Shaping Homes

Studies in the Design of Apartments in Mumbai

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by

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Abstract

How is the image of home composed–this is the guiding query of this research. As an image, how is the home imagined, drawn, projected, and most importantly, conceived? As a composition, how is the home arranged, pieced-together, and fabricated? As both, an image and a composition, how is the home evoked? Sociological and psychological approaches to built-form, have treated 'design' as a more socio-cognitive-structural activity. Approaches of this sort tend to see design as the evolved arrangement of a sociality – more in terms of an apparatus that has been arrived at via evolutionary processes. At the sites on which these home spaces are built, within housing schemes and tiny flats, the intentions of the primary makers of these spaces and how they negotiate are not visible or are lost in sweeping readings of space. Also played down are the intentions at work in the making of situated meaning – the on-site practice of making spaces. If practice is an act that constitutes knowledge-in-action, it would inform us about things not encapsulated in theory. This study therefore is an attempt at understanding the making of the home in/through design practice.

This enquiry is posed within the urban metropolitan milieu of Mumbai – within the framework of the design of the apartment flat artefact, its primary stakeholders being the developers, dwellers, and designers. From the perspective of design, the flat has two points or levels of intervention. At one level, it is conceived within the mass-housing apartment complex format; just one flat amongst many others. At the other level, the flat is conceived purely within its interior. These two conceptions are studied via two live cases which represent the differing contexts in which the artefact is shaped. The researcher witnessed and documented the complete unfolding of the design in these two cases. The documented whole, consisting primarily of discourse between designers and between designers and dwellers, was then subjected to thematic analysis.

The emergent themes in the analysis project images of home and present alternative roles that design plays in the conception of home. The home assumes a bubble-like form with an extended envelope, attempting to be resort-like and non-urban. In conclusion the

home appears as an idea built in and through narratives of design, nested within the larger narrative of the home in the city and the designer dons various roles – that of a stylist of life, a mediator, pedagogue and culturing agent of home spaces.

Organization of Chapters

Chapter one, Introduction: Constructing Home, frames the problem in broad terms and renders visible the vectors that define the research questions. Having articulated complex ideas associated with the concept of home, the chapter briefly describes how different disciplines perceive and theorize this idea and summarizes how home is perceived in the practice of design. Design practice requires forms of home and its related sociality to be mobilized, reflected upon, reinforced, altered, articulated and translated into physical form. This chapter pitches the design process as a moment of suspension and overlap of various ideas relating to house and home which make pairings of various binaries possible— tangible and intangible, actual and virtual, space and place, existing identity and constructed identity, objective and subjective, etc. — and substantiate the complex nature of identity expression.

Chapter two, Context: An Urban Dwelling, frames the problem within practices of housing design in Mumbai. It describes how the problem is explored via cases of home making in apartments within the metropolitan milieu of Mumbai, thus situating the study specifically in the context of flats in apartment complexes. Developers, interior designers, architects, and dwellers – these primary actors are caught in the act of composing the image of home. The two ideas of 'design' and 'home' are treated as two mirrors, placed one in front of the other, reflecting each other. The professional practice of design is scrutinized through the micro lens of domestic space and the domestic space is seen as a materio-semiotic assemblage (objects seen as being composed of both tangible materials as well as more abstract meanings) negotiated through professional practice.

Chapter three, **Design as (Pre-) Scripting**, reflects on the notion of design as scripting. It elucidates the interpretative and expressive nature of design and contemplates the possibility of design being a portal into relationships between the house-space and the home-space. This chapter also closely examines what transpires in an act of design, to

explore whether the act of design offers ways to view the relationship between where we live and how we live (both of which are implicated in the spatialization of the house).

Chapter four, 'Methodology: A dual-cased context', describes the cases, the contexts and the methods through which the problem is explored. In this chapter, the flat in an apartment is considered an entity with bi-level design intervention. At one end of the scale, is the large groups of flats called the apartment block complex addressed in Case I (it was a developer initiated project for a complex of apartments. A reputed architectural firm in the city, offering design solutions in areas of architecture, urban design and interior design, had been invited to compete, by one of the well-known construction companies and developers, for the design of a residential apartment complex in a central suburb of Mumbai). At the other end the smallest unit of the study is a single flat-unit studied in Case II (it dealt with an interior-design process of a 2 bedroom-hall-kitchen flat, located in a ten-year-old apartment-complex in suburban Mumbai, which the client-dweller had recently acquired). The chapter also details the documentation process and the method employed to conduct thematic analysis.

Chapter five, Context I: Pre-fitting Apartment Blocks, provides an analysis of the documented material through theme-based analysis. The various themes provide insights into the nature of the home space being conceived and the designer's role in this conception. The themes that are detailed out in the chapter are: (a) the constraints and opportunities offered by context and typology, (b) spatial identity and behavior, (c) design as a search for exemplarity, (d) the apartment as an intrinsically decontextualized dwelling type, the status of the common space that is part of the collective of flats, (e) interactions between home and the city as 'outside', (f) the affinity of homes for 'nature', (g) the typical dweller as fabricated, and (h) the home as a served and managed space. These themes present an image of the home as a space aspiring to be self-contained and well-managed – a space which filters out the undesirable elements of urban dwelling. It also shows how the dweller undergoes figuration as a community dweller, in the design process. The typicality of the prospective dweller is also posited within the commonality of complex of flats.

Chapter six, Context II: Configuring the Apartment Interior, brings the focus to bear on the interactive dimension of home conception in the interior of the flat. A theme-

based analysis clusters the conversation segments into sub-themes which in turn give rise to broadly three themes: (a) 'communicating drawings' captures how the designer conveys to the dweller the notion of thinking and visualizing through drawings, (b) 'communicating design' explains how the designer conveys to the dweller the manner of viewing home space via design and (c) 're-shaping perceptions' contains instances of how the designer influences and persuades the dweller to re-shape his perception of home. The analysis shows how in the collaborative exercise studied, the dweller is oriented and guided through the process by the designer. These themes underline the interactive aspect of the design process and designer's role as a mediator and negotiator.

Chapter seven, Discussions and Conclusion: Scripting homes, renders the image of home that emerged from the analysis – an aspirational resort-like space, far away from the city, close to nature, managed, serviced, with an extended envelope. The chapter also highlights the narrative abilities and roles of the designer that have not been explored in discourses of design and home. Namely, the designer in the role of a consultant or a 'stylist' of life within personal space – someone who styles the practice of dwelling, thus becoming an agent who opens up the home to a process of 'culturing', the designer in the role of a pedagogue who guides the dweller through technical aspects of visualizing space and scripts of dwelling, thus helping the dweller in the decision making process and most importantly the designer in the role of a practitioner who makes and remakes not only spaces, but also dwelling scripts, perceptions, patterns and dwellers themselves. The chapter therefore demonstrates how the design of home begins and builds itself in the narrative (on both scales – the apartment complex and the interior flat) and how scripts and identities between dweller and dwelling are imagined.

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Chapter 1

Introduction: Constructing Home

One of the most potent of notions, feelings and experiences in relation to belongingness to territory or place or land, anthropologically, has been that of the 'home'; an idea used to frame the idea of belonging to the earth. As a habitat, the idea of home houses species of various forms of life, associates them with parts and zones on the earth. As an environment, it has been a surrounding that has provided safety and security, and supports possibilities of growth. As a boundary, it has been that which evokes an outside and an inside in relation to the life forms housed within. As territory, it has been a zone of dominion and power as much as being a spatial expression of the forms of life. As an experience, it has

been not only about joy, contentment, peace, reverie and positive psychological states but also about the sorrow, depression, angst and what are considered psychological states that debilitate the positivity due to 'loss' of home. As an experience, it has also framed the yearning and search for ultimate ways of belonging to the earth. As a philosophic idea, it has framed the act of residing on the earth. As a biosphere, it is an overarching sheath within which we as human beings are cocooned along with and amongst other beings. As a socio-sphere, it is an everyday space seating place-based and familial identities of groups and individuals of beings. As a term part of all web sites (spaces) in the wide digital world, it plays the role of a base or ground from which to launch into channels of information. As a term opposed to movement, it provides a counterpoint to all meanings both positive and retrograde associated with mobility and movement. As a term supporting the stationary, it provides a counterpoint to searchings, dislocations, journeys and escapes. As a liberating idea, it provides freedom and exploration. As a restrictive idea, it imprisons, cages, controls and disciplines. As a beginning, it promises hope, plans, desires and future. As an end, it promises cessation of movement, peace, arrival and destination. As an evocation, it is nostalgic, utopian, and ideal. As an urbanosphere, it is at times the center and at times the periphery of industrial production and creation of wealth. As property, it is a privately owned, constitutional and legal entity. As a political idea, it has framed notions of utopia and ideal spatial states that have to be reached and struggled for. As architecture, it has framed limits and bounds of spatial identity associated with kinship structures of various kinds. As family, it stands for personal and interpersonal associations developed between small groups of human beings related pre-dominantly by blood. As a house, it is a built-spatial unit of domestic meaning and dwelling identity. As a built-space, it is construction of this meaning and identity. As a constructed idea it is that which gives form to this meaning. As a form, it is a visualization. As a form of meaning, it is an interpretation. As interpretation, there is multiplicity of meanings.

Most often a house in Mumbai is part of 'housing' – collections of houses as opposed to a single independent house. As part of a collection, it is framed within the larger meaning of being in that collection. As part of a collection, it is a society of houses within the urban map. As a society of houses, it is both a larger organization of the collective as much as it is a familial, personal space within the confines of a single unit.

The landscape of Mumbai is lush with such collectives. These structures are generated either organically or through self-organized processes, plans and schemes. The generation of housing via plans and schemes has been a tool both for, the powers that govern a space and business enterprises. Schemes that are generated as part of real estate business ventures, see housing as a collection of houses to be sold to investors, a partial number of whom would also be residents. This induces the propensity to perceive the house as a product to be sold.

The home, as a house in Mumbai within privatized housing schemes, assumes a form to seduce buyers, investors and residents. This form, its meaning and construction, generates an image of the home within the media of real estate and home-making. This is a study that investigates and probes the conception, construction and generation of this image of the home.

How do homes happen? Are they planned/intended as we intuitively tend to believe, or is the process a more organic and evolutionary one? Is it a systematic, strategic decision or is it the outcome of complex and dynamic processes beyond the scope of what is/can be intended?

Home as habitat has been described dominantly as a space that is evolutionary in nature (McCoy & Bell, 1991). It evolves based on the push and pull of various factors that stabilize or destabilize the sense of the self, especially when this idea is discussed in relation to various forms of biotic life (animals, plants, and other living creatures). When animals, for instance, build or prepare a habitat for occupation, that preparation and the identity associated with that preparation have been described as partially 'learned' and partially 'genetic'. What is 'learned' can also be seen in terms of behavior that has evolved subconsciously across generations – as if almost culturally programmed. Treating the home as a cultural activity then lends to it, a temporal quality of having been shaped across many generations. This attributes 'it-has-evolved-on-its-own' kind of a quality which is intimately associated with the genealogy of the biotic life which inhabits home.

When Zoologists began studying animal behavior at close quarters they noticed individual differences between the members of a group within a species[1]. These individual differences lent specific behavioral and psychological qualities to individuals within a space in the habitat (Goodall, 1946) giving rise to a unique identity at an individual level (field zoologists named the subjects of a study group individually). Individuals from a particular group gained identity and location within that group (Pollard, 2011). The study of this sociality has helped see the home as a strategic and tactical decision made by individuals within a group. Building homes has thus been seen as a social decision made by individuals within a habitat (as opposed to the home being seen as evolutionary) (Silverstone, 2003). Nesting has been seen both as instinctual-genetic as much as learned-memetic. As a social decision the home is a space that contains the notion of 'constructed-ness' as opposed to being evolutionary. As a strategic-tactical idea– the home is made, as an evolutionary idea– the home 'occurs'.

Likewise, among human dwellers, as an evolutionary idea, the home has been treated as a cultural trait belonging to a group of dwellers (Larson, Matthes, Kelly, Lundholm, & Gerrath, 2006). As a strategic-tactical idea it has been seen as a specific and intentional response to factors affecting the sense of the self. Both these have had implications on the description and understanding of the idea of home. In other words, the home can only be thought of in evolutionary or generic terms if the dwellers are not treated in terms of their individual and specific qualities.

The broad notion of home as habitat brings in other associations like habits, habitation and habitus. While habitat is the space in which a particular inhabitant belongs, habitus is a set of dispositions that reside in a social agent. Like Bourdieu explains – "the Habitus, which are the products of the social conditioning associated with the corresponding condition, make a systematic set of goods and properties, united by an affinity of style, correspond to each class of positions" (Bourdieu P. , 2009). It is both as physical space and the not very visible social space, together form the habitus. The Habitus, as sets of pre-

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[1] Jane Goodall, in her work on Chimpanzee Groups, in the early 1970s discovered and began attributing individual qualities to members of the group.

dispositions, subterranean and subconscious, which guide action and response in society, have been discussed as being the result of a milieu or social environment within which the agent thrives. Home as habitat plays a crucial role in imbibing behavioral disposition. So naturally when a habitat is being structured, the nascent presence of these pre structured dispositions is a priori.

When we think of the design of a habitat, the focus is on the structure of a range of relationships between the inhabitants and the habitat that is being conceived and interpreted. This process of 'structuration' or being structured is thus a moment and an opportunity to alter, create, refurbish the relationships between structures and the agents who create and propogate those structures. The habitat thus offers a frame work to perceive the relationship between the physiological and the psycho-social dimensions of home.

This study enquires into the challenge of visualizing home/s for unknown dweller/s in the context of apartment-design—challenge, because the apartment-block is a developer-built, vertical, high-rise, mass-housing avatar of domestic architecture. From the perspective of the designers of these architectural spaces, given the uniquely personal nature of the home-spaces, the question, how do these spaces get visualized in these vertical stacks of houses or housing, becomes central. The same question is also encountered in practices of domestic architectural design whenever a designer has to conjure a domestic world on a geographical site, within the possibilities offered by the apartment-typology. This domestic world is populated by numerous personal spaces inhabited and owned by various groups of people or individuals. Parts of this domestic world offer scope of personalization to future inhabitants, there are also substantial other parts that are pre-defined and shaped collectively for a group of personal spaces. Design consultancy engages with both scales of groupings– on an individual level (singular dwelling entity) and on a collective scale (groups of many dwelling entities).

1.1 Home from the perspective of House

The home is usually discussed as a more flexible, boundless and intangible entity in contrast to the house. The image of the noun-form 'home' is closely attached to house. This image invariably 'contains' the home as a thing. This pair of terms 'house and home' usually

find themselves together when the home is attributed qualities which are considered beyond the physical, tangible realm (Elias CJ, 1993). The house is considered a notion used to represent this tangibility and therefore limited to its physicality (Banham, 1965).The more popular depictions of architecture have restricted the meaning of the home to its physiology—the house. These restrictions tend to limit the function of design to physical tangibility and also affect the roles of the designers, limiting them strictly to the physical. On the other hand the home as emotions and feelings– indicating what resides 'inside' a person– is another non-physical dimension**.** The concealed 'insideness' of home as a phenomenon is equipped to engage with the hidden personal dimension. Psychology focuses on these concepts. In this sense, the design of a house should ideally also be a psychological exercise in home-making. But in architectural design practice and pedagogy, there is immense onus on the authorial intention – as to who makes the thing. Therefore the focus on creativity and play cannot be ignored. This notion of the author becomes less of a concern in the field of environmental psychology than in architectural design, though both tend to focus on understanding and shaping built-environment. This has been so because the latter has, in its practice, been associated with individual creativity and artistic production.

To avoid this restrictive baggage of popular meaning which comes with strict physicality, it is essential that the home be considered a bundle of both the physically tangible, and the not so tangible. The term domestic space is referred to in the study at various points to support this bundled perception. The domestic space is a space secreted by and located within familial and material relations.

The intertwined nature of tangibles and intangibles has been amply characterized by studies available as a series of documents titled 'Home Cultures' which study domestic space across times and cultures[2]. The term 'home cultures' succinctly combines the tangibles and intangibles associated with domestic space. The co-evolution of the family as an idea, and domestic space as the space of this family demonstrate not just the dependence of one on the other, but the indirect reflective affects that one generates on the other. Domestic space is a

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[2] Beginning 2004, Journal of Architecture, Design and Domestic space, curated one volume annually, titled 'Home Cultures'.

realm of activity that is also referred to as being 'personal'—closely entwined and inseparable from the sense of self that is developed amongst the dwellers of that place. Domestic space has been seen as a site for the construction of the self via intimate relationships with the spaces that one grows up and lives in. Bachelard navigates through his childhood house, from one part of the house to another while in parallel also unboxing deep psychological connects between the self and the space it was ensconced in (Bachelard, 1969).

Referred to both in the sense of house and home (the former associated usually with a more physical meaning than the latter), domestic spaces (both in terms of house and territory) could range from palatial scales or extensions of dwelling, to tiny apartments. Studies of the design of domestic spaces have explored and examined various issues ranging from socio-psycho-cultural to the philosophic: the problems of the traditional and the new, the conflict of cultures, the evolution of the house across and through various social, legal and political frameworks (at the level of 'housing', the design of the domestic space gains political color) (Briganti & Mezei, 2011). Domestic spaces have also offered material for reflections on the identity of dwellers; its construction and negotiation[3]. Insights into social power and its operations in these spaces have been studied by examining the design of the space. Psychological affects of temporal and spatial experiences like nostalgia, utopia, escape, dominance and exploitation have been subjected to examination in studies of domestic spaces. This space has also been creatively rendered and critically examined in fictional narratives, be it theatre, cinema or literature.

Students of spatial identity (architects, geographers, planners) locate identities in space. The basic assumption is to think everything and everyone through spatial identity. Space as an architectural category includes everything from chairs and tables to cities and environments. The space of a dweller or inhabitant is revelatory in nature. It expresses something and in some cases everything about the inhabitant. When one thinks of a user as an inhabitant, one is thinking about the inhabitant's use and experience of dwelling in and

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[3] Architecture, Interaction and Social Control: the case of a large scale housing project. William Yancey 'Crowding abd Behavior' Chalsa Loo

around a space. The inhabitant's identity is thus expressed or created through the architecture of home. Therefore it becomes important to understand the nature of spaces and dweller-identities created through the design of its architecture.

The sense of belongingness to a place/space is closely associated with ownership which in turn brings in the notion of territory (ref: literature on place and territory relation). Architecture can then be seen as a way of marking/tracing ownership on/in actual places. From this perspective, architecture/built-form can be seen as territorial markings, and marks of home-territories could be considered marks of dwellers' personal identities.

If the architecture of home is about personal territory, then the design of such territory would be a design of the personal identity of its dweller. Using tools and mediums like simulations, drawings, and verbal conversations and discussions, architectural design redefines the dweller's identity and brings the future habitation/dwelling into the present – as it attempts to simulate the future ways of being at home. This does shifts the control of the shape from the dweller to the designer. At this point, the future home already exists in the minds of dwellers and designers. The notion of domestic space provides a framework to perceive home as life around and within a house, design understands this life via spatial programs and activities of the household.

The overbearing noun-thing-image of the house could be distanced based on the notion of the household. The household implies seeing the home as practices, activities, doing, and performance – the active bit of dwelling. The more serious (not popular) discourse of architecture has always located the form of the house in a space with meanings and associations more than the strictly physiological. In such discourses the making of a house is always associated with meanings more abstract and beyond obviously visible physicality. These meanings are apparent, especially when the term 'home-making' is employed instead of the noun-forms home/house. The association of action-oriented, activity-driven understanding renders temporal quality to home and stops it from being reduced to a 'thing' (a concrete bodily presence or tangibility). It is in this sense that the house forms the physiology of the home. In other words, suspension of the temporal aspect allows to hold onto the thingness of home.

On the other hand the large time scales of visible stability associated with entities classified as things tend to lend them the appearance of inertia. In this sense, as a process with relatively larger time-scales (being made across generations), the house is that part of home-activity which seems to have stopped or gained fixity or stability. To avoid getting caught up with the image of house as an unchanging entity and retain the spirit of temporality and animation, the process studied here is that of an assembly and installation – a process of defining the shape or physicality of a thing. This line of thought, aligned to the paradigm that the physical constructedness of architecture captures and signifies amorphous qualities of the environment, is not new. To see physicality when it is 'under construction', in process and being actively created is to see home as a physical space in the process of negotiation.

Socio-structural readings and interpretations of the house, including gendered readings, have been conducted in studies of the design and arrangement of domestic spaces. The spatial manifestations of the house have offered insights into the flow of socio-materiality of domesticity. Various relations have been posited between the house and the home: the house as a register of socio-cultural changes in the home-notions/practices (Srinivas, 2002). The house has been also seen as a container of deep structures of the home (Hillier, 1989). As a place-bound aspect, the house acts like a geographic center for the inhabitants (Dovey, 1985). If territory is the critical distance between two beings of the same species (Delanda, 1995), the house also maintains territory through a number of elements like floors, walls, gaps, stairs, passages, etc.) . The household as fusion of the house and the home has been considered a socio-political unit (Saunders and Williams, 1988). Studies of spatial arrangements would thus be able to track changes and shifts in this relationship between the house-space and the home-space.

As a process, to be housed or to feel at home can also be seen as an act of adjusting to various 'types' of home-spaces. The house in itself can be treated as a space of 'negotiation' between the place (location) and the home-space (dwelling habits). This negotiation could go on indefinitely across the span of a dwelling and the life within its dwelling entity. Though this negotiation is a continuous process spanning the life of the dwelling and the dwelling

entity, the moment of conception and construction is critical because it creates relative permanence in terms of structure, be it physical or social.

The house as a concept focuses on the physicality of the habitation process, it is a term used to represent generic physicality for all types of houses (flats, villas, row houses, mansions, etc.). The function of the term 'house' is to allow perception of habitational compositions within physical frames highlighting the physical and 'resident' character of fixed habitation. As an expression of identity the house finds discussion in the field of architecture. As much as architecture is a construction in the physical sense, it is also an interpretation and expression of identity in a specific place.

Types of dwellings also correspond to social orders and diagrams, with that logic the architect's role also involves transforming this ideal diagram into a physical model. As an intentional, strategic and calculative practice, architecture allows unselfconscious forms to become apparent and be subjected to interrogation. As a moment of conceiving and assembling, before the house comes to be, it provides an insight into vectors that will actualize the house. The focus on design allows the understanding of the house in this moment - as an aggregate of heterogeneous and multiple parts, bringing forth the concerns associated with each of its parts. Design deals with matters of concern as opposed to strictly the built or constructed which would deal with matters of fact if we go by Latour's distinction between matters of fact and matters of concern (Latour, 2008).

The question that arises then is can a home be designed? To begin with, the home would have to be thought of as 'home-place' to even be able to address a question of this nature. Existing answers to this question are split between the affirmative and negative. The study assumes that this question could be answered, given the meaning of 'design' is broadened or redefined. The role of the designer would also have to be seen differently. Design (in the sense of improving/bettering a situation) is an idea that sits well with the notion of home (as a space that supports and enhances the self of the dweller). Some studies of the house have focused on the psychological situation in which dwelling occurs. In some cases of that sort 'design' as an intentional bringer of change is a concept that stands in opposition to the existential aspect of home. And therefore 'design professional' (as an expert-outsider) is not an idea that sits well with the notion of home. This study explores one

such strangeness in the conception of the anonymous dweller within the otherwise familiar atmosphere evoked by the dominant notion of home.

The overlap of a house and a home, the amorphous area where the two interact with each other, can be considered a truly material-semiotic space–materials and meanings are assembled here to create both the house and the stirrings of a home. The placements, lineaments, delineations and ambient aspects of identity have been discussed by various architectural thinkers like Le Corbusier, Frank Lloyd Wright, Meis, Correa, Doshi, Ben Van Berkel, Safdie amongst various others. The meaning of dwelling has been examined and explored in various architectural expressions of these architects. These are exemplary or 'stunning' expressions of the meaning of the house cited in academic discourse. On a more practical level, in everyday-contemporary scenario in Indian cities, there are many design professionals involved in the production of houses which do not find mention in discourses of architecture. One such quintessential and relatively ignored format of the house is the flat apartment.

Seeing the flat within the overlap of house and home requires an approach that renders the abstract nature of the home a bit concrete and the concrete nature of the house a bit abstract. The notion of 'assemblage', a bricolage of materials and meanings, allows a reading of the design of a flat. Seeing home as materio-semiotic assemblage–assemblage is a concept that has been used to explain the structure of everything from things to societies (Delanda M. , 2006)– also helps avoid the excessively 'sentimental' approach that is evoked by studies which tend to pose themselves as phenomenological or experiential. The term assemblage has also been described in its similarity to collage or montage in the sense that heterogeneous elements are held together, as an analogy it is apt in describing a practice like design which is as much strategic and conceptual as it is experiential. It perceives the totality of something as an 'assembly'–that which is composed of or can be broken down to smaller parts, but not reduced to them.

The assemblers assembling the assemblage, in case of home/house in the cities include developers, designers, contractors, carpenters, inhabitants, plumbers, brokers, advertisers, investors, black money racketeers, goons, politicians, and businessmen. The ones most closely associated with strategic spatial assemblage are mainly the developers,

designers and the dwellers. The developer conceives and makes possible the assemblage, the designer pieces or weaves it together and then the dweller adds the rest and integrates or becomes part of it. This process of assembly of parts constitutes a united entity. What is the nature of this formed entity and the nature of the assemblage in cases of house and home?

Design practice requires forms of home and its related sociality to be mobilized, reflected upon, reinforced, altered, articulated and translated into physical form. Design as an act therefore is as much interpretive as it is expressive. So to say, it could have the potential to act like a portal into relationships between the house-space and the home-space. The intent is to examine closely whether the act of design offers ways to view the relationship between where we live and how we live (both of which are implicated in the spatialization of the house).

Especially in sociological studies, 'design' has been treated more at the socio-structural level. Some of these approaches tend to see 'design' as the evolved arrangement of a sociality – more in terms of an apparatus that has been arrived at via evolutionary processes. Anthony King interprets 'global urbanism' through his readings of new spatial formations in cities like Delhi (King A. D., 2004).Spaces are read as illustrations of a global symptom; the necessity for spaces to appear and behave globally following a logic of global networks of power and commerce. Does that mean that the stakeholders central to the process of making space are simply puppets to the dance of these global flows? At the very sites on which these spaces are being built, within housing schemes and tiny flats, the intentions of the primary makers of these spaces and how they negotiate 'globality' (if at all we see from the lens of global urbanism), are not visible or is lost in sweeping readings of space. It also tends to ignore local, situated practices. We do not find visualizations of how these so-called global flows echo and take actual physical space in everyday design negotiations on hundreds of home sites spread across the metropolis. There is very little know-how about the on-site practice of making spaces. The spirit of such approach is very different from the manner in which design practice sees the world – as capable of being shaped intentionally. This intentional activity of shaping is regarded as 'design', and intentions could be called 'acts' of design.

Studies which function at a socio-structural level think of design more as an entity of form, evolving at the social level. The sociological approaches focus more on the outer, broader ring in terms of analysis whereas a more design-focused analysis has to belong to the inner circle, which is in comparison, smaller or micro in nature. Such dispositions do not really treat the house as a product of or at the scale of 'design practice' (an act carried out by professionals trained in design and construction of such spaces). The broad treatment that design receives as a social-wide phenomena also posits causal relations that are equally broad and span longer durations and stretches of time. Its scopic dimension tends to be large-scale - historical and social in terms of place and process; transactions between space and design at micro-scales are thus too small to be noticed in these framings. For the purposes of this study, we shall attribute the term 'Design' (in the capital) to the references of the spatiality of the house at a more larger social-structural scale, and the term 'design' to refer to the professional activity involved in an intentional and direct shaping of the spatial environment. It is this *design* occurring at micro-scales of domesticity that this research delves into.

1.2 Making

The overlapping moment of the house and the home, when both interact with each other to influence or perhaps become the other, is what architectural 'makings' offer. The design process is a moment of suspension and overlap of various ideas relating to house and home which make pairings of various binaries possible—tangible and intangible, actual and virtual, space and place, existing identity and constructed identity, objective and subjective, etc. — and substantiate the complex nature of identity expression .

For a researcher exploring the production of material culture, the question, 'What is a home', holds the promise of tackling a broad and complex idea through the examination of signs and marks which are tangibly material in nature. The manner in which the home gets signified offers a method of answering the question. As a material culture researcher, looking for materials that are not yet signified and have the potential for new signification — the presence and shape of things as they are, and the way they are made—offer promise of underlying meaning and signification. Meaning is, in this context, something constructed and

made or emergent through a materially tangible world of forms and shapes. The posed question can therefore be answered by addressing how a home is made.

Making can be seen as a process that involves thinking, conceptualizing, executing, visualizing, crafting, negotiating and envisioning. It is a process, at the end of which a thing which was not yet, emerges. It is from this perspective of making of a thing, a material entity, that this study approaches the idea of home. Home as a thing that emerges from making could have various material avatars. Some of these avatars have strong significatory presences in the urban environment, others are ubiquitously commonplace. The addition of a thing through making to an existing network of things influences and changes the relationship between those things.

An enquiry into 'construction' assumes a certain philosophical position central to design practices – that the world and the things in it can be 'made'. A range of meanings are associated with the notion of 'making': mimesis, creation, virtuality, re-creation, simulation and manipulation. In this sense construction believes in made realities. In architectural design, made reality is called 'built-environment.' An environment that engages with the culture of construction and Design professionals can thus be seen as agents functioning within this culture, who construct the environment. This is also the popular notion of design professionals' role. Other tasks like inducting, making and interpreting 'cultures' of the environment have found only peripheral presence in dominant discourses. A design professionals' role in shaping the perception of the environment and 'making' the dweller have found scant mention in design studies. Studies on the sociology of the home do indicate or point to the existence of this practice but only indirectly, borrowing from these, the primary aim of this study is to elaborate the role of the design professional in shaping and making personal space within the mass produced format of apartment complex.

1.3   The Home through Design

Setting out to analyse the making of home, the study already assumes a certain class and group of dwellers capable and resourceful in terms of realizing the homes they aspire for. It is as described in the second chapter against the brute realities of Indian urbanity and homelessness that have been associated with Mumbai that the making of the home gets

addressed. It might therefore be more appropriate, given the countless other possibilities, to search for the semblance of home in its reality as a product of design. It is obviously against the backdrop of multidisciplinary ideas that arguments are cast to understand the role of design and designer in making of the home.

Home, as a product of professional design practice, frames layerings of interpretation, scripting and authorship. The designer interprets the meaning of home as she deals with multiple spatial scales of dwelling and their scripting. The complexity of co-authorship with respect to a home is illustrated in the process of interior design. The designer could be portrayed as an actor in the twilight between the materiality of architecture and its interpretive semiotic status.

In terms of physicality, territories can be defined at various different spatial scales. The notion of home could be discussed in relation to various physical scales and levels: for example, at the scale of the globe when the country is discussed as domicile/home. There are other physico-geographical scales of regions/districts, cities etc) which could act like home. When housing advertisements speak of the home, their superlative tone makes the house transcend the physical limits of a particular place (homes in Mumbai). In short, the bounds of a place tend to decide the scale at which the home is conceived. For example, the interior-flat is seen perhaps approached through a drawing of 1:20 (where 20 cm in the world of the drawing would correspond to 20 meters in the real world). On the other hand the apartment-block site itself, of course depending on the size of the site, can be seen at a different scale altogether (eg: 1:200). The tendency usually amongst apartment block designers is to keep zooming in and out, alternatively, across a scale range. In the interior-flat, to capture different kinds of details the designer zooms in further (eg: 1:10, 1:5, etc). These range of the scales of physical definition (eg:1:20 and 1:200), thus also define the scales at which this research intends to think through.

To further illustrate, in space constrained Mumbai, we see various scales at which the struggle for and the design of home-territory takes place: from temporary structures erected amongst informal housing groups marking and staking claim over public space to walled compounds and CCTV cameras to establish and protect private space, from expensive

artwork which mark distinction within the living rooms of the affluent to the aspirational 'decoration' of the their bhks by the middle-classes, from fights to save the neighbourhood 'open grounds' for leisure to membership to exclusive health clubs, from drainage issues and troubled neighbours to complaints regarding the dumping of waste within the neighbourhood. The struggles and efforts for maintenance of home-territories are multiple. The architecture of home is defined and contested at various scales. Houses for sale have a certain fixed, pre-defined physical layout. The dweller begins to alter this layout and adds to it through various stages beginning from purchasing the house to 'doing up' its interior.

The involvement of the dweller or the introduction of the dweller into this definition is also the introduction of belonging and ownership in relationship to a place (ownership being central to the notion of territory). The 'where you want to live' that design engages with is inseparable from 'how I (dweller) want to live' as the dweller would witness and perhaps participates in the definition of his territory through a design professional. This defining is just a brief moment when compared to the life of a building.

Chapter 2
Context: An Urban Dwelling

Drawing on biological, cognitive and economic models, De Landa argues that the evolution of home, territories, cities and other socio-biological and even non-organic expressions of order are more non-linear processes than have been assumed. When we think of the home within an urban habitat we think of it as the result of various push and pull factors which stabilize or destabilize the sense of the self – in this sense, evolutionary or evolving. Manuel Delanda quotes economists Nelson and Winter who have suggested that the institutional inhabitants of cities are replicators. They claim that the daily routines of a given institution, together with whatever formalized regulations the institution may have, form a kind of 'organizational memory'. When a commercial organization opens a new branch outside of its home town it preserves continuity by replication of procedures and

routines. The institution replicates itself. A similar process occurs when colonization of parts of the globe occur and the colonial power replicates its institutions there. Since our private homes are part of this population of institutions, their architecture as well as daily routines may have evolved in a process like this. According to Delanda, due to self-organization and evolution of institutions (routine and rule replication), human homes are like bird territories in more than a metaphorical sense. But when we think of the home within the specificities of an individual dweller it becomes a psycho-social activity with intentional strategic-tactical motives.

The effects that the city has on the morphology of home trickle down to affecting decisions that get made in domestic space, amongst many others. The apartment morphology suggests a sociality to domestic space different from other forms and types of dwellings like detached (from each other) houses, multiple family houses, single family houses, rented houses, hostels, hospitals, hotels, resorts, slums and pavements. The apartment is structured around the notion of individual dweller or dweller groups co-existing within the frame of the apartment block. A housing complex or apartment tower-type has multiple owners for a single plot of land. This is a kind of relationship with land that is concrete in terms of its physicality and legality. Ownership is crucial to territorial belonging. In realistic terms, at the scale of the city there are multiple options and choices in terms of ownership. A specific physical position/location occupied within the city connotes meaning along axes other than just convenience or affordability. That is the reason people choose to visit the place that they are investing in. The status of this position is decided based on the differential status of other positions in the city. Unlike other kinds of manufactured products, ownership of place/ space, becomes unique, given its specific location in the larger surroundings.

2.1   A flat in Mumbai?

Imagine a prospective dweller who decides to purchase a flat in the western suburbs of Mumbai. She along with her family, who together constitute the dwelling entity, visit the construction site and are taken on a tour by the reception office at the site. They are shown around the scaled model of the design scheme explaining the spatial layout across the site. They visit a full-scale representation of the interior of a flat, complete with cushions and

well-laid out beds and even cutlery displayed in the kitchen. Flower arrangements, a ceramic tea kettle and two empty cups are laid out on the breakfast table in the open kitchen overlooking the living room. The bathrooms are fitted with shower cabinets and sport well-branded fixtures. The prospective dwellers move through this theatrical set of the home while they are guided by a sales executive narrating and explaining various aspects of that space. The full-scale representations, referred to as 'show-flats' are pure interior settings of the flat attempting an immersive experience. The dwellers are encouraged to sit and hang-out around the flat, take in and reflect on the prospective experience of owning a space in the scheme. The overall scheme is explained and illustrated via a scale model and various drawings and perspectives. The differential financial values of the flats based on their location in the scheme are provided. The advantage of owning the common features of the scheme are projected. Financial support and schemes are advertised. Maintenance, management and long-term service-provision are claimed. Movie-clips and walkthroughs of the scheme are screened, presentations made within the span of the visit and further tours of the construction site are scheduled.

This is a typical script for people who set out to invest in the purchase of flats in developer-built residential schemes in metropolises like Mumbai. Images, simulations and narratives of the home are experienced while looking for a flat through the developer who as an agent creates experiential touch-points for prospective dwellers.

What is the quintessential image of home in Mumbai? There are multiple answers to this question. Images of tiny, tight spaces accommodating more than they can support, ghettos housed in precarious and temporary structures, long suburban stretches of blocks of variously shaped apartments, giant complexes, both in height and girth, are some of the dominant images that circulate in popular media. Slum-lords, Brihanmumbai Municipal Corporation, developers, co-operatives, and now corporations and large companies control and negotiate access to dwelling spaces in Mumbai. A professionally-trained designer as an agent within these systems, might have to play a certain kind of role depending on the kind of the assignment undertaken: low-cost housing, multistoried, multi-family apartments, weekend farm houses, gated communes, and/or towers. The 'flat' is a concept of dwelling which has emerged through and in these systems. The difference between the concept of a

flat as a dwelling unit and other dwelling units is that the flat represents the exclusively interior nature of familial and domestic space.

The house as an interior image is well-captured in the idea of a flat within urban agglomerations like Mumbai. This restriction of the house-space to the interior causes the home to be imagined as pure interior in its suspension of the exterior spatial relationships. The settings of the interior are inseparable from the images of familial utopia expressed in many advertisements of products and services in popular media and reality shows and serialized televisions dramas which focus on the politics within domestic space.

Since interiors of the flat are couched within a variety of housing blocks called apartments, they gain meanings from the nature and location of the apartment block they are housed in. In the space-constrained and complex urbanity of Mumbai access to interiors housed in an apartment block depends on the capacity to invest and own that space. The market, finance and systemic framework provide not only the background for semantic productions of house and home but also local urban frames within which the identity of the dwellers and dwelling are expressed and made. What is the process via which these factors find expression in design of dwelling spaces? How does this phenomenon act upon the designers while they respond, adapt and adopt to sites and situations? The habitationally pressured locale of Mumbai thus offers scope to study the role of design in the shaping of identity between the home and its inhabitants.

The intertwined relationship between personal space and the larger milieu of the city has been brought to light by various inquiries into the nature of how the space of the self gets made in the city; for instance the work of Walmsley on urban living (Walmsley, 1988). The interior dimensions of the flat and the external structure within which it is situated are vulnerable to and affected by the dynamics of urban places, the ebb and flow of real estate tides and waves of fashion, products, practices and memes.

The hope and opportunity provided by the city in building homes for those who have had to leave their actual homes far away in remote and at times hostile rural environments have found place in both scholarly and popular discourse. At the same time, especially in the contemporary network society highlighted by various thinkers like Castells, the

contemporary urban dynamic has been interpreted in a darker light as the source of an increasing 'outsideness', alienation and un-homliness (unheimlisch) of the city (Castells, 2012). Both the homely and unhomely natures of the urban environment come into play in contrasting starkness in Mumbai. As a city, Mumbai has both, a capacious image of fulfilling 'needs' and a 'je ne sais quoi' factor supplementing the aspirational vector of urban living. While we do know through various studies the negotiations of the migrants and disadvantaged peoples in Mumbai, we gain very little insight into the aspirational and perhaps utopian vector driving the imagination of homes Mumbai in this study forms the larger canvas against which meaning of making an urban home gets played out.

The history of the apartment-type is inseparable from the exponential urban growth of various regions across the world (Bruegmann, 2005). Bombay, comparatively early on its colonial history, saw the emergence of the apartment building, an indicator of both, the city's early embrace of modernity, and its long-standing space crunch. Multi-storied buildings helped contain the urban sprawl, and the apartment evolved over the years – as both, a housing typology, and an agent of social change. In current times, Mumbai itself is a vibrant sample of metropolitan milieu where the apartment-flat is a very coveted purchasable product acquired through years of careful planning and investment. Arvind Adiga's fictional account 'Last Man in Tower', is a story that underlines the struggles of a residential space and notion of home in Mumbai (Adiga, 2012). The protagonist is a school teacher, respected man who is the only resident in the co-operative society opposing the redevelopment proposal for an old apartment. The developer - rich, ambitious, and opportunistic - manages to convince all the other residents to vacate and consent for the redevelopment by luring them with handsome compensation. The protagonist becomes the butt of anger and resentment of fellow residents while also being subjected to the developer's wrath. The story picturizes the complexity and unfriendliness of the real estate and housing industry in cities like Mumbai. Such pressures and conditions frame situations under which people find home in the city.

2.2 City and Home

The apartment-flat is also a product which assumes and is inseparable from other agencies at work in the city: cheating developers, the illegal underworld, bribes, black money economy, informal labor, etc. In popular culture, it has been a theatrical landscape for various kinds of drama in film and theatre. It has been closely associated with aspirations of both the urban middle-class and images of the affluent. A place both 'bought' and 'brought' (the urban site is a neutral site into which things/materials/ideas of dwelling are brought). The developer-architect brings a certain part of the flat in terms of ideas as much as through various materials and objects. The dweller brings in the parts that belong to her –both intangibles and tangibles. The developer-architect makes a flat so that it can be sold. The purchaser buys the flat. As a resident (either the purchaser herself or others) the dweller brings and builds the rest of the flat.

For the many city dwellers termed 'illegal occupants' or dwellers with contested ownership of their residences, the acquisition of a flat means acquisition of the right to legal occupation. This context already presumes the image and attributes of home that the flat as an artefact possesses: aspiration, stability, status, privacy, familial space, and the space of the self [4]. This artefact involves the following agencies in its conception: developers, designers and dwellers. In the initial stages, this conceptual production occurs in the absence of dwellers–anonymous dwellers' absent presence. This dimension of conceptual construction of the flat as an urban home has been fairly unexamined in studies on urban residences.

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[4] There is a stark difference between what I studied as 'good' design in design school and the metropolitan world that I lived in. This world began filling up with these types of residential towers by the mid and late 1990s. These really haven't been studied much as objects of design. They have been peripheral to design schools, and also to design magazines – which control the publication of architectural imagery. These buildings are considered too commercial. But many of my batchmates are engaged in the design of these buildings. Some of them also think they have a 'good' sense of architecture and this work they are doing does not allow much scope for that. There is a certain discomfort both in terms of practice and conceptualization, when working with these objects. When I wanted to know more about this phenomenon as a design phenomenon, I realized there is very little written about these objects. In the academic context, there's lots written on the emergent design of slums. But very little on these kinds of 'designed' built-form.

In urban India, especially in Mumbai the phenomenon called apartment-block predominantly involves someone else (the developer) in the building of the house. This house is purchased and then subsequently becomes a home. As a type[5], should the apartment-block be treated as a single house belonging to a group of dwellers, or divided into smaller dwelling compartments called flats? Or could it be treated as a vertical stack of a series of 'insides'[6] called flats with different owners? Does the spatial diagram of an apartment-type express the shared social diagram of dwelling? The inherent dichotomies between invention (new form) and convention (old form) and the variation arising because of the conflict resonate in the manifestation of any type of built form, including the apartment. How is the status of the individual dwelling unit (flat) then articulated in this collective, this question invokes the relationship between the house-space (the material-spatial realm) and the home-space (the more amorphous socio-politico-economic realm). Design, if defined in terms of constructing a creative and novel expression, might be at odds with the typicality which apartment flats seem to reflect in terms of their morphology.

It is in such a context where the typicality of morphology dominates, levying impositions, and allowing only minor variations which are noticeable that design professionals must operate when it comes to the design of a flat. Design, if seen as a problem-resolution exercise, can be interpreted as being a set of calculative decisions or actions to achieve desired results. As a practice, it aims to shift the status of a space and its dweller more favorably. This is one of the reasons a designer is hired other than the fact that she would have something new to contribute to the way the house 'should' be. As creative professionals the designers primarily interpret and respond to the typicality of a flat.

This study aims at exploring the relationship between the pair, the house and the home, especially when 'someone else', an outsider-expert, a professional is involved in shaping this relationship. How does this outsider view these two entities and what is her role? When design is employed in making apartment-dwellings it engages in arranging a

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[5] The type is an interior structure of a form/principle capable of shared meaning and infinite variation.

[6] House is being referred to as 'inside' synonymous to the interior which is actually the space the dwellers truly own, possess and personalize.

private space. Given the industrial scope of dwelling production this is also a situation when the discipline seems to be at its weakest as it attempts to structure the uniqueness of personal space or the specificities of private space on a mass scale.

When a flat-interior, very literally, the flat architecture, pared down to the interiors of a box or the framing of boxlike towers, encounters private space, the scope to institute change is already limited. It would be arrogant, like it tends to be done frequently in discussions on architecture, to relegate the work of professionals involved in designing to the 'uncreative' or 'run-of-the-mill', given the fact that no drastic innovative potential is seen in the apartment-flat morphology. It might indicate creative engagement of the involved design professionals in areas which are not necessarily being reflected in morphological terms[7]. This engagement might need redefinition of the role of design or it could highlight new areas of intervention for the designer. Alternatively, it might simply suggest that apartment housing might be more the design of a system[8] than a piece of architecture.

In Mumbai, the notion of the home cannot be thought of without bringing to mind images of both the vertical stack of compartments called the apartment-block and the horizontally dense network of slums. While the slums have been discussed extensively with respect to their development, homelessness, etc., there is a dearth of literature on home in relation to the apartment-block itself.

Regulatory impositions on land and housing in this city have been a much discussed and researched subject. These discussions have primarily blossomed post-liberalization. The physicality of the house has been seen within the complexity of regulation and policy decisions in contradiction to strictly architectural design solutions to the housing problem in

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[7] A group of Spanish architects, in a competition, attempt to hypothesize the possibility of building towers out of shipping containers to provide affordable houses in the tight and space-starved situation of Mumbai. Such outlandish solutions (or more positively, creative solutions stand in sharp contrast to the actual apartment housing scene in Mumbai which is mired in conventions and mundane built-form (Chang, 2016)

[8] "Data is the new oil? Data is the new soil" the popular housing website/app quotes David Mccandless, in its menu section labelled 'data sciences.' The aim is to provide a clear picture of 'house hunting' claims the website. These digital applications signify the complex urban terrain that is being imagined and visualized to support the search for home-place (McCandles, 2016).

the Mumbai of 1960s (Nallathiga, 2005). With this backdrop how does one discuss innovation vis a vis housing? As we know, innovation in a system might only arise from reasons which are disruptive enough to change the system (Paap & Katz, 2016) Otherwise the changes, if any, are only visible as micro-tactical changes as compared to grand scalar acts that most commonly get branded as innovation. When the frame of reference is large and design is seen as innovation, tiny gestural or incremental moves might be ignored or lost to sight. It is only when design is also seen in terms of continuation of conventions that these changes become visible. A cross-section of such conventions at work within the practice of making an apartment home constitute everyday frames within which design professionals work and make meaning.

In the industrial economy, the companies or the employees of the same company bought land and built apartments collectively. Following that, more recently, large communities have also developed enclaves based on the apartment format of domestic space. In contrast, the predominant form of domestic space within urban milieu has been developer built apartments where community does not pre-exist the housing. In the developer-built kind of apartment housing, the dwelling unit precedes the actual dweller. Housing studies do deal with clusters of houses or housing including high-rises, but the personal aspect of home in the apartment has been addressed only obliquely, at least in the urban Indian scenario.

The academic discourse deals less with high-rises and least with the notion of home. Environmental psychology does deal with personal space and high-rises–these tend to be mostly post-occupancy studies. Few studies research design visualizations. Studies on participatory planning as an approach have dealt with dwellers-to-be, these again have been with known and existing community of dwellers. In case of anonymous dwellers, participation is impractical.

2.3   Anonymity and Identity

Anonymity, with regards to identity, has been conceived as a positive possibility in terms of freedom from and for role-playing that it allows. Anonymity allows for scope to imagine identities, thus also offering opportunities for construction of newer identities. The

sense of freedom that accompanies such anonymity seems oriented towards mobilizing and recasting one's identity.

The designer-developer visualizes this large collective body of the apartment-block with only a very vague idea of the absent/prospective dweller. Most other industrial mass-manufacturing processes do not have to deal with personal products attached to common and collective wholes. This is the uniqueness of the house as a product.

When the designer steps into or enters the home-place, she enters both as an outsider (if she is not known in a familial or friendly fashion to the dweller) and an expert (she is someone who makes spaces and will treat the home-place in terms of spatial arrangement). The problems of such a spatial practice have been laid out in literatures discussing home-spaces which involve and employ professional services in its assembly. The issue at the heart of these problems can be summarized thus: the involvement of an outsider-expert in what is considered the private, intimate space of the self and family. Amongst other things, the design of home-places entails visualizations of these places of residence. It is this part of the practice of design dealing with the meanings of the place visualized as home that is focused upon in this study. The assumed expertise of the hired professional in an architectural project, unlike in other architectural assignments, can be seen as ironic when it deals with home-spaces because it deals with domestic and private spaces. The designer's position as an outsider becomes significantly stark in such cases. This outside-ness affects her position as an expert because her expertise could be questioned on these grounds. The outsider postion questions her presence in the making of home-place (because the home-place belongs to the home-dweller).

On the other hand, it is in her power as an expert that he influences the insideness of the home-place. In other words, the designer's dealings with the dweller (of a very private space like a home-space) make not only her expertise vulnerable to decisions of the dweller, but also the dweller's intimacy vulnerable to the decisions of an outsider– 'vulnerable' not just in the negative sense of 'becoming vulnerable to', but also in terms of 'vulnerability as openness to being shaped. For the dweller, hiring a designer 'to do up' his home is also about allowing or restricting access to an outsider. The professional or expert, who is in a position to work with definitions of home-place, is thus in a position of power because she would be

exercising her design decisions within what is considered, very private space. It is the composition of these spaces, small in size, but highly significant in terms of personal meaning that she deals with. As a person who works with the meanings of space, an architectural designer thus also works with the definitions of these spaces (the famouse and much mocked dictum attributed to Corbusier: "the house is a machine to live in"). Given this position she is capable of defining the most intimate of spaces – the home-place. On the other hand, as discussed earlier, it is the aspect of the dweller's intimacy of the space that questions the autonomy of the design professional, both as an outsider to that intimacy and an expert on how spaces should be.

The primary questions are laid out within the framework of the space-crunched and 'commercial' atmosphere of developer built residences in Mumbai. It is in this almost threatening lack and therefore difficult-to-afford-space scenario that the coveted-ness of the developer-built flat thrives. This is the context in which the notion of home grows. These strong local specificities provide conditions within which dwelling develops. Particular acts of design occurring in such environments offer scope to pursue the study of the making of home.

The focus on 'acts of design' requires the observation of contemporary cross sectional slice of design practice functioning within the housing industry. The idea of cross-section simultaneously reveals different parts within the plane where the section has been made, and provides a planar picture. It allows understanding of the design act. A historical approach which narrates the evolution of the flat-artefact is therefore deliberately avoided in this case. The larger aim is to interpret the nature of domestic space based on the ecology of ideas at the cross-section being studied[9].

The dominant notion of home posits itself as a familiar and familial space (Allan & Crow, 1989). Studies from the perspective of gender and power, however have brought out

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[9] We are seeing the possibility of studying the process of visualization because it is a very plastic moment not only in the architectural design but design in general. A better grasp of the notion of home-place could be achieved in the visualization process that generates that place. Also, the suggestions that emerge from the study could be relevant for intervention at this very plastic moment of visualization

the violence and suffocating control that the dominant notion of the home tries to disguise or hide (Hill, 2011). Psychological readings of home have angled in the strange unhomeliness that could emerge in the most familiar surroundings of home (Vidler, 1992). Of course, in Vidler's text, the unhomliness is not really posed as a negative state but as a psychological state of western urban dwelling. The alienating tendencies manifesting in the dense urbanity of cities like Mumbai have also brought the strangeness of domestic space into the discourse of home (Banerjee-Guha, 2002). The sense of alienation and detachment that cities like Mumbai create in the minds of its dwellers have been subjected to critical examination in both popular media and scholarly discourse.

The peculiarity and distinctiveness of creative visualizations of the environment have been brought out by studies focusing on design visualization. These have been more frequent in enquiries into the perception and cognition of the built-environment, peculiar to the discipline. Sociological approaches tend to render the built-environment and architecture as intertwined with and part of a larger social fabric. Informal conversations amongst design practitioners in Mumbai indicate how social discourse is employed by designers to interpret and create spatial meaning. Disciplinary theory does not seem away from practice but is employed variously. This is one of the aims of this study – to catch practice in action to observe the discipline of design in action; to see how social discourse on space and identity filter into design negotiations. This aspect of home does not seem to have garnered much attention from scholars of built-environment. How the social discourses form material for and are strategically employed in everyday design practice is not a question that seems to have garnered much attention from scholars of built-environment; especially so amongst thinkers who deal with the sociology of home. Architecture as part of larger social processes has, on the other hand, received much attention from sociologists of the urban built-environment like Anthony King and Kim Dovey (King A. D., 1995) (Dovey, 2014).Anthony King for instance, sees in built-environment, marks of globalization.

How do the larger flows like globalization influencing the built-environment find their way into brick and mortar? How do design professionals conceptualize and program domestic space within an urban habitat, sometimes in interaction with and at times visualizing the absent dweller? In this conceptualization what kind of negotiations transpire?

How are shape, color, material, and space, in short, the components of architecture used to interpret domestic space? How do socio-cultural ideas like home and domestic space find themselves rendered in architectural imaginations and visualizations? They seldom show up in studies oriented towards grasping the sociology of architecture.

Philosophic meanings of life and environment have always been central to architectural discourse. The physical capacity to literally 'hold' or contain life/living due to its sheer size when compared with other designed products has found philosophic reflection within studies on 'immersive meaning' (Sloterdjik, 2011). The dweller is one who experiences this immersiveness. The meanings of life and surroundings as such have been central in architectural discourse. The scale of physical spaces at work in architecture is one of the largest amongst all other types of designs and therefore more than just the 'behavior of users', the larger meanings of living inside and outside these spaces becomes important. Let us now examine what a dweller means in terms of design.

2.4   Who is a Dweller?

The user in architecture is someone using the space built by a design system or a designer. In architectural discourse a user of an architectural space is referred to as a dweller. Who is a user? – the discussion of this question is based on the discussion of the ways of understanding the 'user' within the discipline of design (Pratt & Nunes, 2012). Studies have employed both a statistical approach for a better grasp of the 'end-user' and a qualitative approach aiming to understand the essential meaning of a user, and thus the meaning of the act of design (Lane, 2006). In philosophical approaches to built-form, the dweller and dwelling have been examined through a Heideggerian understanding of dwelling in relation to thinking and building. This approach and line of thought within architectural practice deals with dwelling and place-making in a phenomenological fashion. Since Heidegger's discussion on building, dwelling and thinking deals with the intimate and domestic example of a place – a house – it has also been employed to think about architecture and home.

The dweller would be someone, who in the conventional sense, at least temporally, succeeds the object or space that is made. In the design of a domestic space, the dweller could precede the space designed. Any comprehensive capture of the dweller/user

characteristics have been considered a prerequisite for what is commonly called 'the user-orientedness' of design. In such case, he interacts with the designer and the design prior to the occupation which happens post-construction. This enables the dweller to discuss design decisions and understanding with the designer.

The intent of this inquiry is to study how these decisions and understanding emerge and are subjected to discourse. The primary question that arises then is: how to gauge a dweller? Is this question asked during the practice of design-do the designers ask this question? Is the study of built-form as a collective cultural phenomenon useful in answering a question of this sort? Or would a general understanding of a particular case help answer the question? Hypothetically, generalizations tend to gain significance since the particularities of the inhabitant are absent.

Design interactions between the design professional and the prospective user or dweller have been subjected to considerable examination in terms of their methodology in literatures on co-creation and participatory design (Spinuzzi, 2005), (Kensing and Blomberg, 1998), (Sanders, 2002). But both these perspectives of 'creation' and 'participation' have overlooked some crucial dimensions in the interactive space between the design professional and the dweller (Sanders and Stappers, 2008). This has been so primarily because literatures on user-interaction and user-studies are located predominantly within the space of manufacturing and products. They therefore tend to overlook or miss the chance of studying the nature of interaction between a designer and a user. Like the product manufacturing and design professions, architectural design discourse is rife with interactions between designers and clients (Hill, 2003) (Conan, 1987). The architectural design community has attempted to formalize this interaction through 'client requirements' or 'client programs.' (these have also developed due to legal contractual reasons). It is only when the client is also a prospective dweller that the design interaction gains a dimension which becomes personal. Such a situation that deals with interior design of homes may not necessarily have the contractual significance of large architectural projects. Nevertheless, the engagement of the design professional with personal space and the appropriateness of this engagement have found discussion in arguments of customization. A number of such customizations take place in the realm of house design or interior design.

This aspect of designers-dwellers interaction in the case of interior design and the other aspect of the designer imagining the dweller (in the case of apartment block), in the absence of the dweller require articulation of the presence of the professional in the composition of personal space.

The professionalization of private and personal aspects of the household has found much early criticism in studies of the domestic space (Cieraad, 2006). This criticism has stemmed from the perspective of a threat to the idiosyncrasies associated with personal space (Michelson, 1968). As part of this criticism, the role of the designer in the composition of the domestic space has also been questioned (Pallasma, 1994). Although the private space of home has been seen as a correlate of the public space of the city, it has also been viewed as a space resisting a direct correlation. This private space has been seen as that which allows adoption, adaptation and freedom in relation to the public dimension of urban living. In this light, it has also been perceived as a tool especially in the hands of the elite which allows restructuring of spaces to enhance social status. According to this view, the hiring of a designer to design the interiors of a flat enables professional interpretation of personal domestic space.

The critique of space (in all its sense: social, political, religious, etc.) has been considered central to both design pedagogy and practice (Bowen, 2010). Some studies have observed the transformation of domestic space across time in the light of evolution of design culture and its development in India (Blunt, A; Varley, A, 2004). The challenges that the practice poses are a common subject of discussion amongst practitioners of interior design. However, it has not been subjected to close examination in literatures on the composition of domestic space.

The intent is to study the process of designing of the flat given the relation between home and design, especially when the home gets charted in the flat-format. Some of the key factors that contribute to the dialectics of professional design of home are: the double role that the designer has to play, first in collaboration with the developer and the other with the dweller (a participant in the design process), professional involvement in shaping a home space and the nature of the home space in the apartment format given its shared collective existence.

2.5   Research Questions

This discussion laid out above brings forth questions about porous boundaries between the ideas of 'home' and 'house', the imagination of dwellers-to-be, the challenges of design, and the interaction and negotiation between the designer and the dweller. Various angles of discourse of the design of home and built-form exist in that moment of decision or indecision in the design process. Those angles are explored in the succeeding chapter.

Home is a complex idea and different disciplines explore a variety of factors associated with this idea to understand it. In this study to be able to understand the design of the home, it is the making of the home that is closely analyzed amongst other factors that are involved. Some of the other possible ways to analyze the home include the study of the problem in the context of popular culture (how the space of the home is expressed in popular media and culture) and/or studying dwellers (as they live in their homes and how they tend to organize that space).

The home as an affair of the people that is personal, intimate and unique poses a challenge to the mass-housing nature of developer-built apartment residences. The anonymity and ambiguity that arise from not knowing the future inhabitants make the task challenging and give rise to following questions: how does architecture imagine its dwellers? How does a private, individual house get conceived, given the mass-housing scope? What is the nature of the home which stretches between the two?

What vantage points should be adopted to view this question of how the home is made within the context of the apartment phenomenon? The vantage points possible are: the study of the problem in the context of popular culture –how the space of the home is expressed in popular media and culture. The other point is to study dwellers as they live in their homes and how they tend to organize that space. The third vantage, the one adopted by this research intends to search for the semblance of home in its reality as a product of design (in its general sense).

As an urban dwelling the relationship between a dwelling and a dweller is disjunct due to anonymous dwellers and professionally designed layout of personal space. Since the

factors that make the dwelling home are contingent on the dwellers, it seems like the home cannot really be designed. If it is too complex a phenomenon to be a resultant of design, then how do professionals engage with the process of its design? If the design of home is a result of its evolution, then can the home be a resultant of design? If it is being treated as a product of design then what are the repercussions. If a complex phenomena like the design of home is being done by professionals how does that occur?

How are identities constructed and shaped in the materio-semiotic space between the house and the home? How does the designer, as an outsider-expert, seriously engage in the shaping of personal space? How is the home brought together? Who is a dweller and what is his role? How is a home constructed? Can the house be treated as an industrial product? How does a design system, as a whole, interact with the dweller? How does the system imagine its users? Who scripts the home?

Chapter 3

Design as (Pre-) Scripting?

This chapter reflects on design as an act of scripting, more appropriately pre-scripting. This reflection emerged primarily through the researcher's interaction with the community of designers. One of the recurrent concerns which emerged during discussions about architectural and interior design practice was 'workability' of a scheme or a plan. Planning to put things in place and plans going awry, on site and in practice, were important concerns that the researcher encountered in interactions with the community. This was especially important if considered from the perspective of the personal space of dwellers. This led us to articulate the notion of 'pre-scription'.If we think of scripters of the flat, there are at least, three dominant scriptors amongst others: The developer/builder, who is a 'producer' of the flat within the apartment block schema, the designer as the shaper of flat as part of the apartment block schema and the dweller, as the one who shapes the flat as a user.

Designers try to conceptualize the larger meanings of life with respect to a place. Early stage design processes help visualize life in a particular place, both, in an abstract way— by defining the conceptual and sensory aspects—and in a concrete manner — by highlighting the everyday-activity-based 'functional' aspect.

The visualization process also attempts to define the features of a project at various spatial scales –ranging from the scale of overall site to specific parts. The manner in which these features get mentioned in conversations, drawings and images suggest certain ways of being and behaving in home-spaces informing us about the home-scripts in that place. These representations portray life in that place. These portrayals are discussed in conjunction with the developer's marketing materials and images in the chapter on analysis (Chapter 5).

Architects have always found theatre/drama and the settings as models to think about built form and behavior. Simulations and representations of actual space and the roles they play in theatrical performance interest the architect. The setting-space is conceived as part and in support of the performance that shall unfold in it (Schechner, 1994). As a space of imagination, theatre has attracted architects in terms of novel explorations and abstractions of space within the fold of performance (TAAT, 2016).

The behavior of space in theatrical performance (with and around actors) is controlled by a prior, planned and established scheme also referred to as script. The script as a performative plan helps conceptualize early stage architectural visualization. To establish the relationship between design, scripting and home-places, consider the notion of 'pre-scription' – which means a prior scripting or the already scripted. Pre-scriptions are prior decisions on the behavior of a space. Pre-scription within architectural design lays out 'how to live' in the space designed or the meaning of life in direct relation to the space designed. Oft-cited as examples of pre-scriptions of domestic space are in Corbusier's writings and reflections of domestic space. Loos presents another example of orienting and choreographing movements within the house towards a certain scriptedness (Loos, 2013). This is true not just of these more philosophic dispositions as in Corbusier, but of brutally deterministic and positivist approaches in architecture.

This backdrop helps define the script for the purposes of this study—a script becomes the behavioral and performative aspect of a space, 'scripting' can thus be treated as choreographing of the behavioral and the performative aspect of that space. A script would then also inform the expected behavior of a space. It is similar to what the architects call a spatial program; the only difference is, a spatial program is employed more in terms of containing the requirements of the space. In terms of literal meaning, the program means that which has been already arranged or planned (programmed). The script and the program as 'having been programmed' ideas present a priori decisions of behavior for the dwellers who enact or encounter them. To follow a script would be to follow or play along laid out schemes of behavior. As a script, a virtual plan of a home presents itself in the design discussions, quite like a set in which the behavior of the dweller unfolds. The analyses of the discussions thus elucidate the nature of the scripts being conceived.

3.1 Authorship in Design

Scripts presume a presence which/who scripts. The general notion amongst practitioners of design seems to point to the fact that they who script are the ones who are actually 'designing' the space. The ownership of the design becomes an important factor, and seems to contribute to the identity of the designer as being the designer of that space. The designer, in this approach, occupies the position of being an author (Dunne & Raby, 2011). This approach of assuming the position of the author of a design has emerged out of the ecosystem of ideas like originality, intuition, creative freedom, art, individuality, and genius, which have found privileged place in design discourse. The author has authority over the design. Given such an approach, this authorization process therefore is the broader framework within which visualization takes place. So the studies of design visualization are also by default studies of this process of authorization (how the design emerges in relation to the designer as the one occupying the authorial position).

A number of ideas that have emerged across time tend to bestow ownership of the design of a thing more upon the users than on designers (Siatri, 1999), thus attempting to unseat the belief of the designer as the sole creative author of works which involve a number of other agents including users. These ideas have been contained and discussed in a

multitude of concepts like co-creation, participation, customization, etc. More specifically, the interaction between the designer and other stakeholders in the making of a space has been studied through similar frameworks. Co-creation, for instance, allocates a space of partnership to the immediate stakeholders in the design. This approach, respectful of the stakeholders, attributes creative license to more stakeholders than one in the act of design. It is more cognizant of the creative potentialities of the stakeholders as compared to the idea of participation. Participatory design acknowledges *those-who-partake* in and of (partake of as consumers) design. Participation occurs at various levels depending on the capabilities and nature of the participants. The role of a participant does not by default assign creative potentialities to the dweller. This also does not necessarily mean that it discredits the notion of creativity as being possible in/through participation.

Another approach views design interaction from the perspective of fulfilling client-requirements. The interaction between a dweller and designer is seen from the perspective of the client and design service professional where the client becomes someone who provides requirements which the designer tries to fulfil. This position treats the designer as someone who gauges, understands the needs and uses of the stakeholders who are receiving the design. This position also believes the designer to be capable of and having an objective of responding successfully to the preferred requirements. In such a case, the design practitioner is assigned the role of an advisor or consultant in the design process.

Client programming as a facet of architectural practice, for instance, follows from a logic of the designer occupying an advisory role[10] (Van der Voordt & Wegen, 2005). Customization as an idea, presumes that the design of a thing, already in place, requires to be just 'adjusted' to the individual specificities of the user of the design. The criticisms of customization and the requirement-driven approach have attempted, at the level of practice, to displace the privileged position of the designer as the author.

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[10] Customization can be referred to as "the guilt conscience of manufacturing at work"

The popular belief amongst practicing designers seems to borrow heavily from this privileged authorial role sometimes assigned to the designer. Even a casual perusal of the practice of design in locales like Mumbai is revelatory of such an approach. In case of the design of home-places the primary stakeholder of the space is the dweller who is also the immediate user of the space being designed. The dweller of a domestic space has personal investments in terms of identity in the designed space. This highlights the dialectical nature of the situation in which the designer (as an authorial persona of a space) and the dweller (with the specificities she aspires for) co-create.

In terms of home, the designer can be seen as an interpreter of meanings of home. She is seen as an actor active in the twilight zone before the home comes to be. The broad approach, the role of the designer and the documentation of the cases are employed to analyze the context of the enquiry which the succeeding chapter on analysis deals with this. This chapter explicates the process employed to answer the exploratory questions that this study poses, highlighting and analyzing the key factors/ideas to arrive at inferences which, when gathered together, provide insight into the peculiar complexion of the flat as a kind of urban home.

Practice, praxis, practicality, pratical, 'doing', 'hands-on-ness' – these allude to occurences in the act of engagement with things that are outside theory, or not yet theorized. In this sense, practice contains what theory does not yet contain. Practice has also been perceived as the 'applied' aspect of understanding in contrast to theory as an abstraction of/from the context. Practice in this sense, is both an unfolding of theory and an act beyond theory as what we already know. If it is an act that constitutes what is beyond or what is already known, and also that which is knowledge-in-action, would it not tell us things that we do not know in advance? What would design practice tell us about the 'making' of the home? As a practitioner, what does the designer do? What is the designer as a designer-in-practice? What are her roles? In the design practice, what shape does the home take/ How does the home appear?

3.2   Scripting a semblance

How the home is made in the context of the apartment phenomenon can be addressed in many ways. Some of the vantage points include the study of the problem in the context of popular culture (how the space of the home is expressed in popular media and culture), studying dwellers as they live in their homes and how they tend to organize that space, searching for the semblance of home in its reality as a product of design (in its general sense).

The brute realities of Indian urbanity and homelessness have found evident discussion in both popular media and more serious literature. It is within these realities that life in cities like Mumbai is represented as tough in terms of finding one's own territory. It is within this reality that we pose the question: how is the semblance of a home brought into the otherwise difficult spatial reality of Mumbai? The methodological approach gets defined by this sensibility that only the semblance of a home is possible (and not pretend that a true resemblance or a true representation of the concept of home is possible or real). This understanding informs the framework through which the semiotic play between space and psycho-social dimensions of the home become actually visible.

In the approach adopted here the spatial design angle (the role of design) is favored while purely psychological and sociological aspects remain in the background. From the perspective of urban studies the house would appear as being the result of larger systems at work – the scope of which is wide ranging and could include anything from the pattern of employment to the changing nature of electronic circuits. As part of a complex system the house is a space interlinked to many social, biological and economic networks, it can be considered an emergent entity resulting from the structural dynamics of large systems (social, cultural, urban).

The spirit with which architectural design functions is different from the above. The house is not only emergent but also 'intended'. This intentionality gives design (this of course does not mean that the designers are unaware of larger systems) the power to both qualitatively and quantitatively shift and change the structure of things. This intention lends the study methodological interest not in the structures that produce the house, but the

structuring process that the actors engage in; how actors (as individuals) work with and within and manage the system. The house is simply a resultant of broad socio-economic flows which are governed by bodies like the State, city municipality, development authorities, banks and various other such powerful entities.

The house, could be considered, on the lines of urban growth and development, as an entity evolves and is subject to socio-economic flows mediated by a governing bodies of the city and state. On these lines, its morphology could be traced and tracked via these flows. The methodological approach of this study are not on these lines. We focus on the house more as a product of intention and negotiation, even though at a broad level its morphology might be evolving due to powers beyond the intention of the stakeholders. Since we are seeing the house as the product of intention of individual actors engaged in the act, we are led directly to think about the intentionality at work in the design process. In other words, the environment as it is at least partially made or conceived as a mental object. Some of our conclusions or answers are fashioned in this mode of thinking.

Psychological and sociological approaches have engaged with the discourse of home in much greater depth than spatial design. Psychological approaches would, for instance, see the home as a thing in the mind and in this sense, both as a real and imaginary or imagined entity. Sociological approaches, on the other hand, might see the home as an entity resulting from and connected to social networks and flows. In terms of more territory-based physicality, the home is captured well through the paradigm of spatial design.

The notion of practice(s), as in patterns of activities, has been used extensively in the study of the social dimension (Bourdieu P. , 1990).Practices, according to Bourdieu, are habitual and habitational, and contain conditionings of various kinds. Domestic space in this sense is not only a practice, but also contains and sustains practices which are personal and private in nature. Domestic spaces have been studied via the notion of patterns of spaces in and through which patterns of practices function and sustain. Design has also been seen through the notion of being a practical or practice oriented knowledge-system. To put it simply, we can see both design and home through the concept of practice.

The home as 'practice' seems very relevant for seeing it via design (as collective practice in House = apartment-complex and as Individual practice in House = interior-flat-house). Practices are what people do; in action – how people do things. There is a certain externalization in terms of behavior and action from which extensive properties of the home become visible (De, 2002). By extensive, we have in mind, properties extensible or extended in space, as DeLanda employs it in his description of material expressivity. Therefore, psychological aspects like sentiment, nostalgia, etc. which are closely associated with the home, would not necessarily be accessible directly in studying design practice. The capture of these more intensive properties is not the aim of the methodological approach adopted.

Scripting and authorship are problematized when an outsider expert conceives a 'home-like' environment both without the presence of the dweller (as in the pre-fitted apartment block) and with the presence of the dweller (as in the tailoring of the flat). How do we study practice?

Chapter 4

Methodology: A dual-cased context

The search for studying acts of design led to certain cases which were part of the flat phenomenon. These were then subjected to study with focus being on the details of their making. The search and inquiry for such cases were conducted amongst the makers – the design community. Through the network of designers the cases to be studied were located. The researcher's pre-existing association with this community allowed access to cases of private discussions which were initial and conceptual in nature. In usual circumstances access to these conceptualizations are not easy and only happen after trust is established between the researcher and the designers participating in the research. This trust is also the basis for the willingness of the designer to freely allow the researcher to be witness during the phase of conceptualization.

The only approach that could capture the nuanced nature of acts of design within the particularities of these cases was the case study approach. Cases have been studied as situations. But the lens employed to look at these situations is of a 'micro' order, due to

which the finer decisions taken in the process of design became visible. . The granularity of the process was revealed during interpretations and speculations that transpired in the design process (during meetings on and off- site,visits and discussion, all of which were attended by the researcher). The case offers ways looking at concrete situations as a working site for general notions or ideas. This is the underlying philosophic disposition offered by Buchholz and Rosenthal, in their essay 'A Philosophic framework for Case studies' within the context of business ethics which exhibits similar arguments between theory and practice that design seems to have (Buchholz & Rosenthal, 2001).

The space of practice that the study explores required the researcher to be at the site of practice; to be able to witness practice as a series of actions and processes, yet to be theorized. This also allowed researcher's engagement with particular examples of practice. In being an example, an event both stood for practice as much as it stood out from the practice. There are thus generalities and particularities that both made the case belong to and at the same time stand out from the phenomena. Thus fulfilling the conditions that define the use of case-study approach articulated by Yinxii (Yin, 1994).

The particular cases in these study have been documented in the form of strings of discussion which were then subjected to analysis. The other materials also include visual documents of various kinds employed in the discussions on the form of the house. The visual documents are in the form of photographs, and drawings both, print and electronic (refer to section 4.4).

In the context of the study, the two case studies have been juxtaposed and contain documents that explicate: (a) the developer's imagination and projection of the flat, (b) the architect's visions for flats within an apartment complex and (c) the designer-dweller's imagination of the interiors of the flat.

4.1 Identifying a conventional case

A case is a specific bounded event which stands out from the phenomenon being studied, or stands for the phenomenon (representative reflection of) or is part of the phenomenon (acts like an index) (Ragin & Becker, 1992). Both inform us about the

conventions of the larger phenomenon. A case which stands out expresses distinction from the phenomenon. The distinct examples are what are published and discussed in the discourses of design. The very conventional case, that which is not distinct, ends up as a representative or an index of the larger phenomenon. This is the representativeness or indexicality that designers engage with on an everyday basis but finds scant mention in theoretical discussion.

This study intended to treat a case in the spirit of it being both representative and indexical; and not a distinction (not 'amazing design') and accordingly the selection criterion was laid out The everydayness and conventional ordinariness defined the nature of cases selected. These were not cases that would otherwise find presence in academic discourse. The methodology required the selection of cases functioning within the conventions of the Mumbai housing industry. Two primary cases were identified and used to infer the context of the flat as home.

In the process of documentation it was realized that this initial phase of design conceptualization contained a diverse ecology of ideas. The background to the emergence of a home came from these ideas. The study examined this ecology of key ideas in the light of dominant contemporary housing trends within the practice of design and housing to explore its potentiality to form a larger cohesive argument.

The enquiry was contextualized through the researcher's presence during interactions between the designer and the client-dweller and researcher's interaction with informants like designers and design groups working in Mumbai, developers and associated professionals of advertising who were engaged in image-making practices, to understand the industry of making spaces.

All interactions were documented through both audio-visual media and in situ note-taking. Methodologically, it was obvious that the part of the design process that was of

interest dealt with visualization[11]. In the context of this study, though visualization became the operation via which most of the design decisions regarding the house were observed to be made, other dimensions also emerged in the scope of the study which have been discussed in analysis (refer to Chapters 5 and 6).

4.2   Description of Cases and their Contexts

One of the prerequisites while searching for a case befitting the defined research criterion, as mentioned earlier, was having access to all stages of design process within that case so that it allowed complete study of the initial stages of design process. The flat, as the quintessential urban home place, is a dual-faced artefact – it comes into being as part of a collective and also as an interior home.

In the life of a flat, there are thus two discrete instances of being subjected to design. One, at the level of the apartment block collective, and the other at the scale of the interior. The necessity of capturing two important design acts within the format of the flat-apartment requires the study of both the interior (of a flat) and exterior (of many flats) as sites for visualization. These visualizations thus occur at two scales. One scale is that of the apartment-block as a whole and the other is at the scale of the interior. In the former scale, the designer plays the role of an architect and her intervention is mandatory in legal terms. In the latter scale, that of the interior, the dweller-client might decide to approach the designer for her consultancy services in the role of an interior designer. The design response of the interior designer is informal in comparison to the design intervention of the architect. The architect's role appears more technical in this case, as compared to that of the interior designer wherein she has to deal with the relatively softer aspects of built-form.

Since it would be difficult to study the life of a single flat in its making right from the beginning to the end, the two-stage study had to be conducted in different design projects and not the same one. The ideal case for this study would've been a case where one is able to

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[11] As the design process involved discussions and negotiations which dealt with a range of issues, not all related to design conception

study the growth and development of a single design as it undergoes the two-scaled design intervention. A befitting case therefore was one which allowed access to and study of the initial stages of design process The extended temporality of a spatial design project required that the two stages be studied not in the same, but different projects. The answer was to select very large groups of flats – like large apartment projects— those which might be called 'complexes' or 'townships'. The scale of these townships needed to be such that they dealt with urban built-form and architecture (scales at which the flat is visualized, discussed and represented in drawings) and not so large wherein the design acts would be at the scale of land-use planning or urban planning. At the other end of the scale, the smallest unit of the study required to be a single flat-unit. There thus emerged two flat-group categories: (a) large groups of flats (multiple-apartment block complexes or townships) and (b) single flats (individual dwelling units). This categorization led to the selection of particular examples for and within each category. The documentation is mostly in the form of notes and some video recordings which have been transcribed.

Case I Apartment Block Context

It involved a reputed architectural firm in the city, offering design solutions in areas of architecture, urban design and interior design. This firm had been invited to compete, for designing a residential apartment complex in a central suburb of Mumbai by one of the well-known construction companies and developers. This limited the case, initially to the conceptual, master-plan level, at the cost of ignoring the individual unit details. Being a competition project, very obviously, the finer details would have been dealt with only if they won the commission.

The developer's brief to the architect-team, other than providing details of the location, land and amenities to be provided, also highlighted the general development philosophy and theme. The project site, approximately 25 acres in area, was a redundant textile mill compound located in a suburb of Mumbai. The amenities comprised of common facilities for Health, Sports and Leisure, which included Olympic size swimming pools, gymnasiums, skating, amphitheatre, etc. The project components also included residential, substantial built-to-suit offices, convenience retail stores, a school and an auditorium. The

residential mix consisted of 2bhk, 2.5 bhk, 3 bhk and 3.5 bhk, (the units areas were extremely well-defined, the external areas in comparison were barely defined). The time period allotted to them was about three weeks.

The brief also detailed the historic aspects of the site, highlighting its intention to restore and integrate some of the existing architectural elements. A profile outline of prospective inhabitants was attempted. The brief described the immediate surroundings as being "not upmarket" and "having a small town look", devoid of "high" structures and planned development. What was expected was a spatial remedy for the proposed site. To compensate for the mundane surroundings, therefore, they demanded an "iconic" architecture and landscape to produce a "feel of being in a different world" to attract prospective inhabitants, who could have been "people who have stayed in small apartments without leisure amenities within their residential complexes, who are looking for a lifestyle, high quality construction and affordability, people who work in companies and offices which have relocated to this place and people from the more outlying suburbs who want to move into the central city". The requirement was to house this profile of dwellers.

The firm had assigned the job to four senior architects. They discussed and critiqued as a team, but produced one alternative each for the project. All the designs went through a process of iterative refinement and detailing. This happened through the team's discussions with and guidance from the chief architect. All the important design decisions were taken through a discursive process where every one of the team members was present.

The researcher primarily played the role of an observer and minimally, a participant—participation was restricted to some inputs regarding the semantics of the developer's advertisements. This was a three-week long process and comprised of ten formal design team meetings. Detailed notes of the meetings were collected. This formed the core data.

Case II Flat Interior Context

In this instance, the designer was hired by a couple who had purchased a flat and wanted to get the interior designed before they moved in. The designer had been hired

through recommendation from colleagues of the prospective dwellers. It was a 2bhk flat (2 bedrooms, a hall and kitchen) with an area of around 1300 sq. m with no particularly special architectural feature, located in a 12 storied, 10 year old apartment block in a western suburb of Mumbai. The financial investment which the dwellers wished to make was not very high by Mumbai interior design standards. The dweller couple were first generation Mumbaiites; their home towns being from states to the north of Maharashtra. They fit the typicality of newly married dweller couples aspiring to set up home in a flat in suburbs closer to their places of work.

Unlike in case I, here, there was no formally written brief that was available to the designer. The brief emerged through discussions between the designer and the client-dweller. The design process stretched across 12 to 15 meetings on and off wou the construction site. The interior design process involved decisions that were made on the go. Changes in the plan were made and accommodated as the work progressed.

The observation frame in this case therefore was that of the activity of the interior space being designed by the designer; the act of designing was ongoing and continued in parallel with construction work.

. In addition to the two cases, though in lesser detail and in a more peripheral fashion, interaction with architects and interior designers of residences in Mumbai were referred to, to support the emergent concepts. These observations, from the field recordings were characterized primarily in terms of attitudinal dispositions, shifts and changes in terms of design.

4.3 Documenting the two cases and their contexts

In the apartment block design context [12] the documentation was conducted only through note-taking. Any other modes of recording were not possible given the discomfort

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[12] From this point forward in the thesis, the two cases described in the methodology have been referred to as 'contexts'. Case I has been referred to as Context I and Case II as Context II. This has been done in order to accommodate the contexts that the cases are representative of.

expressed by the design firm where the meetings were held and the documentation took place. These notes try to capture what the conversation is about, in small segments. The segments occur due to natural breaks in the flow of conversation. These segments also become discrete units of data which generate broader themes of analysis (relevant segments are available in Appendix III)[13].

In the case of the interior design context the documentation is in the form of video recordings and notes written in the meetings between the designer and the dweller. The video recordings could not be conducted for all the meetings due to conditions contingent in situ. Some hesitancy and discomfort towards recording was expressed by the dwellers and at times by the designer. Therefore, substantial documentation had to be done through a more traditional format of note-taking (digital notes in word format, relevant segments of which have been made available in Appendix IX).

The documented whole (notes and audio/video recordings) of the design interaction is dominated by discussions regarding the practicalities and heuristics of the production, both in the beginning and the latter part of the design process. The discussions (see Appendices III, V, VI, VII and IX) dominated primarily by visualization are sandwiched between these discussions of production. This does not mean that parts of the discussion which are visualization-dominant are devoid of discussions on the production and vice versa. The discussions of production are fairly direct: budgets, labor, contractors, logistics, etc. Our interest lies in the discussions of visualization - a more indirect and intriguing space – where conceptual decisions get taken.

One of the apparent criticisms of this method of studying just one or two cases to understand a phenomena is that the cases might have particularities that might not allow generalization. Our response to such criticism is the fact that we are on the lookout for tendencies of the phenomena that manifests within each and every case because of which they are considered cases or examples of that phenomena. Of course, the tendencies might

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[13] Given the long duration and unstructured nature of the meetings and conversations, the notes and video files contained information in a scattered form. For matters of analysis this material has been restructured having made sure that there have been no losses or misrepresentation of information.

have varying intensities depending on the particularities of each case. Our interests are in the general tendencies themselves. Also, how do general tendencies gain particular forms? How is a generality practiced? This encourages studying the practice itself. Metaphorically, a case is a crucible for a phenomena to take shape. This led to an approach that encouraged complete conceptual unfolding of the process of being a witness. The study therefore highlights the negotiations that transpire in the process. Given that design is an activity which has 'practical' or 'practice-based' dimensions even if generalities have to be discussed, it is only reasonable that design be studied through its particularity as a practice.

Some of the challenges of the documentation involve: initial potential discomfort of being observed that the dwellers and the designer might experience, the length of the documentation project (which stretches in this case to almost three months), the frequency with which the discussions keep veering off non-linearly towards various topics, and the heterogeneous nature of themes discussed.

4.4   Analysis of the documented conversation segments

Design professionals from the discipline of architecture (architects and interior designers) interpret the site and situation to fashion a strategy to approach the construction of a place[14]. Their interpretations which constitute the design discussions are lush with existing and future meanings of a home-site. The interpretations of the home site in turn depend on both the milieu and the situation (who the dweller is, where the home is located and the interpretant (designer)). The researcher has therefore considered the data (design discussions) as a collection of interpretations of the site and situation by the designers, implying that design discussions are more than mere analyses of the problem at hand. Design

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[14] The researcher should primarily look for the associative meanings and rationalizations employed when physical places, shapes and things within the site are discussed in the home-place visualization process. The research does not involve in studying the whole coordinative, syntactic aspect of the design process, but more in generated semantics of the place and its parts. In this study these meanings of the physical places are scanned to understand the notions of home-place and/or the nature of design decisions. The intent is to look for the practice of visualization of the home-place in the design of houses.

is oriented towards interpretation because it has to 'create' space. The researcher's analysis in this study treats documentation to be representative and indexical of the flat as a dwelling space.

The general procedure for analyzing the data included first marking relevant portions of the discussion which dealt with identity and space. So the parts where ideas regarding space and identity are introduced, these portions of the discussions (called Segments) were marked. Close examination of these segments of conversation suggested that these segments cluster around some larger broad themes of conceptualizing domestic space.

Theme, in this case, refers to a central concern which recurs or is reflected in a smaller set of ideas. Since the aim of the analysis was to trace tendencies or drives at work within the conversations documented, the analysis entailed tagging strings of conversation (strings of segments) ripe with some set of themes. These themes helped abstract the presiding concerns in a conversation. They indicated the general orientation of a particular conversation. For instance, a series of conversations which dealt with a designer trying to explain to a client-dweller, how to read design drawings, were themed under "Understanding drawings'. We worked on the interpretation of these themed segments, primarily looking for novel interpretations offered. These novel interpretations suggested tendencies usually ignored in the more dominantly and at times trenchantly believed roles of design and definitions of the home. The novel tendencies offered scope to see design, home and the designers differently. Differences pointed back to strong but less discussed tendencies in the design of a home. The core of our approach throughout the whole process of analysis was to focus on the observation of actual cases of conceptual practice. This offered new ways of looking at practices and of theorizing practice – both of the home and of design.

4.5   Some general limitations of methodology

The choice of the methodology stems from the fact that it decides to focus on one case as a phenomenon in all its details rather than a horizontal breadth of study. So the insights into the subject of the study are gained from the details of this completely documented singular phenomenon. References to events which occur within this phenomenon are compared with other such events from the field of practice. So, though the

design process can be studied generically via this method, the specific differences that would emerge if the phenomenon were studied in more numerical terms is ignored. The subtleties and shifts in conversations in the design process which characterize the space that the home turns out to be are rendered visible only when seen closely as they occur and develop within the case.

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Chapter 5

Context I: Pre-fitting apartment blocks

The primary material for analysis in context I consisted of documented conversation between D1, D2, D3, D4, who were the designers in the design team involved in designing the apartment complex. CD is the chief designer who presides over the discussions. These discussions, documented in the form of conversation segments, were tagged based on a set of themes which emerged from clusters of segments. These themes are captured under these titles: *Theme 1 (Section 5.1)*: Context and Typology: Constraints and Opportunities, *Theme 2 (Section 5.2)*: Spatial Identity and Behavior, *Theme 3 (Section 5.3)*: Design as the search for exemplarity, *Theme 4 (Section 5.4)*: Apartment as decontextualized type, *Theme 5 (Section 5.5)*: The Common/Collective space problematic, *Theme 6 (Section 5.6)*: Interacting with the City/the City as 'outside's space, *Theme 7 (Section 5.7)*: A Home close to 'nature', *Theme 8 (Section 5.8)*: Imagining Insiders, *Theme 9 (Section 5.9)*: Services/Management/Managed space and *Theme 10 (Section 5.10)*: Imagining Insideness.

The discussions occured around four alternative architectural responses that were proposed in response to the developer's brief. These responses evolved through group discussions conducted between D1, D2, D3, D4 and CD. These discussions contain not only specificities about each of the architectural responses but are ripe with general reflections, contemplations and speculations regarding the phenomenon of the flat home. Also included

in a few instances are segments of conversation which the researcher had with designers (D) and (D0), who are independent apartment designers in Mumbai. Segments of the conversation are presented in the analysis in the form of a bi-columnar table with the segment number to the left of the conversation (See Figure 1).

Segment number	*The segment of conversation documented*
Seg 59b	*D3: "why go for tall buildings? Why not spread the apartments out? low-rise, crawling – a very different ambience...the views can look into the created design itself. Need not necessarily look out"(Appendix III)*

Figure 1: Table showing how the in situ/at work conversation document has been presented in this analysis

Before we begin the analysis let us state what the four design responses are (one each from each of the four members of the design team). D1's response is a set of independent (not interconnected) but similar-looking towers following the typical built-form conventions witnessed within the Mumbai tower building phenomena (see figure 2). D2 visualizes a solution which is a departure from this convention by creating a set of continuous 'blocks' which are unequal in terms of size and shape but nevertheless follow a common language of shape. These blocks twist around the site to create courtyard-like pockets within (see figure 3). D3's design deviates from the norm by proposing a typology which attempts to be 'low-rise' and crawl along the site creating multiples of a courtyard space within a smaller group of dwellers. The attempt is an equal distribution of common spaces amongst groups of dwellers (see figure 4)

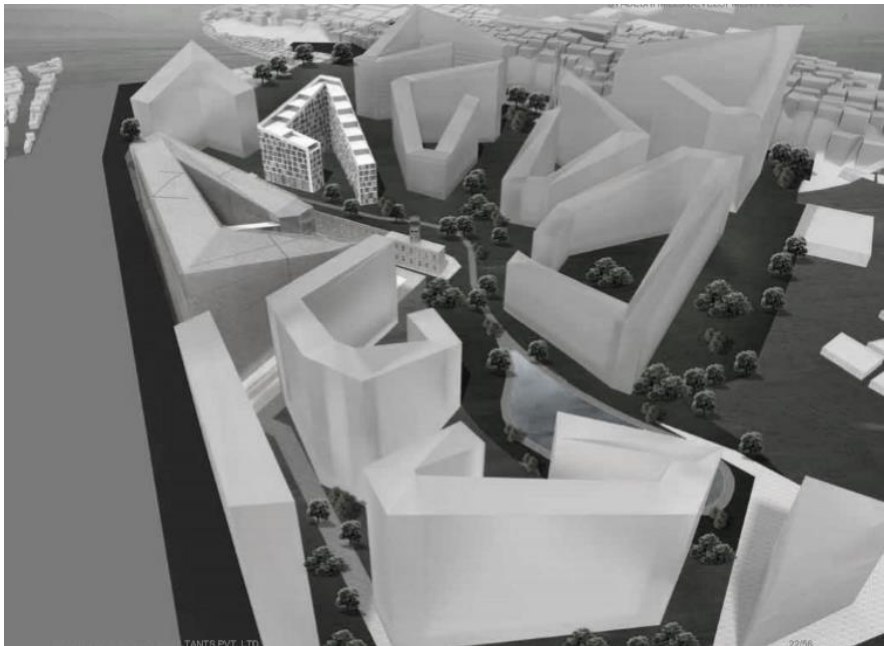*Figure 2: Apartment complex layout by D1*

Figure 3: Apartment Complex layout option by D2

Figure 4: Apartment Complex Layout option by D3

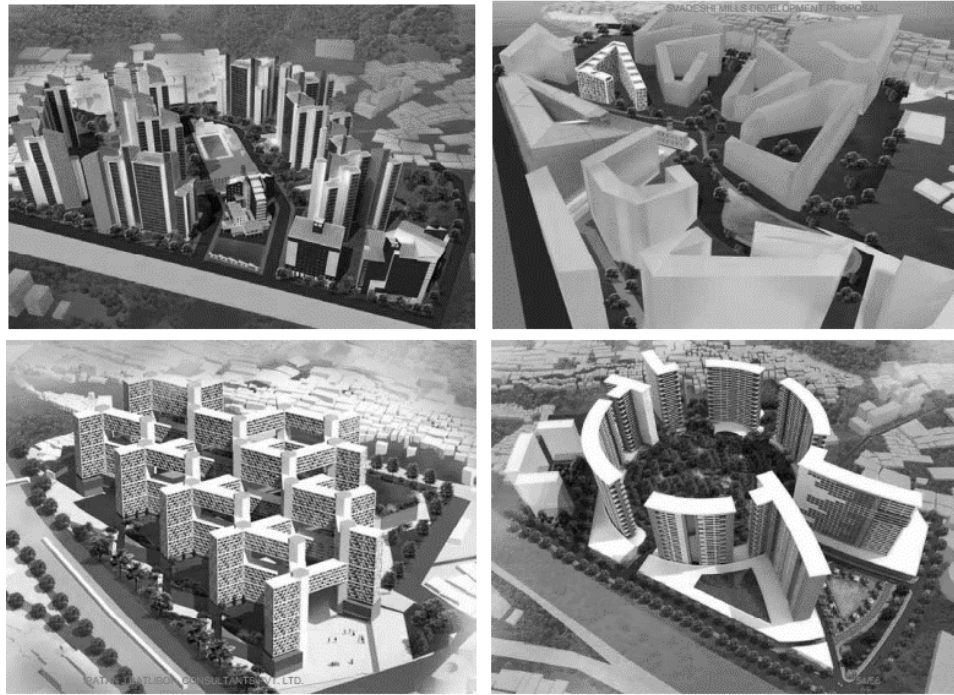*Figure 5: Apartment Complex Layout option by D4*

Figure 6 the four schemes explored as solutions to the developer's brief. D1 (top left), D2 (top right), D3 (bottom left), and D4 (bottom right)

D4's approach perceives the 'towers' as 'a single tower' split into two 'Cs' which create a single large internal circular courtyard housing a 'forest' or a 'hill' (see figure 5). Each of the responses evolve through their examination in the team discussions which are themed around some central concerns (Figure 6). The team also sorts and evaluates the uniqueness of each of the solutions. They also reflect on the general role of the proposed designs as homes.

5.1 Context and Typology: Constraints and Opportunities

This theme contains conversation segments that deal with constraints and opportunities related to context and typology.

Seg 59b	*D3: "why go for tall buildings? Why not spread the apartments out? Low-rise, crawling – a very different ambience...the views can look into the created design itself. Need not necessarily look out"(Appendix III)*
Seg 103	*D2: "yes that (the low-rise option) is very social housing-type – sense of community, collective, shared, etc" "(Appendix III)*

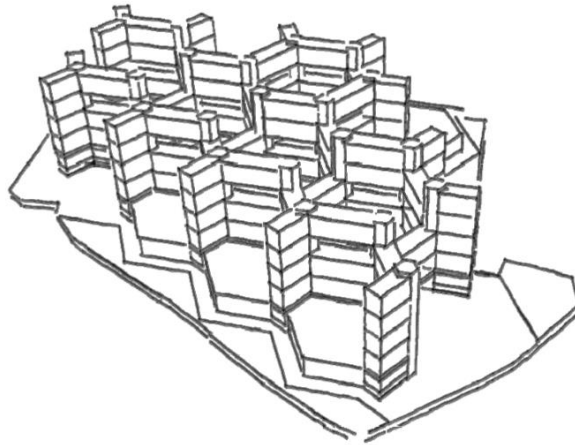|	
Seg 102a	*D1: "the commercial street should not disturb the private ambience of a home" "(Appendix III)*
Seg 102	*D4: "we can question the tower-block philosophy of large spaces" "(Appendix III)*
Seg 102	*CD: "but the problem with low-rise is that space gets distributed and the large chunk of open space which usually hold great appeal for the developer would be lost "(Appendix III)*

Figure 7: D3's design options where an attempt is made to propose a 'low-rise' built-form as opposed to the typical high-rise tower

Figure 8 Terraces and Courtyards within the cluster of dwelling units in the proposal which presents a low-rise built-form as alternative

A fundamental form-based question that is posed by D3's enquiry is regarding the conventional vertical stacking of apartments as 'tall buildings (figure 8). This design option

involved a non-high rise aesthetic and strategy[15]. This strategy aimed at causing the built-form to crawl more evenly and across the site in comparison to a high-rise strategy (see figure 7).

CD's criticism of the 'low-rise' was against this strategy itself – because of the fact that it might not hold appeal for the developer (Seg 102). His criticism is not just against the physical features of the design but against the basic approach itself. Such criticism based on appealing to the developer suggests how the dwelling entity's spatial character might be shaped substantially by the developer's love for a popular and perhaps conventional image of the home. At another point in time in the discussion, this option of low rise apartments was referred to as "social housing" due to its desire to create a courtyard-like feel within grouped housing clusters than create a massive ground or park.

This scheme was accompanied by another detail – a commercial market street with access to common public that pierced through the site and ran through the ground and first floors of the low rise residential. This aspect of the commercial street also undergoes criticism by the team for its disturbance of the character of 'private ambience of a home.' (Seg 102a, D1)

The critiquing of the 'philosophy' of the tower-block and large surrounding spaces is reflected in: "we can question the tower-block philosophy of large spaces" (Seg 102). The term 'tower-block philosophy' refers to foundational assumptions on which the 'collected' spatiality of the home is conceived. The alternative 'low-rise' built-form with a more 'distributed' spatiality is examined. The possibility of questioning and perhaps modifying the fundamental relation between a dweller and home-environment is explored here through the criticism of an existing script of collective space (tower) in order to bring in an alternative script (low-rise).

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[15] Note that these structures are not really low-rise in the true sense of the word (which refers to ground plus 1 or 2 or perhaps 3 tiered structures). It is low-rise in its opposition to the tower-based approach.

Seg 96	*D2: "but since this is a large enough site, there are more chances to make a difference. Because of the scale of the project" "(Appendix III)*
Seg 96	*D4: "the only apartment block which we can really be proud of in India is the Kanchenjunga by Correa. That is the only apartment block where the design shines forth" "(Appendix III)*
Seg 96	*CD: "this site offers a range of possibilities in terms of advantageous city life" "(Appendix III)*
Seg 59b	*CD: "yes it has unique qualities that are not usually available on urban sites of this sort" "(Appendix III)*

A hopeful expression of being able to create variations in the otherwise 'inert' typology of apartments is captured in what D2 says (Seg 96). The design team senses advantage offered by the site. As a response, D4 laments about the state of apartment design in India (Seg 96). According to CD, the site offers scope to explore new directions in terms of city life that can be tapped into (Seg 96, Seg 59b).

Seg 61a	*D4: "there are some very interesting stacking practices done by MVRDV[16]" "(Appendix III)*
Seg 97	*D1: "our local design of apartments is very unimpressive" "(Appendix III)*

In terms of examples of residential built-form the designers freely bring in and discuss globally renowned examples (best practices) (Seg 61a). Exemplary architectural work is referenced to compare and contrast the possibilities of doing such work within the milieu of local urban behavior. These local behavioral aspects are characterized through certain images of what it means to be local or specific to a context. A national identity (as will be elaborated in Section 5.4, Seg 38a, pg 70), is for instance evoked in being able to characterize and make typical 'our' residential spaces within the metropolitan milieu of Mumbai (Seg 97, D1). The possibility of atypicality is speculated based on deviation from convention. In the process the global form of the apartment type and its local manifestation concern the design team in the making of an urban home. This is brought into the discussion to define the local behavioral traits in contrast to the behavioral traits demanded and

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[16] MVRDV is a design practice based in Netherlands. Their work is well-published and popular amongst both academics and practitioners

professed by architectural examples and types from other parts of the globe. The home form is discussed as being conservatively dealt with in the local context.

The above segments of conversation point to the concerns and anxieties related to the constraints and possibilities offered by the project. The peculiarity of the site in offering possibilities to break away from the conservative approach is discussed. In terms of product semantics, the flat in Mumbai is appears as a space that falls predominantly within a conservative zone of typicality (Athavankar, 1989).This conservative image is captured in the string of conversations that contain spatial identity and its corresponding behavioral traits and problems.

5.2   Spatial Identity and Behavior

This section contains conversation segments which discuss the match and mismatch between spatial identity of a place and the behavior expected of an apartment dwelling format. Geographical identities at various scales ranging from the global to the local are employed to attribute spatial identity to a prospective dwelling entity. The spatial identity of the dweller (eg: Mumbai-ite, Indian) and the behavior expected of an apartment dweller are discussed as being conflictual. brought into conflict. If we zoom into the discussion of a comparatively narrower category of character (than large categories like the Indian or Regional) – that of the Mumbai-like spatial behavior of the dwelling entity, the insignificance of 'design' in housing due to dearth of space is brought into focus. This is conjunct with another discussion amongst the team of the lack of distribution of comfortable urban spaces in the city and the antidotal large-scale apartment complex. As an urban cultural mark, the apartment type is both challenged and also looked upon as a solution (Seg 106a)

Seg 106a	*CD: "Large scale apartment complexes like townships try to balance out the lack of space in traditional cities". "(Appendix III)*
Seg 81a	*D1: "in Mumbai space is so much of a constraint that just the fact that space is being provided itself is enough for the project to sell. There is no need to work on the design really". "(Appendix III)*
Seg 96a	*D3: "A fluid form is more contemporary. For instance that Steven Holl building" "(Appendix III)*

The apartment housing scenario in Mumbai is characterized as being 'redundant'. This redundancy finds expression in Mumbai as a place where there is no necessity to design (Seg 81a). A positive example of residential space by an American architect, popular in architectural pedagogy, called Steven Holl is mentioned (Seg 96a). The discussion on regional identity is about how to induct scripted cultural behavior into delocalized form. A 'regional identity' is speculated in relation to built-form. This identity is made possible through a dialectic of climate sensitive form expression (Seg 110a). For instance the 'indian' disregard for public space, requiring, 'strong measures' to control that behavior in order to protect and maintain the integrity of the façade (Seg 99a).

Seg 99a	D3: *"people try to appropriate public space and whatever does not fall within their private space, they just ignore….not just ignore, but spoil it.. "(Appendix III)*
110a	D2: *"regional identity - can we give this to the built-form through local building idiom" "(Appendix III)*
55e	D2: *"yes, both modern at the same time belonging to the place" "(Appendix III)*

The region-based identity surfaces again in a conversation regarding the delocalized typology which the apartment suffers from. The attempt is to inject the antidotal 'regional identity' into a type apparently devoid of local particularities (Seg 110a). The cultural traits of the dwelling entity and how to manifest them in built-form – this pre-occupation suggests the strategy of trying to prepare a 'blend' of local and global practices (Seg 55e).

Seg 96	D3: *"the rules here are too messed up to allow anything of that sort"; "(Appendix III)*
Seg 58	D2: *"but since this is a large enough site, there are more chances to make a difference. Because of the scale of the project" "(Appendix III)*

The Indian disregard for systems and public space echoes the redundancy of collective housing in Mumbai that the design team is already concerned about. The general systemic dissonance is a recurring theme in the conversation. This dissonance is also experienced in what they refer to as 'local', 'Mumbai' and 'Indian' is also expressed (Seg 96). The response to this by D2 is a hopeful one – of the possibility of inducing change due to the large scale of the project (Seg 58). This part of the discussion deals with the match and mismatch between segments of identity and behavior between the assumed existing behavior and the expected behavior.

5.3   Design as the search for exemplarity

This section consists of conversation segments which point to a search, by the design team, for exemplarity.

Seg 121a	*D2: "to open up this category and make it more lively, urban and more connected" "(Appendix III)*
Seg 95	*CD: "……………The effect that can be generated out of the built-form – that is central. Otherwise they are all the same. See how only Kanchenjunga stands apart" "(Appendix III)*
Seg 95	*D2:"see urban housing is primarily divided into middle class housing, slums and then these developer built apartments. Ours comes under the developer built private branded apartments – they will have to belong to that category in terms of facilities. But what we are also trying to do is to open up this category and make it more lively and urban and more connected to the city rather than thinking of it as just any other gated community" "(Appendix III)*

The role of the designer or what a design should achieve forms part of the discussion regarding the current status of housing design in local context and the scope for design. A critical role of the designer is reflected upon by the team (Seg 121a). This critical role assumes the responsibility of questioning the fundamental category of the apartment block itself and the designer's role in modifying this archetypal category. An exemplary built-form like Kanchenjuga is referenced to suggest the successful example of questioning the basic form itself (Seg 95).

Urban spatial experiments presented as exemplary buildings are referred to as being critiques of the conventions and traditions which tend to dominate mainstream construction and design. These experiments are evoked from within the discourse of architectural design that categorizes them as being good examples representing innovation (Seg 95).

Seg 66	*CD:"yes it can break the typology of the developer-built apartment block" "(Appendix III)*
Seg 64a	*D4: "the apartment scene is so sterile (in Mumbai)" "(Appendix III)*

These experiments are examples that counter or stand out from mainstream popular culture. They evoke the possibility of alternative approaches to dwelling (Seg 66). The discussion on the architecturally discouraging environment of Mumbai in spite of opportunity it offers feeds the concern of mismatch between architectural type and its

location (Mumbai). The restriction provided by the city is also used to show how the apartment home as an advantageously counter to the city. There are also attempts to bombard the 'sterility' of the apartment type with urban activity drawn from the city (Seg 64a). The home is imagined from the framework of exemplarity. In this sense, the scope of home to become an architectural example is explored.

5.4   Apartment as a decontextualized type

This section discusses an intrinsic decontextualized attribute to the apartment block as a type.

Seg 82	*CD: "there are enough studies indicative of the social and geographical mismatch created by the global character of the gated community typology" "(Appendix III)*
Seg 94a	*D3: "this picture of an apartment on the crater surface of the moon – this image will be striking to include (in the presentation for the developer). "(Appendix III)*
Seg 38a	*D: "we are not very good with systems as Indians. And most Indian cities are messed up places. It's simple: people like keeping their house clean – they don't give a damn about the outside because it belongs to someone else (the indian attitudes towards the house). That is also why institutional buildings are fun to build – there is immense scope for playing out with built-form" "(Appendix III)*

The mismatch between the global form of the collective apartment complex and the local socio-geography is discussed (Seg 82). This feeds into the already expressed concern of the peculiarity of local spatial behavior as a contrast to the ideal spatial behavior expected by the form of apartment home. This concern is especially expressed when the designers humorously associate the desolation of the apartment-block as being akin to housing on the moon (Seg 94a). Contrary to this expressed concern is the use to which the essential mismatch is put by the design team to generate distance from the city. This concern of the contextual appropriateness of the apartment typology itself vectorizes one aspect of the imagined and expected spatial behavior of the home. One of the ways in which characterizing of the local traits seems to occur is through referring to qualities of 'local' spatial behavior and identity. For example – the 'Indian' discomfort with 'systems' and disregard for common or public spaces (Seg 38a).

Seg 64	*D3: "everything is so market-driven that there is no innovation possible. Most of the good buildings that we refer to today have had a different model of building than just FSI and saleable area. There have been other kinds of freedom if not in terms of area. So it will be difficult to compare the congested and suffocating condition of Mumbai with any other kind of space" "(Appendix III)*
Seg 113	*"No but at least there are new things we can still do in terms of form. Not too much, but we could stretch the envelope. Also this is a huge project so the chances of doing things are more" "(Appendix III)*
Seg 59c	*D2: "We are on par with other countries when it comes to the use and culture of electronic products. But buildings are so locally produced that we are far behind" "(Appendix III)*

Observe the immediate shift in the line "that is why institutional building……" This is mentioned in comparison to 'residential buildings'(Seg 38a). The Indian disregard for common space seems to discourage the designer from engaging with designs of domestic, residential space. A critical regionalist approach seems to define some of the concerns which examined local identity in response to global form. Critical regionalism addresses the local versus universal paradox in mediating between the universal and the particularities of place (Ots, 2011).

The apartment format seems to occupy the universal position while the particularities of Mumbai seem positioned as local (Seg 64). We know through the work of Horton and Kraftl that different geographies have different ways of drawing boundaries between what they consider outside and inside the community (Horton & Kraftl, 2013). In the discussion we are examining, the design team suggests a notion of this sort for more local ways of framing the inside and the outside when encountering global built-form typologies. This local difference is again used to critique the imposition of cultivating an alien global form of space on local geographical milieu. In terms of the possibilities for built-form innovation and novelty, apartment housing in Mumbai has proven to be difficult as an environment. This comes forth in the discussion between the design practitioners. The milieu of the city or Mumbai as a space difficultly oriented towards innovation and novelty is expressed in this lament of Mumbai being a design-unfriendly space. D2 observes how the character of the home in Mumbai is portrayed as bereft of real 'design' and stuck within the complex extremes of urbanization in Indian cities (Seg 59c).

Seg 9	D: "According to vaastu we can't have entrances facing the south. So I had to orient the plan based on that. That is the first thing the builders brief – that it has to be vaastu-compliant. South-facing entrances fetch a low price because everyone knows these days. Even Christians use this funda to bargain for a lesser price (though they might not believe in vastu" "(Appendix I)
Seg 133	D3: "everything is so market-driven that there is no innovation possible. Most of the good buildings that we refer to today have had a different model of building than just FSI and saleable area. There have been other kinds of freedom if not in terms of area. So it will be difficult to compare the congested and suffocating condition of Mumbai with any other kind of space" "(Appendix III)
Seg 133	D2: "No, but at least there are new things we can still do in terms of form. Not too much, but we could stretch the envelope. Also this is a huge project so the chances of doing things are more". "(Appendix III)

Traditional construction and architectural conventions contained in the Vaastu shastra have taken various bizarre forms in the contemporary urbanity of India. Their irrational application has found criticism amongst the architectural fraternity. Nevertheless, the popular belief in Vaastu continues to influence the market so much so that the developers even advertise their housing as being '100% Vaastu-compliant". 'Vaastu,' the popular sanskritic articulation of space and divinities as both cultural marker and market force (that which will require incorporation within their scheme) is considered (Seg 9). This is a gauging and perhaps a scripting of the spatial behavior of the dwelling entity as much as it negotiates the mythical conception of the domestic realm.

Figure 9 The alignment of all the house entrances according to directional rules, part of Vaastu-shastra, defines the overall configuration of the apartment block. Here entrance faces the North direction.

Christopher Benninger, principal architect of Christopher Charles Benninger Architects, explains, "A lot of people get solace from soothsayers. And they act on these advices to change the patterns of their lives and circumstances. And some rules of this science have become well-integrated with design plans and aesthetics" (Maiti, 2016). In the discussion that we are studying, in spite of mentioning the irrationality of Vaastu, its presence as a market force makes the designers think of incorporating the general rules of Vaastu to define housing in their schemes.

The problematic relationship of the apartment type with the city of Mumbai and local milieu is reinforced with the concern of market-drivenness as a deterrent to innovation (Seg 133). The apartment dwelling would negotiate the milieu and meaning of Mumbai to attain the meaning of a home. The strangely split nature of the home as a space is revealed in the fact that it is both, (a) a space which is market-driven and therefore very much a product to be sold and purchased and (b) a space that, if freed from the market, could offer exploratory architectural design potential. There seems at work, in the discussion, an ironic relation in designing for the market whilst simultaneously critiquing industrial practice. The home seems poised between becoming a product and remaining a place not easily marketable (Seg 133). The role of negotiation is visible in this response of how they can't do much: "not too much, but we could stretch the envelope"; especially resting hope on the relatively large size and scale of the project. This possibility of change offered by the scale is also echoed by a developer's advertisement featuring 'homes with golf courses' (see Figure 10).

Seg 27	*D: "See here, not much is possible. I'm doing a bungalow in Shegaon. That will be interesting. Because after working in Mumbai, it feels like I have all the freedom in the world" "(Appendix I)*
Seg 28	*D[17]: "It is very mechanical. Here the quantum of work is huge. I cannot afford to put a person on a plan for more than a two days. At a max 3. This size of building I cannot afford any more than that" "(Appendix I)*

The stressful real estate environment of the city is echoed by another designer of apartments in the quote in Seg 27. "Mechanical" is the term used by another designer to

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[17] D is an apartment designer from Mumbai. The researcher's discussions with him are documented in Appendix I

describe design work that his office does for apartment buildings (Seg 28). Pressures of production and market define the conservative similarity of approaches adopted by a number of design firms. Such is the design environment in which the apartment home is born. In the case studied, given this contextual environment, the design team struggles to find meaningful resistance to the 'suffocating' and 'non-design-conducive' environment.

The market, at instances in the discussion, is treated as a force threatening the creative dimension in the practice of design. Commercial tendencies that shape the housing industry are at times pitted against the social and aesthetic dimensions considered the essence of exemplary architectural design practice. In such moments design is spoken of as being not only capable of but also dutiful to a critical spatial perspective in the encounter with market forces.

The above mentioned critical position is highlighted when the market is spoken of as a force which restricts or hampers architectural freedom subjugating the creative potentialities of architectural design. Therefore at times the design team appears like spokespeople for freedom of expression in the discipline of architectural design itself. The designers critique the conventions imposed by the market which disallow innovation or any kind of remarkable variation in the housing industry. This thematic of the home as a decontextualized type is brought into focus.

Figure 10 Homes with golf courses

5.5   The common/collective space problematic

The apartment complex is a collective of multiple personal spaces (flat interiors). How is a common exterior of commonality of home space forged?

Seg 59	*D3: "I know it's an apartment block and it might be difficult to stop people of one flat from looking into another. Some sides will invariably look into other flats. But the idea is to minimize this. In your design (D2), there is a lot of scope for peering from one block to another" "(Appendix III)*
Seg 59	*D4: "there is no way we can fully prevent gaze from all flats into all other flats. We can only try to minimize it. Looking into other houses through windows is a common enough phenomenon in the context of Mumbai since it is within the community. Its only when it become across class that it becomes an issue". "(Appendix III)*
Seg 59b	*D2: "this is an exclusive community. But parts of this exclusive space can be opened up to the outside – like the mill ruins and the commercial street. But the challenge then would be maintain this exclusivity. So we could suggest certain hours where this could be turned open" "(Appendix III)*
Seg 59b	*D2: "the danger in opening up now is that after let us say 10 years, in case they decide to close it for the public, it might not be possible. Because then it would have become public space. So one needs to be careful about this opening out private space to the public kind of business". "(Appendix III)*
Seg 59b	*D3: "yes this is a decision which will have to be taken after careful consideration – whether we would really want to give up space to the city". "(Appendix III)*

The necessity of cultural disposition towards common/public space is also accompanied by the opening up of inner private space towards gaze from other private spaces. D3 attributes an insideness to this gaze by suggesting that it would not be as much an infringement of privacy if the gaze happened across the same class of people. A common insideness is imagined for the dwelling entity. This ideal dwelling entity's character as one that belongs to one and the same class and therefore in some ways homogeneous is seen in the argument regarding the socio-spatial tendency of gaze (Seg 59).

It presents 'gaze' as a notion which disrupts privacy and seems problematic across class more than within the same class. Also seen is the suggestion of the possibility of a community through different notions of privacy amongst themselves and with others outside the community. The possibilities and the dangers of opening up a private space to the public or the city outside, are discussed and they also comes with a warning.

The desire to open up home space is also accompanied by the desire to keep it within and away from a public outside. The opposite pulls of inclusivity and exclusivity seem to characterize the dwelling entity. The discussion regarding boundaries between the private and the public also finds itself represented in the micro-space of the balcony (Seg 106).

Seg 106	*D3: "in india, the balcony is a private space." "(Appendix III)*
Seg 87	*D1: "is the balcony a private space or semi-private space"? "(Appendix III)*
Seg 106	*D3: "in India, the balcony is a private space. In Europe, the balcony is part of public space. Rather house facades in many communities are part of public space in the US"(Appendix III)*
Seg 7c	*CD: "but Mumbai people would be scared of sitting at the bottom of the building with residents frequently disposing off waste from their balconies or small children dropping things down from their balconies" "(Appendix III)*
Seg 50y	*CD: "homes in mill lands.....doesn't reflect well....."""(Appendix III)*

Cultural differences are invoked to identify the spatial status of the balcony. It is pertinent here to mention Charles Correa's treatment of the balcony as a verandah enveloping the living spaces. He injects the format of the colonial bungalow into the apartment block called Kanchenjuga which is mentioned elsewhere in the discussion as a design exemplar. D3 mentions the communal pressure exerted in geographies like the US on the external appearance and maintenance of the neighbourhood environment. The codified taming of the outside space is brought into the discussion to contrast the 'outside' space in India. In these discussions we see the home in the form of an apartment, as a site for rethinking the boundaries of the dweller-self and culturally constructed attitudes towards privacy (Seg 106, 87).

The design team articulates the paradoxical nature of a space as both foreign and modern. This nature is exacerbated by the difference in the private geography of the dwellers (Seg 106). These concerns also contain a criticism of the spatial behavior of the dwellers and the necessity for change with reference to an alien socio-spatial form like an apartment-type. Another mismatch between the cultural trait of the dwelling entity and the apartment form is brought out through the discomfort of sitting at the foot of multi-storied buildings in Mumbai (Seg 7c). This remark from the design team only underlines the point of an essential mismatch between cultural behavior and a particular type of spatial form. By critiquing this mismatch, the team takes stock of potentially conflictual spatial behavior. In terms of 'designing' the home, a negotiation or resolution of this mismatch is hinted at as a strategy.

Should Commercial spaces be mixed with Residential spaces? What is the extent to which commercial activity/zone could be introduced into residential spaces? What would be the appropriate proportion for mixing commercial and residential? Should the commercial spaces retain accessibility to the outsiders (non-residents)? Would outsider-access to the commercial space not disturb the privacy of residential spaces? – these are questions regarding the status of space between the flat and the city outside (Seg 50 y).

Another overhanging issue is the concern that defunct mill lands to be released into the city to supplement its waning public spaces are being shaped into private homes. This issue is a challenge given the private self-ensconced, disconnected and resort-like distance of the apartment home from chaotic urbanity. The sharing of spaces with the city is a strong and defining concern in the conception of urban home space.

5.6. Interacting with the city/ the city as 'outside' space

This section deals with how an interface between the flat and the city is imagined and created.

Seg 7c	*CD: "yes, in other words public space means my own space. The notion of what is one's own is very different"(Appendix III)*
Seg 106	*D3: "But India has very energetic spaces where the public and private are interwined. Like the old market gullies (where the private residence is on the top floor of the commercial shops below). It is also something that works. Hiranandani works because it created an environment outside the walls too. That helps".*
	CD: "yes for the developers location is a very strategic thing. Big developers don't just look for good locations, they create locations"
Seg 65	*D2: "We are too many of us. Such crowded and stressful cities we live in. I think people would prefer more peace at home than interaction. They also need isolation" "(Appendix III)*

The design team speculates, derives and establishes some of the concerns regarding the boundary or space between the home and the city. A perspective of public space, in the West, as 'own' space is presented in this discussion (Seg 7c). Belongingness, according to

CD, is different in the West. D3, in opposition to this, posits his view of public space in India: that the partition between the public and private cannot be understood as exclusive ideas because they are intertwined in nature and therefore 'energetic'. He cites 'old market gullies' as an example of this intertwined nature. He extends this argument to the success of Hirandani Housing complex in Powai (Seg 106)

The city is discussed as a thing to get away from. The home is positioned as a counter to the city offering everything that the city is not. In this sense, it is visualized as a protective envelope. Large complexes seem to offer potential for more extended protective sheaths. This attitude towards distance from the city is also highlighted if we read in conjunction the discussion on the necessity of recreational space (Seg 65).

Seg 81	*D1: "in Mumbai space is so much of a constraint that just the fact that space is being provided itself is enough for the project to sell. There is no need to work on the design really. Design and the difference in the design of flats only make a different or come into play in the case of where the demand is not just for spaces but for design and the market is competitive in terms of design" "(Appendix III)*
Seg 93	*D2: "the porosity of the design would enrich communication between the two groups of people: the residents and the outsiders. Connection-disconnection with the city. What we can do is the best we can do given the context of Mumbai. Some of the best examples in housing are from elsewhere (not India). We have limitations of real estate and clients of a certain mentality. So all we can do is manage to get close to the ideal that we have in mind". "(Appendix III)*
Seg 93	*CD: 'big developers create locations' thus attributing to them the power of creating and recreating marks of home.* *D3: "yes it will act like an important landmark for this area or this part of the city." "(Appendix III)*

The lack of space in Mumbai is mentioned as a city-wide constraint imposed on the home such that finding space itself has meanings of finding a home. This is highlighted by what is remarked about houses in Mumbai (Seg 81). The basic difficulty imposed in finding a space relegates design of the space to a secondary level of importance. A subtler difference is articulated - that the 'elite' dwellers that are imagined in the process would have a different approach towards design.

The conceptual strategy of porosity between the dwelling entity and the outside is discussed to support its intertwined nature (Seg 93). D2 (Seg 93), also refers to the difficult context of Mumbai as a site for good architectural design. He blames both the real estate

market and the mentality of 'clients' (here he indicates the popular imagery that the developers play into). This is in response to D3's visualizing of the home as 'an important landmark'. This remark of the home as possessing a landmark-like attribute could perhaps be attributed to both the designer's aspiration and the developer's desire to brand that space. The home is thought in the form of a landmark and also as a brand. As a landmark, the home gains a public image by territorially marking a portion of the city. This is well-illustrated by a pictorial presented in an article in Times Property (figure 11).

Seg 61	*D2: "as much as we want association, the dissociation is also coveted" "(Appendix III)*
Seg 110	*D2: "MAD architects work with a lot of urban dwelling experiments. Urban farming has become part of their built-form" "(Appendix III)*

One aspect of the home being visualized seems to be the modulation of its distance from what is considered the undesirable aspect of urbanity. This theme recurs in the discussion (Seg 62). The home (the collective home) seems to have its external periphery shaped by what the designers think are desirable relationships with urbanity (Seg 61, 110). The tenuous nature of the periphery is captured in the simultaneous and opposing associative-dissociative relation with the city. Connections and disconnections established on the periphery define what part of the outside should be let into the home and what parts need to be plugged into. The dweller group as a whole is imagined as a collective who need to remain aloof from the undesirable aspects of the city. Connected, yet isolated. This conceptual category of selective connect being established at the periphery presents an overall picture of the home conceived.

Seg 102	*D3: "I would like the space to be active. That's why I would like to have the city street run through the site or allow the site to have a street which everyone or anyone from the city can access. The buildings need not stand aloof from their surroundings. They can interact (refer to figure). It's not like a gated community". "(Appendix III)*
Seg 35a	*D0[18]: "yes he said he met the bhai that day to negotiate" "(Appendix II)*

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[18] D0 is an apartment designer in Mumbai. The discussions the researcher had with him are documented in Appendix II

Figure 11 Note the re-imagination of the landscape as these homes become dominant urban marks
(Singh, 2014)

Figure 12 The spectacular nature of the built-form is considered as a landmark in the city

The connection-disconnection pair emerges as a dual quality of the home being pursued by the design team. The home is defined as a space encompassing a 'need for isolation' as much as being thought of as an active urban space (Seg 102). The gated-ness of the home space is created through modulations with city and negotiations with the outside. It is created by inducting a sense of a common private or collective private to be occupied, managed and protected by a dwelling entity aspiring to possess exclusive space. The gated commune is not just a space which cuts itself off from the city, it seems to be something that modulates itself as a community of residents created out of a collectivity (see figure 12).

In reality the modulation begins early on with the real estate negotiations that the developer does to acquire the rights to build on the land (Seg 35a). It involves in many instances the difficult task of negotiating with the occupant slums and with underworld elements to prepare a land for the apartment block. This negotiation already suggests the classifying and fashioning of the space into a market-oriented envelope which softens urban life and screens it off from what is considered 'undesirable' by the design team.

Figure 13 Developers as claimants of community builders. (Raheja, 2014)

Seg 93	D2: *"yes it will act like an important landmark for this area or this part of the city" "(Appendix III)* D2: *"the view (of the towers) would be interesting from the road. It will have real presence since this out front is not very fast moving traffic". "(Appendix III)*
Seg 58	*Environmental Consultant (EC): "yes it could be conceived as a larger ecological project". "(Appendix III)*

Outside-ness, for instance, for the home is also created here through a view and experience of a landmark (Seg 93). This sign of the home as a visible marker of territory is based upon the conception of public dimension of the common spaces of the home. As a landmark the home becomes the sign amongst other urban spatial signs. The aspirational landmark sign distinguishes the home as an exclusive exotic oasis-like shell within the urban chaos of cities like Mumbai. It has the scope to be seen an ecological project (Seg 58).

This ecological nature is numerously reflected not only in the discussions but also in the advertisements of home focusing on the botanical and environmental nature of the space. References like the 'hill' and the 'forest' appear as some of the defining features of the

overall environment of the home. The home-project is also considered as an enhancing of that particular portion of the city on which it is located. The design team speaks of this idea as if it were novel and would demand a redrawing of the bounds of an urban home to create distinctive relationships with the city. This redrawing could be both in terms of the stretching of the bounds of the home (as a house); and of the house as being thought more in terms of its territorial influence (like the landmark) than as a physically distinct and bound entity.

The larger urban dimension of the home is expressed in EC's conception of the home environment as possessing a larger ecological dimension (Seg 58). One can sense how the push or extension of the private environs of the home into the semi-public/semi-private is professed – the bounds of home are stretched to accommodate the ecological. It could also be interpreted as an extension of the home territory into spaces that are technically not within the private domain. This interpretation brings to surface the urban design tendency of home space along with a 'far-away-from-the-city' kind of semiotic. The dissociative-associative vector lends itself to a conscious negotiation in the design between the idea of a gated community and the opposing attempts at conceptualizing a non-gated domestic space.

(a) Residents versus Outsiders

Seg 95b   *D1: "let us think of how to separate the residents and the outsiders"*

D2: "yes the difference between the residents and the people of the city. Note that there are slums in the neighborhood".

D4: "should we leave some of the facilities open to the city?"

D2: "the view (of the towers) would be interesting from the road. It will have real presence since this out front is not very fast moving traffic".

D3: "yes it will act like an important landmark for this area or this part of the city"

D2: "this is how these blocks would look into the city".

CD: "but it's the slums on the other side. It would be good to avoid facing this spread of slums. Would it possible for us to control the views (from the site and buildings), towards the slums? Good views for more flats means more advantages (in terms of the market and design)".
D3: "yes we need to control the orientation based on desirable views" "(Appendix III)

The designers attempt to work out in the discussion the appropriate disposition that the residential complex/apartment should have towards the city. This disposition shows a strong and paradoxical desire to both engage with but at the same time withdraw from the city. These are evident in the manner in which various spatial solutions are discussed to both connect at the same time disconnect from the city.

As it emerges in the discussion, the space constrain in Mumbai (created by a combination of complications) provides an environment which discourages innovation and novelty in home space. As managing director of a well-known developer company remarks: *"The quality of infrastructure and amenities in Mumbai and the MMDRA has not improved. Since community living and integrated townships offer the same, customers prefer this type of a product."* (Singh, 2014). The localizing or locating of spatial behavior is achieved by the design team through the generic behavior of a place. The generic qualities that Mumbai possess as a dwelling place are used to contrast and compare and derive the generic qualities of a residence in Mumbai. The general behavioral characteristic of the city seems to be transposed onto the form of the apartment. This provides vectors of shaping for the residential dwelling place and its dwelling entity. The general discussion seems oriented towards articulating how the spatial culture of the apartment type would be antithetical to the dwelling characteristics exhibited by Mumbai.

The above cluster of discussions point to the focus on housing spaces within the residential by counter-posing the urban external. An 'internal' is built based on spaces of respite from the city outside. The basic conceptual script of the home built on respite from the city is amply demonstrated in developer advertisements of home. The designers reflect on this script of the home as being relatively novel. An attempt at bounding off the home as a self-contained space is visible in this script. The identity of the home as a self-contained space is not new. But the scale of conception is thought of as new in the discussions of the design team.

(b) Recreational lifestyle

Seg 103   *D4: "We can change the way the lobby or entrance is thought of (refer to figure 7). Usually lobbies resemble hotel lobbies. We could do something else altogether. Going*

	with our hill and forest idea, we could have something really dense. Landscaped like in Geoffery Bawa's examples" "(Appendix III)
Seg 86	*D3: "where would Mumbai people go to during the weekends in the city? To malls and multiplexes. That's the only form of recreation possible. There are no public facilities of any kind". "(Appendix III)*
Seg 81	*D4: "since sports and adventure is part of contemporary lifestyle, we include and provide spaces of that sort" "(Appendix III)*
Seg 51a	*D1: "the recreational aspects also work for the parents" "(Appendix III)*

Figure 14 A space which contains activities of leisure and recreation possible within the complex is picturized as occurring between the housing blocks and in the common space

The distance between the home and the city is also generated via 'hills' and 'forests' as evident in (Seg 103). An example of an attempt by the design team to assign a character of desirable distance in relation to the city can be seen in Seg 86. For instance, the recreational script of the home, is captured in Seg 81). The recreational orientation of the home is also reflected in numerous advertisements which strongly suggest a resort-like semantic to the home and its spatial persona (Seg 51a). Recreational spaces are part of the common sphere of the apartment collective. We have already seen how the common sphere is being negotiated between the private and the public spheres. The recreational dimension as a common space of the home also finds indirect reflections when the managerial dimension and professionalized nature of the home is discussed (Seg 82a).

Seg 82a	*D2: "recreational facilities can be based on membership and managed" "(Appendix III)*

Seg 51a	CD: *"show some life – color the space with activities like nana-nani park, children's play areas, outdoor games, volleyball to easily convey the quality of space" "(Appendix III)*
Seg 95c	CD: *"Develop the biodiversity (mangroves)" "(Appendix III)*

The home is visualized as a space which offers rarely found spatial solace in the chaotic swarm of the city. The spatial behavior of common spaces is visualized (in Seg 51a). We observe how an exclusive space (a home only 'I' have the privilege to be part of) is built by the inclusion of as much as possible (play areas, 'outdoor' games, etc). It even includes the surrounding areas by scheming to invest in developing the mangrove environment in the coastal vicinity (Seg 95c). Exclusivity as an attribute is also created by decisions to develop the neighbourhood. The discussions with other architects reveal a similar process of building up of the surrounding site to enhance the overall ecosystem of the neighborhood. It is a strategy that developers tend to resort to, to make the site more desirable for residential development. A contrasting example is that of a medium sized apartment complex, where the developer and designer discuss how the surrounding slums would soon be purchased by another developer for purposes of development. A public park, on the other hand, adjacent to the site would retain the desirability of their residential plot. The global contextual insensitive condition of an apartment is especially stark when the designers in half-mirth discuss the inclusion of a slide in the Power point presentation to the developer, an image of the apartment photoshopped onto the surface of the moon.

The tendency within contemporary housing strategy of focusing on recreational qualities and possibilities is highlighted in the discussion. The range of recreational activities in the housing complex is discussed. This seems like an important focus as brought out by the designers of the apartment block. In cases where the developer is unable to provide for recreational facilities within the housing complex he establishes networks with other agencies providing such facilities in the neighborhood through subscription. The developer attempts to provide the recreational facilities as part of the flat-package for purchase. Advertisements highlight further 'recreation' as an essential activity or way of being within the residential set-up. The attempts to attribute exclusive qualities to the place also attract the notion of distinction as articulated by Bourdieu (Bourdieu, 2010). The sign of distinction attributes a 'special' status to the group of dwellers or owners who identify with that dwelling space.

(c) Lack of public spaces

Seg 96	*D4: "the city is unable to offer enough public spaces where the citizens can hangout" "(Appendix III)*
Seg 99	*CD: it needs to be clear. Individual and collective. Private and not so private.(Appendix III).*
Seg 79	*D2: "This shopping street will differentiate itself from other streets because of the environment that sustains it. Also if they happen to be upmarket shops then they make the residential environment special" "(Appendix III)*
Seg 102	*D3: "I'm not sure if the commercial street will help the private ambience expected of a home" "(Appendix III)*

The designers rationalize their design of the home by claiming to balance out or compensate for the lack created by the surrounding urbanity. This lack is based on the failure of the city to provide sufficient, safe, public spaces (Seg 96). The provision of public space within the bounds of the home requires in some ways a shift in the so called culturally negative tendency towards public spaces in India and Mumbai (as discussed in the preceding sections). A critique of this negative tendency and the necessity for change in this cultural tendency given the emergence of newer kinds of spaces guide the design approach in this project.

The city's incapability to offer sufficient public spaces to the city-dwellers makes the designers contemplate the possibilities of providing public-like spaces within residential bounds (which offer scope due to their increasingly large and aggregative size). The opening out of the private space into what is considered the more public is contained in the quote by CD. He suggests a split-category for private space to account for its orientation towards public space (Seg 99). The public dimension of private space strengthens the already discussed perceptual mismatch between common spaces in apartment complexes and the cultural behavioral of prospective dwellers. The common space as a space excluded from the belongingness which defines private space presents itself as a concern in the design of the collective home. The perception of a split-behavior in the dwelling entity suggests the need to reimagine the private dweller and the nature of dwelling. Private space's encounter with the public space and its negotiation is illustrated in use of the term 'mixed'. The necessity of discussing the proportion of the mix is suggested by (Seg 79).

The behavioral complexion of the space in the interstices between private and public is imagined. It gains narrative presence in the image of the home being visualized (Seg 102). The necessity to protect the placid privacy of the collective from intense urban activity is highlighted in here. Within the design team we see two different philosophic approaches – one which wants to keep the scheme as strictly residential and the other which believes in energizing the residential by allowing a weaving of the commercial and public space. These opposing pulls is best articulated in the advertisement shown in Figure 15. In this ad, it is the home which speaks "I am Palava." And the attributes it claims are "cleanest air in urban India" and 'lakhs of trees"; a personification of the self-contained nature of home. The space begins speaking for itself, conveying the image of a living dwelling entity (as opposed to a plastic or strictly physical object shorn of life). The bounds of the home seem to be negotiated between these vectors of concern.

The lack of public and semi-public[19] space in the city outside and the contrasting presence of semi-public and public nature of spaces in the home, along with the cultural disregard of public space, emerge as a broad concern. D3 is critical of the situation in Mumbai when he rhetorically asks where the people of Mumbai would be able to enjoy holiday spaces in the city. Some of the advertisements answer this rhetorical question metaphorically through projecting holiday-like spaces within the home. The common spaces project luxurious expansiveness (Figure 16). The separation between commercial activity and residential living is a planning idea at loggerheads with the mixed activity distribution which is discussed as one design option. The peaceful, calm and sedate semantic of the homes dominate both the design team's discussion and a multitude of advertisements. This ad which discusses the calm, peaceful and leisurely nature of the home. The common or collective space problematizes the home as a collective

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[19] Semi-public and semi-private spaces have been used synonymously to characterize the common spaces of the apartment complex. The design team speaks of private versus public relatively based on what they at that point in the discussion consider as being inside and outside. The notion of collective private and personal private are based on the in-between-ness presented by semi-private and semi-public spaces.

5.7   A Home close to 'nature'

Seg 7c	*D4: We can change the way the lobby is thought of. Usually lobbies resemble hotel lobbies. We could do something else altogether. Going with our hill and forest idea, we could have something really dense. Landscaped like in GeofferyBawa's examples "(Appendix III)*
Seg 55a	*D3: yes we can introduce a natural element or feature in relation to the overall place and its life definition. Though the site does not naturally have these features, the hill we could intro- duce as a feature. "(Appendix III)*

The discussion ponders over appropriate ways of entering the domestic spatial realm. The entrance lobby for instance is the subject of discussion when alternate ways of entering a domestic space are examined (Seg 7c). The entrance lobbies of residential apartments critique how they increasingly look like hotel lobbies. D4's statement is also a critique of the home space itself. According to him, it should not look like a hotel lobby (Seg 7c) The fact that popularly residential lobbies mimic hotel receptions is reflected in the aspirational lobby representations in the developer's brochures. A substitution of this semantic of the home space with a hill and forest idea is attempted by D3 (Seg 55a). Not just the lobbies, but the home space as a whole refers to the exotic as echoed in the names of apartment complexes and advertisement images (refer to the figure 23). A close examination of the developer's marketing materials including hoardings, logos and brochures reveal how the image of nature is portrayed and presented in a central fashion (Neelakantan & Athavankar, 2010).

The developer's brochure promises a 'spectacular' encounter with nature. This spectacular encounter also holds fort in the botanical approach dominant in architecture driven by sustainability. This focus seems to rethink the relationship between home and nature within urban confines – this is clear in the oxymoronic 'introducing a natural feature' (Seg 55a). He says that a 'natural' feature could be 'introduced' into the place. In this sense, the forest is 'designed' or the result of a designerly imagination ofthe overall environment of home. The hillock which is part of the site is referred to as a 'hill' and is re-introduced as a natural feature to create uniqueness in the dwelling environment.

Figure 15 A place far away amongst trees and leisurely spaces (Palava, 2016)

Figure 16 The 'expansive' nature of living spaces laced with leisure mark this ad for an apartment named 'Pinnacle', worth referring to in the context of exclusivity (Kalpataru, 2014)

Figure 17 Notice the name which refers to what is otherwise considered an exotic holiday location: Bali. (Puraniks, 2014)

5.8 Imagining Insiders

This section contains segments which attempts to profile dwellers of the apartment complex as to what should be the character of the inside and who would the insiders be.

Seg 72	*D2: "should we allow public shopping street right through the private residential area"? "(Appendix III)*
Seg 7b	*D2: the jogging track could be the connection for all the semi-private spaces. it will have a very informal feel.*
	D3: yes it can be woven into the other spaces to enhance the experience of jogging. "(Appendix III)
Seg 72	*D3: "Yes that's what I'm saying, distribute the commercial requirement along the edges of the internal street. A thoroughfare cutting through the complex – that's what I have in mind" "(Appendix III)*
Seg 81	*D3: "these are not the middle-class mumbaikers we are talking about. These would be more the elite urban cosmopolitan crowd who would occupy this project" "(Appendix III)*
Seg 79	*CD: ....Else <u>we could maintain it as a ruin and space which can be visited by the public</u>." "(Appendix III)*
Seg 53b	*CD: Mr. Mehta or Mr. Tendulkar would not be comfortable stepping into a pool.(Appendix III)*

An 'inside' is built through the categories 'residents' and 'outsiders'. For instance, an interaction between the two are imagined here (Seg 72).The home gains definition through this articulation. This articulation seems to occupy a cusp between being exclusively private and testing the possibility of a partial public dimension (Seg 7b). An attempt to capture this cusp is expressed more clearly in 'semi-private' or 'semi-public' nature of spaces. This intermediate space also finds itself expressed indirectly in discussions on the Indian, or the Mumbai-dweller's perception of such spaces and the management of these common spaces (Seg 72)

The necessity to distinguish between a more Mumbai-like dwelling entity and the actual cosmopolitan dwelling entity that might actually occupy the apartment conceived, finds expression (Seg 81). D3 points to a necessity to distinguish between the class of spaces hinging on this difference in the nature of the dwelling entity. This mention is a response to D1's description of the insignificance of design in Mumbai housing. D3's quote (Seg 81), questions this notion because according to him the dwelling entity here would not be the average city dweller, but a special and privileged group, for whom design actually might be

important to assert spatial identity. There is a certain insight in what D3 says, which is worth examining. The image of design presented by D3 is that of being a tool when it comes to the elite urban cosmopolitan dwelling entity in order to distinguish themselves from the others.

The design team also dwells on how the complex is created. Some urban commentators have brought out the paradoxical nature of new housing schemes which actually happen on public land that is made up of self-built settlements or informal housing (Indorewala, 2016). So as much as designers lament the lack of public space, they themselves propose schemes that actually create private consumption products out of public space (Seg 79) The eager awaiting for the release of mill lands towards replenishing the public space in Mumbai has been in the public imagination. The mill lands have been referred to as Mumbai's industrial heritage (Krishnan, 2005). The designers try to tap into this discourse of heritage when they discuss the possibility of maintaining the ruin as a space open to the public.

5.9   Services/Management/Managed space

The insideness is imagined and built through defining what is the inside space and visualizing insiders.

Seg 52	D1: *"these days there could be in a place like Mumbai at least 1/3rd of the residents who are on rent. Considering this reality and orienting our design in this fashion might be helpful".* D2: *"but its more of a management issue, istnt it? There is no need to change the design".* D3: *"yes so we can include some innovative management schemes for this purpose". "(Appendix III)*
Seg 93	D1: *"big builders might appreciate management ideas". "(Appendix III)*

'But it's more of a management issue, isn't it? There is no need to change the design' (Seg 52) – this is a significant utterance at two levels: (a) what are the limits of design? and (b) management as being separate from design. The utterance is made as a response to the concern on the increasingly rental proportion of dwellers. This thought echoes the concern regarding design's role in relation to emerging dimensions (like services and management) in homes (Seg 93).

The attempt this statement makes is to appear appealing to the developer companies which are brands within the context of housing in Mumbai. This is discussed as a new dimension of developer built apartment blocks. The developer charges for managing and running the apartment complex. The maintenance fund is taken from the buyer in advance along with the money paid to purchase the flat (see figure 19). This is discussed as being an increasing trend in the housing industry – the trend of increasing involvement of professionals in the management of householding. The tendency amongst developed and the real estate industry to treat housing as a service is thought of as a new contemporary trend and therefore one that would affect the future form of houses (Seg 46 a, Seg 47).

Seg 46a	*"who would manage the common spaces and how do we provide for this management in the design itself – this seems very important to me in the contemporary upper-middle class housing schemes. The developer for example, controls the designed elevation. In some residential complexes, he has also begun organizing social events where the residents can get together. They also organize the society meeting for the management of the complex. The funds for the maintenance are also managed by them" "(Appendix III)*
Seg 47	*D3: "we can see our residential project or at least convey to the developer that we need to see the project through various perspectives of the stakeholders – like service professionals (cleaning and maintenance) including house-keeping, security, etc" "(Appendix III)*
Seg 47	*"……D1: .We still don't treat housing and especially architecture as a service…." "(Appendix III)*

The service-orientedness – which primarily treats the design of dwellings as a service-rendering is not popular (Seg 47) The team discuss 'user-orientedness' and suggests the exploitation of this 'buzz-word' prevalent in the contemporary world of design. D3 states this can be conveyed to the developer as a claim by the design team: that general service-orientation and its design should and is being thought as part of physical design. Here we would like to remark how an interactive component (of service) is being considered as the route to take to echo the changes occurring within the housing and real-estate industry. See projected by some of the developer's advertisements (see figure 20)**.**

The identity of the home space as part of a brand is not new. It has been in currency ever since serial developers had built a notion of quality before the user-oriented or branding discourse became popular in design. The identity of the home as the service of a brand is most strongly illustrated in increasing advertisements. For an illustration, see the advertisement by the developers Rustomjee above (see figure 21, page 96). The mall as an

example of the common dimension entering the private act of telling bedtime stories is articulated in the advertisement.

Seg 47	*D1: "also we need to rethink architecture today in terms of service-rendering. Most of the manufacturing industry today is not free of service and customer care. We still don't treat housing and especially architecture as a service. This would mean dealing with house design in terms of service. The resident or the user of the building would be at the center of the design and we could thus work out schemes based on this. In that case, how to serve the user would become central rather than just what the architect thinks is beautiful". "(Appendix III)*
Seg 47	*CD: "yes user-design is anyway the buzzword today. We could tap into that" to discuss" "(Appendix III)*
Seg 47	*D3: "we can see our residential project or at least convey to the developer that we need to see the project through various perspectives of the stakeholders – like service professionals (cleaning and maintenance) including house-keeping, security, etc" "(Appendix III)*
Seg 101	*..........* *D4: "to me rental spaces are the future".* *..........(Appendix III)*

As part of the above mentioned management of spaces is the focus on the design of the control systems within a built-form and the social behavior of that form. The contemporary importance of services is suggested by the meta-narrative of a service-based approach discussed by the design team (not the conventional architectural notion of 'service' which architectural engineering deals with). This narrative scripts the home as a served space supported by networks and human agents (Seg 47, D1). The notion of the 'user' popular more in interface and interaction design practice, is evoked (Seg 47, CD). House holding as part of design – the expression of this need is based on what is perceived to be emerging trends and roles of the developer in housing schemes (Seg 47, D3). This approach towards householding supports the expressed concern for an increasingly service-oriented and professionalized home space. The developer's emerging roles would also suggest that new domains are open within homes which are subject to being sold. These emerging roles also suggest a more service-oriented and managerial future dimension which could feature as part of the flat. One of the speculations of a future electronically controlled flat pointed to the possibility of an all-prevalent interface already being seen as 'smart homes' (see figure 22).

The conversation on the increasingly rented nature of homes is brought in to discuss another issue: the treatment of spaces within the home, shared to accommodate a changing cultural trend of mobility of residents (Seg 101, D4). This mobile aspect of the dwelling entity also brings forth the concern of how to house quests (who are, like the mobile dwelling entity, temporary dwellers within the home space). This tendency supports the earlier discussed notion of a changing spatiality and professionalizing space. The purely rented nature of the future home seem conjunct with an already increasing presence of rental residence; the hotel/resort being a form of rented residence. This begs a speculation: is that the reason the semantics of the home and that of the hotel seem to exhibit similarity, with waiting lobbies, management and leisure? (see figure 22).

Figure 18 Notice their description in the ad – "a Smart Home is a better home". (Puraniks, 2014)

It is in this sense that home, as an urban spatial entity, provides 'facilities' to the city. The home is thus thought of as a space at the urban scale; the home becoming the town with the increase in scale. The dwellers are thought of as a large group; as aggregates. The developer's role in managing the space suggests the presence of a common property that could be managed.

Figure 19 The tagline 'Hassle free living' summarizes the nature of space that are being marketed. All the organizational aspects including householding are taken care of. This ad captures the shift of the home from being sold as a physical entity to service (Mayfair, 2014)

Figure 20 The home is part of the brand called Rajesh Lifespaces. More than an ad for a particular scheme, this is an ad which also projects the brand itself (Rajeshlifespaces, 2014)
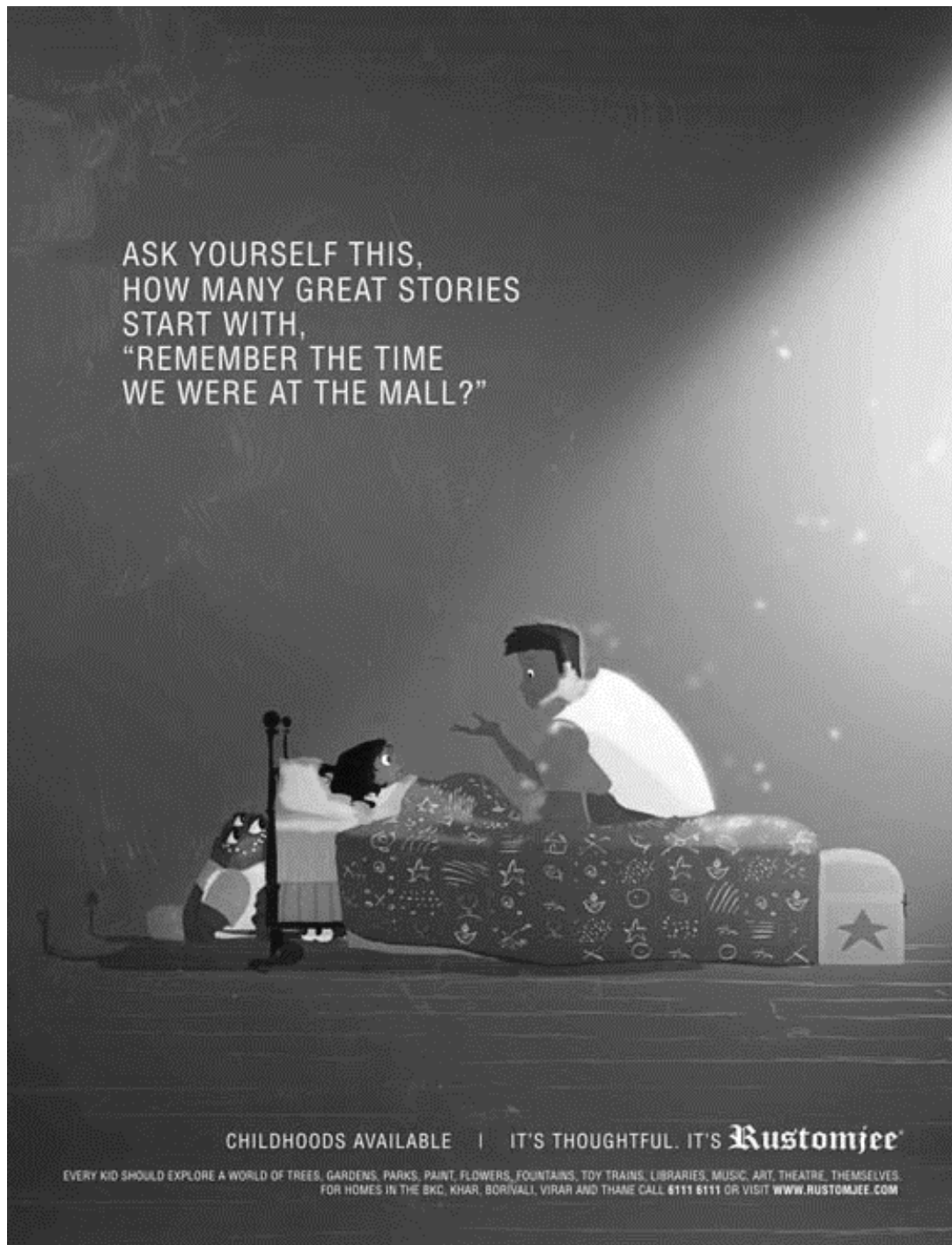
Figure 21 Developers Rustomjee attempt a project of an image and script of the home and the new spaces that enter the age-act of telling bed-time stories (Macleod, 2012)
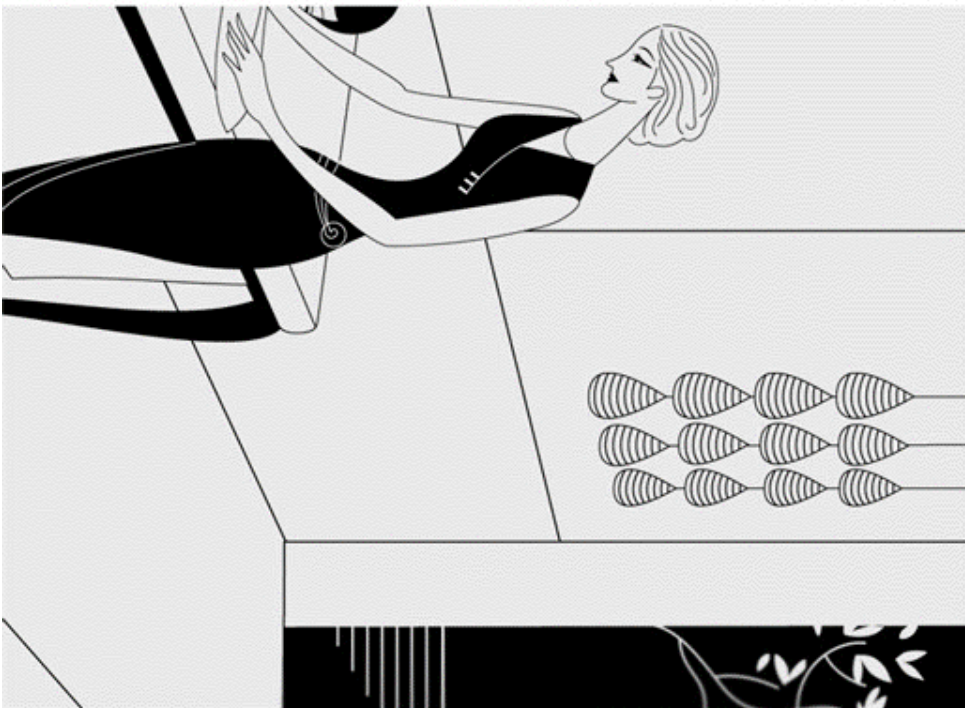
Figure 22 Lodha Developers advertisement. A community of users is being personified and projected through these artisitic visualizations (Locopopo, 2016)

Figure 23 The hyper-real nature of the space conveyed. Notice how the advertisement begins by highlighting the club and how the fact of purchasing homes subordinately follows. The actor also marks the marketable nature of this hyper-real space (Karandeekar R. , 2016)
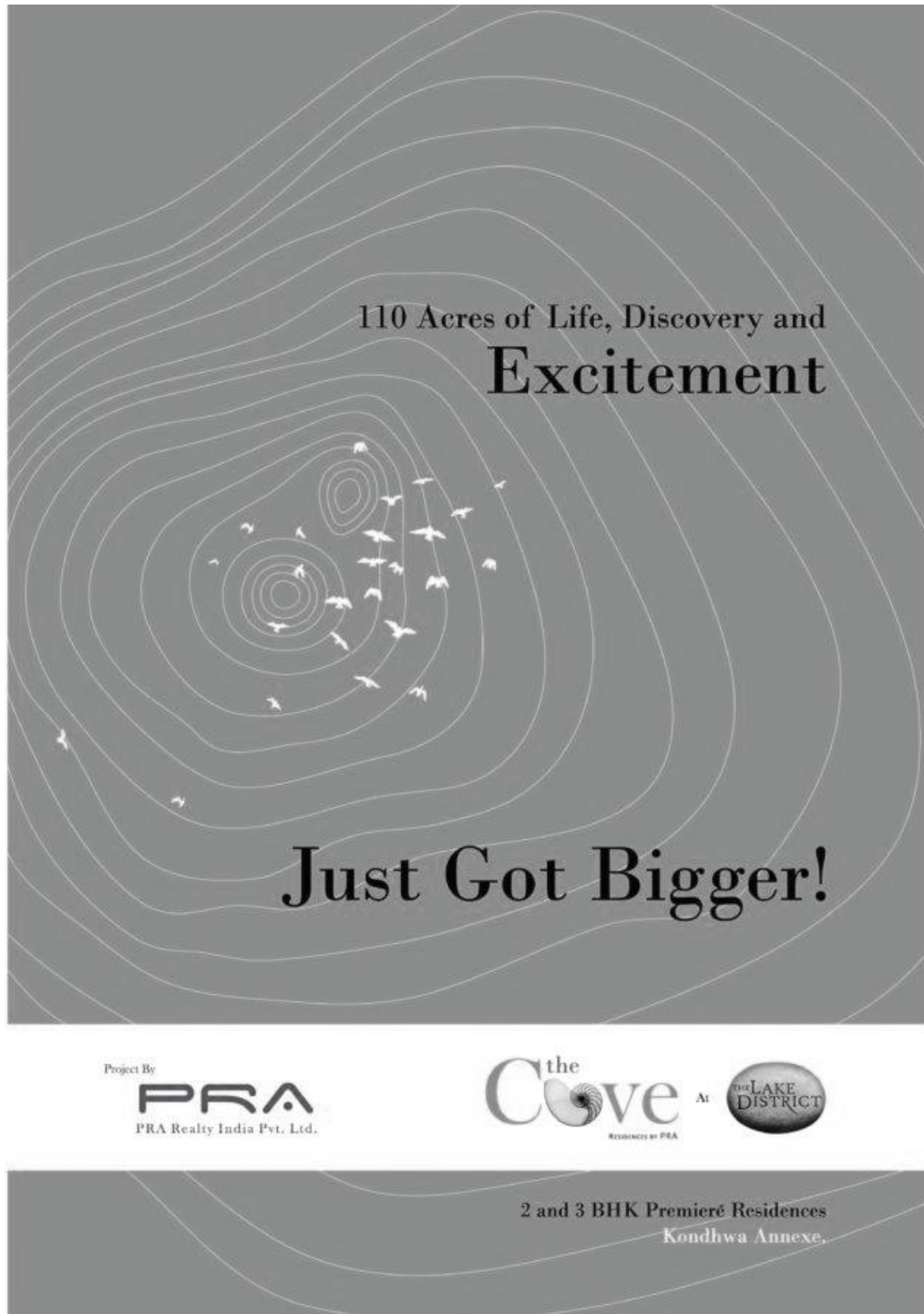
Figure 24 The ring of self-containedness that defines the complexion of the home
(Karandeekar, 2011)
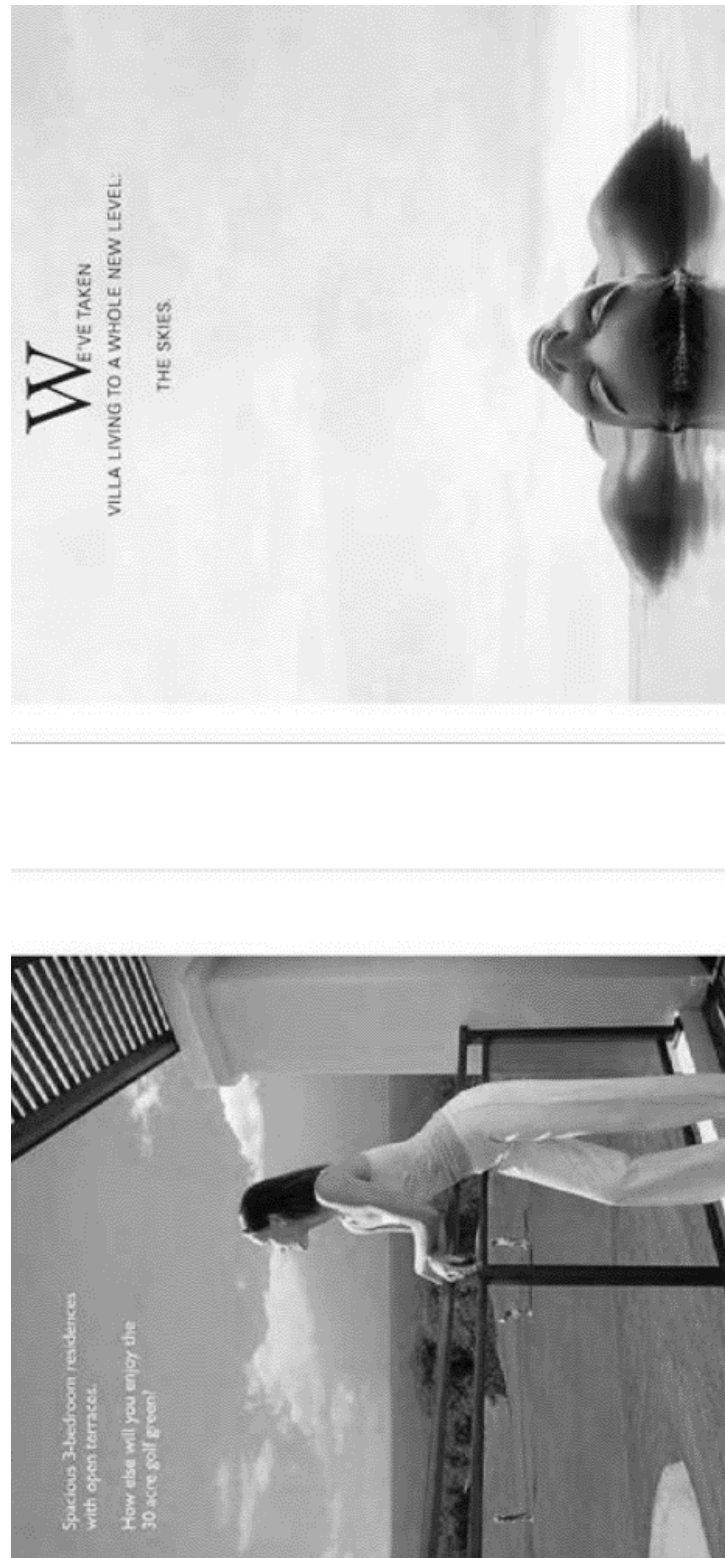
Figure 25 Lodha Bellissimo, a housing scheme developed by Lodha group, images the home through visuals of leisure, relaxation and recreation (Lodha, 2016)

5.10   Imagining Insideness[20]

The design process assigns vectors of behavior to the home space. From the perspective of the multitude of flats contained within the space being conceptualized, this assignment shapes common character and orientation of the multitude of homes nested within the complex. In conceiving an exclusive, private community encapsulated in a kind of self-contained utopia, the designers seem to recreate a space away from the city, through household management, leisure and natural-like settings while continuing to sustain in the suburban heart of the city (see figure 23, page 90). The cluster of discussions contain definitions, though partial, of such space.

The regional spatial characteristic is evoked in relation to the dwelling entity imagined, for instance, that Indians would not prefer a ground floor flat or that in India public space is not perceived in terms of ownership. Strung together with the systemic disregard for public space, the redundancy of apartment typology, the discomfort between public space and private space with reference to a transitionary space like a balcony (as opposed to the "west"), the regional identity suggests a characterizing of the dwelling entity as not behaviorally pre-disposed towards perception of common or public space as part of home.

On the other hand, discussions of hopeful size and floating dwellers, inclusion of public facilities, suggest the possibility of increasing tendency within the developer-built enclave, of including common, public-like or semi-private spaces within the home. The non-aligned vectors of common space as non-home-like and common space as home-like characterize the dwelling entity visualized. Attempts at alignment of the boundary of the home between the public and the private are made by the design team when reflecting to resolve this non-alignment. This redefinition is manifest in these ways: composing scripts which resolve the two vectors, imagining dwellers commiserate with the redefinition, the

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[20] By Insideness we mean the insides of the apartment complex. As home an inside and an outside are created at the scale of the apartment complex.

opening up of newer areas for design intervention, and the conception of the prospective

dwellers as a community via the conception of a semi –public/semi-private zone of a home.

The focus of the designers on the commonness in a collectivity of dwellers is what creates

the imagination of a community of users (dwellers); traits and features that belong as a whole

to the collective. Creating and imagining stereotypical behavior is well illustrated in the

example of Mr. Tendulkar (seg 53b, CD). Stereotypes of women who dislike being the pool

in the common spaces are evoked (seg 53b, D4). See figure 32, to view how the developer

advertisements visualize the typicality of the dweller.

Seg 53b	CD: *Mr. Mehta or Mr. Tendulkar would not be comfortable stepping into a pool.(Appendix III)* D4: *yes most women would not be comfortable in swimming costumes out in the open. They would also be stared at.*
Seg 101	D2: *"we can try telling a story of the apartment block in 2050 and then work backwards".* D3: *"I think electronically controlled apartments are the future.* D4: *"to me rental spaces are the future".* D1: *"I think smaller foldable spaces are the future" "(Appendix III)*

The design team tries to intuit and project a narrative of the future nature of home

behavior. What does it tell us about the nature of the home? It suggests at least three

possibilities: (a) electronically controlled apartments, (b) rental apartments, (c) smaller

foldable spaces. The first one suggests electronic control of home – this reminds us of the

designers concern regarding the necessity of managerial control of the spaces. It demands

this question: Is the future of managerial control, electronic? Will it not be subject to

algorithmic programming like various electronic circuits? This reflection suggests a concern

regarding the future shape of the household. Amidst concerns for service-orientedness and

countering urban undesirables, the home emerges as a strong sign of leisure, escape and

professional service.

This sign is only further strengthened when seen in conjunction with the developer's

claims of 'hassle free living' and relaxed 'lifesytles.'The discussions contain the idea of a

space associated with management, control and organization, calm, relaxing, and luxuriously

set, an important landmark and also a self-contained envelope. Distinction and

distinctiveness are attributed to home space via the process of branding appealing to an

imagined socio-spatial segment of dwellers. The marketable quality of the living space captured in the brand is very visibly, an elevated and aspirational projection of home. The awareness of this aspiration as a projection distinct from the dirtier and messier reality of actual living are present as a pair of recurring notions in the design discussions.

The analysis of the above case visualizes the status of home in its being conceived as apartment blocks; a collection of flats seen more from the exterior than from the interior. It discusses insideness as it is imagined at the scale of the apartment complex. The other insideness is that of the interior of the flat. How is the flat conceived when is it seen as an interior? What image of home is constructed in the design negotiations that occur in its conception? The next chapter pursues this question through a case of interior design.

Chapter 6

Context II: Re-configuring the Apartment Interior

With a size of space not exceeding more than two thousand square feet on an average, the flat is a tiny space compared to the aggregation of flats in residential towers. The flat is the home as a product owned exclusively by a single or tiny group of individuals. This ownership offers the group the scope to re-think design within the already established parameters of an apartment-frame. This chapter focuses on examining Context II in close detail.

In the specific case being studied, clusters of discussion and interaction between the designer and the client-dweller form the primary material which provides insight into the design process. This communication occurring between the designer and the dweller-to-be contains both designer's explications and the dweller's attempts to gauge and convey.

For analysis, the relevant portions of the discussion were marked and tagged. Close examination of these segments point to larger broad themes of conceptualizing space. There are two forms in which the conversation data has been presented in the analysis: unthemed and themed. The unthemed conversation string is presented as bi-columnar with the segment number tag on the left-side column and the description of the actual conversation in the right (Figure 26).

Conversation Segment number	Conversation Description
Seg 64	*The designer walks the dweller through the living room and gesticulates the layout of the space while the dweller nods and absorbs through visualizing how it would be like*

Figure 26 An example of an Unthemed table: Table showing unthemed conversation, from the pool of all conversations.

The themed conversation string on the other hand consists of conversation-segments in the column to the left of the table (eg: Seg 7a). The actual conversation is described in the central column (eg: "the designer guides the dweller in being able to read and understand plans….."). The themes based on which the conversation segments are organized, appear on the right-hand side column of the table (Figure 27).

Conversation Segment number	Conversation Description	The theme to which the conversation belongs
seg 7a	*The designer guides the dweller in being able to read and understand plans and relate the plans and the actual site.* *The designer orients the dweller in the actual space, based on the plan*	*Theme: drawing-actual relation, (Appendix V)*

Figure 27 An example of a Themed table: Table showing a themed conversation. The theme gets mentioned on the right-hand side column of the table

There are three broad themes which emerge from the smaller themes: Communicating Spatialization (in section 6.1), Communicating Design (in section 6.2), and Re-shaping Perceptions (in section 6.4).

6.1   Communicating Spatialization

This theme contains conversation segments tagged under sub-themes like 'understanding drawings', 'drawing-actual relation', 'images as reference', 'embodied visualization', 'the act of visualization'. Appendix V 'Communicating Spatialization, lists all the conversation segments that were tagged with themes. We shall discuss the sub-themes and how they get articulated in the conversations.

The theme, *Drawing-actual relation*, contains discussions which help the dweller visualize translations between drawings and actual spaces. For instance, being able to relate the schematic drawings and the actual site and understanding the site through perspective views (Seg 7a, 7b).

seg 7a	*The designer guides the dweller in being able to read and understand plans and relate the plans and the actual site. The designer orients the dweller in the actual space, based on the plan*	*Theme: drawing-actual relation, (Appendix V)*
seg 7b	*the designer explains that preliminary views of the kitchen He explains how these views would not contain all details of how the place would look when its complete. Those details will only become clear at a later stage of the design process.*	*Theme: drawing-actual relation (Appendix V)*

One instance, within the theme of *drawings-actual relation*, is of the designer explaining preliminary drawings/views of the kitchen. A particular interjection within this theme with a caveat he applies – of how these views (drawings) only partially describe a place. A drawing cannot contain all details of the place's appearance. This basic principle is communicated. The nature of this communication is to orient the dweller. It is to convey a designerly comprehension of space to the dweller- how the proposed future space would be like.

seg 7a	*The designer guides the dweller in being able to read and understand plans and relate the plans and the actual site. The designer orients the dweller in the actual space, basedon the plan*	*Theme÷understanding drawings (Appendix V)*
seg 21	*the designer presents views of the living room. Here the dweller is not sure about the colors that need to be employed. The designer explains that the colors used in the views are just indicative.*	*Theme÷understanding drawings (Appendix V)*

Usually, drawings involve rendered views. Such views are frequently and generously employed by practicing designers in Mumbai, as much as elsewhere. As against this practice the designer being studied here had limited number of drawn views of the place (Seg 21). This could have been attributed to the fact that this designer is the sole member of his design studio. Not wanting to invest in elaborately rendered drawings – could have been an explanation. Drawings are labor intensive and a one-person office (which a number of small practices, especially those doing the interior are), would have found it difficult to produce the requisite number of drawings to clarify the lay of the space for the dweller.

seg 10	*The designer shares with the dweller photographs of existing built spaces on the internet and other media like magazines are used as references to support and criticize spaces*	*Theme: Images as reference (Appendix V)*
seg 38	*when selecting colors for the bedroom, the designer uses magazines and online images to show how a space would feel with different combinations of colors*	*Theme: Images as reference (Appendix V)*

The theme *Understanding drawings*, for instance, categorizes parts of the discussion containing the designer's efforts to explain and convey a grasp of the space through drawings and other visual artefacts from the electronic media (Seg 10). In some instances the questions clarified by the designer are as fundamental as scaling up to the actual full scale and scaling down to the size of the drawing of that space. Drawings are accompanied by references of photographic images of space. *Images as reference* refer to discussions about the actual visual images found across various forms of media, both print and digital (Seg 38).

The cognition of space within the bounds of the flat is achieved through conversations which make use of drawings and photographs to convey the 'make' of home. These images are used by the designer to support design propositions but also to criticize at times, other works of architecture/interior as examples. These images are used to project and discuss the shape of the home. The designer also uses images to articulate and persuade the dweller to appreciate the potential of the proposed design. When selecting colors for the bedroom, the designer refers to magazines and online images to show how a space would

feel, for example, with a certain combination of colors and textures (for an example of these images, see figure 25, page no 103).

Seg 63	*Ok, so if I walk from here, this will not be* *visible right? (the dweller walks through the* *passage checking visibility from the passage* *into the rooms, for a proposed design idea)*	*Theme: embodied visualization* *(Appendix V)*
Seg 64	*The designer walks the dweller through the* *living room and gesticulates the layout of the* *space while the dweller nods and absorbs* *through visualizing how it would be like*	*Theme: embodied visualization* *(Appendix V)*

Mental images of the space, also seem to be at work, created and imagined by both the designer and the dweller, especially when they bodily traverse the actual site where the proposed design is to be erected (Seg 63c).

Figure 28: A sample image from the reference images shared in the course of the discussion between the designer and the client-dweller

Embodied visualization is an imaginative enacting of spatial behavior scripted within schemes and drawings, for evaluation and experience. For instance, the dweller walks

through the corridor with gestures imagining the space through walking and moving in that imaginary physical space that is yet to be built:

seg 10b	*the spaces in the kitchen shown in the drawings, are actually played out on the site. The designer and the dweller walk through and try feel the space. This happens in multiple situations in the design process*	*Theme: embodied visualization (Appendix V)*
seg 38b	*the dweller walks through the corridor with gestures imagining the space of the walk*	*Theme: embodied visualization (Appendix V)*
seg 38c	*the dweller and the designer both sit on the newly lowered window sill-ledge to know how the space feels and then they discuss possible future design decisions like curtains in the that space.*	*Theme: embodied visualization (Appendix V)*

This 'walking-through' communication involves bodily movements and gestures which mimic occupation of that space; a kind of 'mock' occupation. This process seems to play the role of recalibrating the dweller's perception of the house (Seg 10c, 21):

seg 10c	*the dweller appreciates and is impressed by the designer's skill in visualizing. The designer helps the dweller visualize the future space. These documents are used to clarify issues.*	*Theme: the act of visualization (Appendix V)*
seg 21	*when the designer says the a full-mirrored wall in the dining space would look good, the dweller is not able to visualize it. The designer guides him verbally and through gestures regarding this space.*	*Theme: the act of visualization (Appendix V)*

We know that this relationship between bodily orientations and cognition of space exist, through studies in the area of visualization (Athavankar et al, 2008). A space for imagining and visualizing within suggested spatial frameworks is created for the dweller through the interaction. Frequent and substantial efforts are taken by the designer to help translate space in forms communicable to the client. In one such walkthrough, the dweller appreciates and even expresses admiration at the designer's skill in visualizing:

seg 10c	*the dweller appreciates and is impressed by the designer's skill in visualizing. The designer helps*	*Theme: the act of visualization (Appendix V)*

> *the dweller visualize the future space. These documents are used to clarify issues.*

The designer thus helps the dweller visualize the future image of the house form designed. This visualizing is supported with documents like architectural drawings, which include explanatory scribble-sketches made when interacting with the dweller. In general, designers know, through training and practice, that the understanding of a conceived space in architecture is deeply interconnected with its experience through the visual sense. Sketching, drawings and photographs are employed to capture spatial concepts and forms to convey and explicate to the stakeholders during design interaction. The case study brings the focus on the designer verbally guiding the dwellers through this abstract and future space stitched together using various images and discussions. The tendency, in the design conversation, from the perspective of the role of design, seems to be in the communication of how to think spatially. The designer seems to orient and persuade the dweller towards perceiving and appreciating space.

This role of communicating design, felt generally in all architectural-client interactions, but only scantily illustrated as an important practical and practice-based effort, is visible in the thematic. Developers of buildings have been trying to address this necessary role of communication, in their own way, through simulative marketing materials. For instance, the online real estate company, MagicBricks, has opened various 'experience centres' where the experiencer can gain a more immersive experience of browsing property on the market (Magicbricks, 2017). Interaction with simulations of the future dwelling-space in virtual environments is a potential technological solution still at early stages of development and proliferation. An inclination towards using the virtual environment for experiencing the proposed built-form can already be discerned in the marketing strategies of the developers. In the current scenario of developer-built housing practice, the renderings of the perspective views are stressed and highlighted to support non-expert gauging and experience of spaces.

If we ask: "How does the designer communicate with the dweller?" then the answer that bounces back is that of a guide and orienter, providing suggestions which lends a 'pedagogic' complexion to the relationship between designer and dweller. Since this occurs

across conversations and interactions, it is incremental but impressive in terms of the shifts and changes it induces in the dwelling process. It offers scope to think about ways of easing the process of cognition of home-environment. The personalization of a space or the making of the home through design brings out the role of communication in shaping home, where a real interaction between a designer and a user constructs an image of home. Both metaphorically and actually the home is 'communicated' and conveyed through design.

6.2   Communicating Design

This theme contains conversation segments tagged under sub-themes like 'how to use the space', 'communication between spaces', 'partial relationships', 'ambience', 'resisting convention'. 'partial relationship', 'design and ornamentation', 'appearance', and 'resisting convention. Appendix VI Communicating Design, lists all the conversation segments that were tagged with themes. We shall discuss the sub-themes and how they get articulated in the conversations.

Seg 12d	*The designer explains how the design will look 'clean' if there are very few things for display, and the rest are stowed away in storage spaces. the practice of storing things out of sight so space comes into focus*	*Theme: how-to-use-the-space (Appendix VI)*

The designer consistently tries to convey to the dweller concepts and principles of design as and when points of conflict arise, be they about ornamentation or about form (manufactured or tailored) (Seg 12d). The designer conveys an aesthetic perception of the house as a space when it is cleared out of the multiplicity of things that tend to occupy spaces. The relationship between the designer and the dweller seems to have a negotiative coloring as both try and comprehend the nature of the emergent design process defining the future house.

seg 12h	*The dweller is concerned about whether the kitchen and its activities should be seen from the living room?*	*Theme: communication between spaces (Appendix VI)*

seg 4a	*The designer explains how some design decisions suggested by the dweller would disrupt the panel idea which defines the whole design*	*Theme: partial relationships(Appendix VI)*

Some examples of the negotiative and comprehension oriented discussion are seen in Seg 12h and Seg 4a. Experimental disposition towards space: "False ceilings can be thought in terms of panels. Photographs are used to show off the wall panel and the ceiling panel could be connected and how it would look when connected" (Page 102, Seg 4).

seg 6a	*The designer explains how light could be hidden behind panels (though usually the ones that are seen in other's houses, the lights are outside – like chandeliers*	*Theme: ambience, resisting convention, partial relationships (Appendix VI)*
seg 12e	*The designer says how it need not look like the standard mirrors used in houses. The frame of the mirror will not only not be ornate, but it will be absent and made to look like the mirror is stuck onto the panel*	*Theme: design and ornamentation, appearance, resisting convention(Appendix VI)*

Composing ambience, as in Seg 6a, where the designer tries to drive home the point about the panels as central elements the design The explication of the difference between design and ornamentation can be discerned in Seg 12 e. In all these above sense, the designer seems to playing a negotiative role. He acts like a guide to help the dweller interact with the industry or market and also to think from within a framework so as to work with the possibility of infinite choice. This multiplicity or rather excess of choice faced by the contemporary consumer society has been illustrated by Baudrillard in his speculations of the consumer and market sign systems (Baudrillard, 2006)**.** The tailored nature of design as opposed to the manufactured aspect of products is explicated by the designer to the dweller, in the context of the difference in philosophy between the two (as in Seg 59).

Seg 59	*According to the designer, the modular kitchen is just a fad. Tailor-made kitchens are better. Here he had questions as to why the made-in-situ was better than the readymade. Industrially manufactured modularity of spaces considered superior to in-situ construction, as a popular notion. That this is not necessary is contested and explicated by the designer. (Appendix IX)*

Decorations, for instance, are considered unnecessary – this the dweller seems to accept in the initial stage, which allows the designer to carry forward in the project, the idea that overall look and 'feel' of the house should be devoid of the ornamental desire. The fact that the dweller is not fully clear with this approach comes through as, at various stages, the designer has to remind the dweller of this approach towards the non-ornamental. This demands of the dweller, a drastic and an abstract intellectual shift from the 'decorative' relationship to a 'understated' relationship in his domestic space".

This perception of appearance and structure, actually gets highlighted when it comes to reading the architectural documents (the representative, notational, virtual, exploratory and/or tool-like quality of drawings in relation to the actual space). The safety door need not look strong, but can be. The play of how a door looks and what it does was new to the dweller as tried to understand look and function as two entities that could be seen separately and not intertwined. The appearance of strength and its actual strength. For instance, the dweller gets acquainted with how wood appears and behaves as a material (Seg 12g):

Seg 12g	*The designer explains how strength need not be visible on the surface*	*Theme: appearance, design and ornamentation (Appendix VI)*

He gains insight into this through the drawings, image documents and references introduced by the designer. That a 'soft light' for instance, can calm the mind – is introduced by the designer. At its introduction, the dweller does seem to accept and resonate with the idea. Further downstream, in the design process, the dweller starts employing the term 'soft lighting' noticeably through the discussion when the discussion of light comes up in the course of the project" (Seg 25):

Seg 25	*The designer says that a soft light can calm the mind the dweller also starts employing the term 'soft lighting' – which he has picked up from the designer - through the discussion when the discussion of light comes up in the course of the project (Appendix IX)*
Seg 4	*The designer conveys to the dweller how false ceilings can be thought in terms of panels. The dweller frequently contradicts this statement when he suggests elements of the house and the designer explains it to.him. The dweller has not fully internalized the designer's formal concept of*

> *seeing the false ceiling and wall panel as continuous planes (Appendix IX)*

Cohesiveness and partial relationship between spaces are some principles of form visibly employed and explicated by the designer in reasoning out design decisions. One of them being – false ceilings as made up of panels. Photographs are used to demonstrate the overall empaneled quality of the space. Like, in Seg 4, the dweller tries to grasp some of these ways of seeing space. He also tends to use these ways of seeing to participate in design decisions. The conventional is also questioned when the designer introduces flexibilities and alternative possibilities of equating, shifting, attributing meanings to domestic space. For instance, the ability to see the partition wall as a shelf and the shelf as a partition involves an interplay of functions and meanings (Seg 56a).

Seg 56a	*the designer tells the dweller that the shelf can also become a partition. He sketches it on the wall for the dweller*	*Theme: resisting convention, shifting meanings of things(Appendix VI)*

These are attempts by the designer to stretch and tease bounds of convention to incorporate what is novel. The documents the designer shares with the dweller include images of what is considered avant-garde or experimental within the disciplinary practice of design and also sometimes within popular practice – shown here are images from Steven Holl's architecture. The designer conveys to the dweller, in reassuring fashion that he hopes and wishes to do something unique in terms of the design of his house. In this exposure of the dweller to experimental spaces, the notion of the 'experimental', counters the patterns of region-specific design practice.

The discussion exposes the dweller to and demands his engagement with these subtleties of space, ambience and appearance. For example, appreciation of the control of a quality of a space through the amount of light. The dweller learns that a focused light on the dining table makes the table and its contents look nice (Seg 55):

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Seg 55	*The designer conveys that a focused light on the dining table makes the table and its contents look nice.* *The house that was featured on one of the tv channels was mentioned as a good example by the dweller.* *the dweller shared that he does browse through the 'property times translator' translating the main newspaper to look out for ideas of arranging and organizing the house interior multiple websites and google images were exchanged and shared between the designer and the client-dweller* *the designer also shared some books for the reference of the dweller and criticized the designs presented in popular magazines and newspapers.* *The dweller goes along with this idea suggested by the designer and says he had only seen this in interiors that appear on television.media influences(Appendix IX)*

The dweller begins to understand and employ at least in small parts this awareness of the poetics of domestic space. A design perspective of space demands this sensitivity from the dweller. Another example: the fact that wood would be expensive and therefore the beauty and luxury associated with it could be evoked using veneer (theme: budget-translates into meaning). This is clearly a learning for the dweller as he mentions being introduced to the idea of veneer thorough the designer. He confesses having always considered sun mica and veneer as not very different from each other (Seg 12a):

Seg 12a	*The designer advices on how veneers can be used (to substitute wood). They will look exactly like wood. They are actually thin sheets of wood*	*Theme: appearance, design and ornamentation, (Appendix VI)*
Seg 22	*According to the designer, Vaastu is partially scientific and partially Superstition*	*Theme: scripting/rescripting practices(Appendix VI)*

To re-cite the above mentioned example: The designer explains to the dweller that an open plan is favorable to adopt as a planning approach for the house because of its capacity to free spaces from the restriction of bounded rooms (theme: supporting/against conventions). An open plan is favored because of its capacity to free spaces from being roomed-in and allow fluidity. The advocacy for this in domestic space succeeds the same

trend within office or work-spaces. The designer seems to advocate openness as a favorable and contemporaneous disposition towards space.

Instances in the discussions indicate how the dweller adopts some of the terms, meanings and ways of looking at space from the designer in the course of the process. Within the limits of his capacity to think and engage like a designer, the dweller tries to understand and evaluate the design of the home.

6.3   Is the process then a problem of communication or conveying design?

For instance, the differences between what is pre-fitted and what is customizable occurs between the designer and the dweller. The designer explains to the dweller the advantages of re-configuring and customization. These differences and advantages are part of a thematic that has found much discussion in design discourse (Tseng and Hu, 2014). The essential difference between architecture and product manufacturing have also found discussion especially when manufacturing logics have begun to be employed widely in architecture (Burdek, 2015).

In the case studied, machine-made perfection in ready-made objects is considered a positive quality by the dweller. The dweller extends his understanding of quality perceived in finished ready-made products to the tailored design and communicates to the designer his expectations of the end-results.

The designer helps the dweller navigate choice through the population of commodities offered by the interior design industry and market. The notion of or feeling of infinite choice offered by the commodities market has been elaborated by Baudrillard (Baudrillard, 1996). This almost infinite choice (especially hundreds of shades of color, for example, generated by the paints market), presents a navigational problem for the dweller. The designer helps the dweller resolve this problem.

Figure 29: An image of the living room from the few days after the dweller had moved in

This navigation of choice also involves taking positions against conventions and popular practices in the building trade. For instance, the separating of 'ornament' from 'form' or the ability to see ornament as an idea that is superfluous to 'essential' form, is conveyed to the dweller by the designer (themes: appearance, design and ornament). Here positions are taken by the designer against conventional practices. The designer offers alternative perspectives and persuades the dweller to perceive the home differently. The flexibility or plasticity of space, is especially at work when the designer proposes combining two practices in one space; that of the guest bedroom and the study. If the study and guest room are the same, it can still be made to serve both – this is conveyed to the dweller. There are affordances offered through fluid relationships between the otherwise conventionally bounded spaces.

The advocacy for a more fluid and open relationship between spaces within the home is provided by a senior designer from Mumbai. According to him the open-plan format which first entered workspaces is now popular in domestic spaces (Seg 01):

Seg 01	*Senior Designer chatting about contemporaneity in Mumbai. According to him, the interior design scene in Mumbai is changing. Clients seem more open to the 'open-plan' format. The open plan format which first entered workspaces is now popular in domestic spaces. According to him, open plans and fluid organizations are stamps of contemporariness in design. They are apparent in most interior layouts that are considered 'contemporary' in the industry and market. This attitude is also found amongst clients, as it filters into their imagination through popular media. Also, global trends enter domestic spaces easily in a global world. (Appendix X)*

According to him, open plans and fluid organizations are stamps of contemporariness in design. They are apparent in most interior layouts that are considered 'contemporary' in the industry and market. This attitude is also founds amongst clients, according to him, as it filters into their imagination through popular media.

In this study of the process of design, the designer conveys concepts of the above sort and principles of design to the dweller. This introduces designerly ways of approaching space. The dweller is encouraged to attempt designerly ways of perceiving the flat. How the dweller would respond to the encouragement would differ according to circumstance and situation.

A design-based approach to popular practice is essentially critical in nature because it attempts a change in the status-quo of the object (Weis & Fine, 2012). This criticality is seen in the, at times, experimental and reflective approach to spatial form. **Seen from this perspective, the design process appears like a process which engages directly with what the dweller understands as domestic space.** The dweller is exposed to approaches and tactics which are designerly in nature. The dweller is being influenced by the frameworks of perceiving space employed by the designer to interpret the context[21]. Discussions with other

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[21] Architectural criticism, in both practice and academic discourse, have stemmed based on the basic correspondence or resonance between a concept and its unfolding or establishment in space. Cultural and popular practices of space have therefore also been understood through modern or contemporary theoretical perspectives (themes: experimental disposition, resisting convention). This tendency to look at a popular practice critically, is something that is valued within the academic and practical discourse of architecture. This criticality is frequently visible in the design process under study here.

practitioners in the field reveal what the ideal situation would be if only the dwellers were to completely grasp the vision of the designer. Practitioners mention the use of deception to mask their actual vision of space by only discussing and revealing minimal details of form to the client. This allowed them to control or restrict response from the dweller-client. They attributed this to their precedent experiences with dwellers and realization that transparency with regards to design strategy might back-fire. If the designer's role is perceived through this interaction, that role appears more than that of a service-based professional.

In informal conversations with designers from the informant group, some were of the opinion that they should be upfront about their own biases (by sharing their prior work) and would only take up projects if the client-dwellers were positively disposed. In this context, one designer, particularly mentioned arranging visits of prospective clients to the well-turned out home-places that he had designed. He hoped past clients of his would provide a positive feedback of his work to the prospective dwellers. In such case, the orientation of the dweller begins to be shaped even before he/she transitions from a prospective client to a client-dweller

To summarize, the case presents a snapshot of how core ideas in the design of space interact with the popular and everyday world of domestic spaces, in the designer's translation for the dweller. In the process of design, domestic practices and their spatial layouts gather scope to be reshaped. In this re-imagination both the dweller and the designer also revisit their attitudes towards space (especially the ability and difficulty of perceiving something new).

This mutual engagement makes crucial the user's grasp of designerly ways of seeing a thing or an environment. The project seems to hinge on the absorption by the dweller of how to see his/her own home through design. This absorption occurring in and through the process of interaction with the designer makes relevant the actual 'interaction' between the designer and the dweller. This interaction tends to introduce new or reshaped perspectives of viewing the home.

6.4 Re-shaping Perceptions

This theme contains conversation segments tagged under sub-themes like 'new practices due to hybridity'. 'rescripting practices', 'global practices through images', 'drawing-actual relation', 'understanding drawings', 'budget-translated into meaning', 'ambience', 'partial relationships', 'cohesiveness', and 'introducing practices'.. Appendix V 'Communicating Spatialization, lists all the conversation segments that were tagged with themes. We shall discuss the sub-themes and how they get articulated in the conversations.

seg 6	*if the study and guest room are the same, it can still be made to serve both. The usual practice of booking the guest house within gated communities for the purpose of housing guests is mentioned*	*Theme: new practices due to hybridity(Appendix VII)*
Seg 60a	*The dweller explains how the living room is a hang out space*	*Theme: rescripting practices(Appendix VII)*
Seg 40a	*Images of some houses from America and some homes with the modern Japanese idiom were shared by the designer with the dweller*	*Theme: global practices through images(Appendix VII)*

The design process expands the dweller's scope to reflect upon and understand the space of the home. As an agent inducing spatial change, the designer introduces new practices amongst old ones whilst **also offering critiques of existing practices**. For instance, if the study and guest room are the same, could it not be thought of as one space with two functions? From the perspective of the dweller, a new perspective and practice is introduced (Seg 6). The dweller shows some initial resistance to the contact of two spaces which he had always considered only as separate; especially when one of the two spaces is more private than the other. A similar spirit of hybridity seems to be at work when the living room is zoned into a range of privacies, with overlapping functions[22]. The **living room is a**

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[22] Zoning as an idea allows flexibility between spaces. It assigns diffusely bounded spaces within an existing space. This spatial zoning is accompanied by the layering of newer practices within the existent space. Thus the spaces gain a hybrid complexion. Within architectural discourse, this hybridity has been considered a quality that enhances spaces. Hybridity opens an existing space to other spaces, possibilities, encounters and interfaces. This experimental attitude inherent in the opening out of a space, has always carried a privileged celebratory resonance in architecture (Di Mari and Yoo,

'hang-out' space for the dwellers as much as it also a space where a visitor interfaces with the house (Seg 60a). The designer shares with the dweller, an image of a space from Thom Mayne (of Morphosis-fame). He also shares with the dweller some images of domestic spaces from some modern Japanese domestic spaces to convey the tightness of space at the same time, the positive aesthetic qualities (Seg 40a).

Seg 48	*Steven Holl's building, OMA*
	the designer conveys to the dweller, in reassuring fashion that he hope`s and wishes to do something unique in terms of the design of his house.
	the designer shares with the dweller, an image of a space from Thom Mayne (of Morphosis-fame).
	He also shares with the dweller some images of domestic spaces from some modern 122ranslat domestic spaces to convey the tightness of space at the same time, the positive aesthetic qualities.
	The substitution of partition-wall between the the bedroom and the passage with a long shelf.
	The dweller had queries about cost in terms of money, of the effects these buildings created. Though the designer seems to have interpreted from the discussion, that the dweller had appreciated these buildings, there was no clear sense of liking these buildings. it seems more like a response which meant 'not sure'. (Appendix IX)

Another instance of inserting a spatial script: the dweller desires to have a shower cabinet but the ones available on the market seemed unaffordably priced. The designer proposes affordable, tailor-made solutions. The shower cabinet as a system of bathing is translated by the designer though alternative, customized means. The dweller's desire to gain the spatial experience of a shower through the introduction of a scripted system or object (Seg 29).

2012). This experimentation in the discussions of design, is also a reminder of architecture as a conceptual act as much as it is about physical shaping.

Seg 29	*The designer says how the shower cabinet is becoming popular in most houses*	*Theme: introducing practices(Appendix VII)*
seg 7a	*The designer guides the dweller in being able to read plans and relate the plans and the actual site. The designer orients the dweller in the actual space, based on the plan*	*Theme: drawing-actual relation, understanding drawings(Appendix VII)*
seg 7b	*the designer explains that preliminary views of the kitchen. He explains how these views would not contain all details of how the place would look when its complete. Those details will only become clear at a later stage of the design process.*	*Theme: drawing-actual Relation(Appendix VII)*

Thus the remaking of the physical structure through re-perception of practices and dispositions towards living (usually associated with the realm of the home as opposed to that of the house) gains focus, in the communication between designer and dweller. For instance, "Vaastu is partially scientific and partially superstition" – explains the designer to the dweller. The perception of Vaastu – which is a popular approach towards laying out the home – is explained here in terms of being both scientific and superstitious. Here, a manner of viewing the organizing of home is translated for the dweller. Of course, we do not know if the translation has been successful for the dweller-client – but the conversations below show that it is spatial perceptions of home of the dweller that seems to be worked upon. Drawings by being communicative, imaginary and projective of the future, are part of the translator act (Seg 7a, 7b).

seg 12e	*The designer explains how it need not look like the standard mirrors used in houses. The frame of the mirror will not only not be ornate, but it will be absent and made to look like the mirror is stuck onto the panel*	*Theme: design and ornamentation, appearance, resisting convention(Appendix VII)*
seg 12c	*The designer says that the usual, common entrance doors try to be ornate. But they can be made plain and without any kind of decorative motif*	*Theme: design and ornamentation (Appendix VII)*
seg 10b	*The designer says how wood is expensive. Otherwise wood would have been the best material to use for the wall-panels and furniture. We could use veneer for the same effects*	*Theme: appearance, ambience, budget-translates-into-meaning, partial relationships (Appendix VII)*

An instance of the attempt to reshape, is the effort to change made on the dweller's perception of 'decoration' or built-form ornament. The designer tries to convey how the overall look and 'feel' of the house should be devoid of the overtly ornamental desire – as to what things in the home should be displayed based on this idea. Parts of the discussion attest to this (Seg 12e, 12c). We do not know how the dweller digests this concept or is convinced by it. But he does allow the designer's definition of ornament to prevail in the spatial conception. The dweller's imagination and comprehension of the house are shaped and re-made in the process. Already existing habits undergo re-thinking and new ones are discussed, examined, understood and sought: "Wood is expensive. Otherwise wood would have been the best material to use for the wall-panels and furniture. We could use veneer (alternatively) for the same effects" (Seg 10b). As a result, changes are incorporated into notions of how to live in the domestic space – allowing a possibility of potential and conceptual change in the life of the prospective occupant (dweller). This is akin to attempts at rescripting the dweller's imagination of the house. For instance, expanding the perceptual size of the house through the use of mirrors (Seg 16a).

Seg 16	*Designer explains that mirrors actually make spaces look big. This was a new idea for the dweller and he began using it in future discussions on the look of different spaces in his house, with the designer. (Appendix IX)*

Rethinking of the disposition toward domestic space is accompanied by a redefinition of domestic practices and domesticity, for instance, "space for religious gatherings and practices" is being rearranged and reorganized into the flat (Seg 29). Also see figure 31.

seg 29	*The designer and the dweller discuss how to incorporate space for religious gatherings and practices*	*Theme: scripting/rescripting, retaining practices (Appendix VII)*

Numerous instances within the design discussion engage with how to live in a/the house than strictly engaging with the physicality of the house. This evidences the predilection within design discipline and amongst practitioners to engage not just with the physicality of the thing, but with its socio-psychological resonance; not just with space but

with ways of living[23].The wardrobe as a space that can be entered was new to the dweller. The dweller attempts an interaction with this space-to-be, guided and led by the designer-visualizing a new interaction with a space. Another instance of rethinking of scripts within the house is when the dweller is uncomfortable with the new suggestion (about having only indirect lighting in the master bedroom) and is desirous of following the convention he is comfortable with (See page 100, Seg 6a). This convention contradicts the already established design strategy at the outset of the project. The original strategy being to establish a scheme which resists what is conventional and as a result might involve more unconventional lighting. The approach was also to resist convention and create an ambience through diffusing the light in various ways within the house. When the dweller's requirement downstream of the design process, does not correspond to the mutually established strategy, the designer tries to correct the dweller's perception.

seg 8	*The designer explicates the conceptual schema that the house can be thought through panels*	*Theme: Cohesiveness*
seg 9	*The designer tries to convey how this house can be seen and experienced through a theme*	*Theme: Cohesiveness*

The designer tries to glean the dweller off the convention which if incorporated, would back-fire on the original strategy which was about the organizing feature of 'panels' (Seg 8). The practices of the prospective dweller tend to be influenced in the discussion. The designer explains how the house can be understood through the thematics of 'panels' (Seg 9). These various instances point to the designer trying to change the way the dweller sees the house. In this sense, the designer seems to play the role of an agent altering and shaping/re-shaping the perceptual framework, assigning to the designer, the role of a shaper

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[23] The modernist fathers of domestic design, like Corbusier and Wright, have both in their thought and approach to domestic environments, demonstrated strong intentions of shaping personal dwelling practices. The demands made by their milieu in the conjuring of the typologies of spaces, was paralleled by the framing of ideal dwellers and dwelling behavior resonating with these typologies.

of perceptions of the home. Perception of and practices in spaces open themselves out to re-imagination and redefinition in the window of the design process.

seg 17	*The dweller is convincing the dweller about building a walk-in-wardrobe. The wardrobe as a space to be in was new to the dweller. visualizing a new interaction with a space*	*Theme: introducing practices*
seg 17	*the wardrobe as a space to be in was new to the 126ommerc. the designer attempts conveying to him as to how to visualize a new interaction with a space*	*Theme: introducing practices*

Both designer and dweller evaluate their disposition towards concepts like novelty with respect to the house (Seg 17). At the same time the discussions suggest how for the dweller, participating in the design process triggers a revisiting of the practices within the home-place from the perspective of a new house (Seg 26):

Seg 26	*According to the designer paints can come in a million shades. The absolute difficulty of choosing a color because of the vast range of colors that exist in the paint market. The dweller engages in an exercise of matching the colors of his house alongwith his wife and the designer. He seems to enjoy the possibilities of choosing the color.*

The dweller's understanding and his interaction with that space is shaped. The design discussions attempt perceptual redefinition of the practice of being at home or living in the house as much as they deal with the making of the house itself.

6.5 What is the role of communication in the design process which involves the dweller?

These differences and advantages of re-configuring or customization (from the perspective of manufacturing) is a thematic that finds much discussion in design discourse (Tseng and Hu, 2014). The essential difference between architecture and product manufacturing have also found discussion especially when manufacturing logics have

Figure 30 The main door of the flat that was done in plywood with layering of veneer
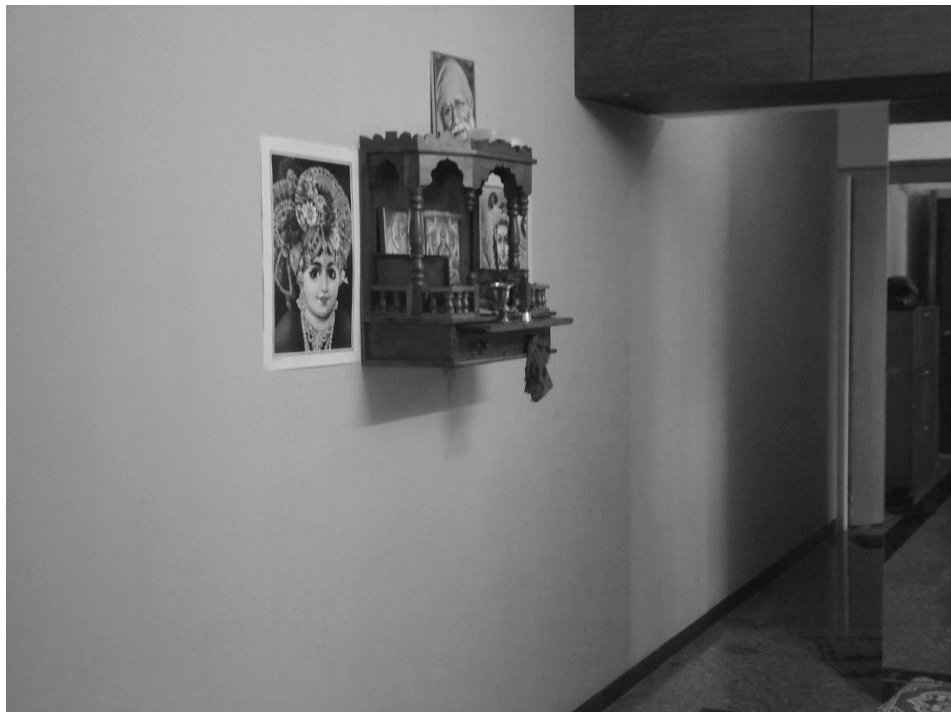
Figure 31: The 'mandir' or religious worship place on the wall. It was only after it was really placed in position that the dweller shared with the 127ommerci that the height of the mandir on the wall would not allow a cross-legged, on-the-floor kind of seating

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begun to be employed widely in architecture (Burdek, 2015). In the case studied, machine-made perfection in ready-made objects is considered a positive quality by the dweller. The dweller extends his understanding of quality perceived in finished ready-made products to the tailored design and communicates to the designer his expectations of the end-results.

Seg 65	*The dweller asks if the finish of the couch would be as good as the one they had seen in the furniture store. The designer convinces the dweller that this is achievable.*	*Theme: rescripting practices*

The designer helps the dweller navigate choice through the population of commodities offered by the interior design industry and market. The notion of or feeling of infinite choice offered by the commodities market has been elaborated by Baudrillard (Baudrillard, 1996). This almost infinite choice (especially hundreds of shades of color, for example, generated by the paints market), presents a navigational problem for the dweller. The designer helps the dweller resolve this problem.

This navigation of choice also involves taking positions against conventions and popular practices in the building trade. For instance, the separating of 'ornament' from 'form' or the ability to see ornament as an idea that is superfluous to 'essential' form, is conveyed to the dweller by the designer (themes: appearance, design and ornament). Here positions are taken by the designer against conventional practices. The designer offers alternative perspectives and persuades the dweller to perceive the home differently. The flexibility or plasticity of space, is especially at work when the designer proposes combining two practices in one space; that of the guest bedroom and the study. If the study and guest room are the same, it can still be made to serve both – this is conveyed to the dweller. There are affordances offered through fluid relationships between the otherwise conventionally bounded spaces.

The advocacy for a more fluid and open relationship between spaces within the home is provided by a senior designer from Mumbai. According to him the open-plan format which first entered workspaces is now popular in domestic spaces (Section 6.3**,** Seg 01, Appendix X,**)** According to him, open plans and fluid organizations are stamps of contemporariness in design. They are apparent in most interior layouts that are considered

'contemporary' in the industry and market. This attitude is also found amongst clients, according to him, as it filters into their imagination through popular media.

In this study of the process of design, the designer conveys concepts of the above sort and principles of design to the dweller. This introduces designerly ways of approaching space. The dweller is encouraged to attempt designerly ways of perceiving the flat. How the dweller would respond to the encouragement would differ according to circumstance and situation.

Some designers were of the opinion that designers should be upfront about their own biases (by sharing their prior work) and would only take up projects if the client-dwellers were positively disposed. In this context, one designer, particularly mentioned arranging visits of prospective clients to the well-turned out home-places that he had designed. He hoped past clients of his would provide a positive feedback of his work to the prospective dwellers. In such case, the orientation of the dweller begins to be shaped even before he/she transitions from a prospective client to a client-dweller.

To summarize, the case presents a snapshot of how principles in the design of space interact with the popular and everyday world of domestic spaces, in the designer's translation for the dweller. Therefore though we could call this case a problem of communicating design, it seems to be more than just communication. Rather, the communication has a peculiar character – that of changing or influencing perceptions.

In the process of design, domestic practices and their spatial layouts gather scope to be reshaped. In this re-imagination both the dweller and the designer also revisit their attitudes towards space (especially the ability and difficulty of perceiving something new).

This mutual engagement makes crucial the user's grasp of designerly ways of seeing a thing or an environment. The project seems to hinge on the absorption by the dweller of how to see his/her own home through design. This absorption occurring in and through the process of interaction with the designer makes relevant the actual 'interaction' between the designer and the dweller. This interaction tends to introduce new or reshaped perspectives of viewing the home.

This identifies the design process as a temporality within which the user's perception of personal space and behavior are open to persuasive change. Alternatively, the designer's role seems oriented towards shaping both the spatial behavior and the perceptions of the prospective dweller. This opening of shaping the perception of the dweller – offered by the design activity – has been ignored as a constituent of the design process in general and built-space in particular[24].

This role of temporality and persuasion, seen in the case studied, is also reinforced by practitioners and thinkers within the field of built-environment[25]. This role is often encountered when designers gather, socially and informally, and regale each other with stories of negotiating and influencing dweller-clients. These are narratives of negotiation and interaction which rarely find their way into studies on the role of design and designers. The role of this interaction, from a civic perspective has been much studied – architecture as an act affecting the imagination of the collective[26]. It is the engagement of design with personal-psychological space – to convey and discuss with the dweller, domestic and cultural notions and practices – that has not found much theoretical scope.

The 'interactive' component of the home design process gains focus. The home begins to be 'built' through and in this interaction. The designer plays the role of a persuader by bringing in narratives of shaping space and acting. In this persuasion and conveying the home gathers new meaning in the imagination of the dweller.

In an interaction with the researcher, the designer of the flat interior, conveys his overall satisfaction with the project as he was able to retain and be true to the image he had conceived for the place. He reflects on his success in being able to fend off threats (from the dweller) which would have made the design manifest differently from what he would have

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[24] the incidental shaping of perception

[25] Christopher Alexander finds a strange zone intermediate to space and practice, which he calls 'pattern.'

desired. The dweller also, at least in terms of expression, seemed satisfied with the overall result of the project though he mentioned trouble caused due to logistical issues of construction. Though the researcher posed the question of what the dwellers thought of the design after its execution, and the response seemed positive[27], we know through the case study that this response was something that was built across conversations and discussions. The response appears like a resultant of all the discussions that have occurred in the process of design. The dweller had participated in a spatializing of home and this participation seems to have affected, either through influence or actual change, the dweller's perception of his home.

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[27] Notes from the Interior-dweller's response to the design post-construction (see Appendix XI))

Chapter 7

Discussions and Conclusion: Scripting the Home

The two cases and their contexts analyzed separately chapters five and six share some commonalities in terms of conclusions. The emergent roles of the designer and images of the home that are evoked and remain common to both the contexts have been discussed together, other inferences which are specific to particular contexts have been discussed separately. The separation between the common and particular findings has not been strictly segmented, rather it is allowed to flow, beginning with the images of the home that emerge (specific to context I), we proceed to discuss the emergent roles of the designer (new roles that are common in both contexts) and finally close in to look at the role of the designer within the personal space of the interior (context II).

7.1   The Resort: a hyperreal image of home

The pre-fitting of home in context I informs us about issues related to form that the home undergoes as a collective product. It presents the image of home akin to a self-contained bubble shaped by the architectural designer from the exterior. This image of self-containment and exclusivity is evoked and evident in the discussion among the design team who try and incorporate various aspects like 'proximity to nature', 'distance from the busy city', 'narrative of the home as exotic, serviced, recreational and leisurely space', In the vein of the fragile bubble with its subsequent threat of bursting, personal spaces being imagined in this context do not come across as household spaces with real emotions. In very subjective tones, this bubble could be referred to as a 'fake space' (or alternatively a hyper-real space) in sharp contrast to the very real and deep meanings associated with the concept of home which is considered a really personal space. A hyperreal space is more real than the real; an intense version of reality (Baudrillard, 1994)**.** The reality of a flat-home is exacerbated to that of a resort. This image that the designers work towards is well captured in over-dramatized poetics of taglines that advertisements contain. The image of a non-everyday place – far away and well serviced– is presented by the aspirational avatar of the flat.

The extended envelope of this bubble is evident in the common spaces inside the apartment complex between the personal space of the flat and the public space of the city. The presence of transitional and 'in-between' spaces is not new to architectural thought and practice. In context I the in-between common spaces take on two identities (a) personal private and (b) collective private. These identities could be thought of as both transitional and in-between and bring into focus the actual spheres of design in the arrangements of home. Design activity particularly in the personal-private/collective-private spheres and forms of home have not found substantial mention in the discourse of architectural design (Madanipour, 2006). The frequent invocation of these spheres in the design discussion point to newer behavioral entities in the discourse of private space and also create an image of the home as a designed extended envelope hovering between architecture, product, service and urban design. The image of the user as a dweller in this extended envelope seems profiled between a space-user, a product user, a service-user, and an urban-user and is never really fully any of these.

7.2 Role of the designer as narrator: Home-making through narration

In both the contexts the designer builds a narrative and exploits its potential to construct the image of home. The designer takes on the role of the narrator and employs the tool of the narrative to convey, convince and script. Through spatial narratives designers structure and plot space. Simultaneously larger narratives of society feed the design process. Akin to the notion of situated meanings, it can be said that designers engage with situated narratives – narratives which help 'situate' the home.

Context I underlines the larger narrative that emerges through a bundle of narratives which have crept into the design discussions. Like any contemporary discourse on identity the presence of products market, popular culture and media can be seen in these narratives. These already circulating narratives of the home earn both the critique and the support of the designer at various stages in the discussions studied. All of these narratives together constitute the emergent narrative or the meaning of residing in a place.

Context II can be seen as the micro narrative that unfolds in the meta-narrative that Context I offers – the narrative of a singular home being shaped in the wider narrative of the apartment complex. In this case the designer brings forth the individual meaning of residence in the narrative of the interior. Here the quality of the narrative comes into focus (because the development of the narrative itself seems to depend on the individual differences between dwellers – assuming all dwellers are different). Difference is generated in the narration specific to an individual dweller.

Studies in domestic architecture tend to ignore the narrative abilities or capabilities of the designer in the construction of home. Some rare instances have noted the architectural designer's use of 'embodied skits', to probe, in a multi-modal fashion, future-oriented stories in architecture as imagined and yet unrealized experiences (Streeck, 2014). Built-spaces as story-tellers and part of stories have been brought out by studies of museums and other organizational spaces (Yanow, 1998)**.** Though this narrative role helps build relational webs between the dweller and the dwelling space, it has not found focus in studies on built-form.

In the interactive and discursive act of designing domestic space in both the contexts, the role of the designers as the narrator gets highlighted and within its fold nest other emergent roles. The design of home, one could thus say, begins and builds itself in the narrative. Scripts and identities of dwellers and dwelling spaces are created in the process. The designer as the creator of home narratives is seen shaping the story of home.

7.3 Designer as a culturing agent

The comparison of the two contexts (I and II) shows how the flat is personalized in its interior and extended into a private community in its exterior through design.

Analysis of context I (chapter five) underlines the role that the architectural designer plays in introducing collective scripts of home. Most discussions during the design process contribute to the image of the dweller and his dwelling that is concocted. The anonymous and imagined dweller – an absent, yet a significant element in the design process of the apartment complex, is thus already cultured. Scripts of would-be dwellers therefore are already finalized not just in the light of the locality they belong to but also through the narrative imagined by the designer. These imagined narratives assume concrete form when the apartment complexes are shaped. These shaped concrete forms assume certain sensibilities and practices that the dwellers have to ingrain, thus positing the designer as a culturing agent who also pre-scribes a life style for that space.

The making of home can be considered the interpretation and creation (and interpretation) of affordances for a dweller habitus; an unfolding of the habitus. Designing therefore could be considered an unfurling of the habitus. Since the habitus functions at the level of dispositions the emergent entity of home depends on how these dispositions are played out by specific dweller-individuals. In other words dispositions gain affordances in this composing of the habitus. The designer's work suggests that though there are dispositional structures, what gets enacted cannot really be predicted – it becomes visible only in its interpretation and translation to the media material and physical milieu. The habitus as an idea scopes the larger social environment within which an individual dwells. A repairing or modulation of this environment occurs in the design of the home. Dispositions and orientations undergo conversion into decisions literally set in concrete. Ideas of making

a socio-personal environment have never been examined at their source. It tells us how professional perspectives shape the socio-personal element. That the designers induce notions of such environment into design practice and thus into everyday life. Habitus comes into being through and in practical/practice-based interpretations of dwelling spaces. The designer plays the role of shifting of habitus.

In context II the personalization of the interior is brought about through an interactive shaping of the dwelling along with the dweller. Spatial scripts, perceptions and attitudes are evoked, introduced and altered, thus leading to a culturing of spatial behavior of home. The importance of the interior designer as a culturing agent in creating, both, variations as well as establishing styles in both dwelling and dwelling space thus gains concreteness in our examination.

In the interior design of the flat, references of the already lived spaces (precedents), both actual and desired, become strong sign-making elements. Chains of conversations in the design process stitch these varied references together to 'make' the home. Possibilities of inhabiting are explored in tandem. Conversations between the dweller and the designer characterize a kind of mutual searching for home. Newer possibilities of interior are dependent on and a resultant of both, the existing and proposed layout of the flat being designed, and the manner in which the designer guides and persuades the dweller in making design decisions. In this manner of suggesting newer arrangements and layouts, newer ways of living and occupying that space are indeed induced. Both the designer and the dweller employ the term 'lifestyle' to discuss practices in relation to the home-place. The designer's role as a consultant of lifestyle becomes evident in interactions with the dweller as the designer suggests, proposes, and recommends ways of living in that space. The dweller also seems to grasp and and employ spatial concepts and principles suggested by the designer to understand home.

At times, thinkers have brought to the forefront the ignored cultural role that interior design plays in the shadow of architecture (Taylor & Preston, 2006). Its psychological dimension and its role in personal interpretation of social vectors have also been highlighted (Berry, 2013). There have been attempts to see architecture as a common external envelope

and interior design as that which creates variation or differentiates this common vector into a personal interpretation (Keeble, 2013).

In the design practice in Mumbai, interior design – especially of the domestic variety – is perceived as an early-career entry into architectural design work. In informal interactions amongst the community of architects, the 'decorative' and 'stylistic' aspects tends to be mocked. Interior design has predominantly had a step motherly treatment as the poorer cousin of architectural design. This is true not only in practice but also in popular discourse. One sees, amongst practitioners of residential design, a tendency to relegate domestic interiors to a more 'pop' variety, devoid of the seriousness and importance of architectural design.

On the other hand the exile of the home from the realm of 'just' the physical, places it purely within the psychology of emotions and feelings and abstract ideas that stand beyond physical shaping. In tandem with this thought are views of scholars who treat the home as a space that escapes professional rendering (Marcus, 2006) (Pallasma, 1994) .This line of thought also relegates design of the space into the realm of shaping only the physical and therefore negates its potential to understand and shape the core abstract notion of home. The design processes in both contexts (I and II) offer a contrary perspective. The designer engages with practices both social and personal, rethinks, examines and shapes practices in addition to helping the dweller perceive and imagine home. The designer therefore designs beyond the physical.

7.4 Dweller-in-the-making

Context I: apartment block

Two of the most important questions that crop up with regards to context I are: how does design deal with anonymous personal space and how is the figure of the dweller imagined between customizable personal spaces in the individual-flat in opposition to individual-flat perceived as part of a flat-collective? The analysis points to the fact that anonymity is countered in two ways, first, by inducing shape and character to domestic identity. The design team, in this case, introduces stereotypes and conventions in order to

deal with the unknown nature of the dwellers. **Stereotypicality, typicality and collectivity are substituted for the unknown nature of the dwellers.** The other way in which anonymity is countered is by recasting or fabricating the dwellers anew. The flat, when it belongs to a larger group of flats, has access to an added common dimension of home-place.

The designers deal with the anonymity of the dweller by imagining broad and familiar identities of the prospective dweller-individuals. In the flat-collective, dimensions other than the interior, gain the focus of design decisions. By belonging to a flat collective the flat gains additional 'extended' dimension of home-place. The scope of this dimension, if seen in generic terms as apartment complex, seems directly proportional to its exclusivity (affluence) and its size – the number of flats the scheme is able to house (collectively owning spaces). In terms of collective ownership, therefore, the flat as part of a larger group of flats, has more access to added dimensions of home-place than if it were part of a smaller group of flats. This common dimension of a flat is imagined as an extended space of home for the dwelling entity within a flat. As dwellers of within and of this common dimension, the identities of the dwellers are visualized. This visualization involves not just the figure of the dweller but also the figure of the common dweller, or the dweller-in-common space, or more appropriately, the community dweller. Both, existing cultural behavioral scripts (which are replicated) and novel scriptings (creation of variants and differences), are woven into the figuration of the community dweller. Visualizing this community thus involves not only existing casts of collective privacy but also newer forms of privacy (how privacy should be). **Not just metaphorically, but in an actual sense, dwellers get made in the visualization process as much as existing dweller identities get replicated**.

To think of design as also an act of constructing the user offers possibilities of thinking about the user as a figure drawn by design. The user appears more than just an existing construct, actively made through design – this line of thought could offer a critique of the tendency within some user studies practices to consider the user as a figure existing prior to the design intervention**.**

This line of thought has found illustration in various 'stories' and 'legends' circulating within the practice of design. The 'creation of needs' legend attributed in the modern design mythology for instance, to Steve Jobs has pointed out how the user (subject)

could also be a creation of design (discipline). The nature of the design process, thus illustrated, underlines what is apparent in the case-study: the making of the dweller through imagining the dweller and interaction with the dweller.

At a certain point in time when the dweller/user is a buyer or purchaser, we observe the long duration during which the dweller is a potential buyer; a state of dwelling that precedes the actual purchase of the house. This is the period when the dweller is on the lookout and is preparing to invest in a house—this phase could continue for long durations of time-from months to many years. This might also be considered a time when the potential dweller is learning about the home as a place that needs investment of resources. The long process of translation where an individual gradually goes from being a potential dweller (buyer) to an actual dweller becomes apparent. The interior design process is part of this translation where an actual dwelling entity refits the dwelling to itself.

Context II: apartment interior

In the case of the interior, engagement with this participative and pedagogic process, highlights another facet of the designer's job (more conventionally, the designer's job is thought of as the shaping of a physical entity). Participation calls forth life-scripts/parts of life/living styles of the dweller into the home-place being designed. In this light the work-profile of the designer is not strictly limited to built-form. The designer's performance in these other spaces seems to hinge upon his understanding of built-form in terms of both personal and private socio-cultural negotiations. In the single flat-design, the interior of the flat-space is the focus of design decisions. In terms of domestic space it becomes a moment of laying out life within the confines of a flat. **The power of this moment to 'plan' a household puts the designer in a position of power to negotiate the identity of a space. In other words, a dweller is being created as much as his space is being shaped around him**.

The dweller and his personal space are made/re-made in the process of architectural design. This idea is not new when seen from the perspective of user studies in product and service design (Nielsen, 2003). On the other hand, in this context, the specific dweller

interacts directly with the designer in shaping the artefact. This is a context that user studies in product and service design do not have to conventionally encounter.

The findings suggest that the designer influences and reshapes the perception of the dweller, orients and persuades the dweller towards newer dwelling scripts. This interactive reshaping of a user much before the actual use points to a role of design, though not ignored, at least usually pushed to the background in user studies.

7.5   Designer as Pedagogue (specific to context II)

Visualization in the context of architecture or built space is a specialized area – prior training in some form is essential for grasping these visualizations. With regards to context II the dweller is oriented and guided through the design process by the designer. But the lack of this guidance is also felt at points in the discussion under study. Interviews with other designers practicing in the milieu of Mumbai, across board, suggest at least the prevalence of this generic lack or gap in interactions of this kind (Appendix II).

A search for the shape of the immediate domestic environment involves a kind of measuring and sensing of various built-form experiences, spatial references and preferences. **The conveying of house-form from the designer to the dweller forms a significant act in the design process**. The domestic space is 'found' using perceptual tools provided by the designer. The process of design thus opens up a space of 'potential' home. This space supports and allows scope for the dweller's search for a home environment.

In the interior, if we focus not on the solutions to fill lacunae, but on the role of the designer, then insights regarding various dispositions at work in design emerge. The interactive component of a designer's professional work comes into stark focus. The nature of the effort expended in communicating a design idea gains significance. This effort has a pedagogic character. Technical ideas within the discipline are communicated to a novice designer or the dweller. (We refer to this communication as pedagogic given its teaching-learning dimension, it would be more appropriate to call it andragogy which is teaching of adults). Participative involvement has been considered conducive to learning (Lackey & Dershem, 1992). Research of lived experience has also been approached via what is

described as 'action sensitive pedagogy' (Manen, 2016)**.**Teaching-learning as an activity is not necessarily found in other product design processes which do not involve the end-dweller as collaborator. There are only rare occasions and opportunities within general product design where the mass-produced aspect of product design offers occasion for the design to interact with a user in the shaping of a unique product.

Pedagogy has been seen as an act where the transfer of conceptualization precedes or succeeds practice in the real world. Pedagogy in this case refers to the active aspect of interacting with and influencing the dweller. The design interactions include conveying of perspectives, understandings and practices in space. Cases where the designer needs to convey ideas that deal with core principles and heuristics of practice might even prove challenging. The designer guides and walks the dweller through these stages prior to the actual act of dwelling. This frames the designer as a potential agent of change or pedagogue depending on the designer's abilities to induce change and the dweller's readiness to grasp those changes. **This also provides an insight into the pedagogic role of the designer. She acts like a vehicle in the transport of broad social ideas like exclusivity, aesthetic perception, utopia, and the notion of home, through translation and filtering, into the psychology of the dwellers.**

Studies of the gated commune have tended to ignore this vehicular role of 'customization' or 'construction' occurring through design at the end-user level (Falzon, 2004) (King, 2016). Though there are studies which deal with interior design as cultural consumption, how design as a professional practice is consumed at the micro-environmental scale of the interior of the home is also ignored (Osgerby, 2005).

Whilst studies of the gated residential space tend to focus on community constructed through its gatedness, they have failed to capture meanings of home construction at the scale of the individual house or a family of dwellers. Thus unseen is also the role of the designer as an active cultural agent in the scripting of dwelling. The role of architectural designer as one who tailors space and meaning for a group of people is not new, but her role as one who instills, shifts, adds and alters the cultural and psychological behavior through interaction with that group, makes a cultural-mediatorial dimension evident. This is a dimension that has found only scant mention in research studying the client-interactive work of architectural

masters. These studies have re-constructed, post-facto, the architect-client interaction through documented correspondence and through interviews (Wendl, 2015). The exact conversations between the designer and the client are obviously absent and have tended to remain private due to lack of objective to record or observe them.

7.6 Conclusion

The queries posed at the outset of the study dealt with piecing together of home as an idea in place – how this activity imagines dwellers, and the resultant emergent identities, both of place and of its dwellers. The queries also dealt with the physicality of the house and its meaning as home, the role of the designer in the act of practice, her engagement as an outsider-expert in scripting personal space and the emergent shape of the home.

In the course of the study, the discussions and the analysis shed new light on the role of the designer and design within the home space. The responses that the study offers demonstrate how the designer appears in roles that expand or provide alternate understandings of design practice. These alternatives show the designer, as a consultant or a 'stylist' of life within personal space, someone who styles the practice of dwelling, thus becoming an agent who opens up the home to a process of 'culturing'. This aspect of culturing or assembly of home occurs through discussions which are narrative and pedagogic in character and reveal different dimensions of viewing design. The culturing reveals how the designer imagines stereotypes or 'creates' aspects, personas, and characteristics of dwellers. In other words, the dweller is in the process of being made or re-made in the assemblage of space. The flat as an artefact demands roles from the designer usually hidden behind the façade of a shaper of spaces. The design practice appears like a filter which sieves through ways of dwelling at home. The design of home begins and builds itself in a narrative.

One part of this narrative is built at the scale of the apartment block and the other unfolds at the scale of the interior. At the scale of the apartment block, the home is envisioned as an aspirational extended envelope trying to create a desirable 'bubble' within the hyperactive spatial character of a city. At the scale of the interior, the home is an attempt at scripting a personal narrative amidst the anonymity of mass housing. Within these two

narratives, the developer appears as an agent responsible for the larger script of a home and exclusivity in the city. In some ways the narrative of the interior is nested within the narrative of the apartment block, which in turn is nested within the larger narrative of home and city. This larger narrative imagines the home as spectacle or a spectacular hyper-reality within the hyperactive environment of a metropolis.

7.7 Future Scope: Questions to be answered

The dwelling practices in metropolitan environments like Mumbai are constantly subjected to drastic shifts and changes, be it tendencies of developers to invest in smaller flats, newer schemes of housing and finance, or smart technologies. These shifts in turn affect the grain of domestic spaces and have certainly affected both the perception of design and the designer as a figure and their popular images. As this research suggests, examination of cases in practice, 'stories' and anecdotes that designers tell and share amongst themselves are ripe with reflective aspects of practice. Future work could address incorporation of these aspects into formal folds of design knowledge – just as theory informs practice, practice could also shape theory to include the newer dimensions of the designer's role. These sensitivities could thus be built into formal education and training programs to harness both reflective and creative skills lurking within design practice.

Appendices

Appendix I	
Discussion with Apartment Designer (D)	
The Question and Answer sessions given below is with a designer of a Single Apartment dwelling, Mulund (W), in the Suburb of Mumbai. This is project done in collaboration with the Developer.	
Segment	**Discussion**
Seg 1	D: So I know the developer. And I know what is the kind of work they are interested in is. They have done couple of apartment blocks in and around Mulund. Their clientele is mostly gujju and some business people from around the suburbs. So it's a typical suburban develop- er project. It is small – it's a single building with 7/8 stories. I know that I cant do anything special or try out anything new in this project. Convincing them is difficult. No, its impossible. The watchman's cabin I wanted to hide it behind the com- pound wall (so that it's not visible from the outside)
Seg 2	It is not that interesting things cannot be done in this project. Talib (another architect) for instance makes such

	buildings in Kharghar! This is at least Mulund. And he has gujju-marwari builders. In spite of that he is able to make neat buildings. No, I know in this case it is not possible.
Seg 3	D: So the brief in this case said that we had to make a 7 storied, 2 flat per floor building. They had already worked out the carrying capacity. But they weren't sure whether they could fit all that comfortably. I had an idea which I convinced them of. That all the flats should be duplex so that we not only get to play with the look of the building but also each flat can be sold as a duplex and therefore fetch a premium.
Seg 4	D: The flats are being worked on from inside They said they would check with some of their investors if the duplex idea would work. They got back with a positive reply. So at least I was relieved that some difference is possible in the built- form
Seg 5	D: So I worked out the plans for the duplex flat. And this is the initial configuration I achieved. Primarily I was trying to take advantage of the fact that all the flats being duplex makes it possible for me to put a large glass window across the living room. This would allow light to filter in...so it would be like full-glass from top to bottom, 2 floors high.
Seg 6	D: But I don't know if all of them (investors/dwellers) would want the layout in this fashion – because I am planning a largish living room. It will have zones...but some people here (given that its Mulund), might prefer an extra room over all that ambience (laughs).
Seg 7	D: The developer asked I put a pool somewhere? There's no space and he wants a pool! So I thought why not a pool on the terrace? He could also sell it as Terrace pool. It would be a nice place to hang out too if the place is well done up, with a pantry and things like that.. Seg 8 But still it increases the cost drastically. So its upto them....anyway the developers are planning to network with some clubs and gyms around the neighbourhood and offer memberships at a discounted rate. They could do that for the pool too
Seg 9	D: Negotiates private space vis a vis community space vis a vis public space According to 146omme we can't have entrances facing the south. So I had to orient the plan based on that. That is the first thing the builders brief – that it has to be 146omme-compliant. South-facing entrances fetch a low price because everyone knows these days. Even Christians use this funda to bargain for a lesser price (though they might not believe in 146omme..)

Seg 10	D: One of the selling points is the duplex nature of all flats.. Lending exclusivity. The developer wanted the external façade to be like one of those parsi buildings from some other era. Very decorative. I like the building but it is from a different time. It would have looked very 'Hafeez Contractor' if I had gone ahead with that.
Seg 11	D: But he was adamant. So I worked out a scheme which would be more toned down like Art deco. It both critiques and supports conventions
Seg 12	D: If it comes up the way I want it to, it will look really different from the surroundings. It will stand out.
Seg 13	D: The developer said two flats are already taken and they want some minor changes in the layout – just shifting a few walls. Like I told you, they want an extra room as opposed to the large living area. And I don't know really how the developer would have explained it to them. Just saying a large living room would not convey the quality of the place. The presence of the actual dweller
Seg 14	D: Again about the façade – the developer wanted that façade because he thought the Kutchi businessmen who are the primary investors would like it. But I was telling them it is an assumption that Kutchi businessmen would like a façade of that sort.
Seg 15	D: The large window also had to go because we changed the façade a bit. And then the façade the developers want does not go well with what I had in mind.
Seg 16	D: They also have begun considering the terrace pool idea because some of the investors expressed enthusiasm in the idea. We drew up a sketch of the pool area too. I was able to explain and convince them of the ambience of the space that we could build. It will be a nice place to look into the neighborhood. Also the city skyline. And the sunrises and sunsets....with some landscaping it can be made to look really cool.
Seg 17	The watchman's cabin I wanted to hide it behind the compound wall (so that its's not visible from the outside)
Seg 18	D: This is a developer I work with usually. So he knows the kind of work I do and therefore we do not have too much of a problem with how the building has to be and those kind of things. So this is a plot in the Kharghar in Navi Mumbai. And he came to me with the plan that he would have the land ready in a month and we would have to begin construction within four months. He was negotiating with the already resident slum-dwellers and had struck a deal. All he had to do now was to meet with the local bhai (don,

	gangster), to strike a deal regarding extortion money to be paid when the construction begins and for it to proceed smoothly
Seg 19	D: We studied the carrying capacity of the land to see how many flats we could fit into the plot or structure. Once we did that, I looked at orientations of the flats both in terms of climate and vastu and we re- alized we would get two flats less if we went by the orientations. We decided to go ahead without the two flats because developer was ready to go with the assumption that instead of selling more flats for a lesser price, they could sell less flats but make up the price. Roughly based on the calculation between land price, the investment in the construction and other overheads, they had a rough idea of the price per flat required. This also helped them decide the area of the flat and then adjust it against what shapes and areas were possible on the given site. The rough pricing of flats in that area in the next month was already know – which is what they were looking to put forth as the booking price of the flat
Seg 20	D: Once we decided on the size and numbers, I resolved the plan to fit into the site. The north-eastern side of the site was relatively open because it was a corner at a road junction. So I wanted to keep large windows towards that side.
Seg 21	D: I usually just keep the design simple. Efficiency is most important factor. Just do the layout. See what fits and then try to do the elevation and see if I can make it neat. Lookwise my buildings are distinct from the other decorative stuff that happens around mostly.
Seg 22	D: When we were fitting the plan,we had the option of giving a small room like a puja room as opposed to a large living room.
Seg 23	D: I try to avoid passages in the house.
Seg 24	D: Then we do up the elevation – keep it as minimal as possible and then extend the vertical lines till the terrace. This is usually how I do it. I know of people who live in my projects – they have appreciated the building. They try to maintain it the way it is done. The project that I did with this builder has remained the way I did it. The residents are maintaining the building neat. So people actually understand logic – if it's no non-sense they do they get a hang of it.
Seg 25	D: They can't say it, but I want it to be more contemporary.
Seg 26	D: This building is visible from the junction and road. The edge of the building is anyway commercial – the bottom two floors. So it will form a nice corner. I have take care to provide some steps where people can sit.

Seg 27	D: See here, not much is possible. I'm doing a bungalow in Shegaon. That will be interesting. Because after working in Mumbai, it feels like I have all the freedom in the world.
Seg 28	D: It is very mechanical. Here the quantum of work is huge. I cannot afford to put a person on a plan for more than a two days. At a max 3. This size of building I cannot afford any more than that.
Seg 29	D: This building will look distinct amongst others in this area. Actually people do too much with their buildings. I just try to do a bare-bones thing and it work
Seg 30	D: The bedroom area on the southern side looks onto another building. So that side is not very interesting to be in. see if you put the bed on this side, then this could be a neater arrangement.
Seg 31	D: It is similar to other apartments. The only distinction is that I try to avoid superfluous details.

Appendix II: Discussion with an Apartment Designer (D0)

This appendix contains discussions the researchers has had with an apartment designer who exclusively designs apartment blocks of various sizes in Mumbai

Segments	Discussions
Seg 32	Q. Do you think domestic spaces need a different approach than other types of architecture? D0: No, I do not think there is any major difference in the way you approach projects. The general attitude of the architect is important. If he is in general committed to good design, it will reflect in all his projects.
Seg 33	Q. If you were to think of differences between residential projects and other kinds of projects, what would they be? Assuming that an architect still has a general approach to all projects? D0: Residential projects, are too market driven – if you are talking about apartments. So interesting projects are only possible if the client is willing. But the smaller residential developers are too much part of the market. If we can reduce the damage, then our job is done. That is what I think and how I try to look at residential projects. Even if we can't do great design, we could at least stop it from being a bad one.
Seg 34	Q. You had mentioned how you were interested in looking at interiors as having more scope for experimenting. Could you explain? D0: Yes in the case of interiors, there is more scope to do interesting things. The only person who needs to be convinced in the client. And the market force is not that strong.
Seg 35	Q. Do you think the client becomes more important in the interior? D0: Yes it does become. The client is also going to use the space, right? So if the client likes something, it is easier to do something different. I'm not saying all clients are the same. In the case of apartment block, it becomes difficult – the developer does not know who will like what and therefore he will be less willing to take a risk. Because the investment being massive and the return having to be assured.

	It cannot be risked. In the case of the interior, the investment is not that huge though there are expensive interiors.
Seg 35a	D0: "yes he said he met the bhai that day to negotiate"
Seg 36	Q. But I have heard of architects who are waiting to design. Things other than interiors. They say it's too difficult – the client intervenes too much. D0: Yes, but the intervention is concrete. You know whom you are making for and if you can convince then you can actually make. In the other case, the developer builds to sell. He is not going to use it. So it's always conservative.
Seg 37	Q. But I think that is the case with all interiors. Why should only domestic interiors be different? D0: Yes in some ways interiors are the same. There is more scope for identity in the interiors than in the exteriors. I think in Mumbai, interior design is more advanced than architectural design. Some of the interiors can compete with the best in the world. But when it comes to architecture, we are way behind.
Seg 38	Q. Why do you think that is the case? D0: mmm....systems. we are not very good with systems as Indians. And most Indian cities are messed up places. Its simple: people like keeping their house clean – they don't give a damn about the outside because it belongs to someone else (the indian attitudes towards the house). That is also why institutional buildings are fun to build – there is immense scope for playing out with built-form.
Seg 38a	*D0:* "we are not very good with systems as Indians. And most Indian cities are messed up places. It's simple: people like keeping their house clean – they don't give a damn about the outside because it belongs to someone else (the indian attitudes towards the house). That is also why institutional buildings are
Seg 39	Q. Do you think it is difficult to innovate in terms of Domestic spaces? D0: Yes I think it's difficult to do anything interesting at all in the case of domestic spaces. Because it is very standard (domestic space as 'standard' space). Other kinds of projects have non-standard spaces – so that scope of playing is more.Also a bungalow is very different (a non-standard place).
Seg 40	Q. Why do you think the bungalow is very different?

	Ans. Because in the case of the bungalow the site is very non-urban and outside (bungalows are second homes as opposed to flats which are first homes). It has a different setting and most importantly, people who approach an architect for a bungalow in Mumbai, are mostly people who are making their second homes. Therefore they are wealthy enough to invest in another house and willing therefore to hire an architect.
Seg 41	Q. What do you think is the difference between designing and interior of a flat and that of an apartment block? D0: The apartment-block is architecture and the flat is more design; the domestic being both split between architecture and interior design. That's why it's called interior design right?
Seg 42	Q. Could you please try to put into words the difference between architecture and interior design? D0: Interior design is easier in terms of construction. The more serious activity is architecture – because actual construction happens there. The domestic space as an interior is not as serious a space as domestic space as architecture. The interior designer is subordinate to the architect's work. That's why good architecture does not separate between interior design and architecture.
Seg 43	Q. So an apartment-block building format actually limits innovation? D0: No, it's not the format, it's the rules; the municipal rules which limit the novelty. The rules do not allow variation and the market runs on square feet business. So the scope of movement is tiny or min- iscule. Thus domestic space as apartment block expresses limited novelty
Seg 44	Q. What do you think – would building for known dwellers have helped? Ans. Yes would help to know the exact requirements. But then that is okay for a flat, it would be difficult for an apartment because anyway it wont be able to accommodateor capture the differences really.
Seg 45	Q. If it's a big project, would it have helped – the knowledge of the end-dwellers?

	Ans. Actually it is not very helpful in the case of apartment-blocks because we are trying to go as neutral as possible. Or as general as possible...

Appendix III: Design of Apartment Block

Actors in the context of design of apartment blocks

The Design Team in the central case study (begins from seg 46):

D1: Designer 1

D2: Designer 2

D3: Designer 3

D4: Designer 4

CD: Chief Designer

EC: Environmental Consultant

Seg 46	D1: who would manage the common spaces and how do we provide for this management in the design itself – this seems very important to me in the contemporary upper-middle class housing schemes. The developer for example, controls the designed elevation. In some residential complexes, he has also begun organizing social events where the residents can get together. They also organize the society meeting for the management of the complex. The funds for the main- tenance are also managed by them. CD: so then we could have a separate segment in our plan which deals exclusively with management issues in the apartments. D2: yes some of those management strategies might affect the way our design evolves as opposed to conventional architectural design.
Seg 46a	"who would manage the common spaces and how do we provide for this management in the design itself – this seems very important to me in the contemporary upper-middle class housing schemes. The developer for example, controls the designed elevation. In some residential complexes, he has also begun organizing social events where the residents can get together. They also organize the society meeting for the management of the

	complex. The funds for the maintenance are also managed by them"
Seg 47	D1: also we need to rethink architecture today in terms of ser- vice-rendering. Most of the manufacturing industry today is not free of service and customer care. We still don't treat housing and espe- cially architecture as a service. This would mean dealing with house design in terms of service. The resident or the user of the building would be at the center of the design and we could thus work out schemes based on this. In that case, how to serve the user would become central rather than just what the architect thinks is beautiful CD: yes user-design is anyway the buzzword today. We could tap into that. D3: we can see our residential project or at least convey to the developer that we need to see the project through various perspectives of the stakeholders – like service professionals (cleaning and maintenance) including house-keeping, security, etc. D4: yes we could either develop the design based on the laying out of these perspectives first or else extend the design that we visualize into these concerns
Seg 48	CD: we need to broadly provide an idea along with the architectural design. It has to be more than just a design. We should at least attempt at or convey our intention to revisit the notion of housing itself through this project. D2: but aren't we anyway dealing with activities when we design? Do you mean we need to highlight the activities or the functions? CD: no, what I mean is that we need to have a vision as to what does it mean to live in a residential complex. D4: yes, like a conceptual perspective on housing itself. Yes, I get it.
Seg 48a	CD: "The design response will vary based on where the housing is located within Mumbai…"
Seg 49	CD: No, I mean the home is not necessarily always about new or interesting spaces. It could be about conventions and familiarity and the desire to fit in rather than really stand out. Interior designer:

	D2: A calm relaxed ambience is what we can consider as the reference environment or mood of the place.

D3: Being the developers that they are, they would expect the most luxurious settings and interiors. Nothing less than that.

D4: What other recreational facilities can be incorporated into the complex? Especially when they (residents) get back from work they could relax |
| Seg X | D1: Indian people would not prefer a ground floor flat.

D2: no but we could build it such that it gives the effect of an independent house.

D3: yes, but what about the safety factor?

D2: if we cover it, then they would want to enclose it. It will stop being an outside space |
| Seg 50x | D2: Ground floor flats and seating at the immediate foot of the built form could be provided

CD: but Mumbai people would be scared of sitting at the bottom of the building with resi- dents frequently disposing off waste from their balconies or small children dropping things down from their balconies.

CD: yes, this only profits the shops and the business folks.

D3: where would Mumbai people go to during the weekends in the city? To malls and multi- plexes. That's the only form of recreation possible. There are no public facilities of any kind.

D4: …comes to the home. Because it depends on other people in the family. Someone who might be experimental when it comes to work might not be so in the home. Also there might be desire to fit into the categories presented to by relatives and friends.

D3: the house is grasped as a total idea and this has then to be conveyed to the client. |

	CD: This shopping street will differentiate itself from other streets because of the environment that sustains it. Also if they happen to be upmarket shops then they make the residen- tial environment special. D2: We have to decide whether we want this to be residential mixed use or commercial mixed use. Since this is a residential project primarily I do not how much of it can be shown as being commercial D3: No the question is not if it has to commercial or residential. It will primarily be residential. We just need to open the gate up for it to go commercial. It can be shown as facilities provid- ed to the residents – the shops and all. Then we could open them out to others perhaps. D4: Most residential sites are so empty and flat. Here we have the option of tapping into his- tory (of mill lands). Not just its incorporation into the new structure – that itself will make an architectural statement. We could also have a coffee shop within this old structure. Else we could maintain it as a ruin and space which can be visited by the public
Seg 50y	CD: "homes in mill lands…..doesn't reflect well….."
Seg 52	D1: these days there could be in a place like Mumbai at least 1/3rd of the residents who are rent. Considering this reality and orienting our design in this fashion might be helpful. D2: but its more of a management issue, istnt it? There is no need to change the design. D3: yes so we can include some innovative management schemes for this purpose. D1: we need to also think of guests visitng the dwellers this was never really been well accounted for in the contemporary residential schemes. We could perhaps include that.
Seg 52a	D2: a big development of this sort on the site will cause other developments to happen and rapidly it might become a very upmarket residential zone – the whole area…the moment other developers hear about this – they would already know about the purchase of land – they will all rush to develop the neighbourhood

Seg 53	D1: the old folks with their grandchildren or dogs and exercising through walks and yoga. Yes we can show this in the views we draw is to sort of picturize life in the recreational (common) spaces. D4: Older residents might like to have more common spaces to hang out in – because they would be spending most of their time within the complex. That way small children and old residents share similarities in terms of care and space. D2: yes we need to provide facilities to support both these age groups. Primarily the young populace would be out working – so the children and the older parents would need support and service. We could discuss the necessity of this the face of the current urbanity.
Seg 51	D1: The balcony might be public space in the West (western cultures) and therefore subject to control. This is difficult to imagine in the West. D4: In India, the public domain does not even exist. In India, the balcony is a private space given that people have no concerns for the fact of how the building looks or is seen from the outside by others. D3: true. It is only strong measures or rules that save the integrity of the external façade of the buildings.
Seg 51a	D3: Given the fact that today the average age of buyers is about 35, the demand for schools and recreational facilities have gone up. Since the city does not provide these, the private developers try to sell these spaces. D1: No, the recreational aspects also work for the parents – the average age of the parents of these buyers would most probably of the post-retirement age and accommodating them as either permanent members of the family or guests who stay for long periods of time need to be addressed.
Seg 51c	CD: "How we build the boundaries is indicative of the attitude of this place to the public outside – should be flexible, rigid"
Seg 53b	D1: We have all tried to provide pools, except D3: I agree with him. Are pools really necessary?

	CD: a pool is considered basic today. So I doubt for a project of this scale, whether we can get away from providing a pool.

D2: I don't see the pool as a requirement at all. I see it more as a landscape element. Some- where near the mill ruins, a nice water body..

D3: I feel a pool is optional. Also who actually spends time in a pool?

D4: yes most women would not be comfortable in swimming costumes out in the open. They would also be stared at.

CD: Mr. Mehta or Mr. Tendulkar would not be comfortable stepping into a pool.

D3: I have seen pools getting filled up and made into gardens – because no one's using them and no one's maintaining them..

CD: yes and it's not like the developers offer them the option of paying for the pool or the clubhouse based on use.

D4: yes it's a different thing if it is use-based. But then it would have to be open to others outside and the location will have to change.

D3: I don't think you should even take that route. It is private space and therefore should remain within the residents and not open to outsiders.

D2: We could have the pool covered with foliage – like tall trees and the like. It provide some privacy from the tall buildings above.

D3: I don't fully agree with the assumption that people would have issues being seen or 36 stared at in the pool. Some people might even prefer it. |
| Seg 53a | D2: a part of the lawn can provide space for the children to play.

D3: yes the part adjacent the swimming pool would be good for this purpose. |

	D4: there can be play areas in the central area formed by the buildings
	D2: we also need to think of a better location for the school.
	CD: do we really need a full-fledged school? Or we can have school in the plot near the road open to others from the outside. The school can have a direct entrance from the residences.
	D3: we might not need to provide a school. A well fitted nursery and kindergarten might suffice.
	CD: I don't think so. The school is a very important criterion if we think the average age of buyers is around 35.
	D2: the lawn area will be primarily used during the days but women and children and grand- parents with their grandchildren and we cannot have cars around this place.
	D1: no we can wall that place up on the road side
	D2: but that would spoil the look of your design then
	D2: there is the necessity of medical facilities at least for children within the residential facility.
	D3: no but these days there are docs on call – so no need to worry.
Seg 55a	D2: I have exploited the advantage of having a hill in the site.
	CD: yes we can even think of the whole design via a hill. Perhas even call the place a hill – like you have Arenja Hills for example. The hill can be the concept from which the design evolves its character. We can use the small hill on the side of the plot. It would be a unique experience – living on this hill
	D3: yes we can introduce a natural element or feature in relation to the overall place and its life definition. Though the site does not naturally have these features, the hill we could intro- duce as a feature.

	D1: yes living on the hill could be treated as a unique living experience in both the apartment-dwelling and urban context.
	CD: yes the uniqueness attributed to the natural state of the site and life within that comes into focus.
	D1: we can only do the basic layout and hope that the residential complex will be run and managed well.
	D3: no we might have to also look into or propose ways of managing, at least understand how these complexes are managed. We could propose some ideas too..
	D1: yes we could try that. Them being very big builders might appreciate management ideas because they would, like Hiranandiani want the complex to represent their brand...
	D4: by the layout itself we could control substantial movement and living patterns.
Seg 55	D1: let us think of how to separate the residents and the outsiders
	D2: yes the difference between the residents and the people of the city. Note that there are slums in the neighborhood.
	D4: should we leave some of the facilities open to the city?
	D2: the view (of the towers) would be interesting from the road. It will have real presence since this out front is not very fast moving traffic.
	D3: yes it will act like an important landmark for this area or this part of the city
	D2: the porosity of the design would enrich communication between the two groups of people: the residents and the outsiders. What we can do is the best we can do given the context of Mumbai. Some of the best examples in housing are from elsewhere (not India). We have limitations of real estate and clients of a certain

	mentality. So all we can do is manage to get close to the ideal that we have in mind. D3: yes we need to focus on the overall experience of being inside the apartment-dwelling site. D4: yes the experience of the city after a day's work and all that travelling makes one want to cut-off from the city. So it will be desirable to disconnect from the city. D2: but did we not just discuss about how dissociated the apartment-block is from the sur- roundings. And we were to build associations. Now how can we talk about dissociation positively? CD: no, what we are talking about is removing the undesirable elements. So yes it's not complete dissociation or complete association, but how we decide to connect some and disconnect some other. D1: as much as we want association, the dissociation is also coveted. D4: if you have noticed the advertisements these days they are all about exclusivity and leisure. CD: we could make use of more interesting drawings like walk-throughs to suggest what we have in mind. Yes that would give a clear picture. We don't want to lose out on the project just because they get impressed with another architect just because he provides better views or drawings. In projects of this sort what differentiates it from others is purely ambience and facilities. The effect that can be generated out of the built-form – that is central. Otherwise they are all the same. See how only Kanchenjunga stands apart
Seg 55a	CD: In India, the format of the house, in the middle-class and upper middle-class sector is monotonous. In comparison, in the west, both Europe and in the US, also in Japan, the variety in this sector is rich, thus appealing to a range of inhabitants based on income and family size variations.
Seg 55e	D4: regional identity – can we give this to the built-form …through both climate sensitive and form sensitive expression?

	D2: yes both modern at the same time belonging to the place.
Seg C	D1: this is residential space. It has to be silent and quiet in here. The car and car park- ings should be limited to the periphery. The spaces inside should have only people of foot. Though there are options of using the road but only in special cases. Else we should leave the cars outside. D2: yes that will also go with the way we have been thinking of this space – as something that gives respite from the city.
Seg 57	D2: this is how these blocks would look into the city. CD: but it's the slums on the other side. It would be good to avoid facing this spread of slums. Would it possible for us to control the views (from the site and buildings), towards the slums? Good views for more flats means more advantages (in terms of the market and design). D3: yes we need to control the orientation based on desirable views. D1: that is what flats have – views. So its essential to orient the views. But im not too sure about whether we would orient the block away from the slums. I mean it's a reality of the city. D4: I disagree. We are building new realities. Not really focused on showing what reality already is. I mean the people would be paying a lot to escape from the problems and troubles of the city. So it is but obvious we need to exploit the best views. Else the designer would be blamed for not orienting the flats properly. D1: So yes the dissociation of the apartment block is also an advantage. It is not just really all negative
Seg 59	D3: I know it's an apartment block and it might be difficult to stop people of one flat from looking into another. Some sides will invariable look into other flats. But the idea is to mini- mize this. In your design (D2), there is a lot of scope for peering from one block to another. D3: there is no way we can fully present gaze from all flats into all other flats. We can only try to minimize it.

	Looking into other houses through windows is a common enough phenomenon in the context of Mumbai since it is within the community. Its only when it become across class that it becomes an issue.
Seg 59 (b)	CD: this is an exclusive community. But parts of this exclusive space can be opened up to the outside – like the mill ruins and the commercial street. But the challenge then would be maintain this exclusivity. So we could suggest certain hours where this could be turned open.

D2: the danger in opening up now is that after let us say 10 years, in case they decide to close it for the public, it might not be possible. Because then it would have become public space. So one needs to be careful about this opening out private space to the public kind of business.

D3: yes this is a decision which will have to be taken after careful consideration – whether we would really want to give up space to the city

CD: this site offers a range of possibilities in terms of advantageous city life.

D2: yes it has unique qualities that are not usually available on urban sites of this sort.

D3: another example for the design of a single apartment block, though it does not have the luxury of a large site for landscape still tires to compensate via green terraces and terrace pools and landscape.

D4: the city is unable to offer enough public spaces wehre the citizens can hangout.

D2: especially the mill lands document submitted by Charles (correa), saw the defunct mill lands as an opportunity to return open public spaces like parks into the space-starved city.

CD: there is heavy commercial activity in places like Abdul Rehman Street. Those are very active communities but they are not very big on privacy when it comes to the residential quarters above.

D2: but they do have the energy of the city. |

	CD: true.....
	D2: this can therefore be treated as the contribution of the project towards the city ecosystem.
	D3: there is a strong chance we could redefine apartment dwelling
Seg 59c	D2: "We are on par with other countries when it comes to the use and culture of electronic products. But buildings are so locally produced that we are far behind"
Seg 9	CD: let us see the future of apartment housing in Mumbai – only then would our ideas have any relevance at all. We need to think in terms of a 20 year period at least
	D2: we can try telling a story of the apartment block in 2050 and then work backwards.
	D3: I think electronically controlled apartments are the future.
	D4: to me rental spaces are the future.
	D1: I think smaller foldable spaces are the future.
	CD: we need to weave all of this in to suggest the perspective we have regarding the apartment typology itself. Primarily we need to be able to say what is novel in the design. for example, an equatorial forest right in the middle of the city would be amazing.
	D1: With increasing mobility amongst people across cities and the onset of the new forms of hospitality like home-stays and bnbs and service apartments, it would be relevant to think of a housing in terms of increasing percentage of mobile or floating population. So the residents could house guests in the service apartment by booking rooms and the empty ones could be let out as hotel room or service rooms.
	CD: yes we could think of a separate block for this purpose. And the rooms, the individual rooms could be owned by the residents themselves and maintained by the developer of the cooperative society of the place. Or by a hospitality consultant

	D2: actually I don't think we are giving up space. If we plan it well, by opening up parts of the space which would have bundle of public utilities, then it could be considered an earning of the residential space itself. It could be employed as an source of income generation. And commercial activity would lead to an increase in the real estate value of the place. The commercial activity would act as an attractor. D1: but the question is how would affect the individual dweller. all this activity. CD: no, we will have clarity if we plan to split space: private space which is very private and private space that is more public. If an individual (resident) needs to quietly spend time then our common spaces should allow that. If he wants to spend time in more active zones, our design should enable that. Through the general layout we could control a lot of things. But not everything. The interiors is fully dependent on the purchaser of the flat. Yes we can only deal with the overall layout of the space, not the specific differences. There is chance to shape typology
Seg 7a	D4: we could loop a long jogging track along the hilly part of the site. D3: yes the landscape design could have all these various open facilities in one single flowing scheme
Seg 7b	D2: the jogging track could be the connection for all the semi-private spaces. it will have a very informal feel. D3: yes it can be woven into the other spaces to enhance the experience of jogging. D2: health, fitness and well-being are the new key terms in the design of housing. Why do you think all the developers today provide for gymnasiums, pools and clubs for sure. And obviously health facilities and services too
Seg 7c	D4: We can change the way the lobby is thought of. Usually lobbies resemble hotel lobbies. We could do something else altogether. Going with our hill and forest idea, we could have something really dense. Landscaped like in GeofferyBawa's examples D2: yes they still end up not utilizing the freedom architecturally.

D1: that's because the carrying capacity and the profit-making tendency of the developer defeats good housing.

CD: Coming back to the question of whether a balcony is a public space or a private space – this is a new question because the balcony is also a new idea not very old. It begins with Art Deco – which is not very old.

D2: yes we did have verandahs and porch-kind of spaces, kattis, which were spaces which were part of the street too. Even today, the kattis exist in old parts of the town. But the new houses are more away from the street. There is distance. It is away from the street.

D1: that's primarily due to the multi-storey apartments. The balcony becomes a private area. Not because it is outside, but because it does not really touch the ground.

D4: In bungalows, even when the balcony is not the ground (verandah), it is private. Like the houses in Kerala. The outer spaces are open to visitors, but it is not very public.

D3: but these days builders are very conscious. Because it affects their brand. In some ways today, the name of a developer will sustain depending on how a place is kept. At least the developers help maintain a public image (laughs).

D4: That's the reason many big developers also want to continue to manage the place. Because their reputation in some ways rests on the image of the old projects

D2: How can the balcony actually be a private space? Just because it is visible? What if you live in a glass house? just because the house is visible, does it become a public space?

D2: no the home is all about privacy. And privacy also means privacy of the community. Not just of the individual.

CD: yes private is only in my house. I can't step onto the garden and act like its private. It is owned by the community (of residents).

D3: But in Europe, the private means very different things. People consider the outside are their own space. It is like an extension of their own house.

CD: yes, in other words public space means my own space. The notion of what is one's own is very different.

D3: But India has very energetic spaces where the public and private are interwined. Like the old market gullies (where the private residence is on the top floor of the commercial shops below). It is also something that works. Hiranandani works because it created an environment outside the walls too. That helps.

CD: yes for the developers location is a very strategic thing. Big developers don't just look for good locations, they create locations.

D4: they develop the location in parts and in multiple. A whole township means larger projects, and larger profits. And lost of freedom with the design.

D1: simply put show views of the interior of the flat and exterior of the flat populated with 54 people.

CD: not just with people, but people doing things that we would want to convey to the buyer....

D2: I understand. I'm understanding all of that. I just said the duplex itself is a symbol of personal space or very aspirational personal space.

CD: we could show 2/3 levels of activity ranging from living room spaces to large grounds. In D3's case, he can actually show activities at smaller group levels too because his scheme is fully of medium range space for groups of people.

D1: true. He can show a lot of those kind of activities.

	CD: In your case (to D4), you will have to show them really wide-angle shots of the place (to suggest the grandness of the large central space) and the circular and curving nature of the space. D4: yes anyway we would be doing Chinese renderings of the place. CD: okay can you tell me what kind of people would occupy this places? Who would the res- idents of the place be? Can we visualize that? We can think of one such ideal resident and work with that.
Seg 55	D2: the club house will anyway be near the pool. Both the maintenance of the pool and the clubhouse would be taken care of by the same group of people. D3: you mean the services? D2: yes usually its run on contract. D2: yes the club house is an important and these days very visible component of the design. People are more and more hosting their guests in guest houses and not in their homes.
Seg 55e	D4: regional identity – can we give this to the built-form..through both climate sensitive and form sensitive expression? D2: yes, both modern at the same time belonging to the place
Seg 59 I	D1: so we need to show (in the drawings) people in groups outside and also within the homes, so that we could evoke a feeling of both the complex and the single flat. CD: yes we should totally be able to indicate a personal exclusivity but at the same time the idea of belonging to an exclusive locality. D2: anyway my design will have duplex which will anyway create that feeling of a exclusively personal kind of feeling CD: no that's not what I mean. I'm saying they would need to create a feeling of both a nice category in a group – I mean group of people who stay in such a nice

	upmarket residential space and also the personal 'thing' with the place. D1: yes the whole could be as big as a town. D3: that's exactly what Lodhas are doing in Kalyan/Dombivli. That's what Lavasa (Pune) is all about. But that was a flop. D4: yes large spaces can define more norms. D2: it can exercise more control on the environment
Seg 63	CD: dress up the architectural design with the sociological aspect. Else it will feel dry...
Seg 64	D3: everything is so market-driven that there is no innovation possible. Most of the good buildings that we refer to today have had a different model of building than just FSI and saleable area. There have been other kinds of freedom if not in terms of area. So it will be difficult to compare the congested and suffocating condition of Mumbai with any other kind of space. D2: No but at least there are new things we can still do in terms of form. Not too much, but we could stretch the envelope. Also this is a huge project so the chances of doing things are more
Seg 64a	D4: the apartment scene is so sterile (in Mumbai)
Seg 65	D2: we are too many of us. Such crowded and stressful cities we live in. I think people would prefer more peace at home than interaction. They also need isolation
Seg 60	CD: let's present glimpses of the social set up.
Seg 61	D2: MAD architects work with a lot of urban dwelling experiSments. Urban farming has become part of their built-form. D3: I think we can learn more from Doshi and Correa – they have successfully built for this space. D2: But the situations have changed – the time they built in and the time now. Also I understand – you are indicating how they brought in regional identity and all no? That was the time they did not have this environmentalism that we have now. And today I think most buildings want to be global. The materials and context and climate might be local but the aspirational image is global. So we can go back to mud and wattle construction today.

	D3: I was not talking about mud/wattle construction, c'mon (the argument heats up a bit). I was talking about the cultural context – how they were able to build here.... D2: yes I'm just mentioning MAD architects in terms of how their environmental awareness shows up literally in their buildings. It's become their identity
Seg 61a	D4: "there are some very interesting stacking practices done by MVRDV"
Seg 62	CD: The envelope-like function of architecture can be multiplied here or expanded here in projects of this size; the smaller the scale of the project, the lesser the scope for design decisions for the collective as a whole.
Seg 70	CD: how would the buyer make a choice between four washing machines by four different companies similar in all respects including the prices? D1: the extra value addition in the form of amenities in the super-built space would help in differentiation. Given most interior-flat layouts across various residential projects are the same (2bhk, 3bhk) the real space of distinction would be super-built up and the corresponding lifestyle offered
Seg 66	D3: I would like the space to be active. That's why I would like to have the city street run through the site or allow the site to have a street which everyone or anyone from the city can access. The buildings need not stand aloof from their surroundings. They can interact. It's not like a gated community. CD: yes it can break the typology of the developer-built apartment block.
Seg 67	D3: the streets will actually create a very active external space. D2: yes it would be more democratic for sure. But I don't know about the expectations of peace and safety that the residents might have
Seg 68	CD: but the market is changing. Its spreading into the suburbs and even beyond.
Seg 69	D2: we really don't know what kind of people are going to occupy these residences. D3: yes unless we define well, we wouldn't know how it will be used..(in relation to public space)

Seg 81	CD: in the life that is shown in this place, could we imagine what the residents would be like? What would they be doing? Are there new activities that could be incorporated into the residential set up? D1: in Mumbai space is so much of a constraint that just the fact that space is being provided itself is enough for the project to sell. There is no need to work on the design really. Design and the difference in the design of flats only make a different or come into play in the case of where the demand is not just for spaces but for design and the market is competitive in terms of design. D3: these are not the middle-class mumbaikers we are talking about. These would be more the elite urban cosmopolitan crowd who would occupy this project. D4: since sports and adventure is part of contemporary lifestyle, we include and provide spaces of that sort
Seg 81a	D4: since sports and adventure is part of contemporary lifestyle, we include and provide spaces of that sort
Seg 82	CD: there are enough studies indicative of the social and geographical mismatch created by the global character of the gated community typology
Seg 82a	D2: recreational facilities can be based on membership and managed
Seg 83	D3: the dwellers will use the terrace for sun-drying home-made products like papads. D2: but who makes papads these days at home? D3: also the gentry that lives here would not be the sort that would engage in making papads at home, right?
Seg 83	D2: yes it has unique qualities that are not usually available on urban sites of this sort. D3: another example for the design of a single apartment block, though it does not have the luxury of a large site for landscape still tires to compensate via green terraces and terrace pools and landscape. D4: the city is unable to offer enough public spaces where the citizens can hangout.

	D2: especially the mill lands document submitted by Charles (correa), saw the defunct mill lands as an opportunity to return open public spaces like parks into the space-starved city. CD: there is heavy commercial activity in places like Abdul Rehman Street. Those are very active communities but they are not very big on privacy when it comes to the residential quarters above. D2: but they do have the energy of the city. CD: true..... The tendency to escape the dreariness of the urban condition is something which many residential development attempt to pursue based on the resources at their disposal. D2: this can therefore be treated as the contribution of the project towards the city ecosystem. D3: there is a strong chance we could redefine apartment dwelling
Seg 71	D3: the trend is to separate and hide the service space (plumbing, electrical, etc) buildings with the service-work completely absent from the outside provide a smoother, cleaner sur- face. But the flip-side is the lack of necessary ducet space to conduct repairing activities
Seg 72	D2: should we allow public shopping street right through the private residential area? D3: yes that's what I'm saying, distribute the commercial requirement along the edges of the internal street. A thoroughfare cutting through the complex – that's what I have in mind. D2: but outsider through the site will create security problems. Shouldn't residential spaces have complete privacy? Especially since this project is residential-led mixed use develop- ment? D1: no we could have activity but more like a 9-hour community than a 15-hour community. D4: in the evening the street could become public. Else it could be open to others perhaps. We could define time segments for this purpose

Seg 73	CD: show some life – color the space with activities like nana-nani park, children's play areas, outdoor games, volleyball to easily convey the quality of space. (Sample flat designer: There isn't much creativity in doing apartment buildings. Its not very satisfying. Im planning to get into interiors where I could explore some design than doing run of the mill work. I do a lot of sample flat designs. Frequently I end up doing actual residential interiors have people have liked my sample flat designs. The good thing about sample flats is that I can do what I want or feel will work. nobody interferes – in that sense it is satisfying). The discussions with other architects reveal that the building up of the surrounding site to enhance the overall ecosystem of the neighborhood is a strategy that developers resort to, to make the site more desirable for residential development. In another example of a medium sized apartment complex, the developer and designer discuss how the surrounding slums would soon be purchased by another developer for purposes of development. Also how a public park adjacent to the site would retain the desirability of their residential plot. The context insensitive condition of an apartment site is a global phenomenon especially stark in the case of an already fragmented and extreme habitat like Indian Cities.
Seg 77	CD: we need to broadly provide an idea along with the architectural design. It has to be more than just a design. We should at least attempt at or convey our intention to revisit the notion of housing itself through this project. D2: but aren't we anyway dealing with activities when we design? Do you mean we need to highlight the activities or the functions? CD: no, what I mean is that we need to have a vision as to what does it mean to live in a residential complex. D4: yes, like a conceptual perspective on housing itself. Yes, I get it
Seg 75	D1: who would manage the common spaces and how do we provide for this management in the design itself – this seems very important to me in the contemporary upper-middle class housing schemes. The developer for example, controls the designed elevation. In some residential complexes, he has also begun organizing social events where the residents can get together. They also organize the society meeting for the management of the

	complex. The funds for the maintenance are also managed by them. CD: so then we could have a separate segment in our plan which deals exclusively with management issues in the apartments. D2: yes some of those management strategies might affect the way our design evolves as opposed to conventional architectural design
Seg 78	D3: No, I mean the home is not necessarily always about new or interesting spaces. It could be about conventions and familiarity and the desire to fit in rather than really stand out. Interior designer: People are not necessarily innovative when it comes to the home. Because it depends on other people in the family. Someone who might be experimental when it comes to work might not be so in the home. Also there might be desire to fit into the categories presented to by relatives and friends. the house is grasped as a total idea and this has then to be conveyed to the client
Seg 79	D2: This shopping street will differentiate itself from other streets because of the environment that sustains it. Also if they happen to be upmarket shops then they make the residential environment special. D3: We have to decide whether we want this to be residential mixed use or commercial mixed use. Since this is a residential project primarily I do not how much of it can be shown as being commercial. No the question is not if it has to commercial or residential. It will primarily be residential. We just need to open the gate up for it to go commercial. It can be shown as facilities provided to the residents – the shops and all. Then we could open them out to others perhaps. CD: Most residential sites are so empty and flat. Here we have the option of tapping into history (of mill lands).Not just its incorporation into the new structure – that itself will make an architectural statement. D2: We could also have a coffee shop within this old structure. Else we could maintain it as a ruin and space which can be visited by the public.

	D3: A calm relaxed ambience is what we can consider as the reference environment or mood of the place
Seg 84	D1: Being the developers that they are, they would expect the most luxurious settings and interiors. Nothing less than that. CD: What other recreational facilities can be incorporated into the complex? Especially when they (residents) get back from work they could relax
Seg 85	D1: Indian people would not prefer a ground floor flat. D2: no but we could build it such that it gives the effect of an independent house. D3: yes, but what about the safety factor? D2: if we cover it, then they would want to enclose it. It will stop being an outside space
Seg 86	D2: Ground floor flats and seating at the immediate foot of the built form could be provided CD: but Mumbai people would be scared of sitting at the bottom of the building with resi- dents frequently disposing off waste from their balconies or small children dropping things down from their balconies. CD: yes, this only profits the shops and the business folks. D3: where would Mumbai people go to during the weekends in the city? To malls and multiplexes. That's the only form of recreation possible. There are no public facilities of any kind
Seg 87	The balcony might be public space in the West (western cultures) and therefore subject to control. This is difficult to imagine in the West. D4: In India, the public domain does not even exist. In India, the balcony is a private space given that people have no concerns for the fact of how the building looks or is seen from the outside by others. D3: true. It is only strong measures or rules that save the integrity of the external façade of the buildings
Seg 87a	D4: "in India the residential spaces have a different flavor"

Seg 88	D3: Given the fact that today the average age of buyers is about 35, the demand for schools and recreational facilities have gone up. Since the city does not provide these, the private developers try to sell these spaces. D1: No, the recreational aspects also work for the parents – the average age of the parents of these buyers would most probably of the post-retirement age and accommodating them as either permanent members of the family or guests who stay for long periods of time need to be addressed
Seg 89	D1: these days there could be in a place like Mumbai at least 1/3rd of the residents who are on rent. Considering this reality and orienting our design in this fashion might be helpful. D2: but its more of a management issue, isn't it? There is no need to change the design. D3: yes so we can include some innovative management schemes for this purpose. D1: we need to also think of guests visiting the residents this was never really been well accounted for in the contemporary residential schemes. We could perhaps include that
Seg 89a	D2: Radical innovation would be a challenge in an conventional set-up like Mumbai housing. D3: Also we really don't know what the developer has in mind – whether he wants to make a statement or will see this as a safe investment
Seg 90	D1: the old folks with their grandchildren or dogs and exercising through walks and yoga. Yes we can show this in the views we draw is to sort of picturize life in the recreational (com- mon) spaces. D4: Older residents might like to have more common spaces to hang out in – because they would be spending most of their time within the complex. That way small children and old residents share similarities in terms of care and space. D2: yes we need to provide facilities to support both these age groups. Primarily the young populace would be out working – so the children and the older parents

	would need support and service. We could discuss the necessity of this the face of the current urbanity
Seg 90a	CD: depends on how we approach it….if we think of a more global language then we might have to ignore the local built-language. D1: alternatively we can derive something which is glocal
Seg 91	D2: a part of the lawn can provide space for the children to play. D3: yes the part adjacent the swimming pool would be good for this purpose. D4: there can be play areas in the central area formed by the buildings D2: we also need to think of a better location for the school. CD: do we really need a full-fledged school? Or we can have school in the plot near the road open to others from the outside. The school can have a direct entrance from the residences. D3: we might not need to provide a school. A well fitted nursery and kindergarten might suffice. CD: I don't think so. The school is a very important criterion if we think the average age of buyers is around 35. D2: the lawn area will be primarily used during the days but women and children and grand- parents with their grandchildren and we cannot have cars around this place. D1: no we can wall that place up on the road side D2: but that would spoil the look of your design then D2: there is the necessity of medical facilities at least for children within the residential facility. D3: no but these days there are docs on call – so no need to worry

Seg 92	D1: We have all tried to provide pools, except D3. I agree with him. Are pools really necessary? CD: a pool is considered basic today. So I doubt for a project of this scale, whether we can get away from providing a pool. D2: I don't see the pool as a requirement at all. I see it more as a landscape element. Some- where near the mill ruins, a nice water body.. D3: I feel a pool is optional. Also who actually spends time in a pool? D4: yes most women would not be comfortable in swimming costumes out in the open. They would also be stared at. CD: Mr. Mehta or Mr. Tendulkar would not be comfortable stepping into a pool. D3: I have seen pools getting filled up and made into gardens – because no one's using them and no one's maintaining them.. CD: yes and it's not like the developers offer them the option of paying for the pool or the clubhouse based on use. D4: yes it's a different thing if it is use-based. But then it would have to be open to others outside and the location will have to change. D3: I don't think you should even take that route. It is private space and therefore should remain within the residents and not open to outsiders. D2: We could have the pool covered with foliage – like tall trees and the like. It provide some privacy from the tall buildings above. D3: I don't fully agree with the assumption that people would have issues being seen or stared at in the pool. Some people might even prefer it. So…
Seg 93	D1: let us think of how to separate the residents and the outsiders

	D2: yes the difference between the residents and the people of the city. Note that there are slums in the neighborhood.
	D4: should we leave some of the facilities open to the city?
	D2: the view (of the towers) would be interesting from the road. It will have real presence since this out front is not very fast moving traffic.
	D3: yes it will act like an important landmark for this area or this part of the city
	D2: the porosity of the design would enrich communication between the two groups of people: the residents and the outsiders. Connection-disconnection with the city. What we can do is the best we can do given the context of Mumbai. Some of the best examples in housing are from elsewhere (not India). We have limitations of real estate and clients of a certain mentality. So all we can do is manage to get close to the ideal that we have in mind
Seg 94	D1: Apartment life is so disconnected from the ground, so context-free.
	D2: true they (the developers) advertise the greenness and natural settings of a place but actually an apartment-dwelling is so disconnected from its immediate context.
	CD: true that is the undesirable actuality of apartment-dwelling.
	D3: Lets photoshop an image of the apartment block on the moon. A tall residential tower on the stark landscape of the moon.
	D1: yes a generic image of the generic quality of apartment-buildings. D4: we can show how we are trying to work against this dissociation. This could be one of the themes – to try to build new associations with the surroundings.
	CD: that is a good idea. We could pitch this as an urban regeneration project. we can provide decent housing to the existing low income housing group, then this will become a very interesting project

Seg 94a	D3: "this picture of an apartment on the crater surface of the moon – this image will be striking to include (in the presentation for the developer).
Seg 95	D1: this is residential space. It has to be silent and quiet in here. The car and car parkings should be limited to the periphery. The spaces inside should have only people on foot. Though there are options of using the road but only in special cases. Else we should leave the cars outside.
	D2: yes that will also go with the way we have been thinking of this space – as something that gives respite from the city.
	CD: yes this has to provide them a different experience. The moment the dweller steps inside, the city should disappear.
	D3: yes we need to focus on the overall experience of being inside the apartment-dwelling site.
	D4: yes the experience of the city after a day's work and all that travelling makes one want to cut-off from the city. So it will be desirable to disconnect from the city.
	D2: but did we not just discuss about how dissociated the apartment-block is from the sur- roundings. And we were to build associations. Now how can we talk about dissociation positively?
	CD: no, what we are talking about is removing the undesirable elements. So yes it's not complete dissociation or complete association, but how we decide to connect some and disconnect some other
	D1: as much as we want association, the dissociation is also coveted.
	D4: if you have noticed the advertisements these days they are all about exclusivity and leisure.
	CD: we could make use of more interesting drawings like walk-throughs to suggest what we have in mind. Yes that would give a clear picture. We don't want to lose out on the proj- ect just because they get impressed with another architect just because he provides better views or drawings. In projects of this sort what differentiates it from others is purely ambience and facilities. The effect

	that can be generated out of the built-form – that is central. Otherwise they are all the same. See how only Kanchenjunga stands apart..
	D2: see urban housing is primarily divided into middle class housing, slums and then these developer built apartments. Ours comes under the developer built private branded apartments – they will have to belong to that category in terms of facilities. But what we are also trying to do is to open up this category and make it more lively and urban and more connected to the city rather than thinking of it as just any other gated community
Seg 95 (b)	D2: this is how these blocks would look into the city.
	CD: but it's the slums on the other side. It would be good to avoid facing this spread of slums. Would it possible for us to control the views (from the site and buildings), towards the slums? Good views for more flats means more advantages (in terms of the market and design).
	D3: yes we need to control the orientation based on desirable views.
	D1: that is what flats have – views. So its essential to orient the views. But im not too sure about whether we would orient the block away from the slums. I mean it's a reality of the city.
	D4: I disagree. We are building new realities. Not really focused on showing what reality already is. I mean the people would be paying a lot to escape from the problems and troubles of the city. So it is but obvious we need to exploit the best views. Else the designer would be blamed for not orienting the flats properly.
	D1: So yes the dissociation of the apartment block is also an advantage. It is not just really all negative
Seg 95 c	CD: "Develop the biodeiversity (mangroves)"
Seg 96	Environmental Consultant: If we zoom out of the immediate site, there are surrounding spaces which have mangroves and associated natural resources. Why don't we preserve these? Can we ask the developer to invest in these surroundings to preserve the environment?

	CD: yes it will be a novel proposal if we could ask them to do that.

EC: the birds will flock into the site if the overall environment is repaired and maintained.

CD: yes the developer could also claim the project to be something larger in scope than just another developer built apartment. The project will be accompanied with general enhancement of that portion of the city.

EC: yes it could be conceived as a larger ecological project.

CD: Apartment housing in Mumbai is so redundant. At least we should treat this project as an alternative strategy. Something more holistic than being just another apartment project.

D3: that hostel block by Steven Holl for instance is a complete break from the standards of apartment type. Because be builds relationships between the blocks on the site. Rarely do we see that in India. Obviously the rules here are too messed up to allow anything of that sort. The real estate market also does not really support something of that sort.

D2: but since this is a large enough site, there are more chances to make a difference. Be- cause of the scale of the project...

D4: the only apartment block which we can really proud of in India is the Kanchenjunga by Correa. That is the only apartment block where the design shines forth.

CD: this site offers a range of possibilities in terms of advantageous city life. |
Seg 96a	D3: "A fluid form is more contemporary. For instance that Steven Holl building"
Seg 97	D3: "our local design of apartments is very unimpressive"
Seg 98	D3: I know it's an apartment block and it might be difficult to stop people of one flat from looking into another. Some sides will invariable look into other flats. But the idea is to mini- mize this. In your design (D2),

	there is a lot of scope for peering from one block to another. D4: there is no way we can fully prevent gaze from all flats into all other flats. We can only try to minimize it. Looking into other houses through windows is a common enough phenomenon in the context of Mumbai since it is within the community. Its only when it become across class that it becomes an issue
Seg 99	CD: this is an exclusive community. But parts of this exclusive space can be opened up to the outside – like the mill ruins and the commercial street. But the challenge then would be maintain this exclusivity. So we could suggest certain hours where this could be turned open. D2: the danger in opening up now is that after let us say 10 years, in case they decide to close it for the public, it might not be possible. Because then it would have become public space. So one needs to be careful about this opening out private space to the public kind of business. D3: yes this is a decision which will have to be taken after careful consideration – whether we would really want to give up space to the city. D2: actually I don't think we are giving up space. If we plan it well, by opening up parts of the space which would have bundle of public utilities, then it could be considered an earning of the residential space itself. It could be employed as an source of income generation. And commercial activity would lead to an increase in the real estate value of the place. The com- mercial activity would act as an attractor. D1: but the question is how would it affect the individual dweller. all this activity. CD: it needs to be clear. Individual and collective. Private and not so private.
Seg 99	CD: this is an exclusive community. But parts of this exclusive space can be opened up to the outside – like the mill ruins and the commercial street. But the challenge then would be maintain this exclusivity. So we could suggest certain hours where this could be turned open.

	D2: the danger in opening up now is that after let us say 10 years, in case they decide to close it for the public, it might not be possible. Because then it would have become public space. So one needs to be careful about this opening out private space to the public kind of business. D3: yes this is a decision which will have to be taken after careful consideration – whether we would really want to give up space to the city. D2: actually I don't think we are giving up space. If we plan it well, by opening up parts of the space which would have bundle of public utilities, then it could be considered an earning of the residential space itself. It could be employed as an source of income generation. And commercial activity would lead to an increase in the real estate value of the place. The commercial activity would act as an attractor. D1: but the question is how would it affect the individual dweller. all this activity.
Seg 99a	D3: "people try to appropriate public space and whatever does not fall within their private space, they just ignore….not just ignore, but spoil it..
Seg 100	D4: Through the general layout we could control a lot of things. But not everything. The interiors is fully dependent on the purchaser of the flat. Yes we can only deal with the overall layout of the space, not the specific differences. There is chance to shape typology
Seg 102	D3: why go for tall buildings? Why not spread the apartments out? Low-rise, crawling – a very different ambience...the views can look into the created design itself. Need not necessarily look out. D3: yes we could look at terraces and courtyards housed within clusters of dwelling-unit blocks. D4: we can question the tower-block philosophy of large spaces. CD: but the problem with low-rise is that space gets distributed and the large chunk of open space which usually hold great appeal for the developer would be lost.

	D3: this would involve the formation of other kinds of spaces. I'm not sure if the commercial street will help the private ambience expected of a home. It might work if it is 'those' kind of shops – not our everyday city shops
Seg 102a	D1: "the commercial street should not disturb the private ambience of a home"
Seg 103	D2: "yes that (the low-rise option) is very social housing-type – sense of community, collective, shared, etc"
Seg 104	D4: we could loop a long jogging track along the hilly part of the site. D3: yes the landscape design could have all these various open facilities in one single flowing scheme
Seg 105	D2: the jogging track could be the connection for all the semi private spaces. it will have a very informal feel. D3: yes it can be woven into the other spaces to enhance the experience of jogging. D2: health, fitness and well being are the new key terms in the design of housing. Why do you think all the developers today provide for gymnasiums, pools and clubs for sure. And obviously health facilities and services too
Seg 106	D1: is the balcony a private space or semi-private space? D2: the balcony is not a private space. It is visible to the outside. So it falls into public space. D3: in india, the balcony is a private space. In Europe, the balcony is part of public space. Rather house facades in many communities are part of public space in the US. CD: obviously in India, the visibility of the building from the road outside is not that important. D3: but these days builders are very conscious. Because it affects their brand. In some ways today, the name of a developer will sustain depending on how a place is kept. At least the developers help maintain a public image (laughs). D4: That's the reason many big developers also want to continue to manage the place. Because their reputation in some ways rests on the image of the old projects.

D2: How can the balcony actually be a private space? Just because it is visible? What if you live in a glass house? just because the house is visible, does it become a public space?

D2: no the home is all about privacy. And privacy also means privacy of the community. Not just of the individual.

CD: yes private is only in my house. I can't step onto the garden and act like its private. It is owned by the community (of residents) D3: But in Europe, the private means very different things. People consider the outside are their own space. It is like an extension of their own house.

CD: yes, in other words public space means my own space. The notion of what is one's 91 own is very different.

D3: But India has very energetic spaces where the public and private are interwined. Like the old market gullies (where the private residence is on the top floor of the commercial shops below). It is also something that works. Hiranandani works because it created an environment outside the walls too. That helps.

CD: yes for the developers location is a very strategic thing. Big developers don't just look for good locations, they create locations.

D4: they develop the location in parts and in multiple. A whole township means larger projects, and larger profits. And lost of freedom with the design.

D2: yes they still end up not utilizing the freedom architecturally.

D1: that's because the carrying capacity and the profit-making tendency of the developer defeats good housing.

CD: Coming back to the question of whether a balcony is a public space or a private space – this is a new question because the balcony is also a new idea not very old. It begins with Art Deco – which is not very old.

	D2: yes we did have verandahs and porch-kind of spaces, kattis, which were spaces which were part of the street too. Even today, the kattis exist in old parts of the town. But the new houses are more away from the street. There is distance. It is away from the street.
	D1: that's primarily due to the multi-storey apartments. The balcony becomes a private area. Not because it is outside, but because it does not really touch the ground.
	D4: In bungalows, even when the balcony is not on the ground (verandah), it is private. Like the houses in Kerala. The outer spaces are open to visitors, but it is not very public
Seg 106a	CD: "Large scale apartment complexes like townships try to balance out the lack of space in traditional cities"
Seg 107	D2: the club house will anyway be near the pool. Both the maintenance of the pool and the clubhouse would be taken care of by the same group of people.
	D3: you mean the services?
	D2: yes usually its run on contract.
	D2: yes the club house is an important and these days very visible component of the design. People are more and more hosting their guests in guest houses and not in their homes
Seg 108	D1: so we need to show (in the drawings) people in groups outside and also within the homes, so that we could evoke a feeling of both the complex and the single flat.
	CD: yes we should totally be able to indicate a personal exclusivity but at the same time the idea of belonging to an exclusive locality.
	D2: anyway my design will have duplex which will anyway create that feeling of a exclusively personal kind of feeling
	CD: no that's not what I mean. I'm saying they would need to create a feeling of both a nice category in a group – I mean group of people who stay in such a nice

	upmarket residential space and also the personal 'thing' with the place. D1: simply put show views of the interior of the flat and exterior of the flat populated with people. CD: not just with people, but people doing things that we would want to convey to the buyer.... D2: I understand. I'm understanding all of that. I just said the duplex itself is a symbol of personal space or very aspirational personal space. CD: we could show 2/3 levels of activity ranging from living room spaces to large grounds. In D3's case, he can actually show activities at smaller group levels too because his scheme is fully of medium range space for groups of people. D1: true. He can show a lot of those kind of activities. CD: In your case (to D4), you will have to show them really wide-angle shots of the place (to suggest the grandness of the large central space) and the circular and curving nature of the space. D4: yes anyway we would be doing Chinese renderings of the place. CD: okay can you tell me what kind of people would occupy this places? Who would the residents of the place be? Can we visualize that? We can think of one such ideal resident and work with that
Seg 109	CD: let's present glimpses of the social set up
Seg 110	D2: MAD architects work with a lot of urban dwelling experiments. Urban farming has become part of their built-form. D3: I think we can learn more from Doshi and Correa – they have successfully built for this space. D2: But the situations have changed – the time they built in and the time now. Also I understand – you are indicating how they brought in regional identity and all no? That was the time they did not have this environmentalism that we have now. And today I think most buildings want

	to be global. The materials and context and climate might be local but the aspirational image is global. So we can go back to mud and wattle construction today. D3: I was not talking about mud/wattle construction, c'mon (the argument heats up a bit). I was talking about the cultural context – how they were able to build here.... D2: yes I'm just mentioning MAD architects in terms of how their environmental awareness shows up literally in their buildings. It's become their identity
Seg 110a	D2: "regional identity - can we give this to the built-form through local building idiom"
Seg 111	CD: The envelope-like function of architecture can be multiplied here or expanded here in projects of this size; the smaller the scale of the project, the lesser the scope for design decisions for the collective as a whole. D1: yes the whole could be as big as a town. D3: that's exactly what Lodhas are doing in Kalyan/Dombivli. That's what Lavasa (Pune) is all about. But that was a flop. D4: yes large spaces can define more norms. D2: it can exercise more control on the environment
Seg 112	CD: dress up the architectural design with the sociological aspect. Else it will feel dry.
Seg 113	D3: everything is so market-driven that there is no innovation possible. Most of the good buildings that we refer to today have had a different model of building than just FSI and saleable area. There have been other kinds of freedom if not in terms of area. So it will be difficult to compare the congested and suffocating condition of Mumbai with any other kind of space. D2: No but at least there are new things we can still do in terms of form. Not too much, but we could stretch the envelope. Also this is a huge project so the chances of doing things are more
Seg 114	D2: we are too many of us. Such crowded and stressful cities we live in. I think people would prefer more peace at home than interaction. They also need isolation
Seg 115	D3: I would like the space to be active. That's why I would like to have the city street run through the site or allow the site to have a street which everyone or anyone from the city can access. The buildings need not stand

	aloof from their surroundings. They can interact. It's not like a gated community. CD: yes it can break the typology of the developer-built apartment block
Seg 116	D3: the streets will actually create a very active external space. D2: yes it would be more democratic for sure. But I don't know about the expectations of peace and safety that the residents might have
Seg 117	CD: but the market is changing. It's spreading into the suburbs and even beyond
Seg 118	D2: we really don't know what kind of people are going to occupy these residences. D3: yes unless we define well, we wouldn't know how it will be used.. (in relation to public space)
Seg 119	CD: how would the buyer make a choice between four washing machines by four different companies similar in all respects including the prices? D1: the extra value addition in the form of amenities in the super-built space would help in differentiation. Given most interior-flat layouts across various residential projects are the same (2bhk, 3bhk) the real space of distinction would be super-built up and the corresponding lifestyle offered
Seg 120	D3: the trend is to separate and hide the service space (plumbing, electrical, etc) buildings with the service-work completely absent from the outside provide a smoother, cleaner sur- face. But the flip-side is the lack of necessary ducet space to conduct repairing activities
Seg 121	D2: should we allow public shopping street right through the private residential area? D3: yes that's what I'm saying, distribute the commercial requirement along the edges of the internal street. A thoroughfare cutting through the complex – that's what I have in mind. D2: but outsider through the site will create security problems. Shouldn't residential spaces have complete privacy? Especially since this project is residential-led mixed use development?

	D1: no we could have activity but more like a 9-hour community than a 15-hour 98 community. D4: in the evening the street could become public. Else it could be open to others perhap We could define time segments for this purpose
Seg 121a	D2: "to open up this category and make it more lively, urban and more connected"
Seg 122	CD: show some life – color the space with activities like nananani park, children's play areas, outdoor games, volleyball to easily convey the quality of space
Seg 123	CD: there are enough studies indicative of the social and geographical mismatch created by the global character of the gated community typology
Seg 124	D3: the dwellers will use the terrace for sun-drying home-made products like papads. D2: but who makes papads these days at home? D3: also the gentry that lives here would not be the sort that would engage in making papads at home, right?
Seg 125	CD: it become difficult to visualize the dweller. We can make use of our general understand- ing of the resident, based on the cost and the location of the flat. D2: a certain income class would have a certain set of behavioral traits as a consumer – we would have to employ that. CD: there are general trends based on which we can decide the program. But the new shifts that can be brought in come from the tweaking of the general trend. D2: as architects we have a feel for and understanding of space. It is actually more than a feel. It is an insight into what means to be in a place. So even though we do not know who the specific dweller is we can still be able to understand how the space is going to be whoso-ever occupies the place

Appendix IV: Discussions with a sample flat designer

Segment	Discussion
Seg SFD	Sample flat designer: To be able to fit as many sq feet as you can and then what is left to deal with is only the elevation – which is a result of the bye-laws. What more is left for work but the façade? The larger projects are able to provide at least some kind of ambience. The smaller ones do not have the scope. It's the general peace of the place that matters – given the rush and grime of the city. The future is all about services. Design only plays a very minor role. Its all about making locations. That is only possible in large scale work These are the times of ready-to-move in houses. They come with everything. And anyway service apartments are anyway very popular. Folks stay in it for months when they travel for work. Its all about being in the city but being outside it. There isn't much creativity in doing apartment buildings. Its not very satisfying. Im planning to get into interiors where I could explore some design than doing run of the mill work. Sample Flat Designer: I do a lot of sample flat designs. Frequently I end up doing actual residential interiors have people have liked my sample flat designs. The good thing about sample flats is that I can do what I want or feel will work. nobody interferes – in that sense it is satisfying

Appendix V: Communicating Spatialization

Segment	Design discussion	Theme
seg 7a	The designer guides the dweller in being able to read and understand plans and relate the plans and the actual site. The designer orients the dweller in the actual space, based on the plan	drawing-actual relation, understanding drawings
seg 7b	the designer explains that preliminary views of the kitchen He explains how these views would not contain all details of how the place would look when its complete. Those details will only become clear at a later stage of the design process.	drawing-actual relation
seg 10	The designer shares with the dweller photographs of existing built spaces on the internet and other media like magazines are used as references to support and criticize spaces	Images as reference
seg 10b	the spaces in the kitchen shown in the drawings, are actually played out on the site. The designer and the dweller walk through and try feel the space. This happens in multiple situations in the design process	embodied visualization
seg 10c	the dweller appreciates and is impressed by the designer's skill in visualizing. The designer helps the dweller visualize the future	The act of visualization

	space. These documents are used to clarify issues.	
Seg 10d	Ok, so if I walk from here, this will not be visible right? (the dweller walks through the passage checking visibility from the passage into the rooms, for a proposed design idea)	embodied visualization
seg 10e	The designer walks the dweller through the living room and gesticulates the layout of the space while the dweller nods and absorbs through visualizing how it would be like	embodied visualization
seg 21	when the designer says the a full-mirrored wall in the dining space would look good, the dweller is not able to visualize it. The designer guides him verbally and through gestures regarding this space.	The act of visualization
seg 38a	when selecting colors for the bedroom, the designer uses magazines and online images to show how a space would feel with different combinations of colors	Images as reference
seg 38b	the dweller walks through the corridor with gestures imagining the space of the walk	embodied visualization
seg 38c	the dweller and the designer both sit on the newly lowered window sill-ledge to know how the space feels and then they discuss possible future design decisions like curtains in the that space.	Embodied visualization
Seg 38d	Images of some houses from America and some homes with the modern Japanese	global practices through images

	idiom were shared by the designer with the dweller	
Seg 63	Ok, so if I walk from here, this will not be visible right? (the dweller walks through the passage checking visibility from the passage into the rooms, for a proposed design idea)	Embodied visualization
Seg 64	The designer walks the dweller through the living room and gesticulates the layout of the space while the dweller nods and absorbs through visualizing how it would be like	Embodied visualization

Appendix VI: Communicating 'Design'

Segment	Design discussion	Theme
seg 4	False ceilings can be thought in terms of panels. photographs are used to show of the wall panel and the ceiling panel could be connected and how it would look when connected	experimental disposition, partial relationships,
seg 5a	Wall panel + ceiling panel could be connected and this is a unique or novel idea	partial relationships
seg 5b	Modern/Contemporary Homes as opposed to conventional (old) homes	Experimental disposition, resisting convention
seg 5c	New Spaces require some exploration	Experimental disposition
seg 6a	Light could be hidden behind panels (though usually the ones that are seen in other's houses, the lights are outside - like chandeliers	ambience, resisting convention, partial relationships
seg 6b	the door need not look strong, but it can still be strong. strength and appearance can be contradictory	appearance, qualifying space, partial relationships
seg 6c	velvety carpets might not really work for the character of the house under design. these kind of carpets are popular in the houses of the client-dweller's relatives	appearance, resisting convention, cohesiveness, partial relationships

seg 6d	if the study and guest room are the same, it can still be made to serve both	Negotiating hybridity, partial relationships, communication between spaces
seg 8a	That the house can be thought through panels	cohesiveness
seg 8b	match/mismatch between spaces	cohesiveness
seg 9a	Plywood is used for false ceiling. A lot of possibilities because of that. it will become a very 'sleek' space	qualifying space, ambience, experimental disposition, partial relationships
seg 9b	these days flats are increasingly more 'open' in planning. this also means spatial partitions are more relaxed	supporting convention, partial relationships, cohesive relations
seg 9c	this house can be seen and experienced through a theme	cohesiveness
seg 10a	all the elements have to be visualized in relation to each other. they should have similarities	cohesive relation, partial relationships
seg 10b	Wood is expensive. Otherwise wood would have been the best material to use for the wall-panels and furniture. We could use veneer for the same effects	appearance, ambience, budget-translates-into-meaning, partial relationships
seg 10c	the soft lighting will make the space cosy	qualifying space, ambience, cohesive relations
seg 10d	white color for the wall needs to be balanced out with some color on another wall so that the overall white is reduced	ambience, appearance

seg 10e	That is done just for the ambience. but it will change the mood of the house	ambience, qualifying space
seg 12a	The designer advices on how veneers can be used (to substitute wood). They will look exactly like wood. they are actually thin sheets of wood	appearance, design and ornamentation,
seg 12e	it need not look like the standard mirrors used in houses. the frame of the mirror will not only not be ornate, but it will be absent and made to look like the mirror is stuck onto the panel	design and ornamentation, appearance, resisting convention
seg 12c	the usual, common entrance doors try to be ornate. but they can be made plain and without any kind of decorative motif	design and ornamentation,
seg 12d	the design will look 'clean' if there are very few things for display, and the rest are stowed away in storage spaces the practice of storing spaces out of sight so space comes into focus.	ambience, qualifying space, appearance
Seg 12g	The designer explains how strength need not be visible on the surface	*Theme: appearance, design and ornamentation (Appendix VI)*
seg 12h	The dweller is concerned about whether the kitchen and its activities should be seen from the living room?	*Theme: communication between spaces (Appendix VI)*
Seg 56a	the designer tells the dweller that the shelf can also become a partition. He sketches it on the wall for the dweller	Resisting convention, Shifting meanings

Appendix VII: Changing Perceptions

Segment	Design discussion	Theme
seg 17	the wardrobe as a space to be in was new to the dweller. visualizing a new interaction with a space	introducing practices
seg 12d	The designer explains how the design will look 'clean' if there are very few things for display, and the rest are stowed away in storage spaces. the practice of storing things out of sight so space comes into focus	how-to-use-the-space
seg 6a	if the study and guest room are the same, it can still be made to serve both. the usual practice of booking the guest house within gated communities for the purpose of housing guests is mentioned	new practices due to hybridity
seg 6b	the dweller is uncomfortable with the new suggestion (about having only indirect lighting in the master bedroom) and decides to continue his current understanding and experience. but this is in contradiction to his acceptance of the concept	discomfort with introduced practice
seg 14	overall look and 'feel' of the house should be devoid of the overtly ornamental desire. things should be stored and displayed based on this idea.	incorporating practices

seg 20	A mandir can be fixed to a wall (need not be kept on the floor). Assoications of a particular activity with a specific space is disrupted here	introducing practices
seg 22	According to the designer Vaastu is partially scientific and partially superstition	scripting/rescripting practices
seg 29a	the designer acts like a guide to help the dweller interact with the industry or market and also to think from within a framework so as to work with the possibility of infinite choice. That there are people who get paid to organize clothes	negotiating choice, resisting conventional practices,
seg 29b	Shower cabinet - becoming popular in most houses	introducing practices
seg 29c	space for religious gatherings and practices	scripting/rescripting, retaining practices
seg 29d	the client-dweller usually does not wear house-slippers	personal practices
seg 29e	the breakfast table supports this speedy breakfast practice	introducing practices,
seg 29f	Cleaning the house. white vitrified tiles on the wall (for ease of cleaning), made the living room look like a bathroom	criticizing idiosyncratic practices
seg 30	the living room as a space with different zones for different activities	scripting/rescripting practices
	The difference between curtains and blinds for controlling light	introducing practices,

seg 34	The dweller expresses the thought that in an urban space as tight as mumbai, it is but obvious that multiple ways of being in space would exist or evolve	contextuality of practices
Seg 17	keep only dim lights on when watching TV or for leisure. the multiple lighting possibilities and their corresponding to activities was beriefly touched upon	introducing practices
seg 53	the dweller's desire to have a shower cabinet, but the ones available on the market seemed unaffordably priced. a spatial practice that is to be gained through the introduction of a system or object	desire to incorporate practices,

Appendix VIII: Discussions oriented towards shifting practices

Segment	design discussion	theme
seg 4	False ceilings can be thought in terms of panels. photographs are used to show of the wall panel and the ceiling panel could be connected and how it would look when connected	experimental disposition, partial relationships,
Seg 4a	The designer explains how some design decisions suggested by the dweller would disrupt the panel idea which defines the whole design	Relationships between parts (partial relationships)
seg 5a	Wall panel + ceiling panel could be connected and this is a unique or novel idea	partial relationships
seg 5b	Modern/Contemporary Homes as opposed to conventional (old) homes	experimental disposition, resisting convention
seg 5c	New Spaces require some exploration	experimental disposition
seg 6a	If the study and guest room are the same, it can still be made to serve both. the usual practice of booking the guest house within gated communities for the purpose of housing guests is mentioned	new practices due to hybridity

seg 6b	Light could be hidden behind panels though usually the ones that are seen in other's houses, the lights are outside - like chandeliers	ambience, resisting convention, partial relationships
seg 6c	the dweller is uncomfortable with the new suggestion (about having only indirect lighting in the master bedroom) and decides to continue his current understanding and experience. but this is in contradiction to his acceptance of the concept	discomfort with introduced practice
seg 6d	If the study and guest room are the same, it can still be made to serve both	negotiating hybridity, partial relationships, communication between spaces
seg 6e	Velvety carpets might not really work for the character of the house under design. these kind of carpets are popular in the houses of the client-dweller's relatives	appearance, resisting convention, cohesiveness, partial relationships
seg 8a	Match/mismatch between spaces	Cohesiveness
seg 8b	That the house can be thought through panels	Cohesiveness
seg 9a	Plywood is used for false ceiling. A lot of possibilities because of that. it will become a very 'sleek' space	qualifying space, ambience, experimental disposition, partial relationships
seg 9b	these days flats are increasingly more 'open' in planning. this also means spatial partitions are more relaxed	supporting convention, communication between spaces, cohesive relations

seg 9c	this house can be seen and experienced through a theme	cohesiveness
seg 10a	all the elements have to be visualized in relation to each other. they should have similarities	cohesive relation, partial relationships
seg 10b	Wood is expensive. Otherwise wood would have been the best material to use for the wall-panels and furniture. We could use veneer for the same effects	appearance, ambience, budget-translates-into-meaning, partial relationships
seg 10c	the soft lighting will make the space cosy	qualifying space, ambience, cohesive relations
seg 10d	white color for the wall needs to be balanced out with some color on another wall so that the overall white is reduced	ambience, appearance
seg 10e	that is done just for the ambience. but it will change the mood of the house	ambience, qualifying space
seg 12	The designer adivces how veneers can be used (to substitute wood). they will look exactly like wood. they are actually thin sheets of wood	appearance, design and ornamentation,
seg 12b	the design will look 'clean' if there are very few things for display, and the rest are stowed away in storage spaces	ambience, qualifying space, appearance
seg 12c	should the kitchen and its activities be seen from the living room?	communication between spaces

seg 12d	The designer explains how the design will look 'clean' if there are very few things for display, and the rest are stowed away in storage spaces. the practice of storing things out of sight so space comes into focus	how-to-use-the-space
seg 12e	it need not look like the standard mirrors used in houses. the frame of the mirror will not only not be ornate, but it will be absent and made to look like the mirror is stuck onto the panel	design and ornamentation, appearance, resisting convention
seg 12f	the usual, common entrance doors try to be ornate. but they can be made plain and without any kind of decorative motif	design and ornamentation,
seg 14	overall look and 'feel' of the house should be devoid of the overtly ornamental desire. things should be stored and displayed based on this idea.	incorporating practices
seg 17	the wardrobe as a space to be in was new to the dweller. visualizing a new interaction with a space	introducing practices
seg 20	A mandir can be fixed to a wall (need not be kept on the floor). Assoications of a particular activity with a specific space is disrupted here	introducing practices
seg 22	According to the designer, Vaastu is partially scientific and partially superstition	scripting/rescripting practices
seg 29a	the designer acts like a guide to help the dweller interact with the industry or	negotiating choice, resisting conventional

	market and also to think from within a framework so as to work with the possibility of infinite choice.That there are people who get paid to organize clothes	practices,
seg 29b	shower cabinet - becoming popular in most houses	introducing practices
seg 29c	space for religious gatherings and practices	scripting/rescripting, retaining practices
seg 29d	the client-dweller usually does not wear house-slippers	personal practices
seg 29e	the breakfast table supports this speedy breakfast practice	introducing practices,
seg 29f	Cleaning the house. white vitrified tiles on the wall (for ease of cleaning), made the living room look like a bathroom	criticizing idiosyncratic practices
Seg 30	the living room as a space with different zones for different activities	scripting/rescripting practices
Seg 34	The dweller expresses the thought that in an urban space as tight as mumbai, it is but obvious that multiple ways of being in space would exist or evolve	contextuality of practices
38	The difference between curtains and blinds for controlling light	introducing practices,
Seg 53	the dweller's desire to have a shower cabinet, but the ones available on the market seemed unaffordably priced. a spatial	desire to incorporate practices, budget translates into meaning

	practice that is to be gained through the introduction of a system or object	
Seg 40	keep only dim lights on when watching TV or for leisure. the multiple lighting possibilities and their corresponding to activities was beriefly touched upon	introducing practices
Seg 40a	Images of some houses from America and some homes with the modern Japanese idiom were shared by the designer with the dweller	global practices through images
Seg 65	The dweller asks if the finish of the couch would be as good as the one they had seen in the furniture store. The designer convinces the dweller that this is achievable.	Rescripting perspectives
Seg 60a	The dweller explains how the living room is a hang out space	Rescripting perspectives

Appendix IX Complete Tabulation of All discussions in design of flat interior

Segment no.	Segments of Visualization Discourse from the design discussions
Seg 1	Interior design focuses on both the looks and the usability of the house the budget depends on how the client-dweller would want the house to look like
Seg 2	walls do not carry load More height in the room will make it feel not congested Skirting to the walls needs to be subtler than the one that is currently there. There is not much of a view from the windows. So that it would be better to treat them as more for light and ventilation than viewing.
Seg 3	Old furniture can be incorporated into the design The client-dweller would have facility visiting frequently as one of his relatives was unwell in Mumbai. So he

would want to provide space for them whenever they frequent Mumbai.

The entrance actually begins much further from the main door. A wall of the passage could be used some of the old furniture could also be accommodated in the bedrooms.

A study as a necessary space for books and other work related activities, to be incorporated into the house.dweller starts asking the designer about different practices in the home-place that people are engaged in.

False ceilings can be thought in terms of panels

Photographs are used to show off the wall panel and how the ceiling panel could be thought of together

Seg 4

He frequently contradicts this statement when he suggests elements of the house and the designer explains it to him. The dweller has not fully internalized the designer's formal concept of seeing the false ceiling and wall panel as continuous planes

Wall panel + ceiling panel could be connected and this is a unique or novel idea.

Modern/Contemporary Homes?

New Spaces?

Seg 5

He accepts this, after he is convinced of how its going to look.

The designer employs a number of photographs and some sketches to clarify the idea in the context of the layout

plan. This clarification involves the designer trying to guide the dweller as to how to read plans and elevations of their future building. The photographs are used to show of the wall panel and the ceiling panel could be connected and how it would look when connected. These references are used to indicate to the space that the dweller shall occupy.

Light could be hidden behind panels (though usually the ones that are seen in other's houses, the lights are outside – like chandeliers) the door need not look strong, but it can still be strong. Strength and appearance can be contradictory.

Velvety carpets might not really work for the character of the house under design. these kind of carpets are popular in the houses of the client-dweller's relatives.

Seg 6

If the study and guest room are the same, it can still be made to serve both. It should work because guests only stay for a while. And the room could also be used when the parents of the client-dwellers come to stay with them. The usual practice of booking the guest house within gated communities for the purpose of housing guests is mentioned.

He contradicts the idea of light behind hidden panels, towards the end of the project when he insists on direct light in the bedroom; not one hidden panels.has not fully internalized the thematic of panels and planes which define the overall form of the house this is in contradiction to his acceptance of the conceptual thematic of the panel.

Seg 7
to be able to read and understand plans and relate the plans and the actual site. The designer orients the dweller in the actual space, based on the plan the designer explains that preliminary views of the kitchen He explains how these views would not contain all details of how the place would look when its complete. Those details will only become clear at a later stage of the design process. photographs of existing built spaces on the internet and other media like magazines are used as references to support and criticize spaces

Seg 8
That the house can be thought through panels match/mismatch between spaces. his response though initially one of not knowing and resistance, soon becomes one of using the central idea to even suggest formal changes in the design, as he attempts 'thinking with the designer'.

Seg 9
Plywood is used for false ceiling. A lot of possibilities because of that. It will become a very 'sleek' space. These days flats are increasingly more 'open' in planning. This also means spatial partitions are more relaxed this house can be seen and experienced through a theme all the elements have to be visualized in relation to each other. They should have similarities.

He says he did not know that plywood could be employed for false ceiling – what he had in mind was plater of paris

Seg 10
photographs of existing built spaces on the internet and other media like magazines are used as references to support and criticize spaces the spaces in the kitchen shown in the drawings, are actually played out on the site. The designer and the dweller walk through and try feel the space. This happens

in multiple situations in the design process the dweller appreciates and is impressed by the designer's skill in visualizing. The designer helps the dweller visualize the future space. These documents are used to clarify issues.

Seg 10d

Ok, so if I walk from here, this will not be visible right? (the dweller walks through the passage checking visibility from the passage into the rooms, for a proposed design idea)

Seg 10e

The designer walks the dweller through the living room and gesticulates the layout of the space while the dweller nods and absorbs through visualizing how it would be like

Wood is expensive. Otherwise wood would have been the best material to use for the wall-panels and furniture. We could use veneer for the same effects the soft lighting will make the space cosy.

Seg 11

White color for the wall needs to be balanced out with some color on another wall so that the overall white is reduced.

That is done just for the ambience. But it will change the mood of the house.

He had imagined that parts of the furnishings could be done with wood

Veneers can be used (to substitute wood). They will look exactly

Seg 12

like wood. They are actually thin sheets of wood it need not look like the standard mirrors used in houses. The frame of the mirror will not only not be ornate, but it will be absent and made to look like the mirror is stuck onto the panel

the usual, common entrance doors try to be ornate. But they can be made plain and without any kind of decorative motif the design will look 'clean' if there are very few things for display, and the rest are stowed away in storage spaces.

should the kitchen and its activities be seen from the living room? The dweller is concerned about whether the kitchen and its activities should be seen

That effects of wood could be achieved on plywood through using actual skins of wood. That it could almost look like wood when finished such. How it looks like wood becomes important. What he actually thought of as being made of the material wood, now is substitute by something that looks like wood.

Plywood is used for false ceiling.The dweller, responds to this purely without resistance of any kind. He seems to accept this idea. No visible response but seems to agree the designer

Seg 13

This is actually a shift that depends on the dwellers understanding the specificities of the plywood. We do not know if this shift is grasped by the dweller as he does not respond to this design understanding explicated by the designer. Most probably not in its full possibility.

Seg 14   That decorations are unnecessary. This the dweller seems to accept at this stage, which allows the desiger to carry forward in the project, the idea that overall look and 'feel' of the house should be devoid of the ornamental desire. The fact that the dweller is not fully clear with this approach comes through as, at various stages, the designer has to remind the dweller of this approach towards the non-ornamental. This demands of the dweller, a drastic and an abstract intellectual shift from the 'decorative' relationship to a 'understated' relationship in his domestic space.

Seg 15   The safety door need not look strong, but can be. The play of how a door looks and what it does was new to the dweller as tried to understand look and function as two entities that could be seen separately and not intertwined. The appearance of strength and its actual strength

Seg 16   Mirrors actually make spaces look big. This was a new idea for the dweller and he began using it in future discussions on the look of different spaces in his house, with the designer.

Seg 17   A wardrobe can be walked into. The wardrobe as a space to be in was new to the dweller. he is used to interacting with a wardrobe that is too small to be walked into

Seg 18   All light fittings can be hidden. That the source of light could be hidden – though he seems to nod understandingly to this idea proposed by the designer, towards the end of the project, when it comes to lighting the bedroom, the dweller is totally opposed to the designer's decision to hide all lights. He insists in having at least one, what he calls 'direct light'.

Seg 19   A room can perform two functions (a bed can also be a study). Bedrooms are usually used for a range of activities and

not just those associated with sleep and privacy. Therefore its good to have more than one lockable space the dweller begins more of a talking aloud kind of exercise of trying to understand the implications of having a room perform two functions this understanding in architectural discourse falls into the reprogramming of a space. This involves change in the space's character without dividing the space in two. This fusion of the conventionally different programs within one space is what the dweller attempts to understand

Seg 20   A mandir can be fixed to a wall (need not be kept on the floor) the designer shows pictures of this being done in some of the good examples of design. According to him, it is not done commonly, but there are rare precedences which could be considered as supports to the idea

Seg 21   the designer presents views of the living room. Here the dweller is not sure about the colors that need to be employed. The designer explains that the colors used in the views are just indicative. When the designer says the a full-mirrored wall in the dining space would look good, the dweller is not able to visualize it. The designer guides him verbally and through gestures regarding this space.

Seg 22   According to the designer, vaastu is partially scientific and partially superstition. The relationship between an idea and actual space. The dweller, on his own tries to formulate new elements based on the concept of panels. But the designer explains how this formulation would not work in the current context because it would not match with the design decisions already taken in that space.

An open plan is favored because of its capacity to free spaces from rooms and allow them fluidity. The advocacy for this in domestic space succeeds the same trend within office or work-spaces. the architect here seems to be advocating openness as a favorable, contemporary position to adopt in relation to space.

Seg 23

Lighting can make the space look different, says the designer. The dweller says he did not know that light could actually make the room look that different. He mentions having experienced this in hotels and offices. He says he understands spot lights. The designer explains the aesthetics of being in different lights corresponding to the domestic activity or Mumbai the dweller is engaged in.

Seg 24

A bedroom can have many kinds of lights for many moods the dweller expresses his ignorance and surprise at the Mumbai apartments of light to enhance the mood of the activity that would be conducted in that space.

Seg 25

A soft light can calm the mind the dweller starts employing the term 'soft lighting' through the discussion when the discussion of light comes up in the course of the project

Seg 26

According to the designer paints can come in a million shades.The absolute difficulty of choosing a color because of the vast range of colors that exist in the paint market. He engages in an exercise of matching the colors of his house alongwith his wife and the designer. He seems to enjoy the possibilities of choosing the color.

Seg 27

How to match colors……the dweller queries and understands from the designer, the manner in which he decides

which colors match. The designer explained colors in terms of warm colors and cool colors and heavy colors and light colors.

Seg 28

How to store clothes. Changing personal and domestic chabits

That there are people who get paid to organize clothes space for religious gatherings and practices shower cabinet – becoming popular in most houses plants in the gallery – the client-dwellers do not have plant pots in their old house. but they wanted begin the practice here special place for blazers in the wardrobe. This is not something they already had in their old house. the client-dweller began using a blazer only after he began working in a corporate company.

They did not drink at home. So they did not want a wine cabinet/bar – this was something the designer suggested as a practice.

Seg 29

The dining table size being decided based on the size of the'thali' (large lunch plates) already in use in the household.

The client-dweller usually does not wear house-slippers. This came up when the designer proposed providing a space to keep the slippers, within the limited space of footwear shelf.

Breakfast table. According to the designer, these days with most people working, elaborate breakfast time is absent and people resort to a quick fix. The breakfast table supports this speedy breakfast practice.

According to the designer – with increasing lack of space The client-dweller expresses pleasant surprise at this fact that there are professional services to arrange wardrobes.

Cleaning the house the client-dweller disucsses the cleaning liquids and materials that could be employed on different surfaces in the house. They even discuss the tools used for cleaning the house. The designer narrates how in another project that he worked on in the past, white vitrified tiles on the wall (for ease of cleaning), made the living room look like a bathroom maintenance of spaces and the tools and practices available and to be carried out for its maintenance and performance. The reflections on the 'kept' nature of spaces rarely finds mention in architectural studies. It is usually considered as something to be thought about and incorporated into the design. these are sometimes conveyed by the designer in the design process.

How to sit in the living room…

Seg 31

The designer here explains the need to see the living room as a space with different zones for different activities. That dweller tried these activities and visualized the zone through mock/trial occupying of the space

How to welcome guests..

Seg 32

the client-dweller discusses the cleaning liquids and materials that could be employed on different surfaces in the house. They even discuss the tools used for cleaning the house. The designer narrates how in another project that he worked on in the past, how it is visually horrible for people who visit, when clients want ceramic tiling on their living room walls, while they have done it for purposes of cleaning (they were habituated to cleaning the house walls with water, frequently). He also mentioned that the clients were Tamil brahmins, as if

to attributed a cultural meaning to the decision of tiling up the living room walls with ceramic.

How the living room can be both social and private at the same time the 'tight' kitchen will feel more 'open' when it is opened to the living room, at least partially.

The incorporation of the a private 'cosy' corner within the living room the panel theme the veneer would create a 'sleek' look in the living room the 'clean' look can be continued into the bedrooms the sliding partition between the kitchen and the living room would make it flexible.

Seg 33

The soft-lights in the evening would make the space 'very relaxing'.If yellow color were used on the walls in the living room, it would look very 'jarring'.

The dweller says he thought of seating areas which are more privately oriented, in the bedroom space. But the designer then helps him see the living room as a space with a range or zones of privacy: from spaces for single persons, to small groups to large gatherings.

Seg 34

Social and private at the same time. The dweller expresses the thought that in an urban space as tight as Mumbai, it is but obvious that multiple ways of being in space would exist or evolve.

Seg 35

The difference between curtains and blinds for controlling light. The dweller confesses that he had never thought of curtains and blinds are controlling light inside

consciously. For that reason, he had always used a single curtain in precedent houses that he had lived in.

Seg 36   How to read a plan. This takes a while for the dweller to get used to as he keeps orienting and Mumbai apartment himself in relation to the house and the plan drawing.

Seg 37   How to understand elevations the visualization of the house through an elevation had to be supported by the designer thorough hand-drawn views.

when selecting colors for the bedroom, the designer uses magazines and online images to show how a space would feel with different combinations of colors

Seg 38   the dweller and the designer both sit on the newly lowered window sill-ledge to know how the space feels and then they discuss possible future design decisions like curtains in the that space.

Seg 38a   when selecting colors for the bedroom, the designer uses magazines and online images to show how a space would feel with different combinations of colors

seg 38b   the dweller walks through the corridor with gestures imagining the space of the walk

seg 38c   the dweller and the designer both sit on the newly lowered window sill-ledge to know how the space feels and then they discuss possible future design decisions like curtains in the that space.

Seg 38d   Images of some houses from America and some homes with the modern Japanese idiom were shared by the designer with the dweller

Seg 38d	Images of some houses from America and some homes with the modern Japanese idiom were shared by the designer with the dweller
Seg 39	The problem of using a carpet. The effects of a carpet and the necessity of buying one the cleaning of a carpet in the humid dusty Mumbai apartment of Mumbai was what the designer explained to the dweller when he expressed the desire to have a large carpet in the living room.
	The designer described in terms of color and size, which type of carpet would work best for the living room
Seg 40	Sitting on the floor is not an option in the living room. this is something that came later in the design process. the dweller was surprised of how sitting on the floor had not been considered in the plan because all corners and wall surface which he could lean on were now taken by furniture
Seg 40a	Images of some houses from America and some homes with the modern Japanese idiom were shared by the designer with the dweller
Seg 41	No place to site for puja. this led the dweller to express dissatisfaction at the fact that the act of performing puja sitting on the floor had not be taken care of in the design because of the fact of having hung the mandir high up on the wall
Seg 42	That the dining table size can be derived from a plate - that it has to accommodate their thali. the tailored aspect of the table was new to the dweller. He had questions regarding the rotating centre table in a round table which was in use in his home in Bhopal

Seg 43	The kitchen can totally open into the living room. the dweller expressed discomfort in terms of exposing the kitchen fully to the living room. He grudingly agreed for keeping it partially open. But the discussion evolved into a sliding partition as a solution. Resistance to the contact of two spaces that he considered separate, especially when one space is considered more private than the other.
Seg 44	A partition could slide between the living room and bedroom, giving him the choice of keeping it open or closed
Seg 45	The kitchen can have an additional table - a breakfast table. That breakfast can be had separately was something the dweller. Thought impossible in the space that was available. He had thought of the dining table and the breakfast table as one.
Seg 46	Dining does not need too much space the dining space the dweller had visualized was almost double in terms of the size suggested by the designer.
Seg 47	An open plan is a new way of living the questions that dweller had were those of privacy. The designer seemed to be in a mode of advocating an open plan as a better way of living. He also suggests an open office as a new modality of being in the urban world. The dweller seemed to be trying to absorb this spatial modality 'openness of private' of being in the contemporary city.

Steven Holl's building, OMA - the designer conveys to the dweller, in reassuring fashion that he hopes and wishes to do something unique in terms of the design of his house.

The designer shares with the dweller, an image of a space from Thom Mayne (of Morphosis-fame).

He also shares with the dweller some images of domestic spaces from some modern japanese domestic spaces to convey the tightness of space at the same time, the positive aesthetic qualities.

Seg 48

The substitution of partition-wall between the the bedroom and the passage with a long shelf.

The dweller had queries about cost in terms of money, of the effects these buildings created. Though the designer seems to have interpreted from the discussion, that the dweller had appreciated these buildings, there was no clear sense of liking these buildings. it seems more like a response of the order of 'not sure'.

Seg 49

Using interstitial spaces to search, read and also construct says the designer. Use of in-between spaces

All windows can be full windows

Seg 50

He had questions regarding the stability and safety of having large glass windows. But he seemed to like the idea. He asks the designer whether it would match with the panel idea that sets the tone inside the house

Seg 51

There can be seating near the windows

It had not occurred to dweller it seems that window frame bottom members could be thought in terms of seats and seating. The designer said it was a seating perfect for sipping coffee. The dweller responded to this by expressing that coffee drinking was not part of his habit

The entrance to the bathroom can be converted into a shelf the window-ledge could be used for seating the main door to the house need not look strong but can actually be made stronger.

Seg 52 That veneer is only a substitute for wood. that nothing can replace the quality that wood would bring to the space. veneer is also only a surface and not the core - the designer explains to the dweller why in architecture, veneer does not carry as much respect as wood the living will be open and welcoming with the combined effects of the open kitchen and the panel theme.

The small niche-like passage leading from the bedroom to the toilet could be used like a walk-in shelf was a new idea to the dweller, as he expressed it to the designer.

Seg 53 A shower cabinet can be made cheap the dweller's desire to have a shower cabinet, but the ones available on the market seemed unaffordably priced.

Seg 54 Hand-made furniture can be as finished as a readymade one the dweller had the impression that readymade furniture was better finished than those made insitu. This was clarified was as being a prejudice by the designer.

Seg 55	That a focused light on the dining table makes the table and its contents look nice the house that was featured on one of the tv channels was mentioned as a good example by the dweller. the client-dweller shared that he does browse through the 'property times supplment' accompanyng the main newspaper to look out for ideas of arranging and organizing the house interior multiple websites and google images were exchanged and shared between the designer and the client-dweller the designer also shared some books for the reference of the dweller and criticized the designs presented in popular magazines and newspapers. The dweller goes along with this idea suggested by the designer and says he had only seen this in interiors that appear on television.
Seg 56	Keep only dim lights on when watching TV or for leisure the multiple lighting possibilities and their corresponding to activities was briefly touched upon. The dweller seems satisfied with the idea.
Seg 56a	The designer tells the dweller that the shelf can also become a partition. He sketches it on the wall for the dweller
	Decoration is superfluous
Seg 57	The dweller had queries about what most people think of and respond to decoration. He was discussing visitors to the house and the image that the house would portray to the dweller.
Seg 58	LED lights can be used to border the bed to make it float. The Dweller expressed gladness at the visualization of the way it would look on completion

Seg 59

The modular kitchen is just a fad. Tailor-made kitchens are better. here he had questions as to why the made-in-situ was better than the readymade. industrially manufactured modularity of spaces considered superior to in-situ construction, as a popular notion. That this is not necessary is contested and explicated by the designer.

Seg 60

The kitchen should communicate with the rest of the house.the walk-in-wardrobe at the entrance to the bedroom would also create additional privacy because it dislocates the entrance of the bedroom to reduce immediate access from the passage.

The difference in curtains and blinds to control the amount of daylight filtering into the room. also to control visibility of the room from the outside at night.

The dweller had never thought of the kitchen as such an open space.

Seg 60a

The dweller explains how the living room is a hang out space

Seg 61

What do architects do? How different is Interior design from interior decoration the furnishings to be used in the house should be subtle and tending towards colors that recede and do not jut out due to their brightness. carpets, if being planned in the the living room, should not be too dark or light absorbent, to complement the color decided for the wall and the flooring. This was a general query which the dweller posed to the designer. The highlight of the discussion was his grasping of the difference between design and decoration.

Seg 62

One can work sitting in the kitchen (not necessarily standing) this made the dweller glad because he had never thought of being seated when cooking he said

Seg 63

Ok, so if I walk from here, this will not be visible right? (the dweller walks through the passage checking visibility from the passage into the rooms, for a proposed design idea)

Seg 64

The designer walks the dweller through the living room and gesticulates the layout of the space while the dweller nods and absorbs through visualizing how it would be like

Seg 65

The dweller asks if the finish of the couch would be as good as the one they had seen in the furniture store. The designer convinces the dweller that this is achievable.

Appendix X: Discussions with a senior apartment designer in Mumbai

Seg 01	Senior Designer chatting about contemporaneity in Mumbai. According to him, the interior design scene in Mumbai is changing. Clients seem more open to the 'open-plan' format. The open plan format which first entered workspaces is now popular in domestic spaces. According to him, open plans and fluid organizations are stamps of contemporariness in design. They are apparent in most interior layouts that are considered 'contemporary' in the industry and market. This attitude is also found amongst clients, as it filters into their imagination through popular media. Also, global trends enter domestic spaces easily in a global world.

Appendix XI: Discussions with the dwelling entity, post construction

Seg 01

The Researcher informs the dweller that the interview conducted post-construction, on the last visit to the site, that the interview can be treated as a feedback discussion so at to incorporate changes and improve the practice of the design office. The researcher speaks on behalf of the designer with whom he had shared his desire to ask the client-dweller questions regarding the satisfaction/dissatisfaction they experienced in the design process.

Researcher: I am curious to know – did the house get made to your satisfaction? Are you satisfied with the result? Do you think you would want to change anything in the way this project was handled?

Seg 02

Dwelling entity: the design is interesting. It turned out well. Though there were some issues with the lighting (in the bedroom) and the 'mandir' (the shrine – its placement), the overall effect was satisfying, they said. The more apparent logistical issues of construction were also mentioned as being unpleasant experiences. The logistical issues are related to the co-ordination of construction and execution and the resultant delay in completing the project. (It seems, in terms of the meaning of the home, they seem to have been radiating a positivity).

Seg 03

Researcher: Do you think you would want to change anything in the way the process was conducted? Dwelling entity: Speed it up for sure! It was delayed by a month.

Seg 04	Researcher: I do recall you had some issues with the partition between the Living Room and the Kitchen. Dwelling entity: yes, only when the designer mentioned that it will be totally open kitchen – open to the living room. So then we decided on an in-between solution. It solves the problem. It can opened or closed at any point.
Seg 05	The conversation trails of here….This discussion ended abruptly and was never pursued or taken up as the intention of the study was to never really cross-check for satisfaction because of the obvious nature of the negotiations – there are bound to be both satisfactions and dissatisfactions. The method aimed at not asking the subjects directly – the idea being to witness the process and directly intervene or participate in the process only when necessary

Appendix XII: Figures

Visual Documents created as part of the exploration for Context I and to be presented to the Developer as part of the invited competition. The sequence of organization of the images below is in that of the powerpoint presentation that the design team had planned for the developer. The images that have already been used in the main body of the thesis text for explanation are not included in this reference list:

Figure 32 Presentation Image a D1's conceptualization of the housing scheme
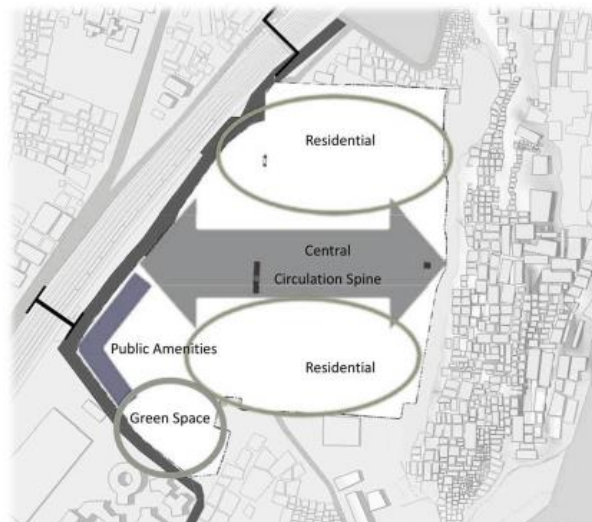
Figure 33 Presentation Image a: The schematic layout and site plan for D1's design
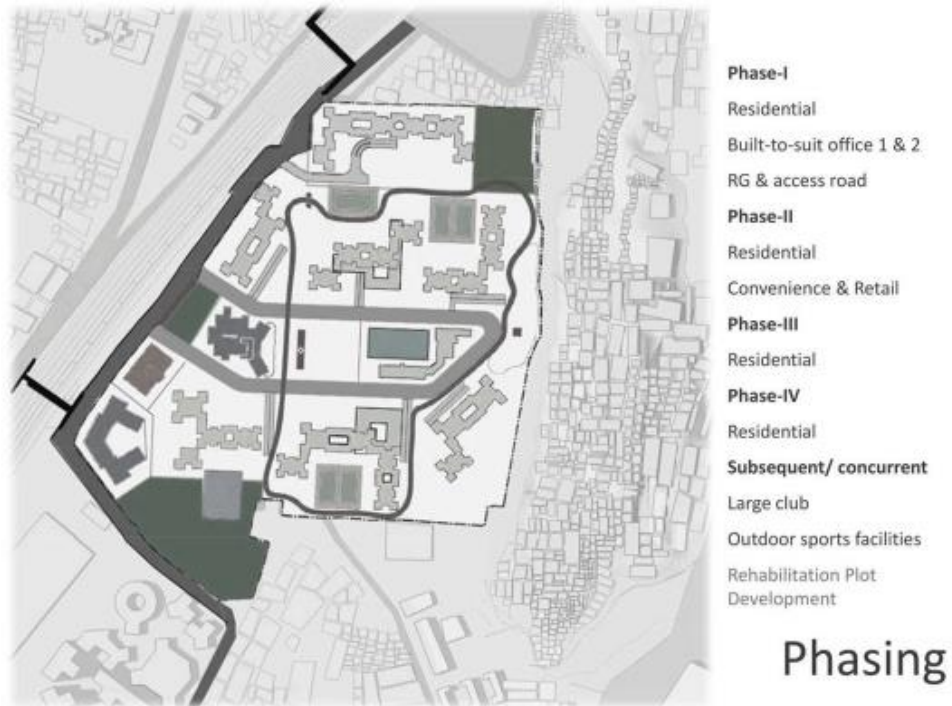
Figure 34 Presentation Image c: Schematic plan for D1's design
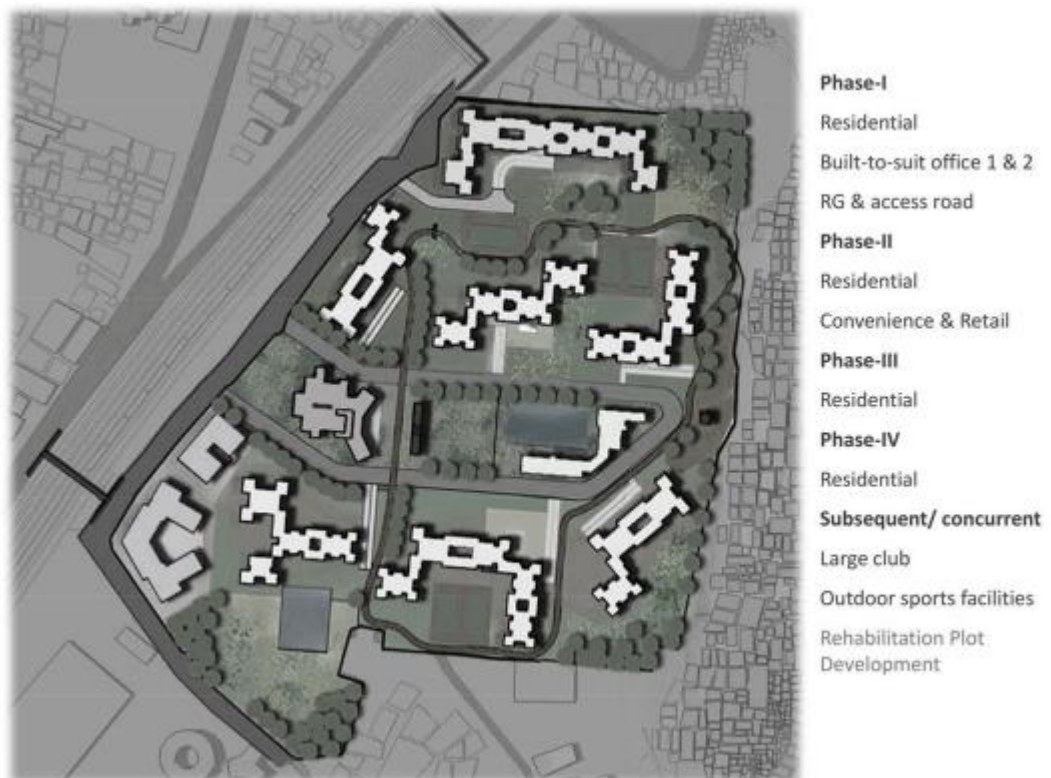
Figure 35 Presentation Image d: D1's design - site plan with buildings laid out

Figure 36 Presentation Image f: Interior plans laid out on the site for D1's scheme
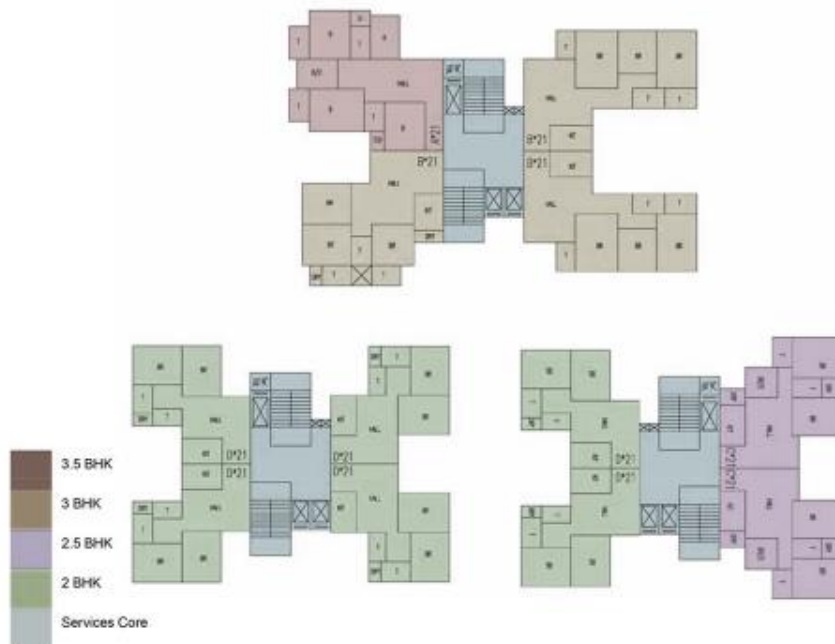
Figure 37 Presentation Image g: The interior area divisions showing bhk variations (D1's design)

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Figure 38 Presentation Image h: D2's design response sketch

Historic Heritage

Adaptive re-use
Multi-dimensional exposure to historic heritage
Highlight historic structures

Figure 39 Presentation Image i: general image to hightlight the urban historic spaces

Contextual Architecture

The city is a living organism with a unique culture, a past called a "contextual history" and a future in which new buildings act as the threads that weave the cities living traditions into new and whole fabric.

ARCHITECTURE AND CONTEXT, Prof. Sharad Atre

Figure 40 Presentation Image j: Images and text to highlight the urban nature of housing

Housing Typology

Early 20th century
Mumbai

Late 20th century
Mumbai

21st century
Mumbai
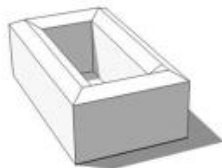
Perimeter Block
Compact and efficient
Contextual
Active ground connection
Immediate views
Community oriented
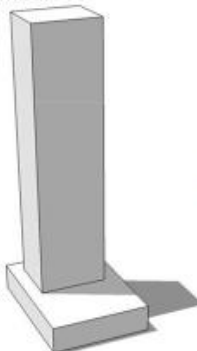
High-rise building
Intimate and secure
Individual presence
In the Sky
Expansive views
Individual oriented
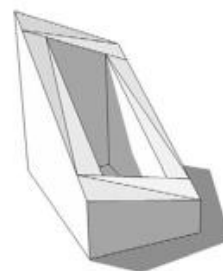
Peri-rise block

Figure 41 Presentation Image k: A type that is evolved as a combination of the courtyard format and the tower formats (D2's design)

Figure 42 Presentation Image l: Site plan with the peri-urban blocks laid out (D2's design)
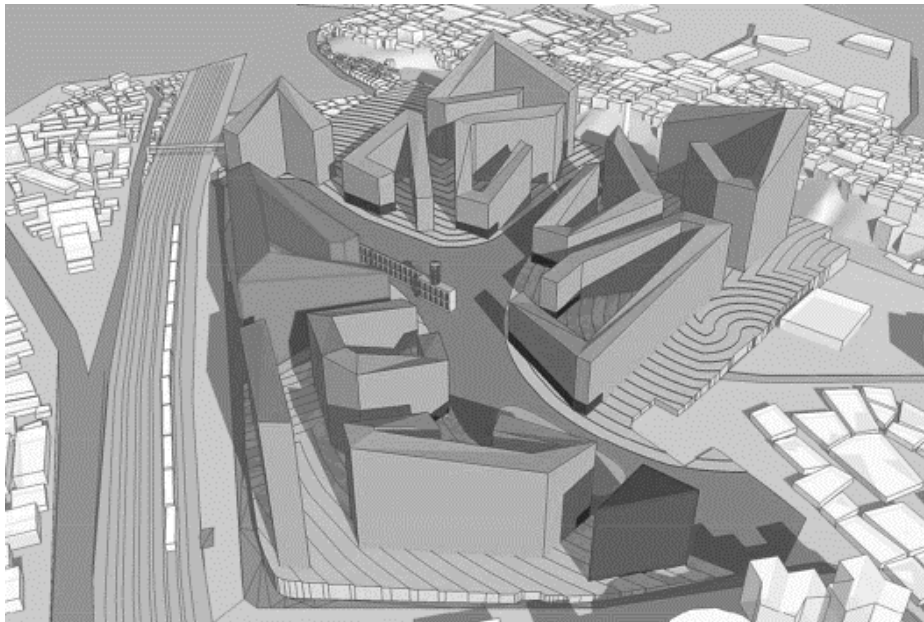
Figure 43 Presentation Image m: Bird's eye view of D2's design

Figure 44 Presentation Image p: Picturizing life in the common spaces

*Figure 45 Presentation Image q: picturizing life within common spaces between buildings*

Figure 46 Presentation Image r: Inserting shops and other activities in the common urban space within the complex

Figure 47 Presentation Image s: A night-time rendition of life within the complex and between the built-blocks

Figure 48 Presentation Image t: Interior layout schematic (D2's design)
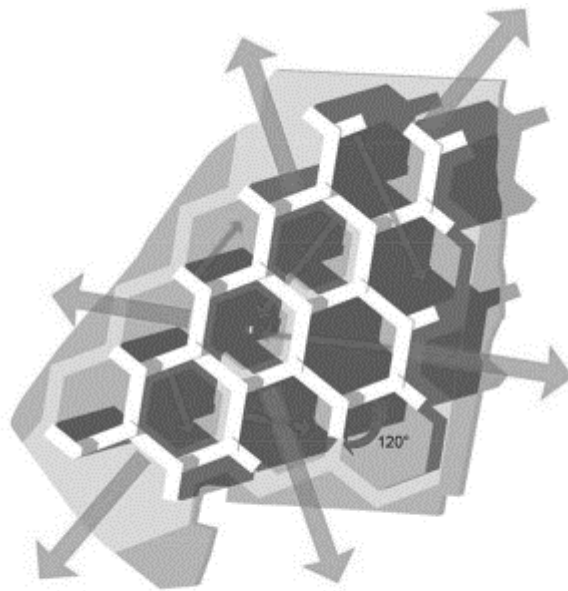
views: internal & external views, privacy angle

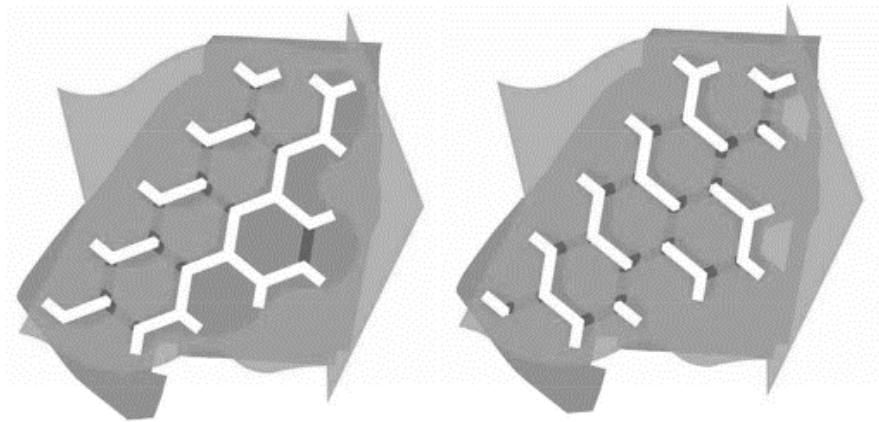*Figure 49 Presentation Image v: Schematic sketches indicating views and visual privacy*

glare reduction: façade faceting
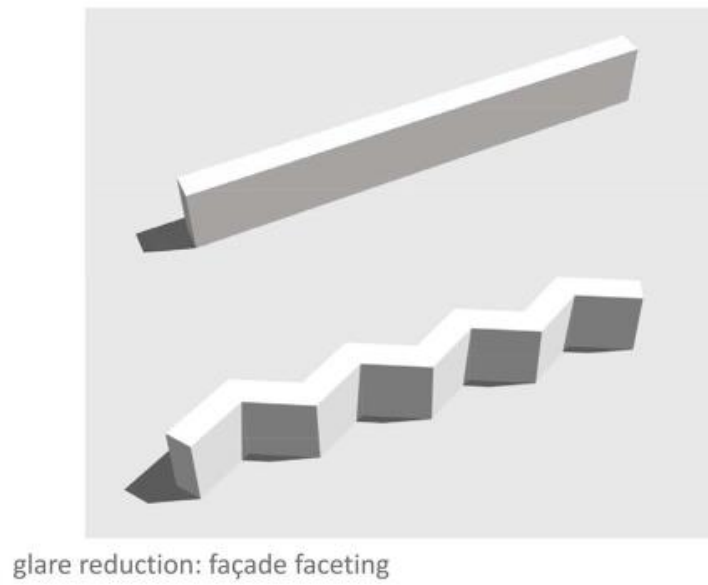
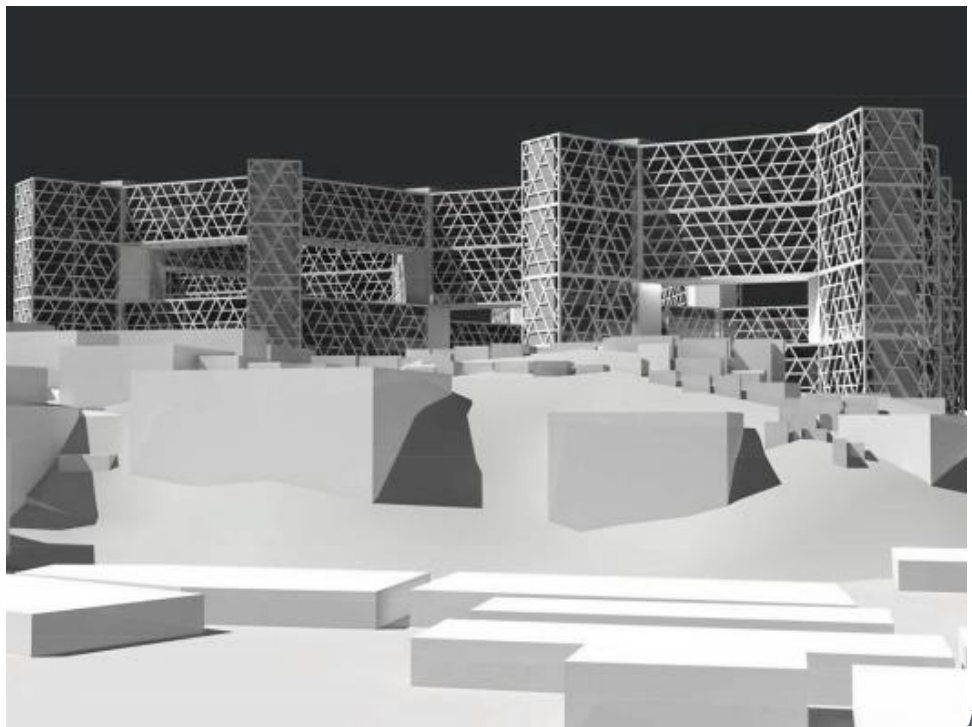*Figure 50 Presentation Image w: D3's design - built-form responses to the sun*
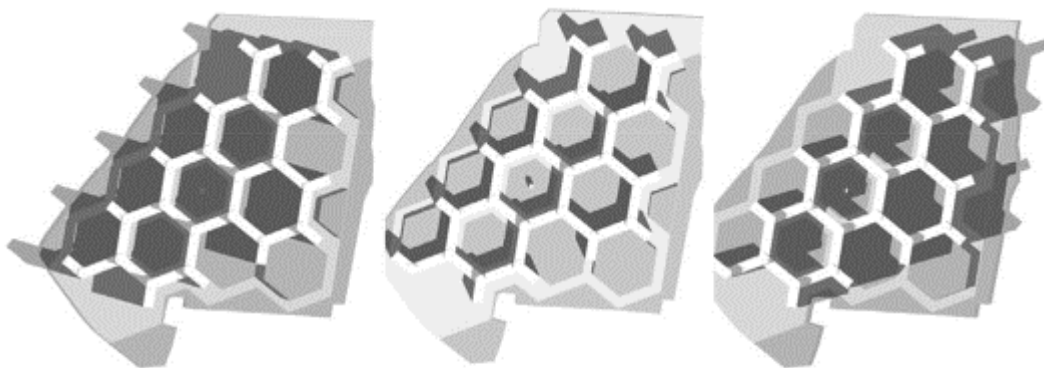
mutual shading: orientation & form

Figure 51 Presentation Image x: D3's design built form responses to the sun and generation of shadow spaces
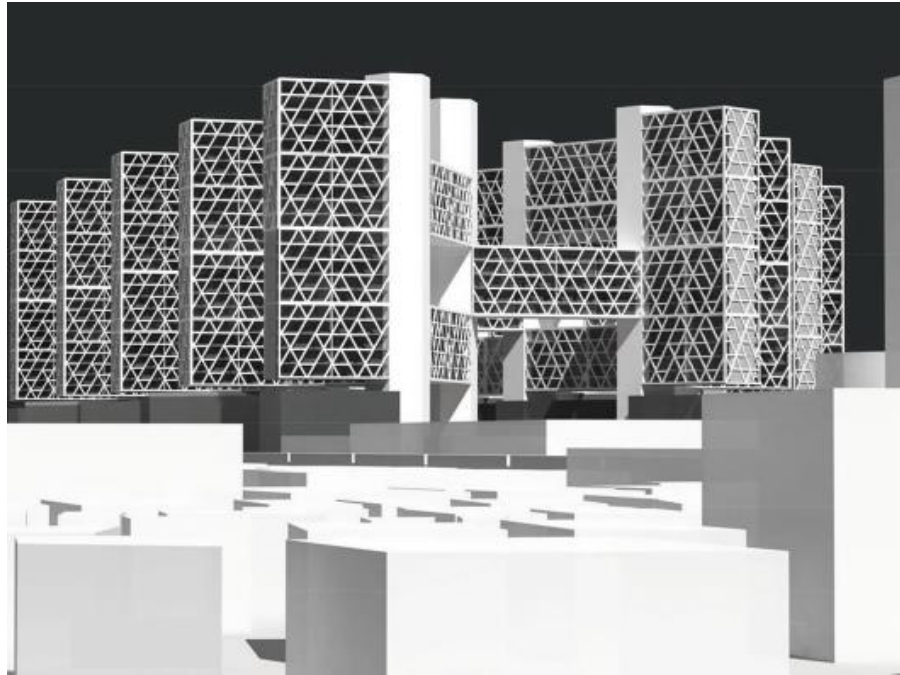
air movement: porosity

Figure 52 Presentation Image y: Ventilation diagram for D3's design response

P

Presentation Image b: D2's design - views of the built-form

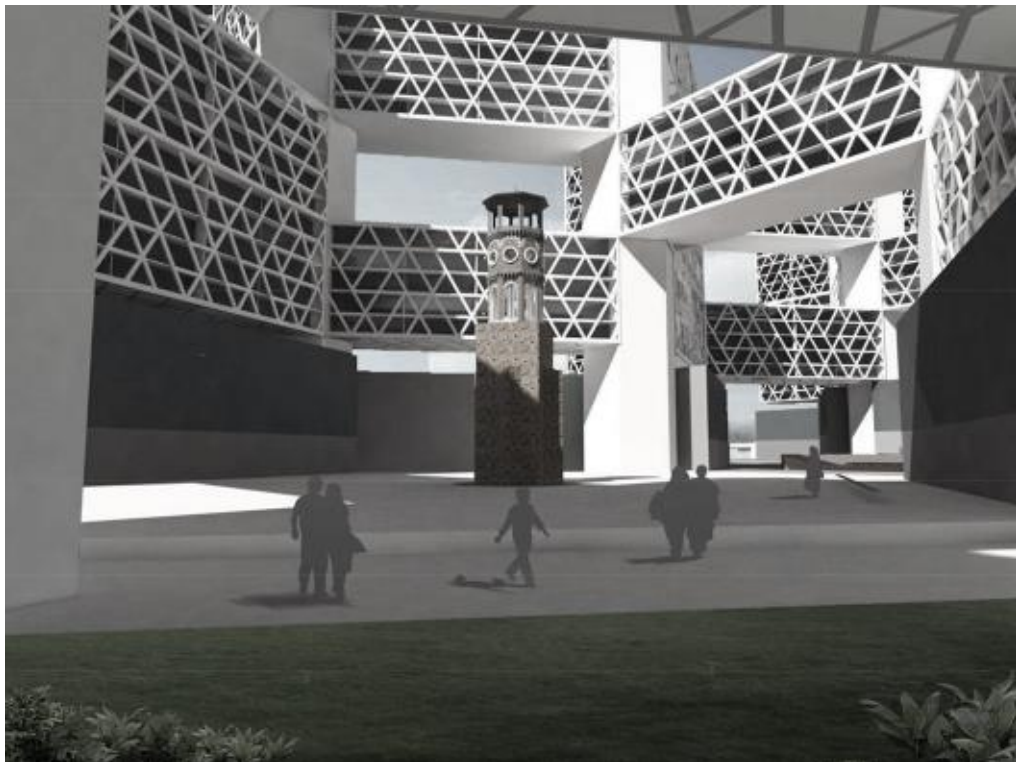*Presentation Image c: Views of the built-form (D3's design response)*

Figure 53 Presentation Image bb: internal courtyard space within the blocks alongwith the old mill tower included (D3's response)
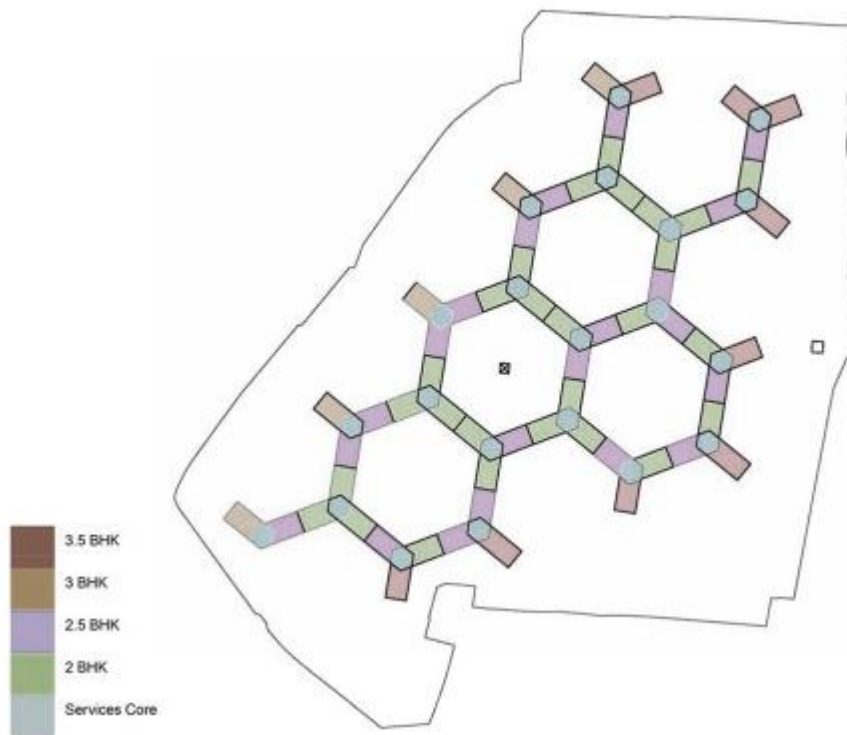
Figure 54 Presentation Image dd: Interior layout within the site (D2)
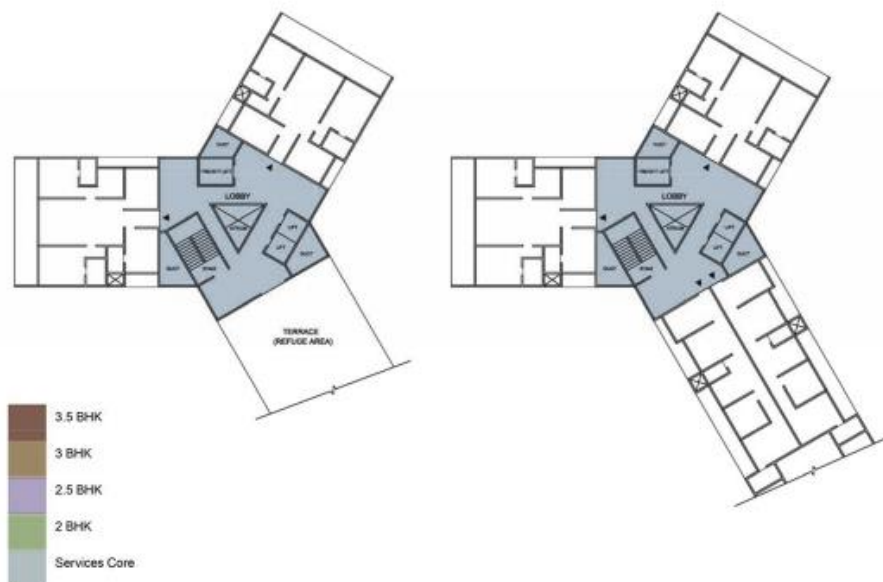

Figure 55 Presentation Image ee: Typical house plans (D3)

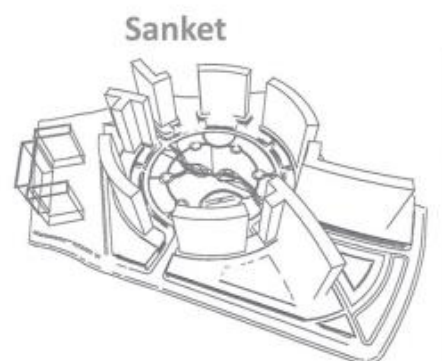*Figure 56 Presentation Image ff: Typical house plans (D3)*

Figure 57 Presentation Image hh: D4s design response sketch

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Figure 58 Presentation Image jj: Site plan and schematic layout D4

Figure 59 Presentation Image kk: Birds eye view of the scheme (D4)

Figure 60 Presentation Image ll: View of the tower blocks (D4)

Figure 61 Presentation Image mm: view of the built-form and green spaces from within the site (D4)

Figure 62 Presentation Image nn: View of the common spaces within the scheme (D4)

Figure 63 Presentation Image oo: Typical flat and floor layout (D4)

Figure 64 Presentation Image qq: Site layout and schematic of the four desing responses
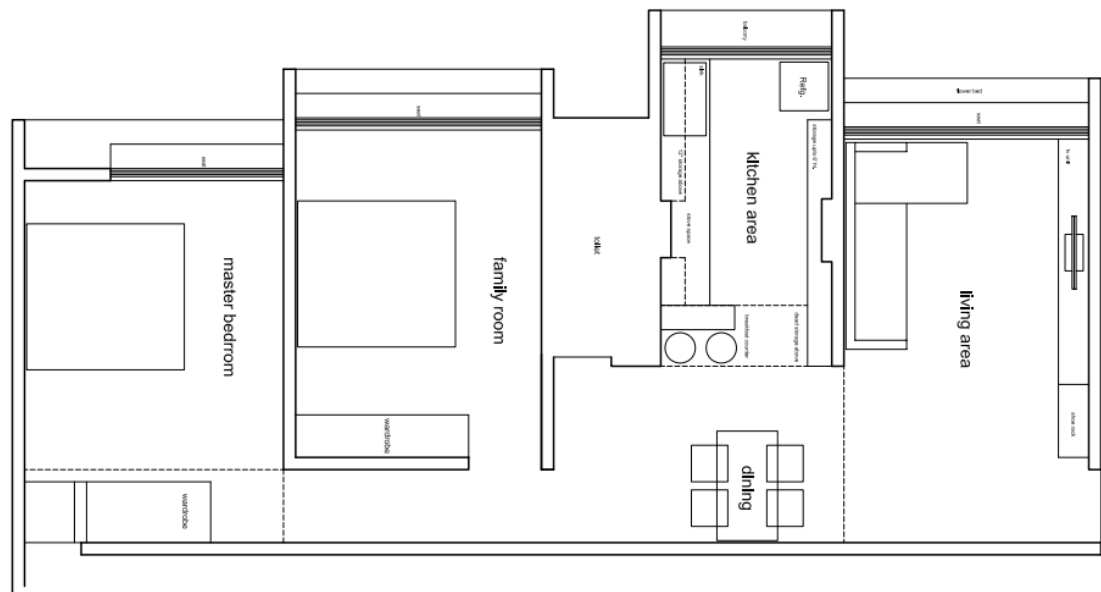

Figure mmm: Drawing showing the layout of the flat in the case of Context II
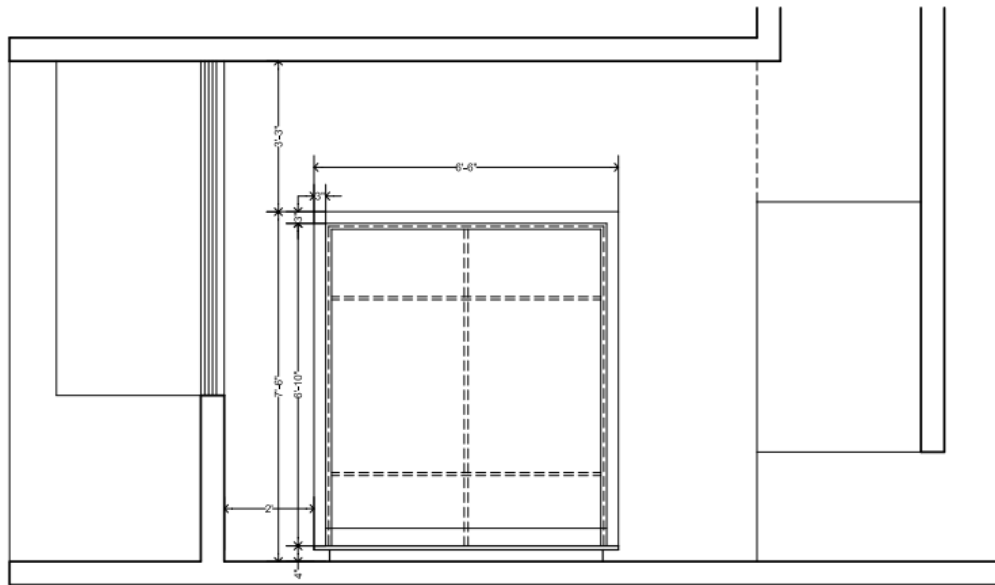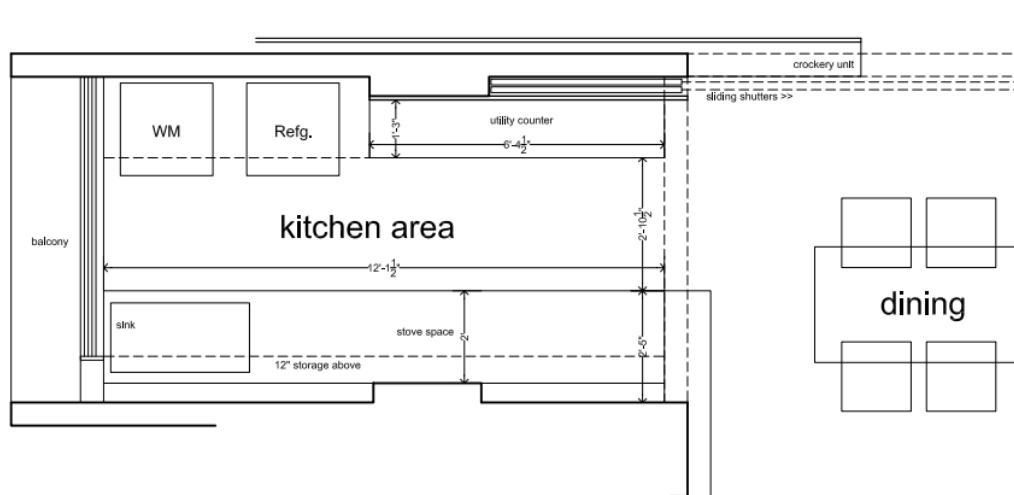
Figure nnn: Drawing showing layout of the kitchen

Figure ooo: Drawing showing layout for kitchen eating area

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