).

While the importance of spatial proximity for migrants is undeniable, it can, however, be argued that the modern technological developments have again made language stand out as one of the most definable characteristic of communities. In any given multicultural society, it is common for members of diverse ethnic groups to live next door to each other. Difference in language between these groups proves to be a major impediment in establishing sound communication channels, even though spatially they are very close. At the same time, advancements in telecommunications have made it possible to maintain community links across great distances. For example, telephone and internet links have enabled relatives and friends to maintain contact with each other in spite of the considerable spatial distance that separates them (Brettell and Hollifield 2008; Ruble, Hanley and Garland 2008, 3).

As well as language, traditions and customs are other characteristics that help to define a community. If the initial and often persisting difficulties that migrants face in a new country and in a new social environment are examined, the inability to converse in the language of the host nation, and differing sets of customs to those observed at home, are often identified as the main obstacles in the process of settling in. Ruble, Hanley and Garland (2008, 5, drawing from Portes 1995, 257) argue that 'it is on city streets that migrants discover their own similarities in opposition to the world around them'. A daily exposure and interaction carried out on the streets of new cities or towns helps form their sense of 'self' in relation to the

sense of the 'other', in line with Pierre Bourdieu's notion of *habitus* (2005; 1993b; 1990b).

More concretely, in his work titled *In Other Words: Essays Towards a Reflexive Sociology*, Bourdieu (1990b, 77) explored how, and more importantly why, *habitus* is considered 'an objective basis for regular modes of behaviour, and thus for the regularity of modes of practice'. In his opinion, the 'codification' of certain practices and behaviours allows those with the same *habitus*, and in a broader sense the same customs, to interact with each other even without language. Bourdieu writes:

Codification minimizes ambiguity and vagueness, in particular in interactions. It is particularly indispensable and just as efficient in situations in which the risks of collision, conflict and accident, hazard and chance (...), are particularly important. The encounter between two very distant groups is the encounter between two independent causal series. Between people of the same group, equipped with the same habitus, and thus spontaneously orchestrated, everything goes without saying, even conflicts; they can be understood without people having to spell things out, and so on. But when different systems of dispositions are involved, there appears the possibility of an accident, a collision or a conflict ...

(Bourdieu 1990b, 80)

This suggests that little idiosyncrasies in greetings that are characteristic to certain migrant groups, which are different from the ones that their hosts consider the acceptable way of showing respect or acknowledging someone's presence, can be observed. Different clothing and ways of interacting with each other, different architecture and front and backyard gardens that belong to and are occupied by different ethnic groups, all testify to *habitus* and the effect it has on self-identity. For example, front and backyards of many ethnic groups and communities that came from the Mediterranean Basin, such as Italians, Greeks and Croatians, usually feature fruit and vegetable plants, a stark difference to the white picket fences, green lawns and rosebeds that many earlier⁷⁷ Australian properties featured. This, as explained in Chapter 5, largely stems from migrants' exposure to different built

⁷⁷ The changing environmental conditions, with extended periods of drought, have resulted in many homes across Australia opting for smaller lawn areas to reduce water consumption. Additionally, increased zoning densities in many new and established suburbs have resulted in smaller blocks and areas designated for open space. Consequently, green lawns are now not as common within Australian properties.

environments and the occupational habits practised in the old country, which are applied in the new context to ease the feeling of loss and disconnection resulting from migration.



Figure 3. A frontyard featuring edible fruit and vegetables (Glusac 2009).



Figure 4. Appropriating the council verge by planting fruit and vegetables (Glusac 2009).

During an informal discussion with a Bangladeshi girl in 2008, another example of how different customs and *habitus* affect the way individuals experience architecture was highlighted. Although this example might be seen as trivial, as it concerns the prescribed ablutionary routines practised by Muslims, it is important because it calls for particular design features, such as hoses, to be fitted within toilets. In many Muslims countries such as Malaysia or Bangladesh, it is customary for hygienic reasons to wash oneself after toilet use. Many toilet pans in these countries are still designed for squatting and have hose fittings installed on the wall to make this practice possible. In Australia, as in the majority of Western countries where this practice is not observed, toilets do not necessarily have these features⁷⁸ and some Muslims find it very difficult to become accustomed to them.

Inconvenience stemming from the discrepancies between one's customs and architecture that is not reflective of it, as in the above example, can also be observed in relation to design of any other object. Marcel Mauss offers another

⁷⁸ The use of a bidet is common in a number of European countries, although it is not very common in England.

example of the impeding nature of *habitus* when it comes to the use of everyday objects that are designed slightly differently in various countries; for example, the marginal design difference between continental European and British spades affects the handling technique. This difference was noted during the World War I, when English soldiers were asked to dig trenches on the Western Front with continental spades that they found almost impossible to use. As Mauss (1973, 71) recalls: 'The English troops I was with did not know how to use French spades, which forced us to change 8,000 spades a division when we relieved a French division, and vice versa'.

Following on from the above, Manning (2005, 4) concludes that 'for humans today, as for our earliest forbears, migration brings the task of *learning new languages and customs*'. Moreover, he believes that 'this learning is the most specific characteristic of human migration, and it is one of the principal sources of change and development in human ways of life', contributing to 'the creation of new identities' at both group and individual levels (Manning 2005, 4, 154). Although often overlooked, the built environment and architecture also play an important role in the course of re-territorialisation and recreation of self-identity, since it is the physical surroundings of the new countries to which migrants need to become accustomed.

From this discussion, the importance of language, spatial proximity and customs (as expressed through *habitus*) in defining communities can be inferred. Further, it is these characteristics that need to be learned and relearned because of migration, defining and redefining individuals' sense of identity in the process. Equally, new built environments and their architecture require an adjustment that produces new habits and *habitus*, which consequently affect people's identity (Ballantyne 2002, 19). To allow a better appreciation of the issues concerning re-territorialisation, the types of and reasons for migration are discussed next.

Types of and reasons for migration

There are as many reasons for migration as there are migrants, with each individual having specific motives for emigrating. These reasons can be reduced to a small number of general categories. Bade (2003, x) differentiates between 'emigration, immigration and internal migrations' on the grounds of geographical movement. These can further be broken down, depending on 'economic and socio-occupational considerations', into 'employment migrations as subsistence migration or betterment migration, and career migrations' (Bade 2003, x). 'Survival migrations' form another

category of migration and can be motivated by a number of issues, from environmental and economic factors to refugees escaping persecution on 'religious, ideological, political, ethnonationalist or racism-related grounds' (Bade 2003, x). '[E]cological and demographic reasons', driven by shortages of basic human needs such as food and water, and 'marriage alliances, slavery, indentured labour, and religious or secular wars' (Peters 2001, xi) have also been identified.

History clearly shows the catastrophic effects that wars can have. For example, because of the two world wars in the twentieth century there were mass movements in the form of expulsions of entire communities, forced resettlements, and mass migration to America, Australia and other receiving countries, shaping and redefining communities and even societies⁷⁹ in the process. In addition, 'local and circular', 'temporary ... and permanent' migration can also be observed, as can 'gender-specific differences in emigration behaviour and coping strategies' (Bade 2003, x–xi), which although important to acknowledge, exceed the scope of this thesis.

Manning (2005) is more categorical in his analysis and interpretation of human migration. In his opinion, there are four categories of migration: home-community migration, colonisation, whole-community migration and cross-community migration. Colonisation and cross-community migration are worth investigating here in more depth as they constitute the backbone of this study. More precisely, colonisation and cross-community migration are explored through two specific examples.⁸⁰ The first example examines Australia as the receiving country and the context of this study, and its colonial past and settlement under the British. The second example is that of Korculani cross-community migration and their settlement in Perth, Western Australia.

According to Manning (2005, 5), '*Colonization* is the departure of individuals from one community to establish a new community that replicates the home community'. He stipulates that it is common for the colonisers to 'settle in an environment very

⁷⁹ The 'insistence' of women and young 'Muslim schoolgirls in France in the late 1980s on wearing *foulards* (Islamic headscarves)' (Boyle, Halfacree, and Robinson 1998, 227) led the French government to introduce new laws banning females from covering their faces in public. The passing of this highly controversial law indicates the increasing pressure upon societies to respond to the challenges imposed by migration.

⁸⁰ Australian colonial settlement and Korculani cross-community migration are two main examples that are explored throughout this thesis. Many other examples of both colonisation and cross-community migration are further considered and discussed, informing and underpinning the overall discussion.

similar to that of their home community, and thereby maintain the same style of life ... without having to learn new languages and customs'. Obviously, Australia did not offer similar environmental conditions to those found in England. The existing conditions, including the language, customs and pristine physical environment of the Indigenous peoples occupying the continent, were largely ignored. It was the hosts, the Indigenous, who, to assimilate into the newly founded English society in Australia, were forced to learn the English language and customs. Further, the land that the Indigenous peoples generally consider sacred was taken away from them and was cleared to make way for a 'new' kind of environment, built from bricks and mortar, and was foreign and insensitive to their beliefs. While some might believe that colonisation is exceptionally beneficial as it 'civilises' the natives and brings progress to their midst, the methods employed to achieve those goals, as has been pointed out by many authors, were highly questionable (Cavanagh 2012; Haebich 2011; Anderson 2007; Haebich 2001).

In contrast, Korculani represent the cross-community migration that 'consists of selected individuals and groups leaving one community and moving to join another community' (Manning 2005, 6). It can be argued that this type of migration is very common and occurs for many reasons, from social and economic to cultural and political (Bade 2003). Manning further argues:

The first reason for individuals to migrate is the hope that their personal situation will improve. This may mean escaping an unhappy situation brought by social oppression or economic deprivation, or it may mean the possibility of achieving a higher status after completing a voyage, either at home or abroad. A second reason for migrating is that individuals can hope to bring benefit to their family: the migrants may be going to retrieve needed resources, learn new skills, or bring back help. ... A third reason for migration is Samaritan ... A fourth reason for migrating, for some people at least, is the pleasure of voyaging and the pleasure of learning new places, new people, and new ideas.

Manning (2005, 7–8)

The migration of Korculani to Australia, particularly to Perth and surroundings, was mainly driven by economic factors that were of considerable benefit to the home community and to themselves. Unlike the English, who imposed their own language and customs onto native peoples, Korculani, as with other ethnic minorities who

migrated to Australia, were expected to learn the English language and to adapt to predominantly English customs and way of life, to integrate into the social and cultural fabric of their receiving society.

Urbanisation is another type of migration that is also worth mentioning in this regard. According to Manning (2005, 157) mass movements of workers and refugees to cities made urbanisation 'the third major type of migration of the twentieth century'. When considered within the context of the built environment, this type of migration can be considered to have had the greatest effect on the development of cities and their architecture. The previously mentioned city quarters such as Little Italy and China Town are the product of the mass concentration of migrants and refugees in urban centres such as New York, London, and even Perth to a lesser degree. Some of these examples are discussed in more depth in chapters 5 and 6, which outline and analyse the settlement patterns and the role that architecture and the built environment play in creating and recreating new sense of identity among migrants.

As can be seen from this discussion, there are many types of, and reasons for, migration, from individually driven ones, such as employment, marriage and career migration, to those instigated by elements and factors beyond one's choosing, such as ecological and environmental catastrophes, wars, and political, ideological and religious persecution. Irrespective of the reason behind migration, it is clear that the decision to migrate is never easy (Boyle, Halfacree and Robinson 1998) and the experience is often very challenging and difficult (Peters 2010, 2001; Kovacs and Cropley 1975). The next section discusses some of these challenges, which are analysed through the settlement strategies widely practised in receiving societies, particularly Australia. The benefits that stem from migration are also discussed.

Settlement strategies, challenges and benefits of migration

Settlement strategies,⁸¹ and the challenges and benefits of migration are well researched and documented. Even though most of the research points out that migration is not an easy experience, perhaps more than ever before (Ruble, Hanley and Garland 2008, 3), people are still moving from one part of the world to another in search of a better life, in search of a better future, adventure or thrill. The 'promise', or rather, hope and belief that migration will bring the desired change in one's life, is often not reflected in reality. As previously mentioned, most migrants

⁸¹ The words 'settlement strategy', 'settlement techniques' and 'settlement policies' are used interchangeably throughout this thesis, as they denote modes of migrants' settlement and reception.

encounter difficulties stemming from differences in language and customs, as well as the climate, landscape, architecture and built environment. One aspect that they sometimes do not consciously take into account is the cold reception by the receiving community and country. To understand what difficulties migrants face upon arriving to a new environment, this section investigates the external and internal pressures affecting the settling-in process, from settlement strategies such as assimilation and social integration to cultural pluralism and multiculturalism. These settlement strategies are examined with regard to the effects they have on migrants' sense of identity and their response to the urban fabric and architecture.

The analysis and discussion of some of these issues begins by outlining certain challenges that a number of non-Anglo-Celtic migrants have faced prior to, and upon, their arrival in Australia. It starts with a brief overview of Australia's immigration policies since the proclamation of Federation in 1901, and the effect they had on Australians' perception of migration and migrants in general. This overview provides an appreciation of how unwelcome some migrants must have felt in their new country, while also enabling an understanding of some of the reasons behind the hosts' sentiments and rejection of migrants, and the cold and hostile reception they showed to newcomers prior to the implementation of multicultural policies in early 1970s. Understanding some of the issues that migrants faced upon arriving in Australia between 1901 and 1973⁸² allows a better understanding of the migrants' behaviour during the settling-in process, such as maintaining close ties with kin and friends, and living close to members of one's community.

Australian Federation and the White Australia policy

Historically, Australia had for a greater part of its existence maintained an homogenous Anglo-Celtic social make-up, actively encouraging migration from the British Isles and some North European countries, and discouraging any migrants from other nation states (Richards 2008; Bunbury 2006; Moran 2005; Bade 2003; Peters 1999, 2001; Skrbiš 1999; Boyle, Halfacree and Robinson 1998; Zubrzycki 1977; Kovacs and Cropley 1975). Boyle, Halfacree and Robinson (1998, 159) argue that the Immigration Act of 1901, together with the White Australia policy, 'sought to realise Australia's economic potential without sacrificing the racial purity of its population'. Richards (2008, 12) considers Australia's remoteness and strict

⁸² The year of Australian Federation, 1901, also signalled the beginning of the White Australia Policy and of discriminatory acts passed to minimise migration of non-Anglo-Celtic migrants. The White Australia Policy was abolished in 1973, enabling a greater intake of migrants and the emergence of multiculturalism in Australia.

immigration control to be the main contributing factors that 'had made the Australian colonies more homogeneously British than anywhere else in the British diaspora'. Ultimately, both distance and very hostile and limiting immigration policies helped to actively prevent the development of a lively multicultural society in Australia prior to the mid-1970s (Kovacs and Cropley 1975).

Indeed, as early as 1905, Australia's need for immigration was obvious and pressing, yet according to Richards (2008, 40), Australia 'stuck to the assumption that its supply would come exclusively from the good yeoman stock of Britain'. An article published in the *Trustees and Investors' Review* attests to this objective, stating:

If we wish to hold Australia for white races, it must [be] peopled by white races. [The colonies] would be at once feeding places of the Motherland ... and self-supporting Imperial garrisons, themselves unconquerable. [Nothing could arrest] the indefinite and magnificent expansion of the English [sic] Empire.

(Cited in Richards 2008, 40)

Various schemes during the 1920s, such as the Empire Settlement Act of 1922, were designed to achieve this goal (Boyle, Halfacree and Robinson 1998, 159). With the promise of the assisted passage, many British citizens were attracted to the idea of starting their life anew in the promising British dominion that was Australia. Nevertheless, the number of Britons who did migrate was not sufficient. As a result, the doors to Australia became open (albeit unwillingly) to a greater intake of migrants from other parts of Europe, mainly Italy and Malta, and from 1925, also to those coming from Greece, Yugoslavia and other Eastern and Southern European countries (Richards 2008, 106).⁸³ These 'new' migrants tested the tolerance limits of many Australians, who objected to their settlement on the grounds of persisting stereotypes, which branded them as 'politically uneducated' (Phillips and Wood 1928, 38, cited in Kovacs and Cropley 1975, 69), 'socially incompatible' and 'quite unsuited' (Bailey, cited in Eggleston and Phillips 1933, 78, 79–80, cited in Kovacs and Cropley 1975, 69).

⁸³ Greater intake of migrants from these countries occurred after World War II, when many individuals left their destroyed homes and countries in search of a better life and economic gains in Australia, the US, Canada, New Zealand and other countries that encouraged immigration.

The underlying reasons for such a hostile reception can be attributed to the fear of the unknown that was exploited in the rhetoric of the time, and might be considered to continue to this day.⁸⁴ Boyle, Halfacree and Robinson (1998) note that Hawkins (1989) identified a number of factors that contributed to this intolerant and biased attitude that many Australians showed to the non-British and non-Nordic immigrants. Among these factors was the lack of contact with and 'ignorance of other cultures' (Boyle, Halfacree and Robinson 1998, 160, drawing from Hawkins 1989), which led many Australians to see the newcomers as threatening and thus by implication, not welcome. Some also believed that migration presented challenges to their way of life, social and cultural values, the employment market, and so on. Richards (2008, 107), observes that Southern Europeans, in particular, Italian immigrants 'seemed to threaten the racial identity of Australia'. One of the strongest anti-immigration arguments was the threat to the job security of Australians, or as Ben Chifley (Australian Labor Party leader during the Bruce Government) expressed in 1928: '[Australia had] allowed so many Dagoes and Aliens into Australia that to-day they are all over the country taking work which rightly belonged to Australians' (cited in Richards 2008, 108).

After World War II, Arthur Calwell, Australia's first Minister for Immigration, called for greater migrant intake, not only of Britons but also of other white Europeans. This was partly due to the fear of Asian invasion (Richards 2008; Bunbury 2006; Boyle, Halfacree and Robinson 1998, drawing from Hawkins 1989), partly to the increasing need for workers (Peters 1999, 70), and partly because of Australian economists' forecasts that predicted a steady population decline after 1957 (Boyle, Halfacree and Robinson 1998, 163). With the catchphrase 'Populate or perish', Calwell played on the emotions of fear that were prevalent among Australians, to ensure the approval of his proposal for greater immigration, as can be seen in the following two excerpts:

If we are to remain a white race, we can do nothing else but maintain the White Australia policy. If we cannot get a population of 20 million or 30 million people in this country within a generation or so by means of immigration and an increase of the birthrate the day of the white man in Australia will be finished.

(Calwell, cited in Richards 2008, 177)

⁸⁴ Liberal Leader Tony Abbott promised 'We will keep the boats out' during both the August 2010 and September 2013 Federal Election campaigns (Campbell 2013). This promise expresses his party's rejection of a certain group of migrants, of refugees and asylum seekers who enter Australia without official entry visa, echoing the 'We will decide who enters this country' rhetoric of the Howard era.

And:

It would be far better for us to have in Australia 20 million or 30 million people of 100% white extraction than to continue the narrow policy of having a population of 7 million people who are 98% British.

(Calwell, cited in Richards 2008, 177)

Although the above excerpts suggest that the door to Australia was equally open to any white Europeans, the reality was somewhat different. Many researchers, including Richards (2008), Peters (2001; 1999) and Boyle, Halfacree and Robinson (1998), suggest that the preference for British migrants was undeniable. There are numerous examples where non-British and non-Nordic migrants were discriminated against. Still largely in the grip of the White Australia policy and belief that Australia is the 'magnificent expansion of the English [sic] Empire' (cited in Richards 2008, 40), Britons were more easily accepted into the fabric of Australian society, with their qualifications and prior work experience readily recognised in Australia (Peters 2001, 19; 1999, 71). In contrast, South and East European migrants were deemed a threat to Australians' job security and were only offered jobs in 'undermanned industries' (Peters 1999, 74), or jobs that were well below their qualifications,⁸⁵ jobs that ordinary Australians and British did not want (Richards 2008; Bunbury 2006; Kovacs and Cropley 1975). Peters observes:

Under the system, selection officers had little reason to consider the DPs⁸⁶ pre-migration occupational skills, education, work experience or identity. As a result doctors had to work as orderlies, engineers as mechanics, nurses as nurse's aides, accountants as domestics, lawyers as railway gangers and surveyor's assistants or as wood choppers for pumping stations and on the Woodline.

(Peters 1999, 74, drawing from Hunter 1976)

While job security was cited as one of the most prominent arguments against the immigration of 'Dagoes' and 'Aliens',⁸⁷ the formation of ethnic enclaves and ghettos was suggested as another reason for not openly embracing these migrants. This point is particularly worth mentioning, as it deals with the built environment and the

⁸⁵ Ruth Johnson (1979, 48) argues that migrants with high professional qualifications experienced a greater degree of hostility from their Australian co-workers and employers than did other less-qualified workers.

⁸⁶ Displaced Persons.

⁸⁷ Derogatory names often used to denote Southern and Eastern Europeans.

strategies of remaining in close physical proximity to their compatriots that were employed by some migrants upon their arrival to Australia. In renting or buying homes in the same neighbourhoods or suburbs as other members of their community, migrants were seen to be contributing to ghetto formation, which in most instances, was not approved of by the receiving community. The threat of ghettoisation was the subject of the vehement speech delivered by Geoffrey Blainey in 1984,⁸⁸ where 'he claimed that Asian immigrants were creating congestion, depressing house prices and even endangering public health in the suburbs' (cited in Richards 2008, 284–285).

Interestingly, while some researchers such as Jupp et al. (1990, cited in Moran 2005, 90) maintain that there is no evidence of 'ghettoes' being formed in Australia,⁸⁹ the fear of this occurring is still very much alive today, as it was 30 or 40 years ago. This can be seen in a number of interviews conducted by Moran (2005), in which the threat of ethnic enclaves and ghettoisation is seen to be present, causing the perception that multiculturalism is not working, deeming it a failure and a hazard to Australia's unity and integrity. This is exemplified in the words of Arthur, a middle-aged Anglo-Celtic Australian, who states:

I think it would be an enormous mistake for Australia to have multiculturalism as something which meant that you had Greek communities and Italian communities and Japanese communities all living in those sort of, well, we won't say ghettoes because they probably have plenty of money, but in their own little community ways where they have their own languages and their own customs and all that.

(Cited in Moran 2005, 90)

and Kel, a shearer, interviewed in 2003:

As far as multiculturalism's concerned, it worries me where whole suburbs in cities can become ... like a new Vietnam or a new Cambodia or a new Thailand or whatever. That worries me because that's only going to breed racism. They should be mixing.

(Cited in Moran 2005, 91)

⁸⁸ A decade after Australian society identified itself as multicultural.

⁸⁹ This contradicts Kovacs and Cropley (1975, 32) who argue that 'the formation of ethnic neighbourhoods tends to occur'. Colic-Peisker (2006, 215–216; 2002b, 159) also suggests that many Croatian migrants who arrived in Australia during the 1950s and 1960s live in an 'ethnic bubble'.

The issue of assimilation, the widely accepted policy during the White Australia era, was another impediment that non-British migrants faced on their arrival in Australia. According to Kovacs and Cropley (1975, Preface), by the end of the World War II, Australians already possessed a compelling awareness of their own national identity, which was inscribed in a clear set of values designed to define what it means to be an Australian. This strong sense of 'Australianness', when coupled with a lack of regard for other cultures, made assimilation become the sole policy of migrants' integration within Australian society. Peters (2001; 2000; 1999) observes that individuals who migrated to Australia in the 1950s and 1960s were expected to give up their language and culture and to adapt fully to the Australian way of life. This observation echoes hundreds of personal stories, from that of Andrew Riemer, author and first-generation Hungarian migrant, who wrote about the pressures and difficulties his parents faced upon their arrival in Australia in 1947 (Richards 2008, 208), to those of the Korculani who were interviewed in 2009 for this research.

The inability of many migrants to quickly learn and converse in the English language and to conform to the significantly different way of life to the one they had practised in their home countries resulted 'in mass hostility against the nonconformer' (Kovacs and Cropley 1975, 73, drawing from McGregor, cited in Davis 1973, 34). This and similar attitudes of Australians towards new migrants are described by many researchers. Richards (2008) and Harris (1962, cited in Kovacs and Cropley 1975) both comment on the level of dislike that Australians showed to the newcomers. For example, Harris (1962, 56, cited in Kovacs and Cropley 1975, 73) argued that many Australians equated migrants talking in their mother tongue in public as 'jabbering in their own language'.

The policy of assimilation, defined by Manning (2005, 165) as one of the strategies of creating unified nations, where minority groups are expected to renounce their traditions and instead adopt those of the receiving or dominant society, was maintained in Australia well into the 1960s. Read (1996, 41, drawing from Isaacs 1976, 6–7) notes that sociologists in the 1960s began to observe a form of cultural pluralism emerging, in which individuals from minority groups, such as migrants, started to mix more easily with the members of the dominant culture in some areas while maintaining their distance in others. The loosening of the assimilationist policies and attitudes in Australia led to a greater acceptance (even if only

superficial)⁹⁰ of the 'other', of minority groups and migrants with their perceived differences and values.

As the above example of the White Australia policy demonstrates, 'new' migrants who did not belong to 'the good yeoman stock of Britain' (Richards 2008, 40) were faced with many problems and obstacles that affected their process of settling in. These difficulties, as indicated earlier, varied from widespread prejudice, which branded many newcomers as 'socially incompatible' and 'unsuited', to accusations of stealing jobs from Australians and threatening the overall racial unity of this country. The overwhelming dislike and hostility that was shown towards them did little for their overall sense of identity. Already faced with the significant issue of no longer being in familiar surroundings, of uprooting and physically distancing themselves from the family and friends, from life as they knew it, the pressure of not feeling welcomed and desired further intensified their woes. The next section examines the wider array of settlement strategies known to researchers, and the way they affect migrants' sense of identity.

Settlement strategies and the challenges they impose

One of the most pressing difficulties for migrants, as mentioned previously, is the pressure to assimilate, to give up one's language, tradition and customs, to fully integrate and amalgamate with the host society. Assimilation was perhaps the most common form of integrating minority ethnic groups within the dominant culture. According to Manning (2005, 165), in some countries like the US and Russia, assimilation was a widely accepted national policy that became known in these two countries as 'Americanization' and 'Russification'. Even though it was a widely accepted policy, Patricia Jeffery (1976, 83, drawing from Gordon 1964) suggests that the implied complete integration within the dominant culture is not possible. Drawing from Milton Gordon (1964), she further notes that assimilation possesses 'two major dimensions ... the structural and the cultural',⁹¹ whereby cultural

⁹⁰ In 1977 Jerzy Zubrzycki, the prominent Australian sociologist, argued that many Australians would like to see an end to the development of greater ethnic diversity in their society (Zubrzycki 1977, 134). Schmitter Heisler (2008b, 90, drawing from Morawska 1994, and Brubaker 2001) indicates that a number of scholars called for assimilation rehabilitation during the mid-1990s. Brettell and Hollifield (2008, 18) note similar calls made by Alba and Nee (2003). In 2006, the Migration Policy Institute in Washington identified 'the turn away in many countries from strategies of multiculturalism toward assimilationism' as the 'number one development of the year' (Ruble, Hanley and Garland 2008, 1). Moreover, the ever-increasing number of cars in Australia carrying stickers inscribed with 'Love it or leave' indicates a growing intolerance of even the slightest form of criticism directed against Australian values or way of life.

⁹¹ Jeffery (1976, 82–83, drawing from Gordon 1964) argues that 'cultural assimilation entails the adoption of the values and behaviour of the "host society"'. Structural assimilation, in contrast, occurs

assimilation is achievable, but structural assimilation is not (Jeffery 1976, 82–83). Therefore, it can be argued that complete assimilation, at least of first- generation migrants, and to some extent second-generation migrants, is not possible. Many migrants and minority groups, even if they accept and adopt the language and values of the receiving society, still prefer to associate with and marry members of their own community and retain aspects of their old culture, passing them on to their offspring several generations after their migration and resettlement (Jeffery 1976).

The implications of the politics of assimilation for the migrants' sense of identity are undeniable. As indicated in Chapter 1, individuals' identity is the product of various different aspects, from their culture to their traditions, customs, language and stories, as well as the architecture and the built environment in which they are born and raised. Migrating to a new country or even a region brings a change in one's state of being. Migrants are no longer exposed to and surrounded with the familiar. Family and friends are left behind and so are the well-known ways of life. Instead, one finds difference in language and customs and often, a vastly different physical environment. In *The Phenomenology of the Social World*, Alfred Schutz (1967, cited in Peters 2001, xi), a displaced person himself, wrote of his experience of migration and the challenges it imposed on his identity:

you have to relearn simple tasks you first learned as a child. You make mistakes in everyday actions you previously did automatically. You experience yourself as inept, lacking the communicative skills you once took for granted.

(Cited in Peters 2001, xi)

This all indicates a state of alienation, which in clinical psychology has been defined as 'estrang[ement] from oneself' (Fromm 1955, 110, cited in Kovacs and Cropley 1975, 15) or from the network of family and friends, the community to which one once belonged (Nisbet 1966, cited in Kovacs and Cropley 1975, 17). In this state, one is incapable of interacting with one's surrounds in the usual way. The new codification system to which Bourdieu (1990b) refers is vastly different to the one learned in the old country. Under these circumstances, 'the possibility of an accident, a collision or a conflict' (Bourdieu 1990b, 80) is very high. Moreover, the feeling of being 'a stranger to oneself' (Kovacs and Cropley 1975, 15, drawing from

when the 'primary group relationships (i.e. kinship or intimate friendship links) with members of the host society' are developed.

Weiss 1961b) often signals a loss of self-identity that can, according to Wenkart (1961, 227, cited in Kovacs and Cropley 1975, 15–16), result in the significant loss of one's sense of 'dignity, importance, [and] meaningfulness'.

Alienation, as the above research suggests, carries the risk of psychologically damaging migrants, since the external pressure to comply adds to the stress and hardship of those who are already vulnerable and who have left the comfort of the familiar and known. This stress can have counterproductive effects on their integration within the receiving society. Boyle, Halfacree and Robinson (1998, 192), drawing from Scudder and Colson's (1982) research on refugees' resettlement, note that refugees tend to develop 'an outlook of extreme conservatism, in which [they] cling on to as much that is familiar as possible and change only those things that are absolutely necessary'. Thus, in spite of imposed pressures to renounce one's language, culture, traditions and customs, many migrants hold on to these in the comfort of their own homes and ethnically inspired community clubs and societies, and pass these same values on to their children and grandchildren.⁹²

According to Kovacs and Cropley (1975, 126), in maintaining contacts with the members of one's own community in the new country, migrants begin to redefine their sense of identity within the new context, which paradoxically 'fosters assimilation'. This is because the members of a particular ethnic community who have settled earlier in a new country usually assume mentoring roles for newcomers, since they are 'in a position to interpret and explain the ways of the receiving society' (Kovacs and Cropley 1975, 127) to the more recent migrants,⁹³ thus gradually familiarising them with their new social and physical environment. While this practice is mostly beneficial for migrants' well-being, allowing for a smoother and easier transition and integration within the host society, it can also be construed by the receiving society as a rejection of its values, leading to even greater hostility and rejection of migrants and ethnic minorities.

⁹² Although outside the scope of this thesis, it is worth noting that these practices are even more complex for migrants living in ethnically mixed marriages, where different cultures and values exist even prior to migration. Questions such as: What culture and values are passed onto their offspring, the so-called third-culture kids? How does it impact on their process of assimilation? and others are worthy of further investigation and are suggested for a future study.

⁹³ Part III of this thesis discusses the practices of remaining close to the members of one's own community, including living in close proximity to each other, attending ethnic club events and the benefits these practices bring to migrants.

Although assimilation is the most applicable settlement strategy for this research, as this policy was dominant when Korculani migrants arrived in Australia, other forms of settlement policies should also be mentioned to illustrate the difficulties and challenges facing migrants in their new countries. Historically, a number of different techniques or settlement strategies have been employed at various stages, particularly during the last two centuries, with the aim of creating greater unity between different ethnic groups. While they are important, these strategies are only mentioned briefly here, as they are not the settlement strategy that was employed in Australia during 1950s and 1960s, the period when the Korculani migrants interviewed for this research arrived and settled in Australia.

One strategy designed to achieve greater unity between ethnic groups is referred to 'as "the melting pot," which suggested an approach of mutual accommodation where the various ethnic groups would gradually change to resemble each other' (Manning 2005, 165). While the melting-pot⁹⁴ approach does not explicitly advocate a group of migrants becoming indistinguishable from the dominant group and the majority, it nevertheless implies 'sameness'. The very term melting pot implies 'unity' achieved by melting down all the characteristics and traits that individuals and migrants bring with them, combining them with the traits specific to the majority to produce new set of values and characteristics. Thus, the melting-pot strategy does not embrace difference, as one might falsely assume. Rejection of the old traditions, values and customs, as well as notions of and responses to architecture and the built environment that define personal identity, is implicit in this approach, as one is expected to adapt 'a new mainstream culture' that is 'formed by the melting of all the older cultural elements' (Read 1996, 41) that both the minority and majority groups possess.

At the opposite end of the scale, the strategies of partition, expulsion and genocide that have marked the twentieth century as the 'century of refugees' (Wingenroth 1959, cited in Bade 2003, xii) create nothing but despair for millions of people across the globe. As the very words suggest, these settlement policies are the least tolerant of the difference that minorities embody. Sadly, these approaches are still widely practised in many countries. The aforementioned cases of genocide in Rwanda, Bosnia and Herzegovina, and more recently in the Democratic Republic of

⁹⁴ It is believed that the term 'melting pot' was first used in the American literature in J. Hector St. John de Crèvecoeur's 1782 compilation of letters titled *Letters from an American Farmer*, in which he refers to Americans as being a melting pot of different nationalities (St. John de Crèvecoeur 1981).

Congo, all attest to one group's extreme rejection of the 'other', of different ethnic communities living in their midst.

The strategies of cultural pluralism and multiculturalism are more tolerant approaches to migrant settlement and integration within the dominant culture. Cultural pluralism, as defined by Kovacs and Cropley (1975, 123), involves 'the adoption of the core values of the receiving society', coupled with the 'retention of less important values characteristic of the old society'. Under this model, migrants are permitted to display their traditions and customs, including but not limited to speaking in their own language, wearing national costumes and making their traditional food, as long as they observe and respect 'the core values of the receiving society' (Kovacs and Cropley 1975, 123).⁹⁵ The extension of this model is multiculturalism, in which immigrants and minority groups 'are encouraged to retain their identity' (Kovacs and Cropley 1975, 123). Neither of these models expects migrants to renounce their old ways while becoming an integral part of their new society.

While the discussion of settlement strategies indicates that minority groups, including migrants, are placed under certain pressure to integrate and amalgamate with the majority if they are to become accepted members of the receiving society, in a number of societies the ethnic or religious community demands that the majority accept and adopt their value system and make it law. This can be seen in many Western societies, such as Australia and Britain, where Muslim minorities are calling for Sharia Law to be recognised and made legal. This is possibly an extreme example of the challenges and complexities posed by migration and as it is outside the scope of this thesis, this issue is not discussed in more depth here. The next section discusses the benefits that migration brings to the receiving society.

Benefits of migration

While migration is a very difficult and challenging process for both the individuals subjected to it and the receiving society, it is ultimately a positive and beneficial experience for those involved. Some of the benefits of migration from an immigrant's perspective have already been mentioned, particularly economic benefits. For the host society, obvious benefits of migration are the increase to the work force,

⁹⁵ Cultural pluralism and social integration both reflect a settlement pattern in which minorities are expected to adopt the language and accept the law and core values of their receiving society, while being encouraged to maintain their other, socially less challenging, values.

productivity, diversity and counterbalancing the trend of an aging population. Then there are also benefits that largely stem from the difference that migrants bring with them: the different way of life, language, customs, cuisine and house design and construction methods. However, as mentioned earlier, it is to some of these differences that the majority of the receiving society vehemently objects.

Much has been said previously about assimilation and the pressures imposed on migrants to conform. In spite of all the pressure to blend in and adopt the ways and values of their host society, many migrants still manage to hold onto their 'old' ways, to preserve their own identity. In the process of their integration, Korculani (and many other minority groups who migrated to Australia) have not lost their own language and customs or their preconceived notions of what the built environment is or should be. Instead, they have passed on their knowledge and traits to their children and in some instances, have shared them with the wider community. This suggests that the issues concerning migration are often a two-way process. While minority groups are expected to learn the language and customs practised by their 'hosts' they, at the same time, introduce their own language and customs to the new environment, as well as different architectural styles and construction methods, thus arguably enriching the culture of the country to which they have migrated. For example, across the Perth metropolitan region, some of the suburbs with larger Italian and Greek populations demonstrate greater incorporation of 'classical' columns and porticoes to mark the main house entry. Similarly, at the entrance of some Asian-occupied houses, temples, restaurants and eateries, lion sculptures are strategically positioned to guard against unwanted visitors and evil spirits.

Further examples of this enrichment can be found in London. In the decades following decolonisation, a large number of Indian, Pakistani and West Indies migrants moved to live in Great Britain (Manning 2005; Bade 2003). This exodus from the impoverished and politically unstable regions to a country that could offer greater stability and financial freedom had many consequences. According to Manning (2005, 171), 'London faced issues of racial and religious discrimination on an unprecedented scale'. However, it 'also gained a much more cosmopolitan dimension' (Manning 2005, 171). Similar positive outcomes linked to migration are observed by Moran (2005, 4), who points out that 'Australia was a homogenous and boring Anglomorph society until it opened itself, after the Second World War, to non-British European and non-European immigration'. Andrew Fabinyi, a Melbourne publisher of Hungarian descent, even argued that Australia did not possess an

authentic culture prior to European migrations and that it was not until 1970 that the distinctively Australian culture emerged (Richards 2008, 266). Manning's statement (2005, 6) that the exchange of language and customs is 'distinctively human behaviour ... the reason migration in human history is not only a story of the spread of humankind, but also a story of the transformation of human life again and again' thus reiterates the importance of migration as a two-way process focused on the exchange of values and knowledge between different groups, furthering the development and evolution of societies and cultures.

The discussion provided in Chapter 3 has focused on some of the general issues and complexities of migration. Questions about the nature of migration, the defining aspects of a community, and how they affect migration, have been discussed, along with the reasons for migration, motivations, settlement patterns, and difficulties and obstacles faced by migrants in their new country. Although very brief, the discussion has suggested that the process of migration is often a challenging and difficult experience for those involved. The findings also suggest that these difficulties, stemming from migrants' inherent differences, derived from the community and region in which they were born and raised, help to define their sense of identity. As the example of migration to Australia indicates, this sense of identity that migrants carry with them is often met with opposition and rejection by the host society, as it signals the presence of the 'other', which is often greeted with suspicion and mistrust.

While this chapter has mainly dealt with migration on social, cultural and, to some extent, political levels, the next chapter specifically examines migration and resettlement from the perspective of the built environment and architecture, particularly the destabilisation of the connection between humans and the built environments. Examples of the difficulties that migrants face from the loss of the architecture and the built environment in which they once lived are outlined, as well as the challenges experienced by members of the receiving society in whose midst the migrants have settled.

Migration stories: Uprootedness, resettlement and the built environment

You big ugly. You too empty. You desert with nothing, nothing, nothing. You scorched suntanned. Old too quickly. Acres of suburbs watching the telly. You bore me. Freckle silly children. You nothing much. With your big sea. Beach, beach, beach. I've seen enough already ... And much more.

(Poem by Ania Walwitz, cited in Richards 2008, 209)

Ania Walwitz's highly critical words directed at her 'new' country and society, which was Australia of 1960s, indicate the struggle she experienced as a twelve-year-old girl to come to terms with the differences that Australia represented. At the same time, her words also echo the pain that is related to the loss of the familiar and known, of the time and childhood spent in Poland and of the anguish of no longer being in the place that she called 'home'. Her experience is common to many migrants and refugees. Peter Read (1996, 31) argues that for many migrants, 'the emotional soil of new countries is shallower than their homeland's,' inadvertently suggesting that the connections that exist between individuals and their homelands are much deeper and stronger than the connections they develop with the new country. In a way, this metaphor of the shallow soil also likens humans to trees and plants, which once uprooted and replaced, find it difficult to thrive and grow.

While the previous chapter outlined some general issues surrounding migration and the complexities and difficulties involved for those who undertake this uncertain journey, this chapter considers some of these issues from an individual's perspective and personal account of migration. Through a series of examples and stories of displacement, the importance of the connection between oneself and the environment (both social and physical) into which one is born and raised, is discussed. The experience of alienation that stems from the loss of this connection to a place and its built environment is further analysed, as is the notion of 'not belonging', of simultaneously identifying with different places but failing to experience either of these as home. This overview demonstrates the significance of the built environment in constructing and perpetuating identity, as suggested in earlier chapters. This chapter also outlines the difficulties experienced by both

migrants and members of their receiving society, arising from the different approach and expectation migrants have of architecture and the built environment. To begin this chapter, personal accounts of the loss of home and place resulting from natural catastrophes and government interventions are investigated, together with accounts of displacement arising from voluntary migration. This aims to build a better understanding of the connections that exist between architecture, the built environment and identity.

Examples of displaced communities

It can be said that displaced communities are numerous and varied. Historically, individuals and whole societies have been on the move, whether forcefully or voluntarily, with perhaps the Jewish Diaspora being the most prominent example. While the Biblical account of Exodus is not considered in this analysis, the more recent examples of displacement and the consequences for the affected individuals and communities are. Examples discussed in this section include New Orleans in the wake of the Hurricane Katrina disaster; the ambitious Chinese government Three Gorges Dam project; and the 'villagisation' programme of President Mengistu of Ethiopia. The account of Greek migration to Australia also offers a context-specific example of the difficulties that are faced by displaced individuals and communities in their new built environments.

New Orleans post Hurricane Katrina

As I reflect on the pain, loss, and destruction experienced by so many people in the wake of Hurricanes Katrina and Rita ... I am reminded of the importance of roots and place in terms of one's cultural identity.

(Peña 2006, 793)

On August 29, 2005, the US was faced with what is described as the worst environmental catastrophe in the nation's history (Peña 2006). The sky above the southern city of New Orleans opened and the inadequately designed levees gave way (Lipsitz 2006, 452; Dawdy 2006, 723), flooding entire neighbourhoods and destroying everything in its path. Many people lost their homes and livelihoods, and long-standing communities, such as the Lower Ninth Ward, were permanently displaced. According to Fullilove (2005, 14, cited in Peña 2006, 788), Hurricane

Katrina scattered 'people to all directions of the compass', destroying 'the elegance of the neighborhood' in the process.

The African Americans from the poorer neighbourhoods and suburbs such as the Lower Ninth were the most badly affected by this disaster. This is in line with the findings by Hass et al. (1977, xxviii, cited in Pais and Elliot 2008, 1421–1422), who suggest that following a major catastrophe, the socially and economically disadvantaged end up 'moving frequently from one place to another (or even leaving the city forever)'. However, this constant shifting and loss of properties is not the only hardship these individuals endure. As Pais and Elliot (2008, 1418) observe, the deeply rooted connections to place are also lost; connections to the settlements and neighbourhoods spanning several generations that 'constitute "home," where people develop meaningful social relationships, deep attachments to place, and a fundamental sense of community'. With the implementation of 'the racially discriminatory Road Home program' (Flaherty 2010, n.p.)—the strategic scheme devised to rebuild New Orleans that prevented many people, mainly African Americans, from ever returning to their old homes or rebuilding after the disaster—Hurricane Katrina revealed the ugly side of an American society that is still largely divided, racially and economically (Lipsitz 2006, 451, 453).

A number of personal accounts of loss, of uprootedness produced by both Hurricane Katrina and the Road Home programme, have been reported extensively in the media. One of these stories is that of Sunni Patterson, a well-recognised New Orleans poet and artist, who with her family, lost the home that had been in her family's possession for generations (Flaherty 2010). As the house was completely destroyed by floods and the 'proper paperwork [required] for the Road Home program' to approve rebuilding not available, due to properties being handed down from one generation to the next, one of the few options left to Sunni was to leave New Orleans and start her life anew in Houston, Texas (Flaherty 2010, n.p.).

Several years on, Sunni's longing to return to New Orleans, and that of 75 per cent of other African Americans displaced by Hurricane Katrina, has not diminished (Flaherty 2010). It is the loss of community and roots, of the familiar and known, that Sunni seems to be missing the most:

In that same house that I grew up, my great grandmother and grandfather lived ... Everybody that

lived around there, you knew. It was family. In New Orleans, even if you don't know someone, you still speak and wave and say hello. In other cities, there's something wrong with you if you speak to someone you don't know.

(Cited in Flaherty 2010, n.p.)

In her paper titled 'Wade in the Water: Personal Reflections on a Storm, a People, and a National Park' (2006), Allison Peña notes that the lost landscapes and places continue to live on, if only in the memories and conversations of those who were once a part of them. Peña's paper specifically refers to an earlier example of displacement of a New Orleans community that was resettled to other areas of the city and the country, to make place for a national park. The sentiments summarised in the short passage below mirror those felt by the victims of Hurricane Katrina:

Those once muted voices would remember the river (Mississippi) where baptisms took place, would picture the pecan orchard, and would recall playing baseball on the field. They would remember the Battle Ground Baptist Church ...

(Peña 2006, 788)

Even children and young adolescents who hardly had an opportunity to connect with the built environment in which they were born expressed their longing for it. In their conversations with some New Orleans juveniles, Fothergill and Peek (2012, 135) recorded them saying: 'I miss my [housing] project. ... I miss the people, I miss the project, I miss everything about it'. The loss of the 'black' suburbs and neighbourhoods of New Orleans also resonates in the popular local hip-hop and bounce scene, with artists such as Mia X and Weebie referring to their beloved city in their songs. According to Kish (2009, 675), 'the music has always been explicitly articulated in relation to the city's geographical features and social world, with constant references to natural landmarks, famous shops, housing projects, and neighborhood rivalries'. This connection to the built environment of New Orleans was so strong that some artists made the ward in which they grew up a part of their artistic name, such as '5th Ward Weebie and 10th Ward Buck' (Kish 2009, 675). Cyrill Neville, a New Orleans musician himself, suggested well before Katrina's devastation that 'the mythology of the tribes is based on territorial integrity—this is our plot of ground where we rule' (Neville et al. with Ritz 2000, 245, cited in Lipsitz

2006, 463), confirming the important role that the built environment and architecture play in the construction of personal identity.

For those displaced by Hurricane Katrina, life away from New Orleans had a great number of challenges, from being looked upon with contempt (Kish 2009, 672) and being misunderstood and ignored by their receiving communities, to the more concrete challenges of finding work, housing and for their children, finding new friends and getting accustomed to new school environments (Fothergill and Peek 2012). The feeling of rejection is mutual, with neither New Orleanians nor their hosts willingly embracing and accepting each other. These sentiments are possibly best expressed by Sunni Patterson, who said: 'It hurts me to my heart that my child's birth certificate says Houston, Texas' (Flaherty 2010, n.p.). Similar feelings of loss and alienation are expressed by those affected by the construction of the Three Gorges Dam in China, as discussed in the next section.

The Three Gorges Dam, China

In 2009, the Chinese government realised a century-old dream of building the world's largest hydroelectric dam on the Yangtze River⁹⁶ (Du 2010; Xi et al. 2007; Heming and Rees 2000). With the promise of alleviating river flooding while also increasing the electricity generation potentials and navigational control of the river, the Three Gorges Dam project was also envisaged to showcase China's 'high aspirations and the capacities' to the world (Li Peng 1992, cited in Winchester 1996, 227; cited in Du 2010, 33). As a project that was considered by the government to be in the nation's best interest, it was expected that it would be widely accepted and supported by the Chinese people and admired around the globe. However, the project has been condemned and criticised by some of the world's leading ecologists, conservationists and engineers, as well as psychologists and social scientists, for the toll it has imposed on the environment and the people most affected by its construction.

According to Heming, Waley and Rees (2001, 201), 'eight county seats, and 106 towns' would be permanently submerged by this controversial project. Xi et al. (2007, 323) were far more liberal with their estimates, suggesting that hundreds of villages in up to 20 counties and cities in Hubei Province and Chongqing Municipality would be affected by the reservoir construction. Millions of people were expected to be

⁹⁶ According to Heming and Rees (2000), the Three Gorges Project was first proposed in the early 1900s and again in the 1950s.

displaced or lose their livelihood support because of the dam. To this day, the exact number of people forced to leave their homes is not known. The official estimates suggest a figure between 1.2 and 1.3 million people (Heming, Waley and Rees 2001; Jing 1999, 326; Hugo 1996, 114), which is regarded by many as being too conservative, with some researchers anticipating the total to be at least 1.6 million, even up to 1.9 or 2 million (Du 2010, 27; Heming and Rees 2000).

Daisy Yan Du (2010, 27) observes that the individuals and families affected by the Three Gorges Dam construction were faced with three possible options for relocation: to migrate 'up the mountain slope above the submersion line'; to move to neighbouring settlements not affected by the project; or to leave their province behind and start their life anew in larger cities, or in isolated cases, in different countries. Any of the above options is in direct opposition to the dominant life pattern of continuous settlement practised by these rural communities. As Fei Xiaotong (1948, 3, cited in Du 2010, 42) notes: 'For people living on farming, settlement for generations is normal, while migration is abnormal'. Unlike other migrants⁹⁷ who, though displaced, could still potentially return to their homes and their places of origin should their circumstances change, the migrants displaced by dam construction were denied the hope of ever returning. Heming and Rees (2000, 443) argue that those people 'are permanently displaced as a result of irreversible environmental change'. Added to the hardship related to leaving the place of one's birth was the knowledge that it was forever, which according to Hwang et al. (2007, 1012), 'elevates depression' among those affected. They further argue that the psychological burden of displacement is exacerbated due to the traditional support networks of family and friends becoming substantially weakened in the course of relocation. Together with Heming, Waley and Rees (2001, 206, 208), they suggest that the imposed physical distance associated with migration interrupts the close ties of kin and friends, thus removing social and emotional support networks and adding to the psychological pressure of the process.

In the survey conducted by Heming and Rees (2000, 452), the hardship associated with the resettlement was identified as one of the main concerns among those affected by the dam's construction. They found that most of the displaced individuals would have chosen to stay in their place of origin had they been given a choice or had the circumstances been different. Thirty-four per cent of those interviewed

⁹⁷ Economic migrants, environmental and political refugees, and so on.

clearly expressed their disagreement with relocation, whereas 39 per cent stated that they had no choice but to move, leaving only 27 per cent in favour of displacement. The reservation in the respondents' answers concerning questions of relocation can be attributed to their fear of openly criticising or disagreeing with the indoctrinated, hardline, patriotic stance of the Chinese government, which ardently advocated for the benefits of the project. This survey confirms the findings of the previous study by Zuo (1997), which suggests that 'respondents would rather hide their opinions than give the impression to the interviewers that they are standing on different ground from the government' (Heming and Rees 2000, 450, drawing from Zuo 1997). A similar observation is drawn by Du (2010, 33), who argues that the people affected by the Three Gorges Dam would rather hide what they really think and feel in order for them not to be seen 'as outsiders who oppose the dam, the nation/state, and, ultimately, the people'.

The respondents' hesitation to talk openly about their experiences and their dissatisfaction with the relocation and the government is one of the possible reasons that very few personal stories of loss and dislocation related to the built environment could be sourced. In most studies reviewing the project, the focus is on the loss of the personal income and livelihood of those displaced by the Three Gorges project. While the economic factors of employment and income generation are very relevant and important, the personal factors stemming from the connection to home and the place of origin are equally important and are therefore worth consideration.

This view is shared by Heming and Rees (2000, 453, drawing from Scudder 1973a, and Pardy et al. 1978), who observe that the 'love of birthplace or grieving for a lost home is quite possibly a universal human characteristic'. Although this conclusion is drawn in regard to earlier research conducted on the Kariba reservoir in Zimbabwe, it is relevant here as it describes the effects the project had on those who once lived in an area that became submerged by the construction of a dam. The research on the Kariba reservoir focuses specifically on Zimbabwean women who mourned the loss of their gardens and garden shelters, which were traditionally passed down the female line from one generation to the next, and which were permanently destroyed by this dam's construction (Heming and Rees 2000, 453, drawing from Scudder 1973a). The complaints of some 57,000 Tonga people who were forced to leave their ancestral land and the graves of their beloved ones due to the Kariba reservoir (Heming and Rees 2000, drawing from Goldsmith and Hildyard 1984) echo the

sentiments experienced by the Zimbabwean women, relating to the loss of home and their connection with the place.

Robinson (2003, 12, drawing from Cernea 1996) suggests that 'the coerced abandonment of symbolic markers (such as ancestral shrines and graves) or of spatial contexts (such as mountains and rivers considered holy, or sacred trails) cuts off some of the physical and psychological linkages with the past and saps at the roots of the peoples' cultural identity'. This view summarises the experiences of the Zimbabwean women and Tonga people, as it addresses the issues that are at the very core of forceful displacement. It implies the emotional and psychological burden arising from removal and relocation away from family and friends, from the home and place in which one grew up. It further suggests the loss of connection with the place, community and the past that ultimately leads to individuals experiencing problems of not belonging and of losing their identity.

Chinese villagers and farmers affected by the Three Gorges Dam construction faced the same issues and problems as the Zimbabwean women and Tonga people; the loss of the family home and of the connection with the place in which they had lived and worked for generations. Only few of those interviewed in a number of surveys (Du 2010, 33; Heming, Waley and Rees 2001; Heming and Rees 2000; Jing 1999) were willing to share their personal stories of relocation, expressing the hurt and longing for the place and life they once had. Some of these personal stories were recorded by Heming, Waley and Rees (2001). The responses they obtained from interviews conducted with displaced villagers and farmers suggest that the relocation of close to two million Chinese inflicted more suffering than solely loss of economic means. In the following excerpt they describe the feelings that some villagers felt for the loss of their orange groves, once a source of livelihood for many in the region:

they were unable to contemplate life without oranges, which represented not just a major source of income but also a way of life full of cultural, symbolic value. No longer could they enjoy gazing at the landscape of orange trees around their houses and celebrating a bumper harvest with their neighbours.

(Heming, Waley and Rees 2001, 206)

A particularly moving response is provided by a migrant woman now living in Linbao village, in peri-urban Yichang City, who during the interview recalled that 'she often

dreamed of her old home and her orange trees'. Her longing for the place that was captured in that dream was so strong and emotionally loaded that 'she found herself with tears in her eyes when she woke up' (Heming, Waley and Rees 2001, 206). The authors argue that the experience of this migrant woman is not an isolated account and that these sentiments are shared by many relocatees they interviewed.

The connection to the place in which one grew up is also demonstrated in the dreams of Bingai, a female peasant woman who was married off by her father to a disabled man (Du 2010). The marriage was Bingai's first encounter with migration, since she had to leave her paternal house and move to that of her husband. Her second experience of migration was due to the construction of the Three Gorges Dam. Although Bingai spent a number of years living at her husband's home, she never really accepted it as hers, as reflected in her statement:

in my dreams I'm often at my parent's house. Usually working with my mom or with my grandma. In my dreams I am always at my mother's home. My husband seldom appears in my dreams. I may only dream of this place many years later. Maybe my soul was left behind. The soul does not move with the body easily.

(Cited in Feng 2007; cited in Du 2010, 39)

While Bingai had no option but to conform to her father's wishes and marry into another family, moving away from her paternal home, Du (2010) explains that when it came to the government's imposed pressure to relocate, Bingai was less obedient. For a number of years she caused problems for officials by resisting any threats of revoking her rights and refusing to buy into the promise of a better life somewhere else, which would see her migrate away from her land. It was only when her house became fully submerged by the rising water in February 2003 that Bingai was finally forced to leave (Du 2010, 44).

A further example of the suffering produced by the rising dam waters is offered by Jun Jing (1999). The dam discussed by Jing is not the Three Gorges but the Yongying hydroelectric project commissioned by the Chinese government in 1961. In spite of the different time frame and location, the experiences of those affected by this dam's construction are almost identical to those given by the Three Gorges

migrants, with both expressing the pain and suffering that the loss of a familiar place and the ancestral home brings. Jing observes:

They recounted the terror they felt when the river spilled over its banks. They reported how older people had to be carried to safety through streets knee deep in water, and they told how they wept as they watched from higher ground while familiar landmarks became submerged. ... Another villager, only 12 when Dachuan was flooded, said he would never forget his grandmother's wailing. 'My family escaped to a graveyard, a higher place for shelters, and I fell asleep there. Then I woke up and there was grandma, kneeling on the ground and crying at the top of her voice. I looked downward for our home in the village and could see nothing but water.'

(Jing 1999, 328)

The other, less mentioned aspect of relocation and migration in relation to architecture and the built environment stems from the difference in the landscape and urban fabric of the 'new' place, which is often characterised as 'strange' and 'foreign' by those subjected to forced migration and relocation. While challenges stemming from the different and alien built environment were not considered in the reviewed texts on the Three Gorges Dam, Heggelund (2006), Heming, Waley and Rees (2001) and Heming and Rees (2000), nevertheless, comment on the difficulties that migrants face in their host communities. These difficulties stem from the loss of the familiar social networks of family and friends. Heggelund (2006, 189) argues that 'when people live among strangers, communication is difficult, favours are not returned, and conflicts arise easily'. It is thus not surprising that the Chinese relocation authority is increasingly worried that relocatees might find it difficult to settle down in their new social and physical environments, not because they are concerned for their welfare, but because they know that 'migrants always try to return to the reservoir area if they are treated badly in the receiving areas' (Heming and Rees 2000, 446).

Another example of internal population displacement and redistribution due to a government's intervention occurred in Ethiopia during President Mengistu's term in office. Between 1987 and 1991, Mengistu's government sought to achieve a greater concentration of population living in larger villages rather than in traditional, remote settlements. According to Boyle, Halfacree and Robinson (1998, 173, drawing from

Luling 1989), the Villagisation programme, as this ambitious scheme came to be known, was economically driven and had very little consideration for the social well-being of those affected. They argue that 'whereas traditional villages were constituted of kin groups, the new larger villages meant that neighbours were not necessarily kin and could not therefore be relied upon to help in times of need' (Boyle, Halfacree and Robinson 1998, 173), implying that the well-known and reliable community structure and support networks were no longer in place as a result of this policy. Moreover, the displacement also meant that the long-held connections that people had made with the natural and man-made formations were destroyed. For example, farmers 'regretted having to leave their old hamlets and their rocks and trees, which had acquired sacred associations' (Boyle, Halfacree and Robinson 1998, 173), therewith confirming the important role that both the built and natural environments play in their life and in the construction of their sense of identity.

This view is further supported by Handlin, who in 1951 wrote about connections that individuals develop with the social and built environments in which they live and that they leave behind once they migrate. The immigrants, he writes, often found themselves:

cut off from homes and villages, homes and villages which were not simply places, but communities in which was enmeshed a whole pattern of life. They had left the familiar fields and hills, the cemetery in which their fathers rested, the church, the people, the animals, the trees they had known as the intimate context of their being.

(Handlin 1951, 62 cited in Kovacs and Cropley 1975, 30–31).

These three examples are all illustrations of internal migrations. As a result of environmental catastrophes or government-imposed policies, a large number of people found themselves forced to leave their homes, friends and relatives, to relocate to different and unfamiliar places. Although some might think that internal migration is not an overly difficult and emotionally taxing process, as it takes place within the bounds of the same country or region, and within the same culture and language, these examples suggest otherwise. They all indicated that the experience of loss of the familiar and known built environment is very strong among those affected by the resettlement. This finding points towards the fallacy stemming from

the perception that cultures, identities, built environments and architecture are monolithic constructs, nationally defined and embraced. The examples of New Orleans, the Three Gorges Dam and the Villagisation programme implemented in Ethiopia suggest that the self-identity is very much built and enacted on an individual level, in regard to both culture and the built environment and architecture. For example, although the 'victims' of Hurricane Katrina are American and those affected by the Three Gorges Dam are Chinese, they all felt like strangers in a foreign environment, longing to return to the familiar place they call home. This notion of 'not belonging' is further reinforced by the feeling of being rejected by the members of the receiving community, who often see migrants as aliens threatening their social and economic security. While the receiving communities might share the same language and culture, they do not constitute the kin and friends support networks that migrants have learned to rely on in their old home places. For this reason, relocating within the same country can give rise to the same feelings of loss and displacement as those associated with migration.

Greek immigration in Australia

In contrast to the above examples of internal migration brought about by natural disasters or governmental policies, the immigration of Greeks to Australia during the 1950s, 1960s and 1970s,⁹⁸ is an example of external, transnational migration. The implications of this type of migration are more far-reaching than those of internal migration. Language and cultural differences play a significant role in external migration. The inability to converse with their new neighbours, absence of extensive social networks of family and friends, and a different set of social practices, traditions and customs would have all affected the Greek migrants' experience of their new country, Australia. There are also stark differences in the built environments of Greek and Australian cities and villages. This difference in the urban form and architecture, and the manner in which it affects the way of life of these two respective countries, is discussed by Dorothy Buckland (1977) in her paper titled 'The Effect of Social Change on the Immigrant Family and Neighbourhood: A Greek Case-Study'. Buckland (1977) offers a good account of the living conditions and everyday practices that stem from the tightly knit social and built environments that are prevalent in Greek villages. These practices, as evident from some of Buckland's

⁹⁸ While the migration of Greeks to Australia commenced during the early decades of the twentieth century, it was not until the 1950s that large cohorts of Greek migrants began to arrive. The example discussed in this section concerns Greek migrants who arrived after World War II.

observations, greatly affected some Greek migrants' ability to come to terms with the different built environment of Australian cities and the way of life that they dictate.

Buckland (1977) observes that the traditional Greek village layout is characterised by close physical proximity of buildings. In Greek villages:

houses tend to be clustered around a main street or square and everything seems to converge upon this central area. In many cases it is possible to take in the entire village with a single glance, so that people living there carry a picture of it within their minds.

(Buckland 1977, 178–179)

Life in such small and contained areas is very different to life in a modern-day city. In the 1970s, the life of Greek villagers 'followe[d] a regular pattern where everything is familiar and fairly predictable to the extent that people are rarely at a loss to know what to do or where to turn in any particular situation' (Buckland 1977, 179). Close physical proximity made it possible for villagers to engage spontaneously in a number of communal activities such as working, chatting and watching television with family and friends, or in Buckland's words:

Neighbours, friends and relatives are regularly dropping into one another's houses for a chat, to borrow a cup of flour, or nowadays in the evenings, to watch television. One always knows either what members of the family are likely to be doing at any particular time of day or, at least, where they are likely to be found.

(Buckland 1977, 179)⁹⁹

This kind of spontaneity is not catered for in a big city, in which substantial spatial distances between family members and friends prevent one from simply 'dropping in'. Further, it is not very common in Australian society for someone to arrive unannounced. Visiting family and friends in Australia is not spontaneous, but needs to be planned and arranged, something that Greek villagers would not normally do in their home country. These differences in the social and physical environments made

⁹⁹ A similar observation was made by Colic-Peisker (2000, 130) in regard to a more recent migrant cohort from Croatia and Bosnia to Australia during the 1990s. She suggests that 'Bosnian women from villages and small towns used to spend most of their time within the boundaries of the neighbourhood', thus finding their transition into the widely dispersed built environment of Perth, Western Australia, very difficult to get used to.

it difficult for some of the Greek migrants to adjust to the Australian built environment. The following two passages describe the challenges a number of Greek migrants faced on arriving in Australia that stem from the differences in the built environment of these two countries:

Migrants who come to live in a major Australian city find themselves in a disconcertingly unfamiliar physical environment. The grid of streets isolates blocks of houses from one another and the roads are congested with traffic so that parents become alarmed for their children's safety and can no longer permit them to roam around at will as they did in the village. Distances are much more unmanageable and have to be negotiated by public transport rather than on foot.

(Buckland 1977, 179)

And:

Life is no longer predictable: everything now has to be planned and calculated; there are no longer the familiar networks of neighbours, friends and relatives to turn to for friendship, support and company. In some cases, where several members of a family migrate, or where people from the same village succeed in making contact with one another, the system of networks may be partially re-established, but distance makes communication difficult. ... visits have to be planned in advance and there is a loss of the frequent easy dropping into one another's houses which formed part of village social life.

(Buckland 1977, 180)

Even though this example is relatively old and arguably outdated, due to the technological advances that have occurred in the last four decades encouraging a faster pace of life, to this day there are communities in many countries that maintain this style of living. The experience of migrants from rural settlements in Asia, Africa and some European countries, on arriving to Australia today, can be compared to that of Greek villagers who migrated four or five decades ago. Many of these migrants would have grown up in small villages with tightly knit communities and densely laid out and familiar built environments. This shift from a small, intimate community to a large, unfamiliar one makes the example of Greek villagers' migration to Australia still relevant today.

The examples discussed in this section are all indicative of the connection that exists between humans and the built environments in which they are born and raised, and the decisive role this plays in defining their sense of identity. They also point to the difficulties that migrants experience from the loss of this connection, often associated with the notion of no longer belonging to a place and being among the familiar faces and social networks. These difficulties, as the extensive research suggests, tend to negatively affect migrants' psychological well-being and self-esteem and ultimately, the settling-in process in the new social and physical environment.

The next issue discussed in this chapter is the notion of belonging to neither the place of origin nor the resettlement area. This is investigated through a number of personal stories that tell of individual struggles to overcome the feeling of being torn between two, if not more, cultures and countries. These examples reaffirm the important role that the built environment plays in the construction of self-identity, as do the challenges and conflicts that arise as a result of a different understanding of, and approach to, the built environment and architecture that are further explored in the next section.

Challenging the notion of belonging: Personal stories

I suddenly became aware that I am a stranger in Australia as well as in my native Holland, that I am no longer able to wholly fit in anywhere.

(Cornelius Vleekens, cited in Read 1996, 41)

Migration is a challenging process. Numerous examples of personal accounts of suffering and feeling uprooted and alienated reveal this. Some of the difficulties that are caused by migration have already been discussed in the previous section. In this section, challenges relating to longing and belonging with regard to the built environment and architecture are discussed, as are examples of migrants' experiences of returning to the place of their birth and childhood. The challenges and confrontations that arise from the different attitudes and understanding of the built environment that migrants exhibit in the new context are explored in this section.

Returning home

Longing for home is an experience that is common to many migrants. Andrew Ballantyne (2002) defines a home as a place where individuals can be themselves, where they know each little corner and nook, a place that not only gives them a shelter but is also an expression of them.

The home is charged with meaning, because it is the basis of what we know, and is closely involved with the most personal aspects of our lives. It has witnessed our indignities and embarrassments, as well as the face that we want to show the outside world. The home has seen us at our worst, and still shelters and protects us, so we feel secure there, and have surprisingly strong feelings for it, even though they go unnoticed most of the time. The same feeling can be invested in other things, and they too can contribute to the feeling of 'being at home'. ... We carry these immaterial things around with us, along with an idea of home. The building that we call home we leave in one place, and when we wander we wander away from it.

(Ballantyne 2002, 17)

This passage suggests that home is not just a material, physical entity, but can also be vested into many other things, such as one's senses, memories and experiences, all of which are part of personal identity. With home being a collection of disparate material and immaterial things that are a projection and manifestation of the way people see themselves, it is understandable that leaving home can often feel like leaving a part of oneself behind. As a child I was told that one of the hardest things a person can experience is 'to have and then not to have' something, to experience the life and simple pleasures that one draws from an object or a thing and then to be deprived of it. If this is applied to people's homes, to the very notion of protection and shelter that homes in general offer, it is clear that this can indeed be one of the hardest things one experiences. To have something that shields and protects us, something that has become a part of who we are, a part of our *habitus*, taken away or left behind can feel very discomforting and alienating. The feeling of loss linked to the abandonment of homes and places provokes a longing for these places and for all the aspects of ourselves that we have left in them. Ballantyne (2002, 19) observes that 'we would feel more distress if we were unable to return home than if we had never managed to set out, because "home" is such an important reference point, and if we are deprived of it then we have incalculable problems of disorientation, which do not end when we find a new shelter'.

Read (1996) offers a good example of the way the physical loss of a house can be very unsettling for those who once occupied its spaces. While reflecting on his own research interest in what he calls the 'lost places', Read outlines one particular family story he heard as a 14-year-old, which triggered his interest in this topic. The story concerns the demolition of a house, fondly named 'Lorne', that two of Read's ancestors, Robert and Selina Pockley, built. According to Read (1996, viii), the house was 'compulsorily purchased and demolished for the construction of a reservoir' in 1924. Although this event had occurred quite a number of years ago, some 40 years later it persistently 'continued to haunt' older members of his family (Read 1996, viii). Further, his 'grandmother knew which article of furniture had gone to which relative and was able to draw an exact plan of the house' (Read 1996, viii–ix), suggesting that although the physical envelope of the house may be gone, the memories of it had not.

One of the feelings commonly reported by many migrants is that of being uprooted. When comparing migrants to a tree that has been removed, its roots cut and broken, one can see why they feel this way. Although transplanted to a different location, part of the tree often remains in the place where it first grew roots. Similarly, migrants leave a part of themselves behind and, as Ballantyne (2002, 19) suggests, even though individuals can find a shelter in another place, their 'reference point' is missing. As a result, migrants often feel that a part of them belongs to a different place to the one to which they have migrated, to the place where they were born and raised. As Edward Said (1984, 159, cited in Butler 2001, 315) points out: 'The achievements of exile are permanently undermined by the loss of something left behind for ever'.

Longing for the place that one calls home often creates unrealistic impressions and idealised notions of what that place is. On a return to such places, when visiting former homes, people find that these places rarely correspond to the image they have held in their heads. In the same way that they have changed so, too, have the places that they long for. Many migrants, when they get the first opportunity to go back and revisit the place they left as children or young adults, feel disappointed with what they find. The personal stories below tell of the disappointment that some migrants experienced upon visiting the place they once called home and of realising

that their picture of the place they left behind is simply a romanticised notion of how they wished things to be.¹⁰⁰

I felt sure I was going home and my nostalgia for the food, a snow-covered world, real green trees, colourful market stalls in the town square, and antiquated cobbled streets steeped with my genealogical past, where I had taken my first steps and where I used to chase after the 'rag and bone man' with *todden* (rags), which he would exchange for a whirligig. However, in the 11 years spent in Australia I had become a young adult who had grown up with a foot in two cultures. I no longer fitted the mind-set of my kin. Besides the images I carried were those of a child of five, how could I be the same. A sense of finding a place where I belonged in the world eluded me.

(R.B. interviewed by Peters in 1996, cited in Peters 2000, 63)

And:

Whenever I am away from Australia, my thoughts turn towards home. Yet I cannot claim to belong here fully. There is a state of mind beyond fondness, or even love, for a country, beyond familiarity or the knowledge that you have carved out a life for yourself in these surroundings. That state of mind is indefinable. To say that it is a lack or a vacancy is an approximation approaching the truth, yet not quite touching it. Nor is it a matter of substitutions: I yearn for Europe, but it is a Europe that no longer exists, and may never have existed. The closest I can get to a description of this condition, dilemma, perplexity, or whatever term may be put upon it, is to say that it is an existence between two worlds ...

(Riemer 1992, 1–2; see also Peters 2000, 70)

And:

I remember my childhood. Maybe because I was so unhappy when I first got here. I really remember because I wanted to go back. I was unhappy for about 3 or 4 years. I think I was very romantic about the way it was. I used to suffer for my friends but that was probably because I didn't have that here.

When I went back I was a teenager and I think [my childhood friends] were nice to me. I felt closeness, but

¹⁰⁰ Jun Jing (1999, 325, drawing from Scudder 1973, 1982) argues that 'the forcible uprooting of a community tends to produce a "grieving-for-lost-home syndrome", a phenomenon that is 'characterized by profound disillusionment with the present and romanticized views of the past'.

we were different people. I had changed and they had changed. I think that was the first time that I realised that I do belong here any more than I belong there. I always thought I didn't belong here, that I was different and so on.

(Respondent from Croatia, cited in Skrbiš 1999, 44)

Gilkey (1967; see also Kovacs and Cropley 1975) offers another example of the implications that can arise as a result of the time spent away from the place one once called home. His study focuses on Italian migrants to the US, who after accumulating sufficient wealth, returned to Italy to live among their family and friends. However, the returnees found it very difficult to adjust to the Italian way of life, the same way of life they once enjoyed, because the years spent in the US had markedly changed their outlook and their expectations. Life in the US made them lose the social conditioning, the *habitus*, that was prevalent in small Italian country towns and villages. These migrants adopted the more liberal way of life they experienced in the US, making their transition back into the more structured Italian society, ruled by dons and 'traditional gentry', almost impossible. Kovacs and Cropley (1975, 37–38, drawing from Gilkey 1967), observe that 'returning Italians have refused to live in conventional houses such as those of their youth. ... They have lost their respect for the traditional gentry' displaying, what Caputo (1908, 265, cited in Gilkey 1967, 30; cited in Kovacs and Cropley 1975, 37–38) calls, 'a spirit of very accentuated independence' instead. Moreover, gold accessories such as the chains and rings and suits that returnees proudly wore to display their wealth to others, indicate their further alienation from the old way of life (Gilkey 1967, 26, 31; see also Kovacs and Cropley 1975, 37–38). The returnees no longer seemed to fit within the place they once called home. The act of migration had not only interrupted their connection to the environment of their birth and youth, it had also transformed their approach to life and their *habitus*, making it difficult for them to feel accepted and be part of that place again.

The above passages tell of the inevitable realisation that many migrants experience upon returning to their old homes, to the cities and towns where they once lived. The realisation that time has not stood still; that people and the built environments have changed during their absence and that they no longer feel the same connection that once tied them so closely to the place they called home, is often followed by a strong sense of disenchantment, of being uprooted and belonging to neither here nor there. The continuity in one's self-identity is permanently affected

by the act of migration, and people and places being no longer the same as in migrants' memories. In an effort to preserve the fond memories of the times that were, people and places often become reduced to stories, which migrants tell and retell to their children, who often find it difficult to relate to these with the same passion as their parents. The struggle of a second-generation Dutch migrant to feel any connection with his native Holland is noted by Read:

Though he has spent almost all his life in Australia, Con Boekel has never felt at home anywhere. His parents spoke mostly English to the children, but they talked about Holland. He heard news about his Dutch relatives, but feels disconnected from them. He knows the family history intimately, but second-hand, from books and conversations. He knows about individual local characters, the robust regional humour, the village fair, the local dialect, the Nazi invasion, the wildlife, even the special sheds in which cabbages were stored. There is the place, the country, the land—but where is the continuity to link him with that immense and historic past? It seems to stop, abruptly, with his parents. What is at the heart of the familiar, yet ultimately inaccessible, family history centred for so many centuries in a couple of small Dutch villages? Where is that meaning?

(Read 1996, 45)

Most of the things Con Boekel knows of the place in which his parents lived comes from the stories they told him. However, while informing Con about the place of his origin, these stories fail to provide him with the strong connection with the place that his parents have and with the sense of continuity and meaning to link him to the place he has so often heard about.¹⁰¹ Although these stories indirectly contribute to his sense of identity¹⁰² as a descendent of Dutch migrants, his example suggests that the deeper connection with the built environment is not always achieved through stories alone. As the examples provided by Basu (2001) and used in Part I of this thesis indicate, for some people listening to stories of places in which their parents and grandparents grew up is enough to form a strong identity and connection with the place of their origin, while for others like Con, that connection is more difficult to attain.

¹⁰¹ Con Boekel's experience is that of the 'generational discontinuity' that is produced by migration and, as Moran (2005, 73–74) argues, this 'generational discontinuity' is a result of the second-generation migrants' exposure to the 'new cultural expectations and experiences' of their adopted countries that 'served to sever them from the more traditional past of their parents' world'.

¹⁰² The role of stories in generating one's sense of identity was discussed in Chapter 1.

The examples of Italian returnees and testimonies by Andrew Riemer and R.B. (cited in Peters 2000) suggest that both émigrés and their places of origin are subject to change, making it difficult for them to feel a sense of belonging towards that place again. However, there are also examples in which the connections with the place in which people once lived are maintained. In spite of the changes that have occurred over time, sometimes it is enough for individuals to experience the sun, rain and the wind on their skin; to breathe the air infused with different smells; to hear noises and feel surfaces with the soles of their feet when they visit the part of the world they once called home, for old connections with that place to reactivate and give them the sensation of 'being at home' again.

One such example can be found in the memoirs of Nell van de Graaff who, in her book titled *We Survived: A Mother's Story of Japanese Captivity* (1994, cited in Peters 2008, 5) tells of her first visit to Indonesia (formerly Netherland's East Indies), which was once her home country, after more than 20 years in exile. Her bonds to the place of her birth and adulthood were so strong that upon her embarking from the aircraft, the smells and humidity that enveloped her almost instantaneously brought up memories of growing up and living in this part of the world:

The warmth and humidity enveloped me as I emerged from the aircraft and the sounds and the smells of Indonesia made me feel I was coming home. In a flash I realized how much I had missed all this since I had left the country more than twenty years ago. ... I smelt the Chinese bread in the basket and the freshly brewed coffee, and I heard the distant calls of street vendors selling *sateh* and other delicacies from their mobile stalls. ... I felt I had come home ... I sighed and felt blessed, and asked the [taxi] driver to take me next pass the house I had lived in as a girl and the church where my father had been a minister.

(Cited in Peters 2008, 5)

This experience is quite common. Human's senses are said to be triggers of memories and emotions that link them to a place. Juhani Pallasmaa (2005, 54) writes: 'The nose makes the eyes remember'. As mentioned in Chapter 2, the sighting of certain objects and sensing of certain smells can transpose people to different places and times; in van de Graaff's case, to the place in which she was born and raised. Classified as involuntary, the memories of places that are said to be linked to objects and smells in particular are brought back, flooding individuals'

minds the moment they are exposed to these material and immaterial things, awakening the feeling of 'being at home' once again.

Rejecting the change: 'The Vancouver Monster House'

Much has been said about the difficulties that migrants face in their new countries and their new living environments. One problem that is often ignored but that also affects the resettlement process stems from differences in attitudes and understanding of what architecture and the built environment are, and how they should be used. When they move to a new place, migrants often do not realise how much change they inflict onto the physical environment of their new location to make it suit their own needs and preconceived notions of what architecture and the built environment should be. They can, as a result, produce a negative effect on the existing residents.¹⁰³ The conflict that arose between affluent Hong Kong migrants who moved into the well-established, upmarket suburbs of Vancouver demonstrates how problematic different perceptions and expectations in relation to the built environment can be.

In his paper titled 'Postmulticulturalism?', David Ley (2008) discusses how one Vancouver suburb, a home address for Vancouver's professional elite, featuring cottage homes, expanses of well-maintained lawns and 100-year-old trees, became the subject of some vigorous debating and exchange of unfriendly words between Hong Kong migrants and the existing residents. Hong Kong nationals, who were escaping the uncertainty brought about by the return of their city to China by the British in 1997, and with money to spend, tried to make a fresh start in Canada by investing into properties in the aforementioned suburb. However, as soon as they moved to this part of Vancouver, they started making permanent changes to the landscape and the character of this suburb. With bigger homes giving them greater profits, they commissioned 'McMansions',¹⁰⁴ the excessively large homes occupying most of the building block, expressing their owners' and/or residents' status and wealth to others. The process of building these large houses meant that a number of smaller houses that were sympathetic to the streetscape, together with old trees, needed to be removed. For the Hong Kong migrants, who had no sentimental attachment to these old homesteads, destroying old cottages and trees to make way

¹⁰³ Boyle, Halfacree, and Robinson (1998, 225) argue that 'migration can be associated with a degree of cultural disjuncture, alienation and even conflict, experienced especially by the migrants but also by the established residents of the destination area'.

¹⁰⁴ 'McMansion' is a derogatory term used to express excessively large, similar-looking houses that are built everywhere, just like McDonald's outlets.

for new contemporary mansions was not an issue; but for the existing residents of this suburb, it signalled the destruction of the suburb's character and of their familiar and known neighbourhood.

Resolution of this conflict was not reached without legal interference. The court case built around it demonstrated 'the potential efficacy of multicultural diversity management in negotiating a settlement between immigrants and long-established residents over conflicting values and practices concerning urban landscape and land use' (Ley 2008, 188). It acknowledged both the existence of the differing attitudes and approaches in respect to the built environment and architecture between different cultures, between migrants and residents, and the minority's right to express its sense of identity through architecture. As Ley (2008, 188) points out, this ruling, giving migrants a right to self-expression through architecture, caused 'a palpable sense of loss among long-settled residents'.

As this example demonstrates, the sense of loss with regard to the built environment is not only experienced by migrants. Any changes in the built fabric and its appearance are often followed by the sensation of loss by those who experience these changes. By changing the architecture and other aspects of the built environment, individuals' memories become affected, as they no longer find physical triggers to connect them with past events and experiences linked to those residing in their memories. Further, changes in their immediate surroundings initiate a change in their sense of identity, since they are impelled to adjust to new situations, to develop a new set of habits and, by extension, *habitus*, as suggested by Ballantyne (2002, 19). The reluctance of the long-term residents of Vancouver's suburb to embrace any changes to the built fabric because of the sense of loss it evokes further emphasises the importance of the built environment in respect to the creation and recreation of personal identity. However, as Ley (2008, 188) observes, the 'long-term tenure of space' by the existing residents is not a guarantee against change. The Vancouver Monster House case shows that long-term occupation of an area does not provide existing residents with 'monopoly rights over the use of that space', a common misconception among long-term settlers and residents (Ley 2008, 188).

This case also raises questions about architecture's conformity, uniformity, appropriateness and reference to the context that is embraced by the professional fraternity and architectural discourse. The emphasis on conformity and uniformity,

and the acceptance and promotion of the contemporary Neo-modernist style of architecture as the only fitting and favoured style expressing our day and age, is ultimately limiting diversity and the right to self-expression by migrants and others, as demonstrated in the following chapters.

The example of the Vancouver Monster House and of migration and displacement discussed in this chapter demonstrate that the challenges created by migration are wide ranging. However, no matter how diverse the accounts of migration, the common element is the pain and feeling of loss associated with the demise and abandonment of the familiar and known built environments and architecture. Whether individuals are forced to leave and resettle within the same country and culture, or whether they are prompted to look for a better life somewhere else in the world, there are difficulties associated with leaving their home. Struggles of finding new places to live and work, along with a cold reception by the receiving society, the feeling of not belonging, and particularly the ever-present longing for the old home, family and friends, continue to plague millions of people who have made the brave decision to leave everything known and familiar behind in the hope of building a better future somewhere else.

The discussion in Part II of this thesis demonstrates that the development of personal identity is a rather complicated and unstable process, constantly defined and redefined by pressures imposed from outside, such as having to leave one's place of birth and childhood behind to avoid prosecution or to start life anew in a different part of the world. Migration is one pressure that affects the way individuals see themselves, the way their identity is created and recreated. It involves many difficulties, such as abandoning familiar, friendly networks and built environments and settling in a new, foreign and often emotionally cold place. This difference, and the persistent pressure to become accustomed to new conditions and built environments, causes some migrants to experience a sense of longing for a place they once called home. Migrants often dream of returning home one day. However, this dream, as many testimonies confirm, is often based on unrealistic expectations that everything will be just as same as the day they left.

Part II of this thesis has also presented extensive arguments in support of the view that architecture and the built environment affect identity, and that the loss of the familiar and known physical environment contributes to the feeling of confusion and alienation as much as the loss of social support networks of family and friends. The

next issue to be considered is how some migrant groups have used and appropriated the architecture and built environment of their new homes, to make them look and feel more like their old homes, easing the burden associated with migration. Part III of this thesis examines a number of resettled communities and the processes they have applied to overcome their feelings of alienation. These are investigated specifically in relation to the built environment and architecture.

PART III

Re-territorialisation: Redefining self-identity in a new built environment through architecture

this is the other thing about immigrants ('fugees, émigrés, travellers): they cannot escape their history any more than you yourself can lose your shadow.

(Zadie Smith 2000, 399)

What is it about personal history that can be likened to a shadow, the ever-present reminder that we are a part of this world? The shadow, arguably, is never outside the context; it is a projection caused by direct light striking the surface of an object. Objects, it can be said, are never devoid of their shadow; equally, humans are never devoid of their personal history. Like a shadow, it follows them wherever they go. The stories and experiences, people and places, built environments and architecture, and the context in which individuals were raised, are all woven into their being, into their sense of identity, just as Somerset Maugham once succinctly expressed.¹⁰⁵ As Zadie Smith, a young British novelist, observes above, people cannot escape that which defines them, their personal history. Their past influences and informs who they are in the present, their views of the world that they live in, and any expectations that they may harbour.

However, humans are often unaware of this influence and rarely perceive their actions to be a result of their ongoing conditioning by the physical and social environment, by their *habitus* and their personal history. Andrew Ballantyne (2002, 19) argues that it is at home that individuals 'are least aware' of the effects their history and surroundings have on them, and it is only when they leave, changing their familiar and known environments and breaking the continuity in their being, they become more conscious of the influences that closely define who they are. Migration, as demonstrated in chapters 3 and 4, is one such occurrence that can reveal just how much the experiences, memories and places from individuals' pasts affect the way they perceive their present and their sense of self. By migrating from one place to another, people become more mindful of the difference in their *habitus* from that of their hosts, the difference in cultures and traditions, and the built

¹⁰⁵ This refers to the excerpt cited in Chapter 1, that 'men and women are not only themselves; they are also the region in which they were born'.

environment and architecture that the new country and the new place display. Migrants and travellers alike notice these differences because they do not reflect what is familiar and known to them, they do not resonate with their personal history. Their expectations, *habitus* and world outlook are all influenced by their past and by their life before migration, which like a shadow, is ever present and virtually impossible to lose. It defines their sense of identity and understanding of who they are, their place in the world, and no matter how hard they may wish to escape it, it inevitably seems to follow them wherever they go.

Shadows, however, are constantly changing depending on the time of the day and the intensity of the light source. Personal histories, *habitus* and identity are likewise constantly crafted and recrafted as a result of new experiences and external pressures. Different people react to change differently, and the shadow that personal histories cast vary from person to person, from migrant to migrant. Migrants' ability to accept new social and built environments depends on the degree of their attachment to the place of their origin and to their personal history. It could therefore be contended that migrants experiencing a lesser sense of connection with both the social and built environments of their home country, and eager to integrate into the social fabric of their new society, would tend to embrace more readily everything that their new society offers. However, although these migrants may superficially seem to have escaped their personal history, even they are not entirely free of the shadow their life before migration casts, no matter how minute the projection may be. There will always be aspects from the migrants' pasts, such as memories, expectations and *habitus*, which will continue to have a bearing on their sense of identity in the new environment.

In other instances, regardless of the personal history affecting migrants' willingness to embrace the social and built environment of their new country, external pressures, such as the laws and policies of the host society, can substantially affect migrants' re-territorialisation¹⁰⁶ processes. Forceful confinement within detention centres of those who are deemed 'illegal' immigrants falls into this category of controlled re-territorialisation, as does the inception of Vancouver's Chinatown at the turn of the twentieth century. According to architectural historian Sherry McKay

¹⁰⁶ The term re-territorialisation is predominantly used in globalisation theory, politics and economics and denotes discourse centred around connections that exist between nation-state, identity and territory. The term re-territorialisation, as used in this thesis from an architectural perspective, refers to the physical process of settlement, of finding a place in a new environment to live and of creating a home there for a certain period of time.

(2000, n.p.), Vancouver's Chinatown was established as a result of the Vancouver municipal government's decision to coerce Chinese immigrants into settling within one particular section of this city. It was effectively 'a product of a white cultural tradition and part of the process of racial classification'¹⁰⁷ designed to create 'clear distinctions between Eastern and Western cultures' (McKay 2000, n.p.), ultimately demonstrating the effect that external factors and policies can have on the process of re-territorialisation. The distinctively oriental architecture that sprang up in this part of Vancouver can be seen as a form of Chinese migrants' revolt against the rejection and discrimination they experienced. However, it also concurrently serves as an example of members belonging to one group asserting their sense of ethnic and national identity through architecture and the built environment,¹⁰⁸ which to this day casts the shadow of their past on the urban fabric of Vancouver.

Rejection and discrimination are not the only motivating factors governing incorporation and expression of one's sense of self or group identity through architecture and the built environment. A substantial number of migrants find it difficult to sever any bonds with their past, with their personal history. Their history indeed follows them like a shadow, influencing their actions in the present. This strong bond experienced by some migrants can lead to considerable change within their host societies; changes in cuisine, culture, tradition and architecture and the built environment. Ruble, Hanley and Garland (2008, 2) maintain that 'by their presence and behavior, migrants make demands on their hosts that promote change'. Migrants who enjoy a strong connection with the place of their origin, and who are eager to maintain and perpetuate it through food, customs, language, architecture and the built environment, consciously and subconsciously introduce elements from their former countries into the context of their new social and physical environments. By continuing to cook national foods, speak their language at home, observe their traditions and customs, and appropriate the built environment and architecture to suit their preconceived notions and expectations of what the domestic living spaces should look and feel like, many migrants are recreating

¹⁰⁷ McKay (2000, n.p.) claims that the 'discriminatory and violent practices' of the municipal government forced Chinese immigrants, who were 'initially dispersed throughout the city ... to withdraw to one circumscribed "place" by 1887'.

¹⁰⁸ According to McKay (2000, n.p.) many of the architectural features of Vancouver's Chinatown, while largely understood to be a representation of Chinese culture, were 'in fact invented'. She argues that Chinese immigrants living in Canada had very different social structure to that in China during the late nineteenth century and this difference was expressed through architecture, thus suggesting that both the community and the architecture of the Vancouver's Chinatown 'are adaptive innovations'.

conditions that they are familiar with, conditions they experienced while living in their home country.

The introduction of the architectural language of migrants' hometowns and villages into the context of their new countries and continued observance of the place-binding performances and other practices can help bridge the gap between the past and present, between here and there. This has the potential to help migrants overcome alienation that moving to a new place entails. Appropriation of the living spaces can further aid in making migrants feel at home, thus inadvertently assisting them to become accustomed to the new environment into which they have migrated. This process of re-territorialisation not only makes migrants' living environments more suitable for them and aligned with their expectations, it also generates change in the built fabric of their receiving society, with migrants leaving a mark of their presence by expressing their own identity through architecture (Ruble, Hanley and Garland 2008, 2).

The built environments of many Western countries, including Australia, illustrate the gradual appropriation of architecture by migrants from very diverse cultural backgrounds. The aforementioned 'Chinatowns', 'Little Italies' and 'Arab or Turkish quarters' are some of the more prominent examples that demonstrate the more literal form of re-territorialisation, in which substantial sections of cities and towns are built to resemble the architecture of migrants' origin. Chapters 5 and 6 provide an analysis and discussion of some of the practices linked to re-territorialisation, with specific focus given to architecture and the immediate surroundings, since it is through these that migrants express their sense of identity, transforming built environments in the process.

While Part II has demonstrated how easily the important connection between the built environment, architecture and personal identity is destabilised by migration, giving rise to feelings of anguish and loss, Part III explores the way some groups have used their preconceived notions of architecture to appropriate their new living environments, to ease the difficulties of their resettlement. In drawing on the familiar and known, and in surrounding themselves with architecture and items that draw reference from their past, migrants can ease their transition into their new built environment and context due to aspects of their self-identity being preserved.

To understand how the connection between migrants and their new built environment is forged, Chapter 5 investigates a number of different practices and theories that examine the ways migrants appropriate and 'colonise' new spaces and places. These theories are drawn from the works of Judith Butler, Vikki Bell, Anne-Marie Fortier and other researchers, who examine the links between repeating performative practices and the spaces in which these are carried out, and the role they play in the construction of personal identity in relation to the built environment. This chapter also investigates the different ways that migrants establish themselves in their new built environment, such as settlement patterns, establishment of communal spaces such as community centres, churches and ethnic schools, as well as cooking ethnic dishes and keeping souvenirs that remind them of home.

Through a series of historical and contemporaneous examples of re-territorialisation, Chapter 6 investigates the importance of architecture in establishing oneself in a new built environment and in perpetuating one's identity. Historical examples of Roman settlements in Europe and British settlements in Australia and India are discussed in relation to re-territorialisation via colonisation (one of the four migration categories identified by Manning 2005), while cross-community migration and its effects on the built environment of the receiving society are examined through Mexican and Latino settlements in the US and Korculani settlement in Perth, Western Australia.

Practices of re-territorialisation

By turning in circles the displaced preserve their identity and improvise a shelter. Built of what? Of habits ... the raw material of repetition turned into shelter ... words, jokes, opinions, objects and places ... photos, trophies, souvenirs ... The roof and four walls ... are invisible, intangible, and biographical.

(Berger 1984, 63, cited in Bender 2001, 10)

A certain degree of connection with the built environment in which individuals live and its architecture is necessary in their day-to-day living. It enables them to orientate themselves, to find and navigate their way through the streets, suburbs, cities and towns with which they are familiar, without even thinking about where they are. In most instances, as noted by Ballantyne (2002), this connection is not consciously perceived. The familiar features, buildings and natural environments seem to be imprinted on people's minds, forming a cognitive map that is unique for each individual, based on their reading and engagement with the place.¹⁰⁹ The processes that allow this subjective reading of places and spaces, enabling familiarity with these to occur, can be collectively referred to as territorialisation. Territorialisation, as discussed in Chapter 2, relies on humans' active engagement with a place, potentially building and strengthening the bonds they forge with the physical environment they inhabit. The more that people live in a place, the more they generate personal experiences, connections and memories associated with that place. However, as demonstrated in Chapter 4, connections with the built environment can be destabilised by travel or migration, often leaving those affected in a state of loss and confusion.

The destabilisation of one's connection with the built environment and its architecture is created by de-territorialisation, a process of detachment and movement between different social and built environments. Migrants, as individuals who leave their places of birth behind, are of particular interest in regard to de-territorialisation, and even more so in relation to re-territorialisation, the process of settling in and establishing oneself in a new built and social environment (Glusac

¹⁰⁹ Chapter 2 discussed the processes related to territorialisation and memory formation in more detail.

2006, 168). Re-territorialisation can take on a number of different forms, depending on individuals' connections with their past and willingness to embrace anything new. Regardless of the course that re-territorialisation takes, it can be argued that a certain degree of familiarisation with the new built environment is always necessary if one is to overcome the initial sense of disorientation and the unpleasant feeling of being lost. While familiarisation with the physical environment via territorialisation is an essential process, it is not always sufficient when a more substantial connection with place and its architecture is required. In this regard, other processes linked to the identity building, such as performativity, are more important. The basic outline of the theory of performativity and its contribution in explaining how identity is developed has been provided in Chapter 1. The role that these play in the establishment of a more 'meaningful' connection between migrants and the built environment of their receiving countries, which can ultimately lead to 'colonisation' of spaces and places, is explored in the next section.

Performativity, reiteration of norms and the built environment

As discussed in Chapter 1, the theory of performativity is based on the premise that identities are a product of repeated performances and reiteration of norms and named qualities. The temporary quality of the performative constitution and identity-building nexus was discussed and its importance in constructing a sense of identity in a new physical context; through executing certain performative acts, such as rituals and customs, individuals are able to connect with architecture and the built environment in which they live, forming deeper attachments to these in the process. When applied to migrants, this particular aspect of performativity offers an explanation for the way migrants, by executing and performing rituals and customs carried with them to the new physical context, generate for themselves an opportunity to recreate their sense of identity in the environment in which they have settled.

Concurrently, the theory of performativity also serves to assist in forming connections with any new built environment while enabling migrants to reconnect with their past through the execution of performative acts. The practice of performativity creates conditions where certain aspects of one's former life are temporarily revived, stimulating the perpetuation of the old as well as the development of a new sense of identity. Moreover, by performing the acts that individuals associate with their former life within specifically built or designated spaces in their new country, a connection between these acts and the architecture

in which these are carried out is created. This potentially generates more meaningful bonds with the new built environment. As Vikki Bell (1999b, 3) argues: 'Through embodied movements, the citation operates to recall and reconnect with places elsewhere that, through those very movements, are re-membered; at the same time, a site of diasporic belonging is created'.

Anne-Marie Fortier (1999) offers a good example of the way the connection between present, past and the built environment can be attained through regular repetition and recitation of the performative acts of religious nature. In her paper titled 'Re-Membering Places and the Performance of Belonging(s)', Fortier investigates Butler's (1993, 225–234) notions of 'performativity', 'citationality' and 'reiteration of norms', and the role these play in forging connections between spaces and their users. Using the procession honouring Our Lady of Mount Carmel that is carried out annually in central London by the Italian migrant community as a case study, Fortier found that the practices of 'citationality' and 'reiteration of norms' possess space-binding qualities. She suggests that through the repeated celebration of religious rituals within purposefully designated spaces such as 'St. Peter's Italian church and its surroundings, in central London' these spaces 'are at once appropriated as Italian historical and cultural possessions, and used as privileged sites for the iterated performance of a collective "body"' (Fortier, 1999, 42).¹¹⁰ Moreover, Fortier notes (1999, 46) that in the minds of some Italian migrants, St. Peter's church and its surroundings, commonly referred to as Little Italy, stand for Italy itself and not for London or England, where they have been living for years. This further emphasises the importance of performativity in structuring meaningful bonds with places, ultimately leading to apparent colonisation of these.

The appropriation of architecture and the built environment through religious rituals is not specific to the Italian community. Similar examples can be found among the religious practices of many ethnic groups. For example, Brettell (2008b, 135) refers to authors such as McAlister (1998) who discusses 'the participation of Haitian immigrants in the feast of the Madonna of 115th Street', and Tweed (1997) who investigates the shrine of Our Lady of Charity in Miami 'as a place' used by Cuban exiles 'to express diasporic nationalism and construct a translocal identity'. Werbner (1996), according to Brettell (2008b, 135), describes Muslim men filling the streets of Birmingham, Manchester and London every year 'to celebrate anniversaries of

¹¹⁰ Collective 'body' in this example refers to the descendants of Italian work migrants who came to England in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century.

death and rebirth'. During these celebrations they 'stamp the earth with the name of Allah [and thereby] make territorial claims in their adopted cities' (Werbner 1996, 182, cited in Brettell 2008b, 135).

These examples describe the religious activities that some migrant communities practise to maintain and express their sense of identity and belonging in the social and physical contexts of their new countries. Nadia Lovell (1998, 10, drawing from Appadurai 1995) suggests that 'the performative aspects of religious activities' are 'essential in anchoring belonging'. Considering that in the course of their life the majority of people would have participated in various religious, social or cultural practices, the continuous re-enactment of these practices and performative acts within designated spaces in a new built context can stimulate the creation of bonds between individuals and the spaces in which these acts are performed. Neil Leach (2005, 301, drawing from Bell 1999b) maintains that 'communities might colonise various territories through the literal "performances"'. This hints at the ability of the spaces in which these acts are performed to reconnect individuals with aspects of their past, while simultaneously creating points of identification with the new urban fabric that is necessary in the refashioning of self-identity in a new built environment (Glusac 2012, 23; Glusac 2006, 168).

While performativity is a crucial component in the process of re-territorialisation due to its ability to temporarily establish links between present and past, between here and there, forging and perpetuating self-identity in the process, there are other important factors that actively affect one's resettlement and response to the new built environment. One such factor is the desire, on the part of some migrants, to be surrounded by familiar and known social and built environments, even to the extent of recreating familiar conditions in places where these are not present. The next section investigates the notion of familiarity with architecture by looking at a number of examples in which architecture and the greater built environment have been modified and recreated in accordance with migrants' expectations and their former conditioning.

Architecture as an expression of the familiar and known

An examination of the Perth metropolitan region suggests that its built environment is a collage of different architectural styles, showcasing pattern-book Georgian homes, Californian bungalows, Tuscan villas, French Riviera mansions and expressions of contemporary architectural styles and tastes. This diversity indicates

the widespread predilection for trendy styles, as well as the desire of many migrants living in Perth to recreate familiar and known living conditions (Glusac 2012, 23). Margaret Pitt Morison and John White (1981, 511) attest to this, stating: 'the type of people who emigrated to Western Australia between 1829 and 1850 were familiar with, and aspired towards, the characteristic architecture of their time'. Though their research focuses mainly on the 'early' immigrants to Australia, recent migrants have also brought their understanding and preconceived notions of what architecture and the built environment should look and feel like, and this has affected (even if only slightly) the physical fabric of their receiving societies. While performativity is important in generating a self-identity and establishing a connection between one's former life and the life in the new built environment, the more physical dimension of re-territorialisation requires further attention. This section demonstrates that recreating familiar built and living environments is important for migrants, as it can assist them in settling in and overcoming, at least initially, the feeling of alienation and displacement (Glusac 2012, 23).

It can be said that being surrounded by familiar and known environments, both built and social, can help to maintain a feeling of security and safety. Maria Kaika (2004, 272) points out that 'the purpose of building a home through human history has been ... to create a familiar environment', an environment that sets itself apart from the outside, an environment that offers comfort and control against the threats and the 'unknown' that prevails in nature. The word 'familiar', Kaika (2004, 272 footnote 6) contends, has 'the same root' as the word 'house' in ancient Greek, thus suggesting they are almost interchangeable. Additionally, if the purpose of building a home is to create a familiar environment, this implies that the need of humans, irrespective of their culture or ethnicity, is to live and be surrounded by conditions and architecture that are well known to them. This need has arguably led many migrants to participate actively in the appropriation and adaptation of the existing built environments of their new countries. Ruble, Hanley, and Garland maintain:

The city can be viewed as historical layers, some that have disappeared and others that are still shaping space and identity. New migrant populations continue to add to these layers, altering the historical and physical form of the city and transforming the city into a space of hybridity.

(Ruble, Hanley and Garland 2008, 9)

Roxane Caftanzoglou's (2001) paper titled 'The Shadow of the Sacred Rock: Contrasting Discourses of Place Under the Acropolis' offers a good illustration of migrants' desiring to live in and be surrounded by known and familiar built environments. Her investigation focuses on the history of the construction workers' settlement underneath the Acropolis known as Anafiotika, the beginnings of which, it is believed, date back to the time of King Otto. It is said that the king, to secure the services of the master builder from Anafi, extended his invitation to the master builder's younger sister to come and join her brother in Athens with a promise to 'build her a house wherever she liked' (Caftanzoglou 2001, 29–30). The sister allegedly 'pointed to the rocky slope of the Acropolis and, saying it reminded her of the heights above her home village in the Cycladic island of Anafi, expressed her desire to live there' (Caftanzoglou 2001, 30). This story echoes Mazumdar and Mazumdar's (2009, 257, drawing from Jonassen 1949, 1961; Abrahamson 1996) view, which suggests that it is common for migrants to settle 'in or near places with specific physical characteristics that remind them of home'. What this reinforces is that the places in which individuals live are responsible for their conditioning and their convictions, ultimately influencing their perceptions and expectations of architecture and their urban and social environments.

The importance of living in places that appear familiar is also discussed by Clare Cooper Marcus (1995, 245), who observes that older people can experience a move from one environment to the next as positive if they are 'able to re-create the interior of their old home in the new apartment'. This suggests that even when the physical environment changes, if there are remnants of the old place visible in the new environments then the sense of continuity in one's being, or identity, can be maintained, ensuring an easier transition and acclimatisation. Further, it is worth emphasising the importance of maintaining unchanged daily routines or habits to enable a smooth transition to a new place. The built environment and architecture of people's homes contributes to the development of their *habitus*, as suggested earlier, framing their daily routines and providing a backdrop for the expression of their identity. When the new built environment contains elements that are similar to the built environment of individuals' old homes, enabling similar routines and habits, the effects of the transition are minimised and more easily overcome.

Tadashi Toyama (1988, cited in Cooper Marcus 1995, 246) offers a similar conclusion. He took photographs of the homes in which elderly participants lived prior to their move to a retirement village and showed these photographs to the

participants during their second interview. Toyama (1988, cited in Cooper Marcus 1995, 246) observes that 'without exception, the photos called forth deep feelings, and the subjects made many comments. Some of the subjects rearranged the decorations in their new living rooms to match the photos'. In contrast, the lack of any reference to the old and familiar living environment can cause severe cases of disorientation, leading to the deterioration of health and in extreme cases, premature death among older people, as suggested by Cooper Marcus (1995, 245–246). Thus, to avoid negative effects of moving or migrating and to bring a sense of seeming normality back into their lives, many individuals, including migrants, try to recreate familiar living conditions and spaces, even if only through discrete details (Glusac 2012, 23).

Sebastian Ureta (2007) offers a further example of appropriation and personalisation of living spaces, which springs from the desire to be surrounded by the familiar and known. His research focuses on the adaptation and domestication of state housing estates in Santiago, Chile, by low-income families. In Chile, as in a number of other countries around the world, the state-provided housing estates are designed around a rather rigid understanding of how low-income families ought to live in urban centres (Ureta 2007). Ureta found that the highly impersonal and limiting spaces of housing estate apartments are adapted, altered and domesticated by the new occupants to suit their needs and preconceived ideas of what living environments should look and feel like. For many low-income families, life in Santiago's shantytowns before their relocation to the housing estates conditioned their approach to architecture and living spaces in general. Ureta (2007, 318, citing Colloredo-Mansfeld 1994, 845) argues that 'due to complete deregulation and informality of shantytowns these families used to "establish identities, perpetuate social norms and mediate community through architecture"'. Architecture is perceived by shantytown inhabitants as a medium to express their own sense of identity, social status and distinction.¹¹¹ A similar 'do-it-yourself' approach to architecture, as practised within the shantytowns, is adopted by low-income occupants when they move to housing estates. Two of Ureta's respondents provided a detailed account of the transformations undertaken within a house, illustrating the level of adaptation and appropriation of the living environments that was required to make them feel more suitable and familiar:

¹¹¹ While the highly deregulated nature of shantytowns allows their residents the freedom to express their self-identity through architecture, one should keep in mind that the conditions within these are exceedingly unsanitary and are sources of disease, crime and a high mortality rate.

[When we arrived] we put this division [a partition on the living], we made the division of the kitchen and in the children's bedroom, three divisions. What we need now is protections and nothing more, the other things will be done in the future, we want to put ceramics, but my wife doesn't want to because the floor is still good, we also want to paint, with a brighter color.

(Cited in Ureta 2007, 319)

This example, Ureta (2007) maintains, demonstrates the importance of architecture in expressing one's sense of identity that in this particular study can be traced back to the environmental conditioning associated with living in the shantytowns. As mentioned earlier, architecture, in particular the external appearance of shantytown dwellings, plays a very important role in projecting the occupants' individuality, tastes and status. For example, highly utilitarian elements, such as protective grills and bars, are aestheticised with flower beds and plants. Ureta (2007, 321, drawing from Colloredo-Mansfeld 1994, Holston 1991, and Klaufus 2000) observes that this practice can also be found within the housing estates, further suggesting that 'these aesthetic elements of external protection, along with some decorative elements in home extensions, show us how expression through architecture, especially characteristic of Latin-American shantytowns ... has not completely disappeared in the housing estate, although its relevance has diminished greatly'

Rabinow (1995), in his book *French Modern: Norms and Forms of the Social Environment*, offers another example of the physical appropriation of architecture with the aim of producing familiar built environments. In analysing the French colonial legacy in North Africa, Rabinow mentions the attempts by some French architects (most prominently Laprade) to decipher the 'charm' of Moroccan houses so that the newly established residential quarter¹¹² could be woven into the beauty and richness of the existing architecture (Rabinow 1995, 314). This example implies that in spite of the attempts to regulate the city through modern architecture, French architects recognised the importance of creating an environment that had the ability to mimic the existing one,¹¹³ both because of its 'beauty' and because of the realisation that something different might not be acceptable to its inhabitants as it

¹¹² The *habous* quarter, as it came to be known, formed part of the French colonial government's efforts to regulate Moroccan cities (Rabinow 1995, 313).

¹¹³ The notion of mimicking or 'copying' the existing architectural styles is generally frowned upon in architectural circles for not being an 'authentic' or 'creative' process that allows the architect to express his or her own sense of style and identity. This is reflected in Frank Gehry's comment in relation to his own work: 'I guess my work has become a kind of sculpture as architecture', a statement that is clearly placing an emphasis on the creativity and authenticity of his designs (cited in Glendinning 2010, 89).

would be alien and fail to meet their expectations.¹¹⁴ The significance of the known and familiar in the new environment can also be seen in the example of Edmund Blacket, an English architect and an early settler to Australia. He based the selection of his accommodation upon arriving in Australia on the familiar appearance of his landlady, whose looks, Morton Herman (1963, 3) suggests, presented Blacket with 'a grain of comfort in a land ... in a nation of strangers'.

As with architecture and architectural styles, building methods, 'customs and crafts' are also 'translated ... into totally new conditions' (Lewis 1977, 1) as a result of migration. Migrants resorting to their familiar construction methods and practices shows that *habitus* is very much a part of the building industry. In his book titled *Victorian Primitive*, Miles Lewis (1977, 2) argues that the early settler who was unable to afford tradesmen and was needed to make improvements in his living conditions resorted to 'whatever building tradition he may have acquired in his home country'. He points out that the early land selection era was the period 'when the Californian is building in adobe on one block, and the Cumberland miner in sapling and stone on the next' (Lewis 1977, 2). Bade (2003, 75) argues that 'migration was and is always also a transfer of abilities and skills' and this is as true in architecture and the construction industry as it is in other fields. Customs, crafts and skills are part of one's *habitus* and as such, they form fields of knowledge and experience. Early migrants relied upon and introduced into the context of their new countries their skills in the familiar construction methods and techniques, to build their homes and make a living for themselves.

The transfer of skills and customs related to construction methods occurred much more frequently in earlier centuries, before industrialisation, modernisation and building industry regulation took over in the early 1920s in Australia, with the establishment of the Australian Standards Association. Nevertheless, there is still some evidence of construction methods and skills being introduced by migrants well after the 1920s. During an informal discussion with a colleague in 2012, it was noted that during the 1950s, his father-in-law, an Italian migrant who came to Perth, Western Australia, built his own home with self-made concrete blocks, a material that was not commonly used in Australia at that time, but was and still is very

¹¹⁴ Mimicking the Moroccan traditional architecture was also a way of pacifying the Moroccan population by giving them certain aspects of their culture back, after taking their country away from them.

common in Italy. This example suggests that the transfer of construction methods and skills still occurs, even if to a much lesser extent.

Worth noting in regard to architecture being an expression of the familiar and known is that current Perth housing and rental policies prevent the occupants of rental accommodation from making any changes to the existing structure without an owner's consent.¹¹⁵ These strict occupancy regulations are counterproductive, as they work against the strong desire to personalise and familiarise living spaces that is shown by this research. Nevertheless, it should also be mentioned that some migrant groups demonstrate a greater inclination for owning their homes rather than renting. Burnley (1977, 152) observes that 'renting patterns have been stronger with the British and the German-born than with the southern Europeans in Australian cities, despite the much greater affluence and higher occupational status of the former groups and generally low income levels (and recency of arrival) of the latter'. For Greeks and Italians who migrated to Australia 'home ownership became the rule' (Burnley 1977, 153).¹¹⁶ Warner and Srole (1960, 99, cited in Burnley 1977, 152) provide a possible reason for certain ethnic groups' preference for home ownership rather than renting. They argue that home ownership can be seen as 'an indication of the degree to which roots have been struck in the society', which renting does not provide (Warner and Srole 1960, 99, cited in Burnley 1977, 152).¹¹⁷ Moreover, the Latin saying, '*Ubi bene ibi patria*', meaning 'Where you own your land, that is your fatherland' (cited in Baldassar 2006, 50) illustrates the thinking and attitude of Italian migrants regarding resettlement and striking their roots in the new social and physical context. Owning a place circumnavigates the restrictions that the rental market imposes on occupants, making the personalisation and expression of self-identity through architecture possible.

¹¹⁵ According to the rental agreement, an occupant renting a property in Australia cannot paint or drill a wall to hang a picture without prior permission by the owner. This, according to Stewart Brand (1994, 7), is also the case in America, where renters 'must ask permission from landlords' to make any improvements to the property they are occupying.

¹¹⁶ According to the 1971 census, more than 80 per cent of Italian migrants living in Melbourne and Sydney owned the properties in which they resided; Greek migrants owned 73 per cent, and Australian-born 69 per cent (Burnley 1977, 152).

¹¹⁷ The majority of migrants who came to Australia following the end of World War II were on a two-year work contract that saw them sent off to the most remote areas of Australia to work on large nation-building projects such as the Snowy Mountains Hydro Electric Project, railways and roads (Peters 2001; Burnley 1977). After their release from this contract, or after generating sufficient wealth, many migrants moved to larger city areas. Moreover, Burnley (1977, 158) argues that the incidence of 'home occupancy and ownership patterns' among post-war European migrants, particularly Greek and Italian migrants, 'varied quite considerably in relation to whether districts were first or second settlement areas', with second settlement areas recording a much higher rate of home ownership. Peters (2001, 234, drawing from Jordens 1995, 64) suggests that for immigrants owning a home was a priority because of the 'critical housing situation, and the need to create some permanency in their lives'.

In addition to the above, one's former exposure to home ownership patterns, such as living in a house that has been in the family's possession for years, as opposed to rental accommodation, conditions the inhabitants' views and preferences regarding owning or renting a property. In many Mediterranean countries, particularly before World War II, home ownership, no matter how modest, was the preferred option. A common practice in countries such as Italy, Greece and Croatia has been to keep properties within the family, passing homes and other possessions from one generation to the next. Hence, it is not surprising that for migrants from this part of the world, home ownership is the preferred option. As noted earlier, owning a home allows migrants to adapt and appropriate their new living spaces in line with their own needs and wants, making these spaces more individualised and familiar.

Architecture and the built environment are perhaps the most visible signs of adaptation and appropriation by members belonging to diverse migrant communities, who in their efforts to recreate familiar living conditions, project their tastes and self-identity onto the built fabric. However, architecture on a domestic level is not the only aspect of this phenomenon. The initial settlement patterns of migrants and ethnic organisations, such as community centres, schools and religious institutions, also play a decisive role in migrants' re-territorialisation, and this is examined next.

Settlement patterns and institutions

As already noted, many migrants modify and appropriate the homes they own and occupy to make them reflect the living environments of their former homes. This desire to be surrounded by familiar and known social and built environments is often the result of the very strong habits and *habitus* that individuals carry with them. Settlement patterns can also be considered to form a part of humans' *habitus*. Whether individuals live close to their extended family or far away, whether they own a home or rent, live in a house or an apartment, or city or suburb, can all to some extent be brought back to their *habitus* and the living conditions to which they were exposed earlier in life. Surroundings, both social and physical, thus have a bearing on the way people perceive the world around them, conditioning and structuring their expectations and beliefs.

One of the settlement patterns many migrants practise, at least in the first few years after their migration, is living in close physical proximity to their kin and members of

the same ethnic group.¹¹⁸ The benefits of staying close to members of the same ethnic group have been recognised by many researchers.¹¹⁹ According to Struening, Rabkin and Peck (1970, 224–225, cited in Kovacs and Cropley 1975, 125–126), congregating with members of one’s own cultural and ethnic background is beneficial in ‘minimising changes in cultural and social living styles’, allowing migrants to continue observing ‘familiar patterns of family relationships, religious and recreational activities’. By living close to and associating with members of one’s own ethnic and cultural background, an existing *habitus* is maintained and perpetuated, and an established identity is retained.

Another reason for the above patterns stems from the refusal of some migrants to fully integrate into their receiving society. Buckland (1977, 174–175) argues that the Australian assimilation policies that were in place until the 1970s contributed to ethnic groups sticking together ‘in an effort to preserve their cultural inheritance’. For example, European Jews tended to settle in suburbs with a significant Jewish population, such as Double Bay and Elizabeth Bay in Sydney, and St. Kilda and Caulfield in Melbourne. Moreover, a strong Jewish presence has left a visible mark on the built environment of these suburbs, featuring a number of Jewish institutions and support networks such as ‘synagogues, ... kosher butchers and restaurants, schools, museums, libraries, ... and other expressions of a communal identity’ (Boyle, Halfacree and Robinson 1998, 223, drawing from Lerman *et al.* 1989). These institutions serve to further strengthen Jewish identity and to attract new Jewish residents.

Similar patterns of settlement can be observed among migrants belonging to Italian, Greek and Vietnamese communities. Richards (2008, 249) argues that it was the Italian migrants’ ‘refusal to assimilate totally to the host culture’ and their desire to retain ‘much of their own ways of life even in suburban Australia’ that eventually led to ‘the first diversification of British Australia’. This refusal to assimilate, coupled with the preservation of the old ways of life, contributed to the establishment of a number

¹¹⁸ Burnley (1977, 166), drawing from Gillian Bottomley’s (1974) research into the settlement patterns of Greek migrants living in Sydney, suggests that many migrants ‘had either lived with or shared their houses with extra familial kin for extended periods’ or were ‘living either next door to or around the corner from parents of wife or husband’. Similar observations were made by Colic-Peisker (2006; 2002b) in regard to the 1950s and 1960s migrant cohort from Croatia to Australia.

¹¹⁹ Kovacs and Cropley (1975, 9) note that some researchers, such as England (1929), observed as early as 1929 that ‘sentiments, beliefs and ideas’ enable migrants ‘to transport [their] culture and the social order’ with which they are familiar to their new countries. By sharing these with other members of one’s community and society, ‘a sense of permanency, meaning, order and wholeness’ in migrants’ lives is achieved (Kovacs and Cropley 1975, 9).

of institutions designed to cater for members of the Italian community, which permanently changed the nature and the appearance of Australian suburbs. As Burnley observes:

In the old Italian neighbourhood in Carlton in Melbourne in 1976, there were still 106 Italian-owned businesses, shops or clubs. There were five male clubs, one family club (a regional association), three billiard bars, six hair stylists, fourteen restaurants, seven milk bars, and five delicatessens selling condiments from southern Europe. In addition there were travel, insurance agents and land agents, second hand dealers, clothiers, gift shops, pastry cooks, an importer, a furniture shop, two barristers and solicitors, three pharmacies and a public accountant.

(Burnley 1977, 160)

Similar services and businesses could be found in Sydney's suburb of Leichhardt, in which by 1976, 175 Italian businesses flourished, including the printing and publishing of Italian newspapers *La Fiamma* and *Il Settegiorni*, medical and legal practices, accountants, real estate and taxation agents, pharmacists, and ethnic restaurants and cafés (Burnley 1977, 160–161). The latter two initially catered to the Italian population; however, over time, these were absorbed into the mainstream Australian culture as Australians and members of other ethnic groups frequented them more often.

Greek migrants exhibited similar migration and settlement patterns to the Italians. Many of those who came to Australia in the 1920s, 1930s and later, settled within suburbs with strong Greek populations and support networks. In Perth, it was the inner city suburb of Northbridge where Greek migrants from the island of Megisti¹²⁰ initially settled. Yiannakis argues that:

the street that best epitomizes the 'Little Megisti', rather than 'Little Athens', that sprung up in Perth during these years was Lake ... Street. Here there developed a very strong sense of community among the islanders.

(Yiannakis 1996, 173)

¹²⁰ The official name for the island of Castellorizo.

The feeling of community among Castellorizians living in Perth was further reinforced with the establishment of the Greek club and Greek Orthodox Church, which was seen as 'a potent symbol of "Greekness"' (Yiannakis 1996, 87). Yiannakis (1996, 87) further observes that 'in their halcyon days Castellorizians had been instrumental in recreating a feature of the "old world" in the new', thus reiterating the importance of maintaining *habitus* and recreating familiar built environments in constructing and perpetuating a familiar sense of identity among migrants. Their efforts ultimately paid off, with some Castellorizians feeling 'as though life on Megisti had been transplanted to Northbridge' (Yiannakis 1996, 173). It is worth noting that the same section of Perth, once predominantly inhabited by Greek migrants, later became known as 'Little Italy', due to the large number of Italian migrants settling there during the 1950s and 1960s, and that today the section of Northbridge along the William Street is distinctively Vietnamese in character (Peters 2009; 1999).

In today's society with its different economic pressures, technological advancements allowing greater mobility, and a different outlook on life and expectations, it could be assumed that migrants no longer need to settle within close proximity of members of to their own ethnic and cultural group. However, although it was more relevant during the 1950s, 1960s and earlier, settling within close proximity and establishing ethnic social, cultural and religious institutions is still present today. Boyle, Halfacree and Robinson (1998, 229, drawing from Ashkenasi 1990, Castles and Miller 1993, and Gitmez and Wilpert 1987) argue that the 'Turks' cultures of migration are represented on the ground by ethnic concentrations in the large cities, notably Kreuzberg in Berlin', where 'shops, cafés, professional practices, mosques, newspapers, welfare organisations and other services have sprung up to meet their needs'. This demonstrates that the need of some migrant communities to stamp their mark on the built environment of their new countries through institutions, social networks and close community ties persists to this day. Settling in close proximity to the members of their kin and ethnic community and establishing and maintaining close ties through social and religious institutions ultimately act as coping mechanisms, aiding migrants in perpetuating their identity in the new physical context.¹²¹

¹²¹ The Bosnian Islamic community is currently developing a large community centre in Caversham, Western Australia. The centre is to contain a large mosque, community hall, recreational facilities, an ethnic school, and so on.

Social and religious ethnic institutions are particularly significant aspects of migrants' settlement patterns. The role of religious institutions in perpetuating a sense of ethnic and cultural identity has been widely researched.¹²² Brettell (2008b, 134) argues that 'in the absence of residential concentration, it is the collective activities in religious institutions that provide the context for ethno-religious consciousness'. Chantal Saint-Blancat (2008, 100) reiterates this position by suggesting that 'the increasing number of mosques in the whole European urban territory between the 1970s and the 1990s reflects a public affirmation of identity as well as the internal pluralism of diaspora Islam'. Vasquez (2005, 238, cited in Mazumdar and Mazumdar 2009, 256), maintains that 'religion helps immigrants imagine their homelands in diaspora and inscribe their memories and worldviews into the physical landscape and built environment'.

As the above examples of Greek, Italian and Turkish settlement patterns in Australia and Germany indicate, ethnically based and owned institutions such as churches and mosques, shops, schools, restaurants and cafés usually spring up in the areas populated by a large number of migrants belonging to a particular ethnic community. These ethnic institutions act as 'pulling' agents for their respective members and are deemed crucial in perpetuating one's belonging to a particular culture and ethnic community. As Michael Jones-Correa (2008, 38) maintains: 'School and churches both bridge and replicate the social, cultural, and political differences in the community' providing a place for social connectedness and interaction. Support for his assertion came from a number of testimonies from interviews with Chinese migrants living in the US. His interviewees argue that within ethnic institutions such as cultural schools, for example, their thirst for the sense of belonging is met (Jones-Correa 2008, 38). As one Chinese immigrant states:

but a lot of times it's about the—... how do I describe it? ... You see, we are foreign, we are immigrant, and ... we need this sense of belonging. ... you get a sense of belonging in those cultural schools.

(Cited in Jones-Correa 2008, 37–38)

¹²² Brettell (2008b, 134) suggests that authors such as Warner and Wittner (1998), Ebaugh and Chafetz (2000) and Min and Kim (2002) have all 'noted the significance of religious institutions to place-making and the construction of community among immigrant populations'. Mazumdar and Mazumdar (2009, 256, drawing from Handlin 1951; Herberg 1955; Miller 1977) further observe: 'That many immigrants have turned to religion to ease the stress of transition and to find meaning in a new social world has been documented well by studies of Irish, Italian, and other immigrants from Europe to America'.

Similar sentiments are shared by Dutch Indonesian migrants regarding social clubs and the benefits these institutions offer by invoking familiar and known environments, or in the words of one Indisch Dutch Australian:

When I first went to a meeting with other people from the Indies I straightaway felt at home. The people were familiar, the accent, everything was familiar. It feels like we are related. We have the same background, we went to the same schools, we like the same kind of food, tell the same kind of jokes. The first time was a sort of a 'homecoming'. ... We don't have to explain our past to each other. We share our past. That is what makes it so special.

(Cited in Peters 2008, 5–6)

These examples point towards the overwhelming need of some migrants to associate with members belonging to their community and to recreate familiar and known conditions. Institutions such as community centres, places of worship and ethnically based schools, shops and restaurants all serve the purpose of filling the gap caused by migration, while at the same time helping perpetuate continuity in the identity of an individual. Recreating architecture on both a communal and domestic scale, as mentioned earlier, is an approach to which many migrants resort, to recreate familiar and known conditions. This, according to Li, Hodgetts and Ho (2010, 789, drawing from the work of Deaux 2000), is expected of migrants because 'part of the immigrants' task is to rebuild a sense of place and home'. This sense of place often draws from the conditions and experiences to which migrants were exposed in their old country. As Mazumdar and Mazumdar maintain:

Migrants establishing homes in their newly adopted places has become more common in this era of large-scale migration. For this, they convert whatever pre-existing houses and housing they can afford into somewhat more acceptable and meaningful homes – homes that have higher appropriateness, suitability, and congruence with the immigrant's prior spatial, cultural, and religious experiences.

(Mazumdar and Mazumdar 2009, 256)

However, it should be noted that this approach is not always available to migrants. Particularly in the early years of their life in the new country, migrants tend to experience greater financial constraints, which limit them to renting rather than

owning their homes. In addition, the strict rental regulations mentioned earlier further hinder more extensive adaptations and appropriations of the architecture of rental accommodation (Lee and Park 2011, 11). Hence, the most common approach of making the new home familiar and 'homely' is by introducing objects that hold particular importance and meaning to them. This practice and other aspects, such as gardens, food and working practices, as linked to re-territorialisation, are examined in the next section.

Other *habitus*-informed aspects that assist in perpetuating self-identity in the new context

Objects

The importance of objects in inscribing a self-identity has been widely recognised. A number of researchers have argued that objects are not only important in expressing one's identity but also in shaping it (Mazumdar and Mazumdar 2009, 257).¹²³ Mazumdar and Mazumdar (2009, 257, drawing from Brown and Perkins 1992, 280) suggest that 'our home, interiors, décor, alterations, furnishings and landscaping are all expressions of our identity, both personal and familial', thus reiterating the above assertion. Clare Cooper Marcus (1995, 12), architectural educator and author, argues that 'our home and its contents are very potent statements about who we are'. She further implies 'that it is the movable objects in the home, rather than the physical fabric itself, that are the symbols of self' (Cooper Marcus 1995, 11). This sentiment is shared by Sebastian Ureta (2007, 323), who observes that for shantytown dwellers 'furniture and decoration carry special meanings, they represent their past, their stories, successes, and failures and to leave them behind' would equate 'to leav[ing] behind a part of their own story'. It is because of this strong link between objects that are meaningful to individuals and their sense of identity¹²⁴ that they tend to take objects with them when they move, if they are in a position to do so.

This is of particular importance for migrants, who often use little items such as objects and photographs from homes in their former countries to personalise the interiors of their new homes in the receiving country. These objects act as reminders

¹²³ Mazumdar and Mazumdar (2009, 257) draw from a number of different authors, such as Duncan and Duncan (1976) and Rapoport (1982), who have outlined the importance that 'homes, artifacts and objects' have in expressing identity, and from Belk (1992), Brown and Perkins (1992), Hummon (1989), Proshansky, Fabian and Kaminoff (1983) and Relph (1976), who all recognised the significance of 'homes, artifacts and objects' in shaping one's identity.

¹²⁴ Russel W. Belk (1992, 40) suggests that 'it is more accurate to say that our attachments to souvenirs and mementos help to *construct*, rather than simply preserve, an identity'.

of their life somewhere else, triggering and recalling memories of different places, people and times. Mehta and Belk (1991, 399, cited in Mazumdar and Mazumdar 2009, 257) argue that 'material reminders [enable immigrants to] transport part of their former identities to a new place ... These transitional objects, when ritually incorporated into the new habitat, may provide an important aid to identity transition', reducing 'the effects of "identity alienation"' in the process (Mazumdar and Mazumdar 2009, 262, drawing from Mehta and Belk 1991, 400). Objects that are inscribed with meaning and importance, and that carry very strong associations to the old place when inserted within the new physical context, can act as links between past and present, between here and there (Mazumdar and Mazumdar 2009, 257). Cooper Marcus (1995, 75) further suggests that 'with age, we tend to increasingly value objects that evoke the past; that immigrants tend to value objects that remind them of home'. This implies that the nostalgia evident in one's longing for old home and familiarity, and expressed through objects, stays with migrants throughout their lives even when the full resettlement process has taken place.

Contemporary literature abounds in examples that testify to the importance that personal objects have for migrants in maintaining continuity in their sense of identity and preserving links with the past. John Burger and Jean Mohr's study (1975, cited in Bender 2001, 10–11) on Turkish guest workers living in Germany discusses their effort of recreating familiar environments with the help of objects, even when conditions are less than favourable:

In certain barracks the authorities have tried to forbid migrant workers keeping their suitcases in their sleeping rooms on the grounds that they make the room untidy. The workers have strongly resisted this ... In these suitcases they keep personal possessions, not the clothes put in the wardrobes, not the photographs they pin to the wall, but articles which, for one reason or another, are their talismans. Each suitcase, locked or tied around with cord, is like a man's memory. They defend their right to keep the suitcases.

(Berger and Mohr 1975, 179, cited in Bender 2001, 10–11)

Peters (2000) discusses a number of accounts in which Dutch female migrants have used objects to recreate distinctively Dutch interiors within their Australian homes. She observes:

Dutch women complied by hanging lace curtains, filling their homes with copper and brass miniatures, delft blue china, a profusion of pot plants and by keeping a birthday and events calendar in a prominent place.

(Peters 2000, 59)

And:

Wilma's parents kept the furniture they had come out with, and like most Dutch went back frequently to pick up Dutch artefacts, which they placed all around the house.

(Peters 2000, 64)

Cooper Marcus (1995) recounts a number of stories that emphasise the importance of objects in creating a feeling of comfort and perceived home, no matter how challenging the circumstances. These examples are of published authors such as novelist Jim Ballard, anthropologist Margaret Mead and psychoanalyst Sigmund Freud.¹²⁵ In his autobiographical novel *Empire of the Sun* (1984), Ballard reflects on his life as a young boy in a Japanese prisoner-of-war camp. A few pictures pinned up 'beside his bed, as if to express his appropriation of that meagre space as home' (Cooper Marcus 1995, 73), suggest the profound capacity that familiar objects and possessions have in personalising a space and thus making it feel less threatening and more familiar. In her autobiographical novel *Blackberry Winter* (1972), Margaret Mead described how, as a young girl, each night during her frequent travels with her parents she would place 'a few precious possessions around her bunk in the railroad sleeping compartment to help her feel "at home"' (Cooper Marcus 1995, 73). The attachment to highly valued possessions and objects and their ability to ease the feeling of loss and alienation is further demonstrated through the story of Sigmund Freud's migration from Austria to England prior to World War II. Freud, an ardent collector of antique statues, took his extensive collection with him to London. With his statues around him, Freud 'adjusted more easily to living in a foreign land', even if only for a brief time¹²⁶ (Cooper Marcus 1995, 73; see also Belk 1992, 41).¹²⁷

¹²⁵ These authors are referred to in Cooper Marcus (1995, 73).

¹²⁶ Freud left Vienna in 1938 and died in London in September 1939 (Martin 1988).

¹²⁷ A similar observation (though referring to farm tools) can be found in Peter Read's (1999, 44) paper titled 'Leaving home', where he suggests that Australian farmers may 'have abandoned the farm implements once pulled by horses or the Ferguson tractor but they do not often abandon hand tools'. Read (1999, 44) argues that 'tools travel from one house to another, they form part of the substance of the rural home; and if the mortgage or old age or hopes for something better finally drive a farming family from the land—the tools will probably be piled on the back of the ute'.

These examples attest to the strong link between personal objects and one's sense of identity. Objects, as with architecture and the built environment, are invested with personal memories, stories and experiences that make them a visual expression of self-identity. When removed from familiar and known environments, as is the case with migration, these objects often help individuals preserve and maintain the connection with their past. Thus, it is not surprising that once in their new country, numerous migrants try to surround themselves with as many objects that remind them of home that they could bring with them, objects that provide them with comfort and continuity of their identity.¹²⁸

However, as the number of years spent away from home increases, these objects tend to become refined to suit the changing needs of the household that has integrated into the new society. As a result, old objects may lose their initial meaning and significance, no longer acting as links between present and past, between here and there. Old photographs reminding one of home may become replaced by paintings and photographs of different people and places, which no longer bear reference to the life before migration. The souvenirs and personal possessions from the home country may become replaced, or carefully filtered, whereby only those objects that are aesthetically pleasing and deemed appropriate, and that fit the new physical and social context, are exhibited. Whether migrants retain or replace some or all of the objects that remind them of home could be an issue for a future study.

As well as objects that can help create the feeling of comfort and home, ethnic gardens and cuisine can also assist in easing the burden of displacement and loss that is created by migration. While the recreation of ethnic gardens and food are not directly linked to the built environment and architecture, they do affect migrants' re-territorialisation favourably. Gardens and ethnic cuisine can also help to personalise the physical envelope that surround humans and therefore they are considered in the next section.

Ethnic gardens and cuisine

Much of the research conducted into the psychological benefits of recreating familiar living conditions in a new built environment focuses on gardens. As with architecture and the built environment, gardens assist in constructing and maintaining

¹²⁸ Belk (1992, 53) argues that 'the incidence of decorative artifacts from India is much higher in immigrant homes than in India'. He cites objects' ability to capture a feeling of 'security and cultural identity' as a possible reason for this trend, feelings that are 'taken for granted' by those who continue living in India (Belk 1992, 53).

individuals' sense of identity (Li, Hodgetts and Ho 2010, 787, drawing from Hodgetts et al. 2010, and Gross and Lane 2007). Since they constitute a part of one's immediate living environment, gardens 'can evoke feelings of familiarity and continuity' (Li, Hodgetts and Ho 2010, 788) through the 'rituals of habitation', as argued by Moore, Mitchell and Turnbull (1993, vi-vii, cited in Holmes 1999, 152). In their book *The Poetics of Gardens*, they argue that through 'moulding the earth, defining and connecting spaces with walls and ceilings and paths and monuments, irrigating, planting and tending, weaving patterns of recollection with names and images and souvenirs' (Moore, Mitchell and Turnbull 1993, vi-vii, cited in Holmes 1999, 152), individuals tend to project their own aspirations and identity and that of their culture¹²⁹ onto the gardens. Li, Hodgetts and Ho (2010, 787) share the same observation, saying that 'through the physical act of gardening, people reshape a physical space, turning it into a place that reflects the efforts, desires, history and biography of gardeners'.

In the context of early Australian settlement, gardens illustrate the above statement rather well. According to Katie Holmes (1999, 152), early Australian gardens were based on the 'ideas the British brought with them when they colonised Australia'. She argues that creating familiar gardens invested with meaning and tradition in a new and alien landscape 'has been one of the key ways in which British settlers established themselves' in the new physical context of Australia (Holmes 1999, 152). Holmes specifically draws on the example of Gertrude Bell, a daughter of a British settler, who grew up in Eccelsbourne Garden, which was created by her father in line with the British pastoral tradition of the eighteenth century. After her marriage and resettlement in a remote Australian station, Gertrude tried to recreate the lush garden of her childhood, an expression of 'European aesthetic sensitivity' and vision, in an environment of red dust, pale green shrubbery and gum trees (Holmes 1999, 156, drawing from Hoskins 1995, 187). Holmes (1999, 156) observes that 'the trees Gertrude initially planted were those most familiar to her—those of her dreams: the oaks and birches of her childhood, seedlings sent to her by her father'. Gertrude's garden thus illustrates her strong desire to recreate, and be surrounded by, an environment familiar to her, further reiterating the importance of the physical environment in constructing and perpetuating individuals' sense of identity.

¹²⁹ Katie Holmes (1999, 152) argues that 'rituals of habitation involve not only the individual's actions and associations but those of their culture. Through the ordering of our environment, the creation of particular designs from the materials and plants available, we implant not only our own imprint on the land, but reflect the fashions, fantasies and beliefs of our culture'.

Similar examples can be found in much of the contemporary literature on gardens. In the article 'Gardens, Transitions and Identity Reconstruction among Older Chinese Immigrants to New Zealand', Li, Hodgetts and Ho (2010) explore the high importance that Chinese migrants living in New Zealand place on cultivating Chinese vegetables in their gardens. They observe that almost all of the participants they interviewed have been growing Chinese vegetables and that this is largely due to culturally influenced garden design and the species of vegetables planted being able to assist migrants in rebuilding a sense of home. As Lee, one of the participants, states: 'I now have my own garden here in New Zealand. I can grow Chinese vegetables. I am so happy when I watch vegetables growing' (cited in Li, Hodgetts and Ho 2010, 789).

Gardens are also said to be 'containers of memory' (Mazumdar and Mazumdar 2012, 259, drawing from Bhatti and Church 2001, and Thompson 2005). Remembering, as identified by Mazumdar and Mazumdar (2012, 262), 'can be a multisensorial experience involving sight, sound, smell, touch and taste'. Featuring different colours, scents and plant species, gardens can very much evoke the memory of the old home somewhere else, connecting migrants' past and present, the place of the old and the place of the new home. Gardens that 're-create the natural environment left behind' can conjure a feeling of being at home again, bringing 'comfort to the displaced', even if only for a brief moment (Mazumdar and Mazumdar 2012, 263; see also Li, Hodgetts and Ho 2010, Mazumdar and Mazumdar 2009). Mazumdar and Mazumdar (2009, 264, citing Thompson 2005, 229–231) maintain that gardens 'can help the migrant "link the home of origin with the new" enabling him/her to "feel at home" and regain "a sense of belonging" and rootedness and symbolically connect their two homes and landscapes'. Li, Hodgetts and Ho (2010, 787, drawing from Alanen 1990, and Giraud 1990) also suggest that gardens offer migrants the opportunity 'to employ skills from their homelands', thus supporting old habits and helping them reconnect with their life before migration. By employing skills from the old country and techniques relating to gardening, one can perpetuate certain aspects of one's *habitus*, which aids in creating a sense of continuity in one's being. Thus, it can be argued that gardening can be linked to processes related to performativity, which can help forge connections between past and present, between environments here and there, as discussed earlier.

Mazumdar and Mazumdar (2012, 262) offer a number of examples to support the above claim. Mr Jogkarno, an Indonesian migrant to the US, has a garden that

features purple asters that 'remind him of his old house in Indonesia where purple flowers also bloomed in front'. Hindu families who bring seeds from India and sow them in their US yards 'recreate gardens that are reminiscent of the landscapes from their past' (Mazumdar and Mazumdar 2009, 262). The ability of gardens to act as a bridge between past and present is perhaps best expressed in the words of a young American of Vietnamese descent, who said that the garden 'is a space that allows [my dad] to bring a little piece of Vietnam to our house' (cited in Mazumdar and Mazumdar 2012, 263).

The different treatment of the front- and backyards is worth noting in regard to gardening and plant species that migrants tend to use. Mazumdar and Mazumdar (2012, 261) observe that the frontyards of first-generation migrants often resemble those of their neighbours, containing plants and trees that are not specific or significant to their culture, but are of their new country. They cite 'the desire of the first generation [migrants] to "fit in," to not "stand out"' as one of the main reason for this trend (Mazumdar and Mazumdar 2012, 261). The herbs, vegetables and fruits in their backyards, which carry a special meaning and significance to migrants and their places of origin, are a stark contrast to the plant species of their frontyards. Here, away from the public eye, migrants can openly express themselves and their 'cultural cuisine' (Mazumdar and Mazumdar 2012, 261). The backyard gardens of members belonging to a number of ethnic minorities from Asia and southern Europe, for example, tend to contain 'use' plants and trees, species that can be used in cooking and eating. Chinese immigrants' gardens usually feature a 'variety of vegetables used in Chinese cooking, such as Chinese celery, sugar cane, spring onion, Chinese spinach' and 'a variety of fruit trees, such as date and cherimoya' (Mazumdar and Mazumdar 2012, 261–262). In gardens belonging to Indonesian immigrants, plants 'used in Indonesian cuisine such as lemon grass, turmeric and certain aromatic herbs ... mint, basil ... and Vietnamese celery' are cultivated, whereas 'okra, squash, cilantro, green chilis and mint [can be found] in Indian households; and tomatoes, mint, basil and pomegranates in Persian gardens' (Mazumdar and Mazumdar 2012, 262).

The practices of gardening are closely linked to practices of food preparation and cooking, which also contribute to the perpetuation of one's culture and ethnicity, and therefore self-identity. While not directly linked to the built environment and architecture, familiar food and food preparation techniques are inextricably linked to well-being, since being able to eat known foods or their substitutes in the new

country can provide continuation in at least one aspect of migrants' lives and therefore need to be considered an important process aiding the resettlement.¹³⁰ Cantarero et al. (2013, 882) note that French anthropologist Claude Lévi-Strauss (1992) considered 'cooking [as] a language into which a society unconsciously translates its own structure'. Similarly, they observe that for British anthropologist Mary Douglas (1991) 'food represents a code that discloses social relationships and emphasizes the expressive trait of those activities related to eating' (Cantarero et al. 2013, 882). In 2012, they published findings of their research investigating 'the relationship between sociocultural values and human food preferences' (Cantarero et al. 2013, 881), further suggesting a strong correlation between cultural identity and food, and by extension between cooking, culture and *habitus*.¹³¹

The suggested connection between cultural identity and food, and food-related practices, is one of the reasons that migrants maintain and pass their national cuisine from one generation to the next, even long after migration occurred. Nonja Peters (2001, 271) points out that migrant children living in Australia in the 1950s and 1960s 'associated food preferences with identity', while Ruth Johnston (1979, 38) observes that the tendency of immigrants to cling 'to national cuisine has been amply demonstrated by many writers in different migration countries'. She draws from a number of studies, some conducted as early as 1935, such as the one by Reynolds that investigated the reluctance of British immigrants to Canada to change their food habits. Reynolds (1935, 233, cited in Johnston 1979, 38) argues that 'certain food habits ... are retained almost indefinitely' and that 'the immigrants who can afford to do so will continue to purchase Old Country foods after twenty years or more in this country'.

According to Spiro (1955, 1249, cited in Ruth Johnston 1979, 38), 'food patterns seem to be among those most resistant to acculturation' because they form a part of individuals' *habitus*. Prolonged exposure to certain culinary dishes conditions human likes for particular foods and tastes over others, and governs their methods of food

¹³⁰ Peters (2001, 247) recalls the joy she experienced on occasions when her family received a parcel from their relatives in Europe containing 'the much liked Dutch spreads *appelstroop* and *chocolade hagef*, *speculaas* biscuits and *ontbijtkoek*'.

¹³¹ Cantarero et al.'s (2013, 881) research indicates that 'people prefer to consume foods that are symbolically associated with their own culture, in order to reinforce their sense of belonging'. Their study shows that 'cultural identity is one of the sociocultural values that influence food choice' (Cantarero et al. 2013, 889). More specifically, their study indicates that 'those foods that are symbolically representative of the Aragonese food culture (lamb, *migas*, and similar foods) are the favourite ones', and that up to '80% of the Aragonese population values positively those foods that provide a feeling of ethnic belonging' (Cantarero 2013, 886).

preparation. Recreating dishes from the old country both perpetuates old habits and tastes and caters for the feeling of well-being, by promoting familiar and known aspects of one's life, which can help migrants overcome the sense of alienation and estrangement.¹³² Further, ethnic dishes are culturally ingrained as aspects of personal identity¹³³ and because these practices can be carried out in the privacy of migrants' homes, away from the judgemental eyes of the public, they are among the easiest ways of ensuring cultural continuity and ethnic identity preservation.

The ease with which food preparation and eating can be transported into a new built environment is one of the reasons that nationally and ethnically inspired cuisine is still used by migrants to define and perpetuate their sense of identity and to educate younger generations about their culture and heritage (Mazumdar and Mazumdar 2012, 262). In many instances, the practice of cooking national dishes is closely linked to, if not dependent upon, the cultivation of nationally important plants and herbs within immigrants' gardens, a practice that, as discussed earlier, can temporarily reconnect the world of the old with the world of the new, allowing for 'cultural continuity' to occur (Mazumdar and Mazumdar 2012, 262). Freda, one of the participants in Mazumdar and Mazumdar's study, reiterates the important role that ethnic cuisine plays in maintaining one's cultural identity:

The fruits and vegetables we grow have a great connection to Filipino cuisine and as my mother explained it, it is extremely important to never forget your culture. One way of preventing that is to simply cook—as I help my mother these days prepare celebration dishes, I now understand why for so many years she asked me to watch her incorporate our garden ingredients and prepare the difficult dishes (Freda 05/02/10).

(Cited in Mazumdar and Mazumdar 2012, 262)

Unlike some other aspects that migrants have brought with them, ethnic cuisine and culturally inspired food-eating practices are often more readily accepted within the mainstream host societies, particularly in the Western world. Ethnic restaurants offering the experience of eating authentic cuisine (Chinese, Indian, Italian, French,

¹³² It should be noted that certain migrant groups, such as the Dutch, are more inclined to adopt the local produce, although as Peters (2000, 61, 64) observes, even some Dutch migrant women continue to cook in the Dutch style long after their resettlement.

¹³³ Manning (2005, 161) observes that 'names, dress, religion, and even cuisine become ways to express one's identification with a diaspora' and that it is 'these emblems of identity' that help safeguard 'the memory of the homeland.'

Moroccan, Mexican, and others) are a normalised part of the urban fabric of most larger cities and towns in the Western world, positively affecting the culture of the host societies, enriching and diversifying them.

Architecture designed to mimic the ambience associated with a particular ethnicity or culture can also be observed in these restaurants.¹³⁴ In Perth, the interiors of many Indian or Chinese restaurants are designed to reflect stereotypical and easily recognisable aspects of their respective cultures; for example, statues of Hindu gods, elephants and so on in Indian restaurants, and those of the Buddha and his many incarnations in Chinese restaurants. The area of Northbridge¹³⁵ that is designated as Perth's China Town is signposted by a large, traditional Chinese gateway, coloured in red with gold symbols and inscriptions that are visible from Roe Street. The narrow alleyways between Chinese restaurants and shops selling largely Chinese and Asian products have been reclaimed by the businesses they service, with tables and chairs placed on the outside and makeshift awnings partially protecting patrons from light rain. The vibrancy achieved by people constantly coming in and out of shops and restaurants, and meandering their way through the crowds of diners sitting outside, adds to an overall atmosphere that is very distinct from the more ordered alfresco dining that is evident along James Street, the main entertainment and eatery strip in Northbridge.¹³⁶

¹³⁴ Ethnic restaurants and cafes can be seen as an overt architectural expression of the cultural and ethnic identity associated with a cuisine and the region from which this cuisine originates. These premises largely act as advertising signage, communicating to the wider populace the type of food and service they can expect to receive from these eateries. Such restaurants and cafes are governed by commercial forces, whereby their ethnically inspired architecture is designed more to capture the 'ambience' associated with the authentic ethnic cuisine that is expected by consumers than as an expression of the owner's sense of personal, cultural and ethnic identity. For this reason, the architecture of ethnic restaurants and cafes is not considered further in this thesis, which focuses on the role of architecture and the built environment in perpetuating migrants' self-identity on an individual and personal level by generating the feeling of 'home', familiarity and belonging in the new physical context.

¹³⁵ An inner-city suburb, and Perth's nightlife district, located north of the CBD.

¹³⁶ With the commercial/entertainment area of Northbridge being occupied by various immigrant groups in the course of its history, more detailed analysis of changes in ethnic groups and their impact on the architecture of Northbridge is worthy of further investigation in a future research project.



Figure 5. Entry gate to Perth's China Town **Figure 6.** Perth's China Town (Glusac 2014). (Glusac 2014).

Aspects of ethnic cuisine and food preparation can also be experienced on a domestic level through the smells and aromas that linger within the spaces and architecture that certain ethnic groups occupy. The smell of spices and herbs characteristically used within Indian and Chinese cuisine can permeate the surfaces of walls and soft furnishings, thus almost becoming embedded within the architecture, providing its spaces with very distinctive aromas. In her short autobiographic story titled 'The Oyster and the Shadow', Stef Pixner (1985, 85) observes this quality in some migrant's homes, stating: 'I have an Indian friend at school called Himalata, whose family lives in one room in a block of houses in our street that's full of Indian families each in one room. Her house is mysterious and smells of curry'. This example insinuates the embodiment of food, culture and *habitus* within architecture, an expression of personal identity inscribed into the bricks and mortar of people's homes.

Working practices

At first glance, working practices may not appear to have much bearing on migrants' re-territorialisation and appropriation of the built environment. However, working practices such as those around food can be very habitual because they tend to form a part of people's *habitus* and in doing so, contribute to the development of their sense of identity. Marshall and Foster (2002, 78, drawing from Bourdieu 1984)

suggest that 'the process and formation of habitus is directly linked to the everyday, taken-for-granted ways of establishing distinctive identities'. In this regard, working practices are among those everyday practices that consume most of people's days and working time, often resulting in occupational attachment and what can be called 'the way of life'. In their review of Theissen and Davis' (1988) research on the occupational attachment of fishermen, Marshall and Foster (2002, 69–70) found that 'four out of five fishermen', Theissen and Davis interviewed, 'said they would be fishermen if they had their lives to live over'. This indicates that working practices for some people are part of their being, contributing to their overall sense of identity.

Most adult migrants have obtained certain skills and work-related experience and expertise in their home country, developing a degree of occupational attachment. Occupation and skills are further attributes that migrants tend to practise in their new country, and can serve as a link between the life in the country of origin and the life in the country of settlement, as well as providing for continuity by influencing their settlement and employment patterns in the new country. Migrants with an agrarian background, for example, would be comfortable working the fields and would seek the opportunity to do so in their new country, because they are familiar with the work since it forms a part of their *habitus*. The settlement and development history of Perth and Western Australia demonstrates this, with many existing suburbs within Perth once being used for market gardening and the cultivation of fruit and vegetables by predominantly Italian, Croatian and Greek migrants with an agrarian background. While Vietnamese migrants now dominate the market gardening industry, small greengrocer shops scattered across Perth and Fremantle still reflect the Italian, Greek and Croatian involvement in this industry.

Occupational attachment and *habitus* can also be observed in the wine industry of Western Australia. The cultivation and production of wine is very common in the coastal regions of Italy and Croatia, from which a large number of migrants came during the 1950s and 1960s. Migrants with a wine-growing and -producing background would also continue to produce wine for personal use. A number of wine estates in California, Australia, and even in Swan Valley (Perth, Western Australia) demonstrate this. Many of the wineries in Swan Valley bear names such as Jadran Wines, John Kosovich Wines, Talijancich Wines, Sitella and Vino Italia (Swan Valley Wineries–Western Australia 2012), suggesting that these have been owned or started by Croatian and Italian wine growers, settlers who came from two

Mediterranean rim countries that are recognised for their growing and production of wine.¹³⁷

Working practices and occupational attachment can influence settlement patterns and the very location that migrants with specific occupational attachment would choose to inhabit. In his analysis of the nexus between *habitus*, senior professionals and their choice of housing location, Butler and Lees (2006, 470, drawing from Bourdieu 2005) suggest that 'it is the ability to match the propensities and capabilities of the *habitus* that defines the senior professionals in their housing choices, which nearly always means living near to work and with similar socio-economic fractions'. This particular observation can to some extent be applied to a number of other occupations, particularly fishing and wine growing, whereby it can be assumed that fishermen would settle near the coastal rim where they can continue to work in their preferred occupational field (i.e. fishing), and wine growers would settle in the regions where wine is successfully grown. Similar logic can be applied to market gardeners and migrants with an agricultural background.

All of these occupational fields leave an imprint and affect the design of their immediate built environment, whether through sheds storing boats, gardening equipment and machinery, or corner stores and wineries selling the produce and services. Thus, the perpetuation of working practices in the new built environment ensures a form of continuity that is achieved while minimising the disruption in the migrants' sense of identity and in their *habitus*, and concurrently leaving an imprint on the built environment of their receiving countries.¹³⁸

¹³⁷ The wine industry in the Perth metropolitan region, particularly in the Swan Valley, is largely believed to have sprung from the movement into the region of Italian and Croatian migrants after they were coerced out of the goldfields by British settlers who were eager to eliminate the competition (Peters 2009, 82; Czeladka 1991, 52). Without any other means of financial support, these migrants resorted to using the skills they had, such as growing grapes and producing wine, to survive. The migrants' inability to find employment, mostly due to discrimination (Peters 2009; 1999), also contributed to the upsurge in the number of ethnic restaurants and cafés. These migrants may not necessarily have worked in the hospitality industry in their old country, but unable to find a job opportunity that reflected their skills, they opted to work for themselves in an industry that could draw from their ethnic identity.

¹³⁸ As with the architecture of restaurants and cafes, the architecture of wineries, greengrocer shops and other commercial edifices that have sprung up as a result of migrants' pursuance of occupational practices, exceeds the scope of this thesis. Commercial premises, as suggested earlier, are driven by a different set of requirements and considerations and are thus not concerned with the personal and individual expression of migrants' sense of national, ethnic and cultural identity through architecture, which is at the core of this research. Commercial architecture that has developed in close connection to migrants' occupational patterns, nevertheless, is a subject worth further investigation and is suggested for a future study.

It can be concluded from this discussion that there is substantial evidence pointing towards the connection between humans and the physical environment in which they live. The physical environment is not only confined to the walls, bricks and mortar within which individuals are raised, but also extends to a number of factors that influence the life within those walls, within the urban fabric. These factors vary, from architecture and architectural styles to settlement patterns, institutions, objects and gardens, to performativity and enactment of culturally and ethnically defined practices such as cooking, dancing and even occupational preferences. To some extent, this connection can be considered a reason that many people experience any new place through their preconceived notions, through the eyes of the known and familiar. 'The home should feel this way'; 'Why are the rooms so small or so big?'; and 'Why are the windows all single glazed?' are some of the observations that some migrants make upon moving into what can be considered 'typical' Australian homes. These complaints are a sign of a much larger picture. They are an indicator that not just the physical environment is different, but the way of life, the *habitus*, is very different too.¹³⁹

While this chapter has investigated a number of different re-territorialisation practices and the role of architecture and its immediate surroundings in perpetuating a sense of identity among migrants, the next chapter discusses various examples of settlements where these re-territorialisation practices can be observed.

¹³⁹ Observations made by immigrants who were interviewed for this research were echoes of those made by migrants several decades earlier. For example, Peters (2001, 262) argues that 'Europeans thought that Australian houses looked as though they were built by the same architect' and that any variations to the 'typical' house layout, which featured a central 'corridor with rooms off each side', were simply not embraced by the Roads Board, which was in charge of approving planning and building applications. Constant comparisons were made between Australian houses and those of migrant origin, with 'Dutch and German women describe[ing] Australians' homes as dark and gloomy', inadequately furnished and uninviting (Peters 2001, 262).

Historical and contemporaneous examples of migrants' re-territorialisation

I was born in Blato, in Yugoslavia, on the Zlinje, that is, the street Zlinje where my old house is, so I told my wife, I want to build a house on the Zlinje, I was born on the Zlinje and I am going to die on the Zlinje.

(Daniel 2009, 4)

This short excerpt from an interview conducted with Daniel, a Korculani migrant living in the southern Perth suburb of Spearwood, indicates his yearning for the place he once knew, which was the home of his childhood and young adulthood. Blato,¹⁴⁰ with its famous street Zlinje, an avenue nestled in the thick shade of linden trees, forms a part of Daniel's personal history. Although living in Western Australia since the 1950s, Daniel never forgot that Zlinje was once his playground, and the shadow that the close connection to the place of his birth casts over him has steadily been growing and getting darker. Becoming older awakened in Daniel a desire to have one street in Spearwood named after the street of his childhood. The Shire of Cockburn looked favourably upon his application to name one street Zlinje, in the newly subdivided area in which he owns a block, thus making it possible for him to fulfil his wish of dying on the Zlinje when that time comes.¹⁴¹

Daniel's story is not an isolated one. Many migrants living in a different place from the one in which they were born and raised exhibit a desire to recreate familiar and known living conditions that remind them of their home and of the life before migration. Sometimes, as in Daniel's case, all they need is for the street to bear the same name as the street in which they were born. However, in many other instances, migrants' longing for the familiar and known prompts them to recreate architecture, or aspects thereof, and to introduce design elements, plants, objects and other memorabilia associated with their traditional home. These elements thus build a sense of continuity between past and present, between here and there,

¹⁴⁰ Blato, once the largest village in the former Yugoslavia, is located on the Island of Korcula, Croatia.

¹⁴¹ The possibility of going back to Blato, Daniel's birthplace, created emotional problems regarding leaving his children and grandchildren behind. Strongly opposed to the idea of separating from his family, Daniel instead decided to lobby the Shire of Cockburn to name one street in his suburb Zlinje. The opportunity for this to materialise presented itself when the Shire proposed a new residential development on and around the block of land that Daniel and his wife owned. They subdivided their large block, keeping a few smaller blocks for themselves and for their children to build new homes.

enabling migrants to perpetuate aspects of their identity in a foreign environment. The examples of migrants' adaptation and appropriation of architecture and the built environment in their new countries, and the reasons behind these, are numerous and varied. However, in spite of very different motivations governing migrants' appropriation of architecture, a degree of similarity can be observed in respect to the type of migration and the way it affects their re-territorialisation process and architecture. The two different types of migration briefly discussed in Chapter 3, cross-community migration and colonisation, use architecture and the built environment to achieve very different ends: the first to generate a feeling of familiarity and safety, drawing from memory and nostalgia for what was left behind; the second to impose its own identity and reaffirm its position and authority over the peoples and lands it has conquered. The first is non-invasive, informal and random; the second is planned, visible, extensive and aggressive.

This chapter examines examples of re-territorialisation, from both colonial and cross-community migration perspectives. More specifically, the focus is on the differences in approach and effect that these two different migration types have on the architecture and built environment of the receiving countries. Architecture and the built environment that are associated with colonisation are explored through the examples of Roman and British expansionist efforts in Europe, India and Australia respectively, while the cross-community migration is analysed through the example of Latino settlements in the US, and Korculani settlement in the southern suburbs of Perth, Western Australia. The next section analyses the cultural and architectural legacy in brick, stone and concrete that is associated with Roman and British forceful migration and conquest of many territories across three continents.

Colonial architecture of Rome and Britain

People today do not often think of migration as a violent, conquering mission, eliminating tribes and peoples, often irreversibly destroying their local and communal identities. When we think of the Roman and British¹⁴² empires, we tend to overlook the reality behind Roman and British migration to the distant lands they conquered. History books, for example, would have us believe that the Roman Empire was one of the world's largest empires that ever existed, surpassed only by the British at the height of nineteenth-century imperialism. At its peak, we are told,

¹⁴² The list of colonial powers is not limited to the Romans and the British. Spanish, French, Portuguese, Dutch and German expansions into other countries have also been achieved through force and aggression.

Imperial Rome spread from the Mediterranean Basin all the way to India in the east and England and Scotland in the north. The British Empire, on the other hand, at the summit of its colonial might, stretched across the globe, earning itself the name of 'the empire where the sun never sets'. Both empires spread to and ruled over a vast territory and array of peoples, reaching unrivalled 'greatness'.¹⁴³ However, the fact that this 'greatness' was attained by Rome and Britain by sending their armies on a migration to distant places, expecting them to rape, kill and pillage tribes and take the land for themselves, is often left out of histories. Their migration was that of aggression, force and conquests, commonly referred today as colonisation.

Roman and British strategic conquests and colonising efforts produced numerous cities and towns, many of which continue to flourish even now. These settlements drew largely from the architecture of Rome and England respectively, not from the local context of the conquered lands. The colonial architecture inspired by Roman and British cities and towns, 'one of the most visible cultural artefacts to move from the Imperial core to the periphery' (Jones 1987, 48, drawing from Bloemers 1987), is analysed and discussed in this section in respect to re-territorialisation practices driven by profit and forceful expansion into distant lands. Architecture's 'complicity with practices of power' (Dovey 2005, 285, drawing from Dovey 1999), including supporting the rule of authoritarian and oppressive power structures is also discussed. The focus of this section is on exposing the role of colonial architecture as a tool affirming the oppression and aggression of a dominant migrant group over a weaker host. However, the desire of Roman and British colonists to be surrounded by familiar and known architectural and urban conditions should also be kept in mind, as this acted as a catalyst, driving the appropriation of architecture and the built environment of Roman and British colonies.

Colonisation, as noted earlier, is defined by Manning (2005, 5) as 'the departure of individuals from one community to establish a new community that replicates the home community'. During this process, Manning (2005, 5) adds, it is very common for 'the colonists [to] settle in an environment very similar to that of their home community, and thereby maintain the same style of life'. Bryan Ward-Perkins (1970, 2) suggests that 'the earliest expansion of Rome was almost entirely into regions where life on the Mediterranean model was already firmly established', requiring no major adjustments for Roman colonists. The expansion and conquests of regions

¹⁴³ Some people see both Rome and Britain as 'civilising' forces bringing culture, learning and technological advancements to the conquered lands (Smith, cited in Metcalf 1984, 38; Mill 2001, 19).

with a familiar pattern of life was not overly challenging. However, further expansion towards the north-west into Gaul, and later into British lands, gave rise to 'the problem of imposing this pattern upon a whole vast territory to which it was new and alien' (Ward-Perkins 1970, 2). Roman army and colonial settlers would have been exposed and accustomed to a more established urban way of life featuring different governing relations, belief systems and, not least, a well-developed infrastructure and architecture, which was not present in the conquered territories populated by Gauls and Britons. The lack of appropriate infrastructure was overcome by Romanising the conquered territory through 'imported' architecture and the built environment, and the imposition of the Roman way of life.

Ward-Perkins (1970, 2) argues that Romanisation 'followed a broadly predictable course' of making the newly conquered territory more legible by laying out two major road arteries, the Decumanus maximus and Cardo maximus intersecting at right angles, forming an orthogonal street system.¹⁴⁴ This very act signalled the insertion of an order, sought and understood by the Romans, which assisted them in establishing and making their territorial claims more visible. Public buildings, in particular basilica with adjoining forum, temples, public baths, triumphal arches and other important structures, were generally located at the intersection of these two major roads. The purpose of these buildings was twofold: as institutions necessary for the proper functioning of the settlement, and as visible markers of Rome's presence and rule over the vanquished territory and peoples. For the defeated tribes, the imposition of foreign architecture removed any doubt as to who their new rulers were. Rome's presence and authority was in plain sight, expressed and embodied through an architecture that was dominant, imposing and for the conquered tribes, culturally inaccessible and alien. The process of Romanisation, of laying out and reproducing buildings found within the city of Rome, suggests that Rome itself was being recreated in new colonies, ultimately signifying to the conquered tribes that it is 'Rome' in which they now live as Rome's subjects.

Roman colonies such as Corinth exemplify the process of Romanisation by placing the important public buildings around the major intersection of the north-south and east-west roads. However, it is not just the type and style of structures that were considered. According to David Gilman Romano (2005, 601), the orientation and

¹⁴⁴ It should be noted that it was the Greeks, and before them the Egyptians, who utilised the orthogonal planning system and who introduced it first to the Etruscans and later to the Romans (Ward-Perkins 1970, 5). The Romans largely applied the orthogonal planning to make the newly conquered territory more legible.

location of some of its buildings, such as the circus, 'were planned with respect to the layout of the Roman city'. This demonstrates that the planning, layout and architecture of Corinth and other Roman settlements followed the closely prescribed formula defining the urban 'type' that is the Roman city. Moreover, Ward-Perkins (1970, 7) points out that the basilicas of Augustan and Julio-Claudian times were widely built across conquered territories and were inspired by the basilica located within the Forum Romanum, featuring 'an internal ambulatory and one long side opening on to the forum'. This further supports the assertion that Roman colonial settlers used the architecture of the city of Rome as an inspiration for new settlements, reproducing Rome wherever they went. Romano (2005, 585–586) explains that 'Roman architects and engineers brought with them a plan for the colonial city and proceeded over time to build new buildings, monuments, and structures of characteristic Roman type'. This reaffirmed their stronghold over the territory by making it distinctively Roman, as suggested earlier. Nevertheless, it also indicates that even though the Romans spread to foreign lands with very different social and architectural landscapes, Rome remained the point of reference for the colonising armies and the administration that followed.

The Roman army and colonial settlers saw Rome as the perfect example of an urban settlement consisting of temples (necessary for appeasing the gods and being granted good fortune), fora for public gatherings, amphitheatres for entertainment, baths for relaxation and social get-togethers, markets, triumphal arches and aqueducts. These buildings and their familiar architecture constituted a part of Romans' everydayness, informing their expectations, habits and *habitus* and as such, were necessary for the smooth running of their day-to-day life and activities in the newly conquered territories. It can thus be said that the Romans built their colonial settlements based on what was known and familiar to them, recreating home away from home, 'establish[ing] a new community that replicates the home community', as pointed out by Manning (2005, 5).

Today, people tend to view the Roman Empire as one of the greatest empires that ever existed, with roads, aqueducts, arenas and temples, and architectural edifices that still stand today. Individuals visit these ancient structures and are photographed standing in front of them, openly celebrating what are widely considered the great architectural achievements of this once mighty and advanced civilisation. However, they are not thinking of the Romans as colonial migrants, as violent and forceful people who moved outwards from their core, in the city of Rome, using architecture

to impose their firm rule and authority over foreign lands. Nor are they asking themselves what Rome's forceful migration and colonisation of foreign lands meant for conquered tribes and peoples. Individuals look upon the architectural monuments uncritically, almost in awe, because these old buildings have withstood the test of time for millennia, telling of the once 'great' civilisation that people seem to revere and respect today. The British migration to and colonisation of lands such as India and Australia is perceived differently. Today, British colonisation is largely seen and criticised for what it was: a violent and aggressive migration and domination of settlers over hosts.

The British involvement in India began in 1600, when the English East India Company, 'the trading organisation that acted as the vehicle for British commercial and imperial expansion in Asia' (Bowen 2000, 47) was established. Trading operations with India prompted the English East India Company to develop three trading outposts initially: Madras in 1640, Bombay in 1664 and Calcutta in 1690 (Mitter 1986, 95; Chopra 2007), which all later developed into cities featuring British architecture and social organisation. At first, these early trading outposts served as trading stations, 'provid[ing] accommodation for Company agents' and employees (Mitter 1986, 102). Accommodation and 'factories', as the trading stations came to be known (Mitter 1986, 101–102), were located next to the Indian Ocean within fortified grounds, benefiting from British naval protection while at the same time offering the means of escape, should the need arise (Chopra 2007, 109).

Defence for the English East India Company was of prime importance, largely due to the hostile welcome they received from the local rulers. Also, as Partha Mitter (1986, 102) points out, the immediate presence of rival European forces competing with the English for spices and precious commodities could not be underestimated. Fortifications erected in Madras, Bombay and Calcutta are reminiscent of those found in Britain, and were among the first architectural activities carried out in these trading outposts (Mitter 1986, 102). The fort, according to Chopra (2007, 110), 'formed the nucleus of colonial settlement', becoming 'the seat of colonial government for the city and its hinterland' (Metcalf 1984, 39) during the subsequent phases of colonial development.

Churches and hospitals soon followed the forts, with other civic buildings such as mercantile offices, clubs and official residences developing in later stages of the settlements (Metcalf 1984, 39). The architecture of these buildings was largely

European, and particularly British. The port cities of Madras, Bombay and Calcutta, Mitter (1986, 95) argues, serve as examples of 'the migration of European architectural practices to another part of the world'. 'These cities', she further points out, 'were, first and foremost, European in conception, design, and primary functions. They were meant to be, and in most cases were, European cities transplanted on an alien Asian soil' (Mitter 1986, 95–96). Hence, the cities of Madras and Calcutta are described by Sten Nilsson (1968, cited in Metcalf 1984, 40) as 'projections of Greece and Rome' featuring predominantly classical architecture. In his 1985 book *Splendours of the Raj: British Architecture in India, 1660–1947*, Philip Davies states that the city of Bombay holds 'Britain's finest heritage of High Victorian Gothic architecture' (1985, 156–157, cited in Chopra 2007, 121).

Colonial architecture in India reflected the styles and trends followed in England. Church architecture in particular demonstrates this. Metcalf (1984, 58) observes that 'Indian churches in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries followed contemporary English Georgian styles', more specifically, the design of the St. Martins-in-the-Field church, which was used as a model for Indian churches. Under the influence of Pugin's writing, Gothic became the preferred style for church architecture in England and the colonies, including India. Chopra (2007, 121) argues that 'the immense building activity in Bombay in the second half of the nineteenth century resulted in many Gothic-style edifices' remaking Bombay 'into a medieval English city'. Even Calcutta, an architecturally classical city, had churches and cathedrals that were built in Gothic style (Metcalf 1984, 58). The reasons for such an overwhelming application of Gothic architecture in India can, according to Ian Baucom (Chopra 2007, 121–122), be attributed to the political situation in India, in particular the revolt of 1857,¹⁴⁵ as well as to Pugin and Ruskin's ideological underpinnings of Gothic style. He argues:

that the identity of the empire's subjects was to a significant degree a product of the objects and structures which they beheld and inhabited. Ruskin had spent years informing England that there was a direct relationship between the arrangements of space and the contours of the personality.

(Baucom 1999, 74–79, cited in Chopra 2007, 121–122)

¹⁴⁵ The event of 1857 is viewed differently by the two parties involved. For the British, who considered themselves the rightful rulers of India, this event was described as revolt. From the Indians' perspective, the same event was seen as an uprising against foreign dominion.

The implementation of Gothic and Neoclassical architecture on the Indian subcontinent was in line with the British colonial ideology that sought to impose visible reminders of their rule through architecture, challenging the identity of the locals and their culture, beliefs and traditions. A passage from speech delivered by T. Roger Smith before the Society of Arts in 1873 demonstrates this:

as our administration exhibits European justice, order, law, energy, and honour—and that in no hesitating or feeble way—so our buildings ought to hold up a high standard of European art. They ought to be European both as a rallying point for ourselves, and as raising a distinctive symbol of our presence to be beheld with respect and even with admiration by the natives of the country.

(Smith 1873, 286, cited in Metcalf 1984, 37)

Roger Smith's speech reflects the empire's ambition of affirming its rule over India and the clearly defined role that architecture was to play in achieving this goal. This, however, did not just affect the British colonial politics. Metcalf (1984, 37) argues that during the mid-nineteenth century, architecture and architectural styles permeated the debate of national identity in Britain whereby 'the architectural debates themselves shaped and defined Britain's conception of its national purpose'. Similar debates affected the dialogue on the national identity in the British colonies, with Metcalf (1984, 37) observing that 'in the colonial environment the bricks and mortar carried with them especially far-reaching significance'. This suggests that the questions of national interest in the colonies were partially addressed through architecture, which provided the visible means of British presence and dominance over the locals, thus imparting greater strength to British rule. Metcalf further points out that a similar approach to architecture and empire building was used by the Romans more than 2,000 years ago, suggesting that:

The classically-educated Briton, as he built his empire, invariably conceived of himself as following in the footsteps of the ancient Romans. With its roads, its system of law, and its monumental structures spread across the face of the ancient world, Rome stood always as an exemplar to spur the British on their own imperial enterprise.

(Metcalf 1984, 38)

This conclusion was also drawn from the aforementioned speech by Roger Smith, who declared:

They unquestionably not only cut their roads and pitched their camps in Roman fashion, but put up Roman buildings wherever they had occasion to build; ... the Roman governor of a province in Gaul or Britain continued to be as intensely Roman in his exile as the British collector remains British to the backbone in the heart of India.

(Smith 1873, 279–281, cited in Metcalf 1984, 38)

And Metcalf's reflection on British Imperial efforts:

Were the British occupation of India to terminate tomorrow, the visible tokens of it would survive in our canals, and our railways, our ports, and our public buildings, or, at least, the remains of them for centuries to come.

(Metcalf 1984, 38)

As the above excerpts suggest, British migration to and subsequent colonisation of India was driven by clear political goals of expansion and domination in every possible respect. Architecture, engineering and infrastructure played a crucial role in achieving these goals, as they represented constant reminders and visible signifiers of British presence in and rule over India. The well-established and admired architecture and symbols of India's cultural heritage and wealth were forced into the shadows of Gothic and Neoclassical architecture, which over the course of time, began to dominate the Indian landscape. Thus, the British imposed not only their own identity on locals through architecture, but also their goals and ambitions of becoming the sole, if not 'legitimate', rulers of the Indian subcontinent.

British colonists' sense of personal and national identity was expressed through their architecture, motivated by their sense of authority and power, rather than by nostalgia, memory and longing for the familiar. Nevertheless, some examples of British migration and appropriation of architecture on the Indian soil were inspired by this latter aspect, as the next example, the hill station in Ootacamund, suggests. Ootacamund Hill Station reveals that for British colonial settlers in India the recreation of familiar and known living and social environments was equally an important aspect of their lives.

Hill stations, as Judith Kenny (1995, 694) explains were built by British colonialists 'to serve as mountain retreats from the "hot season" of the Indian plains'. Built high above the densely populated plains and 'sparsely settled by Indians', Kenny (1995, 694–695) observes that 'the hills were viewed as a blank slate on which Anglo-Indians could create a familiar landscape, a "comforting little piece of England"'.¹⁴⁶ Ootacamund Hill Station, as with many hill stations in India and other British colonies, contained buildings and structures perceived by colonial settlers as necessary for the smooth functioning and performance of their day-to-day activities, supporting the way of life they had in Britain. Ootacamund Hill Station featured 'Christian churches, private schools taught in the English language, the administrative headquarters of district and state government, and the kinds of recreational facilities usually associated with British country life or an English spa' (Kenny 1995, 694). Even the landscape of Ootacamund was designed to resemble an English landscape, featuring 'European trees, flowers, fruit and vegetables, but also the serpentine lake of a country estate' (Kenny 1995, 702, drawing from Cosgrove 1985), symbolising 'a view of social order, the "natural" environment for the British representatives of imperial government' (Kenny 1995, 702). The success of recreating an English landscape far away from England and through it the feeling of 'home' was captured in the words of Viceroy Lord Lytton, who upon visiting Ootacamund in 1877, said:

I affirm it to be a paradise. ... The afternoon was rainy and the road muddy, but such *English* rain such delicious *English* mud.

(Cited in Price 1909, 63; cited in Kenny 1995, 702)

Similar impressions of the feeling of 'home' at Ootacamund Hill Station were felt by other visitors who described it as:

a pleasant surprise of an amphitheatre of green hills encircling a small lake, whose banks were dotted with red-tiled cottages surrounding a pretty Gothic Church. The whole station presented 'very much the look of a rising English watering place'

(Trevelyan, cited in Price 1909, 64; cited in Kenny 1995, 702)

¹⁴⁶ Kenny (1995) cites from Mollie Panter-Downes' 1967 publication *Ooty Preserved: A Victorian Hill Station in India*. London: Century Publishing. p. 8.

Perhaps the strongest example of the colonialists' desire to recreate familiar and known built environments, a home away from home, comes from the governor of the Madras Presidency, the Duke of Buckingham, who in 1877 commenced the construction of his mansion that was, according to Kenny (1995, 704), 'designed along the lines of the Duke's own country house, Stowe House, Buckinghamshire'. She argues that 'Buckingham's choice of a Palladian-style country house represented, presumably, the Duke's ideas on the appropriate design of a country house as well as his interest in replicating home' (Kenny 1995, 704). This example thus reiterates the importance that familiar and known architecture and the built environment have in comforting and providing a feeling of 'home' in foreign and alien environments. Familiar and known built environments and architecture provide a sense of security and safety, a feeling that life is continuing within the accepted and learned frameworks, providing little challenge to one's sense of identity and being. However, the British colonists' ambition to live in a built environment that was as British as possible, familiar and known, safe and secure, was in stark contrast to the way locals perceived it. For them, this environment of 'familiarity', 'safety' and 'security', as the British saw it, was evidence of their oppression, a constant reminder that their land and cultural and natural identity was being replaced by a foreign architecture, culture and nature.

It therefore ought to be noted that hill stations were not without political implications. Kenny (1995, 695) argues that hill stations such as Ootacamund reflected a belief system that was prevalent in the nineteenth century and specific to colonialists, which was based on the 'assumptions of social and racial difference'. This belief system, in line with the Bourdieuan notion of *habitus*, 'reflected and reinforced' colonists' assumptions of their social and racial superiority 'and in so doing naturalized the separation of rulers and ruled' (Kenny 1995, 695). That is, Kenny (1995, 696) argues, that 'the relative isolation of the hill station afforded the British a stage with "homelike" qualities on which to define their difference and to confirm, in appropriately British terms, their identity as rulers of India'. Thomas Metcalf (1989, 2; also cited in Kenny 1995, 698) further reiterates this position by saying that 'in the public buildings put up by the Raj it was essential always to make visible Britain's imperial position as ruler, for these structures were charged with the explicit purpose of representing empire itself'.

Similar approaches to the colonial architecture and built environments of India can be observed in another British colony, Australia. The settlement of Australia began

with the arrival of the First Fleet in early 1788. After that, the colonisation of Australia followed a familiar course: establishment of public institutions and administration, initially housed within makeshift architecture; then the fervent construction of Christian churches, gaols to house convicts and very primitive domestic structures (from wattle and daub), for occupation by early settlers and adventurers. With the development and ongoing establishment of the colony during the early decades of the nineteenth century, more permanent architectural structures were introduced. These structures largely exhibited features characteristic of the Georgian and Neoclassical architectural styles that were fashionable in England at that time, which performed rather poorly in Australia's harsh summer climate and conditions (Glusac 2006, 169).

In Western Australia, colonial migration took a somewhat different path, with 'wealthy British businessmen' establishing farms on large areas of land that were granted to them 'for the cultivation of wheat, wool and livestock' (Peters 2010, 14). Peters (2010, 14) writes: 'These "free settlers", and the civilians, labourers and servants who accompanied them under a "Contract of Servitude", shaped the Swan River Colony's infrastructure, urban and rural contours and moral, social, spiritual, legal and economic characteristics along British lines'. However, the ideological underpinnings and culture of these migrants clashed with those of Indigenous Australians, for whom relationships to people and the land was of prime concern (Peters 2010, 15). Jean Hillier and Emma Rooksby (2005b, 27) suggest that colonisation of Australia by the British 'brought a habitus which regarded nature as irrelevant Other'. Nature, they argue, 'was to be domesticated and commodified, envisaged in terms of private property' able 'to be remade in the image of the old European homeland, exemplified by the colonial naming of places which served to assimilate Australian land into an imperial empire' (Hillier and Rooksby 2005b, 27).¹⁴⁷ Such an approach successfully pushed native Australians further and further away from their own land, which became overtaken by a landscape and built environment to which Indigenous peoples could not relate.

Margaret Pitt Morison and John White (1981) argue that settlers placed great importance on living in the conditions of their time, which inversely meant recreating home away from home, Britain away from Britain, because it was the conditions, architecture and life in England that they admired. To achieve this, many settlers

¹⁴⁷ The Europeanisation of the Australian natural environment has been discussed briefly in the section on gardens in Chapter 5.

brought with them from England 'building materials and fittings such as door and window frames and sashes', 'prefabricated houses' and in some instances, building tradesmen such as masons and blacksmiths, who were employed to construct English-looking buildings with locally available materials (Pitt Morrison and White 1981, 513, 514, 521).¹⁴⁸

The late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries also saw the introduction of pattern-book homes.¹⁴⁹ According to Blake McKendry (2012), early pattern books were inspired by Andrea Palladio's *Four Books of Architecture*, first published in 1570 in Venice, and providing a reader with detailed information and illustration of classical orders, measured drawings of plans, sections, elevations and details. Subsequent architectural pattern-book publications, including more contemporary architectural examples, were used by architects, masons and carpenters to educate themselves about fashion trends and styles, and construction principles and methods (McKendry B. 2012). These books were mainly aimed at a builder or an architect, with the goal of sufficiently educating him¹⁵⁰ about design and construction so that he could make decisions more 'knowledgably, "selecting for himself that finish to his buildings" that was most appropriate' (Upton 1984, 116, citing Haviland 1818–1821, Vol. 1, iv). Upton observes that these books were also aimed at laymen and clients, who by understanding the basic principles, could engage in a more informed discussion with the architect and the builder. This educational aspect of the architectural pattern books provided colonial settlers in Australia with easy access to the 'know how' for recreating a home away from home in the new world.

By the early twentieth century, Australia largely become a replica of British society.¹⁵¹ Richards argues that:

In 1900 Australia was an idiosyncratic version of Britain in the Antipodes; most of its institutions were recreations of those of Britain, including its laws, its

¹⁴⁸ The importance of implementing familiar and known skills during the early stages of settlement of Australia has been discussed in Chapter 5.

¹⁴⁹ Dell Upton (1984, 109) points out that in England, builders' handbooks were available as early as the mid-seventeenth century. However, in America, builders did not begin to use builders' handbooks until almost a century later, in the middle of the eighteenth century. In Australia, settlers and migrant architects brought architectural pattern books with them in the late eighteenth century and throughout the nineteenth century.

¹⁵⁰ During the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the roles of architect and builder were generally performed by males.

¹⁵¹ It is generally believed that the sense of being Australian was forged during World War I and that up to that point, most Australians saw themselves as British, pledging their allegiance and going to war to defend England.

parliamentary system, its language, its food, its education and its churches. There were interesting local variations, in accent, sport, manners, living standards, architecture, but there was no masking Australia's highly specific and exclusively British origins.

(Richards 2008, 9)

This view is shared and reiterated by Anthony Moran (2005, 3), who claims that Australian culture 'was a culture of dislocation, seeking security and identity in the embrace of Empire', further adding that:

By the end of the nineteenth century, settlers had transformed the Australian landscape, introduced flora and fauna from 'home,' and in so doing had displaced indigenous landscapes and meanings built up over thousands of years. For many, 'home' was a complex notion that combined remembered or recounted images of Britain with a developing sense of Australia and its uniqueness.

(Moran 2005, 3)

These assertions are possibly best summed up in the words of Annie Duckles, a young migrant girl, who with her family, emigrated from England to Australia. Her first contact with Australia was the port city of Fremantle, the check-in point for many migrants who came to Australia during the 1950s, 1960s, or earlier. Her experience of Fremantle was of 'a nice little place, all English' where she and her family could enjoy 'a good walk and a cup of tea' (cited in Richards 2008, 29). Richards further maintains that:

The Duckles travelled in comfort and were smoothly absorbed into a place which was more like England than they had ever expected. Their emigration was hardly a tortured wrenching of roots. They were British people moving in a British world.

(Richards 2008, 29)

However, this vision of the British world in Australia, as described by Annie Duckles, does not include the Indigenous peoples, the rightful owners and inhabitants of this southern land 'for about sixty thousand years' (Morgan 2013, 20). They were pushed aside, killed, imprisoned and raped by the powerful and dominant migrants

from the British Isles.¹⁵² Their land was taken away from them and replaced with foreign architecture and nature (Plumwood 2005; Hillier and Rooksby 2005b, 27). Colonisation for the Indigenous peoples signalled an absolute and irreversible change. Unlike Indians, who eventually managed to reclaim some aspects of their culture after British withdrawal from their land following India's independence, Australia's Indigenous peoples will never be able to fully recover their roots and connect with the traditional ways of life they once enjoyed. Reduced to a few sanctuaries, for many years they have aspired to preserve certain aspects of their traditional life, but with a rather humble success rate.

What can be deduced from the above examples of the Roman and British colonial settlements in Europe, India and Australia is that the architecture that emerged from their conquering missions cannot be viewed outside the sociocultural and political context of colonisation. The conquest of foreign lands via migrating armies, ensuing administration and settlers, brought about destruction and despair for vanquished tribes and peoples, whose identity, culture and architecture were ignored if not actively undermined and systematically destroyed, replaced by the foreign architecture of the coloniser.¹⁵³ As such, architecture in the hands of colonists is a tool, a visible sign expressing their rule and authority. Colonial architecture can be seen as architecture of aggression and oppression, acting as an enforcer of foreign identity, replacing, and in some instances eradicating, the identity of the locals.¹⁵⁴

¹⁵² Colonial and White Australia policies and programmes aimed at the eradication of the 'black' race through breeding programmes with white citizens and the forceful adoption of mixed-race children by white families (today widely referred to as the Stolen Generation) are well documented in more recent publications on Australian history (Haebich 2011; Haebich 2001; Buti 1998).

¹⁵³ For example, the Spanish Conquistadors in Central and Southern America largely destroyed the structures produced by the ancient Mayan, Aztec, Incan and other civilisations, and used the existing hewn stone blocks to build architectural projects to which the Spanish could relate, such as churches, palaces and haciendas.

¹⁵⁴ The contentious issue of Israel expanding settlements on what is widely acknowledged as Palestinian territory in the West Bank can be considered as yet another and current example where architecture is used as a medium of division, expulsion and occupation. Following the Six-Day War between Israel and the Arab nations of Egypt, Syria and Jordan in 1967, parts of the territories then occupied by Israel still remain the dominant point of contention and impediment to peace processes in the region. The West Bank, once Jordan's territory populated by predominantly Palestinians, is one of these areas. According to Ahmad Sa'di (2010, 50), the Palestinian territory, which includes the West Bank, has often been described 'as an empty space'. In support of this claim, Sa'di draws from an article published about Shimon Peres, once an Israeli president, who was cited to have said: 'The land to which they [Zionist settlers] came, while indeed the Holy Land, was desolate and uninviting; a land that had been laid waste, thirsty for water, filled with swamps and malaria, lacking in natural resources. And in the land itself there lived another people; a people who neglected the land, but lived on it' (cited in Said 1988, 5, cited in Sa'di 2010, 51).

Rhetoric such as this justifies the colonisation of 'empty lands' and spaces, at least in the minds of the colonisers. Sa'di (2010, 49) argues that the colonisers see colonisation as a process of conversion of "empty lands" ... into territories under the control of the "civilised" nations', leading to a false conclusion that this is an altruistic mission that benefits the land and its people. With the above views being prevalent among Israeli politicians and Zionist settlers, it is no surprise that the area of the West Bank remains problematic. In spite of numerous United Nations' resolutions calling for Israel's

Even though the discussion thus far overwhelmingly points towards colonial architecture being used for political purposes, symbolising the power and authority of the dominant colonists, this same architecture also indicates the colonial migrants' desire to be surrounded by known and familiar conditions when faced with new and unfamiliar environments. When given a choice, individuals often lean towards things and environments that are known and familiar to them because of the sense of security and safety for which these stand. Being surrounded with things and built environments that carry specific meaning and importance to individuals as members of certain cultural and social groups provides them with the means of establishing and maintaining their sense of identity, which can then remain unchallenged and thus seems to be effortlessly perpetuated. This, in turn, also suggests the importance of *habitus* and the conditioning that the built environment in which people reside have. Both *habitus* and the urban fabric define what is desirable in people's eyes, driving them to recreate these conditions where they do not exist. Architecture driven by the more personally and socially influenced factors such as nostalgia, memories and longing for the same and familiar is associated more with cross-community migration, which is discussed in the next section.

Latinos and Korculani cross-community migration

When people think of migration today, they often have cross-community migration in mind, which is characterised by 'individuals and groups leaving one community and moving to join another community' (Manning 2005, 6). While cross-community migration has been a consistent part of human existence for millennia, intensified environmental and socio-political conflicts during the last few decades have sparked a rise in numbers of cross-community migrants worldwide. The main factors motivating these migrants to leave their homes have traditionally been associated with a hope of finding safety and a better future for themselves and their families elsewhere. As cross-community migration has mainly been driven by reasons of

withdrawal from the occupied region if an end to this long-running conflict is to be achieved, the current Israeli government is arguably putting policies in place that are designed to achieve the opposite goals. Donald Macintyre (2009, n.p.) from *The Independent* newspaper maintains that 'successive [Israeli] governments gradually allowed, and eventually effectively managed, the creation of more and more civilian Israeli communities in occupied territory'. Since the occupation in 1967, the number of Israeli settlers moving to the West Bank has been growing steadily. According to the Foundation for Middle East Peace (2014), the West Bank settlements saw an increase of 51.46 per cent in the period between 1999 and 2012 alone, rising from 177,411 to 344,779. These new settlers, Macintyre (2009, n.p.) reports, are housed 'in large neighbourhoods and apartment blocks built up since the 1967 war', effectively demonstrating the Israeli government's aim of strengthening their hold over the occupied territory through architecture and the built environment.

personal betterment, it can be considered largely benign and far less invasive in terms of the intensity with which it affects the receiving society than the aforementioned colonial migration. Nevertheless, cross-community migrants are often faced with negative criticism and rejection by their receiving society because they represent the 'other', the feared 'unknown' that is seen to challenge and instigate change in the values, culture and social fabric of their hosts. The increasingly hostile reception that some cross-community migrants encounter in their new country adds to their already difficult journey and painful experiences associated with the loss of their home, and with the loss of the familiar and known social and built environments, as discussed earlier.

The issues of rejection, dislocation and alienation experienced by cross-community migrants in their new countries have prompted them to develop a number of different responses and distinctive tactics for dealing with and overcoming some of these migration-related challenges. The next section investigates the way two very distinct groups of cross-community migrants, Latinos and Korculani, have used architecture to respond to the challenges that living in the new social and built environment has presented. In particular, the demonstration of their sense of national, cultural and personal identity through architecture, and the varying degrees of effect this has had on the built environment of their respective receiving societies, are analysed. The more overt expression of national, cultural and individual identity projected onto architecture and the built environment is discussed through examples of the Mexicans and Latinos living in Los Angeles County. The more subtle appropriation and adaptation of architecture, driven by the desire to be surrounded by known and familiar aspects of home, are analysed through the example of the Korculani living in the southern suburbs of Perth, Western Australia.

Mexican and Latino cross-community migrants living in Los Angeles

The presence of Mexicans and Latinos in the US is not new. Every year, thousands of migrants from Mexico, Cuba and other Central American countries risk their lives crossing the highly patrolled border to the US, which for many, is synonymous with greater opportunities and a better life. According to Christopher Hawthorne (2006, 2), estimates suggest that by 2050, Los Angeles will gain an additional 21 million people, of which more than 85 per cent are expected to be Latino. As observed by various researchers and novelists, this large number of migrants with a visually very strong yet different culture to that of the US has led to a gradual change in the urban fabric of East Los Angeles.

A passage from María Amparo Escandón's 1999 novel titled *Esperanza's Box of Saints* tells of the urban experience of Los Angeles as perceived by a Mexican female immigrant, Esperanza. Her view of Broadway, one of Los Angeles's most famous streets, traditionally associated with America's commercial and entertainment culture, is that of an area taken over by diverse migrant cultures, most prominently Mexicans, as demonstrated in the following passage:

The street looked like a street in Mexico. All the storefront signs were in Spanish. So was the music coming from huge speakers in nearly every cluttered store. People walking by spoke in Spanish. Newsstands sold magazines in Spanish. The smell of tacos floated on the sidewalk, luring people into tiny Mexican restaurants. But something made Broadway genuinely American.

(Escandón 1999, 189, cited in Priewe 2006, 586)

The urban landscape of Los Angeles that Escandón so vividly describes is the result of many Mexicans and Latino Americans attempting to represent their own sense of national, cultural and self-identity through architecture and the built environment. This is not unusual, as James Rojas, a planner at Los Angeles County's Metropolitan Transportation Authority, observes: 'Latinos, like any other immigrant group, re-create what they know', he argues, adding that 'in many parts of L.A. streets no longer feel like suburban America but have a look, feel and use of Latin American streets. From the numerous street vendors selling on Pico Union's narrow sidewalks to the murals of East Los Angeles' (cited in Hawthorne 2006, 2), the feel of this part of the city is decisively Latino.

Similar perceptions and experiences of the urban environment of Los Angeles County have been identified and documented in a photographic exhibition by Camilo José Vergara titled *El Nuevo Mundo*. Featuring 'the hot, flat, and poor part of Los Angeles County', an area Vergara's friend Raul calls 'the next city of Mexico north of Tijuana', the exhibition reveals the Latinos' defiance of assimilation, demonstrating instead the signs of the ever-strong Latino presence in the urban fabric, with 'more people, more signs in Spanish, more Latino businesses' (Vergara 2000, cited in Phillips 2001, 175). Susan Phillips, in her review of the exhibition notes that:

Vergara's images of storefront paintings, Virgins of Guadalupe ... and modified domestic exteriors

demonstrate how this area has been transformed. No longer a neighbourhood of abandoned buildings, it now pulsates with the beat of banda music (Mexico's version of the oompah band), shines with the lights of all-night taco trucks, and attracts local shoppers with colorful depictions of store wares and caricatures of farm animals going to slaughter.

(Phillips 2001, 175)

In their paper titled 'Mi Casa es Su Casa', Margaret Crawford and ADOBE LA (1994) present a detailed analysis of the East Los Angeles neighbourhood transformation that has resulted from Mexican and Latino migrants' modifications and adaptations to the existing built stock over the years, to explicitly communicate their sense of national, cultural and self-identity. Crawford and ADOBE LA (1994, 12) observe that 'through personal and cultural alterations to their houses, the residents of East L.A. reenact, in innumerable individual versions, the social drama of Mexican migration to Los Angeles'. Their houses, together with fences, 'the initial gesture that defines East L.A.'s domestic landscape' (Crawford and ADOBE LA 1994, 14), yards, plants and interior, all support their way of life, the *habitus* they acquired while living in Mexico. For example, they argue that the fence serves to make a 'claim to the barrio', to 'delineate the front yard as an enclosure', while at the same time moving 'the domain of the house forward to the street', enabling occupants to clearly 'define their own environment while maintaining contact with the activities of the sidewalk and street' (Crawford and ADOBE LA 1994, 14). The fence defines the yard, or *yarda*, which is described as a fully enclosed occupied space serving as 'an arena of sociability, a site of control, an outdoor work area, and a stage for symbolic elaboration' (Crawford and ADOBE LA 1994, 15). This space encourages social interaction between neighbours and people walking by. However, these encounters are highly structured; 'strangers are met at the gate' and 'friends [are] invited onto the porch' (Crawford and ADOBE LA 1994, 15) in line with their *habitus* and with everyday practices of life in Mexico. Crawford and ADOBE LA (1994, 15) further suggest that yards are customised by occupation and design,¹⁵⁵ expressing and exposing occupants' 'daily lives and deeply personal preferences to anyone passing by', ultimately acting as a canvas on which occupants' sense of cultural and personal identity is portrayed.

¹⁵⁵ Yards are often designed to incorporate plants widely used in Mexico, such as eno (a type of Spanish moss), corn and nopales (Crawford and ADOBE LA 1994, 16).

In the way that yards have been appropriated to express personal preferences and the occupants' sense of cultural and personal identity, so too are houses. The term 'Mexicanisation' is often used to denote alterations that many Mexican migrants carry out on their houses to personalise them and to make them more in line with the homes they once occupied in Mexico. Examples of such changes to existing housing stock are painting facades in yellow, mango or peach tones; putting up Christmas lights; 'replacing wood surfaces with textured stucco or columns with ornamental wrought iron or stuccoed arches'; converting garages into rental units, additional rooms or business spaces; and adding or extending porches 'furnished with tables, chairs, or couches and decorated with wrought iron, paint, or potted plants' (Crawford and ADOBE LA 1994, 15). Crawford and ADOBE LA (1994, 15) note that most of these alterations are not done with the assistance of professional architects, but are usually executed 'without working drawings', with no regard to building codes and often without appropriate planning or building permits.

While this particular aspect of architectural appropriation without any input by architects is explored in more depth in the next chapter, some aspects can be discussed in this section. The practice of constructing and modifying the premises that individuals occupy presents a number of problems concerning the architectural profession in some countries today, including Australia. For example, such practice indicates a lack of need on the part of the wider community to engage architectural expertise and services, thus giving an impression that anyone can design and modify the structures they occupy. While architecture without architects, or vernacular architecture as it is also known, has been the predominant form of architecture throughout the millennia, the establishment of the architectural profession could have meant that the issues of design and construction would largely become the domain of the architect. However, architects, as professionals trained in assessing and understanding a range of different aspects affecting architecture and the built environment (e.g. the sociocultural, political, psychological and environmental issues that affect the design process), are only rarely contracted by members of the public in Australia, where the architectural profession is not protected by law.¹⁵⁶

¹⁵⁶ In Australia, as in some other countries, it is not a legal requirement to engage an architect to design and submit drawings for either planning or building licence approval. Clients can engage draughtsmen, or even produce plans themselves if they know how to do architectural drawings. On occasions, architectural drawings with only a client's name are submitted for a council approval. Stevens (1998, 21), drawing from research conducted by Magali Sarfatti Larson (1983) on the formation of professional associations, points out that 'since the products of architects and non-architects are functionally indistinguishable, the profession has never been able to construct an

This lack of protection by law is a problem for the profession, along with the view that architects only focus on matters concerning aesthetics and their designs are too different and expensive, thus suitable only for a few affluent individuals. According to Amos Rapoport (1987, 12), issues of identity, particularly national, cultural and personal identity, which underpin modifications carried out by Mexicans and Latinos living in the US, have assumed 'a minority position in architecture'. Rapoport (1987, 12) argues that ever since the Modern movement, concerns relating to the cultural responsiveness of architecture have been ignored to the point where contemporary architects have expressed little desire to engage with such issues. Further, when they do, 'the results have often been inappropriate or demeaning,' Crawford and ADOBE LA (1994, 18–19) observe, adding that 'contemporary architectural styles, whether postmodern or abstract formalist, hold little interest for a culture already rich in visual imagery, expression, and meaning'.¹⁵⁷

The expression of the visually rich Mexican culture has thus become the responsibility of the occupants, who adapt and appropriate their homes based on their own experience and understanding of Mexican culture, and their exposure to Mexican architecture and way of life. Their houses, including the interior spaces, are modified to express their cultural identity and their *habitus*, and while room layouts are rarely altered,¹⁵⁸ they are furnished in a Mexican way. More specifically, living rooms, for instance, 'overflow with plastic-covered furniture, photographs of birthdays, graduations, and weddings, and carefully ordered collections of "beautiful little things," religious mementos, and family souvenirs' (Crawford and ADOBE LA 1994, 16). The division between male and female activities is also bound to the house, with the kitchen being almost exclusively 'the territory of the mother and the female members of the family', while males are expected to spend their time 'working outside the house all day, appear in the evening, to watch TV, water the plants, or putter in the yard' (Crawford and ADOBE LA 1994, 16–18, drawing from Rojas 1991, 80–82). The division of activities between male and female, between inside and outside, may seem somewhat traditional, but are expressive of the

ideological justification sufficiently convincing to persuade the state to allow it to monopolize the design of buildings'.

¹⁵⁷ The critique of the architectural profession for failing to acknowledge and respond to issues of identity, both cultural and individual, is discussed fully in Chapter 7 and is therefore not analysed and elaborated further in this section.

¹⁵⁸ It is very common among Mexican migrants to have an extended family living in one house. Leaving the interior room arrangement as is often means that the family members are crowded in together and are forced to share rooms and a bathroom (Crawford and ADOBE LA 1994, 16).

habitus that they practised while in Mexico, as are the activities carried out on weekends described by Crawford and ADOBE LA in the following passage:

On weekends the enclosed household routines spill out into the yard's extroverted space. On Saturday the tempo intensifies, as men gather to work on cars, friends and relatives drop by, tables and chairs are set out for parties and barbecues, vendors offer their wares, and teenagers cruise by in minitrucks or low riders. By Sunday the place slows. Families, dressed up, leave for church, neighbors chat over the fence, and children play in the yard.

(Crawford and ADOBE LA 1994, 18)

These alterations to the housing stock of the Los Angeles County, driven by the *habitus* that its occupants openly embrace and exhibit, are also the subject of Vergara's aforementioned exhibition *El Nuevo Mundo*. According to Phillips (2001, 175), Vergara 'celebrates the persistence of people who come to the United States with very little in the way of material possessions, but who nonetheless manage to piece together a powerful culture'. As Camilo Vergara explains in a conversation with Michael Dear for the exhibition catalogue:

I was amazed to find that symbols and colors from south of the border dominate large sections of Los Angeles County. It was a mystery because it led me to uncover the strengths of what I regarded as the weaker culture. I had assumed that the Latino presence in Southern California would be reasserted for a few years only, after which signs of assimilation would be widespread. Instead we have witnessed Latino cultures going from strength to strength, with no signs of erasure.

(Exhibition catalogue p. 12, cited in Phillips 2001, 176)

Vergara's exhibition and Crawford and ADOBE LA's analysis demonstrate the importance of culture, *habitus* and architecture in the process of migrants' re-territorialisation in a new built environment. It reveals a deep-seated need to express their sense of cultural and personal identity 'through their material culture, surface constructions, and daily aesthetic practice' (Phillips 2001, 176), to minimise any sense of loss and alienation that living in another country with unfamiliar culture, architecture and *habitus* entails. Building upon and recreating the old and known in the new foreign environment is also described in the aforementioned novel by María

Amparo Escandón, in which Esperanza, upon her decision to migrate to the US, removes the bathroom, the last place in which her deceased daughter's image appeared to her,¹⁵⁹ to take with her. In the words of Escandón:

They passed a sign that read: UNITED STATES BORDER 200 KILOMETERS. Esperanza's box of saints was in the back of the truck along with a couple of suitcases. Next to them, tightly fastened with ropes, was an entire wall from Esperanza's bathroom, complete with tile, sink, medicine cabinet, light fixture, toilet, pipes, and the rust stain.

(Escandón 1999, 253, cited in Priewe 2006, 588)

Critically analysing and reflecting on Escandón's novel, Marc Priewe (2006, 588) argues that 'the protagonist literally plans to construct a home away from home in Los Angeles, and the house (as metaphor for the self) will be built with American and Mexican parts'. He adds that 'her future life in Los Angeles will not be a starting over in which the old is abandoned, but in which it is in part taken along to create newness' (Priewe (2006, 588)). As noted earlier, recreating the familiar and known architecture and living conditions in the new built environment enables the continuation and perpetuation of migrants' cultural and personal identity, thus providing for a smoother transition from one environment into another. Phillips (2001, 180) further notes with regard to Mexican migrants that they often 'continue to live, hope, and dream in Spanish', thus failing to mentally cross the border that they have physically crossed a long time ago. This reluctance on the part of Mexican and Latino migrants to leave their past behind and to embrace and immerse themselves into the culture of their receiving society has led to the overt expression of their own sense of cultural and personal identity through architecture, as demonstrated in the examples considered thus far. For these migrants, the border between Mexico and the US is not seen as the boundary that differentiates between societies and cultures, but is simply an imaginary line along the way that needs to be crossed. Accordingly, a number of these migrants perceive some southern US towns and cities such as Los Angeles as parts of Mexico and Latin

¹⁵⁹ Refusing to accept her daughter's death, the novel *Esperanza's Box of Saints* is based on the main protagonist Esperanza searching for her daughter, who she believes was kidnapped and sent to the US to work as a prostitute. The image of her daughter appears twice to Esperanza, once on the oven door, prompting Esperanza to search for her daughter in US brothels, and the second time as a pattern on the rust stain in her bathroom, which marks Esperanza's acceptance of her daughter's passing. It is this stain, together with the contents of the entire bathroom, that Esperanza takes with her to the US after deciding to permanently migrate to LA (Priewe 2006).

America itself (Phillips 2001, 180). In this context, migration is seen as a mere move from one village or town to another within one's culture, within one's country.

As can be seen from the above, the way of thinking exhibited by Mexicans and Latinos and their approach to questions of identity expression have resulted in a visual manifestation and assertion of their sense of identity through architecture and the built environment. However, Mexicans' and Latinos' expression of identity affects not only their immediate surroundings but entire suburbs or sections of the county, which contain high concentrations of migrants from this part of the world. This overt expression of their sense of cultural and personal identity, although beneficial for these migrants since it provides them with the sense of home away from home, has the potential to change the entire atmosphere of a place and challenge the existing perceptions and expectations of the receiving society. With entire neighbourhoods transforming in front of the hosts' eyes into expressions of different and alien cultures, the risk is that such practices of re-territorialisation will be interpreted as a threat to the receiving society's values and culture, leading to rejection of the migrants living in their midst.¹⁶⁰ Tighter border control aimed at reducing incoming numbers and increasing concentrations of Mexican and Latino migrants in the southern regions of the US can thus be considered a reaction to migration-related challenges, which are seen to be transforming American culture irreversibly.

While Mexicans and Latinos express and assert their identity openly, the other group of migrants investigated in this section, the Korculani living in Perth, Western Australia, are more subtle in expressing their sense of identity. The next section investigates the way Korculani use architecture and the built environment to communicate their sense of identity to create a feeling of home away from home.

¹⁶⁰ Margaret Crawford and ADOBE LA (1994, 19) suggest that 'the quotidian house transformations tolerated in the East L.A. barrio are under attack', with 'class and ethnic struggles over space disguis[ing] themselves as struggles over architectural values'. Using Pasadena as an example, they argue that preservationists, 'horrified by "Mexicanized" Craftsman bungalows, have issued Spanish-language pamphlets that attempt to convince homeowners not to alter their houses' (Crawford and ADOBE LA 1994, 19).

Korculani re-territorialisation in the southern suburbs of Perth, Western Australia

The following example of Korculani migrants residing in the southern metropolitan region of Perth, Western Australia, is discussed in relation to their re-territorialisation efforts within the context of the alien built environment. The re-territorialisation practices of Korculani in Perth are modest to say the least, the evidence of appropriation being mainly visible on the inside, as well as in subtle additions of *komins*¹⁶¹ and wine cellars, gardens and plant varieties scattered around the block perimeters and numerous activities executed at both the domestic and communal level. The stamp this small community¹⁶² is leaving on the built environment of Perth and Western Australia is marginal, compared with Mexicans and Latinos living in the US. Nevertheless, it speaks of the forces acting on their identity, such as the connection to the place of their birth, their *habitus* and the continuing challenge of making a better life for themselves and their families in the new world.

The island of Korcula, one of many islands found along the Dalmatian Adriatic coast,¹⁶³ has for centuries been a home to hard working agriculturists, fishermen, shipbuilders, stone-quarry labourers and masons, and talented and gifted sculptors, artists and architects. It is also the spiritual home for a number of the migrants who were interviewed in 2009 for this research. As with many islands along the Dalmatian coast, Korcula presented its inhabitants with an environment of natural and architectural beauties, as well as hard living conditions that forced many to seek happiness and their livelihoods elsewhere. In 1925, around 1200 people emigrated from Blato¹⁶⁴ and Vela Luka alone (Oreb 2004, 113), this act forever remembered in the telling saying: 'Had the island had a rudder, it would have sailed away too.' (Otok s Povratkom 2004, 7).¹⁶⁵ Maria (2007),¹⁶⁶ a director of the Korcula Tourist Bureau and a committee member who worked on the Korcula–Fremantle 'friendship city' application, said it is believed that of the 20,000 people who have left the island

¹⁶¹ *Komin* is the Dalmatian word for a fireplace, which is also used as a place for cooking.

¹⁶² According to the Australian Bureau of Statistics (2013), approximately 0.3% of Australian residents were born in Croatia. An even smaller percentage of Croatian-born Australian residents would have come from the island of Korcula.

¹⁶³ Dalmatia is the name of the southern coastal region of Croatia that has access to the Adriatic Sea.

¹⁶⁴ The village of Blato is situated within the agriculturally fertile Blato valley on the west end of the island of Korcula. Although fertile, the limited rainfall and unfavourable, stony geomorphic features of Dalmatia create difficult working conditions. The stony terrain requires extensive preparation for the fields and to be made workable, stones needed to be removed from the ground. Cleared stones have been used to create walls, small terraces in the steep terrain, or dividing lines between different plots. In the early 1990s, the living conditions became even harder because of a poor wine crop and the vine disease phylloxera, and again following the end of World War II. The harshness of the terrain and the poor living conditions contributed to the large number of islanders who left the island at various points of its history (Czeladka 1991, 52).

¹⁶⁵ The author's translation from Croatian into English.

¹⁶⁶ Maria is an alias employed for the purpose of this thesis and protecting identity of the respondent.

of Korcula in the last 100 years, some 5,000 live in Fremantle¹⁶⁷ and its surroundings, which led to the establishment of 'friendship city' status between the two cities in 1999 (Brad Pettitt 2010).

Fremantle, along with the Swan Valley, Balcatta and Spearwood and Coogee (the two suburbs where the majority of interviewees for this research live) now bears a minor mark of Dalmatian and Korculani culture. During an informal discussion in 2007, Maria remarked that Fremantle and its surroundings is the place that comes closest to Korcula in the way it makes her feel. She maintains that should she ever migrate from Korcula, Fremantle would be the place she would consider establishing as her home away from home. In a number of the Fremantle homes that she visited, Maria found plant and vegetable species that Korculani have been cultivating in their gardens and fields for centuries, from fig and pomegranate trees to tomatoes and Dalmatian stick cabbage, which are featured in almost every Korculani household. Ninety per cent of the Korculani migrants interviewed for this research, who settled in and around Fremantle and Spearwood during the 1960s and 1970s, were agriculturalists, and had worked as children and young adults in their family fields in Korcula, helping their parents and grandparents. The practice of cultivating and eating certain vegetable and plant species found its way into the environment of their new countries, with all of the research respondents having a small garden where they grow a variety of familiar vegetables and plants that remind them of their home in Korcula.

¹⁶⁷ Fremantle is a small harbour city located 15 kilometres south of Perth, Western Australia.



Figure 7. Dalmatian cabbage in Matthew's garden (Glusac 2009).



Figure 8. Anna's Dalmatian garden (Glusac 2009).

This particular aspect of gardening and of eating familiar vegetables, herbs and fruit are concrete examples of their *habitus*, acquired in the early years of life where valuable lessons in working the land and a preference for certain foods and tastes developed. Further, as outlined in Chapter 5, gardening and food preparation are culturally inspired practices that have the potential to bridge the gap between the past and present, between here and there. These practices perpetuate cultural and individual identity. As mentioned in these quotes from Matthew, in regard to cooking the Sunday soup, and Anna, in regard to gardening:

Definitely on Sunday there [would be] meat, beef meat soup. They [would] boil the meat. She does it here for the girls. So nothing's changed as far as that. She cooks it in a big saucepan like her mum, [like] our [mums] did. She boils all that here, meat, potatoes and everything, pretty much the same, nothing's changed.

(Matthew 2009, 10)

And:

Oh, [I have] everything, *kupus*, the stick cabbage, lots of it, ... garlic, ... lettuce. [My husband] does all the veggies. His parents were gardeners, market gardeners in Spearwood. ... He has his veggie patch down the back. ... I think he quite enjoys having a

lettuce straight out of the garden and maybe it's just a throwback from his childhood days because his parents moved from Spearwood when he was 16 and went to live in East Fremantle. But I think it's just something that he's been brought up with because his father then kept a garden in East Fremantle and mother subsequently as well.

(Anna 2009, 19)

Fremantle's mild Mediterranean climate and location close to the Indian Ocean would be a further reason that Maria felt 'at home' there during her visit in the late 1990s. From a number of interviews with the migrants, it became evident that the location close to the Indian Ocean was influential in the settlement process. According to Anna (2009), her father's selection of Fremantle as a place in which he would like to start a new life for himself and his family was based around a clear idea of what he wanted to do:

My father came to Fremantle with a definite idea that he wanted to build a boat to go fishing. He automatically wanted to settle in Fremantle because it was close to a fishing port. There was a whole heap of Croatians in south Fremantle, not Spearwood, actually in Fremantle. That's where he wanted to be so that he was close to the port and had access to all the things that he needed.

(Anna 2009, 14)

The desire to be close to the ocean, to the water, can also be observed in the comment by Dennis, whose fondness for the sea and fishing determined the career path that he pursued upon his migration to Western Australia.

I was drawn to the sea, I decided to take to the sea, that I can't be without sea, because my late father did not only take me to the fields but also when there was time we would go fishing. But that wasn't for pleasure but to help with things, at least to collect ropes barefoot on those reefs, on those sharp rocks. But that stayed and I love it. That's why I came here.

(Dennis 2009, 15)

The love of the sea and fishing can be attributed to the built environment in which Dennis grew up and the *habitus* to which he was exposed. Vela Luka, a small port

town located on the western tip of Korcula, is surrounded by the Adriatic Sea. Dennis's house was located almost on the shore, only metres away from the quay. It was so close to the quay that as a child he would throw pebbles from his window into the sea. However, the difference between what is largely a calm sea and the turbulent Indian Ocean became very clear to Dennis. ultimately leading him to experience 'a string of disappointments' upon his arrival in Western Australia. Dennis observes:

It is the ocean here, you could see huge waves in front of you like hills. In shallow waters they create [a] crushing sound, and our Adriatic is [calm]. It can be windy but there are none of those huge waves. And then, 'be careful of that fish, if you get stung you have to cut your arm or fingers straight away with a hatchet'. When I went up north 'be careful of sea snakes, be careful of that' (of those stonefish) ... 'Be careful' they would say. 'If you cut yourself, the hatchet is there, cut your arm straight away'. So I had a string of disappointments. [But I stayed at sea], I went fishing with our people. A number of our people here [had] their own boats for fishing, crayfish, I mean, sea crabs or crayfish as they call it here.

(Dennis 2009, 15)

Dennis and Anna's father were not the only people who found some resemblance to the old home in the immediate surroundings of Fremantle and Spearwood. Andrew and his wife (2009, 8) commented that when they arrived in Spearwood, 'towards the ocean, it was only people from Blato who lived there', nine families in total. He added: 'Only Blacani lived here and three Italians' (Andrew 2009, 8). The preference for a location that bears resemblance to the environment in which one grew up indicates the importance that both natural and built environments play in one's life.

The selection of location based on the similarities in the natural and built environment and *habitus*-related working practices could also be seen in respect to other common activities carried out on the island; that is, wine growing and wine production. Wine growing was possibly the most prominent activity that dominated Dalmatian and Korcula's agricultural industry, and evidence of it can be found in Perth, Western Australia, and Australia in general (Colic-Peisker 2010, 63). A number of migrants from Dalmatia established wineries predominantly within the areas of Swan Valley and Caversham, with several wineries displaying Croatian heritage and bearing traditional names, as mentioned in Chapter 5. These migrants

'applied the knowledge and skills brought from their homeland to plant and nurture the vines' and introduced these into the new context of Western Australia (Czeladka 1991, 54). As Matthew (2009, 13) observes in regard to the vine grafting technique: 'I think our people, they introduced [vine grafting] to Swan Valley so you [would have] less disease'.

Closely associated with grape cultivation is wine production, and a number of the respondents from Korcula who were interviewed in 2009 had produced their own wine from grapes they bought from local grape growers. While many of the respondents no longer produced their own wine, the common link between *habitus* and wine production was evidenced in some homes by the presence of the disused wine press. The production of wine goes hand-in-hand with wine storage, and it is through this *habitus*-inspired practice that evidence of the Korculani's appropriation of the built environment can be observed. The majority of Korculani migrants interviewed for this research had, or have had, their own wine cellar, as some of the testimonies below confirm:

Well, I had the wine cellar. ... When we bought the property down there, we didn't [have one] ... [but] some time later, when I built my first house we put a wine cellar inside. We had a wine cellar and were producing wine for some twenty years.

(Richard 2009, 9)

And:

I built a big shed up there almost at the very end of the garden that we used to store onions and other things. ... Below the shed I had dug a room that was used for wine. ... It was made out of brick with the concrete slab above. I kept wine there. I was making my own wine for 30, almost 40 years.

(John 2009, 13)

Only two respondents were currently producing and storing their own wine: Andrew, who used an area within the ground floor of his house as a wine cellar, and Philip, who while not having a wine cellar within his current home, had one in his rental property only few streets away. The rental property, a 1938 limestone and brick house that Philip and his wife purchased around 1965, was their first owned home in Western Australia, and while they did not build it themselves, Philip was quick to point that 'our [Dalmatian] man built it', further adding: 'Surely he had something that

he brought with from the old country. ... Down, underneath the whole house, was the cellar. Solid, very good house, well built' (Philip 2009, 7–8).



Figure 9. Philip's wine cellar located underneath the property he is currently renting out (Glusac 2009).



Figure 10. John's wine press, which although no longer in use, he kept to remind him of the old days (Glusac 2009).

Similar to Philip's prompt clarification that his house featuring a wine cellar was built by 'our man', other respondents who did not build their own wine cellars were equally quick to add that they knew many Blacani and Korculani who did. As Dennis and James observe:

No, I don't have a *konoba*, that is the only thing that I don't have here. But there are many people that I know of who built one below the house to add to that. ... Many, many do have one.

(Dennis 2009, 20–21)

And:

We didn't have like what was back home, in our place, a wine cellar so that we had to keep a *konoba*. But there are some of our people who had the press. Her late father had a cellar here. They had a vineyard here and they had everything, barrels and all. They had lots of that here.

(James 2009, 15–16)

A wine cellar is not only an expression of architecture arising from *habitus*, from the desire to produce their own wine and to participate in practices that were part of life on the island for centuries and to which migrants from Korcula were exposed from their early life; for some of the respondents it is also linked to fond memories, reminding them of life before migration and of their old home. Dennis, in a humorous way, recalls how the wine cellar or *konoba*, as they call it in Dalmatia, was always busy with activity:

Konoba was inside. There was always something happening, particularly during the picking season. You know, [those musty fumes] and that. And I could [smell] it in my room. I don't know how we stayed alive because those floors were made out of timber boards. And you know before it wasn't like it is today, that they lock in 100 per cent. Instead, there were [gaps] so I could see below what my dad was doing. I could see it from my room. Now imagine, for weeks and weeks, maybe a tonne of grapes below would boil during fermentation. I don't know how [we survived]. I know that in some instances, as a child, I would be in some kind of foggy state.

(Dennis 2009, 13)

As well as the wine cellar, the most favoured and replicated architectural element by Korculani respondents living in and around Fremantle and Spearwood was a fireplace. The fireplace or *komin*, as it is known in Dalmatia, served numerous purposes, from preparing food and producing warmth to serving as a gathering place during long summer nights and cold winter days. Dalmatian cuisine consists largely of green-leafed vegetables and grilled fish, which are prepared within traditional *komins* that are generally built out of stone or brick and, where possible, plastered, and either painted or washed with lime. The taste of grilled fish and of Mediterranean vegetables and herbs was something that none of my respondents could forget. Hence, as mentioned earlier, herbs and vegetables such as the Dalmatian stick cabbage, rosemary and tomatoes can be found in all of the respondents' gardens. To cater for the taste of grilled fish and meat, a number of respondents had built fireplaces or *komins* within their homes, with some recreating the design of the fireplace from the home country in exact detail.¹⁶⁸ *Komins*, like *konobas*, are not just reproduced for purely utilitarian reasons; they are also linked

¹⁶⁸ Five out of 10 households had custom-built fireplaces that resembled those found in Korcula and Dalmatia, where they grill fish and prepare food the traditional way. In his shed, Matthew has recreated an exact replica of the traditional *komin*, built from bricks that he rendered and whitewashed.

to fond memories that connect the respondents with the 'old home' and the life that once was, as some of the stories below demonstrate:

I remember most this *komin*. [It] has left the biggest impression on me. It was below, fire was there; everybody would come there. When it was raining the other day I felt 20 years younger straight away. ... In my case it is the rainy days, stormy days, that are good. I feel this way since my childhood. That was the only way I could see my father or mother, because I knew that they wouldn't go out, they stayed home. So then I could be with them or talk to them ... that is why these days stayed with me. And because I knew that the fire would have to be lit and when the fire was on during the day that was not only to keep us warm, I knew that at least something would be cooked. ... That is why I love those days. That *komin* it stayed with me the most. ...

In *komin* there would be gatherings. That would be particularly during winter when you would see your neighbours and hear those funny things that would make you laugh. Sometime they would tell things that made you cry ... and as a child you would create images of how it was in World War II, how this one died and how that one died, how this one was in a bunker ... then you would imagine it as a child as if you were experiencing it all.

(Dennis 2009, 13)



Figure 11. *Komin* in a house in Blato (John's private collection).



Figure 12. *Komin* in Matthew's shed (Glusac 2009).

Dennis's fond memories of the *komin* prompted him to build one within his current house, even though, as he observes, it took him some time to convince his wife that it was a good idea:

This is the first time that I built one, even though it took me two years to persuade my wife. She couldn't imagine having smoke inside the house again. Instead, she told me to take that outside. So I put [in] that door. When you close the door [no smoke gets in]. Now this is her favourite [place].

(Dennis 2009, 20)

When asked what inspired him to build a *komin* within his current house, Dennis replied: 'It was that fish and meat on the char, on grill fire, that was drawing you' (Dennis 2009, 20). A similar response was given by Richard, who remarks:

I had a wish to make an old kitchen. So we built it there and that fireplace as we have them in the old place. ... You [would] make fish, and meat and that in it and over there you [would] cook vegetables and that. That is what we have built; that is what we have added to this plan. That is the best and my favourite part of the house because when I am in there ... I am free to do what I want, whereas when I come in here [in the main kitchen] that is already something different.

(Richard 2009, 10)

Paul's reasons for having a fireplace built within his current home are very similar to those of both Dennis and Richard. He, as his wife recalls, always 'wanted to have the house that is like the one at home, to have a fire inside the house so he can cook'. According to Paul (2009), he saw fireplaces at many homes built by the Korculani and Dalmatians, located at the back of their house. Unlike them, he wanted to build one inside the house so he would not need to go outside. That fireplace is now being used in the same way as back at home, as a place for cooking, heating and of course gathering. As Paul observes: 'There would be 10, 15 of us together; this would be packed. We would light the fire and it [would be] nice. That was my wish, always, to have a fireplace' (Paul 2009, 11).



Figure 13. *Komin* in Dennis' second kitchen (Glusac 2009).



Figure 14. *Komin* in Richard's second kitchen (Glusac 2009).

From the responses received and observations made, having a *komin* signals the connection to the old home in the way it is designed and built, and more importantly in the way it is used and what it symbolises; a place of gathering, familiarity and home. While specifically linked to *habitus* and old cooking practices drawn from home, *komins* also reflect another peculiarity that is common to Korculani and Dalmatian migrants living in Fremantle and the surroundings, which is the custom of having two kitchens. Anna observes that during the 1960s and 1970s, the majority of migrants from Korcula built duplicate kitchens. In particular, the market gardeners had a 'show-piece' kitchen upstairs with the lounge and dining room, and the working kitchen, in which they actually cooked, downstairs. To explain the reason for the double kitchen, Anna reflects back on the 'old place' and the practices observed there:

I would say that is ... probably going back to the similar sort of dichotomy that existed back in Croatia on the islands, because they all had this sort of *komin*, which was usually an open hearth. And they did all their grilling and all their [cooking there]. They did lots of grilling—lots of grilling fish, lots of grilling meat, and doing other things, cooking their vegetables, their *zelje*, or whatever it is. And they were separate from the actual kitchen where you used to go and eat and prepare other things.

(Anna 2009, 17–18)

The examples of architecture appropriation and the insertion of small yet identity-filled urban or architectural gestures do not stop with *komin* or *konoba*. Another urban gesture that was evident in a number of properties visited for this research was a *fizul*, a stone bench placed in front of a house or facing courtyard. In the Korculan and Dalmatian context, *fizuls* are generally built next to the external wall facing the street and are an expression of the locals' tendency to sit outside their homes, enjoying the fresh air in the evenings while catching up with family members and neighbours.



Figure 15. Traditional stone *fizul* located in one of the streets within the town of Korcula, Croatia (Glusac 2007).



Figure 16. Tables and chairs are used nowadays in front of houses that do not have *fizuls*. Town of Korcula, Croatia (Glusac 2007).

For Matthew, one of the Blacani migrants living in Spearwood, the *fizul* is closely linked to his childhood and the fond memories he associates with this small, yet culturally significant urban element. When asked what he remembers the most from the old home, Matthew quickly responded 'the *fizul*, my bench outside', further adding:

We used to sit on it and play all the time. [At] night-time before dinner, especially in summer [when it] gets dark, the old people [would] go past and they [would] sit on [it on] their way home and they [would] tell stories, ghost stories and love stories and who courted who ... That was my best, best time. ... People going past us [would] sit there. So, that was my favourite place.

(Matthew 2009, 13)



Figure 17. Dennis' *fizul* located at the main entrance (Glusac 2009).

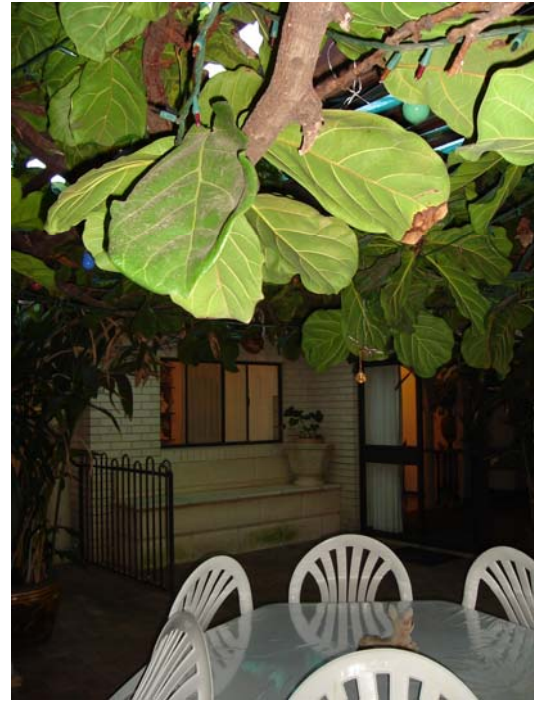


Figure 18. Matthew's *fizul* overlooking the courtyard (Glusac 2009).

Practicality called for yet another architectural feature and practice from the island of Korcula to be incorporated into what is largely an Australian-styled house located in Spearwood. Dennis, an avid fisherman and gardener, required an outside toilet to be built at the house that he now calls home. In a comical manner, he reflects on the long and arduous processes that he had to endure to get this addition passed through the City of Cockburn planning department. In Dennis's words:

I have left one WC outside. That was always my desire. I have that in the other house too. But what a procedure it was to deal with governmental departments here! My God, if I knew ... I wouldn't [have done it]. 'Why do you need it?', 'Why this?' And then they would send you from one institution to another. I had to do a lot of that, [answer many] 'Whys?' But that was [what] I always wanted, like that [outside toilet] back home, to be practical, particularly since I already have my garden, well for vegetables and that, or when I am here around this boat then if you have to go you don't have to go inside [the house], you don't have to take off your shoes if they are dirty, you don't have to wash your hands, you simply go. It is very practical for everyone.

(Dennis 2009, 20–21)

While *konoba* and *komin*, *fizul* and the outside toilet all refer to the architecture of the 'old home', it can be said that these are largely inspired by the *habitus* common to the islanders and the practices observed there. These architectural additions and appropriations point to the very strong connection that exists between *habitus*, architecture and the self-identity. Korculani and Croatian identity, in particular their national identity and its expression through architecture, can also be seen on a non-utilitarian level. Anna, for example, recalls the way that Italian and Croatian migrants asserted and indicated their nationality through small details incorporated into their newly acquired or built properties; putting 'their own trademarks' on them (Anna 2009, 17). She said Croatians did not do much in the way of modifying properties they owned, except for painting 'something blue somewhere on it', such as gutters or similar (Anna 2009, 17). Italians, on the other hand, placed 'columns out the front' and usually rendered their houses, putting a greater amount of colour on them, with green being their trademark colour and differentiation point from the Croatian-owned properties (Anna 2009, 17).



Figure 19. A Croatian house featuring blue gutters (Glusac 2009).



Figure 20. Stone walls in Anna's garden (Glusac 2009).

The use of stone for certain architectural features in some Korculani respondents' homes is a further reference point drawn from the built environment of the 'old place'. In the context of Korcula, the presence and availability of stone contributed to the fact that this was the most-used material in building. Traditional houses, both in

the city and in villages, were generally made out of stone, as well as streets that have, in some instances, become almost dangerously slippery, due to centuries of use. While in a Western Australian context, stone is not a readily available material and is for that reason very expensive, some stone features have made their way into the homes and gardens of some Korculani respondents by way of small retaining walls, garden features and *fizuls*.



Figure 21. Walls and street pavement made out of stone. A street in the town of Korcula, Croatia (Glusac 2007).



Figure 22. Retaining walls, streets and houses made out of stone. A street on the outskirts of the town of Korcula, Croatia (Glusac 2007).

The sloped terrain of the island also influenced the thinking of some Korculani migrants living in Perth. Anna, who comes from the town of Vela Luka on the island of Korcula, observes how being exposed to the hilly terrain of Vela Luka, and the practice of building houses by cutting into the slope, was useful when she and her husband were laying out and planning their family home in an affluent suburb of Perth, where the property had steeply sloping ground towards the back. While showing me her garden, Anna pointed out how they had decided to cut into the ground the way they did back in the 'old place', to overcome issues arising from the unevenness of the terrain. This created the basement and a small space where garden tools and equipment are stored, accessible from the rear of the house. This small storage space strongly resembles a 'tunnel', a vaulted passageway underneath a house, which in the context of the island of Korcula connects courtyards and side streets. Apart from garden equipment, this small space within

the basement also features an old wine press, indicating the family's former engagement in producing wine for themselves.



Figure 23. A street in Korcula, Croatia (Glusac 2007).



Figure 24. Anna's storage space built to resemble a tunnel (Glusac 2009).

Further reference to the 'old place', and in particular the use of stone, can be found within the Croatian Catholic Church in North Fremantle, for which the world-renowned stone from the island of Brac, located close to Korcula, was used to construct the altar. This use not only indicates the stone's high quality but also the desire of the Croatian Catholic community to have a piece of stone quarried from their homeland incorporated into one of the significant structures of Croatian presence in Western Australia, on which their communal and national identity could be grounded. Similarly, the full-scale replica of Blato's *loggia*, located within the grounds of the Dalmatinac Club in Spearwood, features a stone brought from Korcula, indicating not only this community's desire to ground their identity through 'home soil' but to recreate certain architectural projects in their entirety, to remind them of the place of their birth.

The inspiration to replicate the *loggia* outside the Dalmatinac Club is closely tied to the success of a temporary stage installation that was built for one of the main events in the club—the 'Blato Night'—and based on the traditional Dalmatian forum design. To celebrate their heritage and culture, 'Blato Night' was introduced as an annual event during which dances and songs from Blato and Korcula are performed

and, as already mentioned in Chapter 2, is largely considered the highlight of the club's social calendar. It took Matthew and other Blacani up to three months to fully reconstruct the stage design of the Dalmatian forum within the club's main hall. As Matthew recalls:

When we did the Dalmatian forum, when we did the original one in the hall, we had to have a column so we carved it out of custom timber. ... There was a gazebo, there was the *loggja*. ... We built [it], can I say I built [it] with all the [others]. So it's something to remember where we are from. We came through this way; we left something behind.

(Matthew 2009, 21)

Matthew made the tiles and columns that were used to construct the elaborate stage set, replicating Blato's forum, and the *loggja* in his backyard. The set itself was meant to be used for just one night. However, as Matthew's wife pointed out, the stage made out of plaster was so convincing that 'people thought that was real' and objected to it being taken down after the event because it 'looked so beautiful' (Matthew's wife 2009, 23–24).¹⁶⁹ While the replica within the club was eventually removed, the popularity of the structure led the club's members to consider building a permanent replica of Blato's *loggja* outside the club that is now installed. Matthew observes: 'We had one of the ladies go back home when she was on holiday. She took a photo and we made it bigger, made it actual size' (Matthew 2009, 23–24). The replica is not only an exact copy of Blato's *loggja*, it also features, as mentioned earlier, a stone brought from Korcula, placed in the centre of the structure with a plaque inscription reading: 'This stone from Dalmacia unifies the old with the new homeland'.



Figure 25. Replica of Blato's *loggja* located within the Dalmatinac Club, Spearwood (Glusac 2009).

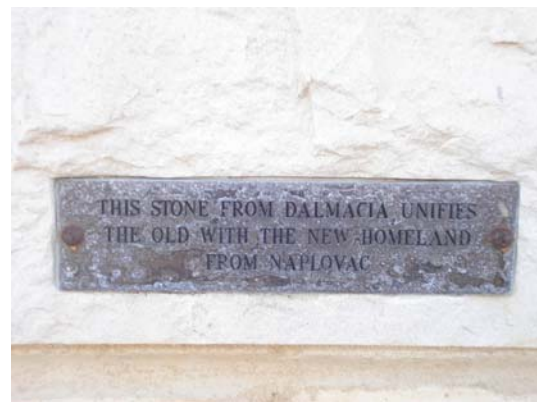


Figure 26. Stone from Dalmatia built into the *loggja* (Glusac 2009).

¹⁶⁹ The replica forum and *loggja* were kept within the Dalmatinac Club hall for another three years.

The Dalmatinac Club further serves as a point of gathering, of practising their own culture and customs within its grounds.¹⁷⁰ Andrew and his wife observe that once the club was founded and built, it enabled them to ‘return to all our old customs’, to ‘our ways’, with Andrew further adding:

We, even today, keep to our customs in Dalmatinac. Everything is ours. My cousin, he is interested in that, he would organise Blato Nights, not just him but the whole company would gather. There was everything, everything was made just like it was made in Blato, old way. That’s how [it] was done.

(Andrew 2009, 8)

Similar sentiments are expressed by Daniel, who points out that through the Dalmatinac Club they have tried to introduce Croatian culture¹⁷¹ by partaking in the folklore and other activities through which the spirit of the ‘old place’ is perpetuated. As Daniel sentimentally remarks: ‘I personally prefer seeing those young children as they dance our folk-dances, our folklore’ (Daniel 2009, 16).

Although the Dalmatinac Club now serves as a place of gathering and for maintaining Dalmatian and Croatian customs and traditions, the reasons behind its establishment were quite negative. According to Daniel, the incidences of bullying, discrimination and racism directed at them from both the Australians and English prompted many Blacani and Korculani to start raising funds to purchase land and build the place that is all theirs.¹⁷² Daniel observes:

We have founded Dalmatinac not on the political grounds; we have founded Dalmatinac on the grounds that they called us ‘dings’. When we were playing here on Cockburn soccer ground, where the shire is today,

¹⁷⁰ Events at the Dalmatinac Club brought together Blacani and Korculani from all around Perth. However, it should be noted that the connection among Blacani was always very strong, even before the Dalmatinac Club was built. James (2009) pointed out that at weekends, he and his friends from Spearwood would attend various parties and dances that the Blacani living in the Swan Valley and Osborne Park organised. Later, once the plans for the establishment and consequent building of Dalmatinac Club were made, he and his fellow-Blacani and -Korculani held dancing events and parties in and around southern Perth suburbs such as Hilton Park, Melville and Booragoon, to raise funds for the design and construction of their own club in Spearwood. With the completion of the Dalmatinac Club in 1977, going to other associations’ parties and events subsided because, as James observes, ‘where you did go was the Club’ (James 2009, 13–14).

¹⁷¹ According to Daniel (2009), some 90 per cent of Dalmatinac Club members are Croatians; hence it is Croatian culture that is largely perpetuated there.

¹⁷² This is confirmed by Colic-Peisker (2006, 215), who notes that prior to the 1970s ‘the reaction to “white ethnics” arriving in Australia ranged from indifferent to patronizing and even hostile, which emphasised the importance of the protective “ethnic bubble”’.

they would call us 'dings', 'wogs'; they would be saying everything to us, and would fight us. ... So we decided in 1962 to start our own club Dalmatinac [later renamed] Spearwood Dalmatinac. ... The land where the club was built is owned by its members. We found relief there straight away ... when someone is insulting you, it is rough.

(Daniel 2009, 15–16)

Architecture and the built environment are not the only aspects of the physical environment that are influenced by *habitus* and culturally and socially inspired practices enacted on the island. Settlement practices, already discussed to an extent with regard to location and similarities between Korcula and the greater metropolitan region of Perth in terms of climate and the natural environment, and opportunities these offer, can also be considered regarding the proximity between family members and friends. Traditionally, houses in Korcula, and Dalmatia in general, were divided among sons, often resulting in a house being split between brothers. They and their families would occupy a section of a house or often, only one room.¹⁷³ Hence, it is not uncommon for extended families to live within the same house. Because of land constraints, this led to upward additions, resulting in unplanned organic growth. As the land was equally divided between sons, the parcels of land eventually became scattered all over the village, with bits of land here and there fenced off with the stone that was taken from the surrounding ground. A similar division of land and the manner of keeping family members close by can be seen in Spearwood and the surrounding suburbs. A large number of Korculani migrants who came to Perth and Western Australia during the 1950s and 1960s bought large parcels of land for market gardening. Around 80 per cent of Korculani migrants interviewed for this research either owned market garden properties or were married to individuals who were raised on market garden land. When they retired, they subdivided the land and gave parcels close to their house to their children, thus maintaining the close grouping together that was practised back in Korcula. Several respondents speak of this practice still being prevalent among Korculani migrants, as is evident in the following comments:

Daughter lives next to me and son next to her. This is all because we had land and then you would give your child a block to build a house. You would give [them] a

¹⁷³ Daughters were paid out to prevent the house being divided into miniscule sections and becoming unliveable. This practice also ensured that the property remained in the family's name.

block so that [they] did not have to buy. That was much cheaper. So they are close to me.

(Andrew's wife 2009, 10)

And:

I gave [my daughter] land here and she built a house next to us on number 17. And in 1992 I built number 19 here, where this one is, not too far from this house here. And then I built this one. Number 15 I haven't sold. I have given it to my son.

(Daniel 2009, 19)

The example of family members living close by is not the only practice that was inherited from the island and brought into the context of Western Australia. Living close to and maintaining links with one's friends and fellow Korculani and Blacani has been part of Korculani's settlement process in and around Fremantle, Spearwood, and other Perth suburbs. Staying close to members of one's own community is not specific to Korculani. Many of the migrant examples outlined earlier in this thesis spoke of the benefits of this practice for the newly arrived migrants.

Being close to individuals who speak the same language and observe the same culture and customs means being close to support networks, which in the new environment, particularly in a foreign country, are much needed. As discussed earlier, difficulties with a foreign language, culture and a different way of life and *habitus* all contribute to migrants' sense of alienation that is usually affecting their sense of belonging and identity. The respondents for this research said the presence of individuals they could relate to, who could understand them and give them advice, help with finding a job or a place to rent, or even listen to their story, made the process of settling in more bearable. James argues that being surrounded by members of their own community 'had the greatest influence ... on our people staying here', further adding, 'we had one another and we helped one another' (James 2009, 14). A similar observation was made by Richard, who states:

We all [had contact] with one another. That was because when we arrived here, we didn't know anyone, so we would socialise with our people. We were connected. We didn't know the language, we didn't know anything. And with our people you were

able to communicate in our mother tongue. ... with others, you were there but you could not connect because you couldn't speak the language. ... In the beginning, that meant a lot because you had your own people. You could go with them, tell each other your troubles. That's how it was, because [the] foreign world is not easy at first, not simple.

(Richard 2009, 7)

There is a good reason that almost 100 per cent of Korculani migrants¹⁷⁴ surrounded themselves with members of their own community. While the similarities in climate and the natural environment were welcoming, the built environment was not. Many migrants arriving from the island of Korcula, where the island and its architecture was their universe,¹⁷⁵ shaping their perceptions and expectations, experienced culture shock with their first impressions of the built environment in Perth.

Dennis, who came to Perth in 1966 as a young adult, recounts how his expectation of Australia and Fremantle was based on what he experienced back home:

We were getting closer to this Fremantle, and I was looking at the port, looking where the hills are I was expecting it to be like it is back home. Once I noticed one stone, dear God, it was as if someone had drawn it, and that was actually that south mole and north mole. But that was all. It was made by human hand.

(Dennis 2009, 16)

Coming from an environment dominated by stone, and narrow and densely built streets and houses, the first thing that most of the Korculani respondents noticed

¹⁷⁴ Ninety per cent of those interviewed for this research said that being close to other Blacani and Korculani was very important to them when they arrived, and still is to this day. Anna, although not directly referring to herself, as she was only a very young girl when she migrated to Australia with her family, made the same observation about her parents, stating: 'He sort of located himself and the family in that area so that he had contacts' and 'Mum also had a lot of contacts there because there were quite a few people that came from Vela Luka and Blato, which is the adjoining town. And so there was ... quite a sizeable community in Fremantle of post-war migrants. ... In our place, every night there was somebody around singing 'til all hours of the morning. ... There were always people in the house, always. And because it was all within walking distance, ... there was a lot of interconnectedness and a lot of support. You just supported one another' (Anna 2009, 14–15).

¹⁷⁵ Matthew (2009, 15) explains how the difference between Blato and Sydney, where he first settled upon migrating to Australia, affected him: 'Sydney was a big, big city, completely different. I came from a town where I knew every street. I knew all the corners and knew how to wander around. And the school, I knew all my friends and everything. When I came to Sydney, they put me in a boarding house with my relative. And there was about eight, nine people, all boarding in a different room. They were all strangers to me. I was just from another corner of the world.'

was how flat and open everything was. Anna, who arrived in Fremantle as a five-year-old in the late 1950s, recalls:

Everything was flat, flat, flat, flat, no rocks anywhere. ... I just couldn't come to terms with it, no rocks anywhere around, no big houses, no sort of sense of a town. It was just all sprawled out and flat. ... Everything was just spread out and buildings looked different. They were all low rise and there was just nothing that compared with the sort of environment that I have been used to. ... There were no trees, there was nothing. It was denuded. Backyards were just empty.

(Anna 2009, 11–12)

Other respondents also pointed out that they were bitterly disappointed with what they found. Rusty roofs and corrugated iron sheds, sparsely located on large blocks of land, did not give away any sense of urbanity, of the built environment these migrants had been used to at home in Korcula. The built environment was perceived as 'primitive' (Richard 2009, 6), 'miserable' (Philip 2009, 7), or even 'distracting, unpleasant' (John 2009, 9).

The shock of the difference in the built environment was one of the reasons that Korculani migrants sought the comfort of the familiar in the company of their own community members. Both James (2009, 12–13) and Matthew (2009, 18) observe that upon arriving in Australia, the first thing they did was to find who lived where, so they could get in touch with them. John's wife (2009, 10) further points out that having 'our people and Italians' as neighbours in Spearwood that they could visit is what 'saved' them.

Visiting, helping each other and playing sports was also a way for perpetuating old customs and *habitus*, as both Dennis (2009, 18) and James (2009, 12–13) recall:

Some of our friends would catch some fish and we would follow our tradition, grill it together and have a drink and start singing. That's how it was.

(Dennis 2009, 18)

And:

We would go to each other and we would get drunk and would sing as we did back home, in the old place in earlier days.

(James 2009, 12–13)

This gathering and visiting helped them feel as if they were at home because, as Philip (2009, 8) points out, in the company of ‘their own’, there were no language- or *habitus*-related barriers.¹⁷⁶ A similar observation was made by Matthew:

We just can’t part from each other, because we have a funny way of expressing jokes. When we tell our jokes to a stranger, half of the time he doesn’t laugh, because half of the time he doesn’t understand what the hell we are talking about. You tell a Blacani a joke [and] he understands [it] even [if] your words are half pronounced. He knows what you are talking about.

(Matthew 2009, 18–19)

High concentrations of Korculani and Blacani living in and around Spearwood and Fremantle acted as a pooling force, attracting an even greater number of migrants from their part of the world. Paul (2009, 9) comments how the presence of the Dalmatinac Club and the large concentration of ‘our people’ influenced his decision to move from Broken Hill, Victoria, to Spearwood. Matthew (2009, 20–21) recounts that he had an opportunity to purchase a City Beach block that was rocky and hilly, a block that ‘would have worked more with [his] background back home’. But the desire to be with his people eventually made him decide to put his name down for a block in Spearwood, where he currently lives with his wife. In Matthew’s words:

I had about 30 ... market gardeners, all from my town [living there], so I thought it would be a good idea, you know, when you are young, [to] mix with them. ... In my street here, at one stage there were eight families from my town.

(Matthew 2009, 20–21)

¹⁷⁶ Colic-Peisker (2002b, 156; 2006, 215–216) suggests that it was language difficulties that influenced many Croatian migrants who arrived in Australia during the 1950s and 1960s to settle close to members of their own community. Living in an ‘ethnic bubble’ (Colic-Peisker 2006, 215–216; 2002b, 159) ensured that the traditional values were maintained, including ‘the ethic of mutual help and care’.

Along with architecture and settlement practices, objects can also assist in perpetuating a sense of cultural and personal identity in a new context, as discussed earlier in Chapter 5. Andrew (2009, 11) suggests that one particular photograph of Blato's campanile and *loggia* can be seen 'almost in every Blacani's house here in Australia'. A similar observation was made by Richard (2009, 11), who explains that to him, that photograph is 'more valuable than anything else' and that 'every house, every house [has it]'. It should be noted that when they left the island of Korcula, their place of birth, very few respondents took more than the bare necessities with them, some family photographs at most. The objects have been brought to Australia from subsequent travels to Korcula, such as little souvenirs of traditional Dalmatian-type houses, animals and boats, liqueurs with printed place names, scallop shells, keys to *konoba* and barrel corks, stones from the fields, and many others that are now scattered around the houses. Paul and Dennis recall:

I brought these [tools] because they are not being used anymore. I was fond of that and what I brought, I brought to remind me of my birthplace.

(Paul 2009, 4)

And:

[We brought] mostly those sentimental things like this stone, for instance. This is down from my shore, where I swam as a child. ... Then this is the stone ... to tie a donkey to. That stone was basically to hold it so it wouldn't run away to eat grass while we were working in the field. And I went with a kid to look for that stone and I found it. ... And that was after 50 years, you can say.

(Dennis 2009, 24–25)

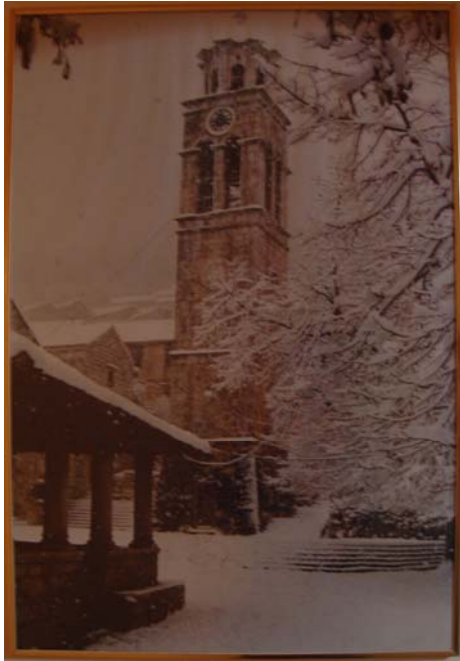


Figure 27. Blato's *campanile*. A photograph found in the majority of homes of the Blacani of respondents during this research (Glusac 2009).



Figure 28. Objects that Paul and his wife brought from 'home' during their visits to Blato. These are exhibited on the *komin* he built in his second kitchen (Glusac 2009).

Over the years, many of the objects that were once used to remind migrants of the 'old home' became replaced, or stored away as they were no longer seen as 'fashionable' (Daniel 2009, 22), reflecting the level of acclimatisation and acculturation to the Australian way of life and *habitus*. In one instance, the much-loved photograph of Blato's *campanile* and *loggia* was replaced by a painting of the same that more comfortably fits the design and décor of what is largely a typical Australian project-home house. In Matthew's case, he found more enjoyment in recreating the familiar objects he used as a child while living on the island, such as a flute and a mule saddle, than in bringing souvenirs to remind him of the place in which he was born. In a way, this demonstrates once again the importance of *habitus* and of keeping the old traditions alive, and through it, perpetuating a self-identity in a new physical and cultural context.

Although the above outlined examples and discussion points to a number of Korculani migrants being able to recreate some sense of home away from home, if only through minor architectural additions and modifications inspired by the architecture and the style of life enjoyed on the island of Korcula, the longing for the 'old home' has never subsided. For some, life in the foreign land could never match

the joy and satisfaction of being in the place in which they were born and grew up.¹⁷⁷ Daniel argues that his desire for Blato, his place of birth, was 'always serious', further adding:

What is in the old place—satisfaction, song, friendship—is much different than what is here. When I came to Australia in 1961, one late Blacan ... was saying that Australia is [like] a woman without taste, smell or love, and I think that he didn't miss by much. ... Here, things are not as they are in the old place.

(Daniel 2009, 4)

Although Daniel, Andrew, Richard and few others claim that Blato is what they have in their heart, they are nevertheless aware of the challenges that their existence, suspended between two places, between two continents, presents for them. While the longing for the old place was expressed by all of the research respondents, they all knew that life for them is in Australia with their children and grandchildren. Had their children been living in Korcula, very few would hesitate to go back, as Richard points out:

If only my children were there, I would go there tomorrow and would die there where my parents and my ancestors are. But to leave the children here, and go there, I don't have that strength.

(Richard 2009, 12)

Moreover, many have realised that life has not exactly stood still since their departure as children and young adults, and that things have changed significantly since they left. Matthew observes that 'the family grew up, the kids grew up and the people you loved over there they are gone', further adding 'I miss the place ... I miss the culture, I miss what we did and you can't do that again. You can't run [down the streets as a child again]...' (Matthew 2009, 24–25). Many of the migrants realise that the life they once had on the island is no longer possible, that it is just a memory. This understanding is a prelude to an even greater one, when they realise that they are no longer the same, or capable of living in the social and cultural environment in which they were born, largely because of different expectations, a sense of life and *habitus* that they have acquired over years of living in Australia. As James notes in the following passage:

¹⁷⁷ John's wife suggests that people who stayed in Blato, her birthplace, 'are more satisfied because they are at home' (2009, 1).

I don't think we could get used to that over there ... because ... I am almost 50 years in Australia now in September. We are new to that over there. We are only tourists. ... We should still respect where we are from. Never forget that. ... But it is difficult, it is difficult for us to go and live there now that we got used to this system of living. ... Everybody has their own customs and everybody has their own opinions. I know that there are many who would say that they would like to go back and live there, and they go, but in the end they come back here again because it is different, everything has changed.

(James 2009, 19–20)

This example of Korculani migrants living in Perth, Western Australia, demonstrates that a connection between *habitus*, architecture, memory and self-identity is very strong. The discussion in this section clearly shows that the Korculani appropriation of the architecture of their homes, such as the additions of *komins* and *konobas*, is associated with the *habitus*-inspired practices, such as wine making and cooking, to which these migrants were exposed while living on the island. It can therefore be said that in recreating architecture that draws from *habitus* and fond memories people have of their 'old home', a sense of familiarity and continuity in their identity is perpetuated, which assists in bridging the gap between here and there, between the life before and the life after migration. Ultimately, these little architectural and urban gestures together, with customs and traditions, serve to fill the emotional vacuum that some migrants experience after leaving their homes behind.

The analysis presented in Chapter 6, and Part III as a whole, illustrates the important role that architecture and the built environment have in the process of re-territorialisation and perpetuation of migrants' identity. The extent to which architecture and the built environment are used and appropriated depends on the type of migration, as illustrated by the two types of migration outlined here (colonial and cross-community). Colonial migrants tend to use architecture aggressively, to establish and perpetuate certain ideologies and power structures, replicating buildings and entire cityscapes to that end. In contrast, cross-community migrants tend to appropriate architecture on a much smaller scale, to recreate familiar and known living environments to which they can relate. Although political implications largely overshadow colonial architecture, the need for the familiar and known can also be observed in examples of colonial migration, as the Ootacamund Hill Station

in India and the predominantly English urban environment of Australia in the early decades of the 1900s demonstrate.

A longing for familiar and known living conditions and the recreation of these through architecture and the built environment can thus be seen as a phenomenon that is common to migrants of all kinds. This longing can be largely traced to *habitus* and the need to experience the feelings of security and safety that known and familiar environments give people. Migration, as demonstrated earlier, has a tendency to destabilise this feeling of security and safety, and it is through recreating familiar living conditions that individuals attempt to once again find meaning and continuity in the sense of who they are. However, the different approaches in achieving this goal are what differentiate colonial and cross-community migrants. While colonial migrants, as a dominant, ruling group, express their power and their sense of national, cultural and personal identity with confidence and determination, to make their settlement look like the home they left behind, cross-community migrants resort to architecture and appropriation of the built environment to ease the burden of alienation caused by migration and living in a foreign place. However, the two examples discussed under cross-community migration, Mexican and Latinos living in the US and Koculani living in Perth, Western Australia, illustrate that there are clear differences in their respective approaches to the *habitus*-inspired appropriation of architecture. Mexicans and Latinos, as shown in this chapter, express their sense of national, cultural and individual identity more overtly than Koculani, not least due to their much larger numbers and greater concentration in the suburbs of East Los Angeles and California.

Part III of this thesis has clearly demonstrated the connections between architecture, culture, memory and *habitus*, and the important role that architecture and the built environment have in creating and perpetuating migrants' identity. Part IV uses this knowledge to form a critique of the architectural discipline for failing to consider and respond to questions of cultural and personal identity in the wider population in general. More specifically, issues stemming from the discipline's excessive focus on aesthetics and trends, and the indiscriminate employment of signature styles by some star architects, are critiqued in Chapter 7. As well as these issues, problems associated with globalisation, and the misguided notion of identity as portrayed through the preservation of 'heritage' architecture and the recreation of

'traditional' buildings, are investigated and critiqued for their contribution to the artificial sense of identity that currently prevails in architecture.

PART IV

A critique of the architectural discipline with regard to self-identity and belonging

Artificial identities: Globalisation, heritage and the architectural discipline's response to questions of cultural and personal identity

It is astonishing how much work is currently being conducted in other fields that do not find currency in architectural discourse but are so relevant. These all reflect the importance of the conduct of research and the development of a knowledge base, as well as for the need of an integrative framework by which to structure understanding.

(Diaz Moore 2000, 7)

Examples used throughout this thesis point towards the important roles that architecture and the built environment play in the construction and perpetuation of individual and cultural identity, security and safety. As this thesis has shown, elements of familiar architecture and built environments are often recreated by migrants in the new physical context of their receiving countries. This clearly demonstrates that these recreated conditions, together with *habitus*, architecture and the built environment, give migrants an environment to which they can relate and from which they can draw reference. Much research that reveals the significance of architecture and the built environment in producing and perpetuating identity has already been carried out. However, this research, as Keith Diaz Moor (2000, 7) observes, is largely conducted within disciplines outside architecture, such as the social sciences, anthropology and psychology. Moreover, even though the existing research indirectly suggests the need for architecture and the built environment to be more responsive to questions of culture and self-identity, the architectural discipline seems to be overly reluctant to acknowledge and incorporate this into design considerations and practices.

This failing to acknowledge and deal with questions of cultural and individual identity has contributed to architecture becoming separated from the concerns of the wider public. Garry Stevens (1998, 69) questions the relevance of the architectural profession in the broader community. He suggests that architecture has generally been seen as a form of cultural and symbolic capital of the wealthy and that even if architectural services were offered for free, it would be safe to assume that most

members of lower socio-economic groups would not engage an architect's services.¹⁷⁸ This detachment from the wider population could be attributed to the historical 'patronage system' under which architects have traditionally operated and, according to Diaz Moore (2000, 1–2), to the 'architectural discourse ... be[ing] associated with elitism, far removed from the broad base of society in which architecture takes place'. This sense of elitism arguably gives architects the false impression that they provide services only for the exclusive members of society, which further alienates the discipline from the wider community. In addition to issues of elitism, the discipline's perception of itself being an art form¹⁷⁹ focused largely on aesthetics and the visual appearance of buildings has led to further detachment of architecture from the concerns of the general public. Rather than addressing questions of identity and cultural responsiveness to which the larger population can relate, architectural discourse and the profession has been, and continues to be, mostly concerned with matters pertaining to aesthetics¹⁸⁰ and it is this approach to architecture that is questioned in this chapter.

Accordingly, Chapter 7 examines the architectural discipline's reluctance to respond to issues of cultural and self-identity, which are becoming more pressing due to substantial population movements because of increased migration, as discussed in earlier chapters, and globalisation leading to the greater transfer of knowledge and information between countries and regions. Questions of identity expression through architecture are at the core of both migration and globalisation, although for very different reasons. Migration, as chapters 5 and 6 have shown, presents a receiving society with the challenge of embracing the difference that migrants bring with them in terms of *habitus*, culture, customs, and perception of and approach to architecture and the built environment. Conversely, globalisation seemingly diminishes cities' and countries' culturally responsive regional identity and distinctiveness. To date, neither the issues of diversity caused by migration nor the threat of diminishing cultural and regional expression through architecture have been genuinely tackled by the architectural discipline and profession. On the contrary, architectural projects

¹⁷⁸ According to Stevens (1998, 69), 'architects are used by very few individuals outside the upper classes to design private homes'.

¹⁷⁹ Many architects consider themselves artists. According to Marvin Minsky (cited in Brand 1994, 54), this is a persisting problem with architects because, in his opinion, architects are 'not very competent' at being artists.

¹⁸⁰ Mirko Milicic argued as early as 1955 that the history of architecture has been predominantly interested in the issues of style and stylistic movements. Stewart Brand (1994, 56) further suggests that during the 1970s, the architectural profession had the opportunity to reform its thinking and approach to architecture, but instead opted to take 'the easy path away from complex responsibility and back to airy debate about style'.

since Modernism are seen to have contributed to the view that regionally and culturally non-responsive architecture has been behind globalisation and the greater homogenisation of cities, regions and countries (Glendinning 2010),¹⁸¹ creating a fear of loss of national identity and distinctiveness.

To form a critique of the architectural discipline for its failure to respond to questions of cultural and self-identity, this chapter begins by investigating the purpose of architectural design. In particular, it discusses the lack of attention being given to issues of culture and personal identity, and the focus on aesthetic considerations that has led to architecture of regional indistinctiveness in the works of star architects (or 'starchitects') of the 'New Modernism'.¹⁸² Issues of regional indistinctiveness and of diminishing cultural diversity associated with globalisation are explored in the next section, together with questions regarding the architectural discipline's contribution in creating an artificial sense of identity through architecture by emphasising architects' individualities and global trends and styles. The final section of this chapter investigates and challenges different responses that have been developed to preserve cultural and regional identity through architecture, by the establishment of heritage theme parks and recreating 'traditional' architecture. Such architecture creates a sense of an artificial identity and is therefore critiqued in this thesis.

Cultural responsiveness, or the unbridled individualistic expression of the architect's self—the objective of architectural design?

There are many polarised views regarding the objective that architectural design should serve. For many, it is to address aesthetic and stylistic concerns of how buildings look and, to an extent, how they perform. According to Gerald Gutenschwager (1996, 246), the objective of architecture is multi-intentional, with varying degrees of complexity. Objectives can range from the 'mundane' provision of shelter to the incorporation and consideration of technical and artistic skills, materials selection and organisation, structural soundness, functionality, aesthetics, and symbolic social relations that express the hierarchy and politico-economic and moral sense of a society (Gutenschwager 1996, 246). From the research presented thus far, being responsive to occupants' identity, including those from different

¹⁸¹ Glendinning (2010, 30) suggests that the International Style of the late 1950s can be seen as the first move towards globalisation in architecture.

¹⁸² Some architectural theoreticians and authors, including Glendinning (2010), believe that the current period in contemporary architecture can be classified as New Modernism, due to the revival of some of Modernist traits such as a lack of contextual responsiveness and an emphasis on the aesthetics.

backgrounds (e.g. migrants), is another dimension that architectural design should address. However, a scan of architectural writings and investigations into architectural discourse reveals the discipline's largely stylistic and aesthetic focus. While this has been the dominant position in architecture since the beginning of the twentieth century, some architectural theoreticians, such as Amos Rapoport, have recognised and voiced the important connection that exists between architecture, the built environment, culture and identity.

According to Rapoport (2000, 103 (1983b)), 'the purpose of [architectural] design is to provide settings appropriate to the bio-social, psychological, cultural' needs of occupants. To develop an informed, responsive design, a thorough understanding of the occupants' needs ought to be obtained. For this to occur, Rapoport (2000, 103 (1983b)) argues, architects and architectural designers need to pose questions regarding '*what*' it is that they are designing and '*why*', and not just be concerned with '*how*' the design will look or '*is to be done*'. Unfortunately, as he further observes, the emphasis tends to be more on '*how*' than on the other two questions. Architects, he argues, tend to develop preliminary ideas 'using little information and research', drawing instead from the designer's experience that is 'best obtained by *doing* one's own design' (Rapoport 2000, 104 (1983b)). Further, he maintains that the problem of emphasising how things appear visually at the expense of how they perform, and without critically assessing whether they are suited to the occupants' needs, is perpetuated through formal architectural education.¹⁸³ The emphasis on how to design something and expressing one's own style forms a part of the architects' *habitus* and is passed on to students in architectural schools through the analysis of precedents and a strong focus on projects executed by the selected architects. This mode of architectural education can support the establishment of the 'designer cult' mentality, whereby works by certain long-deceased architects, such as Le Corbusier and Mies van der Rohe, are openly celebrated for their aesthetic appeal in spite of the fact that they perform poorly.¹⁸⁴

¹⁸³ Stewart Brand (1994, 70) reaffirms Rapoport's view by suggesting that schools of architecture 'focus obsessively on visual skills', which 'discourages real intellectual inquiry, diverting instead into rapid stylistic analysis'. Kim Dovey (2005, 293) equally suggests that 'the values of the field also permeate architectural education' through the emphasis on and perpetuation of production of 'new imagery' to satisfy the perseverance of the symbolic capital of architecture and marginalisation of research on socially responsive architecture.

¹⁸⁴ A. C. Antoniadis (1979, 8, 17, cited in Stevens 1998, 84) outlines anecdotes about the two highly celebrated architects responding to their clients distress calls upon finding that the roofs of their new homes were leaking. The first anecdote tells of Le Corbusier, a famous Swiss-French architect, who went to meet his client, Mr Savoie, and inspect the leaking ceiling and the water puddle that consequently formed. According to Antoniadis (1979, 8, 17, cited in Stevens 1998, 84), Le Corbusier looked at the puddle and then turned to the client, asking for a piece of paper. He allegedly folded the

Rather than propagating the designer cult mentality, architects should, in Rapoport's (1976, 24) opinion, shift their focus towards issues concerning the connection between architecture, the built environment and culture that is evident in the culturally defined and codified 'images, values, and symbols' that shape the built environment. The built environment that is culturally responsive 'acts on people' by communicating these codes, thus perpetuating the social and cultural structures that initially informed it (Rapoport 1976, 24). In a way, Rapoport's view echoes the aforementioned concepts of 'the internalization of externality and the externalization of internality' that Bourdieu (1985, 72, cited in Basu 2001, 340) talks about. This also reflects Metz's 'projection' and 'introjection' (1982, 51, cited in Leach 2005, 304), in which external elements of one's culture, such as architecture and customs, are internalised to the point that they begin to define a sense of identity, which is then externalised through visible means such as images, ornamental details, decorations, architectural gestures, behaviours, and so on. The examples of Mexican and Latino migrants living in Los Angeles and of Korculani living in Perth, discussed earlier in this thesis, also demonstrate Rapoport's point. These two examples illustrated migrants' needs and desires to recreate familiar and known living environments, in which the architecture becomes an embodiment of culturally loaded images, values and symbols that are supportive of their *habitus*, suggesting that it is possible to design with culture and identity in mind.

Images, values and symbols differ from culture to culture and are expressed in the ways 'space, time, meaning, and communication in the environment' are organised (Rapoport 1976, 28). These organisational differences are of particular importance to migrants and their receiving countries and societies, since they manifest themselves in the visible differences in *habitus*, architecture, and the expectations surrounding architecture, which create potential areas of conflict¹⁸⁵ that need to be carefully negotiated through informed input by architects. According to Lee and Park (2011, 1), architects should be aware of and respond to some of the challenges stemming from different understandings and approaches to architecture and the built environment of migrants. However, as this thesis suggests, these challenges have remained largely overlooked in architectural works and writings to date,

paper to make a paper boat, which he placed in the puddle before walking off. The other anecdote is of Frank Lloyd Wright, a celebrated US architect, who advised his client to move his armchair after the latter complained that the roof leaked in his living room directly above the armchair in which he normally sat.

¹⁸⁵ Potential problems stemming from migrants appropriating entire suburbs and sections of cities, such as ghettoisation and loss of the receiving society's identity, have already been discussed in earlier chapters.

prompting the questions: What is preventing architects from engaging with the issues of difference and identity that migrants bring with them? Could it be the sense of elitism expressed in the architectural discourse and architects' *habitus*, as suggested by Diaz Moore (2000) and Stevens (1998)? Alternatively, could it be due to the century-old dictum that considers decoration and ornamentation (the two devices that migrants use to express their cultural and personal identity) a crime, as stipulated by the early twentieth-century Austrian-born architect Adolf Loos (Frampton 1992)?¹⁸⁶

Rapoport (1976, 24) believes that 'traditional environments ... provide a better fit between spatial organization and culture, communication, behavior, and human activities' than do architecturally designed environments.¹⁸⁷ Further, older historicist styles, Miles Glendinning (2010, 22–23) argues, worked better than the abstracted, culturally non-responsive designs of the Modernist era, as they relied on a widely understood 'hierarchical system of rank or "decorum" to give an orderly and familiar face to the new and unfamiliar'. However, this well-established reference was rejected by Modernist architects, who instead advocated function and aesthetics as the main concerns of architecture, creating projects that were illegible to the larger public due to their non-referential and self-referential nature.¹⁸⁸

Several problems for the architectural profession have ensued from the Modernists' blind emphasis on visual appearance and function. Duffy (2000, xxi) argues that the profession has lost sight of what buildings are designed for, and that the 'functionalist dogma'¹⁸⁹ of twentieth-century Modernism has contributed to any deviation from the programme, including addressing the issue of identity and culture, being seen as 'dangerous' and hence, not encouraged. Instead, the discussion became restricted to form, and to a lesser degree function, leading to the

¹⁸⁶ In 1908, Adolf Loos published his most influential short essay 'Ornament and Crime', in which he likens ornamentation to immorality and primitivism (Curtis 1996, 71; Frampton 1992). Although highly controversial and offensive, the essay influenced generations of Modernist architects to reject ornamentation and decoration.

¹⁸⁷ Brand (1994, 132) argues that vernacular architecture is 'so immersed in its culture and its region that it looks interesting only to outsiders'.

¹⁸⁸ An almost exclusive emphasis on aesthetics and function was not only embraced by a large number of architects of the Modernist era. It has also persisted well into this day and is evident in the individualistic, 'iconic' works of New Modernist 'starchitects', who are discounting not only the issues of culture and identity but also the context in which they were placed (Glendinning 2010).

¹⁸⁹ The excessive emphasis on function in architectural design has its origins in Louis Sullivan's mantra 'Form follows function', which persists to this day in architectural discourse and education. This mantra, according to Brand (1994, 3) has 'misled a century of architects into believing that they could really anticipate function'. Further, a number of architectural works produced by famous architects of the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, emphasising aesthetic over function, are more expressive of the 'Function follows form' mentality than the one suggested by Sullivan.

'know-nothingism' (Rapoport 2000, 105 (1983)) mentality that has plagued the discipline since the early 1900s. This is illustrated in the statement by 'one of the leading publicists of postmodern architectural theory', who was quoted to have said: 'Architecture is comprised of behavior, environment and form. Since I know nothing about environment or behavior, I will restrict my discussion to "form"' (cited in Watson 1982, 68; see also Rapoport 2000, 105 (1983)). This self-professed ignorance of issues other than form demonstrates the persisting state of architects turning a blind eye to the relevant research (Diaz Moore 2000, 7) surrounding culture, identity and behaviour, which needs to change if the architectural discipline is to become a more socially relevant and valued contributor to the important questions of identity and culture.¹⁹⁰

The problems of the architectural discipline almost exclusively focusing on matters pertaining to aesthetics and function, and the impression that architects are designing for themselves, is evident in a statement by Gutenschwager (1996, 248) that through their works, architects 'speak both to themselves and to the larger society'. However, the latter aspect is somewhat questionable, as can be seen by the numerous examples of architects complaining about users not doing what they intended them to do. Instead of designing according to clients' needs and wants, thus expressing the users' sense of identity, some architects tend to adopt the 'I know best' approach, whereby they design spaces and features with which clients are not familiar. One such complaint about 'unsympathetic users' (Gutman 1976, 38) is illustrated in the following excerpt outlining an architect's frustration with occupants not knowing what to do with a family room he designed for them:

I remember a British architect telling me about a house that he had designed for a family near Cambridge, England, which incorporated concepts of open planning and even something he claimed to have borrowed from the American domestic scene, the family room. He brought a photographer there to record this environment for an architectural journal and was disturbed to find that the family room was empty, apparently because the English inhabitants did not know how to use it. The architect told the photographer to come back another day while the architect set to work instructing his friends. He had the oldest daughter move her homework into the room, he got the family to

¹⁹⁰ Brand (1994, 66) argues that 'architects must widen their skill sets or continue dwindling into resented irrelevance'.

place the television set there, he got the dog's bone and bed moved in, and so on.

(Gutman 1976, 46)

Recent signature buildings such as Will Alsop's The Public in West Bromwich, UK and Coop Himmelb(l)au' High School 9 in Akron, Ohio, US (Glendinning 2010, 7–14), were designed by two 'starchitects' of the New Modernism era, and further support the notion that some architects are selfishly pursuing their own styles to the detriment of those for whom they are designing. These designs, Glendinning (2010) notes, are not saying much about the context in which they are located, but instead express the architect and his or her own identity. Site indifference and disregard for the context by contemporary 'star architecture' has also been noticed by the broader population. This indifference has further alienated architects from the public, adding weight to the argument that the architectural discipline may be facing irrelevance.¹⁹¹

The observation made by Stevens (1998, 84), that architect-designed domestic projects are often referred to as 'houses' rather than 'homes', due to their 'uniqueness', 'explicitly rejecting any connotation that people will inhabit it',¹⁹² further supports the view of architects' work being out of touch with people's real lives.¹⁹³ Treating architecturally designed domestic projects as 'objects' largely stems, according to Stevens (1998, 93), from the belief that architectural production must be restricted to encourage the development of greater autonomy in the field.¹⁹⁴ Stevens (1998, 93) further maintains that 'the ultimate form of autonomy', in line with the Bourdieuan notion of *habitus*, 'develops when production is purely for

¹⁹¹ The aspiration of some architects to enjoy the celebrity status commonly awarded to pop stars (Glendinning 2010, 85), coupled with the popular misconception of architecture being a form of art (Gutenschwager 1996, 246) have further contributed to the profession's alienation from the public. This alienation, according to Stevens (1998, 33), has actively hindered any success in architecture being accepted and embraced or achieving 'the glory of its sister occupations of law and medicine'. These failings have contributed to the situation where the architectural profession has begun to consider 'itself these years as being in crisis' (Brand 1994, 53).

¹⁹² Architecture that is uninhabitable ultimately fails, since it does not deliver on the expectations of the owners nor does it function properly for the purpose for which it is designed.

¹⁹³ Brand (1994, 58) observes in relation to Frank Lloyd Wright's houses that 'to live in one of his houses is to be the curator of a Frank Lloyd Wright museum'. His houses were totally designed, not allowing the occupants to project their own personality onto spaces because 'altering anything the master touched' would negatively and adversely impact on the overall design. Stevens (1998, 14) further argues in regard to the absence of people in photographs published in architectural magazines, that 'people, it seems, get in the way of architects and architecture' and that 'wherever possible it seems the photographers vacate the buildings and surrounds to present the building as a pristine objet d'art, uncontaminated by users, clients, and inhabitants'. Dovey (2005, 293) makes a similar observation, suggesting that 'photographic images are often supplied and controlled by the architect, stripped of the traces of everyday life except when used to signify forms of social capital'.

¹⁹⁴ Restriction of architectural production is, according to Dovey (2005, 288), also important for the perseverance of the symbolic capital or, as he argues: 'There is only so much distinction and prestige to be distributed. If everyone gets 'good' architecture, no one wins the symbolic capital'.

producers', meaning that the architectural discipline strives 'to become the sole judge of its own products', for it to have full autonomy in the field of architecture. Producing for themselves ensures that 'unsympathetic users' (Gutman 1976, 38) are eliminated and that designs will meet with no objection or criticism by the wider, 'uneducated' audience. Currently, there is a tendency among architects to judge a building's success largely in terms of the aesthetics,¹⁹⁵ with their evaluation differing markedly from that of the general public (Stevens 1998, 32–33), which uses different measures, such as performance and cultural responsiveness, to evaluate buildings. This difference in opinion between designers and users regarding a building's aesthetics and performance has increased the rift between the two groups, contributing to the problem that very few commercial and domestic projects currently being built in Australia and America are designed by architects (Stevens 1998, 33; Brand 1994, 61).

This criticism by the wider public does not seem to be the cause for much concern by the architectural profession. According to Herzog and de Meuron (cited in Glendinning 2010, 76), the focus on the visual that is associated with the 'starchitects' work is all that matters in architecture. Reflecting on the buildings that their office had designed, they state that their 'strength lies in the immediate visual impact they make on the visitor', further adding: 'For us, that is all that is important in architecture' (Herzog and de Meuron, cited in Glendinning 2010, 76). Such views have led to the current lack of flexibility in built work and the greater fragmentation of architecture, due to a lack of willingness by some architects to compromise aesthetic concerns and overall visual impact and intent. Glendinning (2010, 45) says this is the result of architectural Postmodernism, which in stressing 'the importance of appearance and image for their own sake', has led to the individualistic approach seen in the works of some 'starchitects'.

This rather one-dimensional approach to architecture can also be seen in domestic examples, in which inflexible built environments require residents from diverse cultural backgrounds to 'adjust their thinking and behaviors to fit their new environments', and not the other way around (Lee and Park 2011, 2). Modernist architects took it upon themselves to create the system of values designed to

¹⁹⁵ Clare Cooper Marcus (cited in Brand 1994, 55) argues that architects 'get work through getting awards' and that 'the award system is based on photographs. Not use. Not context. Just purely visual photographs taken before people start using the building'. Brand (1994, 55) further reports: 'Tales were told of ambitious architects specifically designing their buildings to photograph well at the expense of performing well'.

intervene in the social arena, defining how humans should live and creating an artificial sense of identity in the process. According to Spiro Kostof (1989, xiii, cited in Stevens 1998, 14), 'Modernist rhetoric waxed eloquent about the needs of users', portraying 'architecture as the vehicle of social welfare', whereby architecturally designed housing estates would educate and indoctrinate the occupants to the new way of living, in line with the demands of the twentieth century. Evidence of this can be found in the aforementioned example by Sebastian Ureta (2007), who investigated state housing projects that were designed to provide accommodation to economically disadvantaged favela dwellers in Santiago, Chile. Ureta (2007, 332) argues that the Santiago housing estates provided by the state are indistinguishable from any other housing estates in the country. This points towards greater market pressures of uniformity, whereby housing is produced without any input from the end users, instead suggesting enculturation of individuals to a certain way of life perceived to be appropriate for the low-income residents. However, this approach to housing, as the examples and the discussion surrounding migrants' re-territorialisation has demonstrated, is ultimately rejected by the occupants of these premises, who seek to express their identity through architecture and the built environment and by doing so, create living environments with which they are familiar.

As suggested above, it was during the Modernist era that end users were seen by a number of celebrated architects to 'not know what they wanted, or more importantly, what they *should* have' (Kostof 1989, xiii, cited in Stevens 1998, 104). Thinking of self as having all the answers 'opened up a fresh world of individual, free creativity in architectural design and ideas' (Glendinning 2010, 26), which some Modernist architects understood as a free pass enabling them to 'redesign ... humanity' because humanity did not fit the designs they were producing (Kostof 1989, xiii, cited in Stevens 1998, 15). Such a mentality remained blind to issues of difference, *habitus*, culture and expression of identity through architecture. These, as illustrated through numerous examples of resettlement by migrant communities, are of great importance, not just to migrants but to society in general. Ultimately, this rejection of socially important issues created problems of its own. The Pruitt Igoe housing estate in St. Louis, Missouri served as a prime example of the consequences to which ill-informed and inflexible designs could lead (Heathcott 2012, 450).¹⁹⁶ Therefore, it

¹⁹⁶ Although seeing themselves as having all the necessary answers and full understanding of issues regarding inhabitation, Modernist architects' works have largely failed to live up to the promise of solving the problems of overcrowding and slums. When they were first built, the much-acclaimed Pruitt-

can be said that the lack of understanding of issues surrounding culture and personal identity, as evident in Modernist and New Modernist architecture, has contributed to the development of a monocultural model of 'one size fits all'. By discounting the diverse factors and influences that shape cultures and built environments, this literally places all occupants in the same 'box', irrespective of their desires, needs and wants.

A disregard of the social world and an excessive focus on aesthetics and the architect's ego led to the development of 'unbridled individualism' (Glendinning 2010, 114) and empty rhetoric by some contemporary architects, such as Daniel Libeskind, who is quoted to have said:

Who do I build for? I think every building is addressed to someone who is not there. Every building that is good is not addressed to the public, that they walk around and find themselves to be comfortable. It is addressed to those who are unborn, in both senses: of the past and the future. I think that is who they address, and that is what makes them important. To that extent, every human being is really unborn.

(Libeskind, cited in Glendinning 2010, 72)

The above thinking and attitude illustrates architects' indifference to matters pertaining to social concerns. This indifference is confirmed in a number of psychological studies, including one by Donald MacKinnon (cited in Stevens 1998, 13), which found that all of the architects from three test groups (architects who were highly creative, considerably creative and averagely creative) 'regarded the architect's responsibility to society as unimportant'. MacKinnon's study further

lgoe superblocks were celebrated for providing homes to thousands. However, what many failed to recognise was that these new superblocks also brought new expectations with them, particularly regarding maintenance. Financial constraints meant that the regular maintenance and upkeep of these superblocks were neglected, which led to dilapidation through vandalism, graffiti and littering (Heathcott 2012, 450, drawing from Bristol 1991, Comerio 1981, Wolfe 1981, Blake 1977, Jencks 1977, and Bailey 1965).

As well as problems of structural inferiority and general upkeep, there were socially related problems. The design of the superblocks did not consider occupants' needs, mainly due to these housing estates catering for a large number of people who were often unknown at the design and construction stage, meaning architects could not engage with them. As a result, all the occupants were treated in the same way, which created psychological disembodiment in relation to place and space. Therefore, the occupants failed to relate to the units to which they were assigned. Lack of understanding of individual needs further created a sense of identity loss. Old neighbourhood networks were lost in the process and the dynamics of life enjoyed by many people prior to moving to superblocks was disrupted, replaced by a way of life to which many could not become accustomed. This lack of connection to a place that is supposed to be one's home resulted in the aforementioned neglect and acts of vandalism, turning these superblocks into even greater slums than the ones that the Late Modernist architects had tried to eradicate (Comerio 1981).

suggests that the more creative the architect, the less he or she feels 'responsibility toward [the] profession', or the client for that matter (cited in Stevens 1998, 8).¹⁹⁷ This lack of social responsibility and pursuit of the architect's own vision at the expense of society's has led, according to Juhani Pallasmaa (2000, 84, cited in Glendinning 2010, 134), 'our age' to appear 'to have lost the virtue of architectural neutrality, restraint and modesty'. This accusation is borne out in the egocentric and arrogant statement of Jørn Utzon, who infamously declared, with regard to his Sydney Opera House design: 'I don't care what it costs. I don't care how long it takes. I don't care what scandal it causes. That is what I want' (Jones 2006, 200; also cited in Glendinning 2010, 37).

Thus it can be concluded that for over a century, the architectural discipline has discounted issues that matter to the wider public, including responsiveness to context and cultural and self-identity. By losing touch with social concerns, and by perpetuating its own *habitus* based on the restriction of architectural production with the aim of achieving autonomy in the field, the discipline has removed itself significantly from the broader population and its needs. This *habitus* of architects, striving towards autonomy in the field and the establishment of a trademark style, has led to the development of the situation observed by Crawford and ADOBE LA (1994, 15, 18–19), whereby modifications to the built stock are carried out by migrants themselves because they have a better understanding of their culture, their *habitus* and their needs.

While this section of this thesis has focused exclusively on the issues of architectural design and contemporary architecture's failure to address and provide for culturally and individually responsive living environments, the next section examines the role of the architectural discipline in making the world a more homogenous place. It comments on individualistic, context-indifferent designs and architectural works that are seen to contribute to regional indistinctiveness and the loss of authentic culture. This section also critiques the development of the 'new' global and artificial sense of identity that is finding expression through architecture and the built environment at the expense of diversity.

¹⁹⁷ Dovey (2005, 294) suggests that 'the idea of the "public interest" irritates many architects with its implications of participation, populism and comfortable consensus. Yet many of the same architects conveniently forget that architecture has always served the interests of those who commission it'.

Globalisation and the architectural discipline's role in homogenising places

Improvements in transport and communication technologies have contributed to the greater exchange of information, goods and ideas across the globe (Butler and Lees 2006; Van Krieken et al. 2006), seemingly blurring borders and erasing diversity. Globalisation, as this phenomenon of rapid 'flows of goods, capital, people, information, ideas, images, and risks across national borders' (Nash 2000, 47, cited in Van Krieken et al. 2006, 32) has come to be known, is significantly changing and challenging the way of life of the majority of cultures and nations. As a result of globalisation, the differences in cultures and countries are being considerably reduced. Events and cultures of distant places are progressively affecting perceptions, styles and trends at home (Cauvet 2011; Van Krieken et al. 2006). Moreover, questions surrounding the future of territory 'as an organizing principle for social and cultural life' are being vigorously debated, with Butler and Lees (2006, 470) noting that authors such as Rofe (2003) and Waters (1995) no longer consider territory as a significant social and cultural organiser as a result of globalisation. Cauvet (2011, 79) further argues that cultures are gradually becoming standardised due to 'the increasing cross-border flows of mass tourism' that seek 'to sanitise and market local cultures to widen their appeal'.¹⁹⁸

With reference to the built environment, global trends are increasingly changing the way humans project their sense of identity through architecture. Greater exposure through television and architectural magazines to the way people in distant countries live and design their environments, coupled with a desire to incorporate or even copy some of these aspects, has led to homes and cities becoming more bland and indistinguishable from other places or regions, culturally and socially as well as architecturally. Unlike regionally and nationally specific cultural factors that have previously determined the design and appearance of cities,¹⁹⁹ it is now cross-national commercial forces that are influencing the way architects, and individuals in general, design and create living spaces, contributing to the development of what could be deemed 'artificial identities' in the process.²⁰⁰ The impact of global and

¹⁹⁸ Francis Violich (1998, 49) supports Cauvet's assertion maintaining that technology and economics have produced environments that pay little regard to local cultures and environments, which have become homogenous in character and indistinguishable from one another.

¹⁹⁹ As discussed in earlier chapters, traditional and historicist architecture closely reflects the social and cultural demands and tastes of the society that produced it (Glendinning 2010; Rapoport 2000 (1983b), 1987, 1983a, 1976). Culturally informed sections of cities, reflecting the architecture of migrants' origins (such as China Town and Little Italy), demonstrate this close connection between architecture and culture.

²⁰⁰ The term 'artificial identity' is being used in reference to individuals being overly exposed, on a daily basis, to highly commercial and suggestive imagery through television and billboards. This excessive

commercial factors is reflected well in the terms 'Americanisation' and 'McDonaldization', which refer to 'the spread of a particular heterogeneous culture across the globe' (Van Krieken et al. 2006, 37, drawing from Ritzer 2000). This commercially successful culture, associated with a chain of fast-food outlets originating in the US, can now be found in most major cities around the world.

Modern media, television and consumerism have also contributed to process of the built environment of some cities or sections of cities becoming almost architecturally indistinguishable from cities in other parts of the world, particularly the US. The architecture of Sydney's King's Cross, for example, bears a strong resemblance to that of Tokyo and Times Square in New York, with neon lights and huge billboards advertising multinational corporations such as Coca-Cola or Sony. This resemblance to cities in the US has contributed to the belief that globalisation is 'turning the world into a bland, predictable and, ultimately, boring place' (Van Krieken et al. 2006, 60, drawing from Ritzer 2000). This rhetoric echoes the concerns of de-territorialists, who 'argue that the world is increasingly becoming homogenised and that formerly bounded communities are losing their authority and distinctiveness' (Cauvet 2011, 79).

With globalisation leading to built environments becoming blander, the question of the architectural discipline's role in contributing to this blandness and regional indistinctiveness needs to be raised. According to Donald McNeill (1999, 145), the contemporary practice of employing 'star' architects, or 'starchitects', to design major public buildings and offices across the globe has potentially contributed to the greater homogenisation of world architecture. He maintains that 'the global "star system" of architects such as Norman Foster, Richard Meier, Zaha Hadid, Santiago Calatrava, Frank Gehry and Richard Rogers means that new office and public buildings are often designed from the same [architectural] office', in line with its design philosophy, style and language; that is, its identity. Consequently, similar architecture is being reproduced around the world. Similarities of this kind can be seen in the projects such as Frank Gehry's designs for Guggenheim Museum in Bilbao, Spain; the Walt Disney Concert Hall in Los Angeles; and the Human Resources building for Novartis Pharma A.G. in Basel, Switzerland; or Daniel Libeskind's Jewish Museum in Berlin; the Graduate Centre of the London

advertising exposure is aimed at persuading people to buy products that they do not necessarily need, but will supposedly make them feel happier, look prettier or act smarter, like the successful people who are paid to embrace the products. This highly commercialised culture is arguably reducing individuals' ability to make decisions for themselves and develop their own preferences and identity.

Metropolitan University in London; and the Run Run Shaw Creative Media Centre in Hong Kong. Their architecture is arguably neither region- nor culture-specific, but is a form indiscriminately inserted into landscapes and environments that do not support it.

According to Glendinning (2010), this trend has existed beyond the last decade or two. He observes that it was the Modernist reconstruction of the late 1950s that was 'the first real movement of architectural "globalization"' (Glendinning 2010, 30),²⁰¹ spreading the ideals of unified, egalitarian designs expressed through the concrete and glass 'box' architecture of the International Style like a virus from one corner of the world to another. Although 'the sterile architecture' of the International Style (Gutenschwager 1996, 255) was openly criticised by Postmodernism and Deconstructivism for emphasising architects' individualities and the visual appearance of buildings, both movements nonetheless followed suit by adding to architectural globalisation through equally individualistic and stylised projects. The emphasis on an architect's individuality and the visual appearance of buildings culminated in the works of New Modernism during the late 1990s and 2000s, which as McNeill (1999, 145) observes, can be seen as 'a new international style', and hence global style.

As mentioned earlier, excessive individualism and the quest for an architect's signature style has led to the city and its context being largely ignored and an architecture that is seen to be 'sharply alienated from everything around' (Glendinning 2010, 12). This approach is illustrated in the aforementioned Guggenheim Museum in Bilbao, which serves as an example of the architect's trademark style being uncritically employed to produce an 'iconic intervention' and a 'metaphor-laden spectacle' that is in stark contrast to the existing context of Bilbao's harbour (Glendinning 2010, 66).²⁰² More specifically, rather than drawing from the regional distinctiveness and culture of the Basque capital, the architecture of Frank Gehry is a representation of, and a play on the form of, a fish manipulated to quasi respond to the local context. In the architect's words:

²⁰¹ It can be argued that English and French imperial efforts to colonise the world produced built environments and societies in distant parts of the world (particularly the US and Australia), which are very similar to those of Western Europe. Colonisation can thus be seen as a form of globalisation. Some aspects of colonial migration and recreation of familiar built environments through architecture have already been explored in Chapter 6.

²⁰² Ironically, this context-ignoring, highly individualistic approach has been hailed as a success, becoming a prevalent urban regeneration strategy around the globe.

I guess my work has become a kind of sculpture as architecture. It started with the Barcelona fish. And that was again intuitive. I just started drawing fish. And then they started to have a life of their own!

(Frank Gehry, cited in Glendinning 2010, 89)

Viewing architecture as an intuitive art over which one has seemingly no control has not served the architectural discipline. In 2008, Jonathan Meades referred to Frank Gehry as 'the one-trick pony's one-trick pony ... [an] auto-plagiarist whose brash gesticulations all look very much the same and all out of place, whether they have been plonked down in Bilbao, LA or Seattle' (cited in Glendinning 2010, 89). Per Gustafson (2001, 6, drawing from Seamon 1979, Buttimer and Seamon 1980; Relph 1981) argues that 'architects and planners, in not considering the meanings that places have to individuals and groups, run the risk of destroying authentic places and/or producing inauthentic ones'. The desire of some 'starchitects' to assert their artistic identity and individualistic style has resulted in places becoming 'homogenized into a uniformly "rich" and "vibrant" pattern' (Glendinning 2010, 120) where cities look and feel similar, achieving physical and cultural homogenisation via image (Glendinning 2010, 127), ultimately contributing to the blandness and regional indistinctiveness that is associated with globalisation.

Nevertheless, while the 'starchitects' system may indeed be supported by and supporting globalisation, with different cities across the globe vying for landmark designs created by some of the above-mentioned architectural offices to place them onto the world's architectural map, globalisation, as Butler and Lees (2006, 470) argue, does not always lead to space erosion. Instead, as their case study neighbourhood of Barnsbury in inner London suggests, the place 'is being (re)produced as a by-product of globalization', developing a new sense of identity in the process. Barnsbury, a neighbourhood located close to London's central business district, was traditionally occupied by the upper middle class until the end of the World War II, when it largely became home to the working class. Since then, gentrification of the neighbourhood has occurred, with professionals such as architects, academics and educators moving in, between the early 1960s and mid-1970s. This, according to Butler and Lees, is seen as the first gentrification of the neighbourhood, with a second gentrification wave occurring in the 1980s and early 1990s, when the more affluent city-based professionals began buying into the neighbourhood, raising housing prices beyond the reach of many. The third and

latest gentrification is linked to the 'elite super-gentrifiers' moving into the suburb and renovating their houses in line with global trends (Butler and Lees 2006, 471). They argue that it is not multicultural corporations and businesses that are changing the urban fabric of neighbourhoods and cities; rather, it is the global identity of 'jet-travelling' executives and managers who by 'projecting a global identity onto the local', are contributing to 'the reconstruction of (elite) space at the neighbourhood level' (Butler and Lees 2006, 471).

The example of Barnsbury illustrates the constant state of evolution that built environments, landscapes and architecture undergo due to the ever-changing factors affecting the sense of identity.²⁰³ As personal identities evolve, modifications in individuals' sense of self are reflected in the landscapes and built environments they inhabit. Globalisation is one such factor that is stimulating change at an unprecedented rate, changing people's needs and wants based on persuasive consumer-oriented policies that are affecting the physical environments of their homes and cities, which are in turn, redefining their sense of who they are. The change produced by globalisation, however, is not grounded in diversity; rather, it is seen to weaken cultural diversity by producing 'bland' and 'boring' places, as suggested by Ritzer (2000, cited in Van Krieken et al. 2006, 60) and a number of other globalisation researchers and critics. Further, the genuineness of an identity of self and culture that is produced by cross-national, commercial factors and persuasive, consumption-oriented advertising associated with globalisation, should be questioned. Identity stemming from globalisation can be seen as artificial, since it does not evolve from the traditional *habitus*-influencing fields such as family, educational institutions, friends or individual's own preferences, but instead is imposed on humans through excessive marketing strategies and a focus on goods accumulation.

One factor that does bring change to societies and cultures, and which is grounded in diversity, is migration. However, while the processes of migrants' re-territorialisation and projection of their sense of identity through architecture are stimulating change, as discussed throughout this thesis, these are not welcomed by receiving societies as much as the changes resulting from globalisation. Some of the perceived threats associated with the diversity derived from migrants expressing

²⁰³ McNeill (1999, 145) suggests that landscapes are 'made and remade by their users depending on mood, physical ability, whether traversed alone or in company, in contemplation or abstraction, at speed or at a snail's pace', thus implying that nothing is fixed, that everything is subject to change.

themselves through architecture and the built environment have already been discussed in earlier chapters. Chapters 5 and 6, in particular, provided a detailed account of some of the driving forces that lead to change in the built environment and the consequences of these for migrants in terms of rejection, fear of otherness and forceful impositions of assimilation policies on the part of the host society.

Both globalisation and migration are challenging and changing the make-up and appearance of cities, regions and entire countries. However, it is worth noting that the contribution the architectural discipline is making in addressing questions of the cultural and individual identity expressed through architecture that is produced by these two opposing factors is very different. As the example of Barnsbury demonstrates, the global identity of 'jet-travelling' executives that is projected onto the built environment is not questioned, as it is perceived to enhance and gentrify this inner London suburb by raising its profile and its desirability in society. Moreover, high-end designs have traditionally been the domain of architects, in line with the discussed patronage system favouring the societal elite. Although this is unknown, it could be that Barnsbury's newest residents contacted a number of architects to develop designs that would express their global sense of identity through architecture. Conversely, responding to the issues of identity and culture of impoverished migrants does generally not form part of an architect's *habitus*, which is more concerned with aesthetics, global styles and trends than with the expression of migrants' sense of self. As demonstrated in this thesis, the architectural discipline has persistently failed to respond to questions of migrants' cultural and personal identity, which are left to migrants themselves to express through their own modifications and adjustments of the architecture they occupy (Crawford and ADOBE LA 1994, 15, 18–19).

Even though the regional and cultural identity of places seems to count for little within the architectural discipline, some research suggests that cultural and regional identity is still considered in the design of a number of projects, generally those linked to globalisation. According to Van Krieken et al. (2006, 60), Ritzer (2000), the father of the term 'McDonaldization', concedes that recognising the significance of a region's or country's culture may be an impediment to the complete homogenisation of the world. They note that McDonald's, the epitome of globalisation, 'has reflexively adapted to many cultural contexts, contributing in many ways to its global success' by 'modify[ing] and customis[ing] its menus, chang[ing] the aesthetics of its venues, and reflexively reconstruct[ing] the expectations of its customers

according to the cultural context in which it operates' (Van Krieken et al. 2006, 60, drawing from Ritzer 2000, 172–174). This adjustment in architecture and menu demonstrates not only the significance that the context in which a business such as McDonald's operates but also to the perceived significance of maintaining one's culture and distinctiveness through architecture and food in a world that is changing and becoming more homogenised at an unprecedented pace.²⁰⁴ However, this, too, can be interpreted as simply a way of maximising profits and world exposure.

While the example of McDonald's presents some evidence of regional culture and identity being considered in architectural design, nevertheless it can be concluded that the architectural discipline's contribution to the issues related to a sense of cultural and personal identity has been minimal. This contribution seems to be limited to issues concerning the architect's own individuality and that of 'jet-travelling' executives expressing their own identity through context-indifferent and culturally non-specific global trends and styles, which lead to the emergence of an artificial sense of identity. This identity is considered artificial because it is a product of commercial pressures linked to globalisation, rather than of the client's personal identity, culture and *habitus*, which as the discussion on migrants demonstrated, are very important for the occupants' well-being. Through these context-indifferent works, the architectural discipline is arguably supporting and contributing to greater homogenisation of the world caused by globalisation, creating an identity of place that is neither region- nor culture-specific but is informed by artificial, commercial 'images, values, and symbols' (Rapoport 1976, 24).

While globalisation has prompted architects to consider and express the 'new' global identity of the social elite through architecture, the same cannot be said for migration. As the discussion in this chapter has shown, the consideration of the cultural and personal identity of migrants, and individuals in general, still finds very

²⁰⁴ Fully eroding or removing culturally defined traits would lead to problems on a much larger scale, provoking fear among the populace and governments concerned about the loss of their national and individual identity. Even though the research to date suggests that the threat of losing one's national and cultural identity as a result of globalisation is not as great as initially believed, it has not stopped former Australian Prime Minister Paul Keating, for example, from blaming globalisation for the feeling of helplessness and lack of control that many individuals have been experiencing recently. He stated: '*At its core is the loss of identity and spiritual frameworks wrought by the rolling tide of forces we wrap up in convenient catch-alls like 'globalisation': the feeling that many of us have that our lives are increasingly beyond our individual control, that our cultural signposts are changing without our consent; that old definitions and boundaries are blurring; that the world is becoming an alarmingly small place, but also, paradoxically, moving beyond a human scale*' (Paul Keating 1999, cited in Healey 2001, p. 11, cited in Van Krieken et al. 2006, 30). This particular aspect of globalisation and the way it affects cultures and identities is outside the scope of this thesis, which examines the connection between architecture, culture, memory and *habitus* in constructing migrants' identity.

little resonance, if any at all, within the architectural discipline. As argued thus far, this can be attributed to a number of reasons, particularly the discipline's *habitus*, emphasis on visual and aesthetic issues, and the individualistic approach to design of some architects.

Although the overall architectural discipline has refused to engage genuinely with the issue of identity for over a century, the part of the discipline that deals with the preservation and expression of national and cultural identity through historic heritage buildings is focused on identity. While this thesis acknowledges the importance of preserving national and cultural heritage, it questions the method of achieving preservation through the creation of heritage theme parks and the recreation of 'traditional', 'national-style' architecture. The next section examines the artificial sense of identity created through the 'ethno villages' or 'open-air museums' that assemble in one place historical buildings that are deemed to be of national and cultural significance, as well as through the development of entire towns designed in line with traditional styles that supposedly reflect national identity.

Heritage and traditional architecture—expressions of national and cultural identity, or generation of an artificial identity from times gone by?

The systematic clearing of old building stock in major cities throughout the Western world during the 1950s and 1960s to make way for the Modernist 'glass curtain' high-rise architecture of the International Style, and more recently because of globalisation, has given rise to a fear of losing national and cultural identity, tradition and history. Wealthy entrepreneurs, architects and governments reacted to this issue by developing a number of measures aimed at counteracting this decreasing diversity. The most notable of these measures has been the development of a heritage industry, and the establishment of government agencies such as heritage trusts, commissions and councils. In Australia, the Australian Heritage Commission (currently Australian Heritage Council) has been operating since 1975, protecting natural environments and man-made artefacts of social, cultural, political or national significance. As visible physical manifestations and representations of different historical epochs and events, architecture and the built environment are seen to play a crucial role in grounding national identity, making their retention and preservation as heritage artefacts a matter of social, national and cultural importance. These attempts to safeguard heritage, and through it ensure historical continuity and national identity, have resulted in diverse forms of 'significant' architecture being protected against demolition and substantial alterations, and a number of architects

being employed as expert consultants overseeing conservation and preservation works of heritage-listed projects.

Governments are not the only group interested in protecting national heritage by safeguarding and proudly displaying historical forms of architecture. The UNESCO World Heritage Organisation has been actively trying to preserve historically, culturally and socially significant architecture and sites around the world as monuments to human achievement and diversity. More recently, wealthy entrepreneurs have undertaken to preserve national and regional heritage, investing millions of dollars in preserving and creating sites that illustrate national culture and identity. For example, in 2003, a wealthy Bosnian Serb entrepreneur, Borislav Stanišić created an ethno village near Bijeljina, north-eastern Bosnia and Herzegovina, which features several traditional buildings (Stanišići 2012; Mediterranean Wine Background 2013). According to Medojevic, Milosavljevic and Punisic (2011, 95), ethno parks, ethno villages or open-air museums²⁰⁵ are products of extensive conservation efforts aimed at preserving 'authentic samples of national architecture' or reconstructing these 'in the recognizable ethno style of a certain geographic region'. They argue that unlike 'authentic ... villages',²⁰⁶ ethno villages are 'completely' tourist oriented, containing objects of cultural and historical importance that are carefully displayed to portray an ambience and a way of life associated with a specific past period (Medojevic, Milosavljevic and Punisic 2011, 95).

In line with the above definition, the ethno village 'Stanišići' can be seen as a heritage theme park featuring a collection of seemingly 'authentic' examples of historical architecture that expresses Serbian regional and national identity and culture in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Within 'Stanišići' one can find 'several old original barn houses, transported from different locations of former Yugoslavia particularly the village Brgule and Dugandžići (Stanišići 2012). The Mediterranean Wine Background (2013) website notes that the village founder, Mr Stanišić, has travelled for a number of years 'through [the] Serbian villages in central Bosnia in

²⁰⁵ Open-air museums generally display regionally important architecture and culture in an open setting. They originated in the late nineteenth century in Scandinavian countries, first in Sweden and then followed by Denmark and Norway (Shafermich 1994, 9). According to Shafermich (1994, 9) open-air museums, also known as ethno villages or ethno parks, were seen as 'a way to encourage ordinary people to go out into the countryside in order to gain a special feel for their own meaning in life and their cultural identity'. The need to preserve one's tradition and culture sprang from the threat of advancing industrialisation, which was seen to be 'changing the country, both the land and its people' at an unprecedented rate (Shafermich 1994, 9).

²⁰⁶ Villages inhabited by a local population.

search of old houses and objects that will preserve the image of the time and living culture from the past and early twentieth century'. Barn houses that Mr Stanišić collected and transported to the ethno village near Bijeljina are equipped with 'antique furniture, wooden spoons, old cradles and carpets' (Stanišići 2012). The timber barns and houses in the village are representations of vernacular architecture characteristic of the region up until the early twentieth century, while the palace and the consecrated St. Nicola monastic church within the village are replicas, examples of historically and religiously significant local architecture in stone (Mediterranean Wine Background 2013).



Figure 29. Ethno Village Stanišići in Bijeljina features both examples of original vernacular barns and houses transported to the site and more recent imitations of vernacular architecture (Glusac 2007).



Figure 30. Ethno Village Stanišići Bijeljina. An example of a traditional house transported to Ethno Village Stanišići and the replica of the mediaeval palace (Glusac 2007).

Ethno village 'Stanišići' is further described as being 'beyond the present time and space, tak[ing] us back to ancestors and nature making us admire the simplicity of the former way of life' (Mediterranean Wine Background 2013). In reading these lines and imagining the atmosphere the village purportedly emits, it seems that the goals of ethno villages such as 'Stanišići' are idealistic and noble for trying to preserve the historical buildings and character of the region, and in the process, reconnect visitors with the life that once was. However, it is possible that these goals are shrewder than truly altruistic, leading to the trivialisation and 'commodification' of both culture and the past (Shaw 1992, 199). Heritage projects, including ethno villages and open-air museums, have been accused of being purely tourist-oriented, profitable enterprises using culture and historic architecture for the financial benefit (Shaw 1992, 201) of a selected few individuals such as Mr Stanišić.

Matthew Lazen (2002, 125), referring to the Écomusée d'Alsace in southern France, argues that once open-air museums or ethno villages are turned 'into a lively tourist attraction' displaying 'the image of a disappearing rural life', they become a place where the visitor can seemingly experience 'the past vicariously through bodily immersion in a life-sized reconstruction, as a simulacrum which displaces the real and is mistaken for the real'. Ethno villages or open-air museums try to create an ambience that suggests times gone by as realistically as possible, expecting the visitors to reconnect with the way of life of another era as if it is evolving in front of their eyes, making them forget the reality of the present time that awaits them beyond the village confines. However, no matter how realistically the ambience is recreated, it does not remove the fact that visitors are spectators only, belonging to a different time and place than the one they are visiting, and thus they are not able to experience or reconnect with former ways of living in the way that ethno villages and open-air museums promise.

Heritage theme parks such as 'Stanišići' and the Écomusée d'Alsace are thought to have come into being largely because of nostalgia for lost times that are seen as more definitive of a single stable culture and tradition. Lazen (2002, 139) argues that historic houses, once transported and arranged in the open-air museum, 'become objects of nostalgia' in spite of the fact that they were deeply entrenched in the 'living present' of their original location 'at the moment of being transplanted'. This suggests that people tend to look at things differently according to the context in which they are placed. Most of the barns and houses transplanted to 'Stanišići' and the Écomusée d'Alsace would not have aroused much interest or nostalgia in their original setting. However, once placed within a museum or an ethno village, they become artefacts signifying history and heritage, awakening nostalgic feelings for prior eras. This shift in perception related to the interpretation of objects according to the context in which they are placed is reminiscent of Marcel Duchamp's *Fountain*, where a banal, everyday object (such as a urinal) is transformed into art within the setting of an art gallery, prompting questions of authenticity, of what is 'real'.

'Post-modern nostalgia', expressed through ethno villages and open-air museums, 'has been accused of vapid pastiche and commodification that empties and distorts the substance of history and encourages an escapist retreat ... into a fantasy past' (Lazen 2002, 127). With globalisation steadily reducing cultural diversity, projects such as 'Stanišići' in Bosnia and Herzegovina are gaining importance as a means of preserving the national, cultural and architectural identity of a region. However, the

identity that these heritage theme parks are creating is questionable. The historical buildings and architectural styles found in 'Stanišići' and other ethno villages are not of our age, nor are they expressive of a culture and time that humans can relate to today. As Lazen (2002, 139) suggests: 'The "scandal" of the museum is not that it clings to the past but that it segregates, as well as sanitizes, it rather than leaving it woven into present textures'.²⁰⁷ The regional, national and cultural identity that these heritage theme parks create is not genuine; rather, it is artificial, presenting only a selective, in Lazen's words 'sanitised', view of history and the past, catering to tourists' contemporary tastes and expectations.²⁰⁸

Currently, only fleeting aspects of historical architecture remain in modern settings and architectural gestures. These have morphed over decades and centuries into the expressions of regional culture that we have today, changing due to technological advancements and shifting social and economic pressures. However, it is not these transformed architectural gestures or statements that are finding their way into contemporary architectural designs, which as argued earlier, are largely regionally and culturally non-specific. It is the overall historical architecture of past eras in which certain segments of the architectural discipline, such as heritage architects and urbanists, are interested. Heritage architects consider the past and the preservation of the architecture of other epochs as more important than responding to the demands of the present time or addressing current issues of regional, national, cultural and personal identity, including the identity of migrants. Thus it can be concluded that the sectors of the architectural discipline who are interested in heritage are contributing to the production and perpetuation of an artificial sense of identity through architecture, rather than addressing genuine issues of identity expression arising from the present conditions and demands.

With 'Stanišići' being a largely tourism-oriented undertaking, allegedly trying to preserve examples of the region's vernacular and historically significant architecture

²⁰⁷ Lazen further points out in regard to the collection found in the Écomusée d'Alsace that: 'In the "living fabric" of Alsatian spaces such as Strasbourg, these edifices of the past are an integral part of the everyday present, experienced in a "state of [absorptive] distraction", as Walter Benjamin says of architecture. For the present binds together multiple temporal moments — the residual, the dominant and the emergent' (Lazen 2002, 139, drawing from Benjamin 1969, 239, and Williams 1977, 121–127).

²⁰⁸ In his critique of Raphael Samuel's 1994 publication *Theatres of Memory*, Lazen (2002, 127–128) sides with the critics of the heritage industry who accuse the industry for 'fetishizing the history of elites', adding that 'heritage museums have often embraced populist history' and 'the heritage industry whitewashes history of class *conflict*'. This further adds to the concerns relating to the nature of identity that heritage theme parks generate, presenting a romanticised view of the past that never existed.

that is under threat of disappearing due to increasing modernisation, destruction²⁰⁹ and decay, the underlying accusations of culture and history commodification and production of the artificial sense of identity could almost be put aside. However, when traditional architecture, such as that in the town of Poundbury, is conceived and built as a model of a modern-day community, questions need to be raised about *what* identity, and more importantly, *whose* identity architects are expressing through these newly designed and constructed examples of quasi-vernacular and quasi-classical architecture.

Poundbury is 'a big urban extension on the western edge of Dorchester', England, spreading across '400 acres of Duchy of Cornwall land' owned by Prince Charles, Prince of Wales and Duke of Cornwall (Hetherington 2006). When first envisaged in the late 1980s, Leon Krier, a Luxemburg-born architect, together with close friend and patron Prince Charles,²¹⁰ conceived it to be 'a live/work community of 2,500 homes, at least 35 per cent of which will be social housing for rent'. Landscaped open space and streets lined with traditional native trees such as beech, horse chestnut and ash were planned to occupy at least one-third of the site (Norwood 2008), providing a feeling of Poundbury being a small community resembling old villages in the English countryside. On the surface, one might consider Poundbury to be an idyllic setting, in close connection with nature and the region in which it sits, as if it has been part of Dorchester for centuries. Below the surface, however, problems concerning the identity of Poundbury are more discernable. When first proposed, the town and architecture of Poundbury caused an uproar among the architectural fraternity and British population at large for being 'unashamedly traditional' (McDonald 2004), 'divorced from modern social reality', and 'putting the clock back to a fake tradition that never existed' (Glendinning 2010, 141).

The architecture and master planning of Poundbury are strictly in line with Krier's and Prince Charles' rejection of everything modern²¹¹ (Hetherington 2006), 'mapped from birth to maturity to stop some arrogant modernist from stepping in and improvising', as Peter Christie (1991) writes in *The Kingston Whig-Standard*. It

²⁰⁹ Bosnia and Herzegovina experienced devastating destruction because of a civil war that lasted from 1992 to 1995.

²¹⁰ Walter Ellis (1994) from *The Times* newspaper observes that the partnership between Leon Krier and Prince Charles resembles that 'between conceptual talent and influential sponsor', a model widely practiced in Renaissance Italy.

²¹¹ This in itself is a paradox, because most of the buildings within Poundbury utilise modern and industrial materials and construction methods such as double-glazing and insulation, and have access to electricity, which traditional houses 200 years ago did not have.

features 'winding streets, traditional "classical" houses built from local stone and timber, village square, pub and shop' (Hetherington 2006), urban elements that are more representative of a pre-industrial community than a post-industrial one (Dutton 1989, 4). These urban elements reflect Krier's spatial blueprint for the reconstruction of the city in a post-industrial world, which sees the city 'articulated into public and domestic spaces, monuments and urban fabric, squares and streets, classical architecture and vernacular buildings' (Krier 1980, 1978, 38–42, cited in Dutton 1989, 3).

Leon Krier's 'values and aspirations' are, according to American architect and architectural educator Thomas Dutton (1989, 3), reflective of what he (Krier) sees as 'a better time, when cities and city life in their pre-capitalist form were the supposed apotheosis of all that could be considered human'. In his quest to create a more 'human' built environment, Krier has tried to turn back the clock to the pre-industrialist and pre-capitalist era, producing Poundbury, a town that is as 'disengaged' and 'divorced' from the sociocultural reality of the post-industrial world as its creator (Dutton 1989, 7). Being a strong opponent of everything industrial, Krier, through his designs and writings, actively advocates the social and cultural reform that he believes can be achieved through the redesign of the urban realm in the spirit of the pre-industrial age. Rather than engaging with and fully understanding problems of the post-industrial era, and how they affect the built environment, Krier's solution is to look back to the pre-industrial period, designing architectural and urban elements that are culturally and socially behind the present time. According to Dutton (1989, 7), Krier thus follows 'the same tradition of throwing simplistic physical solutions at complex societal processes and problems, which naively assumes that the re-configuration of the physical realm will lead to desired qualities in the cultural realm'.

Krier's work, including his proposal for Poundbury, thus demonstrates yet another failure on the part of some overly ambitious architects²¹² to solve social and cultural problems through physical form, without fully grasping either the human condition or the organic nature of community development. According to Dutton (1989, 4), it is from a thorough understanding of the complex arrays of issues specific to the current time, and engagement with these, that any social and cultural change is

²¹² Le Corbusier was another architect who attempted to solve the social and cultural problems of congestion and crime. However, unlike Krier, he aimed to achieve this through modernist high-rise designs, extensive motorways and strict zoning.

possible. To address issues of post-industrialism, Krier would need to 'meet post-industrialism on its own ground' (Dutton 1989, 4) and not try to solve problems of the modern time with proposals that are socially, culturally and spatially outdated. In relation to an architects' role in 'creat[ing] spaces of cultural transformation', Dutton (1989, 5) writes that 'it is at [the] intersection of space and culture that architects can make significant contributions to urban social change'. Architects who want to achieve change in the social, cultural and urban realm need to immerse themselves in the place and problems that mar and challenge it, for 'if we want to transform everyday life we have to come to know it', he suggests, further adding 'city reconstruction ... will never take form in a vacuum, but must be forged on the terrain of the present in order that it might have useful meaning' (Dutton 1989, 5). None of this is evident in Leon Krier's design of Poundbury, which purportedly aims to create a 'human' built environment supporting and nurturing the development of a small, intimate community. As *The Independent* newspaper journalist Stephen Bayley (2003), observes with respect to Poundbury:

Real communities evolve by demand and desire, not by diktat. Real architecture is an unforced expression of immediate need, expressed through design genius rather than through years of inarticulate, accumulated despair about the modern world. At Poundbury, the various architects have attempted a variety of English styles and tried to use a textbook variety of materials (stone, tiles, brick, colourwash), but this sort of texture cannot compensate for an abysmal lack of texture in the purpose and reality of the place.

(Bayley 2003)

Poundbury's lack of connection with reality is not only limited to the inappropriateness of its architecture in relation to the time in which it was built. Frank McDonald (2004) points out that according to the Poundbury brochure, 'there are "no structures here which do not have their aesthetic correlatives in the region"', a claim that is quickly discounted by examining the town itself. The 'conical red-tiled roof' of an apartment block, 'nicknamed "Disney Tower"', draws no reference from the region, and as McDonald (2004) suggests, is possibly better suited to certain mainland countries of Europe, such as Luxemburg, than its current location. This raises a question about the identity that Poundbury is attempting to portray—modern-day Dorchester, Wales, or that of the architect, Mr Krier.

Although Krier's writings and works have been highly criticised for failing to engage with the reality of this age, 'sizable numbers of students ... [and] many professors' of architecture find his ideas appealing (Dutton 1989, 5–6).²¹³ These ideas have also influenced a number of movements, including the New Urbanism movement that claims Leon Krier as its 'intellectual godfather' (Hetherington 2006). In line with Krier's teaching, New Urbanism advocates the extensive use of traditional and Neoclassical architecture in the new urban projects that are springing up across the English-speaking Western world. Poundbury estate in Dorchester, UK, Seaside community in Florida, US, and the East Perth redevelopment in Western Australia are only some of the developments completed in the spirit of New Urbanism. However, as mentioned earlier these projects, Poundbury included, give rise to questions about the appropriateness of the implementation of classical and vernacular architecture in modern society. Architecture needs to genuinely consider and engage with questions such as: 'Whose national identity are the New Urbanists, with Leon Krier at their helm, trying to recreate?' and 'Why is it that the expression of national and cultural identity seems to be achievable only through copying and recreating historical styles and vernacular architecture?' if it is to move away from being seen as pastiche and out of touch with reality.

It could be concluded that the objective of the architecture of both Poundbury and Stanišići is the recreation of a particular sense of identity that draws from another era. However, in recreating an atmosphere of times gone by, ethno villages and new 'traditional' urban developments are failing to respond to questions of identity and diversity that are presenting themselves contemporaneously, raising concerns regarding the role and relevance of architecture in today's society. By investigating migrants' re-territorialisation practices, this thesis has demonstrated that the expression of culture and personal identity through architecture is not only possible but is crucial for the creation and perpetuation of identity. Ignoring these issues and instead striving to recreate architecture and a sense of community of bygone eras only contributes to the construction of an artificial sense of identity to which individuals cannot relate, exposing the architectural discipline to criticism and rejection by society for not being in touch with the reality and the demands of our time.

²¹³ Krier's ideas also resonate more readily with members of the dominant class.

The critique formed in this chapter demonstrates the overwhelming feeling of indifference and the lack of responsibility towards society that the architectural discipline has been exhibiting. The research and examples of Korculani and Mexican migrants presented in this thesis suggest that architecture is an important player in the social arena, by enabling social interaction and providing a stage on which the personal and the everyday evolves. However, the architectural discipline has steadfastly refused to address the issues of culture and identity that make this social stage more informed and meaningful. Instead, it is function, aesthetics and the external form of buildings that have assumed the prime position in architectural design, as illustrated through both the New Modernism and New Urbanism movements. Even though these two movements have very different ideological underpinnings, one being Modernist and minimalist and the other traditionalist, their approaches to architecture are almost exclusively based on the aesthetic preferences and identity of their respective architects. This narrow focus on styles and trends, at the expense of cultural responsiveness and performance, has led to a widening rift between architects and the broader population with respect to expectations of what architecture is, and what it should be. This difference in opinion concerning architecture can be attributed to a *habitus* of the discipline, which strives towards autonomy in the field by restricting the production of architecture to architects only, to eliminate 'unsympathetic' users and their criticism. This *habitus* and a blind emphasis on aesthetics, and the uncritical implementation and imposition of star architects' signature styles and identity, has led to accusations of the discipline contributing to the greater homogenisation of cities in line with globalisation by erasing diversity and turning a blind eye to individual and cultural pluralism.

The common view of national and cultural identity considers that heritage and vernacular buildings only have value because they express the culture of earlier times and historical styles of the past. However, as discussed in this chapter, identity generated through heritage theme parks and the recreation of traditional architecture in new developments is artificial, portraying an identity of former periods that finds little resonance in today's society. In contrast, migrants, who have successfully demonstrated ways that architecture can respond to the nuances of culture and identity, are generally overlooked by the architectural discipline. The appropriation and adaptation of architecture by the migrant population and the general public, in line with their needs, is often frowned upon for not being stylish enough or for expressing a different sense of aesthetics to the one appreciated in

architectural circles. However, these interventions show that there is a need for architecture to have a 'real' engagement with societal concerns and identity, which Modernity, New Modernity and heritage largely fail. Ultimately, the examples of migrants' re-territorialisation discussed in this thesis indicate the need for the architectural profession to become more aware of the present concerns regarding identity construction and perpetuation if it is to be seen as a relevant and valued contributor to society.

Conclusion

This thesis set out to demonstrate the connections between architecture, culture, memory and *habitus*, and the role that architecture and the built environment play in structuring and perpetuating identity and belonging. Migration and migrants have been used as a vehicle to illustrate how significant the built environment and architecture is in shaping individuals' understandings of who they are and where they belong. To support the analysis and discussion of issues surrounding migrants' re-territorialisation practices, and their approach to and expectations regarding architecture and the built environment, *habitus*, the theory that explains the way that personal dispositions are socially and culturally conditioned, has been the main theoretical framework of this study. It is argued that *habitus* defines humans, their perceptions and views of the world that surrounds them, their behaviours and aspects of their identity they project onto the social and physical environments, and is responsible for the development of peoples' expectations concerning architecture and the built environment. Together with culture and memories of built surroundings, *habitus* forms and forges lasting connections with places and architecture, which as this research has revealed, ultimately affects self-identity and belonging.

By conducting a theoretical enquiry into identity construction and relating it to architecture and the built environment, this thesis has provided a comprehensive overview and analysis of the complex nature of self-identity and the role architecture and the built environment play in its structure and restructure. This study has demonstrated that personal sense of identity is a multilayered and multivalent phenomenon, a product of individuals' continuous engagement and exposure to social and built environments, encompassing not only the homes they occupy but also cities and even countries. This continuous engagement and interaction with the social and built fabric enables people to project aspects of themselves onto the physical environment, and also to absorb other aspects of their environment by impressing images of experiences and stories of places and architecture onto their memory, onto their being. The processes of 'externalization' and 'internalization' (Bourdieu 1985, cited in Basu 2001), and of 'projection' and 'introjection' (Metz, cited in Leach 2005) create and perpetuate the feelings of security and safety that humans experience when they relate to and identify with the built environment they inhabit, when they succeed in recreating a sensation of 'being at home'. This impression of 'being at home', of being in a familiar and known environment, caters

to this notion of security and safety and, as this research has suggested, the experience of being safe and secure is felt more strongly as individuals willingly engage with the social and physical fabric in which they live.

However, as this study has further established, self-identity is also a highly unstable phenomenon that is constantly being defined and redefined, not least due to pressures caused by migration. Migration gives rise to many problems, from abandoning familiar and friendly networks and built environments to settling into new, foreign and often emotionally cold places. In using migration and migrants as a vehicle for the analysis in this thesis, the study has shown that the connections between humans and physical environments in which they live affect their identity and belonging. This research has explored the way the loss of the familiar and known physical environment contributes to feelings of longing and anguish, and settling in a new built environment can lead to confusion and alienation during migrants' re-territorialisation process. It has thus shown that connections between architecture, culture, memory and *habitus* exist and that they play a vital role in defining individuals' expectations and sense of identity. Connections between architecture, culture, memory and *habitus* can be seen as reasons that many people experience a new place through their preconceived notions of what architecture and built environments are, or should be, by drawing from memories, experiences and culturally and socially defined dispositions. Ultimately, this suggests that the physical environment is not only defined by walls, bricks and mortar, but it also incorporates a number of other factors such as culture, memory and *habitus*, which impact upon and influence life within those walls.

This study has also revealed that the way architecture and the built environment are used and appropriated is dependent on the type of migration itself. The two different types of migration studied in this research, colonial and cross-community migration, approach architecture and the built environment from different perspectives. Colonial migrants, as demonstrated in Chapter 6, use architecture more aggressively to establish and perpetuate certain ideologies and power structures, replicating buildings and entire cityscapes to that end; cross-community migrants tend to appropriate architecture on a much smaller, personal scale, recreating

familiar and known living environments, a home away from home, to ease the burden of alienation.²¹⁴

The analysis and discussion of migrants' re-territorialisation in relation to architecture, culture, memory and *habitus* provided evidence that identity-related issues are important for architecture and thus were the basis for a critique of architectural discourse and practice, and their failure to genuinely acknowledge and respond to issues surrounding self-identity. As this study has demonstrated, architecture, as a stage on which daily activities and experiences evolve, is a canvas for expressing personality, individuality and identity. It informs and structures peoples' understandings and expectations of what architecture and the built environment is or should be. However, architectural practitioners and authors rarely acknowledge the role that architecture plays in influencing and constructing identity. While much research has been conducted within the social science disciplines regarding the formation and nature of identity, the architectural discipline has largely remained reluctant to acknowledge this research and incorporate it into design practice. Rather than expressing any given occupants' sense of identity, expectations and needs (Crawford and ADOBE LA 1994, 18–19; Rapoport 1987), architectural projects seem to be more concerned with global styles and the trends set by a few star architects. This excessively narrow focus on aesthetics, styles and trends, which has been prevalent in architectural practice and discourse since Modernity, has dominated architecture and informed projects that are generally seen to be over-designed, inflexible and lacking adaptability to individual needs, essentially leading to questions regarding architecture's relevance in today's society.

The research presented in this thesis suggests that architecture is an important player in the social arena, enabling social interaction by providing a setting on which everyday activities evolve. However, as this thesis has shown, the architectural discipline has generally refused to address the critical issues of social, cultural and personal identity that make this social setting more meaningful (Stevens 1998). Instead, it is aesthetics, the external form of buildings and to a lesser degree function that have assumed the prime position in architectural design, leading to the increasing rift between architects and the wider public with respect to expectations

²¹⁴ Note that the need to recreate a 'home away from home' is not exclusive to cross-community migrants and similar motivations can be observed, to a degree, with respect to colonial migrants. The hill station in Ootacamund, India, for example, demonstrates the need of English colonists to live in surroundings that reminded them of home. However, the scale at which this need was realised and the purpose it served in building the Empire is very different from the personal and intimate moderations carried out by cross-community migrants such as Korculani.

about what architecture is, and what it should be (Stevens 1998). Additionally, as revealed in the discussion of the effects of globalisation on architecture and the misconstrued notion of cultural and national identity being reserved for heritage and traditional style architecture, an artificial sense of identity is being created through built edifices that do not genuinely address, but rather distort, any sense of identity.

By outlining the importance of architecture in defining and redefining individuals' sense of identity, and by raising concerns and critiquing architecture for its failure to genuinely respond to questions of culture and identity, this thesis has offered valuable insights and raised questions regarding the nature of individuals' interaction with architecture and the urban environment. In understanding the role of architecture and the built environment in framing and defining the lived experience, and combining this insight with existing research on culture, memory and habitus, this study adds to the existing body of knowledge. It provides a more comprehensive understanding of how individuals form and define their sense of self through architecture. This new and expanded knowledge can be used to explore other ways of seeing and critically evaluating architecture (including the way architecture is taught and perceived in today's society), with the aim of strengthening its role and importance in the community.

This thesis also contributes to a greater appreciation of the issues surrounding migrants' settlement and their effect on the architecture and built environment of their host countries. By exploring and establishing the links between migrants' sense of identity and architecture, this study offers more informed views of the issues that migrants face while undergoing the settling-in process within new built surrounds. This understanding identifies ways of easing the transition from one environment to another, which can alleviate alienation and lead to the greater integration, tolerance and acceptance that are essential for improving migrants' psychological well-being and their re-territorialisation experience. This study thus complements existing research into migration, the built environment, and belonging and identity, and provides findings of interest to the greater community and the local and national government organisations concerned with migrants' transition and re-territorialisation. Moreover, it offers opportunities to revisit policies and practices related to the accommodation of migrants and refugees, indicating areas of research and design in which the architectural profession could specialise.

While the analysis carried out in this thesis has largely focused on migrants and their perceptions and approaches to architecture and the built fabric of their new countries, the outcomes of this research ultimately apply to humans, and to life and the everyday, in general. This thesis has revealed that the way people experience the everyday and live their lives is influenced by the modes of expression and perceptions surrounding architecture and the built environment. This has been illustrated through the analysis of the connections between architecture, culture, memory and *habitus* that migrants experience in relation to a place they once called home. These connections, as this research indicates, can affect life and the experience of the new urban contexts, whereby the incorporation of familiar architectural elements that are expressive of people's identity can bring meaning to the spaces and places they inhabit. By analysing some of these connections, this thesis enhances the understanding of issues concerning identity and provides opportunities for future research on the nexus between modes of expression and perception surrounding architecture, the built environment, culture, memory and *habitus*, with the aim of developing greater insights into life and the everyday.

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