

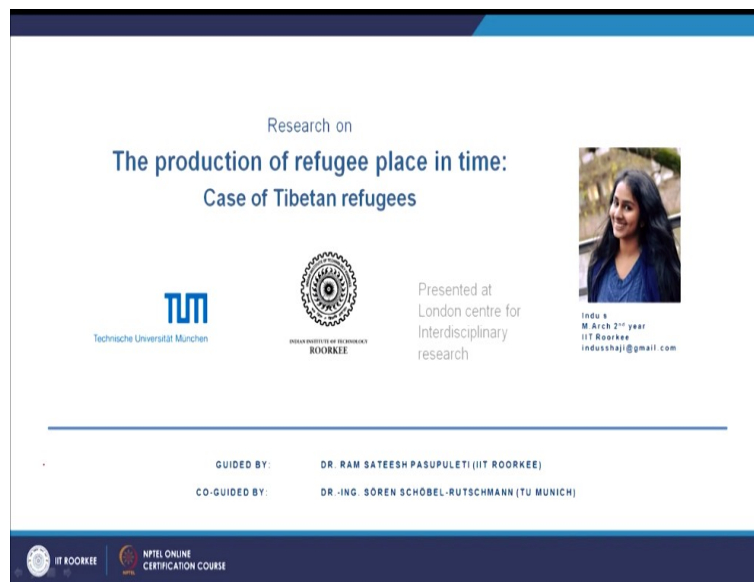
Disaster Recovery and Build Back Better
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Lecture - 33

The Production of Refugee Place in Time: Case of Tibetan Refugees

Welcome to the course disaster recovery and build back better. My name is Ram Sateesh; I am working as an assistant professor in Department of Architecture and Planning, IIT Roorkee. Today, we are going to discuss about the production of refugee place in time in the case of Tibetan refugees. In fact, this work is actually has been supervised a joint supervision with myself and as well as Dr Soren Schobel from Tu Munich.

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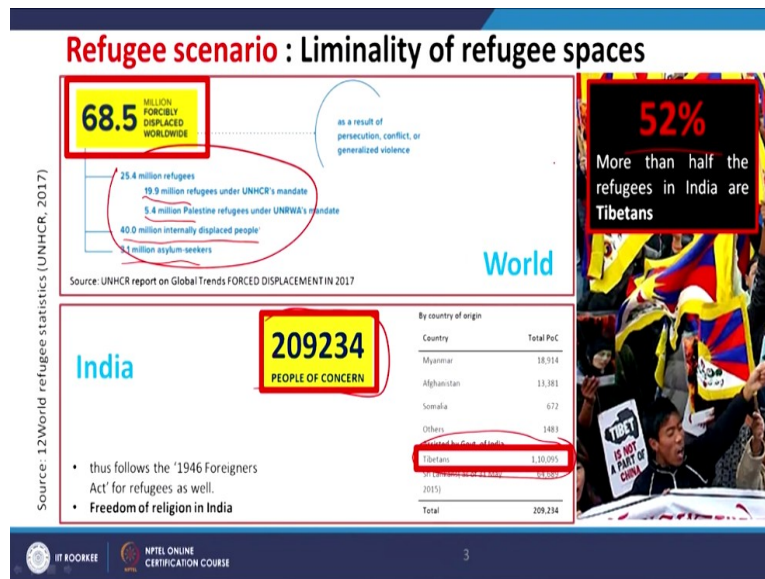


And this has been executed by the student, a postgraduate student and as a part of her master's dissertation and as well as a thesis. So, this is the title production of refugee plays in time the case of Tibetan refugees which has been developed by my student Indu Shaji and this particular piece of work has also been presented at London Center for interdisciplinary research as a paper.

So, today I am going to give you an overview of how Indu's journey has taken up in this particular investigation and also the kind of wide variety of case studies she looked at not only from India as a part of DAAD scholar, she also executed some more case studies in Germany and in European continent and how as a collective understanding, how the refugee

displacements can actually produce, plays and how they eventually get transformed with time and what kind of meanings are developed by the communities in varied context.

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Coming to the refugee scenario, we have about the statistics talk about 68.5 million which have been forcibly displayed worldwide as a result of conflict or as a political turmoil as a result of persecution or any kind of generalized violence and this is all we are having the statistics, as per the UNHCR's mandate 19.9 million refugees and out of which 5.4 million Palestine refugees and UNRWA's mandate and the 40 million internally displaced people and 31 million asylum seekers.

Coming to this is a global scenario and in India, we have about nearly 209234 people of the concern out of which we have about 52% more than half of the refugees in India are Tibetans which is about 1,10,000, I am sorry this is 209234. Now, when we talk about the refugee, the context of a refugee and his or her settlement process, so we have two questions.

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Settling down: Beyond temporary solutions

Assimilation ? Multi-culturalism

Feasible solutions
Various durable solutions as described by UNHCR are:

Voluntary repatriation → Local integration → Local resettlement

Which strategy is the best, differs in cultural contexts. Various world organisations and conventions working on refugee issue, adopts the following hierarchy as solutions for refugee crisis:

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One is an assimilation process and with the multiculturalism, you know, whether it is a segregation or an integration part of it because a refugee or an asylum who is coming from a different cultural context, different political context, different development context and different social context and he tried to get accommodation in a different context. It is completely different from the host aspect of it.

And how one can, in that process how one gets segregated and also how gets one integrated is the biggest question. So, as per the UNHCR, it talks about the voluntary repatriation, the local integration and the local resettlement. So, you know, out of all these segregation and integration models which strategy is the best.




And how it differs in different cultural context and a lot of organizations working with the refugees are working on this option of how we can better integrate and reduce the conflicts in the host and as well as from the humanitarian point of it.

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Lefebvre's theory of Production of space



Source: The production of space, authored by Henri Lefebvre

Perceived space	Conceived space	Lived space
 <p>Space produced by the spatial practice of <u>all the users of a space</u></p>	 <p>space produced by planners and political decision-makers, and is therefore based on <u>knowledge and ideologies,</u></p>	 <p><u>invisible degree of people's attachment to a certain place is defined as lived space</u></p>

Source: Urban Evolution of the City of Doha: The Impact of Economic Transformations on Urban Structures

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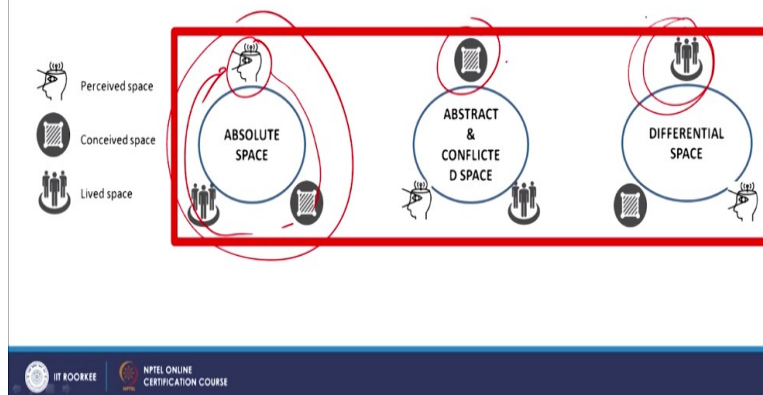
So, in this work, Indu have adopted Lefebvre's theory of production of space because this is one of the sociological component where Lefebvre, Henri Lefebvre talked about 3 different ontological positions of place, how it gets transformed. So, the first aspect, when he talks about the perceived space, which is the space which has been produced by the spatial practice of all the users of a space.

So, you can talk about whether it is a vernacular process of it, whether it is a habitable process of how you know, perceived space because there is some kind of attachment to it whereas, the conceived space, it a space produced by the visionaries. Whether it is a planners or the political decision-makers or it is based on the knowledge on ideologies of the visionaries. How they want to perceive this place, how they want to conceive this place.

The third aspect, which is talking about the lived space as the people tend to live at a particular place that is where an invisible degree of people's attachment to a certain place. So, they develop certain emotional attachment to a place, they develop a sense of belonging to it so where, you know, the habit in the habitat how it is reflected in the form of their belief systems, how their daily behaviours, their understanding of the place, their eligible concerns. All will put together in a form of a lived space.

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Lefebvre's theory of Production of space

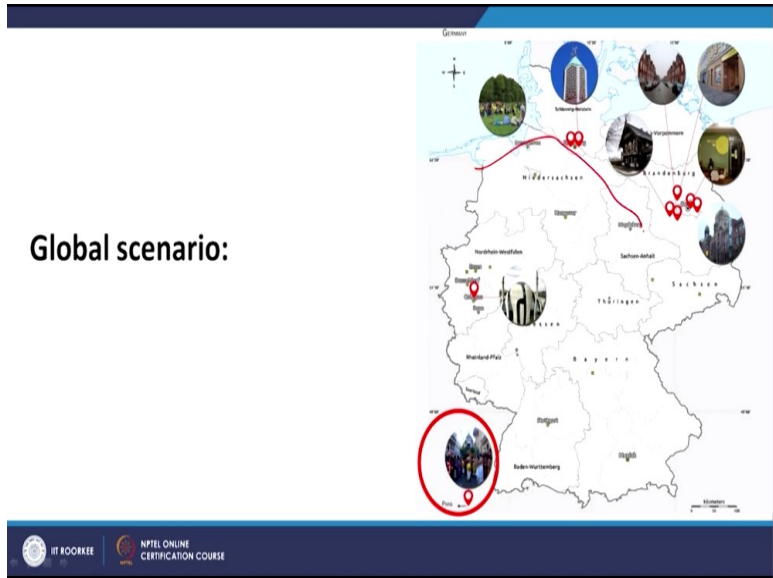


And this particular theory of production of space has been widely used from different researchers varying from sociologists, planners, urban designers and even the people working in the housing segment so they have adopted this particular theory. So, here because we are talking about the refugee context under displacement where the whole context has been reversed out and how it is programmed in time and how it has been manifested, how it has been shaped and reshaped.

So, that is where we thought this theory is most useful to understand this. Where, we have the actual theory about he talks about the absolute space which is where, the perceived space, where there is a vernacular context and then which is followed up with the conceived and the living processes which makes as an absolute space. In the abstract space, you know, that is where the conceived space takes over it.

And the visionaries and their ideologies you know, direct the whole program out of it and that is where but whereas, in the differential space when the time moves on and then how different priorities and different conflict setups are adapted and how a differential space is produced that along with background of your home attachments and as well as the present context, the lived space responds to it.

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Global scenario:

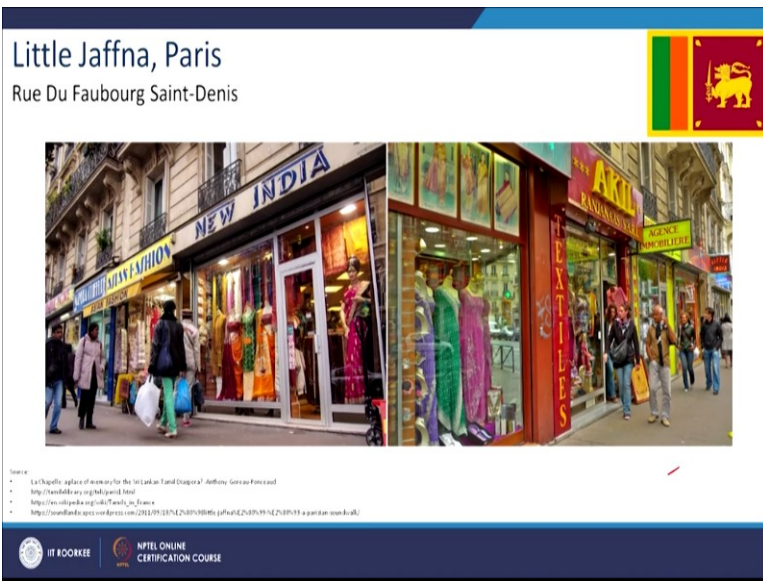
So, as a part of the DAAD scholarship, she also got an exchange program in Tu Munich and she have visited some of the cases of the displacement cases in the Germany as well and Paris and where she visited all these in Hamburg, Paris, Jaffna.

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So, I will briefly go through each of these scales very quickly. The little Jaffna in Paris, so the moment we talk about the Paris, we think of a very planned development and our expectation of a place identity if it looks like this.

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But the little Jaffna where the reality is this, it is looking like any other supermarket, bazaar or a bazaar in an Indian context where you have the hoardings, where you have the localized products, which is suitable for that particular community needs.

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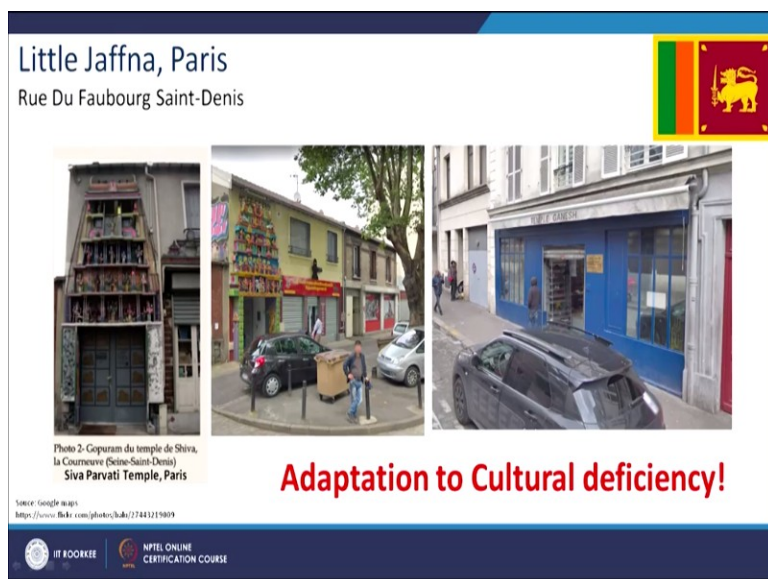
And even the festivals, the rituals, you know the religious belonging is also brought in a foreign place.

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In terms of how it is reflected in the buildings or the built forms, we think about the temples in Tamil Nadu which we call the kovils.

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But how they are reflected back in a foreign context, so the facades have been manifested in such a way, that they reflect the identity of the religious identity of that particular community and what you can see is so by looking at the facade so obviously, there are certain control regulations of heights and the street friends in the Paris context but then still considering those how they have tried to fit with this with a setting of their own sense of belonging and similarly, with the temple Ganesh.

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So, what we can say is you know, from the global scenario, there is, this is the list of the way she have analyzed it, this is a list of the case studies and what scale it has been reflected and what is the economy occupation strategies and what and how the government have dealt with the strategies and how the planning strategies are that is where how the conceived and the perceived, lived space have been analyzed from the European case studies.

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"The ability of homeless and impoverished groups of refugees to build and fund in foreign lands numerous monasteries of a remarkably high architectural standard and their success in developing viable monastic communities similar to those of Tibet is one of the miracles of the 20th century".

-(Haimendorf 1990 as quoted by Norbu 1994)

Source:
<http://www.temple.mn/2015/12/01/tibet-festive-20avo-anniversario-del-panchen-lama-de-china/>



AIM

The aim of the research is to investigate the production of new hybrid culturally responsive built environment of the Tibetan refugee settlers and native communities, in the Indian suburban and rural

So, from the Tibetan aspect, the ability of homeless and impoverished groups of refugees to build and fund in foreign lands, Tibetan have built a numerous monasteries of a remarkable high architectural standard and their success in developing viable monastic communities similar to those of Tibet, one of the miracles of the 20th century. So, whenever they have been there so they try to reflect, they try to bring their attachments through the places what they already know from Tibet and they try to build as the monastic communities.

And that is very specific compared to any other communities; the Tibetans are very unique on that manner. So, there is a research on this whole research has looked into how this particular hybrid you know, cultural responsive built environment has been produced in case of Tibetan communities and especially, in the Indian suburban and the rural context.

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Research questions

1. How hybrid Tibetan settlements are produced and transformed over time?
2. What is the relationship between cultural and built environments in a hybrid settlement?
3. Theoretical understanding of Production of refugee place over time



And how hybrid settlements are produced and transformed over time, what is the relationship between the cultural and the built environments in a hybrid settlement and how the theoretical understanding of this production of space the handle Lefebvre's space could be relooked in a refugee context and how it could be understood, how it becomes a framework, how it sets a framework to understand the refugee places and how they have been produced in time.

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CULTURAL IDENTITY

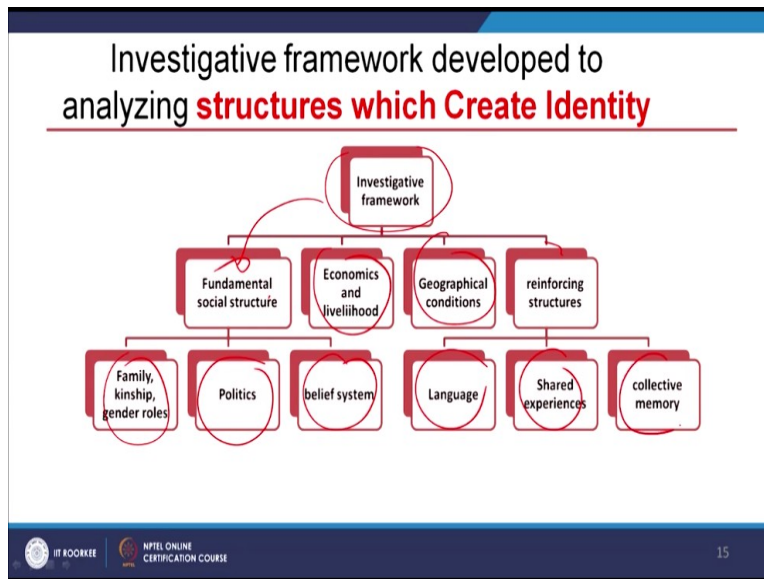
According to Oxford, **cultural identity** is the definition of groups or individuals (by themselves or others) in terms of cultural or subcultural categories (including ethnicity, nationality, language, religion, and gender)



a) A hospital in Leh town b) Mosque in Leh market (source: www.mytravelnama.com)

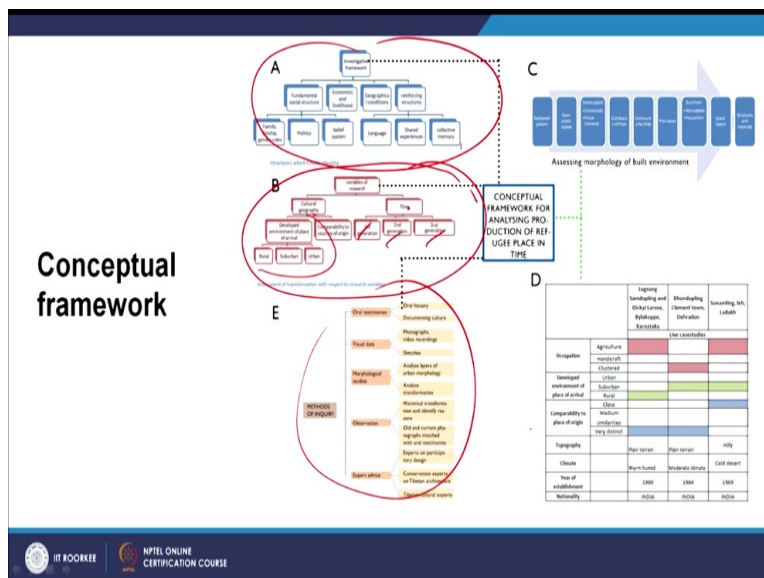
So, this all when we talk about cultural identity you know there is enough of literature we have from the anthropologist and you know, how from the geographers and various sociologists who talked about building the identity.

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And based on that literature review, so this investigative framework looks at this the sociological component and the anthropological component of it, the fundamental social structures which have again the family kinship and the gender roles and politics and belief system whereas, the economics and livelihood and geographical conditions and what are the reinforcing structures which like language, shared experiences and the collective memory how it gets transformed.

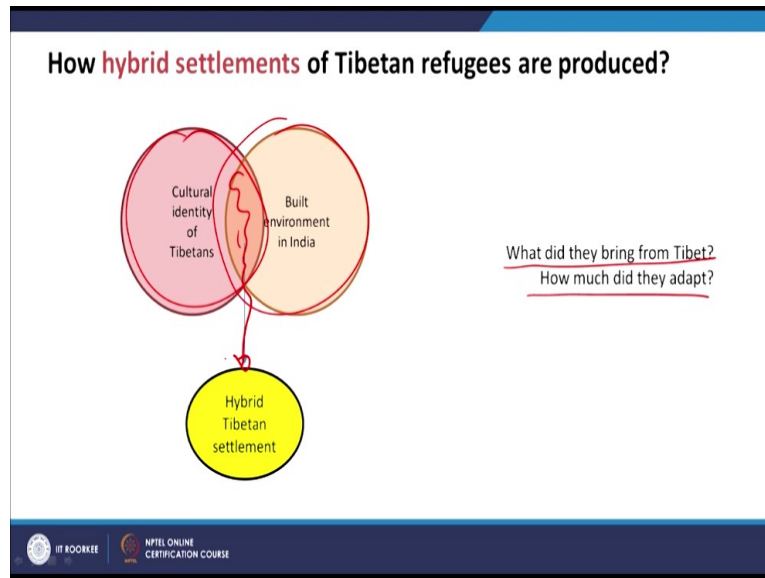
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And then she built on the whole set of it; one is the sociological component of it and which actually talks about the structures which create identity and when we talk about the assessment of transformation with respect to research variables, we have the cultural geography and the time are the main variables. The moment, the context is different how it is changed, the moment, the time varied, how it has reflected in space and time.

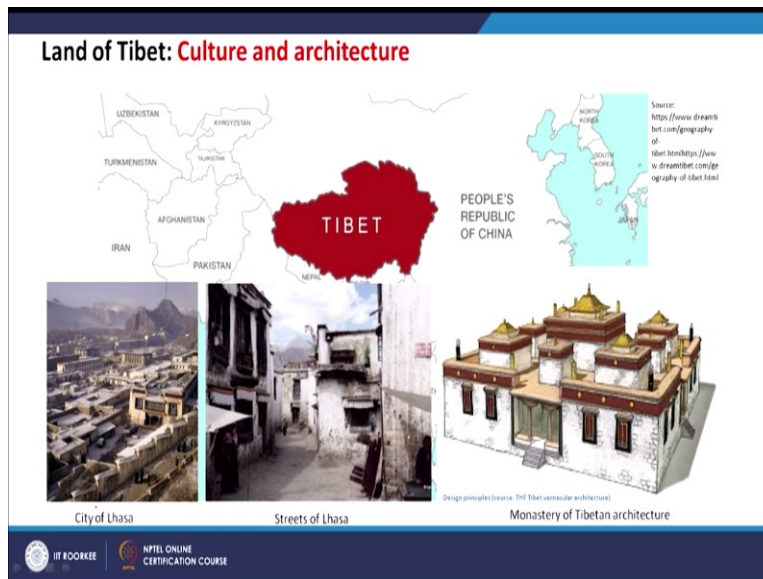
And that is how this whole framework, the first generation, second generation and the third generation, so we looked at the whole sequence of time how people have adapted to it and when we talk about the methods of inquiry as oral testimonies, the visual data, the morphological studies, observation and expert advice. So, like that there is a whole set of larger framework which has been looked at it.

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So, when we say how hybrid settlements are produced, one is wanted to bring from Tibet and how much did they adapt. Here, the cultural identity of Tibetans when it gets mixed with the built environment in India and then and that is where this has produced a hybrid Tibetan settlement because they borrow from each other and that is how a new meanings are produced.

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So, when we talk about the land of Tibet, culture and architecture, so in Lhasa, this is how, we see the Lhasa now, the very narrow streets and Adobe constructions and the huge monasteries of the Tibetan architecture.

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Tibet: Cultural environment			
Structures creating cultural identity	Characteristics	Reason	
geographical conditions	Cold desert climate high altitude Tibetan plateau Arid topography, scarce vegetation Trees: river valleys	Isolated due to topographical features For construction	
family, kinship, gender roles	System of marriage Fraternal polyandry One member of every family monk	Common spouse Create interest between family and monastery	
Politics/administration	Religious leader Dalai Lama: political head Theocratic government	importance of religion	
Religion/ belief system	Tibetan Buddhism Origin from India Monastery most important tibetan institution Several monasteries established	religion is backbone of society Religious guidance and spread of Tibetan language	

Tibet: Cultural environment			
Structures creating cultural identity	Characteristics	Reason	
Economy and livelihood	Farmers: Barley, wheat, corn Animal rearing: yaks, horses, donkey and goats Nomads Handicrafts: carpets, potters, carpenters, tailors and incense-stick markets Tibetan medicine	Traditional occupations adapted to the context	
Education	Few secular schools Monastery most important tibetan institution	Religious guidance and spread of Tibetan language	
Shared customs	Three social class system Tibetan language Food habits: barley, chukpa, etc. Mostly non-vegetarian, dairy products Funerals: corpse is preserved in shupa, celestial burial. Water burial Festivals: Losar (Tibetan New Year), Dalai Lamas birthday Khatwa, Chuba	No equality cremation seldom practiced	

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So, there is a Tibetan cultural environment, when we talk about the geographic conditions, it talks about the cold desert climate and high altitude, Tibetan plateau and the arid topography and a very scarce vegetation. This is how the typical Tibetan landscape is all talked about. The family kinship and gender, they have a kind of polyandry system where there has one wife and 2, 3 brothers marry the same.

And whereas, the political administration, where the religious leader is considered as the Dalai Lama was also the political head and there is religion has placed an important role in

the Tibetan society and again economy and livelihood; they are basically the farmers, barley, wheat and handicrafts and potters, the skilled labour and in terms of education, they have about the monastery mostly, Tibetan institutions and a few secular schools.

And because they are also very conservative in terms of spreading their language and through their religious guidance and the education systems and the shared customs you know they are basically, you know how their funerals, how the festivals, how the food habits, they try to share that through generation to generation.

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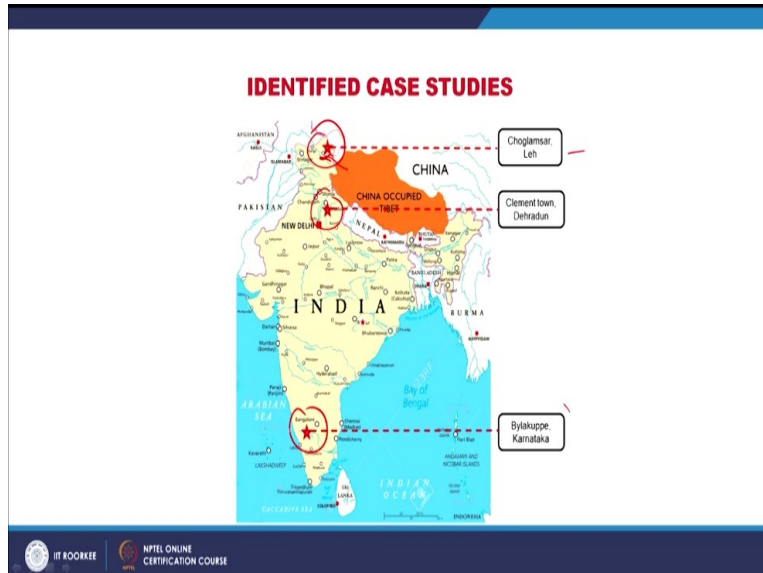
Tibet: Built environment		Tibet: Built environment	
	Components		Components
Monastery	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Most important institution built on high locations difficult to access square or rectangular in plan Space for ordinary believers Space for monk accommodation assembly hall, ambulatory and cells Roof top: symbol of a wheel with two deers on either sides Monastery complex: monastery surrounded by monk schools, administrative office and residence quarters, stupas and fencing walls around it 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> house forms Materials Details 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 'I' shape, 'L' shape Courtyards livestock rooms, storage spaces, living spaces worship space Sundried bricks, rammed earth wall, stone Intricately carved interior timber frames following standardized design principles Prayer flags adorn roofs Detailed code for the decoration of doors, windows and parapets (including painted black frames around doors and windows and complex wooden overhang decorations) Prayer wheel prayer flag Window eaves are covered with piece of red, white and blue striped cloth   
Stupa/ Chortens	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> bell-shaped contains a religiously significant sacred object dome, resting on five-tiered base 8 types 		

When we talk about the built environment, the most important things we have to talk is the monasteries which are almost located in the higher altitudes and they are difficult to access. There is certain spaces for monks and the spaces for assembly halls. In a Tibetan culture, if you have 3 children, almost the third child becomes a monk and that is how this whole religious pattern is continued.

And the Stupas, the Chortens which is a bell-shaped which contains a religiously significant sacred objects and there is a house forms either in I shape or an L shape courtyards, materials which could be a sundried bricks or a rammed earth walls and with all the timber frames with the standardized design and also the prayer flags on the top of the roofs and the details what you can see is a kind of a code for the decoration of doors and windows.

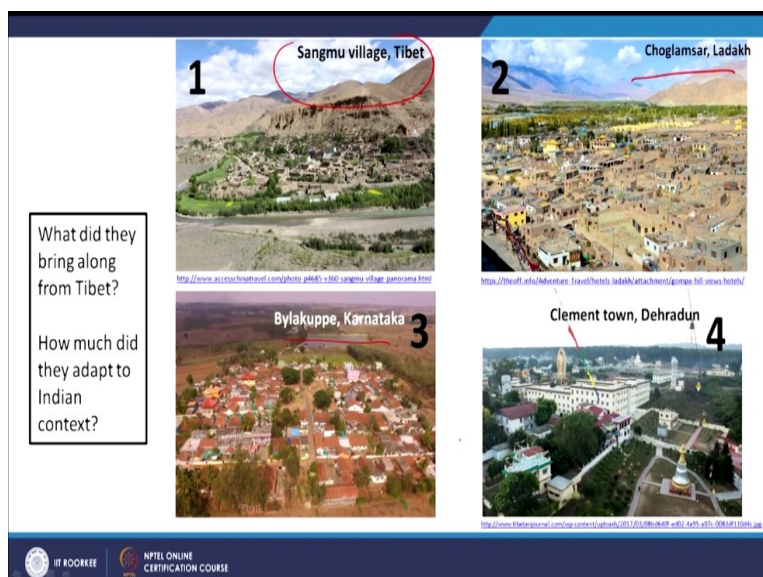
So, there is the monasteries which have a very typical standard and even the dwellings have a typical standard of how they are reused or decorated, how their factious have been put forward.

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So, in order to understand different adaptation process Indu have selected about 3 different culturally diverse settlements, one is in Ladakh area, it is a Choglamsar which is close to the Tibet, the second one is a Clement town which is in a kind of urban locality near Dehradun and the third one is a kind of rural setup which is a Bylakuppe where it is near Karnataka.

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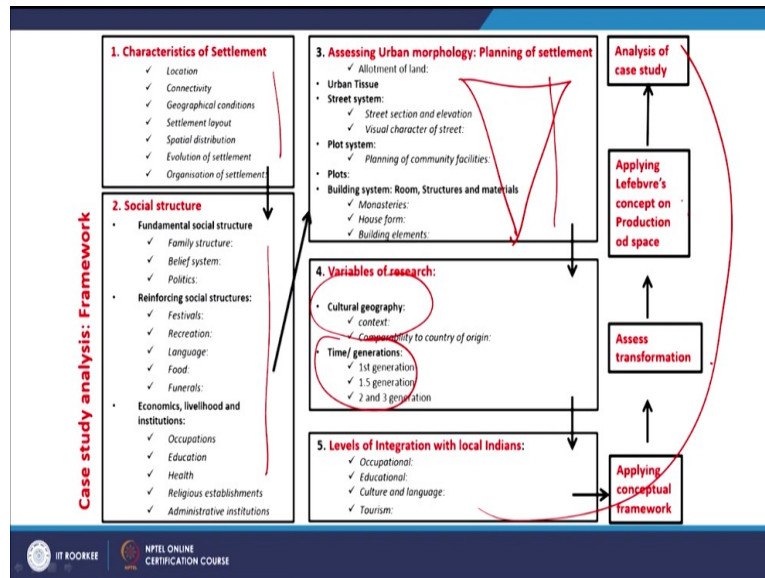


So, if you look at these diverse settings; one is Sangmu village which is in Tibet which is in the cold desert area which is close to the Tibetan landscape Choglamsar as well that very much close to what they belong to and in Bylakuppe which is very much different from what

you can see the kind of roofs, the kind of whole settlement looks very different, you know the tiled roofs which is a Mangalore tiles and everything which is close to what Karnataka people you know, the hard dwellings look like.

Whereas in Clement town in Dehradun it is more of a kind of urban setting but still it has a fabric of the Tibetan monasteries and the scale of the buildings is different here.

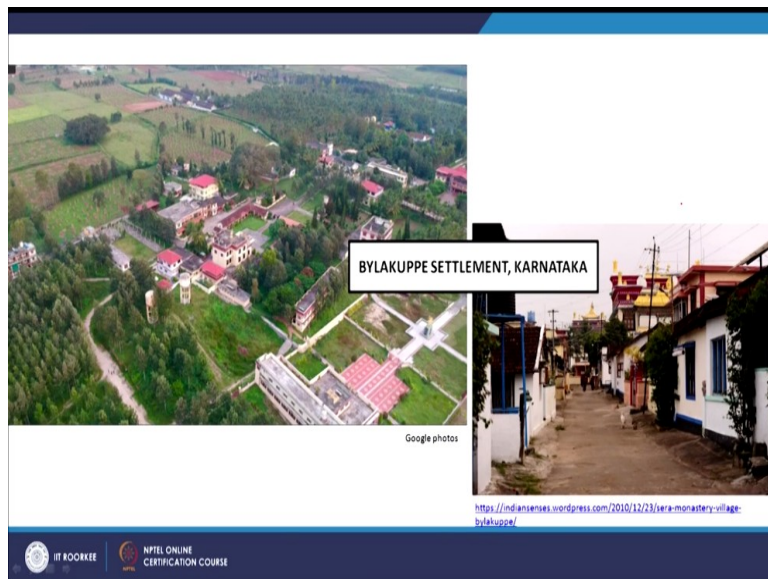
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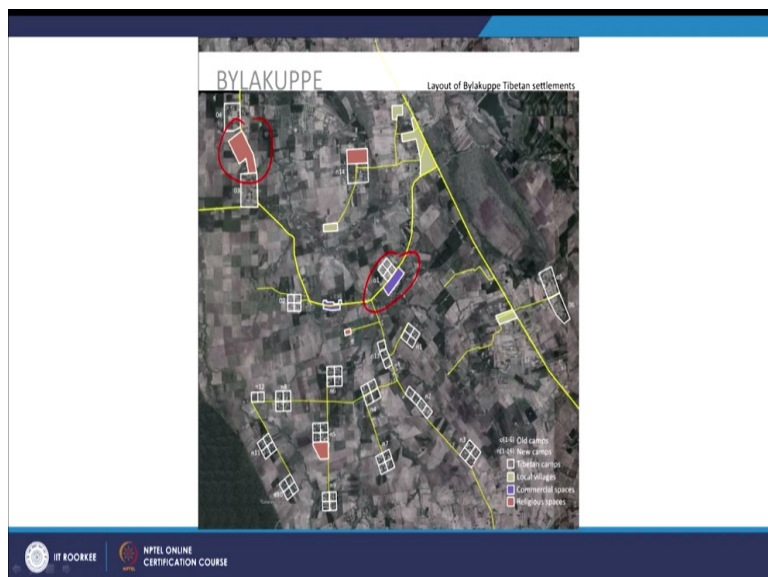
So, as a wide variety of things, one is the characteristics of the settlement, the social structures of the settlement and how one can adopt to them, understand the urban morphology, the street character, the plot systems and how this funnel of from urban tissue, street system, the plot system and you know, the building systems, how from a very macro to the micro-level has been looked into how these things have changed.

And the cultural geography and the time, that the first generation, 1.5 generation and the second generation also have been investigated. So, how, what level of integration with the local Indian context and that is how this whole process is looked at you know, assessing the transformation and looking back into the theories reflecting how it is reflected with the theory and you know, that is how it has been formulated.

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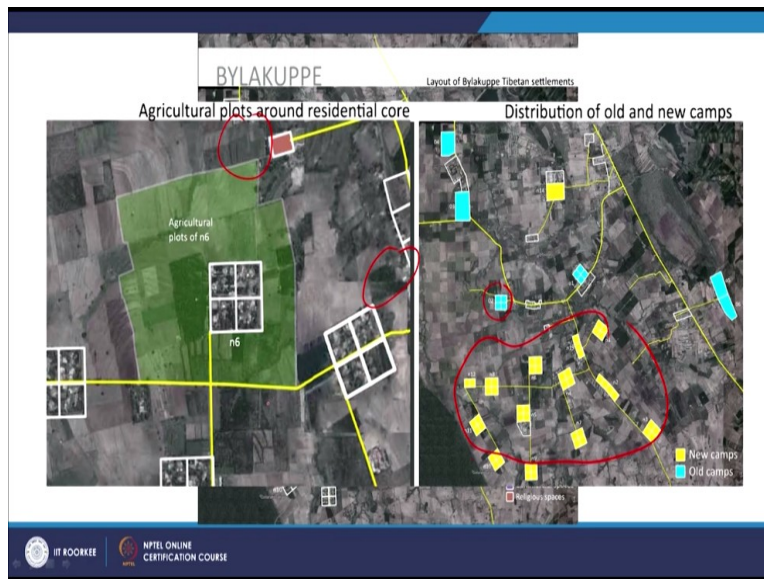


So, let's go to the case studies. This is a Bylakuppe settlement in Southern Karnataka.
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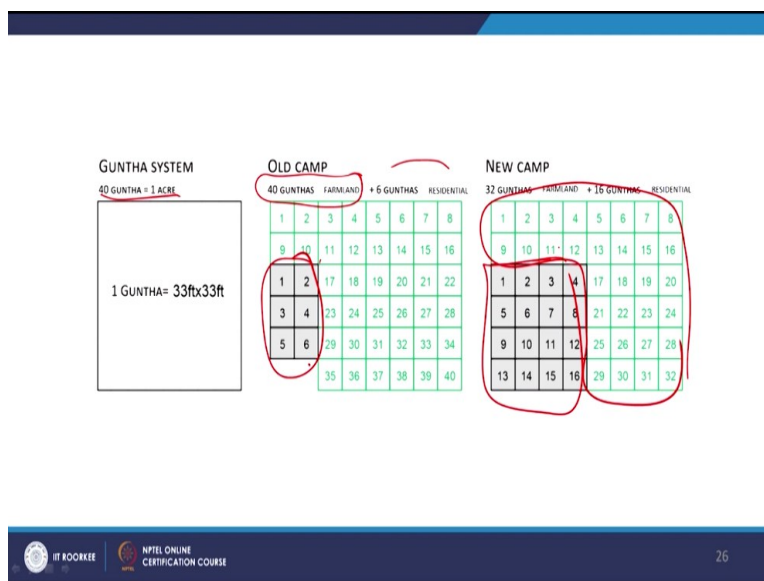
There are two camps; one is a old camp and the new camp. So what you can see is the religious buildings and when you have the commercial spaces here and you have the Tibetan camps and the local villages. So, you can see this is a very clustered setup; each of them has a very unique layout.

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So, now, one is you have the new camps and the old camps and each cluster has been oriented because they are basically, the farmers in that time when they came to 1960s.

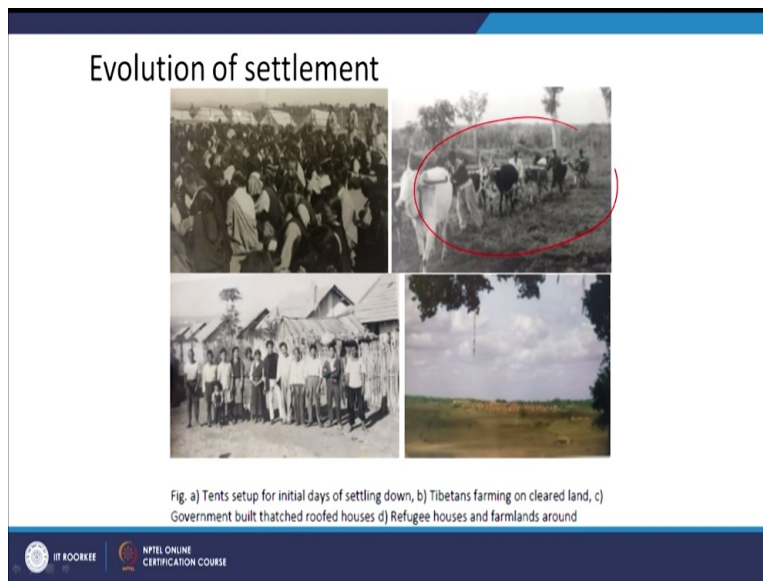
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The old camp they have given about each in a 40 Gunthas is about 1 acre and 1 Guntha is about 33 by 33 feet. So, what they did was they divided the land distribution in 40 Gunthas as a farmland and 6 Gunthas. So, there were 6 Gunthas of residential and 40 Gunthas of farmland so that they can do the farming and whereas, in 1969 when the new camps have been formed, so where they talked about 32 Gunthas in a farmland and the 16 Gunthas as a residential land.

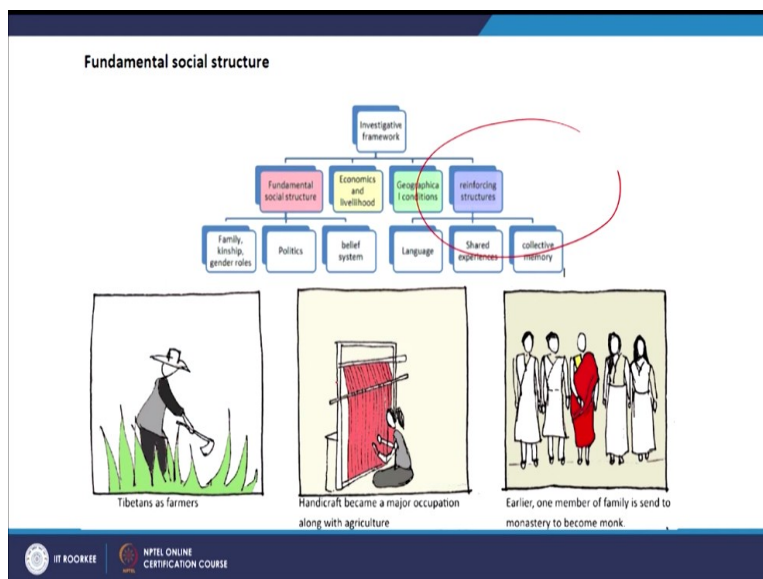
You know because now they reflect that they need more space for this residential aspect as well and as well as the farming.

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So, this is how the very old photographs of how they set up the initial days of the settling down and how they started clearing the land and how the government have built them thatched housing.

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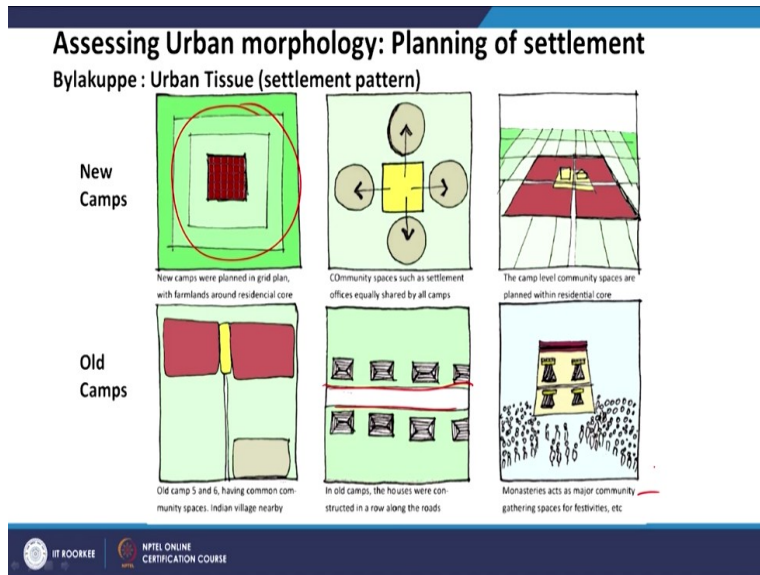


And you know, if you look at this whole process and then you know, Tibetans as a farmers and they are also the handicrafts, their craftsmanship and earlier, as I said to you one member of the family sent to the monastery to become a monk.

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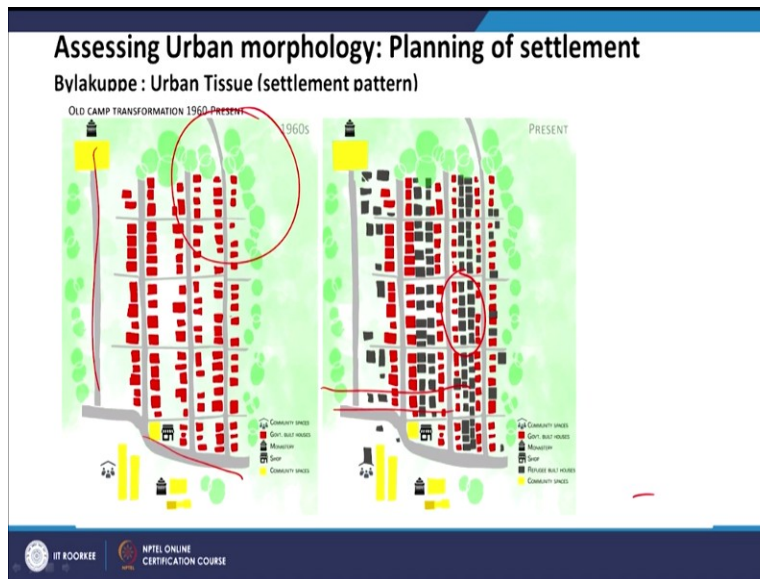
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And if you look at the transformation and how it is reflected in different patterns, one is the new camps, you have planned in a gridiron pattern with farmlands around the residential core and whereas, an old camp they planned along with the streets and you can see that the houses are led along the streets and also the community spaces in the new camps they are equally shared you know, they are equally accessible.

And so that, there is a monastery as a major community gathering, so this is how the settlement pattern has been organized.

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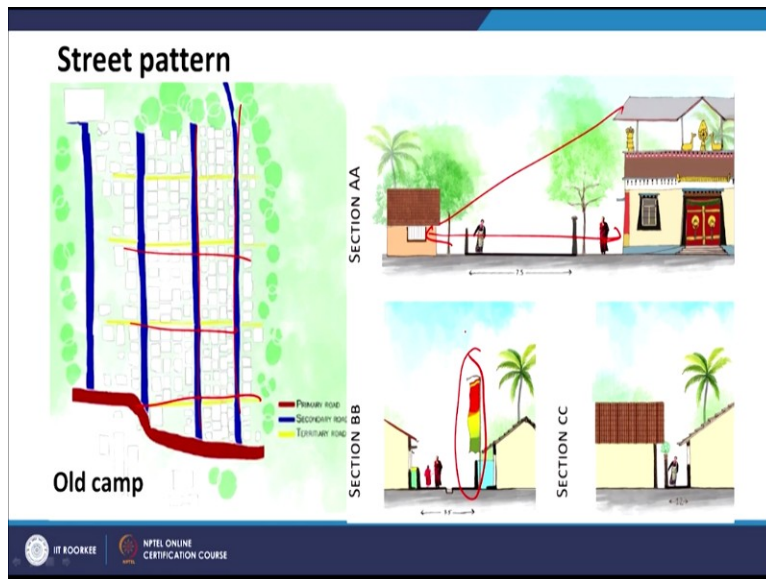
In an old camp transformations in 1960s, you have the primary road and you have the secondary road and from the monastery and this is how the dwellings were but then today people start building up and then it becomes crowded. So, they started occupying next to that places and then that is how it becomes a kind of crowded space.

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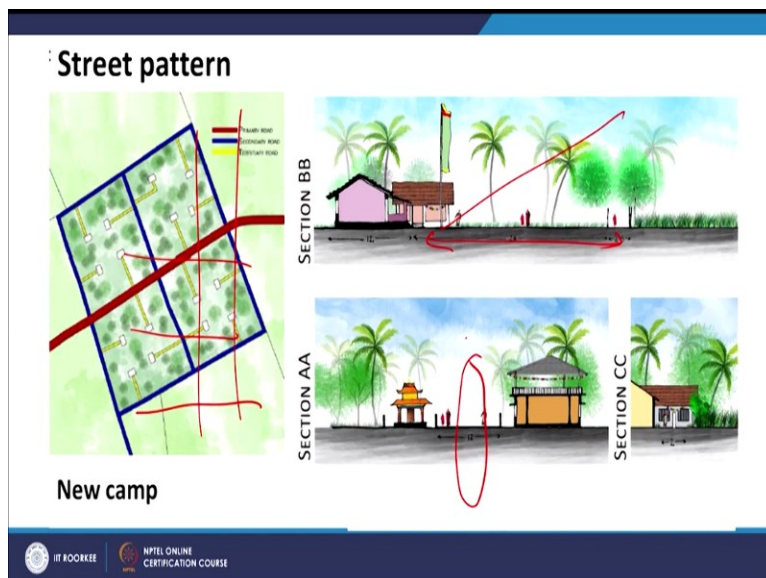
Even in the new camp, you can see this is how the original part of it and then now today what you can see is a black, the whole expansions have taken place even in the new camp.

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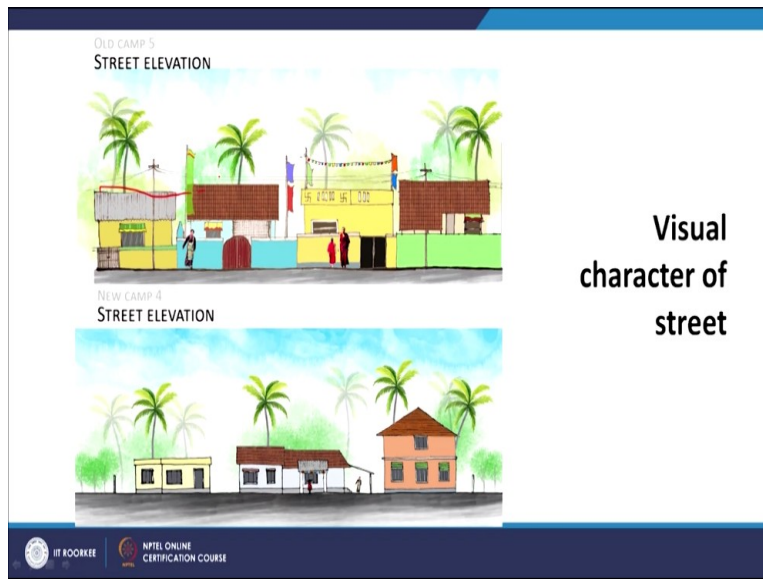


And the street patterns, you know, how in the old camp, how the primary road and you have the monastery and you have the secondary roads and you have the territory roads on to this direction and then within that it becomes a small neighborhood block and that is how there is a sense of scale, there is a sense of you know visual axis, there is a sense of identity which has been reflected in their street patterns, the friends the street friends and their monastral buildings.

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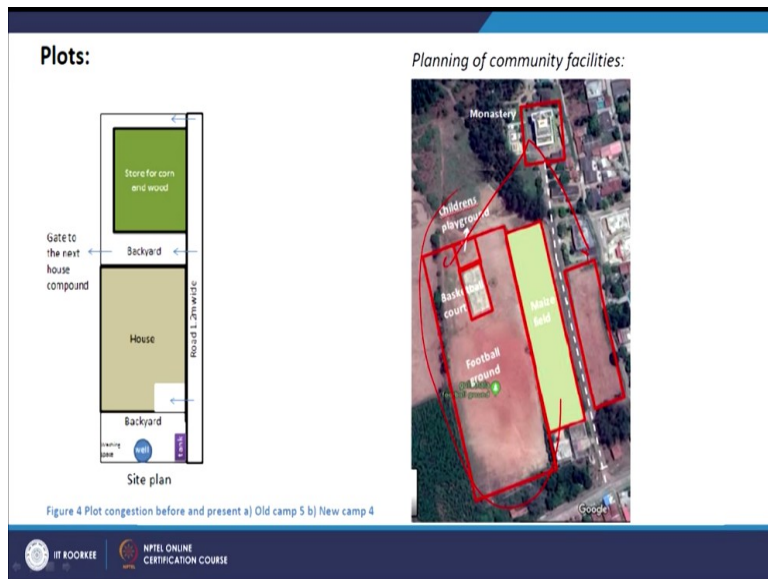


And this is how what you can see is the kind of the new camps, how you can see a more or less a kind of uniform heights with the dwellings and a similar artistic representations of their facades and the compound walls and the flags over the top of the terraces.

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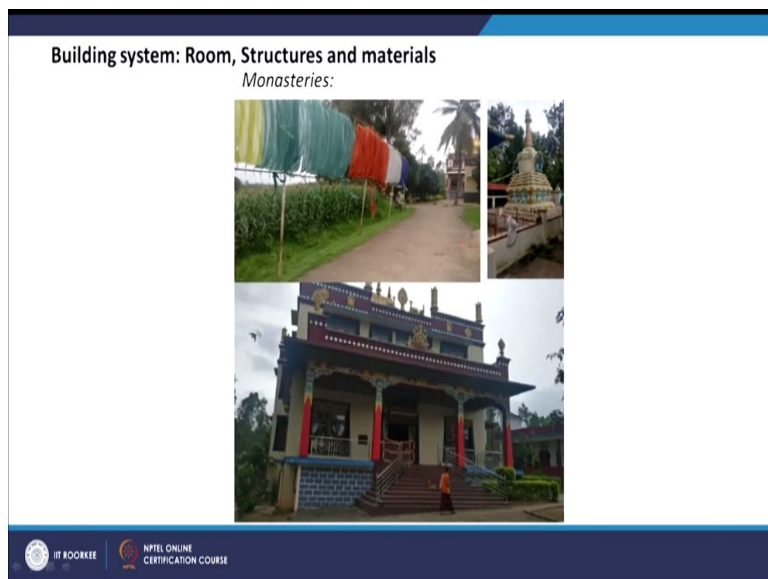


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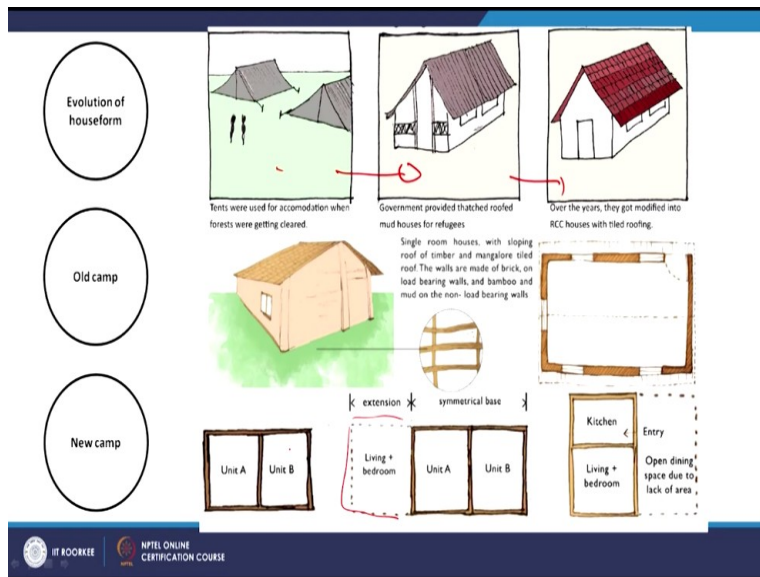


And is the plot system which has been subdivided into equal composition and we have the store for, they built a store and corn for storing the wood and they also have the monastery and they built some kind of public spaces where there has a football ground and the maize field and you know, there is all the public space access near to the monastery.

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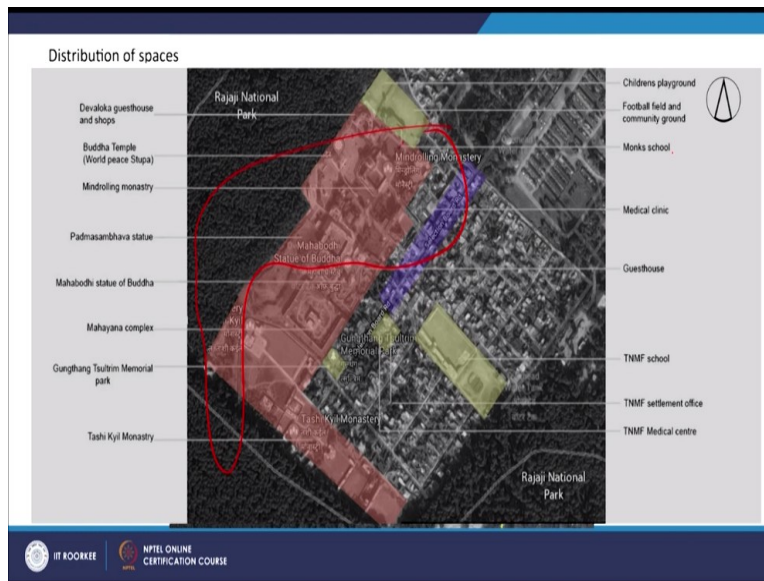
And if you look at the evolution of house forms, initially they were given as a tents, then the government have provide with thatched roofs, mud houses of refugees. Then, over the years they get modified into a kind of brick and concrete houses and mostly with the tile roofing and a single room houses with all the wattle and daub constructions, how they have transformed and the new camp how they have started extending and how two different families and then how they started expanding this houses.

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So, the second case study is about the Clement town and this is a kind of an urban scenario, is a Dondupling of Tibetan settlements, so you have all the religious setting here and there are residential setting over here.

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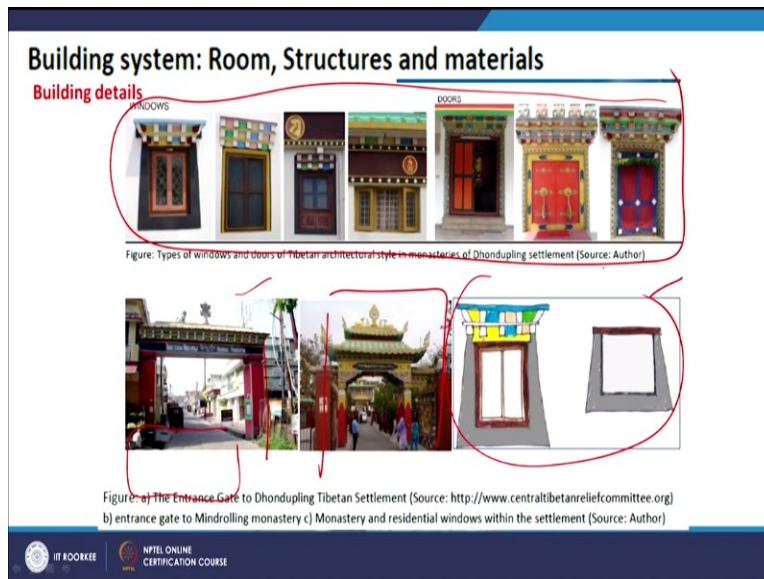
And all these important landmarks including the school, medical clinic and the settlement office becomes one of the major component of their public place as well because that is where most of the records, most of the association with the community is taken care of.

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And what you can see in a Tibet, the monasteries and how it is reflected in the Dehradun and they try to carry out the impressions of what already they know and including the scale, the proportions and again how a big room could be divided for a multi-purpose areas and how this is what you see in a multi-storey structures in Dehradun as well.

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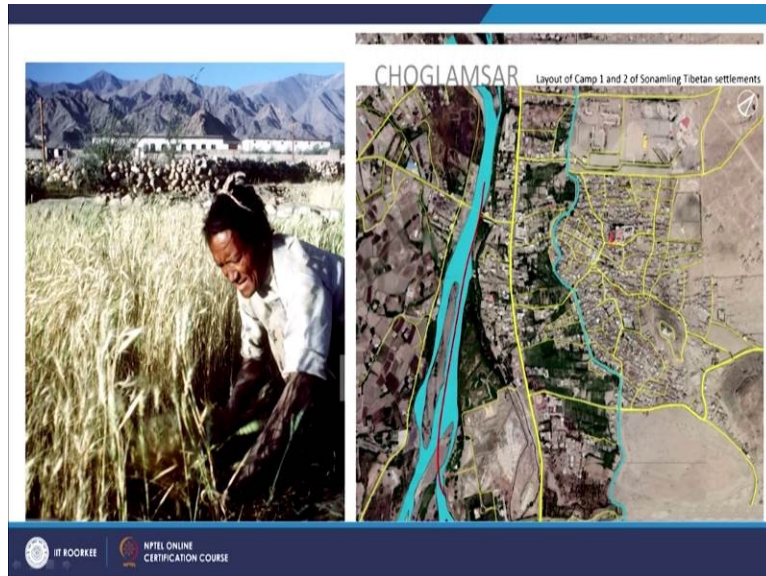
In terms of windows, what you can see is a kind of this is mostly, these are the window models which you can find in the monasteries and the entrance gateways which are reflected to direct someone, to orient themselves into the settlement that, this is a Tibetan orientation and these are the some of the traditional windows in the houses.

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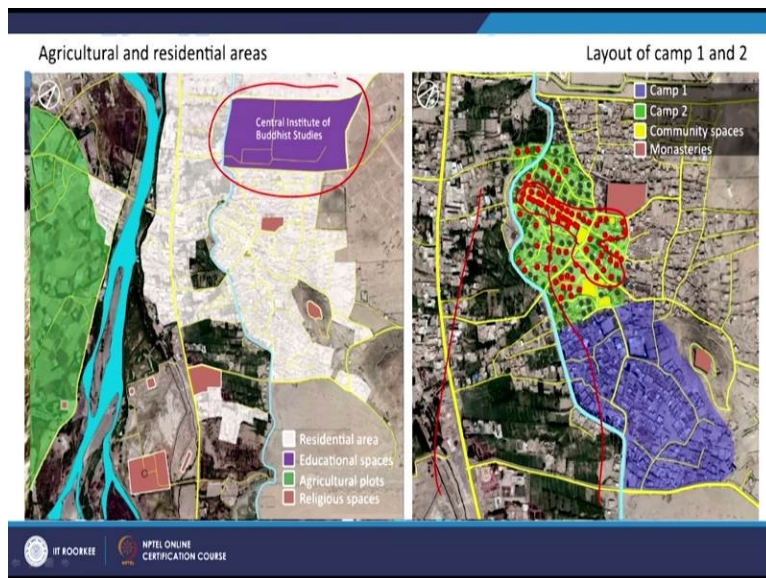
Whereas, in Choglamsar because it is very close to the Tibetan environment and the way of lifestyle and the Ladakhis also they have a similar culture, in that way assimilation was clearly possible here because of its close proximity to its environment.

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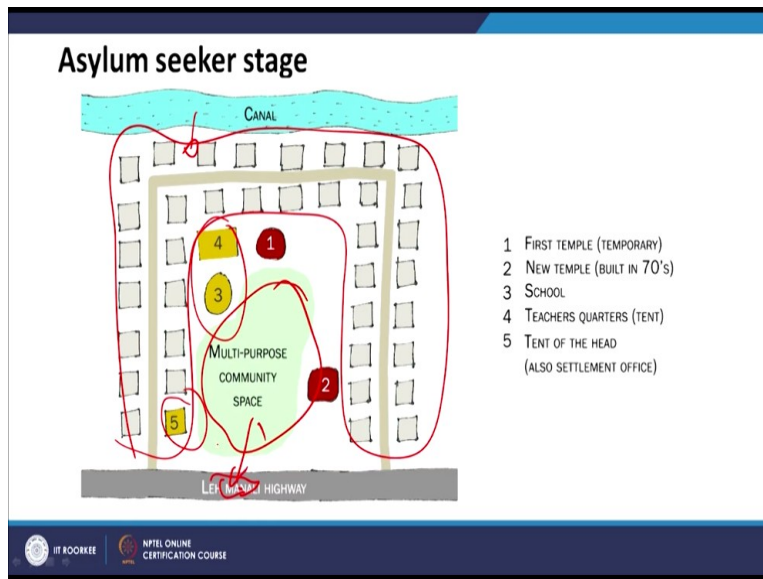
And even here, the whole camp have set up along with the river along with the canal and the rivers.

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And here also the whole setup of camp 1 and initially, this is from the mental map she could able to procure that, this is how the camps have settled and then later it has expanded and you have the educational spaces and we have the Central Institute of Buddhist Studies and they have the community spaces all around.




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So, at an asylum seeker stage what they do was they try to settle down in a kind of U-shaped pattern in the canal because first of all canal is one of the important water resource and here, they also have talk about the tent of the head which is also referred as the settlement office and you have the teachers quarters and the school which are more important but why do they make this is a Leh Manali Highway.

And how they programmed it in a U-shape was because all these people who were settled as refugees they were taken as labourers to the army camps and that is how they used to gather in place and then that is how the trucks come and this becomes a kind of public place as well.

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	1 st generation	1.5 and 2 nd generation	3 generation
<div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; width: fit-content;"> Generations of refugees </div>	 <p><small>(Source: http://www.indianexpress.com/2014/04/04/)</small></p> <p>They aspire to go back to Tibet and see the stay in Ladakh as temporary. The houses are very primitive, and they are very active in social circles. They strictly hold on to their culture (for example, they wear <i>chupa</i> as everyday wear)</p>	 <p><small>(Source: http://www.indianexpress.com/2014/04/04/)</small></p> <p>They established tourism and other business and has been educated in TCVs. They have well integrated into Ladakh, as there is seemingly lesser cultural and topographical differences between the places. They are <u>rooted in their culture</u> so are the Ladakhi community due to topographical isolation, however it did not stop them from slight western influences, ever since tourism grew.</p>	 <p><small>(Source: ACTRICE)</small></p> <p>Opportunities are very less for better jobs and education within Ladakh. Still even the younger generation sees their future in Tibet and want to return to <u>their home country</u> someday. (They are not very strict about wearing <i>chupa</i> everyday, but wears it on occasions)</p>

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So, in the first and second, 1.5 and third generation, we can see a very good important response that how they still aspire to go back the first generation because they still believes

within those memories of what they have when they have come from, back from Tibet and in the first and the 1.5 and second-generation they are very much integrated with the system with the topographical differences.

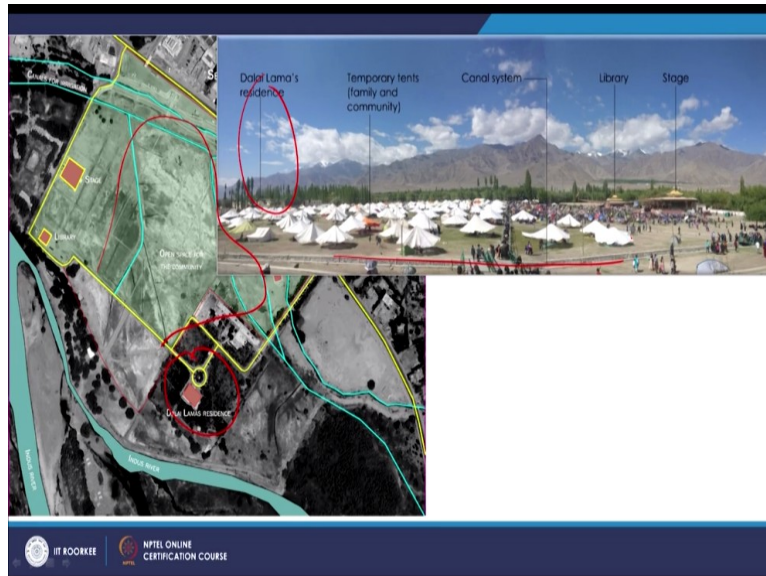
And they could able to better integrate with the Ladakhi community and understand, so including the language similarities and the cultural similarities they were able to integrate better. Where in the third generation, obviously, they also have could have a kind of mixed response where they also want to go back to Tibet and you know, someday that they hope that they go back.

And also it is reflected in terms of their wearing a traditional dress and their living patterns. So, there is a wide variety of responses.

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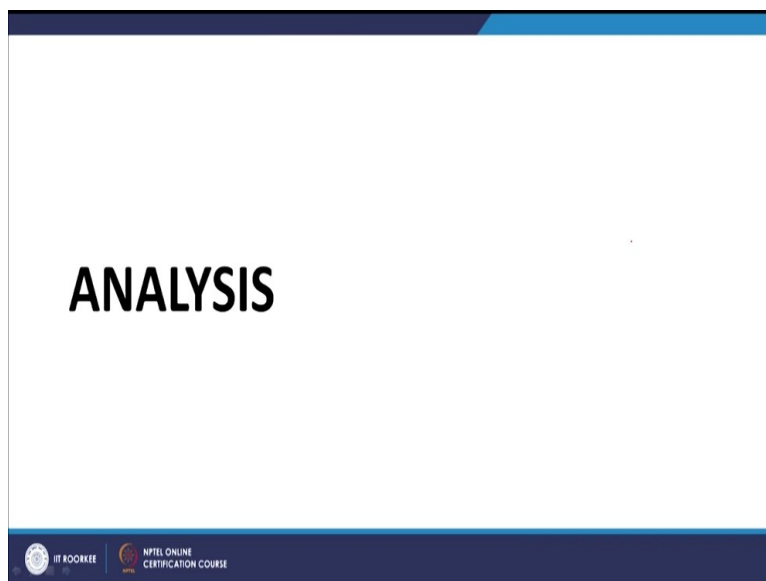


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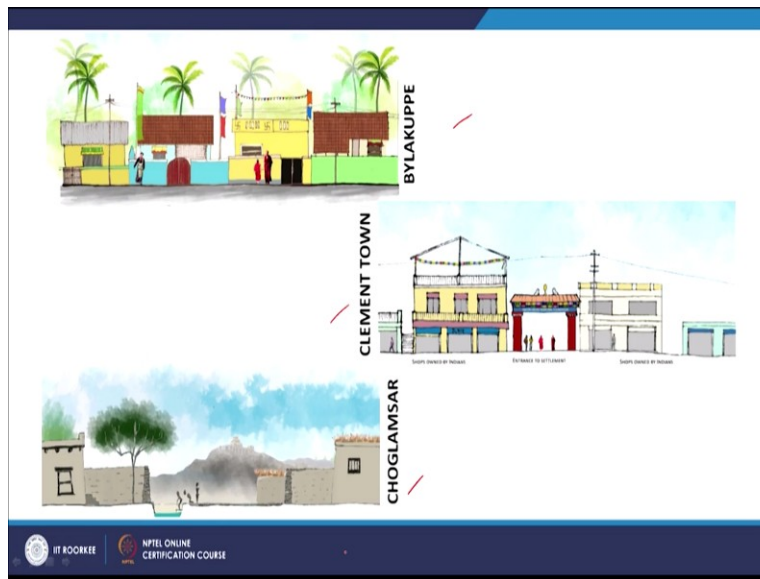


So, today this is how the traditional patterns look like and you have the Dalai Lama's residence and where they have the open space, they celebrate Dalai Lama's birthday and they gather in different tents what you can see here is this is how the Dalai Lama's residence and then, these tents they come in a clusters to spend 2, 3 days there and they celebrate different activities.

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So, this is how there has been a transition of Bylakuppe, Clement town and Choglamsar, so what you can see in the moment the context is different and here, the whole it is reflected from its built form as well.

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Structures that create cultural identity				Cultural continuity			Cultural adaptability		
Structures creating cultural identity	Characteristics	Reason		Bylakuppe	Clement town	Choglamsar	Bylakuppe	Clement town	Choglamsar
Geographical conditions	Cold desert climate high altitude Tibetan plateau Arid topography, scarce vegetation Trees near valleys	Isolated due to topographical features Trees used for construction		Plains, warm humid Access to fertile soil, Thick vegetation	Plains, moderate climate, urban in nature, moderate availability of rain	Cold desert climate. Scarce vegetation, arid topography, hilly			
Family, kinship, gender roles	System of marriage Paternal polyandry One member of every family male joint family system	Common spouse Create interest between family and monastery		Paternal polyandry discontinued Monk practice within the family discontinued	Paternal polyandry partially continued	Paternal polyandry discontinued		is migrated from other places	joint family system
Politics/administration	Religious leader Dala Lama: political head Theocratic government	Importance of religion		Dala Lama only spiritual head, not political		Politically administered by settlement officer, centrally controlled as CIA Nepalese government			
Religious belief system	Tibetan Buddhism Origin from India Monasteries most important Tibetan institution Several monasteries established	religion is backbone of society Religious guidance and spread of Tibetan language		Tibetan Buddhism is main religion. Monasteries is most important Tibetan institution Monasteries as a dominant space of settlements		Gradual shift from religious center, development towards community center, development over the time			
Economy and livelihood	Farmers: Barley, wheat, corn Animal rearing: cattle, horses, donkey and goats Nomads Handicrafts	Traditional occupations adapted to the context		Agriculture based occupation: maize, tobacco, oil trees Discontinued Cattle rearing, now only partially continued Discontinued Handicraft as secondary occupation	Discontinued Discontinued Discontinued	Agriculture based occupation: barley Cattle rearing, now only partially continued Discontinued	Set zones for timber industry Cattle rearing in cattle sheds than herding		Very low yield, hence discontinued Cattle rearing in cattle sheds than herding Currently manufactured in factories

And then there are 2 aspects; one is taking the structures that create cultural identity and one is the cultural continuity, what they have continued, what they have brought back from Tibet and what they have adapted here. So, like that, like for example the polyandry which has been a tradition for them but that has been discontinued in these 2 cases but whereas, in Choglamsar which is close to the Tibetan in some cases they have partially continued.

So, again an important practice of monk practice with the family you know, sending a person from the family to become a monk has been discontinued and the monks have been migrated

from other places, you know, it is not just from the same place. So, like that, there has been a variety of changes from different categories. Of course, I am not going through each and everything but I am just flipping through that this is a kind of framework to set up, to get an understanding of what they have continued and what they have adapted here.

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Structures that create cultural identity				Cultural continuity			Cultural adaptability		
Structures creating cultural identity	Characteristics	Reason	Image	Bylakuppe	Clement town	Chogamsar	Bylakuppe	Clement town	Chogamsar
Others							Tourism emerging as major occupational sector. Small scale trade.	Tourism emerging as major occupational sector. Small scale trade. Some other and other based occupations.	Tourism is emerging as major occupational sector. Small scale trade.
Education	Five secular schools present. Monastery most important Tibetan institution.	Religious guidance and spread of Tibetan language.		Monasteries reestablished from Tibet. Religious education continued.			Education in schools given importance for cultural continuity.		
Shared customs	Hierarchy in social class system. Tibetan language. Food habits: barley, thupa, etc. Mostly non vegetarian. Rare products. Funeral: corpse is preserved in thupa. Collective burial. Water burial. Festival: Losar (Tibetan New Year), Dala Lama birthday. Attire: Chuba.	No equality. Cremation seldom practised.		Discontinued hierarchy in social class. Tibetan language primary spoken.			Equality in social class. Hindi, English spoken. Food habits continued. Adapted to local cuisine like.		
				Food habit partially continued.	Food habits continued.	Food habits continued.	Continued and promoted for tourism sector. Adapted to local cuisine like.	Partially adapted to local cuisine like.	Partially adapted to local cuisine like.
				Discontinued practice.	Partially continued.	Continued in community crematorium.			
				Celebrated in the settlement.			Also celebrate Indian festival.	Also celebrate Indian festival. Tibetan festival currently celebrated mainly before them with community.	Also celebrate Indian festival.
				Only during festival and occasions.	Mostly worn.		Adapted to Indian modern attire.		

Scale: Discontinued (pink), Partially continued (yellow), Continued (green), Adapted from context (blue)

And similarly, the education you know, how the monasteries have reestablished from Tibet and then the religious education have been continued and in the education of schools given importance for cultural continuity, you know and the language and discontinued hierarchy in social class and equality in the social class, how the plot distribution is also reflected through bringing the equality in the social classes.

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Spatial characteristics		Spatial continuity			Spatial adaptability		
Built form: general		Bylakuppe	Clement town	Chogamsar	Bylakuppe	Clement town	Chogamsar
Organic design/buildings appear to grow out of the landscape.	Planned development.	Planned development.	Planned development.	Organic development.	Ecological ambience of built environment.	Built form of urban environment.	Built form of urban environment.
Curvy side oriented towards south.	Changed with respect to context.	Changed with respect to context.	Changed with respect to context.	Curvy side oriented towards south.	Contextual orientation.	Contextual orientation.	Same context.
Flat roofs with parapet.	Changed with respect to context.	Changed with respect to context.	Changed with respect to context.	Flat roofs with parapet.	Shallow roof adapted to context. Airflow, shade etc. used.	Increased roof adapted to context.	Flat roofs with parapet.
Sustainable.	Partially sustainable.	Not sustainable.	Sustainable.	Old monasteries, modern also.	Old monasteries, modern also.	Hardly any modern monasteries.	Natural materials used.
Many windows.							
Monastery	Most important institution. Built on high locations difficult to access. Square or rectangular in plan. Space for more accommodation. Roof top: symbol of a wheel with two deers on either sides. Monastery complex: monastery surrounded by more schools, administrative office and residence quarters, shops and fencing walls present. Symmetrical in layout and facade design. Highly trapezoidal form, heavy at bottom (stone foundations) and light at the top, generally with battered walls. Form: solid block with very less branching.	Monasteries are the most important institution in settlement. Due to topographical reasons, they are built on high or plain land, but follow curvilinear. Accessible locations. Square or rectangular in plan. Space for more accommodation to accommodate pilgrim monks. Present in all cases. Observed as similar to Tibet. Symmetrical in layout and facade design. Highly trapezoidal form. Solid block like monastery, branching is observed.	Monasteries are the most important institution in settlement. Due to topographical reasons, they are built on plain land, but follow curvilinear. Accessible locations. Square or rectangular in plan. Space for more accommodation to accommodate pilgrim monks. Not provided. Observed as similar to Tibet. Monasteries complexes are smaller in scale compared to other settlements. Highly trapezoidal form. Solid block like monastery, very less branching.	Monasteries are the most important institution in settlement. Similar to Tibet in form. Community space giving importance too. Contextual adaptation with traditional sloping roof. Monasteries complexes are smaller in scale compared to other settlements. Constructed using concrete, to imitate Tibetan form.			Block about 4 storeys.

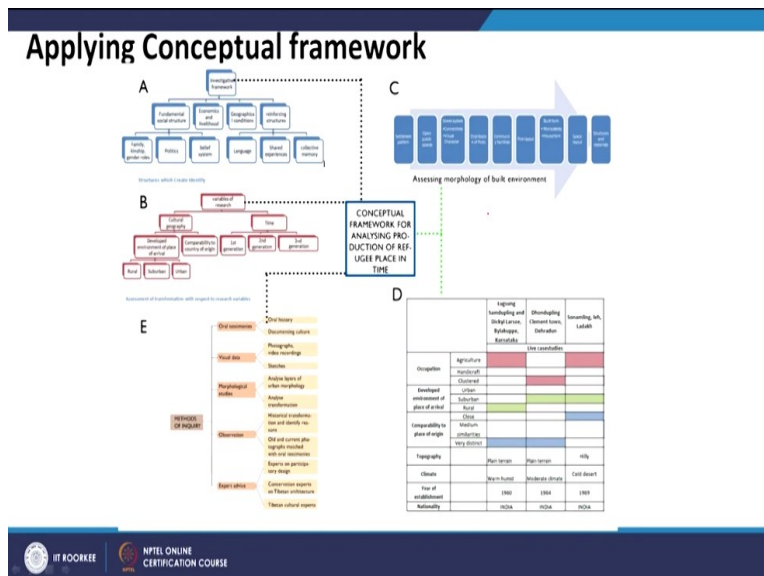
And similarly, they have the monasteries, they have the built form in general and how they have changed you know, what I mean, this is a kind of framework how she put the data in different pockets of explanation.

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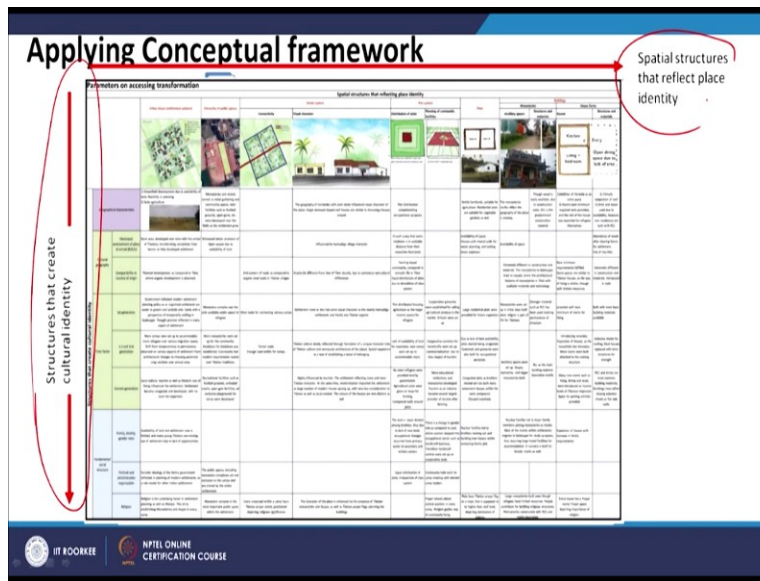
Spatial characteristics		Spatial continuity		Spatial adaptability	
House forms	T shape, U shape Courtyards Innervest rooms, storage spaces, living spaces empty space Form: solid block with very less branching Slightly trapezoidal form, heavy at bottom (stone foundations) and light at the top, generally with battered walls Sundried bricks, rammed earth wall, stone Intricately carved interior timber frames following standardized design principles Prayer flags adorn roofs	T shape, U shape Not present Absent	No particular spatial layout Absent	T shape, U shape Not present Absent	Branches, expanded due to contextual influence Very small houses to have courtyards Change in occupation, so such spaces not required
Materials	Sundried bricks, rammed earth wall, stone Intricately carved interior timber frames following standardized design principles Prayer flags adorn roofs	Not solid block like form, and branching is present Straight walls	Straight walls	Form: solid block with very less branching Slightly trapezoidal Sundried bricks, rammed earth wall	Traditional materials Modern materials used
Details	Detailed code for the decoration of doors, windows and parapets including painted black frames around doors and windows and complex wooden overhanging decorations Prayer wheel prayer flag Window eaves are covered with piece of red, white and blue striped cloth	All detailed codes are followed Prayer wheel prayer flag Prayer wheel prayer flag Prayer wheel prayer flag Window eaves are decorated in some cases	Prayer wheel prayer flag Prayer wheel prayer flag Prayer wheel prayer flag Window eaves are not decorated	Wood is used for timber frames Material is RCC, compared to wood in Tibet Material is RCC, compared to wood in Tibet Material is RCC, compared to wood in Tibet Window eaves are decorated in some cases	Material is RCC, compared to wood in Tibet Material is RCC, compared to wood in Tibet Material is RCC, compared to wood in Tibet Material is RCC, compared to wood in Tibet

And there is a house form, materials, how they have changed, now today in sundried bricks and rammed earth walls they are completely absent in both the cases but whereas, here it was present because it was locally available and the local climatic conditions.

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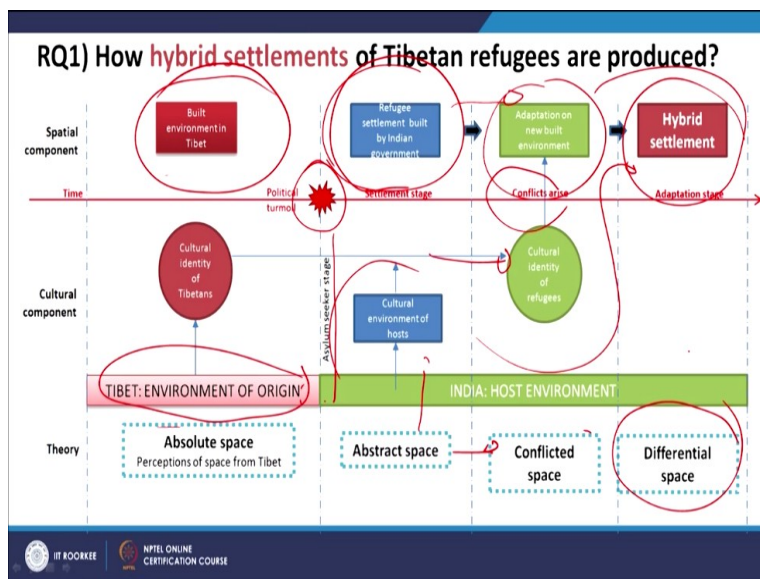


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So, this is a kind of summary of applying the whole framework in one big sheet. Of course, it's not legible now. But at least it will get an idea of how, on one side we have the structures that create the cultural identity, on the other side, we have how it is reflected in the spatial structures.

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And to summarize the whole findings, this is how hybrid settlements of Tibetan refugees are produced. One is a spatial component, what they know, what they have inbuilt environment in Tibet and when the political turmoil existed, then that is where the refugee settlement built by the Indian government and gradually, how they adapt the new built environment that is where the conflicts arrives.

And with this long-run process, how an adaptation stage was create and hybrid settlement. In a cultural component, the Tibet which they know the environment of their origin and that is what they reflect with the absolute space because that is what the perceived space what they already know but here, the asylum seekers stage that is where the host environment is providing certain conceived space you know, that is where conceived space is taking forehead of it that is called an abstract space.

And with that people started adjusting with this and that is where they come interacted with the host community and that is where conflicts arise, this is where we talk about the conflicted space and gradually, when things get adapted, when generation moved on and how they accustom, how they adapted and how they continue their practices that is where a differential space comes.

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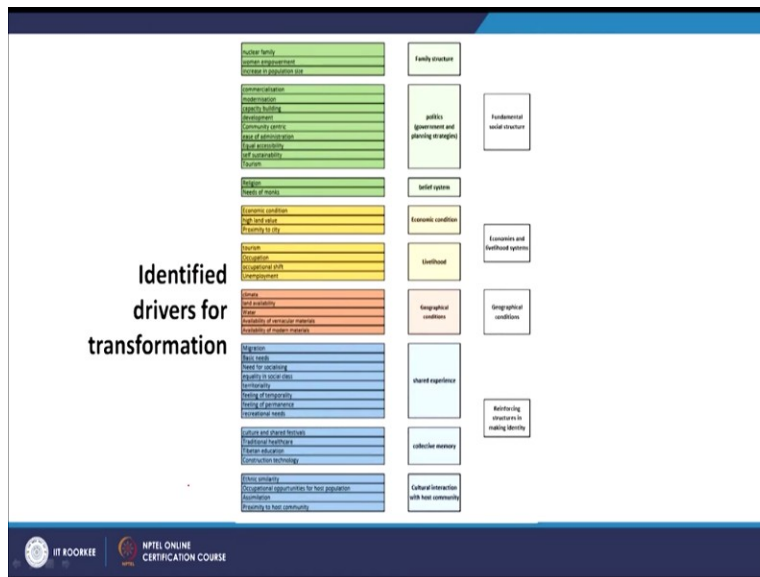
BYLAKUPPE
APPLYING LEFEBVRE'S CONCEPTS ON PRODUCTION OF PLACES

	Conceived space	Perceived space	Lived space
street system	Planned street hierarchy of streets. Absence of connectivity with existing urban community building forms of villages. Street layout character to that of Kathmandu.		As the tourism industry grew around the settlement, infrastructural developments lead to better connectivity to nearby cities. Street character influenced by Tibetan culture, especially in colours and details.
plot system	Adjacent plots are well separated by walls. Two houses shared common wall. In later years, large plots were given to refugees for vegetable growing. Tibetan built wooden gate.	Formality of Tibetan, traditional pattern of plot merging among them. Core plots were built themselves (they grew up in later years). Additional rooms built to accommodate family members. Greenhouse also.	Buildings moved out and built new modern houses within the plot. This impacted climate. Farming land also used for vegetable farming for self sustainability.
buildings	Government built houses were basic, modular. Roofs, of single rooms, and sharing kitchen with other. The most visible and community building were concrete structures, though a few brick houses.	Users modified the houses by changing the threshold and by that making it better strength. The houses have been painted in vibrant colours as well, adorned with Tibetan flags.	As the economic prosperity of refugees increased as well as their taste about living back in Tibet, government houses were built and materials built in government, including Tibetan culture, but not necessarily. This has boosted the tourism potential of the settlement as well as the place has a distinct cultural character through the painting on walls.
details and materials	During the time of settlement when the relative health and new resources, meeting the basic requirements were the priority. No concrete structures and materials were used. Later priority and resources for them use bamboo and other.	In order to compensate the cultural difference, refugees started using Tibetan elements to impart identity to the place. Addition of patterns, decorative elements including Tibetan monastery architecture, etc.	Including the details, initiation of Tibetan culture can be observed in the structures. Place identity is created.

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So, this is how the whole theoretical understanding has been done and then again how this whole transformation has an impact on the built environment. You have the various hierarchy of spaces, street system, plot system, buildings, materials and then how the production of space has been described in various concepts.

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RQ2) What is the relationship between cultural and built environments in a hybrid Tibetan refugee settlement?

SETTLEMENT LAYOUT:

- **Change in livelihood system** is a major impact on settlement layout, agriculture based/handicraft based settlement.
- The settlement pattern has been influenced by the **geography** and the way **host community is living**. Eg: Organic development in Ladakh same as Tibetan settlements in Choglamsar.
- **Equality in social class system**: equal plot distribution.

And what are the drivers of these transformations and what is the relationship between the cultural and the built environments in a hybrid Tibetan settlement? One is the change in the livelihood settlement and how it is influenced by the geography and the way host community is lived. So, that is where, in Ladakh, it is very much close to what they used to live in Tibet, equality in social class system because it has been attained for equal plot distribution.

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BYLAKUPPE

OPEN PUBLIC SPACES:

- **Festivals:** large open spaces where they are celebrated: even Indians participate in it.
- Active **community life** and bonding: interaction

VISUAL CHARACTER OF PLACE

- Character of street influenced by **Tourism sector.**

CLEMENT TOWN

CHOGLAMSAR

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So, that is how you can see the 3 different and visual character of places, how the festivals are celebrated, how it have changed, how they have integrated and the active community life and the bonding how these places are providing.

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RQ2) What is the relationship between cultural and built environments in a hybrid Tibetan refugee settlement?

PLOT LAYOUT:

- Cattle sheds now discontinued/ reduced as occupational shift happened.

COMMUNITY FACILITIES:

- Handicrafts are now factory manufactured. All lead to Tourism Boom.
- Restaurant typology developed, due to tourism and continuity of food habits.
- Funeral: now started cremating, therefore need crematorium spaces.

ADMINISTRATIVE/ SETTLEMENT OFFICE SPACES:

- Theocratic government has been changed to democratically elected CTA, no elaborate palaces built, only residence for Dalai Lama (absent in Dehradun).
- Settlement offices became a major space in the settlement: mostly occupying central location.

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And what is the relationship between the cultural and built environments in a hybrid Tibetan refugee settlement, so cattle sheds now discontinued or reduced as an occupational shift. Handicrafts are now factory manufactured because of the tourism industry coming into the picture and restaurant typologies have developed because tourism has a major influence in terms of food habits and then funerals, earlier, they were having a different process and now they are doing a cremating, this is where they require a crematorium spaces.

And similarly, the theocratic government has been changed. democratically elected, you know so there is no, at least in Dalai Lama there is no residence of this Dalai Lama and things like that.

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RQ2) What is the relationship between cultural and built environments in a hybrid Tibetan refugee settlement?



MONASTERY:

- Large monasteries, highly decorated, match with scale and grandeur of that of Tibet. Monastery scale determines the **economic** status: and this is reflected in each of the cases study.
- Example: Smaller monastery complexes in Ladakh due to poor **economy**.
- Monk population within the settlement reduced, most of the monks are migrants from other places (**discontinuity of the practice** of sending family member to become **monks** form each family).
- Monasteries for **religious** education (continuity)
- Timber production affected **timber** as a construction material availability.

HOUSE FORM:







- The smaller house form and smaller plot distribution is mainly due to the **economic** constraints as well as the change from Joint family system to **nuclear family system** has decreased household size.
- Room for **livestock** absent.


Even though the house form changed drastically, monastery has been retained in 3 cases due to dominance of religion

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So, like that, it has also reflected in the economic status, monastery, house forms. So, what we observe here is the house forms have changed drastically but monasteries has retained because the religious significance played an important role in the Tibetans.

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BYLAKUPPE			
CLEMENT TOWN			
CHOGLAMSAR			

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So, this is how what we can see is the settings of the settlement setting, how it is at a monastrial setting, at a dwelling setting, how it has varied from a different context and how it is reflected.

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3 case studies: cross comparison

Scale of adaptation to host environment ↑

DEHRADUN:

- Dehradun settlement is the most widely adapted settlement due to its **contrast in host environment**: urban + occupational difference, **lack of land availability**. (more adaptation). In Dehradun shift to indoor spaces, **less active community spaces**, as they are urban society now.

BYLAKUPPE

- Bylakuppe is the most **self-sustainable** settlement among the three as they have adapted as well as retained. Hybrid case

CHOGLAMSAR:

- Choglamsar, mostly follow similar way of built environment mostly because of **ethnic similarity** and **contextual similarity**, therefore adaptation process is much easier compared to other cases.

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And in Bylakuppe, is the most self-sustainable and as well as Choglamsar because it has a great close proximity to the ethnic similarity and the contextual similarity but here, there is a lack of land availability and the less active community spaces because there is a pressure of the urban development as well.

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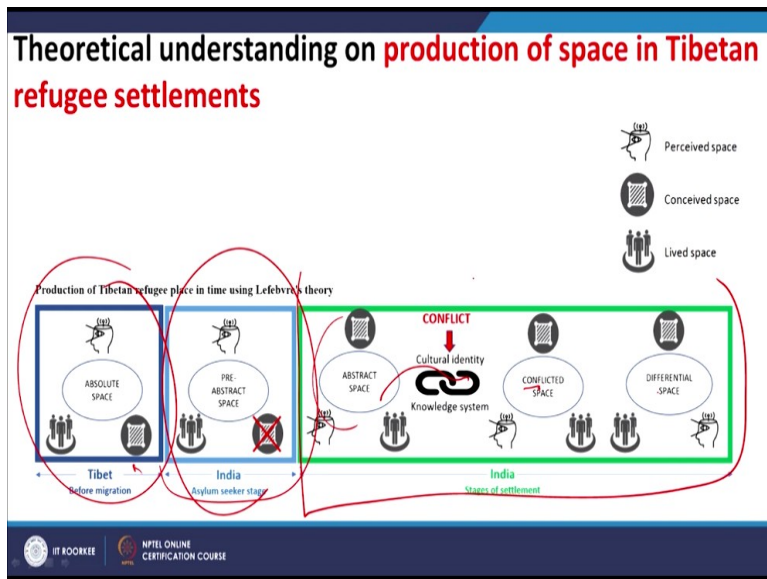
MAJOR DRIVERS IDENTIFIED

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Native form Native environment Increase in population size 	Family structure	Economic and livelihood systems	Religion: Buddhism was and is the dominating institution in the Tibetan society. The people's life revolves around Buddhism, which is reflected in their built form.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Commercialization Modernization Urban building Urbanization Community ethnic Loss of administration Loss of accessibility Loss of sustainability Urban 	public (Government and planning strategies)		
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Religion Loss of space 	Belief system	Economic and livelihood systems	Climatic context Climatic change as major influence- influenced settlement pattern, orientation, roof style, material availability, fenestration.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Economic condition High land value Proximity to city 	Economic condition		
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Urban Occupation Occupational shift Urbanization 	Urban form	Geographical conditions	Economy Economy major driver: large courtyard houses extinct.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Climate Land availability Proximity Availability of material resources Availability of modern materials 	Geographical conditions		
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Migration Urban growth Need for sheltering Proximity to local sites Community Need of temporary Need of permanent Recreational needs 	Shared experience	Reinforcing structures in making identity	Tourism Tourism as a by-product and later a driver by itself: Tourism based trade, etc.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Culture and shared factors Traditional techniques Change structure Construction technology 	Collective memory		
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Ethnic similarity Occupational opportunities for host population Proximity Proximity to host community 	Cultural interaction with host community		Education system Education became most major institution as it plays the major role in cultural continuity. Several exclusive Tibetan schools came up.

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So, some of the major drivers were the religion, climatic context, economy, tourism, education system and how they transform the place.

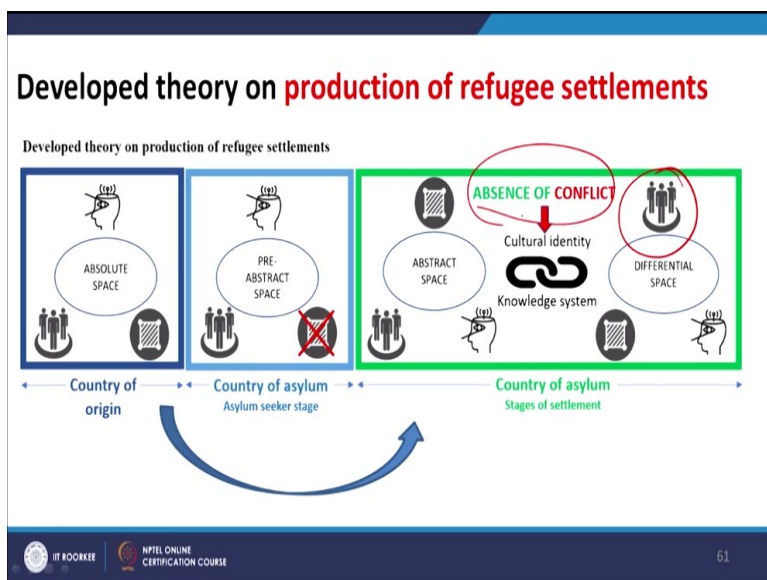
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So, originally the Lefebvre's work is like this but in here it has been conceptualized from the absolute space which the Tibet before migration and the pre-abstract space which is an asylum seeker stage and then this is where the permanent settlement process from the abstract and the conflicted and a differential space.

When we know properly, that in order to avoid this conflicted space if you actually understand this better, you know, that can actually you know bring the lived space more carefully.

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So that we can reduce the conflict stage so that they can easily adapt and they can easily continue certain things and at the same time it is a benefit for both the communities. I hope

this helps you a better understanding of the displacement of refugees in a Tibetan context.

Thank you very much.