

**INVESTIGATING 'PLACE' AS ARCHITECTURAL HERITAGE IDENTIFIER  
FOR MID-TWENTIETH-CENTURY MODERNIST PUBLIC ARCHITECTURE  
IN BANGLADESH**

**By  
Muhtadin Iqbal**

**A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirement for the degree of  
MASTER OF ARCHITECTURE**

**September 2022**



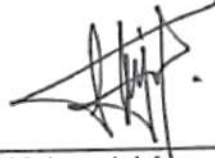



**Department of Architecture  
BANGLADESH UNIVERSITY OF ENGINEERING & TECHNOLOGY  
Dhaka, Bangladesh**

Department of Architecture  
Bangladesh University of Engineering and Technology  
Dhaka-1000, Bangladesh.

The thesis titled "INVESTIGATING 'PLACE' AS ARCHITECTURAL HERITAGE IDENTIFIER FOR MID-20<sup>TH</sup> CENTURY MODERNIST PUBLIC ARCHITECTURE IN BANGLADESH" Submitted by Muhtadin Iqbal , Roll No-1014012018 P, Session: October-2014, has been accepted as satisfactory in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Degree of MASTER OF ARCHITECTURE on this day 27<sup>th</sup> September, 2022.

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\_\_\_\_\_  
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Mr. Mahmudul Ahwar Riyaad  
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A handwritten signature in black ink that reads "Muhtadin Iqbal". The signature is written in a cursive style with a large initial 'M' and 'I'.

-----  
Muhtadin Iqbal

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## **ABSTRACT**

This research investigates ordinary people's engagement in place-making as the denominator of intangible aspects of Architectural Heritage for the modernist public architecture of the mid-20th century in Bangladesh. In Dhaka and all over the world, modern buildings fall victim to their once-revered properties and are susceptible to demolition in the name of development and expansion. Though these buildings have become a part of the collective memory and everyday narrative of the ordinary people through public participation, they should remain outside the generic comprehension of Architectural Heritage. This research examines how modernist buildings of the mid-20th century in Bangladesh have become a heritage of the common through their capacity to engage with the aspects of ordinary life, in addition to their artifact or stylistic value. The study is exploratory by nature and has adopted an interdisciplinary approach to examine the Teacher-Student Center (TSC) at Dhaka University by Constantinos Apostolou Doxiadis. The extent of indigenization of modernist ethos through the ordinary people's everyday participation in TSC has been analyzed under the qualitative research paradigm by correlating the archival and ethnographic research findings. Data was collected through different ethnographic tactics such as open-ended interviews, observation, and visual research transcribed and analysed based on the theoretical framework of Henry Lefevre's "Space Triad" and a key identifier of intangible cultural heritage "Placemaking". This study will open up a new avenue to comprehend Modern architecture as Heritage and contribute to broadening the existing guideline for the enlistment, conservation, and management of Architectural Heritage in the broader context of Bangladesh.

### **Keywords:**

Modern Architectural Heritage, Indigenization, Space Triad, Placemaking, CA Doxiadis, TSC

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## **CHAPTER 01:**

### **INTRODUCTION**

#### ***Preamble***

*The introduction chapter, through the narration of numerous events of the destruction of modern architecture in diverse contexts, outlines the problem this research seeks to address. A research framework is proposed to achieve the specific aim and objectives that are laid out at the research inception. The thesis structure at the end of the chapter explains the composition of the following chapters and their sequencing logic.*



## **1.1. BACKGROUND AND PRESENT STATE OF THE PROBLEM**

The modern architecture movement is a by-product of modernism and modernist principles that was widely practiced after the industrial revolution and gathered momentum after both world wars as a solution to contemporary socio-political and socio-economic crises (Tafari, 1980). Even though Modern Architecture started in Europe, it was exported to other regions of the world, such as North America and Asia, and evolved along their own distinct trajectory. In the South Asian region, modern architecture was propagated as an international style and was chosen as a method to create a national identity for the newly liberated nations. These nations have a century-long history of colonial domination. In this regard, the examples of Modern buildings in the South Asian context are relatively new (Macdonald, 2013). The story of the development of these buildings is closely intertwined with the history of the development of the region. The buildings were not just part of the national identity, but at times became the landmark around which cities flourished, thus making them part of the city fabric. Among these buildings, there are buildings by modern masters such as Le Corbusier and L. I. Kahn in India who were invited by then president Jawaharlal Nehru as a new nation-building agenda (Karim, 2016). In the undivided state of Pakistan, similar initiatives were taken up engaging foreign architects to create a new architectural language free from a colonial hangover (Ashraf, 2000). Both these approaches resulted in some iconic modern buildings in this part of the land first through foreign architects of great repute then by first-generation local architects who have trained abroad or under the tutelage of western architects. The earliest such buildings are not yet 70 years old, yet some of them have come under the threat of being demolished in the name of new development and infrastructure development. In the last few decades alone, there have been numerous examples of demolition of buildings that were once influential to the development of the modern architectural movement (Ashraf, 2000). Modern architecture has the shortest time between construction and preservation (Figure 1. 1)

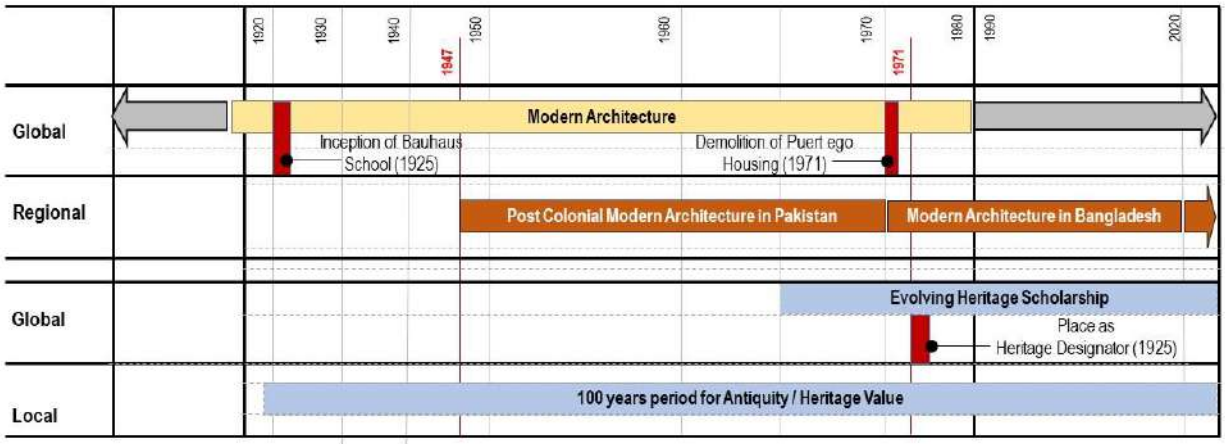


Figure 1.1: Parallel Timeline Illustrating the History and Heritage Discourse

In India, the first instance of demolition of such a building of great architectural significance happened in 2017. The Hall of Nations and the Hall of Industries, two of the national capital's most internationally recognizable modern architectural landmarks, were reduced to rubble overnight. The level of atrocity and the reaction it generated from the architect and historians were vividly captured through the outcry in the Indian and international media. On 24 April 2017, an article published in an Indian daily newspaper described the Civil communities' reaction to the event as 'disgusting' and 'shocking'. Ignoring several Indian and international institutions' requests, the Indian Trade Promotion Organization (ITPO) ordered bulldozers to work through the fateful night to raze the iconic structures to the ground. Both architects and historians criticized the demolition because it destroyed an important part of Delhi's history.

The two buildings, the Hall of Nations and the Hall of Industries were designed by the famous Indian modernist Raj Rewal and engineered by Mahendra Raj. The world's first and largest reinforced concrete space-frame constructions were the Halls of Nations and Industries. They were inaugurated in 1972 to celebrate India's 25th independence anniversary. (Figure 1. 2).

The next such instance of a modern building coming under threat involved the Indian Institute of Management (IIM) at Ahmedabad, a masterpiece by L. I. Kahn. In one of his articles in The Architectural Review, William J.R Curtis, one of the most prominent architectural historians, predicted that the modern architectural examples in the region by architects including Le Corbusier, L. I. Kahn, Charles Correa, Doshi, Bawa were all under threat in the contemporary world of consumerism. Branding the demolition of the entire complex of 18 dormitories as "Cultural Vandalism" Curtis feared for the International disrepute of the IIM. The dormitories

are an integral aspect of a comprehensive concept for institutional master planning, which cannot be seen without the whole. The plan was eventually dropped after people all over the world stood against it. But for Curtis, it was a hazardous signal, which prompted him to ask for a change to the National Heritage Laws, which only apply to buildings and sites that are more than 100 years old (Curtis, 2020).



Figure 1.2: Hall of Nations and IIM

This is no different for Dhaka, where the mid-20th century modern Architectural examples are constantly under threat. In a worrying trend for the last few years, Dhaka has witnessed the demolition of a hundred-year-old elegant Laboratory Building, the walk-up buildings in the Azimpur Housing Estate, and, more recently, the Jahaj Bari in the old town (Ashraf, 2000). Numerous socioeconomic factors have become a threat to Modern Architecture as Architectural Heritage, which is also very loosely protected by legislation and not often recognized as heritage (Curtis, 2020). The above-mentioned events spanning a period of four (04) years involving three (03) separate buildings from three (03) different historic timelines with different cultural and architectural significance are illustrative snapshots of the heritage protection scenario here in Bangladesh. The country is blessed with rich architectural history. Starting from Buddhist monasteries from as early as the 4th century BC, there is a rich collection of Hindu temples, Mughal and Sultanate period Mosques, and forts, as well as a few very notable colonial buildings

from the 19th century. After the colonial rule, as a part of undivided Pakistan and before its independence in 1971 with the rich continuation of cultural heritage, the country witnessed the sprouting of modern architectural examples, the epoch of which is the implementation of the Capitol Complex at Sher-E- Banglanagar, by L. I. Kahn (Ali, 2008). Despite having all these historical structures, their legislative protection is fragile. Till 2009 the only legal protection and heritage listing was in the form of the Antiquity Act of 1974. which only stated that any property more than 100 years old would be considered heritage property. Under those circumstances, most 20th-century buildings were outside the purview of heritage designation, irrespective of their architectural style and significance. Due to the ambiguous scope of heritage designation, the buildings mentioned above often face different consequences. For example, the Khamarbari Old Laboratory Building, due to its unique building type and colonial characteristics, was significant. In a statement, conservationist Abu Sayeed M. Ahmed (2017) asserts that the Laboratory Building has played a ‘pivotal role’ in the agricultural revolution of the greater region and the subsequent development of the Khamarbari area. Therefore, it would be a misconception to identify it as a mere colonial building since it shows a robust contextual sensitivity and climatic adaptation of colonial building typology. The presence of a north-south facing veranda and corridor makes it a colonial building that strived to adopt Bengali architectural styles. The Honourable High Court of Bangladesh also passed a stay order against the demolition. The building was demolished.

Similarly, the Azimpur Housing Estate has been a utilitarian building but has identifiable modernist design features in its spatial arrangement and the choice of building elements. Muzharul Islam, the first Bengali modernist architect, constructed two residential quarters for Azimpur Government Quarters, one of Bangladesh's first public housing complexes. The building and its owner were modernist. Apartments were one-bedroom. Each apartment has a large living room, a modest dining space, a reasonable kitchen, and a bright, well-ventilated bathroom. The south-facing full-height living room window lets the air blow through the built-in privacy screens between the living and dining rooms. The balcony's patterned concrete wall shades light and shade all day. The windows were covered without sun coverings. Cooking and sleeping areas have enough shelves. Khaled Ashraf says the flats were ideal for a bachelor government officer and a small single-family house. (Ashraf, 2018). The building has also been vital for its lasting influence on later public housing projects. However, for its mundane and

utilitarian façade, the building has not garnered much antique value and become an urban legend, evident from the fact that it is known to the locals as “Ajab Bari” due to its unique vertical spatial organization. It also faced a similar fate as the Khamarbari Laboratory building without any media coverage, uproar, or public protest to stop it.







			
Time	2017	2018	2019
Building name	<b>Khamar Bari Laboratory</b>	<b>Azimpur Colony H # 74</b>	<b>Jahaj Bari, Old Dhaka</b>
period	Colonial	1950s	Pre Colonial
Listing Status	Not Listed	Not Listed	Not Listed
End status	HC withdraw stayorder, <b>Demolished</b>	<b>Demolished</b>	HC imposes stayorder, <b>Demolished</b> disregarding HC stayorder
			

Figure 1.3: Three Buildings, Three Scenarios, Same Fate

The Jahaj Bari in Old Dhaka building was old enough to be considered heritage according to current legislation and had a facade decorated with ornamentation that is regarded as an artifact to the plain eye. The locals had a fondness for it, evident from its naming the unique form. Taimur Islam, a heritage activist and founder of Urban Study Group (USG) reported the two-story neoclassical edifice was erected late 19th or early 20th century. The boat-shaped structure is named Jahaj Bari. (Hasnat, 2018). the building was also protected through a High Court ruling, yet it succumbed to greed, blatant disregard for the law, and ignorance of cultural values.

Other than the Antiquity Act of 1974, the next protection against tangible heritage / Architectural property with potential Heritage designation came in the form of a gazette to implement the Dhaka Imarat Nirman Bidhimala (D I N B) 2008, published in 2009 by Rajuk where around 100 structures were listed as heritage. Since then the list has been amended, revoked, and revised



multiple times. The list lost its validity in the process, and many notable structures were removed from protection (Ahamad, 2018). The attempt to ground TSC and Kamalapur Railway Station is the latest example of that (Morshed, 2021)

Modern architecture being anti-historicist, hegemonic, and technologically progressive, falls victim to its own properties and is susceptible to demolition in the name of development and expansion (Jokilehto, 2011). Though these buildings have become a part of the collective memory and everyday narrative of the ordinary people through public participation, they remain outside the generic comprehension of Architectural Heritage (Podder et al., 2018). This research aims to investigate ordinary engagement in place-making as a denominator of intangible aspects of Architectural Heritage for a better comprehension of modernist public architecture of the mid-20th century as our heritage (Dameria et al., 2020). Different agencies like UNESCO, and ICOMOS proposes guidelines and charter for architectural heritage identification criteria which are mostly rooted in the notion of antiquity and exclusiveness (Jokilehto, 2005). thereby hardly capturing the engagement of the ordinary in the creation of heritage (Ahmad, 2006). An investigation on the extent of indigenization of modernist ethos through the ordinary people's everyday participation in a selected case might therefore open a new avenue to comprehend Modern architecture as Heritage, as opposed to the more informed lens of evaluating these as an exotic artifact



Figure 1.4: Abstract Representation of the Research with the Metaphor of A Bi-Focal Glass  
(Source: Author)

## 1.2. AIM AND OBJECTIVE

### 1.2.1. Specific Aim

This research aims to examine how Modernist Buildings of the mid-20<sup>th</sup> century in Bangladesh have become a heritage of the common through the capacity to engage with the aspects of ordinary life, in addition to its artifact or stylistic value.

### 1.2.2. Objectives

- To review the validity of the investigated blind spot concerning the development of modern architecture in the post-colonial sub-continent and recent theories related to heritage discourses concerning ordinary engagement and place-making.
- To identify the modern architectural design principles and elements of a specific case in its original form in the context of 1960s postcolonial Dhaka.
- To examine how the original (modernist) design principles transformed and their extent of indigenization through the place-making of the ordinary people.

### 1.2.3. Possible Outcome

This study will open up a new avenue to comprehend Modern architecture as Heritage and contribute to broadening the existing guideline for the enlistment, conservation, and management of Architectural Heritage in the broader context of Bangladesh.

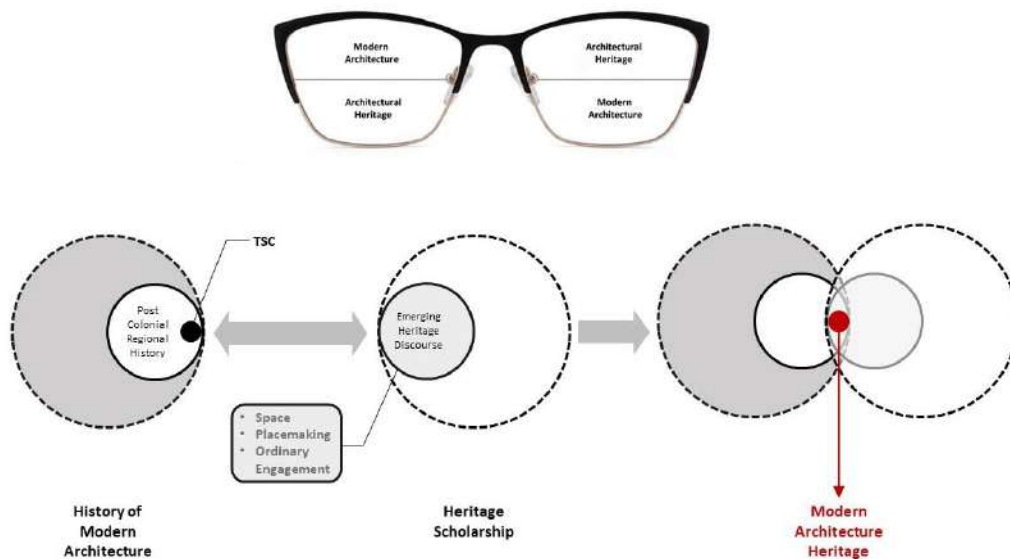


Figure 1.5: Research Concept Diagram

### **1.3. RESEARCH FRAMEWORK**

The research has been exploratory by nature and examined the Teacher-Student Center (TSC), Dhaka University, designed by C. A. Doxiadis in 1961 as a mid-20th century modernist public building in Bangladesh. The investigation has adopted an interdisciplinary approach relying on the qualitative research method. It had the following phases:

**Step 01:** Desktop survey of secondary sources has been conducted on published data to review the evolution of heritage scholarship and to identify the key attributes of Modern Architecture. Step 1 addresses the 1st objective.

**Step 02:** Archival survey has been conducted on historical records, maps, published interviews, newspaper articles, and memoirs to comprehend the original design principles of TSC. Step 2 addresses the 2nd objective.

**Step 03:** Data collection - Qualitative data has been collected using the Visual Research Data Collection Method and one-to-one Interviews (Groat & Wang, 2013) to explore the extent of indigenization and appropriation of spaces through the ordinary people's everyday participation in TSC (Choudhury, 1999). A comprehensive survey of the existing spatial-physical condition aimed to identify the chronological transformation for comparison with the original drawing and maps from the archival findings. Semi-structured interviews have been conducted with the users and other stakeholders selected through the Convenience Sampling method (Bernard, 2017).

**Step 04:** Analysis: Correlational Study

The data from Steps 2 and 3 has been analyzed using the theoretical framework of the 'Spatial Triad' by Henri Lefebvre (Lefebvre, 1992) to identify the place or social space as an assemblage of Conceived, Perceived, and Lived spaces. Archival findings from step 2 are regarded as conceived spaces, which are compared to evidence from step 3 to trace instances of transformation of physical space. The interview data has been transcribed and examined through the Narrative Analysis method (Allen, 2017) to assess the 'ordinary' engagement through keywords associated with Perceived and Lived spaces. The extent of coexistence of these spatial perceptions will equate to the sense of place (Tuan, 1979).



#### **1.4. COMPOSITION OF THE THESIS**

This thesis is broken down into 6 (six) different chapters.

The first chapter, "Introduction," is a narration of the background of the research which is comprised of two distinct areas within the post-colonial time frame in the sub-continent. One is modern architecture and the other is heritage discourse related to it. The chapter also problematized a gap within the domain of modern architecture and heritage discourse. The aim and objectives of the research are laid down along with the description of the methodology and a diagrammatic research design (Figure 1. 6).

Chapter 2, is dedicated to the literature review, a summary of the desktop survey conducted on secondary sources such as books, published journal articles, and other academic writings. The desktop survey specifically focused on the existing architectural heritage scholarship, modern architectural history in the context of this region, and discourses on modern architectural heritage and the concept of ordinary heritage.

Chapter 3, consisted of developing an understanding of "Place" in heritage scholarship and its possibility as a modern heritage identifier, coupled with the Space Triad theory by Henri Lefevre. It also consists of the theoretical framework for the research and subsequent elaboration of its parts.

Chapter 4, contains a detailed exploration of the works of Architect C.A. Doxiadis in Bangladesh and TSC as a case study. This chapter is completely based on archival research of primary resources to reconstruct the building in its unadulterated state to unearth the original concept and intention of the architect.

Chapter 05, focus on identifying physical and spatial distortion and the instances of appropriation and user perception in the case study through recognized tools.

The concluding chapter 06 is dedicated to an analysis of the indigenization of the case study through the lens of ordinary heritage followed by a conclusive discussion.

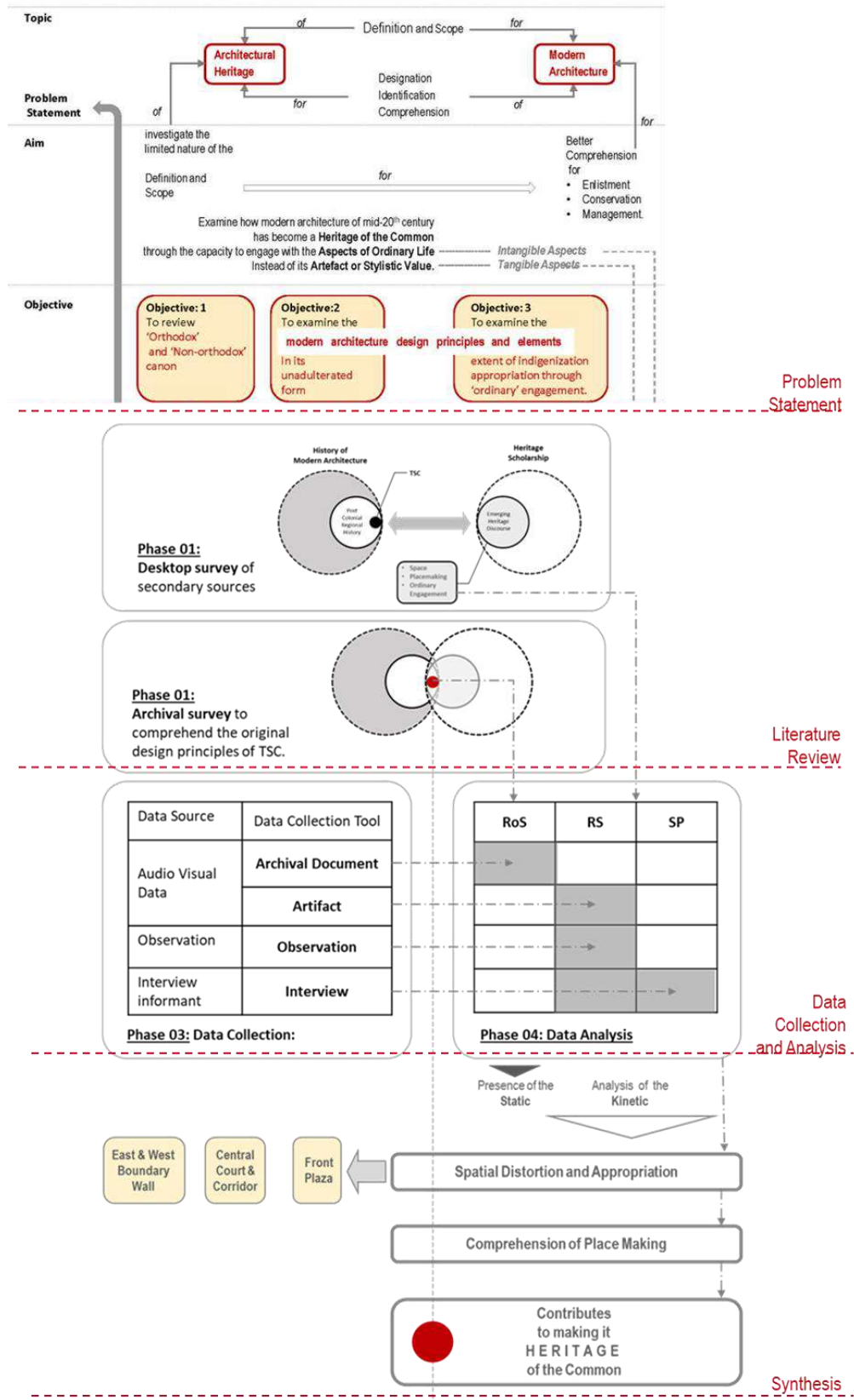


Figure 1.6: Research Design

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## **CHAPTER 02:**

### **DEVELOPMENT OF MODERN ARCHITECTURE IN THE POST-COLONIAL SUB-CONTINENT, RECENT THEORIES RELATED TO HERITAGE, AND DISCOURSES CONCERNING ORDINARY ENGAGEMENT AND PLACE-MAKING.**

#### ***Preamble***

*As suggestive of the research title of this chapter, the literature review is focuses distinctly on three areas, the development of modern architecture in the post-colonial sub-continent, recent theories related to heritage, and discourses concerning ordinary engagement and place-making. The literature review establishes the validity of the investigated blind spot concerning the two-focus area, thus it is divided into three broader sections. The first segment is important for the understanding of the catalyst and the unique social-political angle that influenced the different trajectories for modern architecture development in the subcontinent as opposed to global development. The second segment investigates the chronological development and the emergence of “Place” as a concept of heritage scholarship. The third segment discusses the recent discourses related to Space and Place and Ordinary Engagement in architecture to establish markers to investigate their correlation in a given case.*

## 2.1. UNDERSTANDING MODERN ARCHITECTURE: Globally and in Post Colonial Subcontinent

The modern buildings of the mid-20th century on the subcontinent are the subject of this study. It is required to have a parallel understanding of the history of architectural development in the west as well as in the Global South from a postcolonial lens. This period coincides with the region gaining freedom from colonial rule, that is why a very specific angle of historical perspective is investigated to interconnect the myriad of influences affecting the development of the modern history of architecture. Modern architecture history is the continuation of the global history of human civilization, dwelling, and habitat (Banham, 1980). The historical development of modern architecture could be studied through socio-economic, geopolitical, tectonic, spatio-cultural angles of this research, which primarily ties the heritage scholarship with the works of foreign architects such as C.A.Doxiadis in the subcontinent during the post-colonial era, the historical analysis of modern architecture is done through the literature review of the selected scholars sequentially discussed below (Figure 2.1).

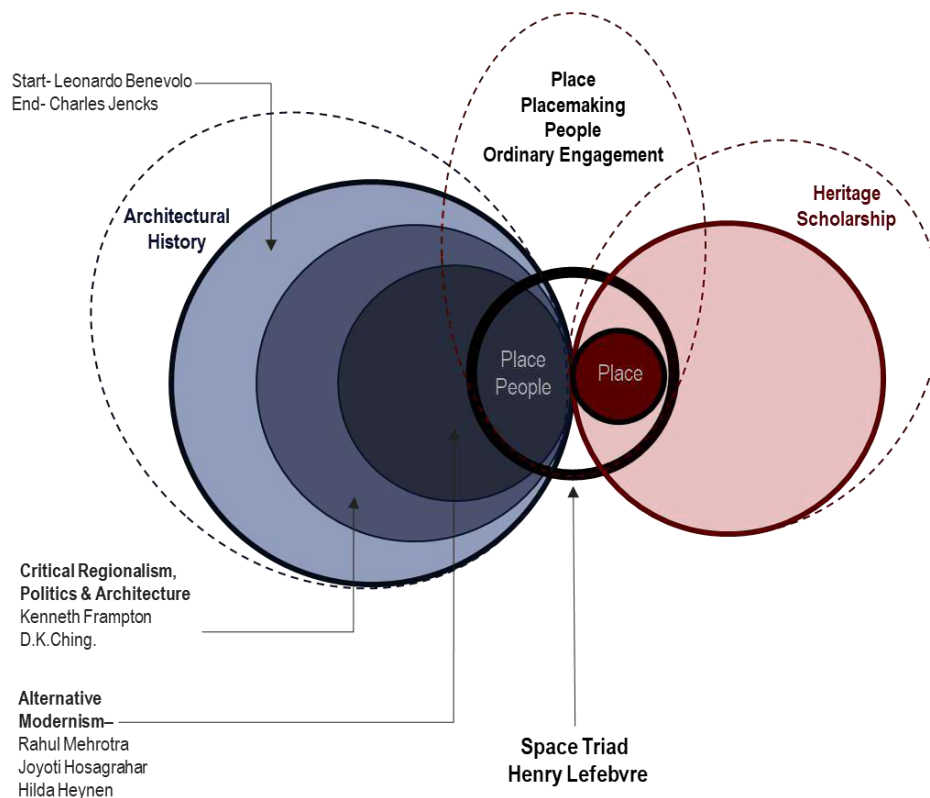


Figure 2.1: Literature Review Mapping

The literature review seeks to establish a theoretical footing for the research. For this research, the essential question that is needed to be investigated is “What is Modern Architecture?”. For the investigation it is important to understand what it means from a global perspective, more precisely how western modern is different from a notion of modern architecture for colonized sub-continent. Secondly, within the same historical time bracket, how people, place, and ordinary engagement become pivotal to the post-colonial modern discourse. Lastly, how these factors were critical in forming concepts like Peripheral Modernity (Hosagrahar, Apadurai, 2005) and Ordinary Heritage (Podder et al., 2018).

### **2.1.1 LEONARDO BENEVOLO & CHARLES JENKS: Timeline of Modern architecture and framing the time bracket for the research**

Modern architecture was a natural result of the Industrial Revolution and changing technology. This aspect is vividly explained in Leonardo Benevolo’s book “History of Modern Architecture” (Benevolo, 1971). Leonardo Benevolo's publications span the historical period from the Renaissance to the conceivable future. Benevolo tries to place design and planning advancements in social and political contexts. The historian asserts that societal changes after 1760 dictated the evolution of contemporary architecture, not aesthetic formalisms. He believed that fresh material and spiritual needs, new ideas, and new methods of operating inside and outside traditional constraints generate a new architectural synthesis that is completely distinct from the preceding one. Without considering these changes, it is otherwise impossible to comprehend how modern architecture was born (Benevolo, 1971).

Benevolo remarks, “When discussing modern architecture, it is important to remember that it implies not to a new variety of forms, , but also a paradigm shift, the consequences of which have not yet been fully determined.” His main objective was to determine those effects. Leonardo Benevolo explained that, three historical eras can be used to trace the history of the modern movement in architecture. Industrial Revolution and its effects on technology, society, and culture led to a change in the way buildings were made resulting in modern architecture while constructing a new social order. This change began contemporary architecture. Architectural or spatial response to the previous period's transition marks the second period. “When the single elements had emerged with sufficient clarity, there arose the need for their mutual integration,” Benevolo says. Industrialization of architecture defined the third modern

period. Benevolo dates the modern movement to Walter Gropius' Bauhaus school. (Benevolo, 1971).

This version of history pinpoints an event as the starting point of Modern Architecture; it also locates the point from where the shaping of the architecture and its resultant build presence is being influenced by the patron and vice versa (**Error! Reference source not found.**).

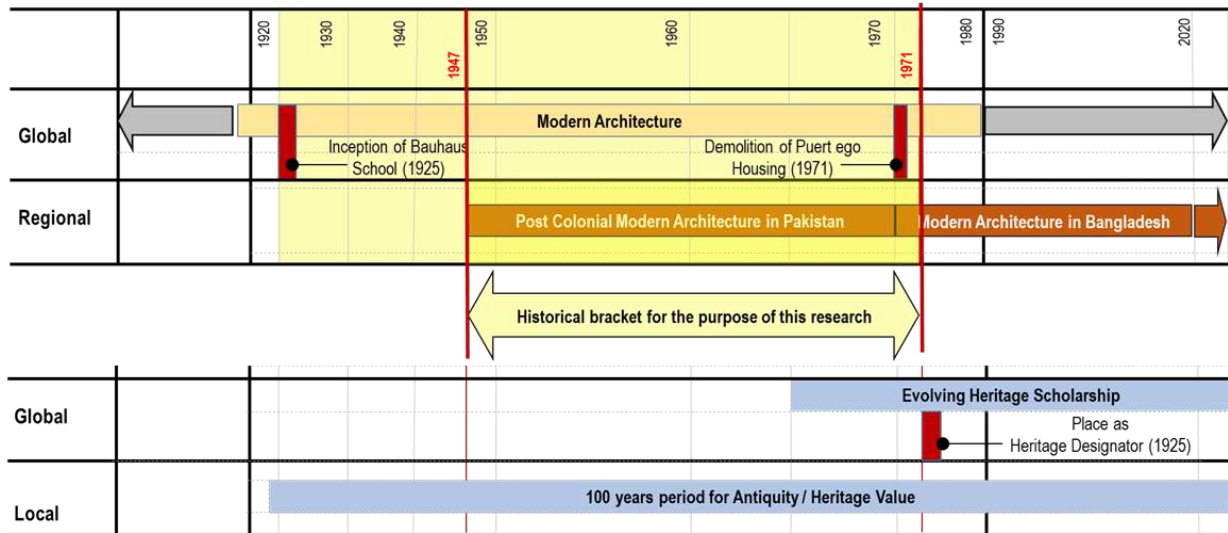


Figure 2.2: Bracketing of Historical Timeline for This Research

Charles Jencks has immensely contributed to architectural historiography through his literary works from 1970 to 2007, from “Architecture 2000” to Critical Modernism. Jenck’s vast array of works, paved the way to look at the historiography of modern architecture, breaking the rigid categories like spatial and functional paradigms in which architecture had been framed. While propagating the new approach, also enabled post-modernism and eventually indicated a revival of modern architecture by coining the term critical modernism

Architecture 2000 offered a series of six primary traditions for 20th-century architecture. Jencks identified six broad architectural traditions: rational, idealist, self-conscious, intuitive, activist, and unself-conscious. Jencks portrayed these traditions on a chart's y-axis, with the x-plane subdivided by decades from 1920 to 2000. This is inspired by Claude Levi-Strauss's classification method. This infographic chart illustrates the historical organizers of different movements, highlighting the role of politics in each case and the 'plurality' of Modernist ideas. He rejected any reductive approach to architecture, preferring a more comprehensive reading, even questioning overarching subdivisions as 'Modern Architecture'. Instead, Jencks stressed:



*“Architectural traditions are rich and complex in their profusion and any attempt to reduce them to some simplistic notion of ‘modern’ or ‘the true style’ would be myopic and destructive. The historian should search for the plurality of creative movements and individuals where he can find them, and elucidate their creativity.”*

Over time, harsh criticisms arose against the sterilized ideas of the modernist movement, its approaches that were detached from the reality of society, and its transformation into an increasingly hardened dogmatic ideology. According to Jane Jacobs, modern architecture was a product that arrogant, pointy academics had no contact with the way of life of real people (Ouroussoff, 2009).

Criticisms against modernism seemed to observe the moment of rupture, through an incident happened that justifies all those criticisms, when the renowned social housing apartments which were designed with an optimistic approach, Pruitt-Igoe was demolished by St. Louis Public Housing Authority (P.H.A.) in 1972-73 (PIN, 2012). At this complex moment, Charles Jencks initiated his famous and provocative discourse when he described the event by saying,

*“Modern Architecture died in St. Louis, Missouri, on July 15, 1972, at 3.32 p.m.”*  
(Jencks, 1978).

Jencks, in his last book, redefines the ‘New Paradigm’. Modernism and Postmodernism are reunited in a harmonious synthesis. Critical Modernism is his successor to Post-Modernism.

The theory and literary work of Charles Jencks, at times, laid the foundation for critically looking at architecture, at times denounced its endpoint or predicted its rebirth. Thus, making Charles Jencks's reading of modern history a constant theoretical backdrop to fall back on during the discussion of this research







### **2.1.2 KENNETH FRAMPTON & D. K. CHING: Critical Regionalism Global Architecture History**

The word "regionalism" is vague, although many authors agree that arguments over regionalism in architecture share a preoccupation with the "problem" of "tradition" and "memory". Kenneth Frampton proposed critical regionalism in the early 1980s as an alternative to architectural postmodernism's popular impulse to challenge high modernism. In his seminal work on Critical Regionalism, *towards a Critical Regionalism: Six Points for an Architecture of Resistance*, Kenneth Frampton describes modern culture and buildings as moving toward a technology-conditioned and exhaustively optimized civilization. Critical Regionalism, "mediating the impact of universal civilization with elements derived indirectly from the peculiarities of a particular place," is Frampton's solution. Frampton believes critical regionalism may restore "place". He wants a new architecture that blends a region's history, culture, and needs. He terms this as "architecture of resistance". This resistance is against the forces that have shifted society to the universalization of civilization. His concept of critical regionalism was later reinforced in 1987 in the text titled *"Ten Points on Architecture of Regionalism: A Provisional Polemic"*, but this article will take into account the 6 points mentioned in the earlier publication as reference points to analyze the selected example.

The tool of resistance devised by Frampton as *"Six Points for an Architecture of Resistance"* is a theoretical framework of specific features that represent critical regionalism, resulting in the points listed below.

- Culture and Civilization
- The rise and fall of the Avant-Garde
- Critical Regionalism and World Culture
- The resistance of the Place Form
- Culture Versus nature: Topography, Context, climate, light, and Tectonic Form.
- The Visual Versus the Tactile
- Here the mentioned points are summarized in brief.

Culture and Civilization: Optimized technology has made modern buildings so similar to each other that it is now very hard to make a meaningful urban shape. The freeway and the skyscraper, two of the most recognizable icons of contemporary civilization, also have a lot to do with how and what people create. At the end of this point, Frampton agreed with

Ricoeur's ideas and said, "How to become modern and go back to the sources." (Frampton, 1993). This statement is mostly about how the old parts of cities are slowly disappearing over time.

**The Rise and Fall of the Avant-Garde:** Frampton believed that postmodernity was fueled by the loss of an enlightened secular vision caused by multinational capitalism and the apparent decline of socialism, leaving the world socially, culturally, and economically adrift. (Frampton, 1993). Neo-classicist and modernist avant-garde approaches to psychology failed.

**Critical Regionalism and World Culture:** Frampton believes that critical practice can only maintain architecture if it adopts an *arrière-garde* rather than *avant-garde* posture. He defined *arrière-garde* as "one which distances itself equally from the Enlightenment myth of progress and from a reactionary, unrealistic impulse to return to the architectonic forms of the preindustrial past." (Frampton, 1993). To moderate the effect of global culture with components obtained indirectly from the characteristics of a given area. To maintain a high degree of critical self-consciousness.

Frampton deliberately chooses architects to demonstrate his concept of resistant architecture. **The resistance of the Place-Form:** This section suggests a regional approach to defining form based on a defined place. The two, form and place are inseparably linked. This can be applied anywhere. The imposed superficial form creates 'placelessness'.

**Culture vs. nature:** Topography, context, climate, light, and tectonic form This section covers terrain, climate, and construction tactics, as the title suggests. Modernization like *tabula rasa* to clean and flatten the terrain. (Frampton, 1993). Topography erasure symbolizes the global habit of placelessness. Critical regionalism sees topography as a reflection of geology. The topography and climate will shape any construction there. Light and windows have been prioritized in climatic concerns. An important part of architecture that may reflect the region's identity on the wall. Frampton's problem is geological, not scenic. Tectonics negotiates gravity and the beam-column relationship to give architecture agency.

**The Visual Versus the Tactile:** Here Frampton reiterates the tectonic's precedence over the scenographic. (Frampton, 1993). He demonstrates how a tactile surface makes Aalto's 1952 Synatsalo Town Hall comprehensible. Frampton believes each of these is essential for designing a resistant architecture. These ideas are conceptual guides for effective regional practice and integrating a feeling of place, not prescriptive for regional design. These points

address distinct and overlapping challenges related to building a legible location in modern times.

From a broader angle, the first three points are related to sensible "*Placemaking*" (Frampton, 1993). which is possible when global urban form and placelessness are resisted through a conscious and critical understanding of the regional context. Whereas the latter three points are indicative of the more non-abstract elements of architecture which eventually lead to the region-specific "Form making" (Frampton, 1993). The resultant form will only then reflect the regional characteristics when the topography, climate, material, techno, log,y and craft of the region are taken into consideration.

### **Reinterpreted Points to Evaluate the Regionalist Character in Buildings (based on 6 points)**

The six points for an architecture of resistance provide a rough guideline on what a critical regionalist architect should be conscious of while working on any project. It also emphasizes certain architectural characteristics of a building that can make it region specific and contextual and thus regarded as a fitting example of regionalist architecture. But the points (Frampton, 1993), in their exact interpretation are quite ambiguous and cover a wide array of concerns. So, to apply them directly as a validity judgment tool of a project strictly from the critical regionalist perspective, doesn't produce a clear picture. That's why if the points put forth by Frampton are to be taken as evaluating measures, they need to be reinterpreted. As discussed before, the points can be broadly divided into two themes:

- "Place-making" theme
- "Form-making" theme

Under these two broader themes, some architectural characters/features which are thematically similar to the resistive 6 points of Frampton can be applied as tools of resistance. These are elaborated in Table 2.1

<b>Theme</b>	<b>Architectural Character /Features</b>
<b>Placemaking</b>	Planning of Campus
	Spatial Organization
	Scale and Sense
<b>Form making</b>	Environmental Responsiveness
	Tectonics
	Material

Table 2. 1 Thematic Division of Six Points of Critical Regionalism by Kenneth Frampton

In the next chapters, the selected examples will be investigated through these points to find and evaluate the presence of regionalist features. The appropriateness of their use in attaining a regional character will also be looked into.

### **2.1.3 D. K. CHING: GLOBAL ARCHITECTURE HISTORY**

In this current age of globalization, it is problematic to describe the history of architecture from any particular perspective. The fact is evidenced by the ever-growing bitter reaction and criticism of the “Sir Banister Fletcher Global History of Architecture”, first published in 1896. The book which has become a cornerstone of architectural history education at least till the mid-20th century was criticized increasingly in the latter half of the century for the shortcoming of having a Quasi Colonialist Conception (Fraser, 2019).

The present is the apex of civilization from a teleological perspective, and history is a narrative of progress measured against the present. By contrast, this book's historiography presents each historical period in terms of its particular constraints and architecture's history as a series of dramatic shifts inspired by new materials, technology, political conditions, religious ideals, and aesthetics. According to the editor,

*“These changes spelled out differently in different times, and always challenge the norm in a way that we, in our age, would call modernity”* (Ching, et al, 2017).

The book is not divided into chapters about different countries or regions, like India, Japan, or France. Instead, it is organized by "time cuts." The book is made up of 18 sections of time



in order, starting in 3500 BC and ending in 1950 CE. Each time cut could be thought of more as a marker in the complex stream of history than as a strict measure of time.

In particular, the book looked at the politics behind architectural projects. Modernization was based on the project of enlightenment, and its politics have ranged from totalitarianism and elitism to republicanism and radical democracy (Karim, 2019). The elites of some non-European countries liked the idea of combining modernism, modernization, and nationalism to make a new language (Karim, 2019). This particular angle of discourse makes this book quite relevant to this research. This reference allows for parallel positioning of historiography by different historians to analyze the correlation between diversified factors shaping history as well as the building. The events and factors influencing the development of architecture are sometimes aligned or against time for chronological understanding, sometimes against theme/tradition or geographic location as the argument requires (Figure 2. 3).

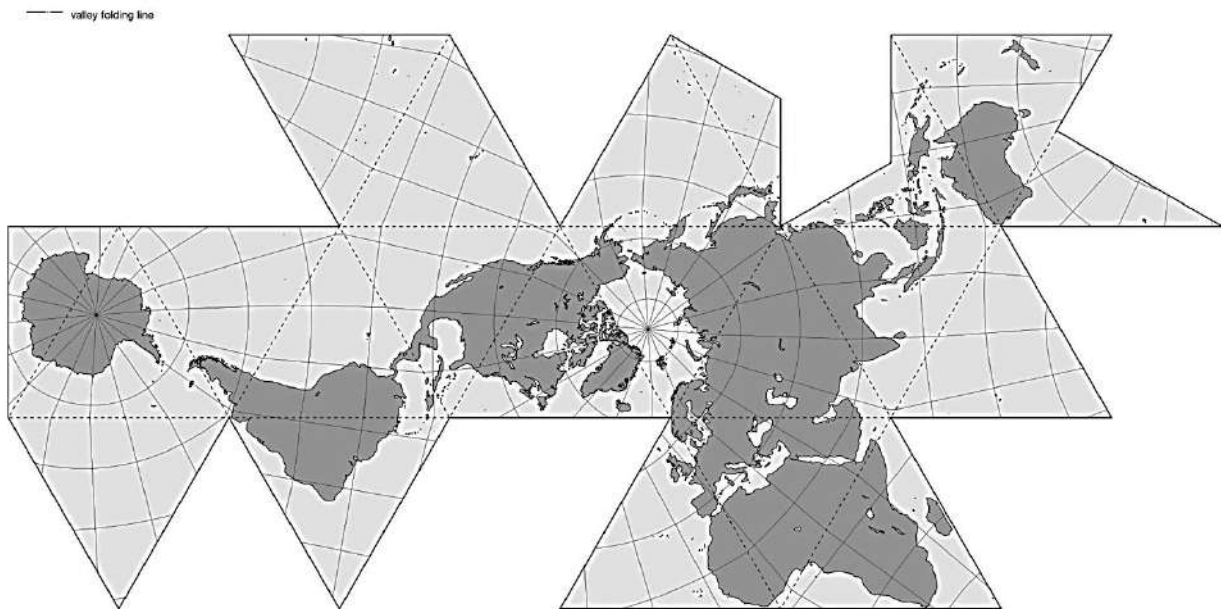


Figure 2.5: Dymaxion World Map: Synonymous of Looking at History and Geography in A New Angle

#### 2.1.4 POST-COLONIAL SUBCONTINENT AND SOCIO-POLITICAL CONTEXT

From the study of the Evolution Tree by Charles Jenks, it could be observed that the development of modern architecture went through a dull period during the middle of the century. This period is coincidental with the world war and the end of colonial rule in the sub-continent. This also is the starting point of the advent of modern architecture in the region, which was gaining popularity among the ruling powers as a nation-building tool.



Farhan. S. Karim in his exhaustive research on architectural development and postcolonial and cold war politics identified a “void” in both local and global scholarship. Karim (2019) calls this "Intellectual Blind Spot" the time between 1947 and 1971. British capitalists used religion and community against Bangladesh. British narratives emphasized collective accumulation. Farhan Karim said that after 1947, our cultural discourse focused on progress. That discourse altered human experience, which was not new. The British Empire's business interest prevented resource allocation. Development was the main focus in cultural and political sectors after independence from the British Empire. British promises began to materialize, during the intellectual blind spot.

Ayub Khan, Pakistan's president, launched the first development initiatives. Ayub Khan's "basic democracy" was predicated on the belief that East Pakistanis were too uneducated to engage in western democracy. That political system enabled several development projects. This included building capital cities of West and East Pakistan as administrative hubs, polytechnic institutes, rural development centers, new school systems, universities, and home economics colleges. This development rhetoric prioritized education, which received the largest funding. American observers liked Ayub Khan's core democracy. Crimson Architectural Historians' mapping shows that during the Cold War, American money supported global south development initiatives. Architects monitored the transferred money.

Modern architecture was used by dominating powers to establish nations. Our historical consciousness impacts architecture. We must acknowledge the time as part of Bangladesh's history. In the development discourse, the "subaltern" was absent from the design process. Subalterns are marginalized groups in postcolonial ideology. Is such presence important for every project? It's strange that the development process claims subaltern existence. South Asian development architecture faces this challenge.

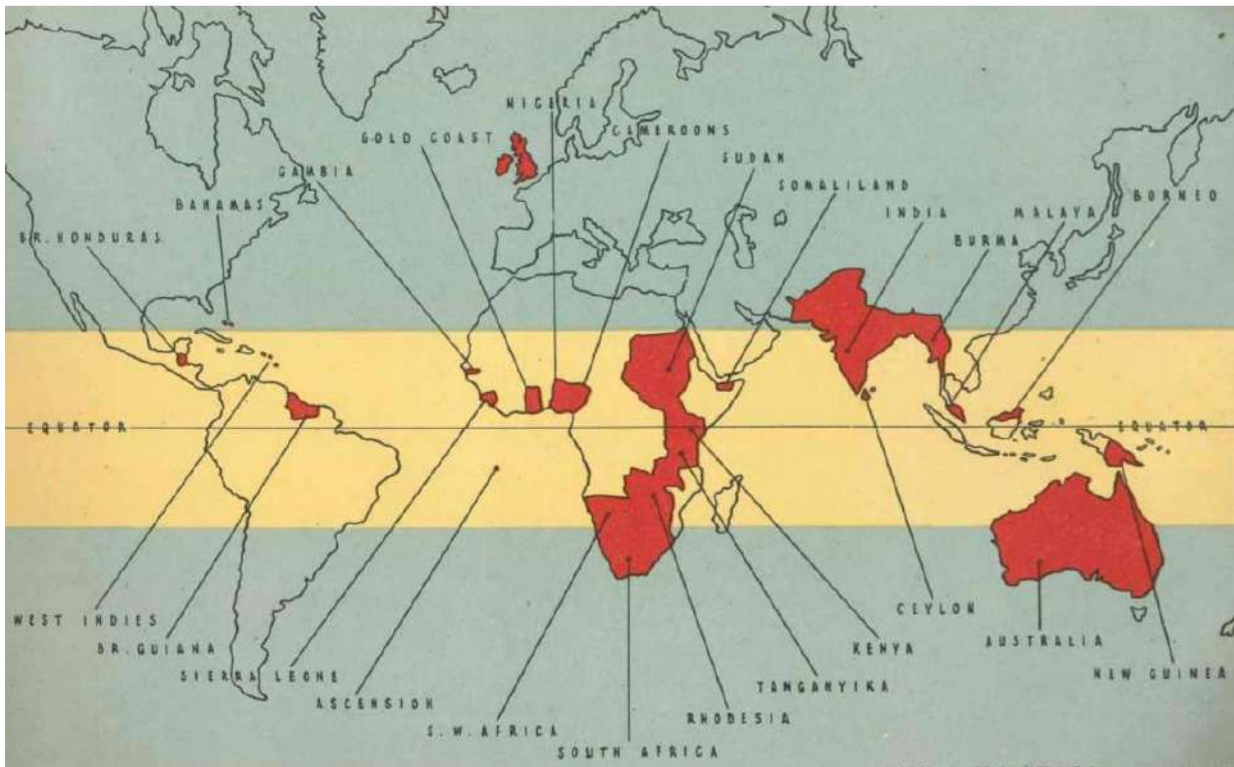


Figure 2.6: Overlapping of Tropical Region and British Colonies

### 2.1.5 CONCEPT OF ORDINARY HERITAGE AND PERIPHERAL MODERNITY

Heritage is temporarily static. Sense of historicity and romantic nostalgia of the elite are often used to decide which buildings should be protected. The modernist notion of antiquity and grandeur is still a big part of how individuals perceive heritage. From a review of the literature on heritage, it's clear that heritage discourse is focused on objects and focuses toward exoticism. From the beginning, the concept of heritage overlooked the culturally significant, ordinary object, their activity, and non-exotic elitist spatial-physical elements.

Buildings and spaces stage people's everyday activities, where the intangible remains inseparable from the tangible to make a heritage place with the aim not to showcase the 'best' part of the identity but to identify and acknowledge "how ordinary people live" in a specific ongoing phase of history (Podder et al., 2018).

The idea of Ordinary Heritage is based on social and economic transactions that have been going on for a long time between the common and the ordinary in the everyday quest for a livelihood. ordinary heritage isn't a thing or a collection of physical artifacts, but rather a set of systematic principles that helped the ordinary survive and change in a given reality.

Logan (2007) has succinctly defined that heritage is embodied in People, rather than in inanimate objects. He suggests that heritage might not always live in the "spectacular" urban

forms, nor, in terms of any historically “significant” monuments with outstanding universal value.

“Peripheral Modernism” is a term used to describe the modernist architecture that emerged in countries and regions outside of Europe and North America during the mid-20th century. These countries include Latin America, Asia, and Africa, which had been colonized by European powers and had struggled to assert their cultural identities. Peripheral modernism is significant because it challenges the notion that modernism is a universal style that can be applied anywhere in the world. Instead, it demonstrates that architecture must be responsive to local contexts and cultural identities. In this context, "place" is seen as a key element of peripheral modernity, as it is through the specificities of local cultures, histories, and geographies that peripheral societies negotiate their relationship with the global system. Place can be a source of resistance and resilience, as well as a site of conflict and negotiation. Some notable theorists of peripheral modernity or Alternate modernity are Joyoti Hosagrahar, Rahul Mehrotra, Arjun Appadurai, and Hilde Heynen.

Joyoti Hosagrahar (2005), in her book *Indigenous Modernities: negotiating architecture and urbanism* has addressed the question How has modernism affected non-Western architecture and building cultures? *Indigenous Modernities* examines how global modernity affects location, tradition, and culture. Hosagrahar examines how "traditional" built forms become "modern" in the context of colonialism, showing that oppositions like "traditional" and "modern" or "West" and "non-West" are culturally constructed.

Rahul Mehrotra (2008), in his article entitled, *Negotiating the Static and Kinetic Cities: The emergent urbanism of Mumbai* (2008) talks about the difference between the Static City and the Kinetic City. Mehrotra says Static City is gigantic, made of concrete, steel, and brick, and depicted on 2D city maps. Kinetic metropolis, made using temporary and recycled materials including plastic sheets, scrap metal, canvas, and discarded wood, is a metropolis in motion that continually changes and reinvents itself. A dynamic city is not architecture but a temporal articulation and occupancy of space that enriches spatial occupation and proposes how spatial constraints be stretched to encompass formally unimagined possibilities in dense urban environments. The Kinetic City offers a captivating picture that may help one comprehend modern urbanism and the shifting roles of people and spaces in urban life. A city implies elasticity, not a grant vision.

Arjun Appadurai is an anthropologist who has written extensively on the cultural dimensions of globalization, including the role of modernism in shaping contemporary society.

Appadurai has also explored the ways in which modernism has been contested and adapted in different cultural contexts. For example, he has studied the emergence of new forms of art and literature in postcolonial societies, which challenge the Eurocentric assumptions of modernism and offer alternative visions of modernity. In summary, Appadurai's work on modernism examines its cultural and social impact, as well as the ways in which it has been challenged and transformed in different cultural contexts.

To wrap up the first segment of the literature review its imperative to establish a connection between the reviewed theories. The research question demands that there is a clear understanding of the terms “ Modernity” and “ Modern Architecture”. The global perception of the first term during its formative stage is exclusively associated with an ideology and prescription for a homogenous post-war industrial world. Where as, the later term encompasses stylistic and canonic issues of architecture that could be international. The writings of Frampton and the argument presented by D.K.Ching, establishes that modernity and modernization have impacted countries and regions outside of the western world differently. According to this perspective, modernization in the periphery has been characterized by a complex and often contradictory process of adoption, adaptation, and resistance to western models of development. Last but not the least, the peripheral modernists argue that this adaptation is best seen through the spatial production of the general people or when "place" is constructed .

## **2.2. CHRONOLOGICAL DEVELOPMENT HERITAGE SCHOLARSHIP**

This article looks at what the different charters around the world say about the meaning and scope of heritage. Since the second half of the 20th century, International Organizations such as UNESCO and ICOMOS the purpose of protecting historical monuments and artifacts started to develop conservation principles. These were drafted or adopted in the form of charters, recommendations, resolutions, declarations, and statements. The most significant guideline was the International Charter for the Conservation and Restoration of Monuments and Sites, commonly known as the Venice Charter 1964. The Charter has helped to broaden the concept of historic buildings, the application of modern technology in conservation works, international cooperation, and, most important of all, has provided a set of principles

for protection. In Article 1 of the Venice Charter of 1964, the phrase "Historic Monument" is used, but it isn't clearly defined. It includes both single architectural works and urban and rural environments, but it doesn't say what a historic monument is or what makes an urban or rural environment. So, at the Constitutive Assembly of ICOMOS in 1965, the meaning of heritage was changed. Then in 1965, monuments and sites were both defined as heritage. so that ICOMOS and the International Council of Museums (ICOM) In 1965, do not have any overlapping expertise. Heritage was distinguished between 'Architectural Heritage' and 'Museum collections'. Later, in 1968, all of these differences were categorized under "movable" and "immovable." under the name "Cultural Heritage." Cultural property that could be moved was called "museum collections," and cultural property that could not be moved was called "architectural heritage." The immovable cultural property was defined to include not only historic sites and features, but also groups of traditional buildings and historic neighborhoods, both in cities and in the country. So, by the end of the 1960s, UNESCO and ICOMOS had different ideas about what the Venice Charter of 1964 meant when it said that heritage included historic monuments. UNESCO defined heritage as "cultural property," while ICOMOS defined it as "monuments and sites." At the World Heritage Convention in 1975, these different ways of talking about architectural heritage were brought together. The UNESCO Convention defined heritage as both cultural and natural heritage. It also got rid of UNESCO's old definition of movable and immovable cultural property. Monuments, groups of buildings, and sites were added to the list of things that are considered cultural heritage (Ahmad, 2006). UNESCO terminology has remained unaltered to the present day. However, to inscribe heritage on the World Heritage List the terminology was shifted from 'Cultural Heritage' to 'Cultural Properties' and 'Natural Heritage' to 'Natural Properties' (Jokilehto, 2005). During the following decade, it was found that these terminologies have some limitations both in terms of international applicability and inclusivity of different heritage objects. That's why, European and Australian Historic Gardens, Landscapes, and Environments were added to the definition of heritage. To address these concerns Florence Charter 1982 and Washington Charter 1987 were formulated. It was also exposed that a uniform charter applicable to all countries and region are not practical and factors like social functions and economic realities were not integrated into the process of heritage designation.

In Australia, Australia ICOMOS drafted and adopted the Australian ICOMOS charter for the Conservation of Places of Cultural Significance, commonly known as the Burra Charter of

1979, the scope of heritage generally remained the same as that introduced by the Council of Europe in 1975, but the Burra Charter introduced three new terms:

- place, referring to the site, area, building or other work, group of buildings or other works together with pertinent contents and surroundings;
- cultural significance, referring to aesthetic, historic, scientific, or social value;
- fabric, meaning all the physical material of the place.

This is the first instance of the term 'Place' appearing in any international Heritage Charter. In some regard, the Burra charter is very different as it not only reflected the current concern of heritage and conservation in Australia it laid principles for the conservation of intangible values. The Burra Charter 1979, modified in 1981, 1988, and 1999, recognizes social and aesthetic elements as part of cultural significance, as well as intangible values or intangible cultural heritage (Jokilehto, 2005). UNESCO established a convention in 2003 to conserve intangible cultural heritage, in Article 2 (Definitions) described as:

*practices, representations, expressions, knowledge, skills, instruments, objects, artifacts, and cultural spaces associated with communities, groups and individuals.*

By the end of the 20th century, heritage was defined globally as tangible, intangible, and environmental. To better inform international communities, in 1999 UNESCO clarified the scope of tangible values as cultural properties to include monuments, groups of buildings, and sites (Article 23:5) and the scope of environments as natural properties (Article 43:10), and adopted the Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage (UNESCO, 2003), which defines "intangible heritage" as:

*Communities, groups, and certain individuals recognize as part of their cultural legacy practices, representations, expressions, knowledge, skills, instruments, items, artifacts, and cultural spaces. This intangible cultural heritage, passed from generation to generation, is constantly formed by communities and groups in reaction to their settings, contact with nature, and history. It gives them a feeling of identity and continuity, supporting cultural diversity and human creativity. Oral traditions, language, performing arts, social activities, rituals, celebratory occasions and traditional handicrafts (Figure: 2.5 & 2.6) .*

Year	1964	1965	1968		1972	1978	
<b>Evolving Heritage Definition by Agencies</b>							
<b>Terminology</b>	Historic monument	Monument & Site	Cultural Properties	Immoveable	Architectural Heritage	Cultural Heritage	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Monument</li> <li>Group of Buildings</li> <li>Site</li> </ul>
				Moveable	Museum Collection	Natural Heritage	
<b>Agency/ Charter</b>	Venice Charter	ICOMOS	UNESCO		UNESCO WHC	ICOMOS	

Figure 2.7: Evolution of Heritage Scholarship

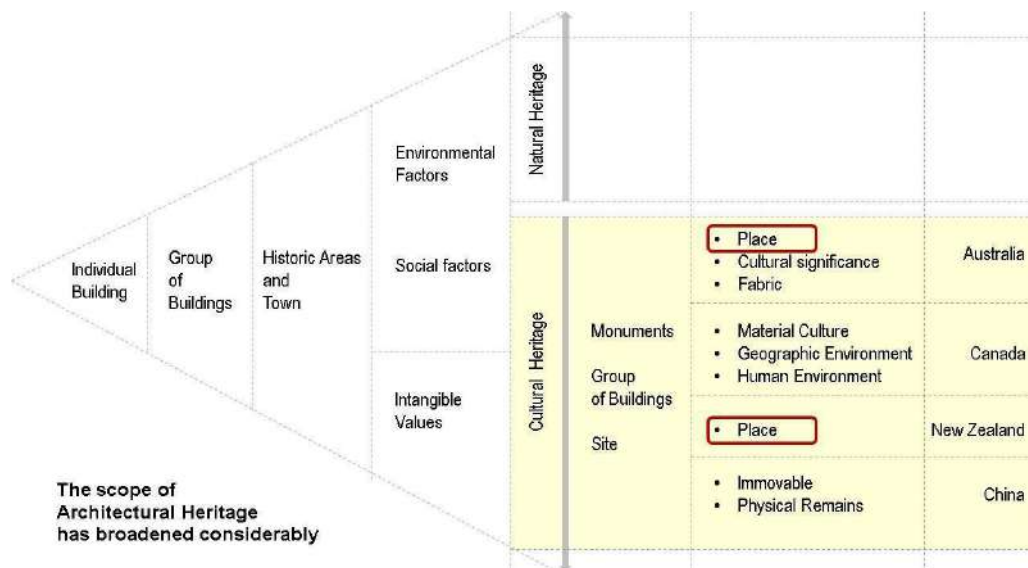


Figure 2.8: Introduction of “Place in Heritage Scholarship

Since the establishment of the Venice Charter in 1964, several conservation standards have defined the scope of heritage and its larger connotations. The focus has shifted from individual buildings and sites to groupings, historical areas, communities, habitats, social aspects, and intangible heritage. While the definition of heritage has been expanded to encompass environment and intangible assets, the vocabulary has not been streamlined or standardized, therefore there is no uniformity between countries. While UNESCO and ICOMOS agreed in principle that heritage should comprise both cultural and natural heritage, the phrase 'cultural heritage' has not been followed at national levels. Australia refers to its legacy as 'location, cultural importance, and fabric'; Canada, 'material culture, geographic surroundings and human environments'; New Zealand, 'place'; and China, 'immovable physical relics' Even while every country has the right to define its legacy, some common terms should be used. UNESCO and ICOMOS should lead debates on standard concepts, scope, and nomenclature, and countries should adopt them (Table 2.2)



The name of treaty	year	Area
<b>Athens Charter</b>	<b>1931</b>	The Conference proposed some general principles and doctrines in order to draft an international code of practices for the protection of monuments together with recommendations for conservation, restoration and consolidation of the context in which the monument sited
<b>Italian Restoration Charter</b>	<b>1932</b>	In this Charter, the adaption of a common methodology for intervention on the ancient monuments that meant the application of an official standard "Scientific Restoration" was supported.
<b>Venice Charter</b>	<b>1964</b>	Internationally, this Charter codifies accepted standards of conservation and restoration practice relating to historic monuments and sites.
<b>Declaration of Amsterdam</b>	<b>1975</b>	The declaration supported the integration of the conservation activities from the single monument into the urban context and regional planning process. In this event, the term "integrated conservation" was introduced, indicating that historical knowledge, conservation, cultural behavior, and social benefits are interrelated.
<b>The Nara Document on Authenticity</b>	<b>1994</b>	The document underscores that, all cultures and societies are rooted in the particular forms and means of tangible and intangible expression which constitute their heritage, and these should be respected
<b>The Burra Charter</b>	<b>1999</b>	The Charter is particularly important for its definition of all subjects related cultural heritage significance and the guidelines proposed to manage and to conserve all types of places of cultural significance including natural, indigenous and historic places with cultural values.
<b>Charter of Cracow</b>	<b>2000</b>	The Charter distinguished that the conservative interventions on the architectural, urban and landscape heritage, as well as artefacts are categorized in different types such as environmental control, maintenance, repair, restoration, renovation and rehabilitation.
<b>ICOMOS-ISCARSAH Charter</b>	<b>2003</b>	This Charter internationally is involved in engineering and technical aspects of cultural heritage's conservation and restoration.

Table 2.2 Main International Treaties Regarding Cultural Heritage Conservation and Restoration

Docomomo, the international committee founded in 1988, defines modern buildings as a category without overt references to historical precedent, and that focuses on functional, technical properties and complex ideologies of modern movements through their stylistic statements. While many architectural historians consider the Modern Movement a past period. Docomomo stands apart. Docomomo lists six criteria to evaluate the 'significance' of modern architecture including i) Technological Merit, ii) Social Merit, iii) Integrity, and iv) Artistic/Aesthetic Merit (Henket, 2018). The focus is given to modern building's creative approach that creates its 'uniqueness' (Guillet, 2007) referential and canonic value. The social dimension remains limited to the ability of the design to reflect the changing social patterns of 20th-century life and the architect's attempt/mastery in improving the living/working conditions through form and function (Henket, 2018). None of the above considered the transformative character of architecture for becoming a Heritage and what role the ordinary people can play in it.



## **2.3. SPACE: LEFEBVRE'S SPACE TRIAD - THE PRODUCTION OF SPACE (TPoS)**

For this research, the concept of “Space” is defined and limited as discussed by Henri Lefebvre in his seminal book *The Production of Space (TPoS)*. Lefebvre's theories and insights dominated western architectural discourse (Gottdiener, 1993). In *TPoS*, Lefebvre developed a spatial triad to unify the physical space, social space, and mental space (Lefebvre, 1992). The triad included Spatial Practice (SP), Representational Space (RS,) and Representation of Space (RoS). The theory of the Spatial Triad is also described through the terms Perceived, Lived and Conceived respectively for SP, RS and RoS. The Spatial Triad by Lefebvre as a whole and the 3 concepts are described, summarized and diagrammatically presented in the following segment

### **2.3.1 Spatial Practice (SP) / Perceived Space**

The area in which activities and exchanges are carried out is referred to as perceived space. This is the setting for the formation of social bonds as well as the execution of daily activities by both the collective and the individual. As a result of the fact that spatial practice may be observed, experienced space is often said to as readable and visible. Lefebvre provided the following description of the spatial practice:

“Spatial practice: the spatial practice of a society secretes that society’s space; it propounds and presupposes it, in a dialectical interaction; it produces it slowly and surely as it masters and appropriates it. From the analytic standpoint, the spatial practice of a society is revealed through the deciphering of its space. What is spatial practice under neo-capitalism? It embodies a close association, within perceived space, between daily reality (daily routine) and urban reality (the routes and networks which link up the places set aside for work, “private” life, and leisure). This association is paradoxical one, because it includes the most extreme separation between the places it links together. The specific spatial competence and performance of every society member can only be evaluated empirically. “Modern” spatial practice might thus be defined to take an extreme but significant case by the daily life of a tenant in a government-subsidized high-rise housing project. This should not be taken to mean that motorways or the politics of air transport can be left out of the picture. A spatial practice must have a certain cohesiveness, but this does not imply that it is

coherent (in the sense of intellectually worked out or logically conceived).”  
(Lefebvre, 1991: 38)

For Lefebvre SP (also referred to as social space) consisted of three fundamental concepts, of i) Form ii) Structure and iii) Function. These aspects can be observed in daily reality. As Lefebvre noted, SP can be “observed, described and analyzed on a wide range of levels” Form as a theme can be further subdivided into geometric space and area, direction and orientation, urban and classical form, and aesthetic or plastic qualities. The structure can be subdivided into geometric space, bodily reference and volume, but mostly defined by technological character. The function can be subdivided into categories of accessibility, boundaries and networks, and inclusion or exclusion.

### **2.3.2 Representational Space (RS) / Lived Space**

Lived space is classified as the unconscious space that is directly tied to the passive experience of the user of the space. Lived space is immediately linked to the user's experience of the space. Passively experience space created by images and symbols, making the world understandable. It is associated with meaning creation. RS can be described as „symbolic works“ (Lefebvre: 1991, 42). Although the origin of these works is situated in reality, symbols are transformed into abstract constructs through perception. Abstract construction is described by Lefebvre as:

“Space is directly lived through its associated images and symbols, and hence the space of “inhabitants” and “users”, but also of some artists and perhaps of those, such as a few writers and philosophers, who describe and aspire to do more than describe. This is the dominated-and hence passively experienced-space which the imagination seeks to change and appropriate. It overlays physical space, making symbolic use of its objects. Thus representational spaces may be said, though again with certain exceptions, to tend towards more or less coherent systems of non-verbal symbols and signs.” (1991, 39)

### **2.3.3 Representation of Space (RoS) / Conceived Space**

The conceived space is more of an abstract concept as opposed to the perceived space. because it is centered on the ambitions, principles, and views of those currently holding positions of power. These people can mark both social and physical space, and as a result, they can impact how space is conceptualized. Conceived space is conceptualized by

scientific theories and is therefore an outcome of scientific knowledge and ideology (Lefebvre, 1992). Planners and policymakers are responsible for the representation of space; as a result, they cannot be considered neutral because they impose a value on how and by whom public urban space should be utilized (Leary-Owhin & McCarthy, 2019) A definition of RoS is given by Lefebvre:

“The space of scientists, planners, urbanists, technocratic subdividers and social engineers, as of a certain type of artist with a scientific bent—all of whom identify what is lived and what is perceived with what is conceived. This is the dominant space in any society (or mode of production). Conceptions of space tend, with certain exceptions...towards a system of verbal (and therefore intellectually worked out) signs.” (1991, 38–39)

Lefebvre’s spatial triad was thus utilized to investigate the central research question that explores spatial production. SP investigates the use of space in the TSC and the surrounding macro-context. This utilization of space explores the directly lived reality and how it is perceived by the ordinary. RS focuses on the perception of meaning. These terms refer to the user’s constructs of identity formation.

Henri Lefebvre’s space triad is summarized by placing the 3 thematic spaces parallel to one another under common concepts and aspects in the following chart and diagram:

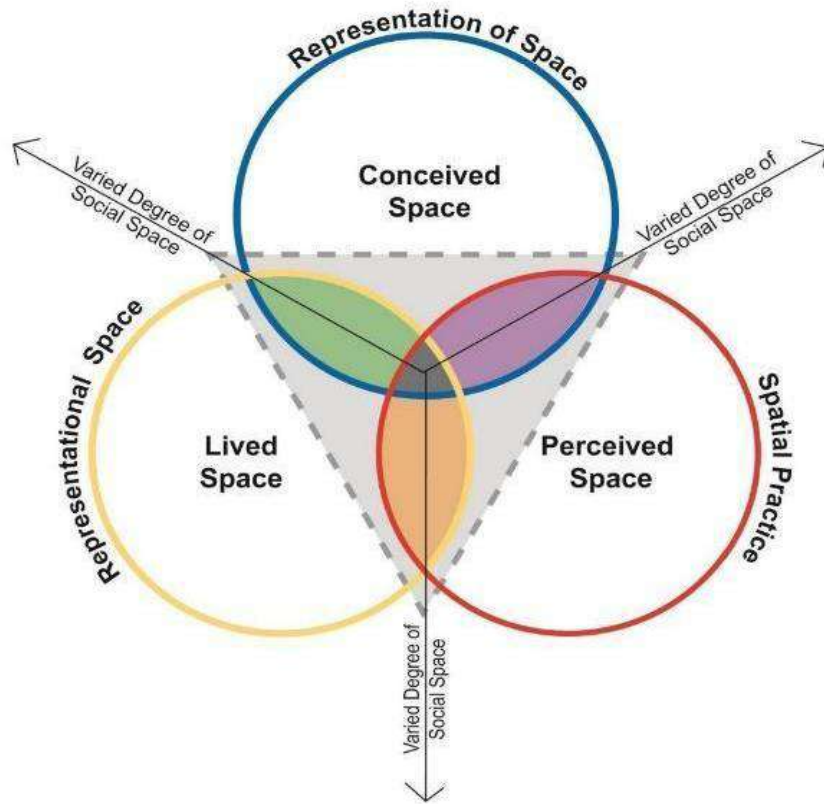


Figure 2.9: Lefevre's Space Triad

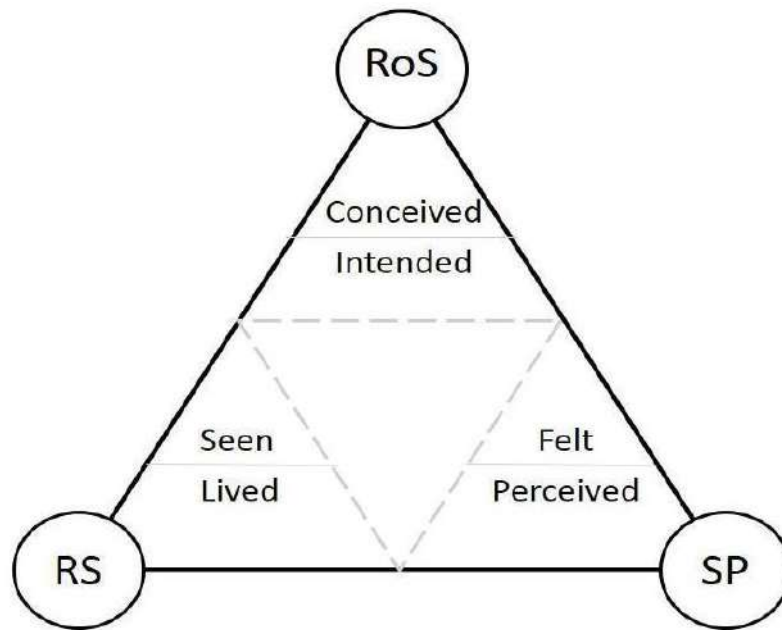


Figure 2.10: Lefevre's Space Triad

Perceived	Lived	Conceived
Spatial Practice	Representational Space	Representation of Space
<b>SP</b>	<b>RS</b>	<b>RoS</b>
"What is Seen"	"What is Felt"	"What is Thought"
Use of Space	Discourse of Space	Discourse ON Space
Material		
Spatial Practice	Embodied Experience	Abstract Representations
Instinct	Intuition	Intellect
Actions and interactions take place Social relations develops Daily routines are carried out	Unconscious Space	Conceptualised by theory
Observable	Passively experienced	Vision, Principle and Belief of people in power
Readable	created by Images and Symbols	
Visible	Meaning creation	Not Neutral
Lived Reality	User Perception	Architect's Intent
Consisted of 3 Fundamental Concepts	Meaning is linked to Conceived Space via	
1. <b>Form</b>	Image	
2. <b>Structure</b>	Sign	
3. <b>Function</b>	Geometric Space	
1. <b>Form</b> is a concrete visual object which can be -	Displacement	Fragmentation
<b>Aesthetic</b>	Condensation	Subdivisions
<b>Abstract</b>	Archetype	Spatial Context
2. Form exists when bodily configured through	Centering	Texture
- <b>Direction</b> ,	Objectification	Construction Technique
- <b>Orientation</b> ,		
- <b>Axis</b>		
3. Bodily references can be classified as		
- <b>Urban Form</b>		
- <b>Classical Form</b>		
4. Urban form is classified as		
<b>Assembly</b>		
<b>Encounter</b>		
<b>Simultaneity</b>		
5. Classical form is defined by		
<b>Centrality</b>		
<b>Differences</b>		
<b>Recurrence</b>		
<b>Reciprocity</b>		
2. <b>Structure</b> organises elementary units within a whole, combining form and environment within the context through		
<b>Scale</b>		
<b>Proportion</b>		
<b>Dimension</b>		
<b>Level</b>		
3. <b>Function</b> evaluated to the most essential aspects		
<b>Circulation and Routes</b>		
<b>Public and Private Space</b>		
- <b>Boundary</b>		
- <b>Accessible space</b> , refers to routes, such as pedestrian walkways,		
<b>Boundaries and forbidden territories</b>		
Visible or invisible		
<b>Places of Abode</b>		
Temporary and Permanent Residential units		
<b>Junction points</b> , Associated with occasion, certain events, or rituals often connected to culture and religion		

Table 2. 3 Summary of Three Parallel Thematic Spaces under Common Concepts and Aspects

## 2.4. THEORY OF PLACE

Places are always being made, not just when powerful people use bricks and mortar to reach their goals or when designers give the function a shape, but also when regular people take a continuous, abstract space and turn it into a bounded, meaningful, significant, named place. Various contributors such as belonging and non-belonging and issues related to that create an emotional attachment to a certain location. Cresswell (2004) defines place as a phenomenological experimental entity that combines elements of nature's social relation and meaning value and meaning are not inherent to any specific place but they must be created reproduced and defended through dispersive representation that structures social practice.

Dixon and Durrheim (2000) argue for a discursive approach to placemaking and identity formation that goes far beyond the realm of mental engagement; instead, the focus is on the collective construction of space. A social and political process in which people act out their place identities through verbal and nonverbal methods of communication that are unique to that place. For example, the temporary transformation of ground into collective and competitive nationhood when the crowd dressed in National Jersey or color chants the national anthem and slogan which could be seen in various sports events or during National days. And a memorial of war/sacrifice/victory, not noticeable on an everyday basis but annually transformed into a place of national heroism/victimhood through ritual speeches and embellishment. This reflects the shared feeling of pride and suffering. A discursively produced link between self and place can have crucial social and political dimensions. Which reflects and reinforced a deeper sense of unity and sense of solidarity.

Necessary and sufficient features of a place are identified by Gieryn (2000).

He insists place refers to a unique spot in a geographic location.

- The place should have a material and physical form through which social differences, inequities, and collective actions are shaped and manifested.
- Place, though finite should have an elastic boundary.
- Place is invested with meaning and value. Meaning is created through i) Identification ii) Naming and iii) Representation and value must be iv) Created v) Represented and iv) Defended Place, though finite should have an elastic boundary.

## 2.5. SPACE TO PLACE

For this research, a parallel is drawn between the 3 themes of the space triad proposed by Lefebvre and the necessary features of place as proposed by Gieryn (2000) (Figure 2. 9).

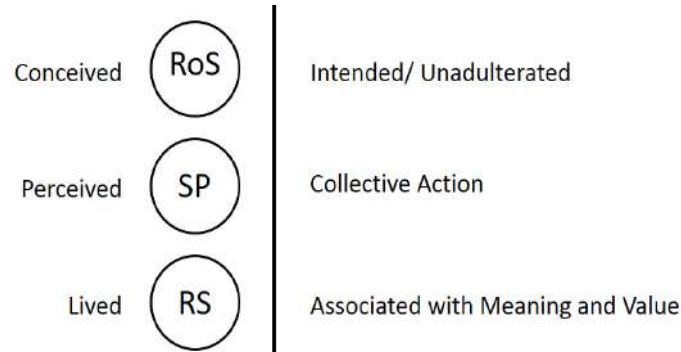


Figure 2.11: Parallel between Lefebvre's Space Triad v/s Place by Gieryn

## 2.6. UNMAKING AND APPROPRIATION

**Unmaking:** The term unmaking can be explained as how new meaning and value are created in a built form, that differs or goes beyond the intention of the designer /authority or agency.

**Appropriation:** The term Appropriation can be explained as how collective action, daily activity, and ritual become a norm that differs or goes beyond the intention of the designer /authority or agency (Figure 2. 10).

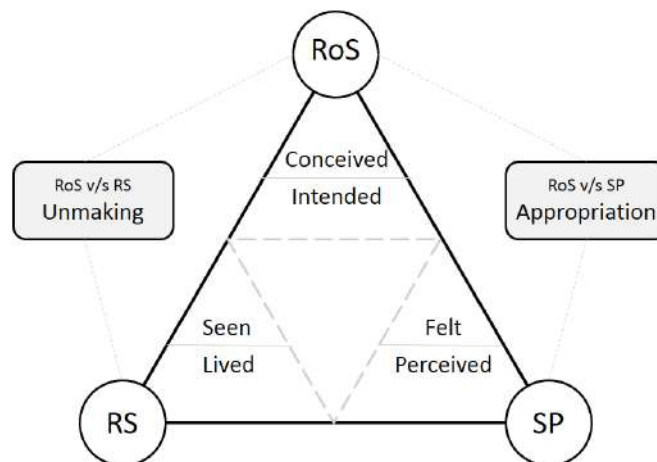


Figure 2.12: Lefebvre's Space Triad and Conceptual Position of Unmaking and Appropriation

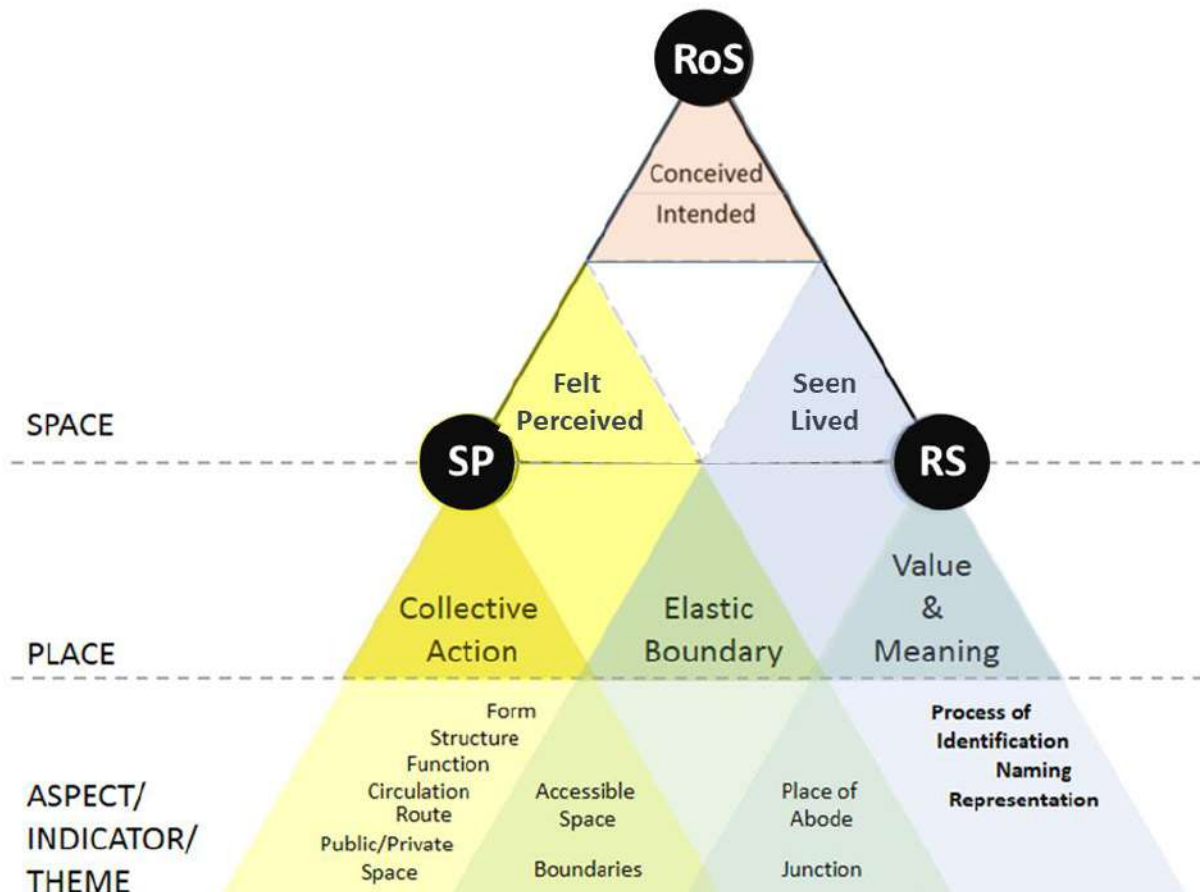


Figure 2.13: Space, Place Parallel and Logical Interconnection

Drawing a parallel between space and place and the three different spatial concepts of Lefevre's space triad are seen to be relatable with three different essential features of the place. Thus, it can be said that Representational Space or Perceive Space is related to the creation of meaning and value whereas Spatial Practice or Lived Space is relative to collective action by individual users or collective users.

Secondly, the principal concepts of unmaking and appropriation, both are hinged on the idea of departure/deviation from a set reference. As individual concepts, unmaking is related to the creation and association of meaning and value. then again meaning and value creation is also an act of perception that can be categorized under the discourse of Lived Space or SP. On the other hand, appropriation is related to collective action, daily activity, and ritual, all of which can be broadly categorized under the broader discourse of Representational Space (RS).

To map any deviation in terms of SP and RS, the fixed set reference could be the original intended design idea of the architect or the planner which is termed as Representation of



Space (RoS) by Lefebvre. Evidence of difference/ trace of deviation between RoS and SP is an indicator that the value and the meaning have been created or have evolved from how it was originally intended. Also, if we can pinpoint any difference between RoS and RS it can be said that appropriation has happened. So, in both cases, proof of appropriation and unmaking is conclusive evidence of “Space” becoming “Place”

## **2.7. PLACE AND THE ASSOCIATED FACTORS**

### **2.7.1 Perceptual and Cognitive Factors**

A sense of place is a complex mix of meanings, symbols, and qualities that a person or group consciously or unconsciously perceives from space or a specific area (Shamai, 1991). A person's sense of place is based on how they Conceptualize and decode meanings. A sense of place is a cognitive and structural system that gives people a sense of belonging to an issue, people, things, and concepts of a place. In this idea, the sense is affection, not perception. In this way, people's personalities and past experiences affect how they see places (Falahat, 2006). It is believed that the sense of place in each environment depends on the individual's relationship to that environment (Steele, 1981). From his point of view:

- People's activities affect the quality of the environment. Humans and places have an interactive relationship, which means people and places have an exchange of positive or negative vibes and energy.
- Physical, mental, or interactive dimensions contribute to Place Imagination and the combination of a place, behavior, and human factors contribute to the sense of place as an experience.
- Spirit of place Affects different individuals to a different degree.

### **2.7.2 Physical Factors**

According to Steele, physical factors such as size, location, degree of enclosure, contrast, scale, proportion, human scale, space, texture, color, smell, sound, and visual diversity are most influential in forming perception and sense of place. He also thinks features such as identity, history, imagination and fantasy, mystery, joy, surprise, security, vitality, and passion cause intensive memory relationships with the place (Steele, 1981). Salvesen (2002) believed sense of place is threatened by impatience, buildings' integrity, and the digital age. In his view, the physical character includes ownership, the authenticity of private and public

spaces, and components of a place that are effective in creating a place. A sense of place is a factor that connects people to a place and brings them together. Space should also have a clear identity and be easy to recognize, remember, and understand to create a sense of place (Lynch, 2015).

Carmona presents the concepts and sense of place in Table 2.4

Table 2. 4 The Concepts and Sense of Place

Sense of place	Measures
Meaning	Cultural cooperation, cognitive functions, diagnostics and quality assessment
Activities	Utilizing the place, ongoing pavement, ongoing motors, behaviors, patterns, readability, smell and sound
Physical structures	Urban landscape, landscape, permeability, the construction, furniture
Place	Measures
Mental picture	Memory and symbolism, readability and visibility, sensational experiences, psychological communication, personal perception
Activities	Diversity, vitality, live street, watching the people, culture café, traditional- local entertainment, hours of work, activities, attractions, business and economy
Form	Scale, centralism, permeability, signs, created spaces, relations, public spaces

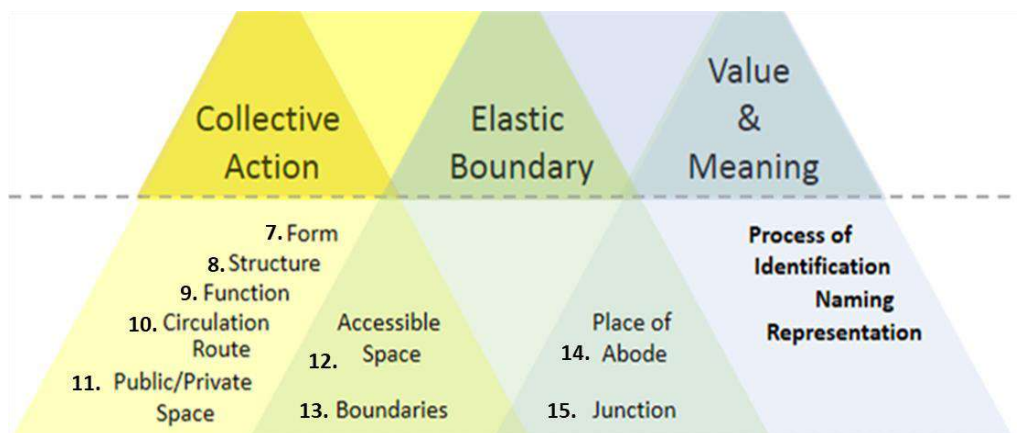
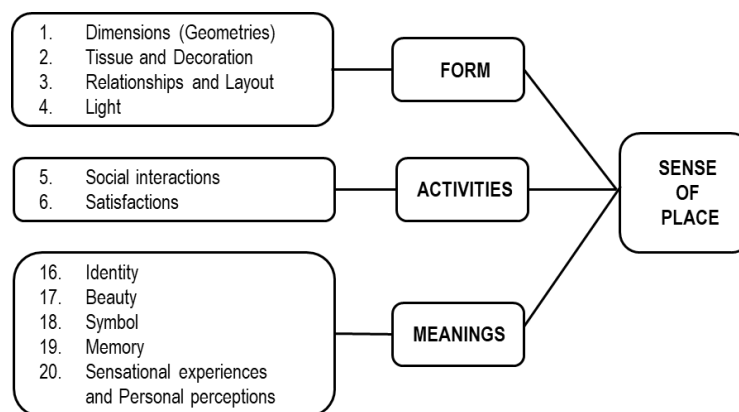


Figure 2.14: Factors shaping the Place and Sense of Place in Architecture

## **2.8. CONCLUSION**

The literature review in relation to the research question is structured in broader 3 segments. The research question demands a through understanding of the following three: i) Modernism and Modernist Architecture ii) Architectural Heritage iii) Space and Place Theory. The Literature review of the mentioned three broad areas establishes that any discourse on Modern Architecture and Modernity of the post colonial subcontinent is incomplete without the theratical angle of peripheral modernity. Peripheral modernity values the ordinary engagement in spatial production and placemaking. “ Place” is an overarching theme in the theoretical construct of Architecture and Heritage. Contemporary scholars approach heritage as a dynamic and evolving process rather than a static object or a fixed moment in time. It also highlighted the importance of context in understanding and preserving heritage sites.They argues that heritage should not be viewed in isolation but rather as part of a larger urban fabric that is constantly changing and evolving. It is also established that there is a need for a more nuanced understanding of heritage, that goes beyond the traditional focus on iconic buildings and monuments.

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## **CHAPTER 03:**

### **RESEARCH METHODOLOGY**

#### ***Preamble***

*The Chapter elaborates on the conceptual framework mentioned in the Introduction. Under the qualitative research paradigm, the ethnographic research approach is found to be most appropriate for the investigation. For the data collection targeted towards different phases of the research framework, different ethnographic tactics are employed. General discussion and research-specific appropriation of tactics and tools such as open-ended interviews, observation, and visual research are done in this chapter. The concluding part of the chapter explains the method of data transcription and analysis based on the theoretical framework of Spatial triad and Placemaking.*

### 3.1. INTRODUCTION

According to Mouly (1978), the most accurate definition of research is “*the process of generating reliable answers to issues by the deliberate and methodical gathering, analysis, and interpretation of data*”. Research methodology controls the study, decides how the data are collected and arranged, and sets up the main method for refining and putting together the raw data (Leedy & Ormrod, 2019). This chapter discusses the kind of study design, the overall process and strategy for the study, and the tool used to collect data, analyze data, and interpret the findings. The study draws on a combined method of research. In this study's archival research, informal interviews and participant observation are combined with a theoretical framework that provides a critical lens for analyzing TSC to investigate the appropriation/ indigenization of TSC and its immediate surroundings. Spatial mapping and visual analysis of TSC and its surrounding neighborhood about the users have proven invaluable in drawing a direct relationship between the two.

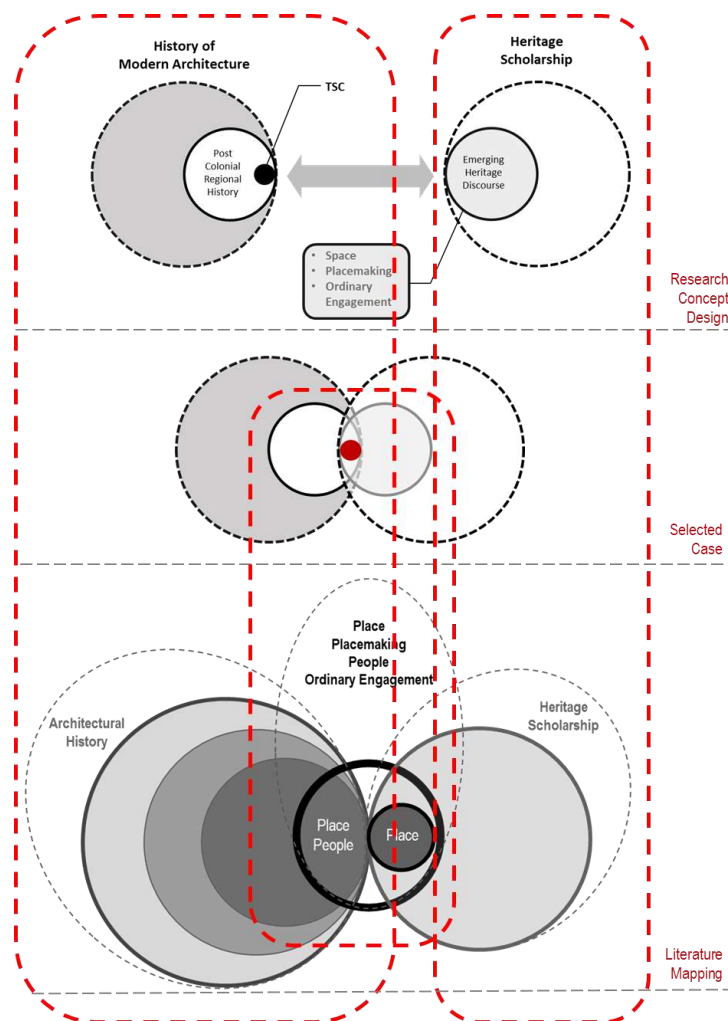


Figure 3.1: Theoretical Framework (conceptual linkage between research question and study)

### 3.2. ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK

An analytical framework is a structure that holds or supports a research theory. It discusses the problem's cause using theory (Figure 3). The methodological framework is a research theory. It lets the researcher see the study's variables and provides a data analysis methodology (Khan, 2010) (**Error! Reference source not found.**).

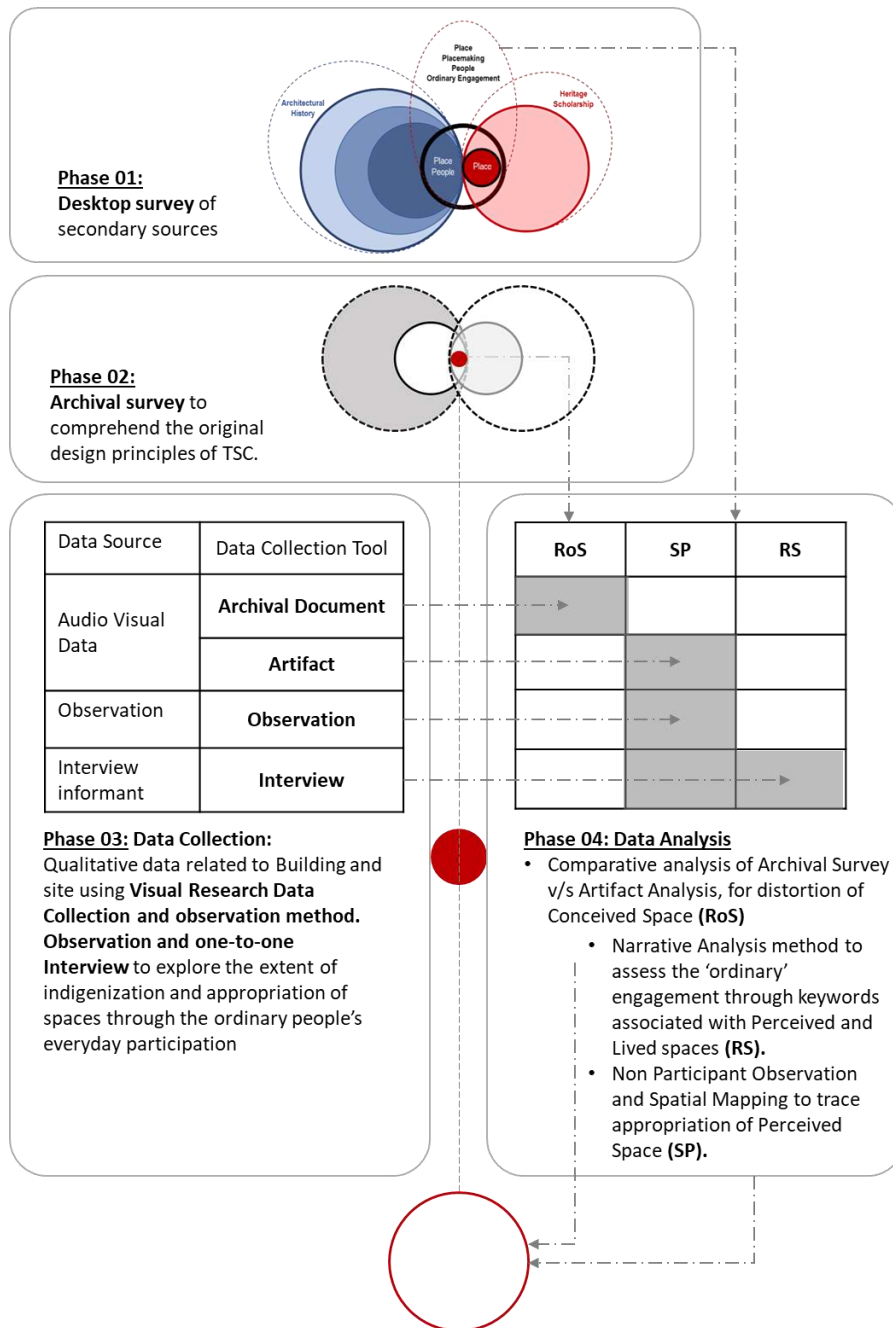


Figure 3.2: Methodological Framework



### 3.3.RESEARCH TYPE AND STRATEGIES

#### 3.3.1. Qualitative research

To get the best findings, research must be explicit, disciplined, and systematic (planned, ordered, and public). Qualitative research is inductive in nature and examines meanings and insights. It includes methods like purposive sampling and semi-structured, open-ended interviews. (Dudwick, Kuehnast, Jones, & Woolcock, 2006; Gopaldas, 2016). It is a natural paradigm that allows the researcher to gain depth by participating in the events being examined. (Creswell, 2009). It is made up of several interpretive and material practices that are responsible for making the world visible. It takes a multi-method approach, incorporating an interpretive and naturalistic perspective on the various aspects of its subject matter (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011).

Qualitative research is a type of social action that focuses on how people understand the social reality of individuals and interpret and make sense of their experiences. It uses interviews, diary entries, journals, observations, immersions, and open-ended questionnaires to collect, analyze, and explain the findings. It also looks at visual and textual materials and oral history (Zohrabi, 2013). It is an investigative method that aims to explain "how" and "why" a certain social phenomenon or program occurs in the manner in which it does within a specific setting. It tries to shed light on the social environment in which we find ourselves and the reasons for the current state of affairs (Polkinghorne, 2005) (Table 3. 1).

Table 3. 1 Qualitative Research Methods and Associated Methodology

Methodology	Methods
narrative, phenomenology, grounded theory, action research, case study, ethnography, historical research, and content analysis (Creswell, 2009; Hancock, Ockleford, & Windridge, 2009).	logic, ethnography, discourse analysis, open-ended interview, case study, participant observation, counseling, grounded theory, biography, comparative method, introspection, casuistry, focus group, literary criticism, historical research, etc. (Cibangu, 2012)

### **3.3.2. Qualitative Tactics**

#### **Ethnographic Research**

The most in-depth and detailed qualitative method of observation is Ethnographic observation. The word "ethnography" comes from the Greek words "ethnos," which means "people," and "graph," which means "I write." So, ethnography has a place in anthropology, where it is used to make a "portrait of a people." It is a method in which the researcher watches the group for a long time as they go about their daily lives. In this type of research, the researcher looks closely at how the people in the group act, what they believe, and how they interact with each other (Creswell, 2009). It is the investigation of the belief systems, social interactions, and attitudes and behaviors of small societies. It involves taking part in and observing small societies for a long time, and then figuring out what the data means (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011). The case study studies a person, program, or event, while ethnography studies an entire group that shares a common culture (Leedy & Ormrod, 2019; Reeves, Peller, Goldman, & Kitto, 2013).

It tries to describe and analyze a community's culture by figuring out what its members do and believe and writing about it. It helps researchers figure out what's going on, find out about practices, and become more culturally aware and sensitive. The researcher talks to the people about their habits and rituals. It takes a lot of time because the researcher has to spend a lot of time out in the field (Hancock et al., 2009). According to LeCompte and Schensul (1999), the main characteristics of ethnographic study are as follows

- It involves personal, face-to-face engagement.
- It captures people' thoughts and actions..
- It is conducted in natural settings, not involving with laboratory.
- It uses multiple data sources.
- It frames all human behavior and belief within a socio-political and historical context.
- It builds local culture ideas via inductive, participatory, and recursive data collecting and analysis..

It uses the concept of culture as a lens through which to interpret results.

#### **Data Collection and Coding**

Data Collection and coding for any research depend on the sequential interlinking of the data source to the desired type of output. Due to the nature of the qualitative research, the

expected findings will be subjective in nature and descriptive in form. According to data and information-related literature qualitative data for any ethnographic research source can of mainly three types, they are i) Informant Interview ii) Observation, and iii) Audio-Visual Information (Hancock et al., 2009).

Table 3. 2 Qualitative Data collection Tactics and Tools

Data Source	Data Collection Tactics	Tools	
		Interactive	Non Interactive
Audio Visual Data	Archival Document		Public Documents Audio Visual Material Artifactual or In situ Documentation
	Artifact and Site	In-situ observation and analysis of Artifacts/ buildings/ urban context/ landscape sites	Personal Journal Diaries Letters Sketches
Observation	Observation	Participant Observation	Photos Drawings Virtual representations of Artefacts and sites
Informant Interview	Interview	face -to face/ Phone In-depth Interview Focus Groups	Non-Participant Observation
	Open ended Response Format	Mapping exercise Multiple Sorting Task Projective Survey	OnLine Response to Open Ended Question  Prompted journaling ActivityLogs Photo Logs

Data collection is determined first by selecting the tactics and then the tool. Informant interviews could be done by semi-structured interview or in an open-ended response format. the specific tools for each tactic vary significantly from one another depending on the interaction between the researcher and the interviewee. The role of the researcher in data collection is determined based on this interaction. If the exchange between the researcher and the interviewer is interactive then the researcher’s role is a participant and it is non-participant the other way around. Data can be collected through the observation method by the researcher taking a role either as a participant or non-participant or both. Audiovisual data collection tools such as drawings photographs, sketches or other visual representations could be applied to artifacts and sites. Published documents and audiovisual visual material of secondary sources in the form of Archival documents are sources of Audio-visual data (Table 3. 2).

This interconnection of data sources, data collection tactics, and tools is presented via the following matrix. For any qualitative research data collection and data analysis can take singular or multiple trajectories from the identification of data source to data collection and coding.

The collected data for analysis are grouped under thematic coding. To document the case of TSC in its original intended state the archival documents are collected and analyzed. This data gives an idea about the Representation of Space (RoS). Spatial Practice (SP), as discussed in the previous chapter is relatable to the features of “Place” such as i) Form and ii) Collective action/activity. These two features could be traced through in-situ observation and mapping exercises. The collected information is coded according to attributes that fall under the features of SP. These indicators/ attributes for example are relationships and layout, circulation and routes, accessible space, boundaries, etc. Representational Space (RS) is constructed through features of place such as i) Image and ii) Meaning. The main source of information about the mentioned features is the interview. The interviews are transcribed and then they are scrutinized for the use of keywords such as identity, symbol, memory, etc. the keywords are the aspects or attributes of “Meaning” which is the main feature of Place under the said spatial construct.

Elastic Boundary is a place feature as found in the literature survey falls under both SP and RS. But the attributes under this feature are distinguishable and could be separately grouped under SP and RS. Accessible Space and boundaries are indicators of spatial practice related to the boundary, whereas places of abode and Junction points are attributes of a place that gives meaning and creates memory related to invisible territory or limit.

These attributes, which are used for the thematic coding to analyze SP and RS in the later chapter are presented in Table 3. The table also illustrates the steps of the research methodology. The attributes in the matrix are numbered according to Figure 2. 1: Factors shaping Place and Sense of Place in Architecture.

### **3.4. Research Method**

The research will be exploratory by nature and select the Teacher-Student Center (TSC), Dhaka University, designed by C. A. Doxiadis in 1961 as a mid-20th century modernist public building in Bangladesh. The investigation will adopt an interdisciplinary approach relying on the qualitative research method. It will have the following phases:

The first phase, a Desktop survey encompassing extensive literature reviews of books, journal papers, research, and documents will be conducted on published data to review the evolution of heritage and the key attributes of Modern Architecture. In the next step, an archival survey leading to the study of RoS will be conducted on historical records, maps, published interviews, newspaper articles, and memoirs to comprehend the original design principles of TSC. Doxiadis Archive and a few published works of literature hold substantial information about the original intention of TSC and how it was implemented in the pre-independence era. However, there is little available documentation on the transformation of use in terms of demographic data. These records are examined and contextualized with the scholarship of modernism in architecture, regionalism, and global political propaganda. This sheds light on the conceptualizing of the complex in its unadulterated form, to use it as a benchmark to track the extent of appropriation and unmaking.

As a city dweller, just like everyone I have visited TSC numerous times during my student life and have participated in cultural events as well as national festivals that took place in TSC. It is well documented that the national festivals make TSC a converging point for all city dwellers. For the particular purpose of this research, Photographic documentation was done on national occasions. TSC was visited frequently during the research period for further ethnographic research, as a participating observer, the research team gathered information by looking, chatting, eating, touching, smelling, moving about, meeting up, hanging around, observing, documenting, and engaging with a wide range of actors. This documentation emphasized how much the place transforms during special occasions and also highlights the appeal of the general mass for this place.

Due to the survey periods overlapping time with the global pandemic and lockdown situation, physical interactions had to be restricted. During the uproar to demolish the existing building in favor of a new enlarged complex, the public sentiments towards it were reflected in writing and posting on mainstream media and social media. This sentiment and emotion for the building and the complex were investigated and documented by collecting clips and posts from Facebook, Twitter, etc. These exposed the general reaction to TSC and its perception as a cultural heritage.

Social media and information found on websites and social media helped to piece together an anthology of data, stories, and pictures from many people from their collections.

Documentation has been done of the published and recorded interview of the VC of Dhaka University and the educated class which consisted of artists, historians, architects, and town planners to gain the perspective of the authority, the policymakers as well as opposition in question.

The above-mentioned data used as base maps overlapped with photographs and visual notations produced the spatial mapping. This provides an explanatory layer to the ethnographic exploration. The flowcharts and the diagram are the representation of the analytical process that connects the theoretical framework and the findings.

To address the research question, a parallel between the idea of Space as mentioned in Lefevre's Space triad, and the concept of Place in the context of heritage is drawn. Synthesis of daily activity and rituals along with created meaning and value associated with the space from a Lefevrian perspective identifies characteristics of "Place" and "Sense of Place" which is a key identifier of intangible cultural heritage.



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## CHAPTER 04:

### TEACHER'S STUDENTS CENTER (TSC) AND C.A. DOXIADIS

#### *Preamble*

*In the Conceptual framework for the research, there is an overlapping of discourse between modern architecture and heritage scholarship where ordinary engagement and placemaking concepts amalgamate. The evidence of the resultant arguments from the converging concepts could be found in buildings that are Modern and have become a part of the national narrative. Teachers Student Center (TSC) by C.A. Doxiadis on the DU campus neatly fits that category. In the diachronic and synchronic history of Modern Architectural development, this chapter particularly focuses on the post-partition and the socio-political issues that prompted the employment of foreign architects, especially C.A Doxiadis. The architectural, urban design, and master planning philosophy of the architect for the global context and their intended regional adaptation is investigated from archival sources. The motives and the intention behind the projects create the backbone for the proper understanding and evaluation of the projects by Doxiadis in east Pakistan. The selected case, the TSC complex is studied to reveal the original design idea and concept of the architect. The chapter concludes by appropriately positioning the building in the historical discourse both as an artifact and an active urban space to align it to be further analyzed under the theoretical framework of the Space triad and Placemaking and Ordinary Heritage.*

#### **4.1.HISTORY OF MODERN ARCHITECTURE IN THE CONTEXT OF THE POST-COLONIAL SUBCONTINENT AND EMPLOYMENT OF FOREIGN ARCHITECTS**

The distinction between the "old" and the "new" is described as "modern." by Jürgen Habermas. The term modern often indicates the consciousness of a period that ties itself to antiquity to regard itself as a transition from old to new (Habermas, 1993). He believes modernity is a product of transitional times and tendencies. Given this notion, the "modern one" belongs to a natural development process that cannot be rejected. Every era had a "modern" mentality, but with time, "newer" attitudes replaced them and became old.

Modern architecture was a natural result of the Industrial Revolution and changing technology (Benevolo, 1971). The history of modern architecture is the continuation of the global history of human civilization, dwelling, and habitat. The historical development of modern architecture could be studied from various angles, such as socio-economic, geopolitical, tectonic, spatio-cultural, and so on. For this research, which primarily ties the heritage scholarship with the works of foreign architects such as C. A. Doxiadis in the subcontinent after the post-colonial era the historical analysis of modern architecture by Leonardo Benevolo in his book "History of Modern Architecture" (1971) is found to be most suitable. Benevolo dates the modern movement to Walter Gropius' opening of Bauhaus. This event unified modern architecture. This historical event was the achievement of modern architecture reaching consistency (Benevolo, 1971).

The way buildings were built changed as technology advanced. But the change wasn't limited to the size of buildings. Also, as a new social order emerged during the industrialization period, the organization and form of human settlements were always changing. Because this was such a big change, urban planners and architects had to come up with good ideas for how to "fix" and reorganize human settlements (Benevolo, 1971). When it comes to tools, materials, and shapes, the history of architecture is easy to understand because they can be roughly put into periods, movements, or geographical regions. But as industrialization and new technologies came along, the history of architecture and urbanism became more complicated (Mumford, 2002).

The two world wars were the watershed moments in all intellectual discourses, and architecture and urbanism were no different. Led by Le Corbusier and other notable thinkers of that time formed CIAM as a platform to rethink and resolve. The fourth CIAM congress,

of 1933 specifically tried discussing the changing situations on urbanism and published those under the title of "The Athens Charter" (Corbusier & Eardley, 1973). In between the wars, the changed approach toward urban planning was evident. In the last CIAM meeting before the Second World War, the governments' expanding responsibilities towards citizens with "universal education, health care, and social security" according to Nigel Taylor, was the main focus. The new core concept was "Social democracy" (Taylor, 1998). Up to this point, the modern architecture movement was very much Eurocentric. There were some instances of it being practiced/ propagated in the North and South American region through one or two architects such as Frank Lloyd Wright and Oscar Niemeyer.

After WWII, European architects introduced "Modern Architecture" to the Middle East through the UN and the US (Pyla, 2002). As part of the practice of "constructing capital" in South Asian and Middle Eastern countries like India, Pakistan, and Iraq, architectural projects of all sizes, like bus stations, government buildings, and schools, were built or not built during the rebuilding of the capital cities of these countries. During this time, there was also a lack of materials, which led to forms that didn't have any decorations or handiwork. These forms started to become popular in developing countries (Lang, Desai, & Desai, 1997). Coincidentally, in the years preceding the world war, the South Asian subcontinent was getting independence from its long colonial rule. And these countries during the 1950s and 1960s were passing a stage from rural and agricultural economies to urban and Industrial ones. The result was usually crude and lacking in sensitivity to context. After getting rid of colonial rule, these third-world nations were still strongly influenced by colonialism (Curtis, 1982).

*“There were differences between how buildings were designed and built in developed and developing countries. Modern architecture was based on the idea that architects, manufacturers, engineers, and construction workers would work on different parts of a building. However, in many developing countries, there were centuries-old traditions of craftsmanship that used methods to work with local materials. The practical reasoning behind regional style was thrown out the window, and fat industrial building components took the place of the fine details and handmade touches”.*

In search of a language for architecture at this crucial juncture, the power structure steered the decision and hence put the post-colonial country in a state of cultural colonialization. The then Prime Minister of India Jawaharlal Nehru defied Mahatma Gandhi's wisdom of ancient

and Gandhian architecture of simplicity. It was not surprising for him to have such an inclination considering his western grooming. These decisions were not purely architectural but had deeper political agenda. Nehru aimed to present something unforeseen and monumental rather than confront architecture's inner essence (Prashad, 1992). Nehru was not unaware that hiring Corbusier was a bit of a contradiction. Satish Grover, a famous Indian architect, and critic of the modern era, once said that Nehru could have gotten talent from India itself, either from one person or from a group of people with different skills (architects, planners, sociologists, etc.) to help him develop an Indian city. He also criticized the government's and architects' subordinated behavior. Corbusier's ego was fueled by the Indian Government's submissive attitude toward him—a legacy of British Imperial rule (Grover, 1997).

In Pakistan, the political scenario was quite different from India. From 1947 to 1958, Pakistan emerged as an Islamic republic though this period is tainted with the incident of political unrest. After a couple of military coups, General Ayub Khan ascended the presidency to start a period of political stability and nation-building. Up to 1962 due to this political instability architecture could not flourish in Pakistan like that India. India with its leadership of Nehru took an important but unpopular step in employing architects like Corbusier, Pakistan lagged in its show of architectural stunts. At the beginning of Ayub Khan's rule, he immediately employed Louis I. Kahn for designing the National Assembly in Dhaka. This served two purposes one was to show awareness about democracy and the other was to politically counter the employment of Le- Corbusier In India (Choudhury, 1999).

After independence from colonial authority, Pakistan sided with the US, hence American architects were recruited to work in Pakistan and Bangladesh. Financial reliance on the west for infrastructure development forced them to hire American architects like Paul Rudolph and Stanley Telemann. Boughey, Doxiadis (Haque, Ahsan, & Ashraf, 1997) (Figure 4.1).

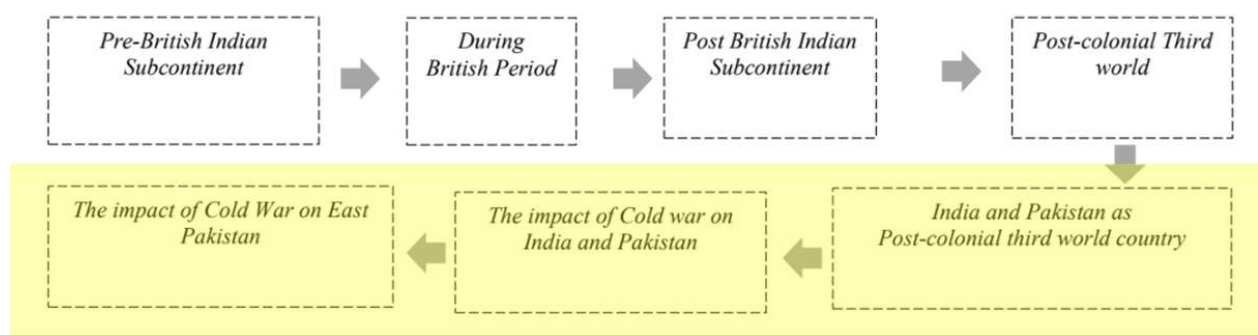


Figure 4.1: Diachronic History of the Indian Subcontinent and The Area of Investigation

#### **4.2.C. A. DOXIADIS AND ARCHITECTURE**

C.A. Doxiadis, an Urbanist-Architect-Engineer, is best known for Ekistics and Economic architecture. Echogenic was his core concept of architecture. In the concept, he tried to show the interrelationship of a man with his environment and denote architecture as the science of human settlement. Doxiadis Associates, a firm of consultants on Development, apply Ekistics and Economic Architecture In five continents and thirty-six countries, as a consultant for the United Nations on planning and housing on the Indian subcontinent, C.A. Doxiadis was hired to design several institutional buildings in Pakistan in 1939. He was the first foreign architect hired in Pakistan and Bangladesh during the post-British colonial era, his selection is hugely credited to the research he did on Pakistan (Choudhury, 1999). He completed numerous projects for Bangladesh. He also created a detailed report (comprising fifteen volumes) on the building, the environment, the materials, and the technology. His works merit close examination and assessment.

C.A. Doxiadis is well-known for his functional and technical approach toward architecture rather than any abstract ideas. He focused primarily on the fundamental attitude of an architect and made a strong point about the function of architects. In some ways, his ideas seemed quite universal and timeless, and some of them still do now, even though they were first proposed in the early 1960s. His Expanding Synthesis and Prefabrication theory, particularly for public constructions, is applicable in all contexts and periods. He takes architecture to a higher and more comprehensive level of understanding, and his concept of integrating architecture with all other sectors of life is also highly modern.

According to Doxladis, Architecture is total building activity as a technique and art taught in the universities, a product of the organized technology of development. But he again contradicts this, referring to the meaning of Architekten (meaning master mason or master building as essentially the art of building. He also propagates that, architecture is not justifiable in focusing on only one or a few remarkable structures or groups of buildings; rather, it should be able to span an entire neighborhood, region, or country (Doxiadis, 1963). This interpretation that he made was not only applicable to the more general social concept of our time, but it also focused on the fact that it is no longer possible to differentiate between the important and the unimportant parts of a city or between the monumental and the non-monumental sections of it.

These architectural philosophies gave birth to the most popular theories/ concept coined by Doxiadis, among many such concepts. These are Ekistics and Entopia. Ekistics is the Science of Settlement and Entopia is a place theory by the architect (Figure 4.2)

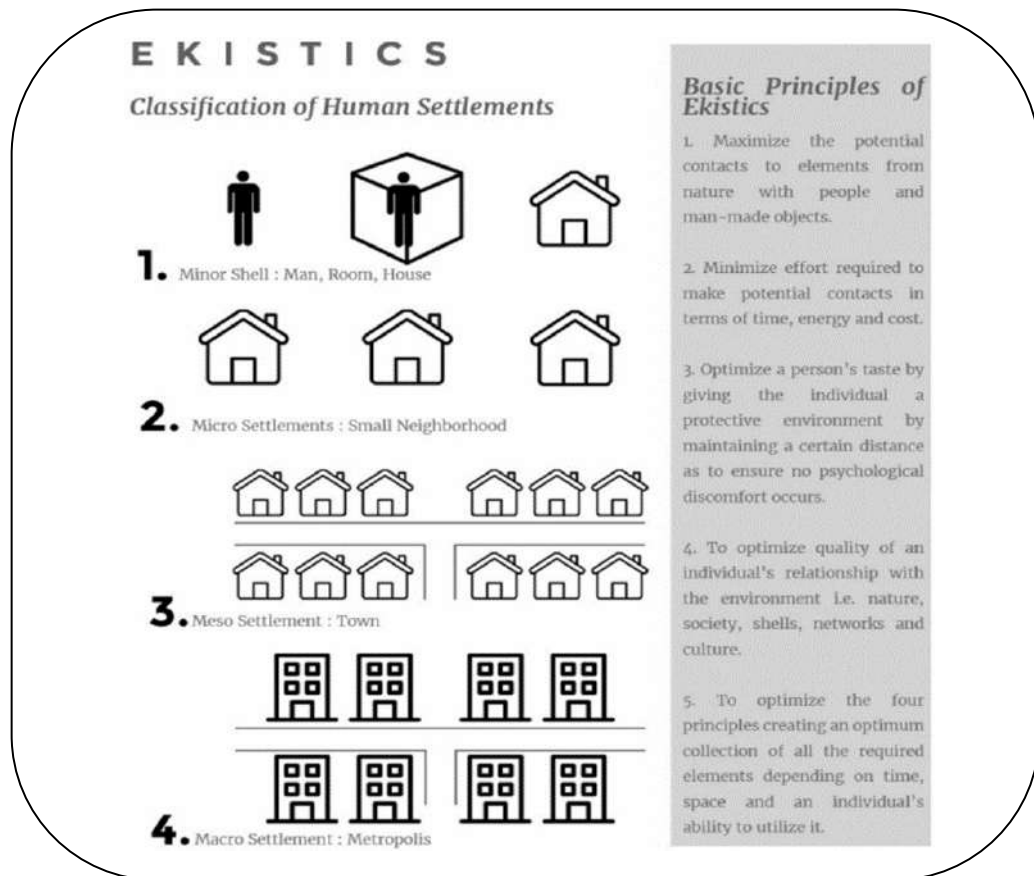


Figure 4.2: Basic Principles of Ekistics ( Source: Unpublished Academic Work)

Entopia was first used by C.A. Doxiadis and comes from the Greek words *En* and *Topos*, which mean "in" and "place." It means "*a place that can be used*" or "*a place that can be built on.*" Constantinos Doxiadis used this term for the first time in one of his lectures at Trinity College, Hartford (Doxiadis, 1966). After that, he put together a book called "Between Dystopia and Utopia," which came out in 1969. Doxiadis just says these words to explain the difference between dystopia and utopia and to suggest a way out of this contradiction:

*"The present city – without reason, without a dream – leads to dystopia and disaster. Utopias – without reason, with dreams – cannot get us out of the impasse. There is only one road left – with reason and with a dream – which should take us out of the bad place into a good place, which is not out of place, but in place – an entopia"* (Doxiadis, 1966).

After putting together, a place theory and new science, Doxiadis wrote a book about ekistics in 1968. The goal of the book was to figure out what an exist should study. The word "Ekistics," which stands for "The Science of Human Settlements," was made up by C. Doxiadis from the Greek words for "home" and "settling down." He also says that while working on the "science of human settlements," it's not enough for different fields to "work together." Instead, he says, there should be a new type of science that combines all the related fields into one. But it should also be said that Ekistics needs knowledge that is based on data that can be predicted and seen. He won't work through things that can't be predicted. Instead, he defines the cases that can be predicted to make progress that can be seen and felt (Doxiadis, 1968). Doxiadis says that human settlements have two main parts: "Anthropos," which means "human," and "physical settlement," which means "environment." These two parts are divided into five parts. The first three components are "nature" as the place where people live, "Anthropos" as the people who live there, and "society" as the way people interact with each other. The other parts are the "shells," which hold people and their activities, and the "networks," which connect natural or man-made layouts, such as water systems, energy, drainage systems, communication, and education, or the political and economic systems. The science of human settlements calls these the "five ekistic elements." They are also the building blocks of entopia (Doxiadis, 1968).



## DESIGN PHILOSOPHY

**Introvert Building:** Most of his works consist of the introvert buildings that assume a far greater importance on the frame of a human community. But in terms of the monumental building which does not require an expansion, this pre-conception can be avoided.

**Flexibility of Internal Forces:** Doxiadis idea was that buildings can and should follow the same rules as those apply to houses i.e they should be expandable and changing.

**About Public Buildings:** As mentioned before, Doxiadis thought the plan of our buildings should be such that it allows for growth/expansion of all kinds

**Layering:** Doxiadis said - "One thing I have added and that is what I call the double skin; the canopy which can be moved up or down, thus guaranteeing to the real skin or external surface of the house all the coolness it requires during the hot season."

**Against Specific Style of Ism:** Doxiadis was against copying any form or fashion, or on copying the trends of either modernism or any other style. He suggested creating something which was contemporary and willfully adjusted to all our needs, and so remains as eternal as the ancient or perhaps as eternal as the future architecture.

**Effect of Form According to Building Height:** Doxiadis buildings are generally rectilinear in pattern, relatively lower in height and for which he feels for a functional derivation of form.

**Form and Massing, Synthesis of Oblong Elements:** Most of the forms derived by Doxiadis are oblong. He used to avoid cylindrical or spherical forms. This concept is derived from the thought that man lives and moves in spaces in certain straight lines and not in a circle and almost all elements within a house, such as beds, cupboards, arm chair, sofas, etc, are oblong.

Figure 4.3: General Design Philosophy ( Source: Unpublished Academic Work)

### 4.3. THE COMMISSION OF C.A. DOXIADIS AND THE OBJECTIVES OF THE PROJECT

In general, the UN consultants, the Ford Foundation, and the government of Pakistan came up with a plan to create models of ideal schools, institutions, villages, and agricultural systems in the Third World and Pakistan in particular. The aim was to provide the nation with a modernization goal to work toward and the moral motivation it needed to start a self-mobilized development program (Karim, 2016). Western architects were expected to create the best schools, best places to train teachers, and best researchers are all part of a theoretical typology of idealization. Creating this prototypical model institute was especially important for Pakistan because the nation did not possess the same skill as India to build, since most of the important colonial educational and administrative centers were in the newly independent country of India.

The government of East Pakistan decided to re-orientate the educational system of this province "by diversification and enrichment of the program and by introducing modern methods of teaching". To meet these needs, the government decided to establish an Education Extension Center – later known as Teacher-Student Center (TSC). The center aimed to be responsible for arranging, developing, and coordinating programs of in-service education for teachers, headmasters, inspectors, and other educational officers. To fulfill these purposes, the Department of Education of the Government of East Pakistan has signed two contracts with Doxiadis Associates (DA) for the design of an Education Extension Center and a College of Home Economics at the University of Dacca in East Pakistan. Both projects were sponsored by the Ford Foundation with a grant covering foreign currency requirement

Karim highlighted Constantine Doxiadis's work. Since Ayub Khan's administration prioritized education reform, his first endeavor in Pakistan was as a researcher. Doxiadis advocated contextual ergonomics for East Pakistanis around this time. He struggled because he wanted contextual modernism.

The agricultural identity of East Pakistanis in the cultural discourse was the cause for this, which led to the situation. Between the years 1947 and 1971, the rurality of Bengalis was used as a political tool, and it was portrayed as a part of Bengali identity that was inferior to other aspects of Bengali culture.

Doxiadis immediately recognized that he would see East Pakistan differently from West Pakistan. This sensitive terrain required a new architectural language. He operated in Iraq and West Pakistan, where the sun and heat were intense. However, the tropical wetness he saw in East Pakistan was new to him, therefore he incorporated regional characteristics to his architectural language for this location. He preferred the dochala shape in many of his works, especially mosques.

This philosophy is what drew architects from other countries to this country, and all of their designs contained themes that could be utilized to analyze them. The first of these issues is the formation of a Muslim nationalist's cultural identity. This was done by putting Islamic ideas into modern architecture. The second was how nationalist ideas were shown in architecture. Other topics were the making of space, the bureaucracy of being a state, and the beauty of being a citizen.

#### **4.4.TEACHER-STUDENT CENTER (TSC)**

The Teacher-Student Center of the University of Dacca, East Pakistan, is a complex of buildings whose purpose is to serve the extracurricular activities of the students and the social life of the University. The final design for the Teacher-Student Center prepared by Doxiadis Associates has been approved by the University Authorities and work started on the Students' Union Building in March 1962.

The Center is being built on a centrally located plot of 3.70 acres, with many old trees situated at the corner of Bakshi Bazar Road and Mymensingh Road, with the Suhrawardy Uddyan (park) to the east. The site may be reached from the north, where three streets come together to form a key urban node and the geographic heart of the University of Dhaka's huge campus. It is a venue where students and the public have gathered in the past for national events including Victory Day, Independence Day, Language Movement Day, and Pohela Baishakh. (the first day of the Bengali year). The horizontal building block in the north of the complex works as a bridge between the busy city and the green core of the complex.

The siting of the building blocks in the larger context of Dhaka city makes it a popular congregation spot for students of Dhaka University and the general public alike. The road network and the masterplan of the area having the Fine Arts institute, The DU Library, and a supposed School of Architecture from that period suggests that it was to become the pivot around which all socio-cultural activity of the DU students would revolve in the days to come. (Figure 4. 4)

All buildings have their long sides parallel to the east-west to take advantage of the prevailing winds which usually blow from north or south. In this parallel composition of buildings, the Student's Union Building stands on the north, the Cafeteria Building on the south, and the Auditorium in between on the west. The Guest House occupies an area east of the Cafeteria and the swimming pool is on its south of the Auditorium. The siting of the building largely contributes to it becoming a backdrop to the important node and the frontal open place. That way the court becomes introverted and the plaza becomes the front (Figure 4. 4). The entrance to the compound is from the north through the Students' Union Building. A wide covered walkway extends from this building, passes in front of the Auditorium, and leads to the Cafeteria. The Students' Union is housed in a building with a rectangular plan, 37 by 158 feet, with three floors. A general store, an open lobby, and a bookshop occupy the ground floor. The library with its lounge, lobby, and meeting rooms is on the first floor, while the students' and professors' offices are located on the second floor.





The structure of the building is a reinforced concrete frame and brick non-bearing walls. The reinforced concrete will be left exposed and will frame panels faced with multi-colored, locally made, glazed tiles, traditionally used in the monumental buildings of Pakistan.

The Students Union Building is covered by a double, reinforced concrete roof. The Auditorium is a building of a rectangular plan 85 by 170 feet, covered by a reinforced concrete parabolic vault. The large hall of the Auditorium has a level floor and removable seating. There is a large stage with dressing rooms and workshops, also an entrance lobby, and a balcony. The Cafeteria Building consists of two parts placed on either side of a pleasant mall. The part on the west side of the mall has a large Games Room and a group of dressing rooms, showers, and toilets that serves the adjacent Swimming Pool. The other part houses the main cafeteria facilities and consists of a large Students' Dining Room, a Professors' Dining Room, a Snack Bar, and a kitchen with all the necessary auxiliary spaces. The structure of this building also is of reinforced concrete frame and brick non-bearing walls. The main areas are covered by a double roof whose upper part is a folded slab. The external finishing is exposed reinforced concrete and exposed brickwork. The Guest House is a group of six rooms, each with a private bathroom and verandah. Its appearance follows the principles of the Cafeteria Building.

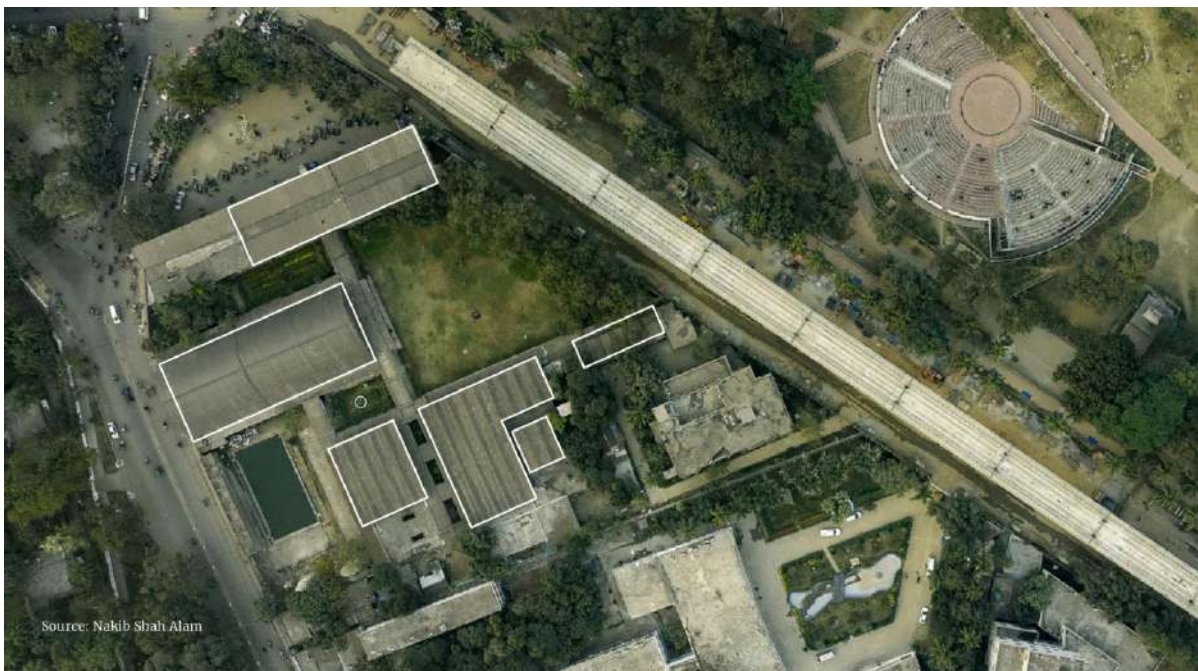


Figure 4. 6 Aerial View of TSC and Surrounding Context (Author)

The teachers' Student Center was built for 5000 students of Dhaka University, which has now increased to 28,000. The intent behind T.S.C was to evoke a sense of fellow feeling and fraternity among the students as well as teachers at Dhaka University. It makes University faculty and students' social, cultural, and recreational activities easier. Through involvement in various co-circular activities, the primary goal is to enhance the bond between teachers and pupils (Figure 4. 6). The center has five main buildings consisting of:

- Students Union Building, consisting of three floors, accommodating club and rehearsal room. Auditorium, a rectangular building with a distinct roof made of a thin RCC shell structure
- Cafeteria, for 300-350 people,
- Games Room to provide indoor games,
- Guest House

T.S.C is a synthesis of the natural, extroverted, and expanding, non-monumental. The synthesis is based on interconnected buildings planned separately within the same compound. According to Doxiadis here, a human sector has been created which started from a core and expanded in all directions. while keeping the functions and retaining all dynamic and organic potential of growth (Figure 4.7 & Figure 4.8).

#### **4.4.1. Architectural features**

The Teacher's student Center located at Dhaka University is the only project the architect is open to all. That is why the project is highly focused. We find the reflection of different philosophical approaches to Dioxides In this project. Also, inconsistencies are apparent In some approaches, especially in the use of modules, Special architectural features are to be critically discussed as follows.

#### **4.4.2. Standardization**

His suggested module of 3'4" is not used in the doors, window panels, or stairs. His suggested economical roof span of 20' is not kept uniformly. Doors and windows are made of wooden panels of 4-6mm. A module of 3' was used as the basic size for doors and windows. The roof is made of 6\* R.C.C slab width 12'x27" R.C.C beams. The length of the roof can be 11'-0", 20'-0", or 23'-5". Depending on the rooms.

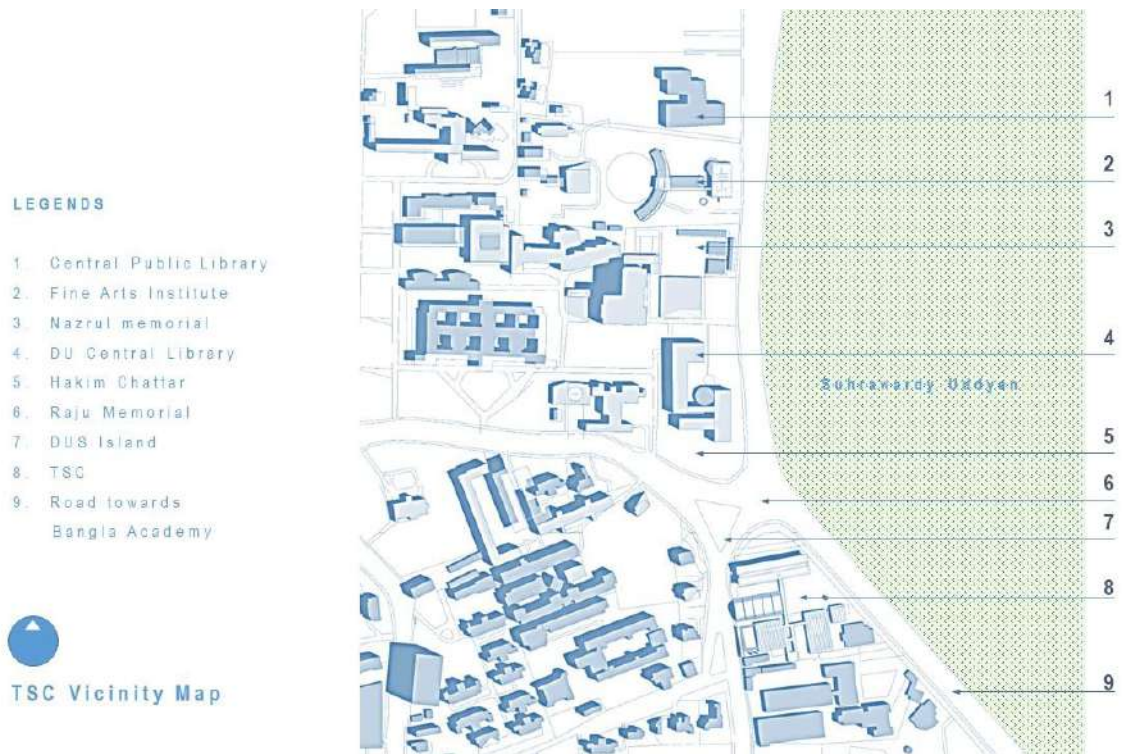


Figure 4. 7 Vicinity Map of TSC ( Source: Unpublished Academic Work)

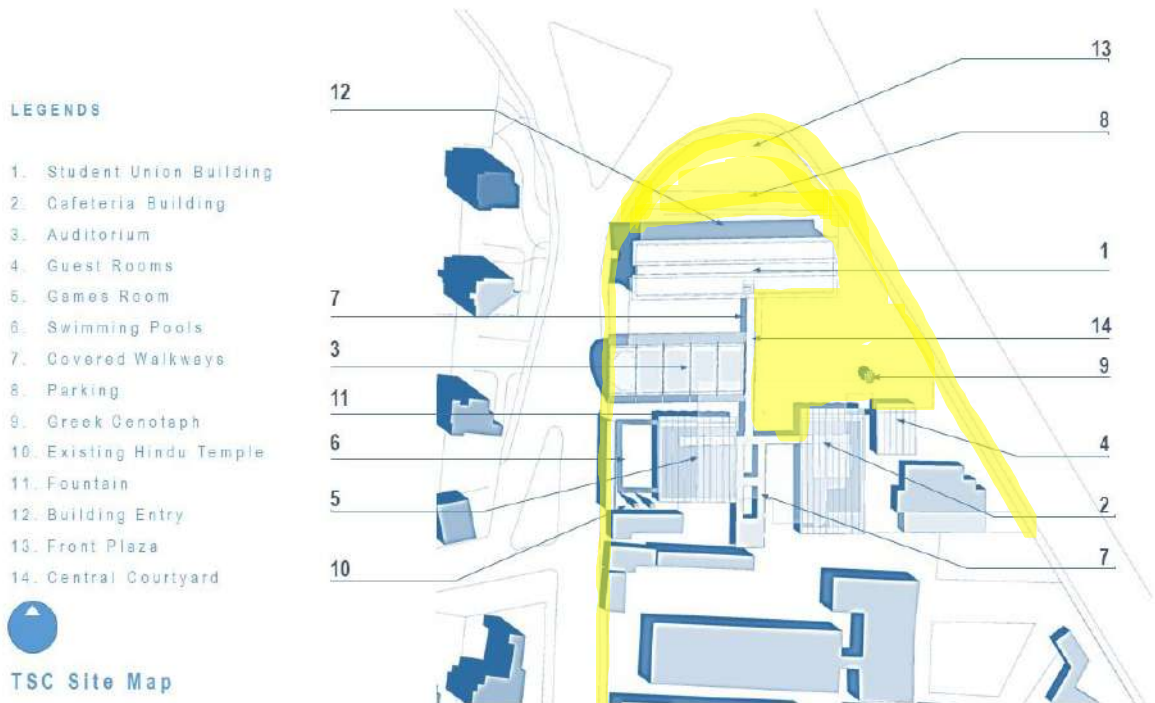


Figure 4. 8 Site Map of TSC with Area of Distortion (marked/highlighted in Yellow)

#### **4.4.3. Construction Technique**

The foundation is made up of R.C.C. footing under the columns and a grade beam connecting them. Internal and external walls are made of S'-IQ"1 brickwork. R.C.C. staircases with a 5'-0" width and a 6" riser are used.

#### **4.4.4. Landscaping**

Here, nature and the built environment come together in a way that can't be found anywhere else. Open spaces are always connected to the circulation, except for the student's union building. A lush green area next to the promenade gives people a place to talk. The fact that that space is being used shows how well this place is doing. The plinth of the promenade is also built in a way that makes it easy to use as a place to sit. By giving a series of courts and a neat games room, the building and the outside space become one.

#### **4.4.5. Flexibility and Growth**

The law of expanding synthesis was one of Doxiadis's most important rules for making complexes. T.S.C. is one of the few buildings that seems to be finished, and there isn't much room for torture to grow.

#### **4.4.6. Color**

Color is used a lot on different surfaces, like the red bricks on the east and west sides and the red tiles on the floor. On the north and south sides of the Students Union Building, there are also some colored tiles.

#### **4.4.7. Plan and Architectural Details**

Standardization can be seen in the Students Union Building. The space between each column is 11'-0" and 10'-9". Contains 20 columns on the narrow side and 3 columns on the wider side. The building is very straight, and the way it is set up inside doesn't match up with how it looks from the outside. In a horizontal band, blue 6"x6" tiles are used.

The original plan didn't go beyond columns and bays. After that, seven grids were added, and. After 70', an expansion joint was added. Sometimes internal columns stand alone, and sometimes they are built into the wall.

Each floor's layout is different and doesn't match up with the others. The entrance is not marked and looks like a secondary entrance. The lobby doesn't have enough light.



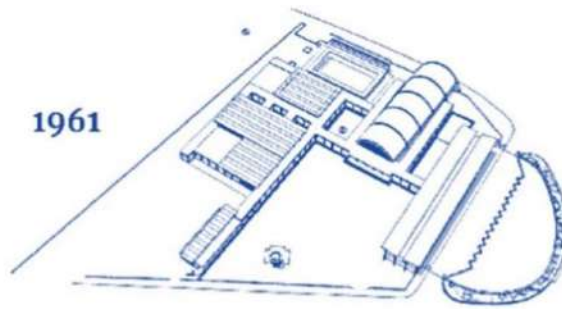
The cafeteria and the games room are right next to the promenade. At the end of the main promenade, there is a circulation spine. Between the cafeteria and the games room, a series of courts make for a fun time.

The cafeteria and games room has wooden panels and glass walls. The folded plate roof helps to make the span bigger but keeps the height down.

The function of the Students Union Building is shown by its double roof. It also helps set the mood. One part of the wall is a window, and Chajja is a high window. The owner's window blocks the flow of air and limits the natural light.

The double roof of the Students Union Building expresses the significance of the function. It also serves climatically. The Wall section consists of a window, Chajja a high window. The owning window obstructs wind flow and restricts the natural.

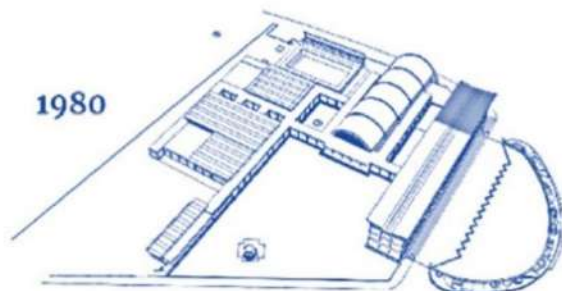
TSC building has been extended in 2 stages during its lifetime. And the latest scheme was for an expansion demolishing the Building designed by C. A. Doxiadis. (Fig: 4.8) The latest expansion plan includes a new auditorium, a gymnasium, a new swimming pool, and a parking lot, among other things. According to the PWD authorities before it was shelved after the prime minister intervened following an uproar from the civil society (Plate 1 & 2).



1961

**PHASE 1**

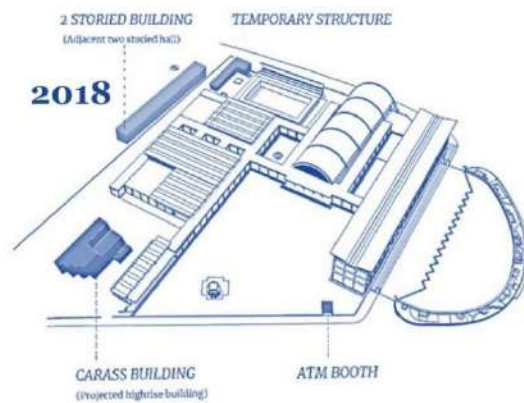
The original masterplan was made for 5600 students on a site area of 169000 sft with a built area of 63064 sft.



1980

**PHASE 2**

By 1980, an extension of the student union building resulted in a thirty percent increase in volume of the structure.



2018

**PHASE 3**

By 2018, there were 45000 students. There was an addition of an ATM booth. The CARASS building, which was a projected highrise building was added to the masterplan. An adjacent 2 storied building was also added next to the swimming pool.

Figure 4.9: Different Development Phases of the TSC Building  
( Source: Unpublished Academic Work)



Plate 1: TSC: Building as Artifact (Author)



Plate 2: TSC: Building as Artifact (Author)

#### **4.5. SUMMARY**

TSC is an example of how modernist architecture can be sensitive to the demands of space in tropical climates. It sits in the historic center of the University of Dhaka. It combines local ways of producing space, including the way the indoors and outdoors flow together and how space is made around courtyards, with the way buildings look throughout the world. People may have been most interested in TSC because of its prominent location and because it became a symbol of Dhaka's contemporary architecture.

At TSC, Doxiadis tested his "theories" of ekistics. The site may be reached from the north, where three streets come together to form a key urban node and the geographic heart of the University of Dhaka's huge campus. It is a spot where students and people from all over the country have gathered for a long time for national holidays like Liberation Day, Independence Day, Language Movement Day, and Pohela Baishakh. (the first day of the Bengali year). The horizontal building block to the north acts as a transition from the urban hustle and bustle to the verdant interior of the complex.

Over the years, TSC has been a part of the national story since many of the most important student movements started in this historic metropolitan area. Also, TSC is known for being a green and airy urban place, which is hard to find in this packed metropolis. The TSC has two sides to it, one is the Static version that is documented in the archival findings. Another side is the kinetic/ or dynamic side, which is expressed through the myriad of activities and appropriation by its user. A holistic understanding of the static aspect is important for the argument of this research. This helps identify, how the dynamic /kinetic components prompt ordinary engagement for eventual indigenization and deiconification.

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## CHAPTER 05:

### SPATIAL PRACTICE AND REPRESENTATIONAL SPACE IN TSC

#### *Preamble*

*This chapter has two segments. The first segment discusses the TSC complex from the point of view of “Spatial Practice” which documents the understanding of “Perceived Space”. This involves the activity and use of a place and thus the investigation is done separately on the actor, activity, and place of action. Visual Research methods are applied to produce a spatial mapping of activity areas and participant observation and informal interviews form the basis of the demographic data on the user and photographic documentation backed by the thematic coding of the interview produces an activity map of the complex. The other segment deals with the decoding of feelings and sentiments associated with the complex among its users, forming the basis of understanding of “Lived Space” or “Representational Space”. Narrative analysis of semi-structured interviews and open-ended questionnaires form the basis of the finding. This Chapter concludes with the identification of instances of appropriation and indigenization of the spaces through ordinary engagement eventually hinting toward Place and Placemaking.*



## **5.1.SPATIAL PRACTICES IN TSC**

Special practice is referred to as actions and interactions that take place in a particular location, through which social relations are developed. Carried out daily routines as well as unique activities generated by special occasions are also considered Spatial Practice. This could be carried out by both the collective and individuals. Since Spatial Practice is observable, a qualitative reading and measurement could be done of the physical space where it is being performed. Understanding the Spatial Practice of a place involves a distinct understanding of the following 3 aspects.

- Actor
- Activity
- Place of Action

For the understanding of Spatial Practice in TSC, the actors are all the stakeholders and users, the Activities are the actions performed by them and the Place of action can be the TSC Building and the complex and its extended dissolved domain. For further investigation, stakeholder identification is required. stakeholder identification indicates the actions and interactions that are performed. Based on these actions and interactions, activity mapping of the selected case area, and places of action are identified. Once the fixed location of the activity, which is a precondition for Spatial Practices is identified, the investigation into Spatial Practice could be carried out.

## **5.2.ACTORS**

For the analysis and investigation of the above-mentioned Aspects, different methodologies were applied. Essentially Actors are the stakeholders, users, and beneficiaries of the selected case study. For research into the Spatial Practice of TSC stakeholder Identification was required. There are two emerging approaches to stakeholder identification: Researcher Immersion and Collective Identification under researcher immersion, researchers e.g., Dyer et al. (2013) focus on identification before the first data-generation exercise by immersion in a research problem. In this case, the researchers perform initial desk-based research to identify stakeholders and then extend this knowledge through exploratory or pilot studies in a case study area.



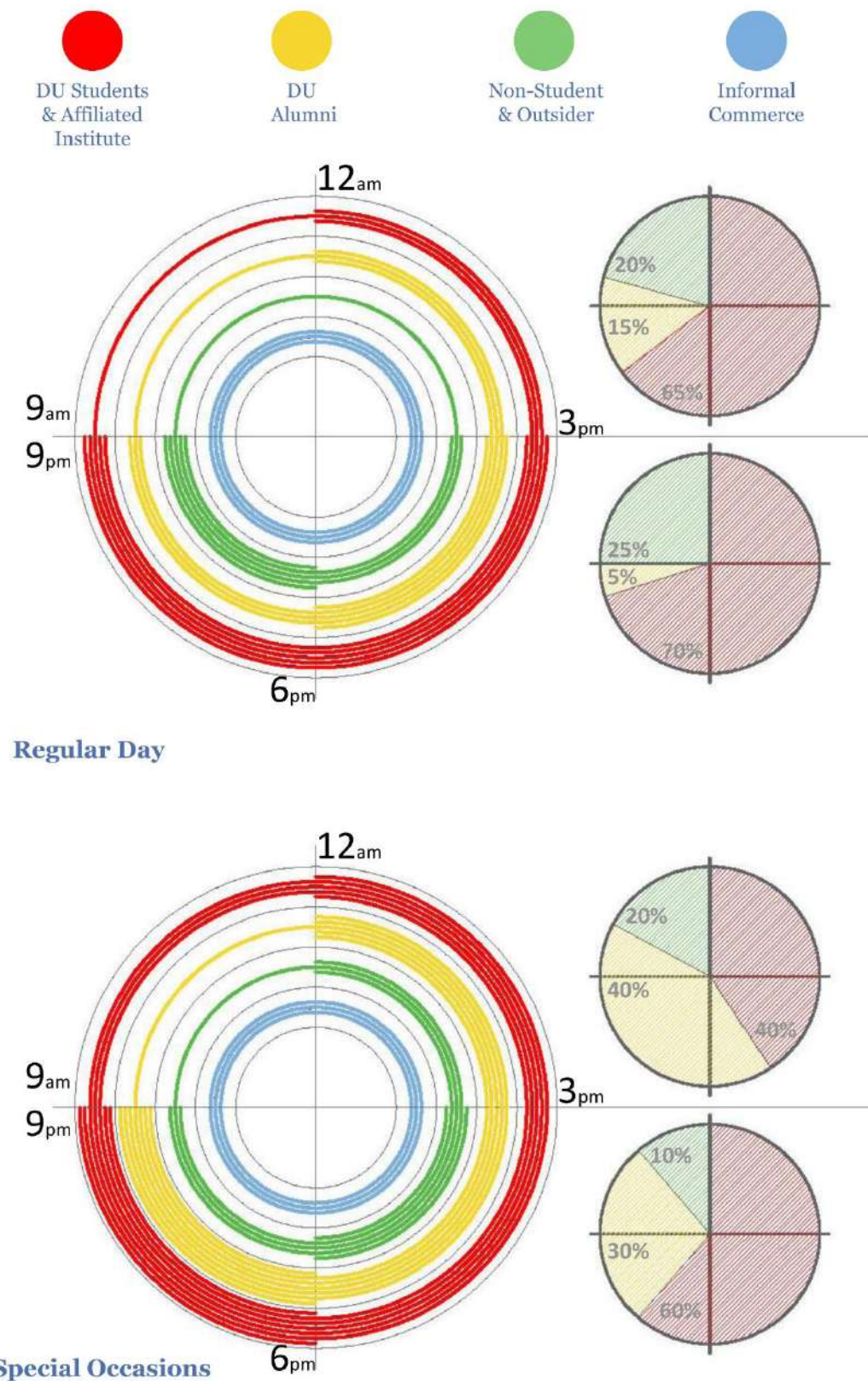


Figure 5. 1 Location and Intensity of Cultural and Political Programs at TSC

As this approach deals with a predetermined case study area, this approach was preferred over collective identification. Under this, a preliminary group is identified by the researchers using their prior knowledge. Then further stakeholders are identified by the researchers and these stakeholders are not engaged from the very beginning of the project e.g., Dougill et al. (2006).

Upon initial desk-based research, 4 (Four) Distinct groups could be identified as Actors/ Stakeholders of the TSC Complex (Figure 5. 1). They are:

- Students of DU and Affiliated institutions.
- Alumni of DU and Affiliated institutions.
- General Public or City Dwellers.
- Vendors and Shopkeepers.

### **5.2.1. Students of DU and Affiliated institutions**

The students of Dhaka University are the main users of the TSC complex. The complex is primarily targeted toward Fulfilling the need of the students and the teachers at DU. For the understanding of TSC, it is important not to identify the students as a homogeneous whole. Students from different departments of the university, from freshmen to seniors of Undergraduate studies to students pursuing Master's and Ph.D. are frequent to this place. The nature of use and their individual and collective actions thus vary a lot. On the other hand, students from different academic programs with distinctly different academic involvement perform as a collective whole when united through shared political or cultural ideology and beliefs. Due to this also, the political and cultural activism that takes place in TSC is not only limited to the students of DU but also hosts students from affiliated organizations of other institutes. In this regard, though TSC is predominantly used by students of Dhaka University, there is healthy participation of students from all levels of education and institute outside of DU.

### **5.2.2. Alumni of DU and Affiliated institutions**

University holds a special place in any student's heart. The bonding and the relation developed during the student years are more lingering than the academic affiliations. The students, even after graduation quite frequent the place of their studies sometimes for furthering their knowledge, to share their knowledge as peers, or simply for social commitments. The seniors are frequently sought after by their juniors for different socio-

cultural purposes. On the other hand, it's quite common for the Alumni to select TSC as the venue for their communal get to gather as everyone feels homely for their prior association with it mentally.

### **5.2.3. General Public or City Dwellers**

Due to its location and connectivity, TSC has transcended from a Dhaka University-specific institute to a civic gathering space in Dhaka city. Open spaces for recreation and entertainment in the city are scarce, whereas Ramna and its adjacent area are few natural open spaces that are left in the city. People from all over Dhaka congregate in this area during special occasions and national days of celebration. Most people choose TSC as their primary destination, then venture out to other nearby attractions and those coming into other parts of its vicinity also touch upon TSC for its unique attractions. Over the years TSC and Shahbagh have become synonymous with ant national cultural and political uprisings. It has gained a reputation as a place where the expression of free and progressive thinking/ideology is exercised. All these traits make TSC a very popular place for people from all walks of life.

### **5.2.4. Vendors and Shopkeepers**

TSC area and its extended catchment area is a vibrant place of informal commerce. The main participators in the informal commerce of this place are the vendors and shopkeepers. They can be classified into two categories; Regular and Occasional both types could be further classified as i) Stationary and ii) Ambulant.



Plate 3: TSC: The **Actors** in the production of space.



### 5.3.ACTIVITY

Activity mapping of the TSC complex concerning the predetermined stakeholders was done through the Visual Research method.

The Stationary Activity Mapping is an accepted Visual Survey tool that has the potential to play a key part in any public life survey. It helps map what people are doing in space at a given time, such as sitting on a bench, having food, studying, or performing live music. The result is a “snapshot” of activity in the survey area. This method is suitable for evaluating what is already happening in a place, (Figure 5. 2).



Figure 5. 2 Connectivity with landmarks

Applying this tool involves moving through the full survey area each day in a fixed time frame, marking where people are spending time, how many people are there, and what they're doing. Activities such as sitting, eating, using electronics, or buying something are recorded. A person's age and gender and educational background and affiliation to the place are estimated to build a picture of whether the space is inclusive, welcoming, and accessible to a broad range of people. Additionally, Notes are taken of any observations that are made during the mapping. It's important to note anything that is out of the ordinary also.



Plate 4: TSC: The Activity and various natures of social space at the periphery.

Activities of the TSC complex could be divided into 3 (three) categories according to the type of activity

### 5.3.1. Commercial/ Economic Activity

Commercial/ economic activity performed by Vendors and Shopkeepers. The main participators in the informal commerce of this place are the vendors and shopkeepers. They can be classified into two categories; Regular and Occasional both types could be further classified as i) Stationary and ii) Ambulant.

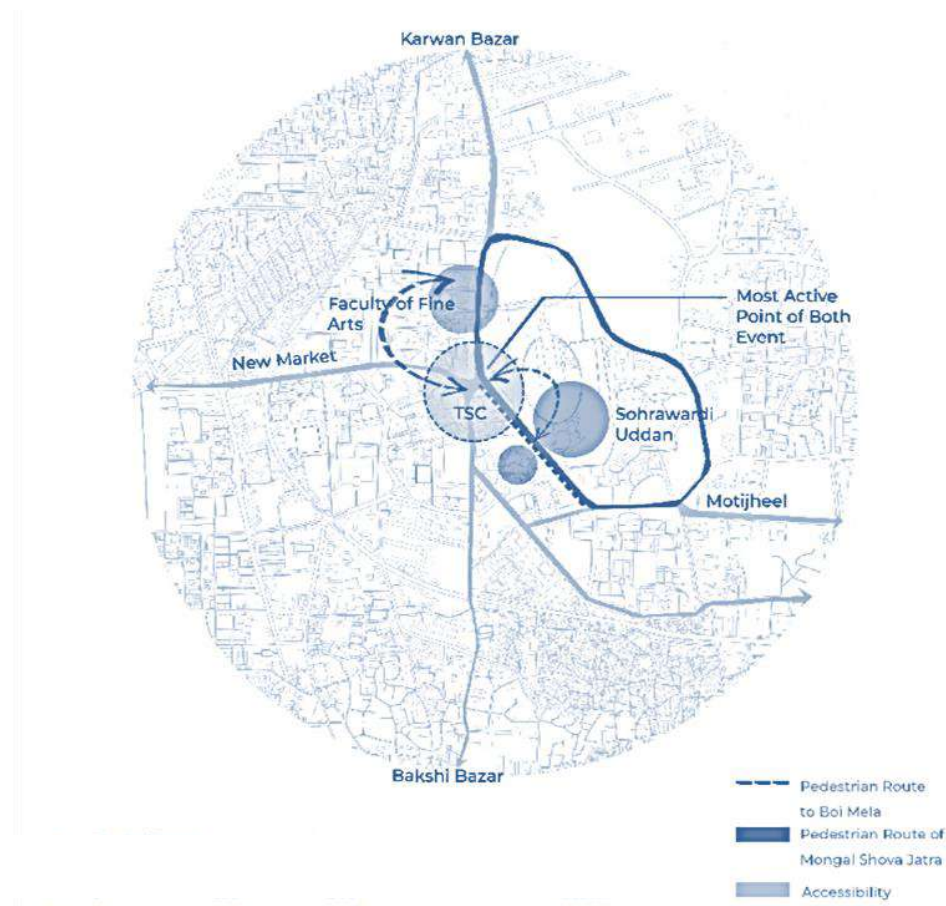


Figure 5.3: Connectivity of TSC with other areas forming an Extended Activity Sphere

### 5.3.2. Curricular, Co-Curricular, and Extra-Curricular Activity

Curricular activities are those activities that are a part of the curriculum. Co-curricular activities are those activities that are outside of but usually complement the regular curriculum. Extracurricular activities are defined as those school-based activities that are not tied to the curriculum. Mostly takes place inside the Building. These are performed by Students and alumni of DU and Affiliated institutions.

### **5.3.3. Cultural and Social Activity**

Cultural and social activity performed inside the building and the extended activity sphere of TSC. Performed by the Students and Alumni of DU and affiliated institutions and the General Public or city dwellers ( Figure 5.3)

## **5.4.PLACE OF ACTION**

### **5.4.1. Activity spots in the extended catchment area of TSC**

TSC is an admired Center for the country's student politics and cultural life. Over the years TSC has become a part of the national narrative. Many of the pivotal student movements took place /took shape around this historic urban node. Eminent Architectural Historian Adnan Morshed wrote:

*“Access to the site is from the north, where three streets meet to form a major urban node and the geographic center of the sprawling campus of the University of Dhaka. It is a historic gathering place for students and the public during national celebrations, such as Liberation Day, Independence Day, Language Movement Day, and Pohela Baishakh (the first day of the Bengali year). The horizontal building block to the north acts as a transition from the urban hustle and bustle to the verdant interior of the complex. In both direct and indirect ways these festivals are considered a secular identity of the country and portray the image of unity”.*

During informal discussions, various stakeholder groups repeatedly emphasized that the activity and influence sphere of TSC is not bounded within its designated boundary. this sentiment was evident from the activity mapping of the area (Figure 5.4)

Informal and semi-structured interviews were carried out during the survey period among different stakeholder groups. The current students who are the primary user of TSC find this as an extension of the academic domain. The following responses in their language suffice the activity and the affinity they have for the place (Interview, 23-25):





TEMPORARY VENDORS



MOBILE VENDORS

Figure 5.4: Location and Intensity of Informal Commerce at TSC  
 (small dot: 3-5 persons, medium dot: 5-8 persons, large dot: above 8 persons)

পুরুষ ১: সবগুলোতে নিজস্ব আলাদা আলাদা নাম আছে! দুলাভাইয়ের দোকান রুহুল মামার দোকান স্বপনের দোকান আমরা আসলে দোকানের নাম ধরেই ডাকি! টঙের এলাকাটার ব্যবহার শুধুমাত্র আড্ডার জন্য!

মহিলা ১: আড্ডার জন্য তো ব্যবহার করতে আমি একা থাকলেও এখানে এসে বসা হতো কারণ ডিপার্টমেন্টে তো অনেক স্টুডেন্ট, এখানে কমফোর্টেবল বেশি ডিপার্টমেন্টে তো একটাই ফ্লোর সেখানে তো এত লোকের একসাথে জায়গা দেওয়া সম্ভব না আমি যাদের সাথে কমফোর্টেবল সেখানে দেখা যাচ্ছে তার চেয়েও অনেক বেশি লোক সে কারণে নিজের জন্য এখানে আসা হয় কারণ এখানে আসলে একটা কমফোর্ট জোন এর ভেতরে আসা যায়! আর এখানে আসলে অনেক লোককে একসাথে পাওয়া যায় ডিপার্টমেন্ট টাও কাছে কাজেই কাউকে এখানে আসতে বললে তারা সহজে চলে আসতে ..... এটা একটা কমন প্লেস!

#### # ভবনের কোন অংশটা সবচেয়ে বেশি ব্যবহার করেন এবং কেন?

পুরুষ ১: সামনের ভবনটা সবচেয়ে বেশি ব্যবহার করেছে কারণ আমি এখানে 4 বৎসর সংগঠন করেছি!

মহিলা ১: সবচেয়ে বেশি আড্ডা দেওয়া হয় টংয়ের দোকানে আর ভিতর সুইমিং পুলে আর টি এসসি বারান্দায়

For the alumni, the place is a source of nostalgia and fond memory and is an ever-present escape from the daily hustle and bustle of the city. One Alumni expressed his sentiment by saying (Interview, 03):

(36:00) Apart from our regular hangout spots inside the department, the most frequent hangout location was TSC, more precisely the boundary wall of the campus. Many hours have passed there both in the inside and outside with a cup of tea, watching leaves fall from the trees, and looking and passersby. The tea stalls along the boundary wall is a place which is very dear to the alumni as well as the outsiders. The reason behind this is the warmth and the sense of familiarity of the tea stall vendors. They can recall each of us by name even after all these years. They were a watchdog of sort of the area, always in the lookout for any apparent threat or with any recent issue that needs to be addressed as an informed class. They play a pivotal role in creating a sense of belongingness for all. There is no territorial demarcation along these walls. People from all walks of life as well as ideology are equally welcome here and there is always a sense of mutual respect for privacy and space. Territorial marking, if there is any that are so subtle and invisible that only those are obeyed subconsciously by the user.

An important pull factor of the place is inclusivity. This is expressed below (Interview, 17-19):

#### #What do you think is the reason behind it?

There is a lot of memory as well as nostalgia it is definitely one of the reasons for us to come back here again..... We all come here for all types of reunion. Actually everything is here ....you can get place to study as well as a place to gather.

#### # Are you bothered about the outsiders coming here?

No the outsider peoples to Ham to bother our speakers when the outsiders come here they also blend along with the area and hence it doesn't make any difference. There is no need for restriction because we can learn a lot from each and everyone we can learn from their behaviour as well. The outsiders also come here to learn something from the students they also take up their attitude their behaviour so so it is beneficial for them as well we have something to learn from them as well as us so it should not be restricted for anyone. People bring their children's share as well when we come with our children we introduce them to the university teachers and our classroom and the facilities the outsiders also do the same it is a huge inspiration or or look forward to for the childrens.

#### #Tell us something about sweets Heritage and historic value

When we try to recall anything about Dhaka University the first thing that comes to mind is TSC.... There are lots of history events that are connected with this place as well it is very difficult to describe how they are all interconnected.

For a city dweller, TSC has different appeal and significance. Their presence in TSC creates the example of Ordinary engagement (Interview, 13; 31):

**# Are there any other place inside Dhaka University campus that is similar to this?**

Actually there is a crisis of place, I don't see any other place that will attract people like this even if there is any open space. This being a roundabout makes it accessible from all points of the Dhaka University that's why people are more frequent here and outsiders also can access this place from many easy public transportation points.

**# এই জায়গাটায় মানুষ আসে কেন?**

এই জায়গাটাই মানুষ আসে কারণ এখানে গাছপালা আছে, অক্সিজেন পায়, রেস্ট নিতে পারে.... এখানে অন্যান্য খাওয়া-দাওয়ার দোকান আছে সেজন্য এখানে আসে বসে গল্প করে!

The pull factors of the area are youth-oriented places for both males and females, green and open spaces for sitting and gossiping, availability of food and beverage at an affordable price, and different types of cultural programs that thrive upon the vibrant informal Commerce of the area. This makes the people related to small business and informal commerce an important factor in the Spatial Practice of this place. The shop owners feel that this is the most suitable place for active commerce (Interview, 14).

**# In terms of commercial viability are there any other places for business which can be similarly successful as TSC.**

No I don't think so as this falls in the route from going to main nodes like Dhaka medical college to shahabad people tend to stop here.... this is a convenient stopover.

Despite being comparatively less educated and informed among the other stakeholder groups the people engaged in informal commerce presented the most intuitive insight about TSC (Interview, 30):

**#টিএসসি এলাকায় বলতে আপনি কোন জায়গা টাকে বুঝেন?**

টিএসসি বলতে আমরা পুরা এলাকাটাকে বুঝাই.... বিল্ডিং বা এলাকা আলাদা করা যাবে না পুরা এলাকাটাকে টিএসসি বুঝি!

From the above discussion, for the documentation of Spatial Practice, the most active and engaging places in and around TSC are the following locations, (

Figure 5.5).

- The Front Plaza and the Boundary wall *extending toward Suhrawardy Uddyan and NatMandal*
- Footpath abutting the East and Western Boundary, *DAS, Raju Bhaskarja, and Milon Chottor*
- The Inner courtyard and Walkways *and the TSC Building Proper*

These areas are the spaces where appropriation and spatial distortion are mostly witnessed. From the data collection process, the evidence of place-making key attributes such as social interaction, public-private space, identity, and memory is found related to the Front Plaza. On the other hand, the inner courtyard and corridor and the areas along the east and west boundary walls show the presence of attributes such as social interaction, public-private space, identity, and memory. This area eventually is taken for comprehension of placemaking and contributes to the making of memory and meaning (

Figure 5.5).

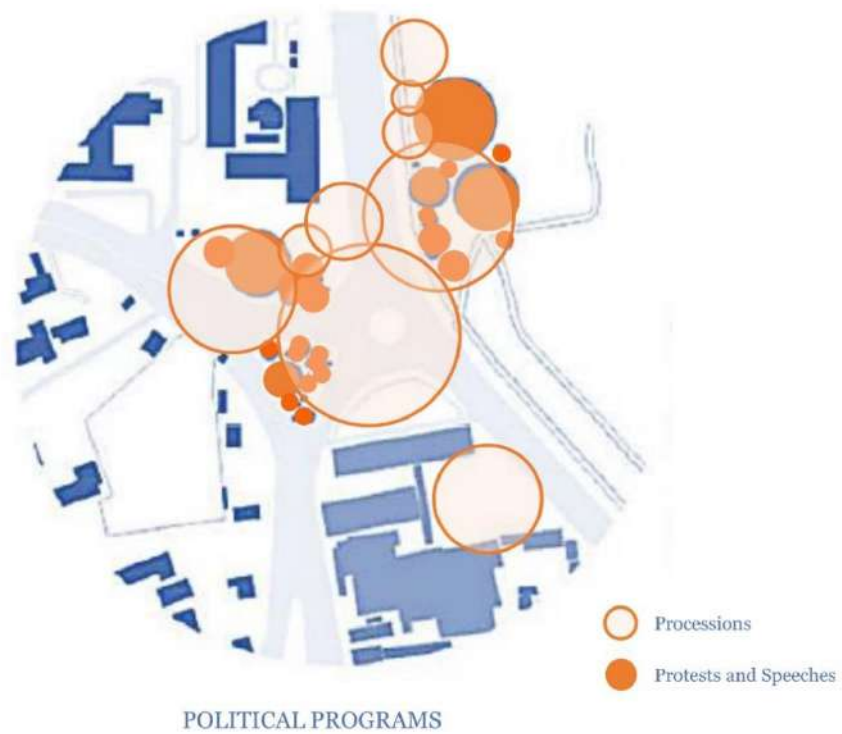
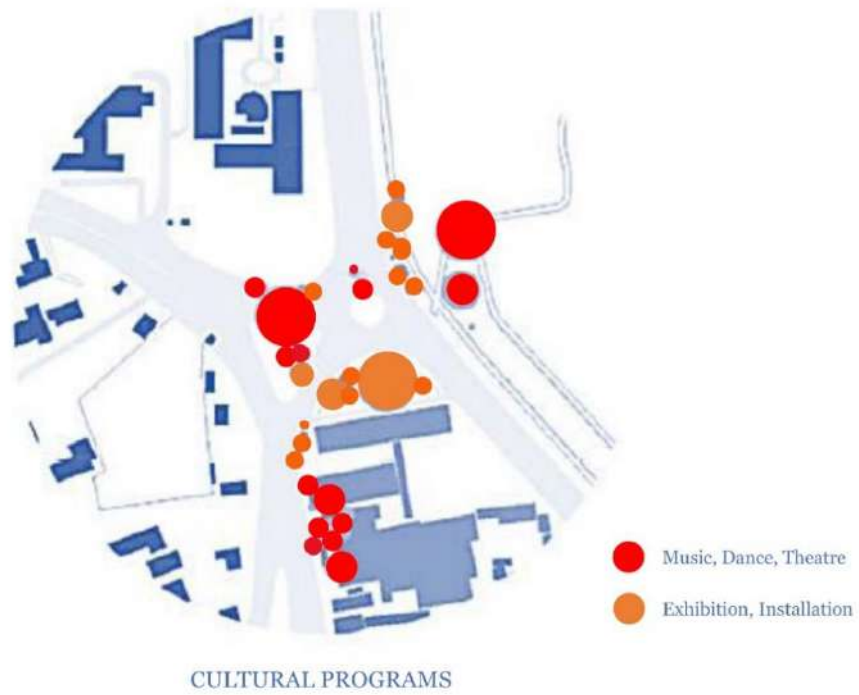


Figure 5.5: Location and Intensity of Cultural and Political Programs at TSC

(small circle: 1-2 per month, medium circle: 3-5 per month, large circle: above 5 per month)

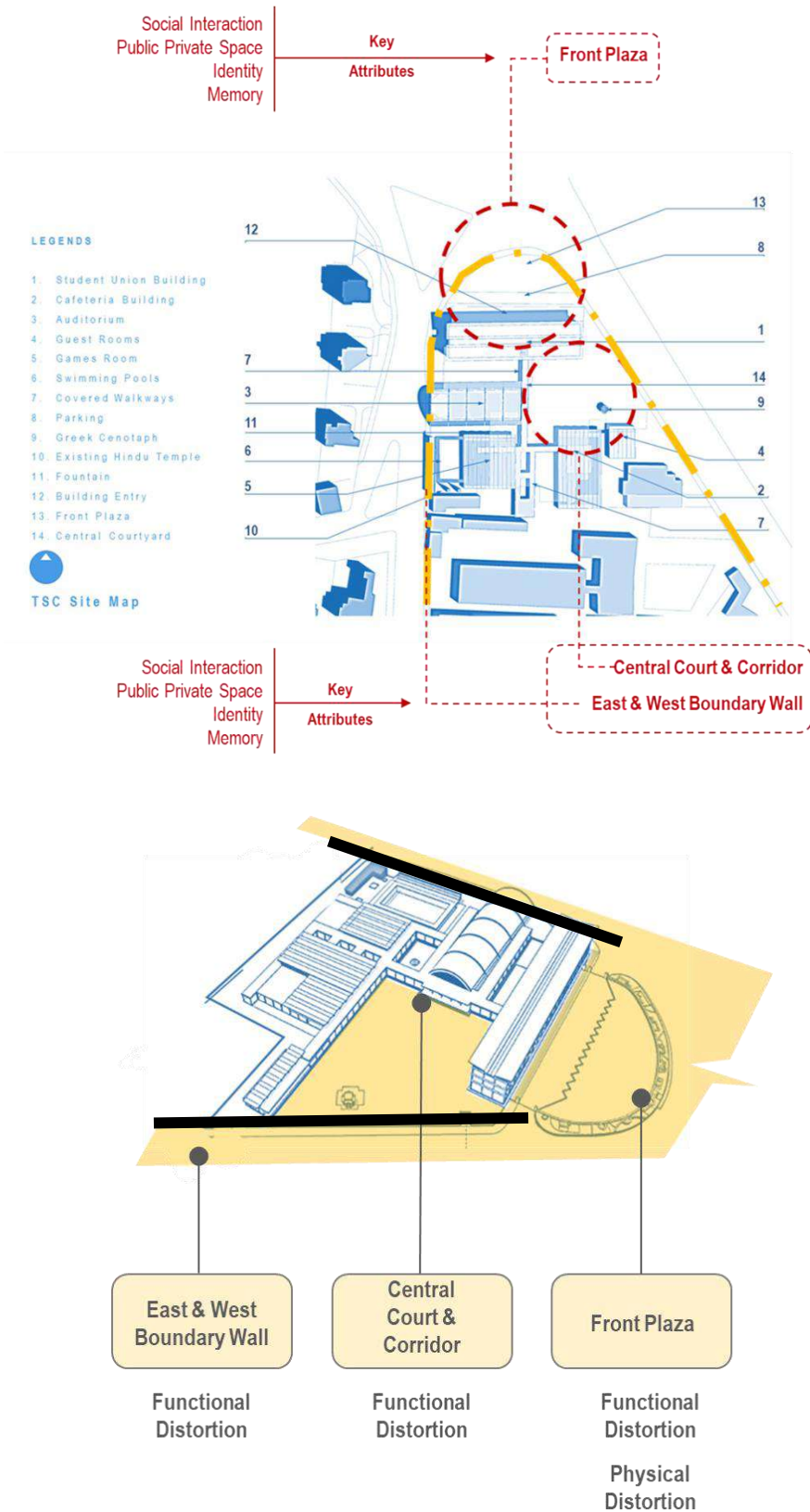


Figure 5.6: Areas with evidence of Unmaking & Appropriation ( Source: Author)

#### **5.4.2. Front Plaza**

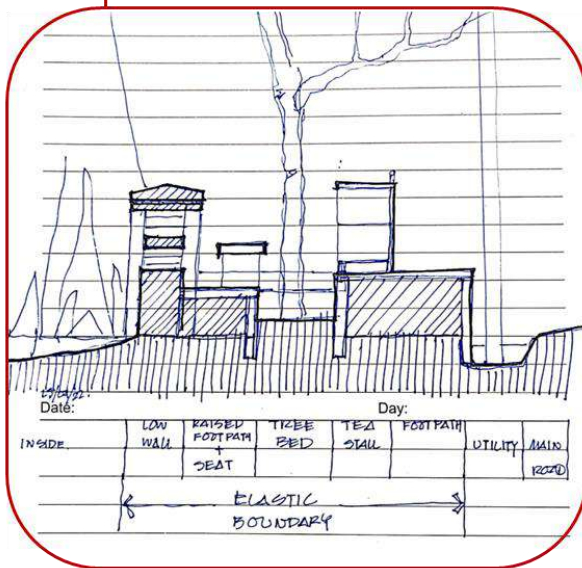
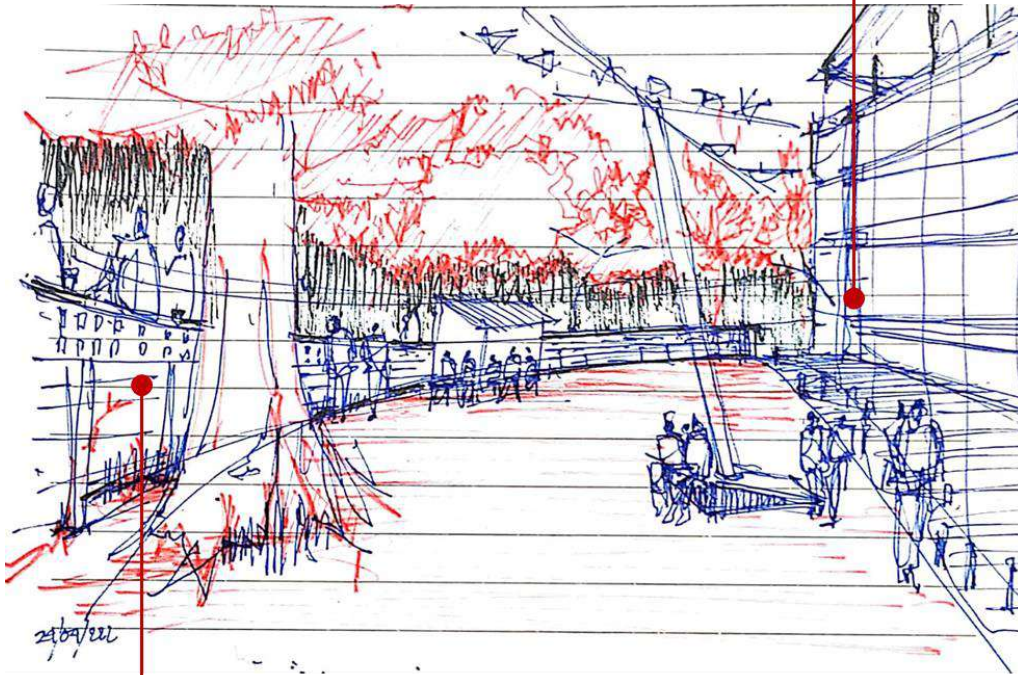
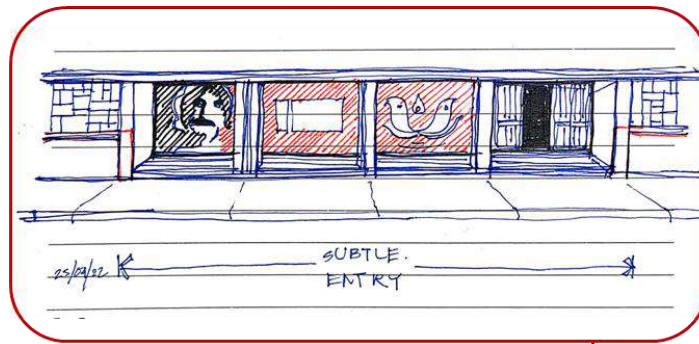
Due to its flexibility of activity, the Front Public Plaza is a melting pot for all types of people to gather. The crowd comes here looking for refreshment and the vendors find opportunity for business adaptation of changing activity with change in time during that day at the morning there is less crowding only tea and breakfast activities during the afternoon the peak crowding happens for recreational and leisure activities take place this time in the evening it becomes very vibrant with noticeable gastronomic culture (Figure 5.).

#### **5.4.3. The Footpath along East and West Side Boundary**

During the research period, this whole area has gone through a major transformation and has been changed beyond recognition. the east side footpath and the road leading towards Bangla Academy were a transition between TSC and Suhrawardy Uddyan. It also was considered a Promenade of some sort during the Bengali New Year, Language Martyr's day during the Annual National Bookfair. The transformation is due to the recently constructed MRT line going on top of it, making the road dark and narrow. The previous appeal for the road is lost due to that. The ever-thriving general people have embraced the infrastructure but it will take some time for the usual appropriation to happen. The previously seen activity as well as the gatherings have meanwhile shifted to the other side of TSC, on the western side road between the Complex and Shamsunnahar Hall and Mishuk Munir Chattar. This boundary wall abutting the footpath also has a transient character. The obvious privacy of the boundary wall makes the footpath a popular place to sit and gossip for the couples at Dhaka University as well as outside. The linearity of the place does not allow for group-type gatherings, thus making it popular for people who want isolation and are happy to sit and chit-chat side by side. Informal commerce also thrives from this crowd and temporary food carts are set up along the road. this also gives the people sitting along the road a much-needed separation from the vehicular traffic on the road. Any public space becomes successful when every type of gathering is allowed there. TSC while being predominantly a communal space for large groups also accommodates the solitary loner and the introvert and also groups of two. The boundary and peripheral areas extend seamlessly onto the street side medians and the footpaths accommodate the latter. Thus, making it popular with all.



Building Entry



Boundary Wall Section

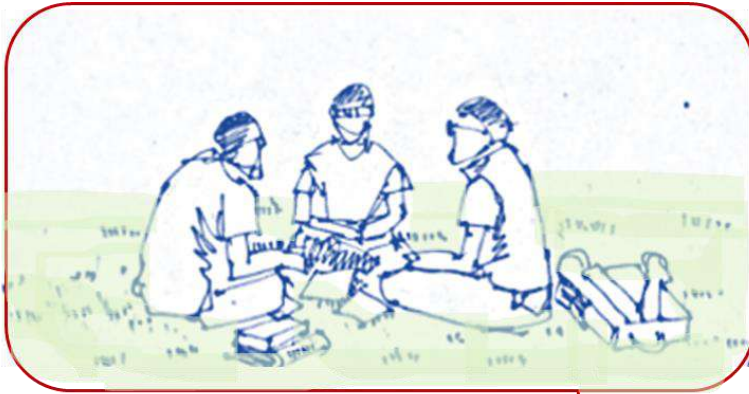
Figure 5.7: Physical Attributes and Appropriation of the Front Plaza (Author)

#### **5.4.4. Activity Spots inside TSC**

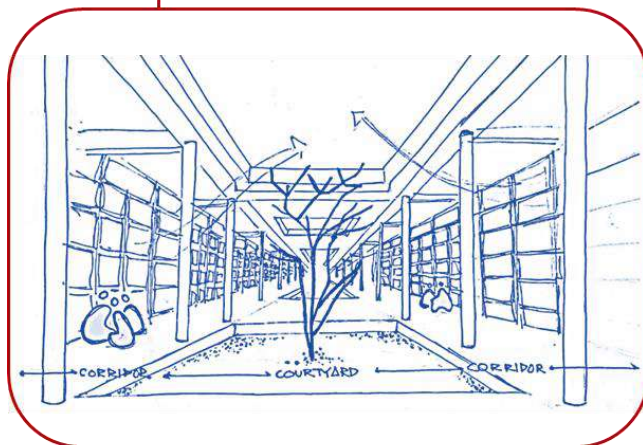
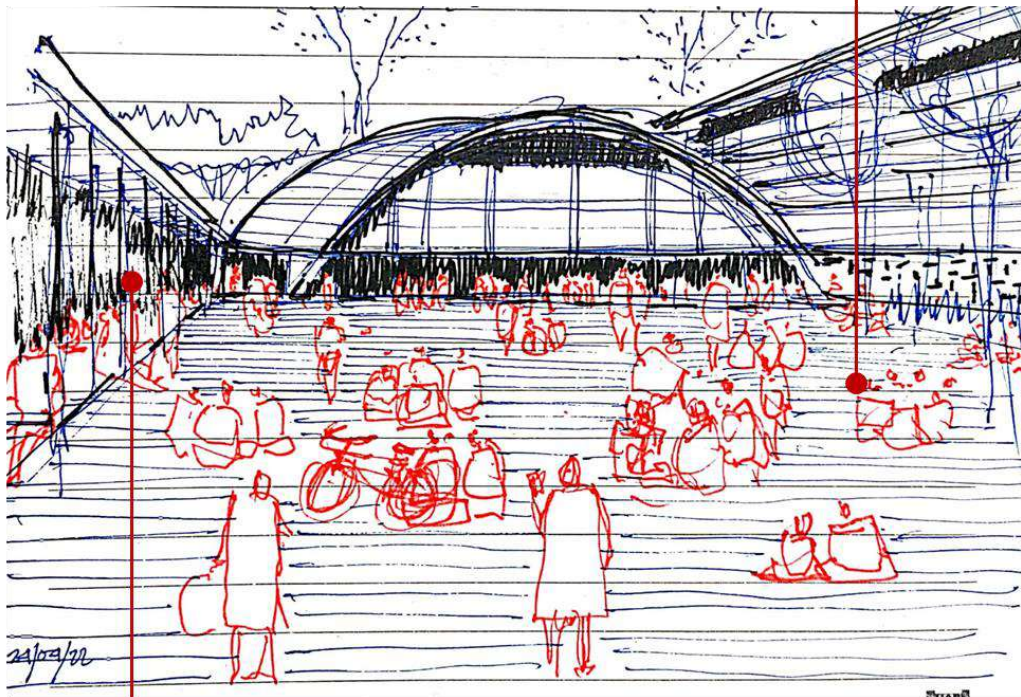
The discussions and the finding of the research have already made it difficult to identify TSC as a building. But the formal designation of the name TSC means the group of building proper arranged around the central open court. The phrase inside TSC means the interior part of the building once one enters through the union building. Different spaces are used as per their originally designed program, but most of the spaces have gone through some adaptation and change in terms of use. These are examples of appropriation of the building proper (Figure 5.).

The building is entered through a very un-ceremonious gateway on the ground floor of the Union Building. the entry feeling is very democratic and innocuous. The ground floor of the building houses some formal functional spaces such as Meeting Rooms, Clubs, Bank, Storage, etc. in the first floor, there are rehearsal room, office room, and drama/ dance room, and on the uppermost floor, there is a teachers' room. The most vibrant and multi-dimensional space is the corridor or pathway. This space is designed as a linear pavilion. This is an adapted version of the pavilion but not on the same scale as a semi-open veranda. The uniqueness is the scale which allows the diversity of use. This is used for sitting space; singing; studying. Even informal jamming sessions of Concerts of different clubs take place in the walkway. The walkways beside the auditorium have been converted into a designated space for prayer with some minor changes for utility and service. Informal meeting of clubs is conducted in the walkways. The auditorium and cafeteria are designated for their formal use. the open spaces inside the complex are more popular with students and visitors alike rather than the indoor functional spaces. The swimming pool area and the open court are such places inside the building. People tend to have more affinity for these places than the building itself. A courtyard is a place for recreational activities such as playing card tournaments, sitting, eating, gossiping, etc. The courtyards surrounded by buildings/structures provide necessary enclosures to encourage open-space gathering. The introverted character of the layout and the buffer created by the buildings also ensure a protective environment by a buffer from the peripheral roads of the site. The field is the most popular spot during Ramadan days where a large number of students can easily be accommodated for iftar feasting. The swimming pool area mostly remains closed from its original purpose, which is swimming or historical activity or worshipping in the sheep temple in recent days used for other activities occasionally such as concerts and art exhibitions or contests (Plate 5).





Activity and Gathering

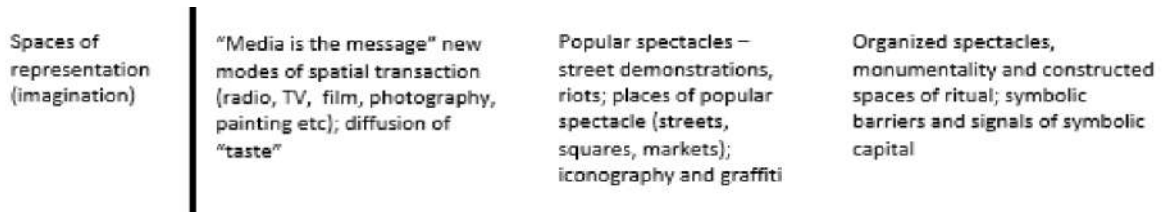


Corridor Section

Figure 5.8: Physical Attributes and Appropriation of the Central Court (Author)

### 5.4.5. Representational Space in TSC

Representational spaces embody complex symbolisms, sometimes coded, sometimes not, linked to the clandestine or underground social life, as also as art (which may come eventually to be defined less as a code of space than a code of representational spaces).



\*The appropriation of space ‘examines how space is used and occupied by individuals, classes, or other social groupings’

From the discussions in the previous chapter, It is clear that “TSC” is not confined within its defined boundary rather its activity and general connotation of being here extends far beyond that (Plate 6). TSC, in that sense, encompasses a lot of physical places and locations beyond its designated complex. This statement is illustrated through the print and electronic media’s comprehensive coverage during the period when the redevelopment scheme for the TSC was a burning issue. A reputed Daily in their report mentioned,

*“The TSC is an architectural icon not only inside the Dhaka University campus but also in the broader cityscape of Dhaka. Like many other architectural landmarks of Dhaka city that have stood the test of time, the TSC has witnessed the spirit and determination of the youth who played a significant role in Bangladesh's independence. Every corner of the TSC has a story to tell. This cultural, social, and political hub for commoners and members of the Dhaka University family alike is under the threat of destruction now. The revolutions that sparked inside the TSC, the historical events, emotions, and memories associated with it are all being neglected in the name of development.”* (MC-E1)

The image and meaning associated with those spots have got attached to the overall image and value of TSC or it has reinforced the Historically acquired image of TSC. Internationally recognized organization as DOCOMOMO in the article “Heritage in Danger” describing TSC as a “universally admired center about the country’s student politics and cultural life” has recognized the significance of TSC, which goes beyond its value of it just as a building. The

Impact of TSC on regular Transaction is Also highlighted in the document through the following statement-

*“TSC should be kept intact considering its association with significant moments in the university’s history and the day-to-day lives of students”.*

The recognition of TSC as a property of significant intangible value is summarized through the concluding declaration of the article -

*“Docomomo International is raising attention to stop the planned demolition of the TSC building as its demolition would mean an irreversible loss not only of an architectural masterpiece but also of an important social-cultural-political building of Dhaka and “a beloved symbol of the city.” (MC-C1, C2, and C3)*

TSC, being at the center of a lot of historical events leading to the independence movement and the war has gained a lot of historic significance. After the independence, nationally significant events like political uprisings against the autocratic government, the movement for the trial of war criminals, and ever-recurring opposition for any fundamentalist anti-nationalist movements have all germinated from TSC. That’s why it has become a place of national political significance. The whole area is scattered with evidence and monuments reminiscent of political movements, their triumph, and their sacrifices. Through these, we are continuously reminded of our students' brave and heroic acts in the major political movements of this country's history. Our history, even when shorn of exaggerations, shows us the power of student politics in challenging unrestrained power (MC-G3).

Professor Lutfor Rahman, DU Teachers' Association acting president and also a teacher of the university's Statistics Department, said

*“The TSC is a place close to the heart of Dhaka University. It has been the center of political, social, and cultural movements since the inception of the university close to a century ago. he also feels that TSC is now a place symbolizing life not only for students and teachers of this university but also for the people of the country and that is why they are important to create a bond with history for the next generation”.* (MC-D2)

The presence of these monuments and their embedded meaning has an uplifting effect on the whole campus. When anyone participates in any movement and expresses solidarity, he feels

a sense of patriotism being a part of the national cause which makes him proud as a Bangladeshi. Similar sentiments are echoed through the informal interview of a non-student visitor when he said

*“All these have significance and hold the spirit that symbolizes Bengali identity and culture”*. (Interview, 22).

Participation or being with the mob in any movement in TSC, also makes one feel responsible as an informed civilian. Even if not in the forefront, just being there and showing solidarity with the cause fills one with a sense of dutifulness (to the nation).

Unlike other urban spots, TSC, being in the middle of a University Campus is mostly frequented by students who represent the younger educated class of society. Former students of Dhaka University, including noted teachers and intellectuals during separate interactions, informed that amidst the chaotic life of this city, many come to the TSC to spend time and reminisce on their youth. It is also home to many artists and cultural activists of Dhaka (MC-E3). Youth are usually associated with culturally enlightened and progressive thinkers of society. That's why it is understandable that most of the cultural movements and upheaval have happened from here. The culturally enlightened youth has stood against the oppression of any cultural practice and identity. The youthful energy and vigor are evident in their collective expression be it for a jubilant or somber occasion.

The presence of this youthful crowd is a positive pull factor for the outside visitors as well as the Alumni, an interviewee said,

*“We come here to learn something from the students, we also take up their attitude, their behavior. We have something to learn from them as well. We come with our children; we introduce them to the university teachers and the classrooms and the facilities. It is a huge inspiration for the children as well as us (as someone who has not studied here)”*. (Interview, 18).

There have been recorded documents of general outsiders participating in cultural or national causes in a liberated and uninhibited manner just fueled by the place and the mass. (Fig-6.5)

A Series of Historic events in numerous political and cultural movements made TSC a place synonymous with reformation and optimism. Professor Syed Manzoorul Islam of Dhaka University said:

*“The TSC is the heart of the cultural and political history of Bangladesh.”*

(MC-B4)

The political history of this region is a testament to how student politics can influence national-level politics, but it is also very distinguishable that not too long ago, the medium of communicating and fulfilling political agendas was political activism. In most cases, these retaliations came in the form of artistic expression and creative freedom.

TSC has always been a place for freedom of Cultural Expression. While discussing this topic a cultural activist alumnus said

*“TSC is the center of the DU campus, but it would be more appropriate to term it as the cultural center. Every department has its own gathering space for students but TSC has always been the main hub for all things related to cultural activity and activism. Though in my opinion, the image of TSC has gradually shifted from being a cultural hub to a place of political activism.”*

(Interview, 05) He also added that,

*“This is where over time TSC has evolved into a place of national significance. TSC, as the name suggests, is primarily a place for the interaction of teachers and students of DU. In recent times the activity of teachers has gradually diminished, but the student-centric activity and gathering of students both from DU and outside have become more prominent.”* (Interview, 06)

This primarily could be credited to the open and democratic nature of the complex, which has historically managed to stay unbiased to any group or class, in particular, that cultural activists were the politically aware group and they led any movement or pressed any demand. That’s why their expression of retaliation and protest have always been nonviolent, and the general people and the common students were always able to associate themselves with them.

He also said,

*“There was a time when political activism was done through cultural activism, in other words politically aware and active students were also the most prominent cultural figures or vice versa. TSC was historically identifiable through cultural activity and organizations. Even though the tolerance and coexistence of these are greater here than in most other places,*

*I credit this to the gradually changing political scenario of the country. With the changing political context, the activity of TSC and inclusiveness have changed. There was a time when political activism was done through cultural activism, in other words politically aware and active students were also the most prominent cultural figures”. (Interview, 06)*

TSC from its initial days has always been a torch bearer for all cultural movements, but with the gradual shift of political context has made the place closer to the general mass and in more recent years, has become a melting pot for all sorts of socio-cultural uprising/movement. So, the use of space in and around the building along with its larger catchment area has broadened significantly to make it a city landmark (Interview, 09). The user and the inhabitants of the premise have become versatile and more democratic. Thus, it can be said political and cultural activism always went hand in hand at TSC and is untainted from partiality toward any party or vested group. This makes the activists of this place the first to respond and get the most cooperation from the general people during any national crisis. A sense of collective compassion can be seen when people from all walks of life irrespective of their age and ability participate in the relief preparation work taken up by students during natural disasters such as floods and cyclones. (Fig-6.6) People queuing up for blood donation camps also resonate with the same sentiment and the general people feel included and have the satisfaction of “I am doing my bit”.

Lived Space or Representational Space is about what is “Felt”. An individual, by being in TSC, can passively or actively feel patriotic, politically conscious and culturally progressive, and most importantly “included”. This feeling of inclusion is common among current students, alumni, and even general visitors.

Veteran historian Professor Muntassir Mamoon said,

*“To plain eyes, the TSC may seem like a place only for casual conversation and entertainment. However, its significance lies beyond that. It is a free space where people can indulge in intellectual discourse. Co-curricular clubs of the university operate from there. Moreover, various cultural programs with Dhaka University students and people from all over the country are organized by the TSC all year round.” (MC-E1).*

Amit Pramanik, a final-year student of Economics at DU, opined that an establishment like TSC should be kept intact considering its association with significant moments in the university's history and the day-to-day lives of students. Amit added,

*“We enjoy the open and welcoming environment of TSC and its community,”*  
(MC-F3).

Over the years, TSC didn't stay exclusive to DU students. The cultural and social hub attracted people from all over Dhaka, such as lawyer Anupoma Joyee.

*“Although I did not study at DU, most of my friends did which ensured that I know which 'mama' at TSC sold the best “morich cha”. Considering how limiting life in Dhaka city is getting for women, lazing around at TSC was a freeing experience. Events came and went by, whether it was Ekushey Boi Mela, Dhaka Lit Fest, Pahela Baishakh or just a random concert, a cup of tea at TSC before going home was a constant”,* she said. (MC-F4).

The members of the civic society share the same affinity for the place, From the architectural and anthropological lens, Architect Iqbal Habib mentioned,

*“Architecture and literature are two pivotal parts of human society that last for generations to tell the history of a nation. TSC is one of the first examples of modern architecture in Dhaka.”* (MC-F5).

When someone feels included, he begins to experience feelings that can't be felt as individuals but only felt collectively as embodied experiences of a mass. One can feel liberated and uninhibited and equal when a collective identity becomes stronger keeping the individual identity intact. (Fig-6.7)

Dixon and Durheim (2000) discussed collective identity and the construction of space as a social and political process whereby people perform place identities through a site-specific form of verbal and non-verbal communication. Such an example could be seen in TSC during any international sports event or celebration of any national occasion. (Fig-6.8) The main roads in front of TSC, the front plaza as well as the internal courtyard could be found transformed into a collective and competing nationhood when the crowd dressed in common festive color or national jersey sings the national anthem or chants celebratory slogans. A similar crowd could be seen sharing the feeling of suffering and loss during an event of mourning by annually transforming a place into national heroism or victimhood through

rituals and embellishments to a memorial of sacrifice, which is unnoticed on an everyday basis.

The “Raju Bhaskarja “and “Memorial for Dr. Milon” are two memorials that commemorate the sacrifice of two individuals. (Fig-6.9) Albeit for two different causes, they both are reminders against political violence. But during any national uprising, these two monuments transcend their original significance. This is evidenced when the Govt. Authority proposed the MRT route through the campus, it was received by the students as damaging the sanctity of these two sculptures and an insult to the sacrifice of life of Dr. Milon and Raju. Because these monuments have transcended their original meaning to become rhetorical to the sanctity of an autonomous educational institute (MC-G3). Over the years they started to symbolize the prevailing truth and demand of the ordinary over the authoritarian unjust and oppression.

Just like these two monuments, users of TSC expressed that there are attached meanings and value to the building itself, the threshold between the building and beyond that. Every corner of the TSC has a story to tell. The users subconsciously get the meaning and eventually respect those values. The openness and informal nature of the use of the Inner Court and the surrounding walkways gives an unmistakable feeling of freedom for self-expression. (Fig-6.10.1) Ar. Adnan Morshed described these covered walkways as a “Social Spine”, (MC-A3) supported on steel columns, it weaves the major buildings and green spaces together. Functioning more like a continuous loop of linear pavilions rather than corridors, the walkways have some territorial demarcation in terms of use. There are mutually agreed decorum and customs that are followed subconsciously. people can spend some alone time here in solitude because it is possible to be here without being someone. on the other hand, one can also participate in large groups

Graffiti and street art is a form of artistic expression which has strong value association. This is demonstrated through the artworks that are there in the entry area. Portrait/ Graffiti of internationally well-known figures such as John Lennon and Che Guevara along with local acclaimed songwriter Sanjeeb Chowdhury symbolizes equity and freedom for the general people, something which they have relentlessly championed throughout their lives. (Fig-6.10.2) The choice of the personality, the symbol and the motive for embellishing the entry is important because it sends out a message to the new visitor about the ideals and values that are pertinent to the place. The portrait of Sanjeeb Chowdhury is representative of someone who attained fame after starting here at TSC. He was the Quintessential cultural activist who



always spoke for the general people and preached nonviolent ways of revolution through his deep songs and lyrics. The Symbols and Motifs are non-religious and are non-referential to any political ideology rather, they are folk motives that are associated with local culture sending a vibe of a secular environment and one where all is equal. All sorts of meaning could be created via images, signs and geometric spaces, whereas value is something that needs to be created, reproduced and defended.

Graffiti has always been a powerful expression against oppression. It has also been a valid way to convey a message of social or political importance. DU campus and TSC is the hub of every movement which compels us to shape our critical consciousness have always been glorified with some significant graffiti. (Fig-6.10.3) Graffiti, similar to its attached Value, needs to be created, reproduced and defended. And the process is a phenomenon in itself. According to urban thinker Kim Dovey,

*“Graffiti is produced from intersecting and often conflicting desires to create or protect the urban character and place identity.”* He also said, *“Graffiti not only creates value, but it is also a very potent tool for place-making and territorial marking”*.

Graffiti is constantly under threat from its opposing sentiment and needs to be defended to serve its purpose. If the sentiment, as well as the significance of the graffiti, becomes widely accepted it positively impacts a space and its uses with its embedded meaning and Value.

The above discussion tried to trace the Lived Spaces in TSC by revealing some instances of passive experiences of its user. Spaces and events in TSC give people individual and collective feelings of pride, empowerment, liberation and inclusion to name a few. Lived spaces are also invested with meaning and value associated with them through signs, symbols and artistic expressions.

In between the built form of TSC and within its abstract and physical layer lies its true value in everyday life that has given shape and meaning to the heritage and culture of its people for over a few decades. In this chapter every day, ordinary and occasional interactions and transactions are explored to highlight the importance of ‘place’ in producing culture and creating an integrated, egalitarian urban social fabric that contributes significantly to the urban morphology of the city. It also seeks to identify and explore the socio-cultural value of TSC, particularly the character of its intangible cultural heritage but more specifically what could be suggests as ordinary heritage.

		Spatial Constructs		SP											RS										
		Features of Place		Form				Collective Action/ Activity							Elastic Boundaries		Meanings								
		Indicators Attributes Aspects		Dimensions (geometry)	Tissue and decorations	Relationships and Layout	Light	Social Interactions	Satisfactions	Form	Structure	Function	Circulation and Routes	Public and Private Space	Accessible space	Boundaries	Places of Abode	Junction points	Identity	Beauty	Symbol	Memory	Sensational experiences and Personal perceptions		
				1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20		
Data Collection Tools	Archival Document																							step>1	
	Artifact																								step>2
	Observation																								
	Interview	Media Coverage		MC-E4 MC-F1 MC-F6	MC-I2	MC-F4	MC-E1 MC-E3	MC-E3 MC-E4 MC-F1 MC-F4 MC-F6 MC-G1	MC-E4 MC-F1 MC-F4 MC-F6 MC-G1	MC-E1 MC-F2 MC-F3 MC-I2	MC-E1	MC-E1 MC-F2 MC-F3			MC-D5 MC-E3 MC-F2 MC-F4	MC-E2 MC-I2	MC-C1 MC-C2 MC-C3 MC-D3 MC-E1 MC-F2 MC-F5 MC-F6	MC-C1 MC-G3 MC-C4 MC-D2 MC-D4 MC-F5 MC-H1 MC-I1	MC-B4 MC-C2 MC-C3 MC-D2 MC-E2 MC-D4 MC-F5 MC-H1 MC-I1	MC-B1 MC-D4 MC-B5 MC-D1 MC-D3 MC-D6	MC-B1 MC-B3 MC-B4 MC-B5 MC-D1 MC-D3 MC-D6				
Semi Structured Interview			I-12 I-13 I-14		I-3 I-21	I-3 I-17 I-18 I-23 I-25	I-11 I-12 I-30		I-5 I-7 I-8	I-28	I-4 I-9 I-10 I-11 I-12 I-29	I-4 I-14	I-3 I-5 I-11		I-20	I-6 I-16 I-19 I-22 I-24		I-6 I-9 I-18 I-24 I-26	I-3 I-10 I-19	I-20					
<b>Note:</b>		Interviews in Media are in Annexure 2: The Media Coverages (MC) are tagged as MC. There are 9 entries coded as MC-A to MC-I and quotes are tagged as MC-A1/2/3 Transcriptions of Face to Face Interviews are in Annexure 3: The Interviews are tagged with "I". quotes are tagged as I-1/2/3 etc.																							

Table 5.1: Data analysis and data coding matrix



Plate 5: Data analysis and data coding matrix



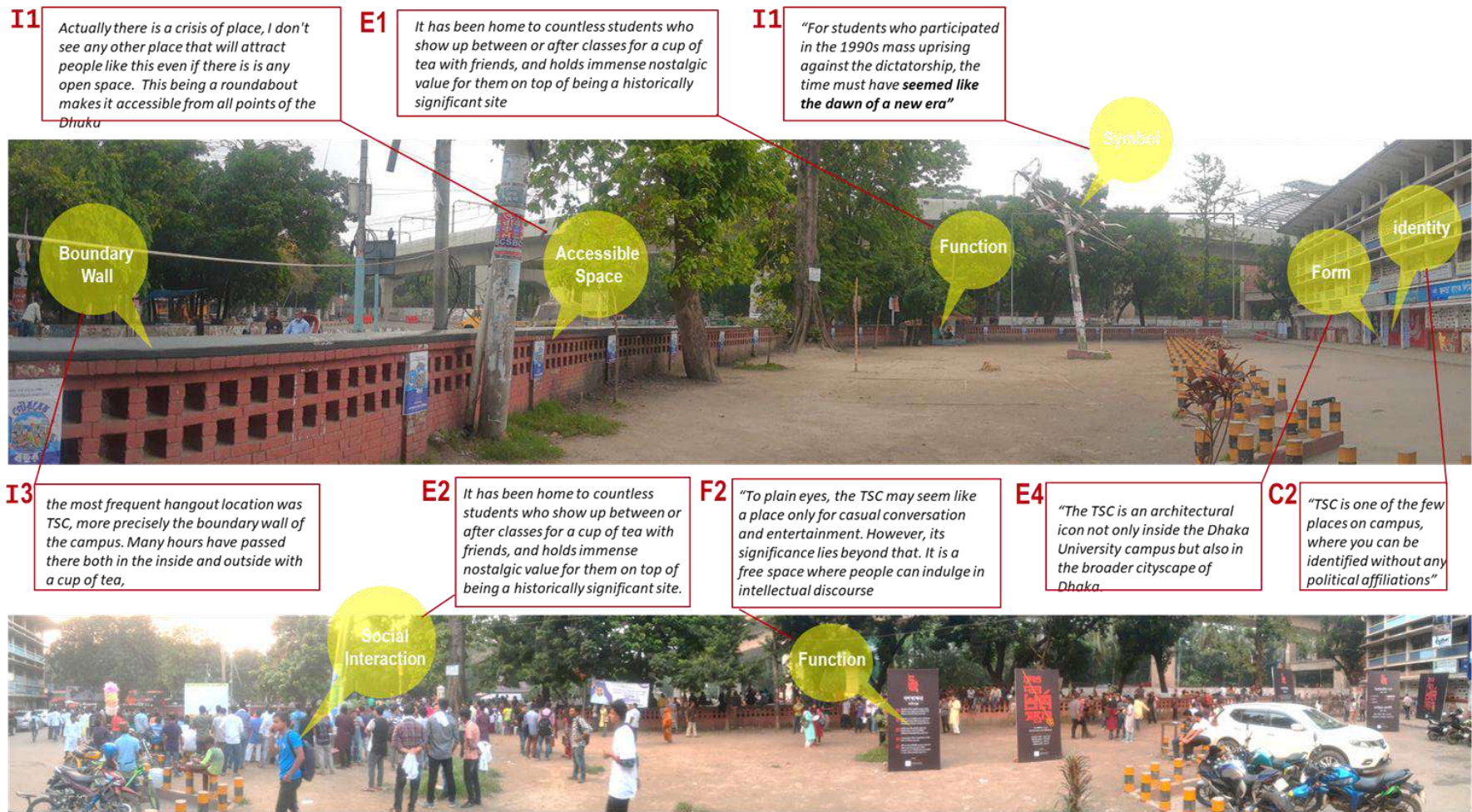


Plate 5: Data analysis and data coding matrix





Unoccupied and Unaltered Condition

Functional Distortion and Physical Distortion after Ordinary Engagement starts to happen

Emergence of Spatial Attributes through collective action  
Creation of meaning and memory through Attributes



Plate 7: TSC: Appropriation and Indegenization





HEART OF POLITICAL AND CULTURAL HISTORY



পুরা এলাকাটাই টি এস সি

**Actors and Activity**

The distortion in its kinetic form TSC the most vibrant social space where everyday negotiations can be articulated among different actors.

Plate 7: TSC: Appropriation and Indigenization





টি এস সি  
অনেকটা দেশের  
বিবেকের মত  
কাজ করে



এখানে ৪ বছর  
সংগঠন করেছি

বেশী আড্ডা  
দেই টিং এর  
দোকান আর  
টি এস সি র  
বারান্দায়



The PULL  
FACTOR of  
TSC is it's  
INCLUSIVITY



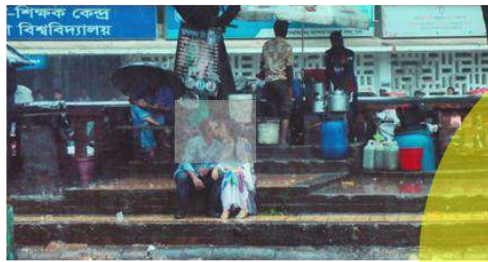
এইখানে আসা  
মানে এক রকম  
Comfort Zone  
এর মধ্যে  
আসা

### Actors and Activity

during national occasions or celebrations, the transformative capacity of the fluid boundary is seen at its full capacity. TSC at that time truly transforms from its institutional scale into a city scale,



Plate 6: TSC: Appropriation and Indigenization



these festivals are considered a secular identity of the country and portray the image of unity”.

Spaces and events in TSC give individual and collective feelings of pride, empowered, liberated, and included to name a few. Lived spaces are also invested with meaning and value associated with them through signs, symbols, and artistic expressions.

**Appropriation  
Indigenization**

it plays a vital role in the ways how the collective identity is constructed in contemporary urban life. In a world where identity is fundamental to politics and class contestation, architectural heritage mold a form of collective aspiration that determines the overall city aesthetic or the mode of aesthetic the city in an exclusive direction/definition/form

Plate 7: TSC: Appropriation and Indigenization



## CHAPTER 6:

### ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

#### *Preamble*

*The discussion summarizes the research findings. Throughout the research, the main intention was to trace for appropriation and look for shreds of evidence of indigenization by the general user. According to the research framework these deviations from the original idea were sought in the built form. These could be discussed as the change in conceived space or the conception of an idea in the architect's mind. The discussion of Perceived Space and Lived Space indicates the evolving activity pattern and the memory association of the space respectively. The chapter examines how Modernist Public Buildings of the mid-20th century in Bangladesh have become a heritage of the common through their capacity to engage as a place with the aspects of ordinary life, instead of its artifact or stylistic value.*

## **6.1.DISCUSSION AND ANALYSIS**

### **6.1.1 DISCUSSION**

As the earlier chapter shows, the activity and memory-making capacity of TSC is a complex assemblage happening in transient areas. As its spaces are constantly evolving and adjusting to the activity and memory of the people, spaces are continuously being appropriated. These appropriations could be summarized from the following spatial perceptions.

#### **6.1.1.1 Conceived Space:**

From a historical perspective, the significance of TSC in terms of its stylistic or canonic value requires critical evaluation. There are projects by other architects or even C.A. Doxiadis himself that have more authentic modernist features in terms of material and technology or overall philosophical consistency. But for TSC, the geopolitical backdrop and its socio-political impact make the project very influential on the overall landscape of the region. C.A.Doxiadis unknowingly has created an example of “indigenous modernism”, a term that was coined much later after the advent of postmodernism.

C. A. Doxiadis, while approaching the projects in East Pakistan, took a different philosophical approach. This approach is very different from his then-popular architectural ideology of Ekistics. He wanted to project an agrarian image for this region and tried to incorporate such stylistic and symbolic elements in his architecture. His Diary and Travel Journal at the Doxiadis archives documented this thought process. C. A. Doxiadis wanted to formulate a pastoral image in the architecture by making a masterplan and building layout following elements like Dochala form, Courtyard, or even semi-open Veranda, all the while using modern architectural aesthetics. This thought process indicates the immediate departure from his generic philosophy to make something appropriate for the culture and climate of the region.

#### **6.1.1.2 Perceived Space:**

While analyzing the Spatial Practice, three aspects of the building are investigated. The stakeholder analysis reveals the diversified user and beneficiaries of the complex and their interrelation in making it work as an ecosystem. The activity that takes place in the complex is not always in line with its original conception of TSC but rather evolved to become

something that has surpassed its institutional boundary to become a social hot spot in the city. Spatial mapping of the complex reveals that not all the places are equally vibrant and active, but the transitional spaces are more popular among the users and the activity spectrum of the building radiates way beyond its epicenter.

### **6.1.1.3 Representational Space:**

Interaction with the active users and investigation of different media coverages on TSC reveals that the building itself has some sort of iconic value to it. The complex has become synonymous with the progressive cultural and national identity. By being the germination point of major socio-political movements the complex has acquired historical value. The value and meaning association are also expressed in the spatial and territorial articulation resulting from the graffiti work on the campus.

The above discussion tried to trace the Lived Spaces in TSC by revealing some instances of passive experiences of its user. Spaces and events in TSC give people individual and collective feelings of pride, empowerment, and liberation, and included to name a few. Lived spaces are also invested with meaning and value associated with them through signs, symbols, and artistic expressions.

From the preceding analysis and discussion, it is evidenced that TSC, over the span of the last half a century, has played host to activities ranging from socio-cultural to socio-political from institutional to national scale. Hilde Heynen in her acclaimed article has acknowledged the need for a shared scholarly paradigm capable of explaining such interaction between spatial and social constellations. In her writing, she has presented a model which identifies 3 important ways to conceptualize this interaction. In her opinion space can operate as i) Receptor ii) Instrument and iii) Stage. An in-depth mapping of activity and exchanges in and around TSC establishes that the complex is a manifestation of the theory of Heynen.

TSC is originally conceived as an instrument to elevate the standard of education while being rooted in the context. The variety of activities and actors currently present in the day-to-day function establishes the immense capacity of the building to act as a flexible receptacle. It not only just provides the spatial requirement or the built environment to fulfill the utilitarian need, but it also acts as a stage for the theatrics where the ordinary citizen becomes the main protagonist. The stage also at times becomes detrimental for the antagonist. The stage can thus become a source of intangible values such as freedom, identity, solidarity, etc. Accommodating all of the above makes TSC a “Place”

## 6.1.2 INTERPRETATION AND ANALYSIS

*“The Kinetic City forces the Static City to re-engage itself in present conditions by dissolving its utopian projects to fabricate multiple dialogues with its context. Could this become the basis for rational discussion about coexistence”*

- Rahul Mehrotra, 2008

The above quotation by Rahul Mehrotra from his article entitled, *Negotiating the Static and Kinetic Cities: The emergent urbanism of Mumbai* (2008) could be taken as a starting point for the concluding discussion. For the sake of this research, the statement can be used to rephrase and re-interpret the original theoretical idea about the city to understand critically the engagement of Modernist Public buildings with the public domain. The modernist building is static and the threshold of the building where ordinary people’s lives engage gives a kinetic form to Modernist architecture. The preceding chapters reveal how TSC has become a critical site for negotiation between the public and private domains through the various forms of distortions of the original layout plan. The distortion in its kinetic form creates a threshold between these two domains, which has made TSC the most vibrant social space where everyday negotiations can be articulated among different actors. In the appraisal of modern architecture, these spaces, which are ever-transforming and evolving are largely been excluded. The focus is mostly on the static attributes of the architecture rather than these informal kinetic aspects, that essentially contribute to making them the Heritage of the common.

Thus to define the key criteria for evaluating Modern architecture as Architectural Heritage, International Umbrella Organizations like Docomomo have often considered the static artifact values of Modern Architecture as important markers. The Docomomo lists six criteria to evaluate the ‘significance’ of modern architecture including technological merit, social merit, integrity and artistic/aesthetic merit (Docomomo, 2021). None of the above considered the transformative character of architecture for becoming a Heritage and what role the ordinary people can play in the transformation to become an architectural heritage. Instead, an exclusive and elite understanding of heritage in its unadulterated form stands out, where the building and the architect exist to be inseparable.

This research identifies that TSC comprises two components that occupy the same physical sphere. The presence of the static and formal as well as informal or kinetic has been adequately documented in the research and study phase of this Thesis.

While the static part of the TSC has been well documented by presenting archival documents, maps and original writings of the architect without limited interpretation. However, the informal part that is created through the everyday activity of the ordinary engagement has been analyzed thoroughly to comprehend place-making and how that contributes to making the place the heritage of the common. The spaces between the formal and informal tie the incrementally built nostalgia, ownership and memories. These processes constantly modify and reinvent the places inside and outside of TSC, making it evolve every day. It is not perceived as a static built space but rather as a place associated with value, meaning and adaptation. The various patterns of activities examined and narrated in the thesis determine the form and perception of TSC.

Representation of TSC, therefore, is not happening by its static physical form but through the dynamic activity creating spaces that are fluid and transient. Pieces of evidence collected throughout this research establish that fact. Nonetheless, the perception illustrated in a Google search for “TSC Dhaka” corroborates the fact, that the outcome shows a mosaic of images of the building as well as the images of activities happening in or outside the building. It illustrates that the building does not need to become a spectacle; rather the spectacles happening around it make it more belonged to ordinary people. The apparent distortion of the original layout also intertwines TSC with the city's urban fabric.

The transformative capacity of the current TSC makes it a Kinetic architecture as opposed to having fixed dimensions. The boundary condition of the front plaza showcases the transformative ability of the space during episodic events, including national festivals/occasions. The boundary wall and the front Plaza are also regularly seen to be changing even during an ordinary day between morning to evening. In particular, during national occasions or celebrations, the transformative capacity of the fluid boundary is seen at its full capacity. TSC at that time truly transforms from its institutional scale into a city scale, embracing the sudden increase of traffic volume in its strive to become a democratic platform.

The boundary of TSC is then a place of reference where the negotiation between the static and the kinetic gets its most evident form. The boundary and the footpath, in recognition of the negotiation, embrace informal commerce.

In the investigation of “ Place”, it is evident that activity and an association of memory and value are vital. Both memory and value could be formed collectively or individually. The Heritage discourse strongly propagates the idea of Significance and Value as two critical attributes of identifying cultural heritage. But similar to the overall conception of heritage, this belief of significance is also static. As we see in the case of TSC, the significance and value of its architecture are deeply interconnected with the conception of place.

Since the original socio-political agendas of the Pakistan period regime have become outdated in the current context of TSC, so is any colonial agenda of power. The post-colonial setting of contemporary Bangladesh demands its cultural and heritage significance be created through an enacted process of the ordinary – where TSC is an important example Modernist public buildings represents such manifestation. The production of space in TSC transforms its architecture into a dynamic and evolving state, where the ordinary people as users are actively involved in creating its heritage significance.

The social agency of the common people in transforming the architecture for contextual appropriation and in the making of an architectural heritage remains outside the evaluating criteria of DOCOMOMO as well as the generic comprehension of Heritage. Such an exclusive comprehension largely affects how Modern Architectural Heritage buildings and sites are selected and governed in a city. Nonetheless, it plays a vital role in the ways how the collective identity is constructed in contemporary urban life. In a world where identity is fundamental to politics and class contestation, architectural heritage molds a form of collective aspiration that determines the overall city aesthetic or the mode of the aesthetic of the city in an exclusive direction/definition/form (Podder et al., 2018). Such aspirations could leave the modern architecture in the city disengaged from the everyday life and livelihood of the ordinary, and deprive/ignore a larger urban population in the Global South to make/identify or unmake their version of Architectural Heritage.

This socio-spatial assemblage of the ordinary hence opens up the possibility of a novel conceptual frame that encompasses the heritage value of Modern architecture that contrasts the more informed, elitist, and formalist approach of DOCOMOMO.

## 6.2. CONCLUSION

The Thesis examines how Modernist Public Buildings of the mid-20th century in Bangladesh have become a heritage of the common through their capacity to engage as a place with the aspects of ordinary life, instead of its artifact or stylistic value. To achieve this, three aspects of the problem have been explored. First, the conventional and emerging scholarship have been reviewed to identify the scope and limitations of the existing definition of Architectural Heritage concerning Modern Architecture. Second, to identify the modern architectural design principles and elements, a specific case has been selected, and its concept has been explored in its original form in the context of 1960s postcolonial Dhaka. And finally, the transformation of the original (modernist) design principles and their extent of indigenization through the place-making of the ordinary people have been examined to conceptualize their reciprocal relationship.

Exploration of TSC was carried out to identify the Modernist iconic/stylistic qualities as well as the social agency of heritage associated with it. The study was carried out from three spatial perceptions by exploring the case of the Teacher-Student Centre (TSC). The study reveals in addition to the physical features (artefactual) and stylistic values, the Dhaka citizen and university students' engagements with, within and around this modernist building have instilled in it a different sense of identity. These engagements have contributed to the TSC building's otherwise evolution beyond its original conceptualization and its persistent unmaking while negotiating the aspiration, needs, aesthetics and reasoning of its everyday users

For academics, studying and researching Architectural Heritage requires a whole new lens, set of tools and methods, for the identification and selection criteria vastly differ from those commonly applied. An investigation on the extent of indigenization of modernist ethos through the ordinary people's everyday participation in a selected case might therefore open a new avenue to comprehend Modern Architecture as Heritage, as opposed to the more informed lens of evaluating these as an exotic artifact.

This study aims to open up a new avenue to comprehend Modern Architecture in the mid-20th century as Heritage and contribute to the broadening of the existing guideline for the enlistment, conservation, and management of Architectural Heritage in the broader context of Bangladesh.



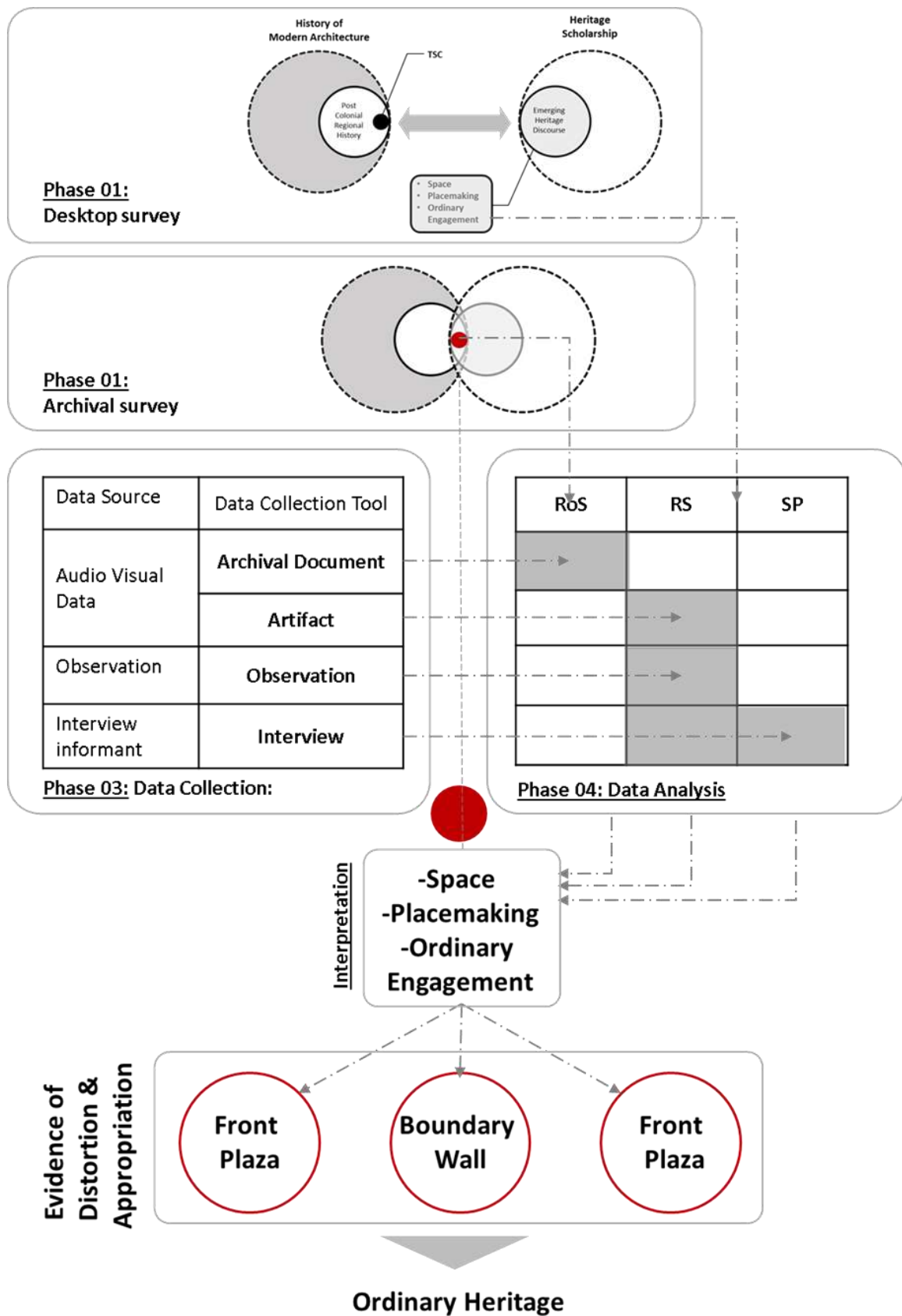


Fig 6.2: Synopsis of the Findings (Author)

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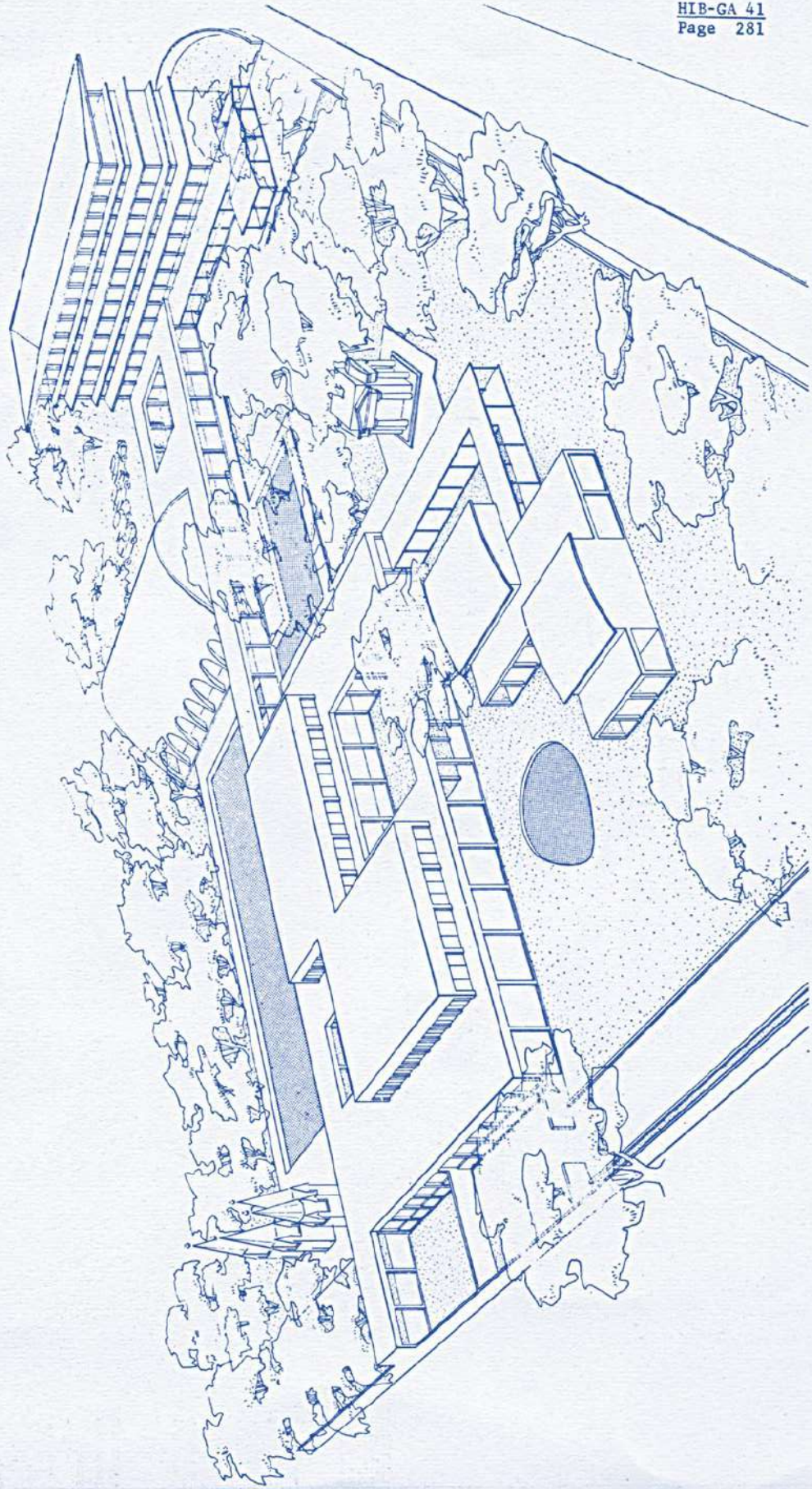
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## **Annexure-1**

### **Original Drawings of TSC**



**Appendix -A: Original Drawings of TSC (1962)**



HIB-GA 41  
Page 281

TEACHER - STUDENT CENTER IN DACCA • PERSPECTIVE VIEW



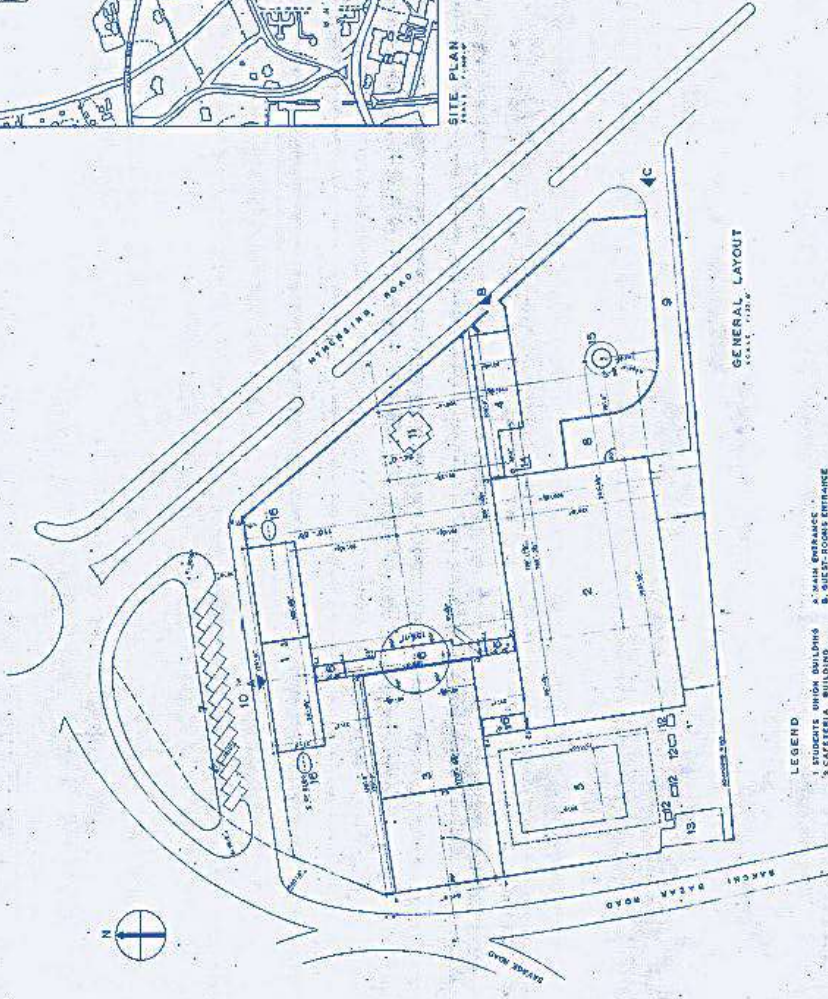
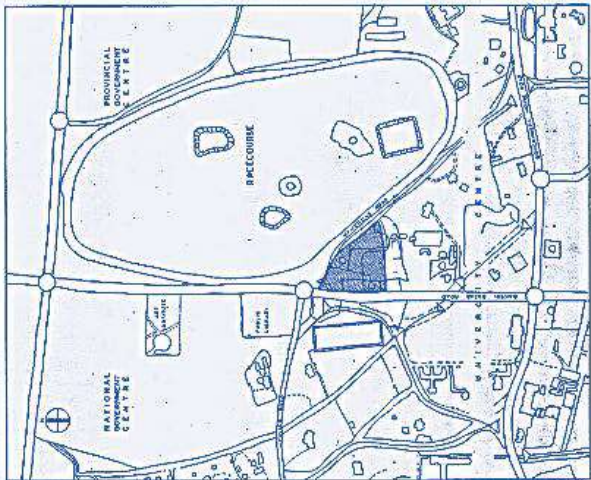
GOVERNMENT OF EAST PAKISTAN  
 UNIVERSITY OF CHANDLER  
 UNIVERSITY OF HULL  
 CONSULTANTS ASSOCIATES  
 ARCHITECTS

PS-988  
 TEACHER-STUDENT CENTER  
 AT DACCA  
 GENERAL LAYOUT  
 SITE PLAN

Scale As shown  
 A 1/4" = 1'-0"

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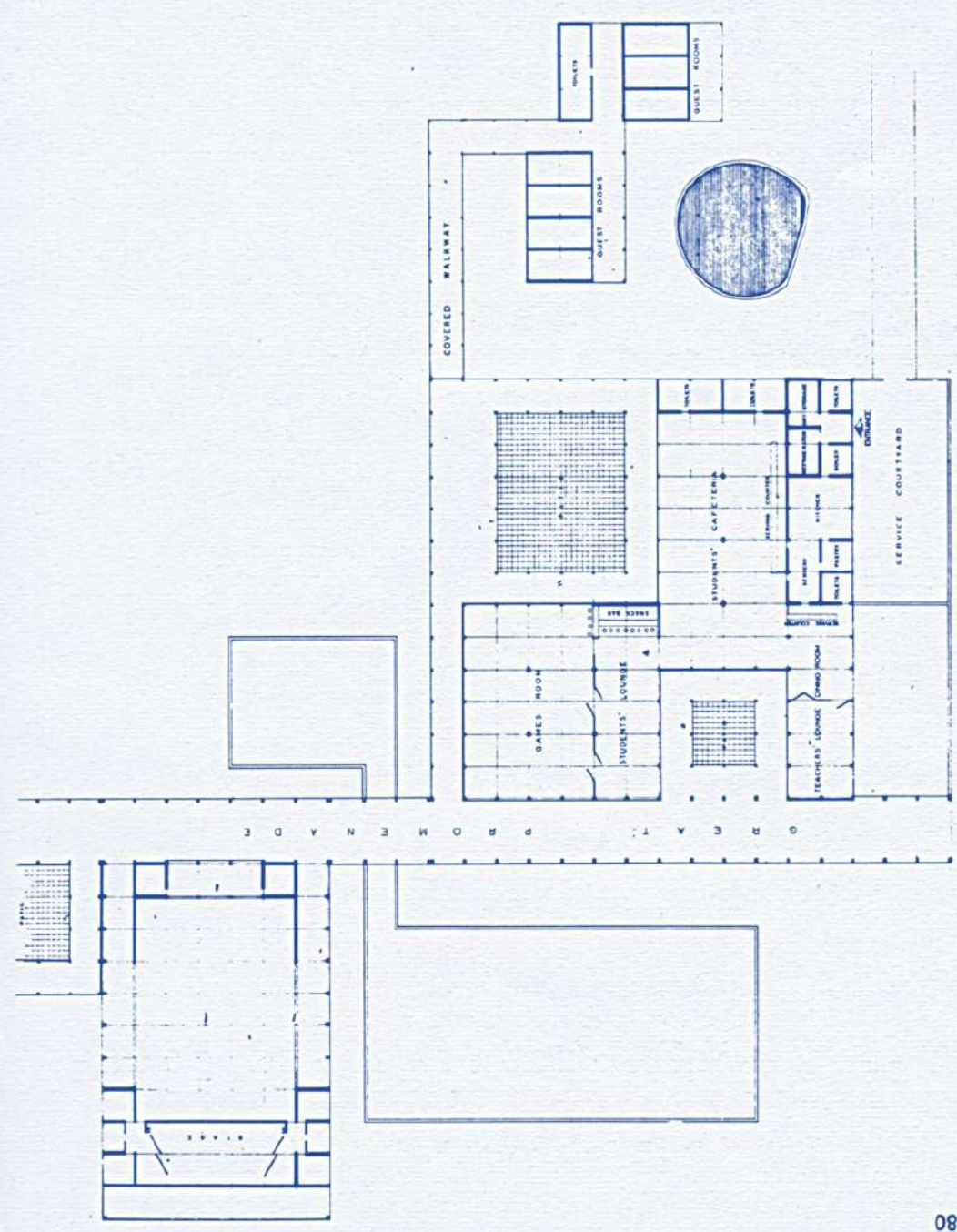
OFFICE ADDRESS:  
 100, RAJSHAHI ROAD, DAKKA  
 100, RAJSHAHI ROAD, DAKKA  
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- LEGEND
- 1 STUDENTS UNION BUILDING
  - 2 MAIN ENTRANCE
  - 3 AUDITORIUM
  - 4 GUEST ROOMS
  - 5 SERVICE ENTRANCE
  - 6 SERVICE MALLWAY
  - 7 PARKING
  - 8 SERVICE YARD
  - 9 CARRIAGE ROAD
  - 10 EXISTING HINDI TONN
  - 11 EXISTING HINDI TONN
  - 12 EXISTING HINDI TONN
  - 13 EXISTING TREE
  - 14 WATER TOWER
  - 15 SWIMMING POOL

NO.	REVISION	DATE
1	ISSUED FOR PERMIT	10/11/66
2	ISSUED FOR PERMIT	10/11/66
3	ISSUED FOR PERMIT	10/11/66
4	ISSUED FOR PERMIT	10/11/66
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7	ISSUED FOR PERMIT	10/11/66
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9	ISSUED FOR PERMIT	10/11/66
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14	ISSUED FOR PERMIT	10/11/66
15	ISSUED FOR PERMIT	10/11/66
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17	ISSUED FOR PERMIT	10/11/66
18	ISSUED FOR PERMIT	10/11/66
19	ISSUED FOR PERMIT	10/11/66
20	ISSUED FOR PERMIT	10/11/66





GROUND FLOOR PLAN

SCALE 1/8" = 1'-0"





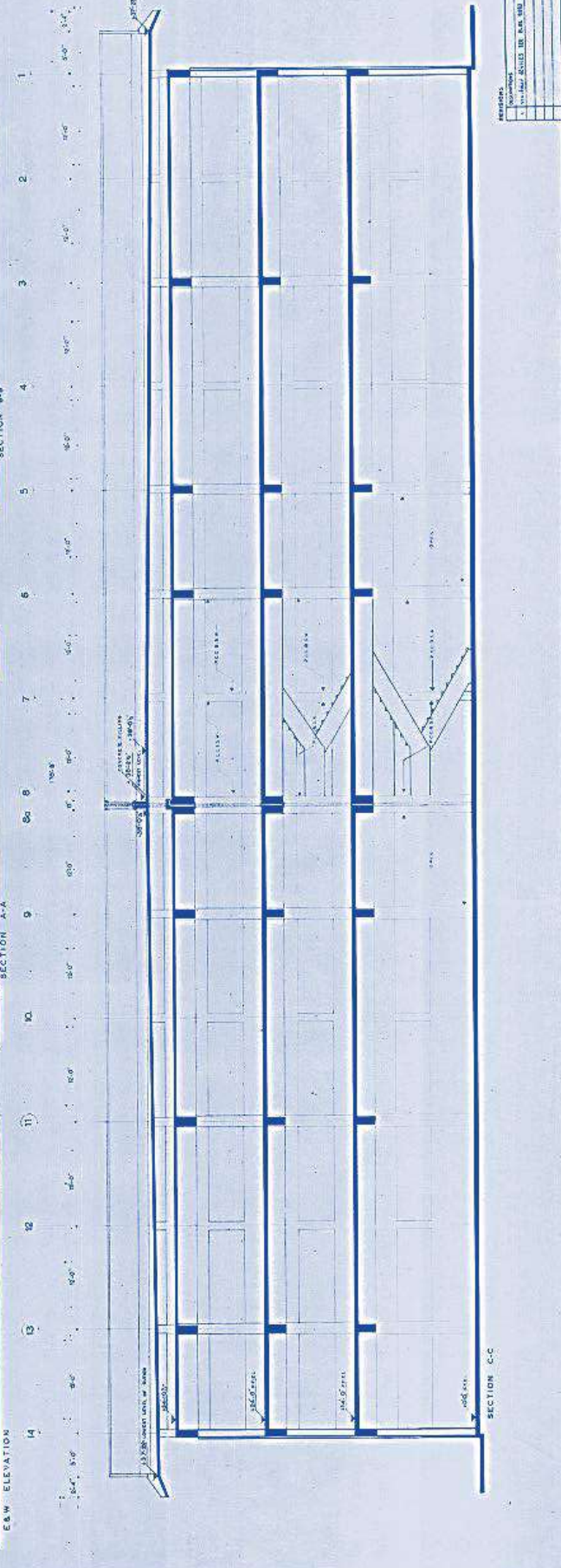
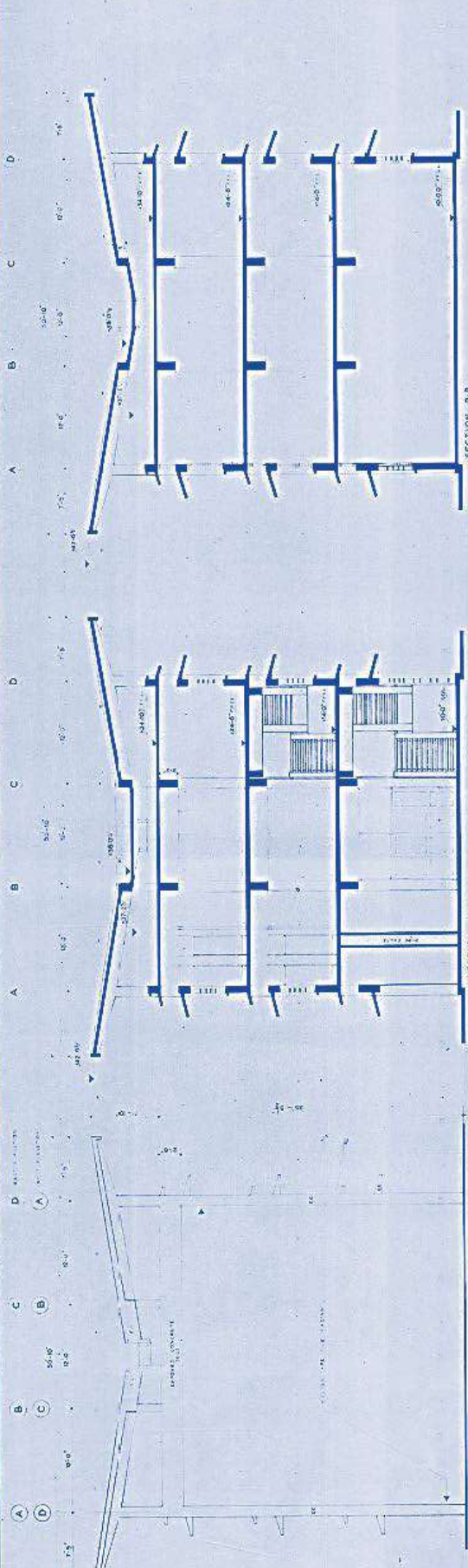












NO.	REVISION	DATE	BY
1	ISSUED FOR CONSTRUCTION	10/10/77	M. A. H. KHAN







GOVERNMENT  
OF PAKISTAN

MINISTRY OF  
WORKS AND  
CONSTRUCTION

PROJECT NO.  
PB-198

RAJASTHAN  
CENTRE  
AT RAJAPUR

ARCHITECT  
M/S. S. S. S. S.

SCALE  
1:100

DATE  
1958

NO. OF SHEETS  
1 OF 1

PROJECT NO.  
PB-198

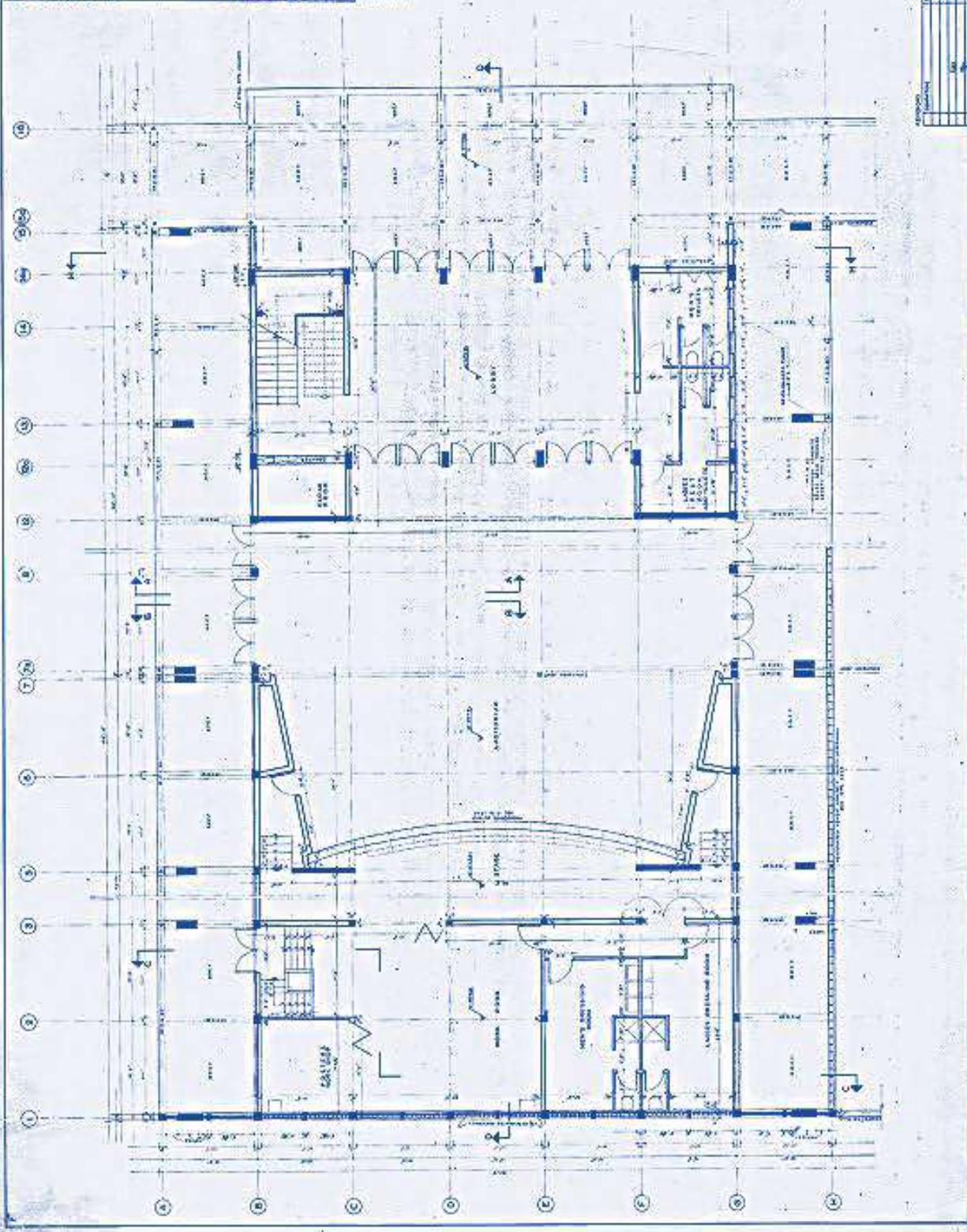
RAJASTHAN  
CENTRE  
AT RAJAPUR

ARCHITECT  
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SCALE  
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1958

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1 OF 1



NO.	REVISION	DATE

## **Annexure-2**

### **Media Coverage**

## Appendix: Media Coverage

Ref	Title	Author	Media	Link
A	An architectural gem at the political heartland	Adnan Morshed	The Daily Star	<a href="https://www.thedailystar.net/news/opinion/the-grudging-urbanist/architectural-gem-the-political-heartland-1616761">https://www.thedailystar.net/news/opinion/the-grudging-urbanist/architectural-gem-the-political-heartland-1616761</a> 12:00 AM, August 07, 2018 / LAST MODIFIED: 11:48 AM, August 07, 2018
B	Architects scrambling for alternatives to TSC demolition	Mehedi Hasan	Dhaka Tribune	<a href="https://www.dhakatribune.com/bangladesh/2021/01/27/architects-scrambling-for-alternatives-to-tsc-demolition">https://www.dhakatribune.com/bangladesh/2021/01/27/architects-scrambling-for-alternatives-to-tsc-demolition</a> Published at 10:01 pm January 27th, 2021
C	Preserving TSC's rich legacy	Shihab Sarkar	The Financial Express	<a href="https://thefinancialexpress.com.bd/print/preserving-tscs-rich-legacy-1624895682">https://thefinancialexpress.com.bd/print/preserving-tscs-rich-legacy-1624895682</a> Monday, 28 June 2021
D	Under Threat: Dhaka University's TSC Building by Constantinos Doxiadis, Dhaka, Bangladesh, 1960s	Editorial	The DOCOMOMO	<a href="https://www.docomomo.com/heritage/under-threat-dhaka-universitys-tsc-building">https://www.docomomo.com/heritage/under-threat-dhaka-universitys-tsc-building</a>
E	TSC matters for next generation:		The Business Standard	<a href="https://www.tbsnews.net/bangladesh/education/tsc-matters-next-generation-architects-177841">https://www.tbsnews.net/bangladesh/education/tsc-matters-next-generation-architects-177841</a>
F	Are plans to demolish Dhaka University's TSC justified?	Auroni Semonti Khan, Sadique Mahub Islam	The Daily Star	<a href="https://www.thedailystar.net/supplements/30th-anniversary-supplements/agents-change/news/are-plans-demolish-dhaka-universitys-tsc-justified-2">https://www.thedailystar.net/supplements/30th-anniversary-supplements/agents-change/news/are-plans-demolish-dhaka-universitys-tsc-justified-2</a>
G	Iconic TSC soon to be erased   The Daily Star		The Daily Star	<a href="https://www.thedailystar.net/city/news/iconic-tsc-soon-be-erased-2015289">https://www.thedailystar.net/city/news/iconic-tsc-soon-be-erased-2015289</a> 2/4
H	TSC Renovation: How will the new look be?	Hasan Al Manjur -	UNB NEWS	<a href="https://unb.com.bd/m/category/special/tsc-renovation-how-will-the-new-look-be/67985">https://unb.com.bd/m/category/special/tsc-renovation-how-will-the-new-look-be/67985</a>

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TSC to be renovate  
keeping old structure

DHAKA UNIVERSITY □  
PUBLISH- APRIL 23, 2021, 03:51  
PM

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I DU students protest  
metro rail route  
through campus

Arif Ahmed

Dhaka  
Tribune,

<https://archive.dhakatribune.com/uncategorized/2016/01/07/du-students-protest-metro-rail-route-through-campus>

Published at 08:08 pm January 7th,  
2016

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J A voice that still  
resonates  
In memory of Moin  
Hossain Raju who was  
gunned down on this  
day in 1992 while  
protesting violent  
student politics

Moyukh  
Mahtab

The Daily  
Star,

<https://www.thedailystar.net/opinion/tribute/voice-still-resonates-1547224>

Tue Mar 13, 2018 12:00 AM

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## **A. An Architectural Gem at The Political Heartland**

### **B. Architects Scrambling for Alternatives to TSC Demolition**

The DU authorities are planning to build a multi-storied building in place of the current TSC building. Leading architects and a section of civil society have dedicated themselves to finding an alternative to the demolition of the iconic Teacher Student Centre (TSC) at Dhaka University.

The TSC is an invaluable part of Bangladesh's cultural heritage and among the modern architectural landmarks of the country the building was originally designed by a Greek architect and built in the 1960s. The DU authorities are planning to build a multi-storied building in place of the current TSC. The decision has sparked widespread criticism from various quarters.

The Constantinou Apostolou Doxiadis archives, the firm that represents the architect who designed TSC, also expressed de concern over the potential destruction of an architectural masterpiece.

### **Why demolish when you can develop?**

Architects and civil society members have suggested that the authorities incorporate the existing buildings in the new design instead of demolishing them. As an example, they cited the recent plans of the Indian Institute of Management in Ahmedabad (IIMA). The institute had

planned to demolish the red-brick student dormitories designed by Louis Kahn, who was also the architect of Bangladesh's National Parliament complex in the early 1960s. On January 1, the IIMA scrapped the demolition plan and began looking at alternatives in order to preserve the buildings.

Professor Zainab Faruqui Ali, chairperson of the department of architecture at Brac University, said:

**[MC-B1]:**

*"The DU TSC holds more than just architectural significance. It has a central part in Bangladesh's political and cultural history.*

she also added,

**[MC-B2]:**

*"A team of architects are developing proposals and plans on alternatives to the demolition. The plan on the TSC will include how the landmark can be kept intact,"*

An online poll is being conducted in partnership with Dhaka Tribune and Bangla Tribune to gauge public opinion on possible alternatives, added the professor. cost of destroying historic landmarks.

**[MC-B3]:**



*“We must find alternatives that keep the existing structure, while also being environment and climate friendly. A team of architects is almost at the final stage of designing some proposals, where the original structure will be kept intact,”* he said.

The IAB president added that the architect community was trying to hold a meeting with the DU authorities to present their proposals.

“The authorities may also hold a design competition to find alternatives to the demolition plan,” he suggested.

He also said discussions with civil society were underway and their opinions would be taken into consideration.

Professor Syed Manzoorul Islam of Dhaka University said:

**[MC-B4]:**

*“The TSC is the heart of the cultural and political history of Bangladesh and it must be kept in place.”*

Veteran historian Professor Muntassir Mamoon agreed with the DU authorities’ argument that the university needed infrastructural development to accommodate a higher number of students and teachers, but he said the ultimate agenda should not be a demolition plan.

**[MC-B5]:**

*“We are in favor of development, but not by demolishing our heritage. The authorities have enough space in the Dhaka University area to implement the new plan, but the TSC must remain as it is now,”* he added.

## **TSC Demolition Plan**

TSC - a universally admired center in relation to the country’s student politics and cultural life - will be rebuilt into a modern structure ahead of the university’s birth centenary celebrations in 2021, according to a government decision.

The Public Works Department (PWD) came up with the demolition plan after Prime Minister Sheikh Hasina on September 2 called for a modernization of Dhaka Medical College Hospital (DMCH), TSC and the Public Library at Shahbagh.

The premier on the day said plans for many institutions, including DMCH, had already been formulated but the design for the TSC had not been completed yet. She also said she had already directed the authorities concerned to prepare the design in a proper manner, as she wanted rebuild the center as a modern one.

On November 29, however, Executive Engineer of the Public Work Department (PWD) Dhaka Circle-4 Md Mahabubur Rahm said the entire existing TSC establishment would be demolished and a new complex would be built as per plans of the authorities.

The Greek architect, planner and theoretician, Constantinos Apostolos Doxiadis (1913-1975), designed the TSC in the early 1960s. Later, the TSC building was built as part of the so-called Decade of Development (between 1958 and 1968) of the Pakistani military government of General Ayub Khan.

Plans for the demolition of the iconic TSC sparked an outcry among former and current students and teachers of the university after Dhaka Tribune ran a report in this regard.

### **Preserving TSC's rich legacy**

Conservationists must be feeling at a loss to find the proper words to express their gratitude to the Prime Minister for her tough stance. It was taken against the idea of demolishing the present TSC building on the Dhaka University campus. By keeping the original edifice intact, she has proposed some adaptations commensurate with the time's demand. The designs of the remodeled Teacher-Student Centre (TSC) submitted to the PM for opinion were rejected. Stunningly, the designs included one proposing a high-rise building, which carried not even a faint semblance of the present wide open TSC, with a green lawn in its middle. A rift had been festering for some time over the renovation of TSC on the Dhaka University campus. It has been a highly popular haunt of the DU Students since 1961, the year of its establishment. The row sparked as the government's Department of Architecture made three designs of the proposed building.

Both the young and senior architects of the country disapproved of the designs. They found the plans lacking airy spaciousness, prerequisite for a university's leisurely atmosphere. Upon detailed scrutiny of the three designs, the Prime Minister turned down all the drafts submitted to her. Asking the Department of Architecture to make a fresh design assimilating the needs of a fruitful pastime and cultural and light academic activities, she underscored the need for preservation of the aesthetic aspect of the center. The PM has laid special stress on the TSC building's environment-friendliness, which can be maintained by its horizontal expansion. The country's reputed architects also emphasized the imperative of horizontal growth of the TSC. In the present times, modern architects make sure at the very beginning that their projects have sufficient natural light and air. They prefer immersion in nature, even if that meant inadequate coolness, to the air-condition-regulated chill. The Greek architect Constantinos Apostolou Doxiadis had dreamt of that atmosphere for TSC --- both outdoors and indoors.

He planned the Islamabad city in the 1960s, the new capital of Pakistan. Demolishing the present TSC, a landmark building, merely to save space and economies on horizontal expanse amounts to a hubristic mindlessness, observed a noted Dhaka architect. Many others backed his view. The 1960s were the times when the post-modernistic architectural designs began emerging. In South Asia hundreds of academic institutions, office buildings, memorials and, even, whole cities were designed and constructed on post-modernistic designs. The former Public Library on the DU Arts Faculty campus, the Fine Arts Institute, the Atomic Energy Centre, the Education Extension Centre

on Dhanmondi Road-1 and scores of buildings were designed on the concept of post-modernism. The most remarkable of these structures was the TSC.

The world's architecture and different branches of the arts have long been influenced by modernism's revival movement. This movement focuses on maximizing the use of the available space. As a result, vertical construction became the dominant trend. The architects who had opted for the upright growth of the new TSC had possibly kept this global movement in mind. That the replacement of the once admired sprawling and post-modernistic design-based buildings with modern structures, in Bangladesh context, will face hurdles is natural. Like in the cases of the 18th-19th century buildings in Bangladesh, the so-called modernistic buildings constructed in the 1960s-`70s nowadays enjoy the status of the heritage set-ups. Lots of people are in favour of retaining their original forms. Additions necessitated by later requirements could be integrated, provided conditions should be there on not tampering with the original shape of the buildings concerned.

Keeping all these facts in perspective, a section of architects suggests a blend of modern, or postmodern, design and the original structure of TSC. Some others feel the upgrading work of TSC should not be taken lightly, as it will have to be executed keeping in mind its historical background. Coming down hard on the concept of vertical renovation of TSC, a noted town planner says he has never heard of any educational institutions' recreation centers where high-rise buildings are constructed. A moderately high 3-to 4-storey TSC could be transformed into an ideal place. This intimate atmosphere cannot be expected from a high-rise building.

The TSC structure, coupled with some expansion works, now stands as a national heritage site. The Prime Minister was wise and unerring in her emphasis on retaining its original form. Many of the country's heritage sites have been shoved into the abyss of oblivion in the name of entering a new era. It is by the sheer stroke of luck that many such buildings could escape the overenthusiastic advocates of this or that movement.

In spite of its premier place in the national life, the TSC belongs to the group comprising the country's heritage sites vulnerable to disappearance. The sensitive segments of people, the conservationists-cum architects, have been able to realize this. Already, nearly a hundred historical venues have gone extinct throughout the country in the recent decades. Time-befitting new structures stand in their places. This is indeed an exhilarating sight. But few can read the sham love for the new times that continues to blossom at the cost destroying the past. The Teacher-student Centre is not just a rendezvous for academic, non-academic debates or idle gossip. Its environs have a unique quality, a mix of creative refinement and scholarship, which is not found in any institutions of the country. In the process of giving the TSC a new look by expanding its activities, and enabling it to accommodate more students and teachers, it ought to move ahead with caution. In reality, it's a segment of the DU.

### **C. Under Threat: Dhaka University’s TSC building by Constantinos Doxiadis, Dhaka, Bangladesh, 1960s**

Docomomo International became aware by Docomomo Greece that Dhaka University’s TSC building, Dhaka, Bangladesh, designed by Constantinos Doxiadis in the early 1960s, is under threat due to a current proposal that means its demolition and replacement by a new multi-story structure.

This is recently the second Modern Movement masterpiece—

#### **[MC-C1]:**

*“in Dhaka that is under high risk to be demolished – also the Kamalapur Railway Station, designed by Daniel Dunham and Robert Boughey for Berger Consulting, 1961-1968 is in danger of being demolished (see heritage in danger). Unexpected by students, alumni, and residents of Dhaka, the historical Teacher-Student Centre (TSC) “- a universally admired center in relation to the country’s student politics and cultural life – will soon be demolished to be rebuilt into a modern structure ahead of the university’s birth centenary celebrations in 2021.”*

“TSC is the work of legendary Greek architect and planner Constantinos Apostolos Doxiadis. The mastermind behind planning the city of Islamabad, Doxiadis was also the founder of Ekistics, a school of thought that concerns the science of human settlements, including regional, city, community planning and dwelling design. He designed TSC in the early 1960s. The adjacent building was later constructed as part of the so-called Decade of Development (1958-68) of the then Pakistani regime.

The structure exemplifies a modernist architectural sensitivity toward spatial needs for tropical climatic conditions. It blends local parameters of space-making — particularly the indoor-outdoor continuum and generation of space around courtyards — with international-style visual expression of building forms. TSC’s dome-shaped structure is considered an iconic landmark not only inside DU campus, but in the broader cityscape of Dhaka. It has been home to countless students who show up between or after classes for a cup of tea with friends, and holds immense nostalgic value for them on top of being a historically significant site.

Public Works Department (PWD) of the government has already begun the process of rebuilding TSC after Prime Minister Sheikh Hasina on September 2 ordered the authorities concerned to modernize Dhaka Medical College Hospital, TSC, and public library.

The new facility will also include rehearsal rooms for cultural activities, a gymnasium, rooms with modern facilities for TSC-based socio-cultural groups, indoor games room, separate cafeteria, teachers’ lounge, three basements for vehicle parking, guest house and more.

#### **[MC-C2]:**

*“The government’s move to rebuild TSC has garnered criticism from teachers, students and academicians who opined that an establishment like TSC should be*

*kept intact considering its association with significant moments in the university's history and the day-to-day lives of students.”*

The plan to rebuild TSC makes no mention of how the community of students, citizens and vendors around the area will be affected by the reconstruction. The move to demolish the existing TSC structure came soon after a similar decision was made regarding Kamalapur Railway Station. This year, multiple heritage buildings in the old part of Dhaka were demolished as well.

**[MC-C3]:**

*“In this context, as Docomomo International did regarding the Kamalapur Railway Station, Docomomo International is raising attention to stop the planned demolition of the TSC building as its demolition would mean an irreversible loss not only of an architectural masterpiece, but also of an important social-cultural-political building of Dhaka and “a beloved symbol of the city.”*

#### **D. TSC Matters for Next Generation:**

##### **[MC-D1]:**

*Architects and academics have suggested preserving the Teacher-Student Centre (TSC) of Dhaka University (DU) with necessary renovations instead of demolishing it to build a modern infrastructure.*

While speaking at the TBS Current Affairs on Sunday night on the subject, "New building after bulldozing TSC: How logical is it?", they called on the government to take necessary steps to preserve the historic TSC building, which they said would help connect the next generation to the country's history.

Professor Lutfor Rahman, DU Teachers' Association acting president and also a teacher of the university's statistics department, said,

##### **[MC-D2]:**

*"The TSC is a place close to the heart of Dhaka University. It has been the center of political, social and cultural movements since the inception of the university close to a century ago. "The TSC is now a place symbolizing life not only for students and teachers of this university but also for the people of the country".*

The Greek architect who built it painted the rural image of the country reflecting the social context of Bangladesh."

The teacher said he himself got involved in the anti-authoritarian movement after he got enrolled at Dhaka University in 1985. "Then we used the TSC to sort out our movement, and at the same time we used it to take shelter in it during the protests," he recalled.

"I do not think it needs to be bulldozed," said Prof Lutfor Rahman, referring to the need for renovation. He said it is necessary to preserve the original structure to create a bond with history for the next generation. This teachers' association leader also believes that any initiative to expand TSC accommodation should follow the original plan.

In the meantime, renowned architect and painter Mustapha Khalid Palash said,

##### **[MC-D3]:**

*"the old buildings in Dhaka are also being demolished due to the impact of the market economy. These buildings need to be preserved to connect the new generation to the country's history".*

"The buildings need to be maintained through adaptive reuse by retaining the original features. The government has to take steps for this," said the architect.

##### **[MC-D4]:**

*"In the tide of development, steps for the demolition of Kamalapur Railway Station are nearly final. Amid this, when it comes to bulldozing the TSC, a kind of fear*



*takes hold of us. It is unthinkable that the TSC will be demolished since there are so many memories associated with it,"* said Mustapha Khalid.

He told the virtual program that even though he was a BUET (Bangladesh University of Engineering and Technology) student, the announcement of the bulldozing of the structure feels like "sudden death" to him.

He hoped the authorities would step back from the decision.

**[MC-D5]:**

*"Mentioning that progressive thoughts and modern cultural activities had spread all over the country centering on the TSC, musician Pathik Nabi said the book fairs began through centering around the TSC. He said, "Once the TSC had an influence on the country's music industry too. In the same way, this place protected us in the midst of political upheavals and conflicts. So, its importance is multi-faceted. The TSC cannot be demolished in any way."*

Jahangirnagar University urban and regional planning Prof Dr Akter Mahmud said there are many old cities which have separate allocations for the conservation of such structures.

**[MC-D6]:**

*"We also have to take the conservative approach. A city usually has some establishments, those which at a point become landmarks. We have to take steps to preserve those landmarks through renovation,"* he noted.

Meanwhile, Dhaka University Teachers' Association President Prof Lutfur Rahman said, "As the president of the association, I tell you that the TSC should not go through heavy refurbishment if it is even to be renovated. The renovation must not change the basic structure. It is not like an institution on the banks of the Buriganga that needs to be knocked down for refurbishment."

The TSC is the work of legendary Greek architect and planner Constantinos Apostolos Doxiadis. He designed the TSC in the early 1960s. The adjacent building was later constructed as part of the so-called Decade of Development (1958-68) of the then Pakistani regime of General Ayub Khan.

There were several attempts to renovate the structure earlier, but they were stopped subsequently. One of them was to demolish the swimming pool next to the TSC and build a nine-storey building. The initiative of renovation by keeping the original structure intact, however, did not see the light of day. Amid criticism from different corners, the Dhaka University authorities this time have sought opinions from the teachers and students of the university on the TSC's

"overall development and expansion initiatives". The acting chief engineer of the university sent a letter to the deans of all faculties and the directors of different institutes last Thursday seeking their views.

Meanwhile, the acting director of the TSC, Syed Ali Akbar, said he had not received any official notice from the university about the recent discussions aimed at rebuilding it. He said that public works department staffers came to the center and surveyed the premises recently.

### **E. Are plans to demolish Dhaka University's TSC justified?**

Last December, ahead of Dhaka University's birth centenary celebrations in 2021, the news that its iconic Teacher-Student Centre (TSC) will be demolished to be rebuilt into a modern structure came as a shock to many. The Public Works Development (PWD) came up with the decision after Prime Minister Sheikh Hasina asked the authorities concerned to modernise Dhaka Medical College Hospital, TSC and public library. Famed Greek architect Constantinos Apostolos Doxiadis (1913-1975) designed the TSC in the early 1960s. The architecture of the establishment is unique—Doxiadis had rural Bangladeshi huts in mind when he was designing it; as a result, TSC bears our architectural heritage as well.

#### **[MC-E1]:**

*To plain eyes, the TSC may seem like a place only for casual conversation and entertainment. However, its significance lies beyond that. It is a free space where people can indulge in intellectual discourse. Co-curricular clubs of the university operate from there. Moreover, various cultural programs with Dhaka University students and people from all over the country are organized from the TSC all year round.*

Like many other architectural landmarks of Dhaka city that have stood the test of time, the TSC has witnessed the spirit and determination of the youth who played a significant role in Bangladesh's independence.

#### **[MC-E2]:**

*Every corner of the TSC has a story to tell. This cultural, social and political hub for commoners and members of the Dhaka University family alike is under the threat of destruction now. The revolutions that sparked inside the TSC, the historical events, emotions and memories associated with it are all being neglected in the name of development.*

It is true that everything withers with time, and development is necessary. The TSC we have now may eventually be inadequate for the 40,000 students and teachers of Dhaka University. However, does that truly justify tearing apart the historic establishment?

According to the PWD authorities, the new plan for the TSC was due on December 10, 2020, but it is yet to be submitted. The plan includes a new auditorium, a gymnasium, a new swimming pool and a parking lot, among other things. To many in the Dhaka University family, it seems like the philosophy that had driven the construction of the TSC is completely missing from the new structure.

#### **[MC-E3]:**

*The TSC has been around for so long that anything else in its place, no matter how new or fancy it may be, will not be enough to compensate for the loss. It is also home to many artists and cultural activists of Dhaka. Amidst the chaotic life of this city, many come to the TSC to spend time and reminisce on their youth. Former*

*students of Dhaka University, including noted teachers and intellectuals, have expressed their displeasure regarding the move to modernize the TSC. Something as cherished as this place must be preserved from the pangs of urbanization.*

Development does not mean that we have to destroy the old structure of the TSC, as it has a special history and unique significance. The TSC is an architectural icon not only inside the Dhaka University campus, but also in the broader cityscape of Dhaka. Although our capital city is over 400 years old, we do not have many monuments or establishments that embody the cultural heritage of Bangladesh. The authorities concerned should keep that in mind when they start sprouting fancy words like "modernization" as justification for replacing such an integral monument. Sustainable development is what we should aim for, not simply bulldozing our way through the past.

**[MC-E4]:**

*The TSC is an architectural icon not only inside the Dhaka University campus, but also in the broader cityscape of Dhaka.*

## **F. Iconic TSC Soon to Be Erased**

In the wake of Dhaka University's birth centenary in 2021, the decision to bulldoze its historical Teacher-Student Centre (TSC) and replace it with a multi-storied structure shocked students, alumni, and residents of Dhaka. TSC is the work of legendary Greek architect and planner Constantinos Apostolos Doxiadis. The mastermind behind planning the city of Islamabad, Doxiadis was also the founder of Ekistics, a school of thought that concerns the science of human settlements, including regional, city, community planning and dwelling design. He designed TSC in the early 1960s. The adjacent building was later constructed as part of the so-called Decade of Development (1958-68) of the then Pakistani regime.

### **[MC-F1]:**

*Yesterday's TSC soon to become yesteryear's... This all-too-familiar sight of the red and white dome is set to disappear as the government begins implementing its plan to replace the old TSC structure with a multistoried building.*

The structure exemplifies a modernist architectural sensitivity toward spatial needs for tropical climatic conditions. It blends local parameters of space making -- particularly the indoor-outdoor continuum and generation of space around courtyards -- with international-style visual expression of building forms.

TSC's dome-shaped structure is considered an iconic landmark not only inside DU campus, but in the broader cityscape of Dhaka.

### **[MC-F2]:**

*It has been home to countless students who show up between or after classes for a cup of tea with friends, and holds immense nostalgic value for them on top of being a historically significant site.*

Public Works Department (PWD) of the government has already begun the process of rebuilding TSC after Prime Minister Sheikh Hasina on September 2 ordered the authorities concerned to modernize Dhaka Medical College Hospital, TSC, and public library.

"Dhaka University is our university and we want to build TSC in a modern way," said the PM at a meeting on several development projects over video conference on September 2.

The TSC director provided a requisition list to the university's engineering department, which was subsequently submitted to PWD on October 18 by the DU authorities. According to this list, one auditorium with a capacity of 1,500 and two with the capacity of 300 will be constructed.

The new facility will also include rehearsal rooms for cultural activities, a gymnasium, rooms with modern facilities for TSC-based socio-cultural groups, indoor games room, separate cafeteria, teachers' lounge, three basements for vehicle parking, guest house and more.

The entryway might be built near the Bangladesh National Cadet Corps contingent office and the construction work may begin from the swimming pool area.

**[MC-F3]:**

*"WE'D RATHER KEEP THE OLD TSC"*

*The government's move to rebuild TSC has garnered criticism from teachers, students and academicians who opined that an establishment like TSC should be kept intact considering its association with significant moments in the university's history and the day-to-day lives of students. "Yes, there may be a need to improve some aspects of TSC. We do not oppose modernization of TSC either. But we do oppose the move to rebuild it entirely," said Amit Pramanik, a final-year student of Economics at DU.*

He said this is reflective of the broader problem of DU authorities paying no heed to students' needs and opinions. "Such decisions should be made after consulting with and surveying students. Yet students never have a say in these decisions."

**[MC-F3]:**

*"I don't understand why modern facilities cannot be incorporated into the existing structure. Moreover, students do not want a shiny, air-conditioned, multi-storied building -- we enjoy the open and welcoming environment of TSC and its community," added Amit. Over the years, TSC didn't stay exclusive to DU students. The cultural and social hub attracted people from all over Dhaka, such as lawyer Anupoma Joyee.*

"Although I did not study at DU, most of my friends did which ensured that I know which 'mama' at TSC sold the best morich cha. Considering how limiting life in Dhaka city is getting for women, lazing around at TSC was a freeing experience. Events came and went by, whether it was Ekushey Boi Mela, Dhaka Lit Fest, Pahela Baishakh or just a random concert, a cup of tea at TSC before going home was a constant," she said.

**[MC-F5]:**

*From the architectural and anthropological lens, Architect Iqbal Habib mentioned, "Architecture and literature are two pivotal parts of human society that last for generations to tell the history of a nation. TSC is one of the first examples of modern architecture in Dhaka. The attempt to bulldoze such an iconic creation by Doxiadis is an attempt at erasing the city's history."*

"This shows a clear lack of empathy in the part of the university. The compound could have been expanded without demolition of the original structure. By bulldozing such valuable architectural creations, they are depriving future generations from learning the true history and culture of our land," lamented Habib.

**[MC-F6]:**

*Wahiuddin Mahmud, economist and former professor of DU, echoed Habib's sentiments on preserving old architecture. "Renowned universities of the world can be recognised through their traditional architectural styles. Even 100-year-old buildings are carefully preserved. Yet TSC's legacy is about to be destroyed instead of being preserved."*

The plan to rebuild TSC makes no mention of how the community of students, citizens and vendors around the area will be affected by the reconstruction. The move to demolish the existing TSC structure came soon after a similar decision was made regarding Kamalapur Railway Station.

This year, multiple heritage buildings in the old part of Dhaka were demolished as well. With such disregard for the significant sites of Dhaka, the city's history is now at stake.



## **G. TSC Renovation: How Will the New Look Be?**

The Teacher-Student Centre, popularly known as TSC on the Dhaka University (DU) campus, was established in 1961. It is set to be renovated keeping its old structure as part of the university's birth centenary celebrations in 2021. The University authority primarily approved the new design provided by The Public Works Department (PWD) of the government but the construction work will start after Prime Minister's approval. Before that, PWD proposed to rebuild TSC entirely, which sparked debate and anger among students, teachers and alumni.

Later, the authorities instructed PWD to form a new design keeping its old structure. After several meetings, both stakeholders signed off on the new design.

Prime Minister Sheikh Hasina on September 2 last year said a plan to modernize Dhaka Medical College Hospital (DMCH), TSC and Shahbagh's Public Library. "Dhaka University is our university and we want to build TSC in a modern way," said the PM on that day. She also said that she had already directed the authorities concerned to prepare its design in a proper manner.

What will the new TSC complex look like?

According to the new draft design, TSC's present structure will not be demolished. A 10-storied new building will be constructed where the swimming pool is now located.

### **[MC-G1]:**

*"The new facility will be built and incorporated with the existing structure. It will include rehearsal rooms for cultural activities, rooms with modern facilities for TSC-based socio-cultural groups, indoor games room, separate cafeteria, two auditorium, gymnasium, teachers' lounge, two basements for vehicle parking, and more," said Acting Director Syed Ali Akbar. □ He said the entrance of the new building would be from the west of TSC. The construction work will be started from the back where now the swimming pool is situated. "Our engineering section is not involved with the designing or construction work, moreover the PWD will do as per the prime minister's instruction," he continued.*

### **[MC-G2]:**

*Mir Manzurur Rahman, Chief Architect, Department of Architecture, Ministry of Housing and Public Works, said, "We did a draft design following DU's requisition. We cover almost all of the requisition including two auditoriums, a lecture theater, a gymnasium and some office space and others. We insert these requisitions into 10 storied building and Dhaka University is happy with our design." "Old existing structures will not be rebuilt. We will just renovate existing structures as per necessity," he added. The TSC director provided a requisition list to the university's engineering department, which was subsequently submitted to PWD on October 18 last year by the DU authorities. The acting chief engineer of DU Abul Kalam Sikder said, "PWD will provide the new design to the prime minister and if she approves the design, they will start construction work."*

DU pro vice-chancellor (administration) Prof Muhammad Samad said, “This design is acceptable. It will be handed over to prime minister though PWD and final work will start if the PM approves the design.”

Prof Samad hoped that construction work would begin soon under the direct concern of the prime minister.

**[MC-G3]:**

*Mohiuddin Mahi, a third-year student of Mass Communication and Journalism said, TSC is the social and cultural hub of our campus which was built when the varsity had a small number of students. “However, it has never been reconstructed again although the number of students and teachers has been increasing every year. So, this is a great initiative indeed but the authorities have to be sincere enough so that none of its tradition or aesthetic beauties get destroyed,” he added.*

**[MC-G4]:**

*Echoing Mahi, Salman Siddique, president of Socialist students’ front said, “Yes, there is a need to improve some aspects of TSC. We do not oppose modernization of TSC either. But authority have to be sincerer so that none of tradition and beauties get destroyed.” But there are lots of problems including accommodation crisis authority should pay heed first, he said.*

## **H. DU Students Protest Metro Rail Route Through Campus**

Hundreds of students of Dhaka University (DU) as well as teachers formed a human chain in front of Raju Bhaskarja yesterday protesting the proposed route of metro rail through the university campus. They claimed that the metro rail would greatly hamper the academic atmosphere inside the campus with loud noise, and urged the government to find an alternative route.

**[MC-H1]:**

*The protesters alleged that the route plan through the campus is also an insult to the memories of Raju, Kazi Nazrul Islam and the three leaders, whose memorials and mausoleums are on the campus.*

Speaking at the human chain, economics student Sanjiban Chakraborty said: “We are not against the metro rail project; rather, we appreciate any development of the country. But the route of the metro rail should be built outside the DU campus, not inside it.”

Samina Lutfa, assistant professor at the department of sociology at the university, said: “Metro rail could cause damage to the science laboratories on the campus because the trains will cause extreme vibration. The loud noise will also hinder the academic atmosphere in the university library and the Public Library, not to mention on the campus.”

Tanjim Uddin Khan, professor at the department of international relations, termed the proposed the metro rail route a conspiracy against education.

After an hour of human chain, students brought out a rally protesting the proposed route and marched around the campus

## I. A Voice That Still Resonates

The Shontrash Birodhi Raju Sharokh Bhashkorjo (Anti-Terrorism Raju Memorial Sculpture) near TSC in the University of Dhaka is one of those landmarks of Dhaka that is familiar to virtually everyone. The sculpture by Shaymol Chowdhury depicts a group of students, arms linked, marching in defiance. Yet, the story behind the sculpture remains largely unknown, to the point that many think the sculpture is a remembrance of '52 or '71. The Raju Bhashkorjo is dedicated to the memory of Moin Hossain Raju, an activist of Bangladesh Chatra Union, who was gunned down near where the sculpture now stands, on this day in 1992 while protesting terrorism in the name of student politics on campus.

### [MC-II]:

*For students who participated in the 1990s mass uprising against the dictatorship of Hussain Muhammad Ershad, the time must have seemed like the dawn of a new era—full of possibilities of a strengthened democracy for Bangladesh. Instead, by 1991, for leftist students who had joined the movement, disillusionment had set in. With the fall of Ershad, both Awami League and BNP were trying to exert dominance on the Dhaka University campus.*

By 1992, Dhaka University was rife with clashes between the student wings of the two parties, often violent and involving shootings. Abdullah Mahmud Khan, then a student of the university and an activist of Chhatra Union, remembers being worried about the increased Jamaat-Shibir activity on campus. This was the year known war criminal Ghulam Azam was elected the Amir of Jamaat-e-Islam and Jahanara Imam had organised the Ghatak-Dalal Nirmul Committee demanding trial of the war criminals and collaborators of 1971. Abdullah Mahmud was a close friend of Raju and his roommate in Shahidullah Hall.

"It has been 26 years since that day, but some things one does not forget," he says over the phone. He remembers that the day was a Friday and that Raju had gone home instead of going to the hall the day before. On Friday morning, Shibir had tried to bring out a procession in the campus, which the general students, including Raju, had protested. This had led to a confrontation between the police and the students, and Raju was injured. So, instead of going home for lunch as he had planned, he went back to his hall room to rest. "In the evening, me, Raju and some others went out to get something to eat near Hakim Chatter," says Abdullah Mahmud.

By this time a clash had broken out between the activists of Chatra Dal and Chhatra League over control of the campus. Gunshots could be heard from the area encompassing TSC, DUS and Hakim Chatter. The police were nearby, stationed but not interfering. Raju and his friends were caught between the two sides, and at one point the police fired a tear gas shell, not at the gun-toting activists, but near TSC where general students, including Raju, were standing. Seeing the situation, Raju along with a group of 7-8 people started a procession protesting the violence on campus and the silence of the law authorities. Soon, a few hundred students had joined in, with Raju in the front leading the procession and Abdullah Mahmud right beside him. At one point, remembers Abdullah Mahmud, Raju turned to him and said, "They are firing towards us." "Suddenly, I felt Raju was dragging me towards the ground since our arms were linked," he says. He was squirming

on the ground. A bullet had hit Raju's head. With the help of some other students, he was rushed to Dhaka Medical College and was soon declared dead.

Raju died in protest of a brand of student politics which was about exerting power, which was about dominance—in short, terrorism in educational institutions in the name of student politics. Since then, this has come to define mainstream student politics—clashes, fights, wielding arms, shootings, both intra- and inter-party. And, while with the change in political circumstances, clashes between BCL and Chatra Dal have almost vanished, its place has now been taken over by BCL factions fighting amongst themselves for superiority or terrorizing general students simply because they can.

One does not even need to look back far: a few examples from only this month are enough to illustrate this point. On March 3, we reported how a second-year undergraduate student of Rajshahi Government College was beaten unconscious by a group of BCL activists of that college with a hammer, leaving him with a severely bruised face. A story published on March 5 involved 15 people injured in a clash between two factions of BCL on the Islamic University campus over an altercation. A student of mass communication and journalism of Rajshahi University was beaten up by BCL men over some altercation or the other, we reported on March 8. On March 10, we reported how seven students of Rajshahi University of Engineering and Technology (Ruet) were injured when two groups of BCL activists clashed over establishing dominance on campus.

**[MC-I2]:**

*One could go on and on, from reports of sexual harassment and indiscriminate assaults carried out by activists of student wings of political parties. We are continuously reminded of the brave and heroic acts of our students in the major political movements of this country's history. But what we witness today, and have been for decades now, is a situation which hints at nothing beyond pettiness and lust for power. Our history, even when shorn of exaggerations, shows us the power of student politics in challenging unrestrained power. But, what do you do when student politics becomes the embodiment of that same thing? Instead of speaking for students and challenging wrongs, it is more interested in accumulating power? And even when punished, the punishment is merely a symbolic slap on the wrist, perpetuating the culture?*

Twenty-six years after Raju was killed, we do not need this day or the sculpture to remind us what drove Raju and his friends to take a stand that day. It is a shame, that in all these years, our political parties have failed to challenge this form of student politics, and have instead perpetuated it through impunity in the form of inaction and silence. This day is not about Moin Hossain Raju, student of botany and lover of Jibanananda's poetry, but what he stood for, and what we are yet to achieve.

## **Annexure-3**

### **Transcribed Interview**



# Summary of Comments on TSC All transcribed interview 15.09.2022.pdf

Page: 1

Interviewer:

We are doing this interview for two distinct groups one is Dhaka University alumni and another is Dhaka University TSC active users who are not students.

We are targeting this groups according to decades so for that purpose as a student and studying during the 90s you will be categorized accordingly.

Mainly the questions will be from certain angle but you will respond it from an from your point of view as a student and as before as a student if you have any memory or activity around DSC building the angle of your response should revolve around as a student from your academic point of view cultural point of view or simply laserty purpose you should use it laborate on how your activities revolve around this building.

## What is your earliest memory and your most lasting impression TSC as an Alumni

First I first went to TSC when I was in class 8, thats in 87. That was the time of the movement against the autocratic regime. We were active participants in these movements under the banner of various "Gono Morcha". Around 1993, I got admitted in Fine arts institute. The first day of the university, we saw fire shots being exchanged among rival political parties very up close. After the anti-autocratic movement that was something that was not what we envisioned. Though, I got distanced from the mainstream politics, after getting into DU, I was always a part of the the non political movements and uprisings. Be it for Rokeya Hall Andolon, be it Shahbagh Andolon, all these revolved around TSC.

## How you Used TSC during your Student life

(17:00)During your senior years we got a room to work through "Shangskritik Jot". We had all the facility to do painting and drawing exercise there. Students, teachers as well as visitors were welcome to visit that room it was sort of an open studio. During that time we collectively did some exhibition on the swimming pool side along the temple. That area was open and accessible for everyone all along. But interestingly people were not very frequent there. (22:00) TSC was like a open space, if you have walked confidently you could have accessed anywhere. We even did some program in the swimming pool. We arranged children's art competition/ exhibition. That used to be very vibrant and successful. For us who studied in Charukata institute and was looking for an apolitical identity, TSC was one of the very few places in the DU campus where you can be identified without any political affiliation. Political identity and affiliation as identity is a more recent phenomenon.

## Among other hangout spaces in the campus, where does TSC stand? And are there any territoriality within these spaces?

(36:00) Apart from our regular hangout spots inside the department, the most frequent hangout location was TSC, more precisely the boundary wall of the campus. Many hours have passed there both in the inside and outside with a cup of tea, watching leaves fall from the trees, and looking and passersby. The tea stalls along the boundary wall is a place which is very dear to the alumni as well as the outsiders. The reason behind this is the warmth and the sense of familiarity of the tea stall vendors. They can recall each of us by name even after all these years. They were a watchdog of sort of the area, always in the lookout for any apparent threat or with any recent issue that needs to be addressed as an informed class. They play a pivotal role in creating a sense of belongingness for all. There is no territorial demarcation along these walls. People from all walks of life as well as ideology are equally welcome here and there is always a sense of mutual respect for privacy and space. Territorial marking, if there is any that are so subtle and invisible that only those are obeyed subconsciously by the user.

(48:00) TSC is the centre of DU campus, but it would more appropriate to term it as the cultural center. Every department has their own gathering space for students but TSC has always been the main hub for all things related to cultural activity and activism. Though in my opinion the image of TSC has gradually shifted from being a cultural hub to a place of political activism.

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Number: 4	Author: USER	Subject: Highlight	Date: 9/14/2022 11:23:28 PM
Number: 5	Author: USER	Subject: Highlight	Date: 9/14/2022 11:24:27 PM
Number: 6	Author: USER	Subject: Highlight	Date: 9/14/2022 11:25:56 PM

1

Use of Pool Area

TSC as Identity

Boundary wall and fondness

Territorial demarcation

Cultural Activism

6.	Number. 1	Author: USER	Subject: Highlight	Date: 9/14/2022 11:52:37 PM
	National Importance			
7.	Number. 2	Author: USER	Subject: Highlight	Date: 9/14/2022 11:53:23 PM
	Political Scene			
8.	Number. 3	Author: USER	Subject: Highlight	Date: 9/14/2022 11:54:11 PM
	Political/ Cultural Activism			
9.	Number. 4	Author: USER	Subject: Highlight	Date: 9/14/2022 11:55:06 PM
	Political Context			
10.	Number. 5	Author: USER	Subject: Highlight	Date: 9/14/2022 11:55:55 PM
	Political Context			

### Speaking of Political Activism, TSC has become a well-established germination point of all national political and social movement.

(52:00) [1]his is where over time TSC has evolved into a place of national significance. TSC, as the name suggests is primarily a place for interaction of teachers and students of DU. In recent times the activity of teachers have gradually diminished, but the student centric activity and gathering of students both from DU and outside has become more prominent. This primarily could be credited to the open and democratic nature of the complex, which has historically managed to stay unbiased to any group or class in particular. In spite of this, faculty members who are affiliated to cultural organization and movements are frequent here. But its true that it has superseded its entity as a TSC for DU to a safe abode for students of all institute looking to practice their cultural and political affiliations. This also has its downside as well.

### Would you please elaborate

(63:00) TSC was historically identifiable through cultural activity and organizations. But off late TSC is more associable with political activity and identity. The national and cultural events, these days are also happening under various political banner. [2]omeone's political ideology and affiliations are also becoming more important day by day. Even though the tolerance and coexistence of these are greater here than most other places, its definitely a shift from its past image. I personally credit this to the gradually changing political scenario of the country. With the changing political context, activity of TSC and the inclusiveness has changed. [3]here were a time when political activism was done through cultural activism, in other words politically aware and active students were also the most prominent cultural figures or vice versa. (

### Can you summarize this thought?

[4]70:00) TSC from its initial days has always been a torch bearer for all cultural movements, but with the gradual shift of political context has made the place more close to the general mass and in more recent years, has become a melting pot for all sorts of socio- cultural uprising/ movement. So the use of space in and around the building along with its larger catchment area, has broadened significantly to make it a city landmark. The user and the inhabitants of the premise has become versatile and more democratic. That has also contributed to the affinity towards the building and the complex. The same has happened to the over all image as a culturally significant monument. [5]I this shift in perception and behavior of the general mass is closely related to the shifting socio-political context. It would be unwise to ignore the influence of political context while mapping the activity of the complex over time. (76:00)

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11.		Building or Area	
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12.		Outsider access	
Number: 5	Author: USER	Subject: Highlight	Date: 9/15/2022 12:02:04 AM
13.		Attraction	
Number: 6	Author: USER	Subject: Highlight	Date: 9/15/2022 12:02:23 AM
14.		Attraction	
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15.		Attraction	
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16.		Name and Meaning	

### Tea shop owner / DU Staff

#### # According to you what does TSC mean is it a building or a place?

TSC is a building not this whole area. The area is called TSC roundabout but the building itself and its inside is TSC. They are thinking of extending this building but they will not get this design. It will be lost.

#### # Can you recognize who is from outside and who is DU student? How do you know it.

Yes we can recognise, people from old Dhaka come here they roam around have I spend some time then they go back again. We can recognize.... From the behaviour and from their activity, it is easily recognisable who have political affiliation and who are insider.

#### # Are there any distinct area where the outsiders like to sit and where the university tends to gather?

There are no such demarcation in the area but it is natural that the outsiders don't go inside the building. Though there is a security, but they somehow don't go inside but only the University students go inside the building. The visitors are not supposed to be inside the boundary. The students with political connection gather here....

#### # Can you tell us how this area has transformed over the years as an example the Metro line was not here how it has impacted this area?

This boundary was here but it was all a field. Other than the new road around it nothing much has changed.

#### # Are there any other place inside Dhaka University campus that is similar to this?

Actually there is a crisis of place, I don't see any other place that will attract people like this even if there is any open space. This being a roundabout makes it accessible from all points of the Dhaka University, that's why people are more frequent here and outsiders also can access this place from many easy public transportation points.

#### # In terms of commercial viability are there any other places for business which can be similarly successful as TSC.

No I don't think so as this falls in the route from going to main nodes like Dhaka medical college to shahabud people tend to stop here..... this is a convenient stopover.

#### # If there are some development in this area what do you think should to be retained.

The tree and the greenery is the most important they must stay and there should be something that protect the inside of this place. For development activity I don't think they will provide any shops or informal commerce here.... if they provide a dedicated market place, that is fine but it will not attract same type of people. There is a 2D stored development here this area will definitely changed and if this building is demolished this place will not be called TSC anymore.... that TSC name will vanish along with this building. The name of this area is synonymous with the name of this building.... It has blended together.

#### # Can you name any other thing with which the name TSE has become blended also.

NO... I can't associate any other things.

#### # What do you think of the inside space of TSC.

There are all single storey building in the inside taking a lot of space if it is required to expand it is possible to do that but this front building which houses banks and many other political and cultural organisation should not be demolished there are two shiv temples inside which are very ancient there used to be some rituals around it during the Pakistan period but for a long time

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21.	Author: USER		Subject: Highlight		9/15/2022 12:06:14 AM
22.	Author: USER		Subject: Highlight		9/14/2022 11:59:48 PM
23.	Author: USER		Subject: Highlight		9/15/2022 12:07:12 AM
24.	Author: USER		Subject: Highlight		9/15/2022 12:06:50 AM

they are abundant and there are no activities. The swimming pool is a later addition, there used to be an open field there when the TSC was built, then the swimming pool was constructed but it started to be used after the Independence. Sometimes concerts are held here now the auditorium is also used for that we also use the auditorium for the annual voting of our organization. We use the canteen as well. We used to have meetings and other programs here but now as we have more than 1500 employees it is not possible to have a program there.

#### #Any vivid memory of you around this building.

I was born here there is a place called lichubagan and katal bagan this area used to have lots of ficus trees and there used to be horse races held here before the Pakistan period there there is a temple as well as up pond gradually day gold filled up these are all the changes that I have witnessed.... During the Independence we used to stay here but we stayed during that time but when we returned fast we return to the high court then we settled here in this Dhaka University library building where almost 300 Hindu and Muslim family took shelter here during the Independence war but when we returned back we continued staying inside Dhaka University campus.... I have witnessed the Bombing of Jagannath Hall ....at that time I was here.

#### Alumni/ Old Student

#### #How will you rank experience of DSC against other places in the university?

This is the number one place... For teachers and students who are related with the institute no matter where they go no matter no matter where they are this is the place where everyone enjoys to return to.

#### #What do you think is the reason behind it?

There is a lot of memory as well as nostalgia it is definitely one of the reasons for us to come back here again.... We all come here for all types of reunion. Actually everything is here ....you can get place to study as well as a place to gather.

#### # Are you bothered about the outsiders coming here?

No the outsider peoples to Han to bother our speakers when the outsiders come here they also blend along with the area and hence it doesn't make any difference. There is no need for restriction because we can learn a lot from each and everyone we can learn from their behaviour as well. The outsiders also come here to learn something from the students they also take up their attitude their behaviour so it is beneficial for them as well we have something to learn from them as well as us so it should not be restricted for anyone. People bring their children's share as well when we come with our children we introduce them to the university teachers and our classroom and the facilities the outsiders also do the same it is a huge inspiration or look forward to for the childrens.

#### #Tell us something about sweets Heritage and historic value

When we try to recall anything about Dhaka University the first thing that comes to mind is TSC.... There are lots of history events that are connected with this place as well it is very difficult to describe how they are all interconnected.

#### #What is your opinion about the expansion plan of TSC.... Are you ok with the new proposal.

It is not about old or new, it is not about the expansion, there have been lots of expansions and extensions, the number of students have increased a lot, there is a scarcity of space. For the need of the university if there is a need for expansion then we must do it.... but some things should retained and should not be changed.... We are always ready to accept the expansion [6] It we are not acceptable to change to a degree which will uproot long standing memory.

#### Outside Student / Medical student:

#### # What is your main intention to come to TSC?

Because there are greenery and trees.... There are not many places around dhaka like that. There is greenery and sitting facility..... It is not that much crowded as well.

#### #Today is less crowded but other day it is not isn't it?

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Identity and Culture			
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Female Perspective			
Number: 4	Author: USER	Subject: Highlight	Date: 9/15/2022 12:09:28 AM
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Meaning and Name			
Number: 5	Author: USER	Subject: Highlight	Date: 9/15/2022 12:09:53 AM
25.			
Female perspective			

I don't come here when it is too crowded, today is less crowded. In days like Pohela Boishakh, Valentine's Day, Pohela falgun when it is too crowded, I avoid coming here!

**#Which part of the TSC and its surroundings you frequent the most ?**

I like the part adjacent to Fuller road because it is much clean and tidy on their site rather than the main premise.

**#How do you see TSC from the point of view of a city dweller ? what is its significance**

TSC is the Dhaka University Centre, it is a centre of all type of movement and uproar. Every national event starts from here.

**#How do you evaluate TSC as a national Heritage?**

It is obviously a (part of) Heritage ....no doubt! The Bangla academy is close by, the book fair happens here, you can come here and sit and spend some time. It is a public open space.

**#what is your opinion about the public accessibility here?**

As an outsider, if it becomes restricted then I have nothing to do about that but I feel the crowding needs to be controlled. As a matter of fact, I have seen many food blogging channels, treat this place as a food court or a restaurant, this is something very negative. The accessibility needs to be remained as it is..... It should not get out of scale. The place near the Shahid Minar has too much crowd which effects attracts anti social activity.

**#what is your opinion about the new proposal**

I am totally against this..... Don't understand the purpose of having all this removed.... all this have significance and hold the spirit that symbolises Bengali identity and culture.

## Current student group

**# বিশ্ববিদ্যালয়ের অন্যান্য জায়গায় তুলনায় টিএসসিতে ব্যবহারের দিক থেকে আপনি কিভাবে মূল্যায়ন করেন?**

পুরুষ ১: আমি এই জায়গায় সবচেয়ে বেশি ব্যবহার করি,

মহিলা ১: আমরা ডিপার্টমেন্টে থাকি না আমাদের আর যোগ্যর কোন জায়গা নাই আমি একে 10-10 দিন

(ক্রমের একজন ছাত্র 6 এবং একজন ছাত্র 7 রেটিং দেয়)

**# ভবনের কোন অংশটা সবচেয়ে বেশি ব্যবহার করেন এবং কেন?**

পুরুষ ১:সামনের ভলনটা সবচেয়ে বেশি ব্যবহার করছে কারণ আমি এখানে 4 বছর সংগঠন করেছি।

মহিলা ১: সবচেয়ে বেশি আড্ডা দেওয়া হয় টিমের দোকানে আর ভিতর সুইচিং রুমে আর টি এনসি বারান্দায়

**#আজকে আড্ডা দিচ্ছে ফ্রেডের সাথে মিট করবেন সে দেখছে কোথায় সবচেয়ে বেশি যাওয়া হয় যেমন এখানে যেই দোকান গুলো আছে এগুলোয় কি**

বিশেষ কোন নাম আছে?

পুরুষ ১: টিএসসিটারে নিজস্ব আলান আলান নাম আছে। দুলাভাইয়ের দোকান কুলু মামার দোকান ঝপনের দোকান আমরা আসলে দোকানের নাম ধরেই ডাকি। টপের

এলাকাটার ব্যবহার শুধুমাত্র আড্ডার জন্য।

**#কি কি কাজে টিএনসি কে ব্যবহার করেন?**

পুরুষ ১: সাংস্কৃতিক কর্মকাণ্ডের জন্য মূলত ব্যবহার করা হতো সংগঠনের কাজে ব্যবহার করা হয়

মহিলা ১: আড্ডার জন্য তো ব্যবহার করতে আমি একা থাকলেও এখানে এসে বস হতো কারণ ডিপার্টমেন্টে তো অনেক স্টুডেন্ট, এখানে কনফারেন্সের বেশি

ডিপার্টমেন্টে তো একটাই স্টোর সোমানে তো এত লোকের একসাথে জায়গা দেওয়া সম্ভব না আমি যাদের সাথে কনফারেন্স সোমানে সেখা যাচ্ছে তার চেয়েও অনেক

বেশি লোক সে কারনে টিএসসিটারে জমা এখানে আসা হয় কারণ এখানে আসলে একটা কমপোর্ট জোন এর চেতরে আসা যায় আর এখানে আসলে অনেক লোককে

একসাথে পাওয়া যায় ডিপার্টমেন্ট টাও কাছে কাজেই কাউকে এখানে আসতে বললে তারা সবজকে চলে আসতে .... এটা একটা কমন টুেন্স।

**#ইতিহাসিক জায়গা হিসেবে টিএসসি কে কিভাবে মূল্যায়ন করেন**

পুরুষ ১: ঐতিহাসিক গুরুত্ব তো অবশ্যই আছে কারণ সে কোন আন্দোলন থেকেনো রাজনৈতিক কর্মকাণ্ড হয় টিএনসি না হলে শাহবাগকে ছিড়ে তৈরি হয়ে কামন এটার

Number. 1	Author: USER	Subject Highlight	Date: 9/15/2022 12:13:47 AM
26.			
Symbolic Value			
Number. 2	Author: USER	Subject Highlight	Date: 9/15/2022 12:15:18 AM
28.			
Attraction			
Number. 3	Author: USER	Subject Highlight	Date: 9/15/2022 12:15:50 AM
29.			
Public Place			
Number. 4	Author: USER	Subject Text Box	Date: 9/15/2022 12:00:22 AM
6			
Number. 5	Author: USER	Subject Highlight	Date: 9/15/2022 12:16:13 AM
30.			
Building/ Area			

1) একটা সিগনিক ভালু আছে .....এই যে রক্ত ভাঙ্গার এটা একটা মৃত্তির প্রতীক। এ জায়গাটার খেতেও বিভিন্ন স্তরের বঙ্গের লোক আসে কাজেই কমিউনিকেশন সহজ হয়..... আন্দোলনের জন্য কমিউনিকেশন চা খুই জরুরী

2) বিলা ১: আন্দোলনের ক্ষেত্রে একটা মুখ্য বিষয় হচ্ছে বাণী আকর্ষণ এটা এমন একটা পদ্ধতিতে যে আমি যেই গোল দিয়ে যাই না কেন এটা একটা মিডিক পদ্ধতিতে পড়ে কাজে ..... এদিকে আসা যাওয়া সহজ ..... ডিপার্টমেন্টের না গেলের টিকসহিত।

#টিএসসিতে সাধারণ মানুষের যাতায়তের বিঘাটাকে আপনি কিভাবে দেখেন?  
পুরুষ ১:এটাতে পাবলিক রাস্তা থাকে যার সুরি সে আসবে এটাকে দেখেইই করে কোন লাভ হবে না কারণ এটা এমন একটা জায়গা যেটাকে আটকানোর মতো কোনোর পরিস্থিতি বা পরিবেশ নাই আর উপরে আরব সেন্ট্রালের একটা স্টপেজের একটা স্টপেজের কাজেই এখনে আটকানোর কোনোর সুযোগ .

# ব্যাপারটি কি আপনার জন্য তিকার মনে হয় ? ক'আপনি কি চান এই জায়গাটাকে বেস্ত্রিইড করা যেক?  
পুরুষ ১: না আমার ইডকটু হয়ে গেছি.... আমরা বেস্ত্রিকেন চাইনা যেহেতু এটা একটা পাবলিক প্লেস এটাকে রেইটই করা ঠিক হলে না একটা লক্ষ্যট ধরেনম একটা পাবলিক প্লেসে টিকসি ও পরকম একটা পাবলিক প্লেস এটা যেহেতু বিশ্ববিদ্যালয়ের পাবলিক প্লেস এটা বিশেষ করলে বিশ্ববিদ্যালয়ের ভারসূতি নই হবে।  
মহিলা ১: এ জায়গায় সবই আসতে পারে কিন্তু সেক্ষেত্রে টু নিরপত্তা ব্যবস্থার উচিত হলে ভালো হয়

4  
6

বেকন ওয়াল

# যে টিএসসিতে আসেন এই জায়গাটাকে কেন ব্যবসার জন্য বেছে  
এখানে ভাগিটি এলাকা এখানে পাবলিক আসে ঘুরতে আসে এখানে বিক্রিবাটা অনেক হয় দেখতেও সুন্দর জায়গাটা

#এছাড়া অন্যান্য কোন জায়গায় আর ব্যবসা করেন  
আমি কোন এখানেই ব্যবসা করি

#আপনি কি করা ছাড়া আর বাইরে গেলে আসে ব্যাপারটাকে আলাদা করতে পারেন?  
হ্যাঁ !! করতে পারি করা ছাড়া , করা ছাড়া না....  
সাধারণ পাবলিক আসলে সাধারণত বাচাকাটা নিয়ে আসে সেটা দেখে বোঝা যায় যে তারা ছাড়া না.

#টিএসসি এলাকায় বলতে আপনি কোন জায়গা টাকে বুকেন?  
টিএসসি বলতে আমরা পুরা এলাকাটাকে বুঝি..... বিক্রি বা এলাকা জালনা করা মানে না পুরা এলাকাটাকে টিএসসি বুঝি।

# এই জায়গাটায় মানুষ আসে কেন?  
এই জায়গাটাই মানুষ আসে কারণ এখানে গাছপালা আছে, অসিজন পার, ফেস্ট নিতে পারে.... এখানে অন্যান্য মাওয়াশাওয়ার দোকান আছে সেজন্য এখানে আসে বসে ধরে।