Tracing Globalization: reflection of changes in lifestyle in domestic architecture

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Abstract

This paper reflects on how shifting lifestyles, through the influences of globalization have effected a change in the residential architecture of a region. The case of Dhaka has been put forth, focussing on influences from outside the region, distinguishing globalization from a more general process of modernisation, which could take place from regional influences. While globalization has existed in the distant past, its effects were gradual and almost imperceptible, lifestyle changes being ascribed, more as a result of cultural transformations than to foreign interventions. Presently however, the effects of globalization are making schismatic changes in social orders and lifestyles. The paper attempts to track the slow (and later rapid) changes brought about through globalization, beginning with rural beginnings, the slow transformations and subtle lifestyle changes in the adaptation to early urbanisation, and finally the rampant globalization of the immediate-past decade. Lifestyle changes are bound to affect the architecture of any society. This paper focuses on how changes have come about within the domain of the residence, discussing it in four broad phases: the urban beginnings, the mid-twentieth century, the post-independence years and the present developer housing phase. It is the contention of this paper that transformations in the role of women in the family, among many other influence of globalization, have been instrumental in bringing lifestyle changes, which in turn have necessitated changes in residential architecture.

Keywords: Globalization, Lifestyle, Residential Architecture, Women and Architecture, Urbanisation.

1. Introduction

Globalization is defined by experts as the intensification of worldwide social relations which link distant localities in such a way that local happenings are shaped by events occurring many miles away and vice versa (Giddens, 1996: 64). It is thus a comprehensive term for the emergence of a global society in which economic, political, environmental and cultural events in one part of the world quickly come to have significance for people in other parts of the world, a result of advances in communication, transportation, and information technologies (Tabb, W.K. 2006). Like all new paradigms globalization has the potential for enormous good, as well as if mishandled, equally significant bad.

The boundaries between globalization and modernisation are seen to fuse in many cases, and it is often difficult to differentiate between them. Globalization as implied in this paper is seen as a consequence of modernization that transcends the locality, or is effected by forces extraneous to the locale. Modernity on the other hand may be caused by completely regional effects and is summed up by experts as a condition of living imposed upon individuals due to a socioeconomic process involving a rupture with tradition and having a profound impact on ways of life and daily habits. Many experts believe that globalization cannot be a desirable thing in the arts or architecture as it is marked by the diffusion of commodities and ideas, and can foster a standardization of cultural expressions around the world (Watson, J.L. 2005). However, others argue that globalization has meant a decentring and a proliferation of differences, indeed the opposite of unification and standardization (Jameson, F. 1998).

But undoubtedly, one of the most important of the characteristics of globalization may be the collapse of time and space. And this impacts directly on the domain of architecture. It is through the architecture of a region that the lifestyle and culture of a place is persistently expressed (Rapoport, A. 1969). Mankind's dwellings stand as the concrete expressions of a complex interaction among cultural skills and norms. (Wagner, P.L. 1969). This paper, an outcome of the author's experience and observations in the practice and teaching of architecture in the region, examines the way globalization has brought about changes in the lifestyles and culture of Dhaka and how this has impacted on the architecture of residences in this region, particularly on the layout and space use of residential architecture.

2. Globalization: then and now

Globalization, though a buzz word in present day discourses is actually as old as time (Brahms, E, 2005). Whenever new people have arrived in any place, they have brought with them their cultures and as a result new ideas have been introduced. In the immediate region around Bangladesh, this happened when the Greeks came to India – and as a result not only ideas, but also their implementation as found in the arts, saw adaptation. The next phase was the spread of Islam, a peaceful infusion of new ideas by Saints or holy men (Chowdhury, A.M.1967), a new culture and a total change in the way of life was brought about. The effect was all pervasive because of the doctrine of Islam which encompasses the entirety of life – no division between secular and religious. But in the past, before the present advances in communication, the process of globalization was sluggish.

At present in the twentieth century, however, globalization has been very rapid – gradual changes have been replaced by abrupt schismatic changes. The reasons: increased travel, telephone (instantaneous communication), satellite TV, the growth of multinational corporations and the computer revolution. These successive influences have shaped life in general and influenced changes in the Architecture of Dhaka, both at the rural as well as urban levels (Ahmed, Z.N. 2001). The architecture education system in this region itself is a source of globalization. In 1961 Dhaka's first school of architecture was setup through collaboration with USA's Texas A & M architecture school – the international style entered the curriculum formally.

Many foreign architects also worked in this region in sixty's, which might have some passive influence on the local residential architecture. Whereas, each successive wave of globalization eats away at levels of sustainability, disturbing the balance of society initially, soon with acceptance and adaptation, equilibrium sets in. This results undoubtedly in a dilution of culture – effecting changes of lifestyle, which then permeates into the arts and other arenas of life. The influences are undeniable even from a cursory glance at men's wear, cinemas, architecture, etc, where styles are seen to juxtapose and influence each other. The process undeniably has positive aspects – it may generate more tolerance through the sharing of knowledge, technology, styles, increasing understanding of the others' viewpoints. But the key question from the point of view of arts is whether it wreaks havoc on aesthetics. Experts (like Tabb, W.K. 2006) fear a loss of cultural diversity. More worrying is whether threatened traditional groups in their attempt to preserve their particular cultures may become marginalised and breeds fanaticism as an extreme reaction.

3. Globalization as it makes inroads into society of the region

Urbanisation is only a recent phenomenon. Rural Bangladesh even now is very different from its urban counterpart. Open courts in rural houses are used for most of the daytime activities of the home, segregated for use by female members of the family. Individual huts are laid around the courtyard. The kitchen and toilets are well segregated from the living areas. The form of the rural house has seen very little change through history. In the first instances of globalization – when influences from the West in the form of Islam entered the lives of these peaceful agrarian villages, a change came about in the religious beliefs. But social customs and general culture of the area blended with new customs and merged with the new religion, modifying rather than totally displacing old values. Therefore the locals continued to lead similar lifestyles – greater equality between the different people as fostered by Islam ensured that certain places which had been out of bounds for the general public became more accessible – notably the places of worship. In the purely domestic arena, previously the supposedly sacred nature of the Brahmin female and the sanctity of her kitchen had made her domain necessarily segregated from possible intervention by males and females of lesser castes. Islam liberated society from these sorts of taboos, but on another platform, brought about increasing male-female segregation. Therefore though appearing due to different root causes, the effect of segregation and its manifestation in the layout of the house form remained very similar.

Socio-political changes with the advent of colonial British rule brought about changes in the region, which spurred on a spate of urbanisation. Dhaka, the city which had first been established by the Mughals, began to grow. People who migrated to the city from rural areas in search of work in general were adventurous young people in search of new experiences and wealth. Researchers find that most of those drawn to urban regions historically belonged to the Mughal Army and the artisan and service population retained by the rulers around them (Mohit, M.A. 1991). Due to social ties and economic uncertainties, it was unlikely that they came away with their families. Therefore it is conjectured that their abodes in the city were makeshift and had the air of impermanence. Male populations were therefore overwhelmingly larger than female population in the city during the early history of the cities, pulled in search of work and upward mobility. This custom is found time and again in the literature of the time, e.g. by Tagore

(Tagore, R. 1892) and numerous others writing about the Bengali middle class facing the duality of having homes in both the rural and urban domains and pulled by ties due to these. Research also supports the view that in longdistance moves men were the dominant players, rather than women, though in recent times this balance has shifted (Afsar, R. 2000). In the early years, exposure to conditions very different from their rural abode, and to new ideas inherent in the cultural mix of cities, i.e. to an indirect form of globalization, brought about a slow change in their lifestyles. Research further shows that Western ideas infiltrated into Dhaka specifically through three routes – education, in-service training and through the media (Imamuddin, A.H. 1982).

The increase in importance of the status of Dhaka, first as a provincial capital after the partition of India, and then as a national capital in 1971 with the formation of Bangladesh, brought about increasing urban migration, increasing the mix of cultures, modernisation and potential globalization. The jump of percentage of urbanised population of Dhaka according to statistics is from 14.79% in the 1961 census to 53.94% in the 1991 census, when the city had enormously grown in stature as the capital of independent Bangladesh (BBS. 2001: 39). Introduction of TV to the region in 1965 brought about instant exposure to cultures beyond the immediate horizon. English as the language of the rulers had always had a stronghold in the region, and the introduction of English programmes via the TV media ensured its continuity, while customs from afar became for the first time visually available to the general public.

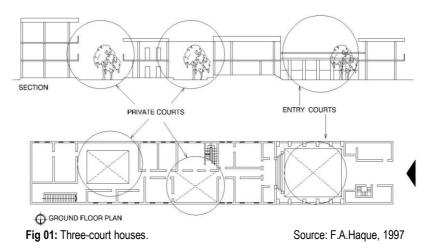
The result has been felt through history in three separate breaks with tradition – the emergence of the nuclear family from the joint family of the past, spatial and temporal compartmentalisation of areas into residential, commercial, recreational, etc and this has infiltrated into the plan of residences, manifesting into spaces for different activities like sleeping, dining, studying, etc, instead of the single space accommodating most activities (Imamuddin, A.H. 1982). Moreover, with increased education came yet more exposure, as affluence and the possibility of travel grew. With affluence, international trade allowed the global market to enter even the most remote locality. The telephone increased the sense of closeness and simultaneity. Architecture reflects this slow influx of globalization. Replacing older values a slow transformation of new ideas and customs is seen in the residences due to necessity in some cases, and to choice in others. It is with globalization and the new incursion of ideas that choices entered the lives of these urbanites.

4. Evolution of the dwelling

In this section the evolution of the dwelling of the middle to high income group of urbanites is traced in terms of globalization influences. Discussed below is how the house-form seems to evolve as a shift in local customs, influenced directly from extraneous influences – an effect of globalization, rather than pure modernisation.

4.1 Dwellings during the urban beginnings

In early days of the seventeenth and eighteenth century, the urban house form was no different from its rural counterpart, except when forced upon by densification (Khan, I.M. 1982). From the idyllic sprawling low-density settlement of rural habitats, the urban house at the beginning had of necessity to be accommodated in more cramped surroundings. Initially houses tended to retain the court, which became increasingly closed as space constraints became acute.



In early houses the kitchen and toilets were kept as far away as possible from the main living quarters, in a way similar to rural dwellings. A separate service court in three-court houses can still be found in these early residences (Figure 1). The first court served as a semi-public court, mainly the entry court to the *ander mahal* (inner sanctum) occupied by females members of the household. On the outer side of the first court was the male, to which zone male public access was limited. The second court was the most private area of the household, segregated from public access. Only family males were allowed there. Female guests were also entertained through this area. Greater access was allowed in the service court where privacy was less restricted as non-family males needed to enter this area for servicing toilets and for other general household activities involving domains outside the home. The servants' quarters, kitchens and toilets were housed around this court (Figure 2)



Fig 02: Interior Courts in early urban dwellings.

The introduction of new technology like flushing systems allowed toilets to be attached to living quarters. The introduction of cooking gas instead of fire wood allowed the kitchens to be brought closer also, as fumes/smoke diminished. This was a great departure from the idea of the 'sacred' kitchen – historically out-of-bounds for lower castes, a big shift in the context of the existing belief system. In general the concept of privacy (or separateness) of the individual members of the family from each other was not very prevalent in either rural or early urban living. This is not uncommon in many societies as shown by Broude in discussing husband-wife sleeping arrangements in a study of 116 monogamous societies around the world (G.J. Broude, 2003: 197-8). This very attitude saw reflection in urban Dhaka's living pattern. Thus bedrooms were often entered through other bedrooms, and windows to bedrooms opened freely onto the courts. The court disappeared generally as soon as land became expensive and density of residential areas began to increase. But it could only be implemented parallel to a shift in the existing custom and social expectation.

4.2 Mid twentieth century phase

The emergence of the urban middle-class in Dhaka is judged to be a 20th Century phenomenon, a direct consequence of Colonial rule (Imamuddin, A.H. 1982) and spurred on by a growth of Government jobs in the Civil, Military, Police, Railway and allied services. Studies show that in the 1950s a new group of buildings emerged to accommodate this group – 'colonies' for Government employees (Khan, I.M. 1982). In addition cities also experienced the growth of professionals like doctors, engineers and advocates (Imamuddin, A.H. 1982). To cope with increasing demand for housing, the Government also started allotting land at relatively low prices in planned residential areas, e.g. Dhanmondi R/A (Nilufar, F. 1997: 107). The plots to start off were large (approximately 1/3 acre each), and the economic and social background of the allottees had a semblance of homogeneity. During the

late fifties and early sixties these areas grew populated, with a family to each plot. Houses were relatively large, normally two storied with a number of bedrooms, each with an attached toilet. The living room (or drawing room as it was popularly referred to) was normally segregated from the rest of the more private areas of the house, having its separate entry. The entry to the rest of the house was separate and corridors were extensively used to connect the different spaces. Gardens all around the house served to provide outdoor space for aesthetics/recreation in the front, with vegetable patches at the back and sides. High boundary walls around the plots served to protect the plot-holders from inquisitive public gaze, imparting within the gardens the impression of enclosed courts. Servants quarters were normally provided at the back and the kitchen could be entered through backdoors.

4.3 Post-independence phase

A big change came by the end of the seventies, when the next generation needed expanded quarters. Discussed here is the case of Dhanmondi, as representing the pattern of urban land ownership. As many as a fifth of the original of these plots were at this point sub-divided among the inheritors into separate plots served by internal private access roads (Akbar, M.T. 2006). This trend saw the end of the joint family of the past, though the separate families tended to live in the same plot, but under different buildings. During this period many rentable walk-up apartments (usually restricted to four storeys) were constructed to supplement incomes through rent.

As soon as the one-unit house was sacrificed for economic gains, life style saw a new shift. With the grounds no longer under the sole control of one householder, people needed a different space for family gatherings, thus the family living space became firmly entrenched in these urban homes. No longer were corridors the main connecting paths to the individual rooms, as in previous eras. Now a largish family living space provided the counterpart to the open courts of the rural abode. This space opened to the individual rooms and provided a space where the family could spend much of the free time in the evenings, gossiping or watching TV. Privacy (a very individualistic concept) was gaining importance in family living as each family separated from the parent one. Therefore bedrooms became increasingly segregated from the adjacent spaces, with individual entrances, and windows were avoided onto these connecting spaces, often to the detriment of ventilation.

During this period, it was still common for the children's bedroom to be located adjacent to the master bedroom, allowing the mother to monitor growing children. This space would later be allocated to grown-up daughters, to instil a sense of security for the daughter. However a guest room nearer the entry and the less private drawing room would often be used by the son, freely accessible to his friends who could enter the house without infringing on privacy. As village roots weakened, the use of the guest room for guests diminished, but the name (guest room) persisted.

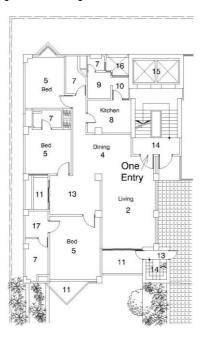


Fig 03: No segregation at entry, Prioprangan, U. K. Saha. Source: Sthapattya o nirman, 12

4.4 Developer-built housing phase

But with the ever-increasing population making yet more demands for housing, and the prices of land rising steeply, much of the early housing stock was demolished in favour of apartment complexes, a trend which seems here to stay. Commonly referred to as 'high-rise' apartments, these complexes are normally developer designed and built and in many of the residential areas restricted to just six storeys. They are equipped with lifts, and controlled by a management society that lays out the rules for each complex, particularly to do with the use of common facilities and spaces.

Community living has brought about yet another change in the lifestyle of the urban dweller. Open spaces are meagre due to dearth of land, and any that can be provided in such complexes are no longer private areas. The urbanite now shares these spaces with people they have only recently seen and may not yet have been acquainted with (Figure 4).

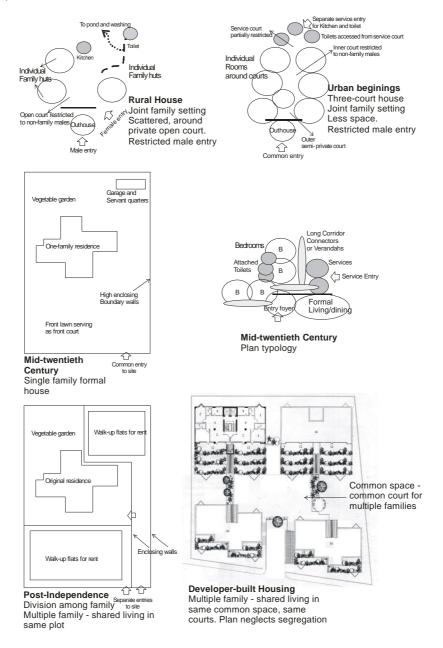


Fig 04: Evolution of the Dwelling: schematic phases

The greater exposure that women are subjected to in these new surroundings of necessity have reduced the convention of segregation in public life, which in turn impacts the private one. Thus the sacredness of the women's domain has diminished and with it the layout of the house is more open with greater freedom of access, less zonal segregation (Figure 6). Research (Khan, I.M. 1982: 6.20) indicates that, no amount of manipulation recreates the exclusiveness of the male and female domains of these houses, once the pattern is broken. In the house plan this effect is noticed through a growing tendency to provide a single main entry for all occupants (Figure 3). This is a departure from times when it was the norm to provide segregation at entry point (Figure 5) – allowing occupants to enter the home unobtrusively in order to preserve privacy from visitors in the living room. The salient features of the four phases are schematically depicted in Figure 4.

5. Effect of globalization

5.1 Changed life-style of twenty-first century

Many changes are seen in the way life is conducted in these apartments. Higher standards raise costs of living necessitating both husband and wife to seek employment. Higher education along with related greater exposure, make it possible for the wife to have increased employment opportunities (Elora, S.S. 2003). Statistics show that percentage of economically active females in urban areas of Bangladesh has risen from 4.7% in the 1981 Census to 35.7% in the 1995-1996 LFS (Labour Force Survey) count (BBS. 2001: 57). Of necessity many women now spend much of the day outside the home, while children also start schooling at younger ages. As much of the activities in residences have traditionally been directly under the domain of women, this alone has brought about major changes in the household (Table 1).

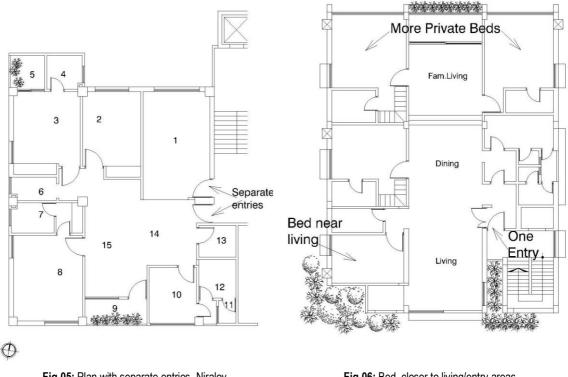


Fig 05: Plan with separate entries, Niraloy Source: Z.N. Ahmed Fig 06: Bed, closer to living/entry areas Source: Developer Housing Brochure

Lack of open ground areas has prompted more indoor activities for children. There is therefore less active play, more TV and computer, increasing opportunities for globalization both for adults as well as children. Health concerns related with sedentary lifestyles therefore increase, e.g. diabetes. Lack of open ground areas sometimes prompts a change in planning – the roof top becomes an open space for physical activities for the occupants. In residential areas, community open spaces like parks, which were not common in the history of urban Dhaka, are developing. Within the interiors, some indoor green spaces, terraces are also coming into fashion.

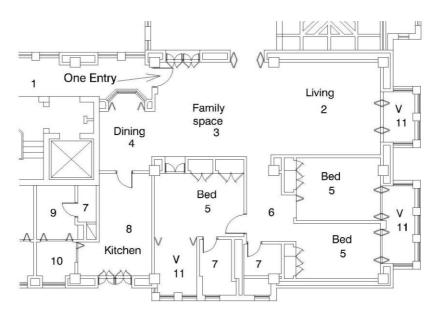


Fig 07: Plan with one entry, Dhanshiri, B. Haque Source: Sthapatya o Nirman, 12

Luxury apartments are often not restricted to any one floor. In emulation of the one-unit house of the past, the more affluent are now opting for duplexes and sometimes even triplexes. However, these spacious apartments with double height areas that convey three-dimensional space flows are not the norm and are restricted to the extreme elite of Dhaka. Security in apartment complexes is taken care of through the management society by professional bodies; therefore there is greater security from petty theft and/or unwanted intrusions. But this also discourages the village visitor, which was more common for first generation urbanites, but is becoming rarer with time.

5.2 Women and globalization

Women generally constitute half the population of any location. In the journey of urbanisation and globalization discussed in this paper, possibly the greatest effect of globalization is seen in the changed lifestyle of women - her role changing in the past few decades from typical housewifely to career-based. These changes are apparent in the workplace, educational institutions, streets and also on TV, the all-pervasive new electronic cultural space, which can be referred to as a 'placeless' geography of image and simulation (Robbins, K. 1992). Women have traditionally been the passive marginalized members of society, allowing men to lay down the law and dominate over them. Studies show that women are different in emotional makeup from men (Morris, D. 1988) and therefore have been more accepting of their lot in life. The greater proliferation of women in public and private domains is thus likely to bring about changes in these environments due to different perspectives offered by these new players. Careers have empowered women from their passive roles, and serve to bring women into public life and put them often into the role of decision-makers. Their added status out of the house also impacts on their attitudes at home, making them more confident and empowered. The importance of this participation is all the more pronounced because their emotional outlook and physical parameters are significantly different from men, requiring and effecting major changes in the physical environment. Not only has globalization brought about a decrease in the gap between east and west, but with new awareness of rights and privileges of women, the entire family set-up has changed beyond recognition. These changes have also affected the architecture within dwellings, to provide for the changed role of woman in the family.

Table 1 below summarises the different activities involved in the day-to-day running of the average household and how the responsibilities of these have shifted from the past to the present. The note on the architectural implications of these shifts in the last column is hypothetical – qualifying much of the arguments for the impact on architecture due to these changing roles caused in part by globalization, and is based on the author's understanding, observations, experience and readings of the situation. Emphasis has been given in listing these changing roles as they are primarily responsible for changes in attitudes, leading to lifestyle change and the need for a more appropriate architectural response in contemporary dwelling design.

Activity	Past	Present	Architectural implication
Child rearing	Woman's sole responsibility	Man shares during absence of woman.	In past this space would be close to other domains of woman's activity, e.g. kitchen. For man's participation, should be closer to spaces where it can be performed along with other activities, like TV, study, etc.
Cooking	Woman's sole responsibility along with domestic help	Domestic help - becoming increasingly scarce with other employment options. Simpler cooking – no longer happy to cook in seclusion – seeks participation in other family activities. Men also cook – prefer electrical appliances – higher energy needs.	In past, isolated kitchens, as completely private woman's domain. At present, kitchen should be located closer to family living spaces so that the woman/man can participate more in other family activities, and is not isolated from the family life.
Housework	Woman's sole responsibility along with domestic help Outdoor work was arranged by the man.	More flexible boundaries. With dwindling domestic help – more on a self- Rooms were large in the past involving extra work. Houses more help basis, mostly by woman but with increasing help from the man. compact now - easier maintenance, surfaces more amenable to compact the maximum sector of the maximum sec	Rooms were large in the past involving extra work. Houses more compact now - easier maintenance, surfaces more amenable to cleaning.
Shopping	Man's responsibility	Increasing involvement of woman in outdoor activities.	In the past, shopping in bulk. Now less shopping - less storage space
Entertaining guests	Man's official and social guests waited, on by woman –segregation. Women visitors usually during the day when the man was at office or out. Resident visiting guests – as stronger village ties.	More mixed visitors, for both man and woman during all times. Segregation not as prevalent. Visiting resident guests less as new generations of city dwellers grow further from immediate village ties of older generations.	Previously separate entry + segregated sitting rooms with privacy from inner domains. Guest bedroom and toilet near entry – allowed guest entry without hampering privacy. Sitting room - kept sealed at non-visiting times to reduce cleaning. Presently less distinction between semi-private and private living spaces – often common entry.
Bedrooms for children	Son and daughter were treated differently, with more security for the daughter, greater freedom for the son.	Similar rights and treatment for both genders.	In the past one bedroom deliberately designed near entry for son or guests – access without hampering privacy. Daughter's room in interior – access to parent's room for security
Relaxation	For the man the house – a place to sleep – relaxation at 'Addas' either at home or friends'. Woman worked all day: in the morning- cooking and cleaning, rest of the day – catering to different domestic needs.	TV and other home entertainment systems provide relaxation scope at home with both man and woman participating. 'Addas' are getting rarer with decreasing time under present competitive job environment.	The family space is becoming more elaborate with time with provision for gadgets for home entertainment.

Table 01: Changing Roles: Residential Activities in Dhaka with Architectural implications

6. Conclusion

Globalization and its impact on the society and culture, and ultimately on the architecture of a region, have been identified through the different sections of this paper. While the borders defining globalization are often seen to merge with that of,modernization this paper confines the discussion to those aspects of society which are affected by forces extraneous to the region, thus focussing on globalization, as a specific manifestation of a more general process of modernization. Societies are formed through cultural continuity, and are through the ages exposed to different influencing factors. These mould existing practices and customs into newer models. The process is a continuous one, an inevitable reality of history. While traditionalists bemoan the corrosion of values as the mixing of cultures goes on, it is only pragmatic to recognise that it is impossible and possibly autocratic to attempt to stem the flow. However, individuality in different cultures need to be identified and their particularity needs nurturing so that cultures do not completely die or become subsumed by more commercial and dominant 'pop' cultures. In this flow of globalization there is the need to have some sense of continuity in order to eliminate rupture and an associated sense of alienation (Al-Hathloul, S. 1998).

Architecture registers culture, reflecting attitudes, life-styles and shifting viewpoints in works that have to last through changes, transcending eras for which they were first conceived. They therefore stand as testimony for bygone times and can be studied and analysed in retrospect to reveal original intentions – an exercise which can benefit the architect to understand society with its shifting foci. Such introspection regarding one's own roots can help increase awareness and sensitivity about the values and priorities of one's past, allowing more appropriate architectural responses for the future.

Along with the above focus, this paper also recognises the importance of women, who form a large section of society, in effecting changes in culture and life-styles, as a product of globalization. The areas in the household where globalization has given a changed attitude to women have been identified, as these are felt to directly affect the design of the relevant activity and spaces. It is conjectured here that this is one of the key features that have figured in the past, and will continue doing so in the future, in moulding the home.

The paper has focussed on the case of dwellings for the middle-class urban population of Dhaka representative of the urban majority, discussing how globalising influences have succeeded in moulding not only the life-style of the urbanites and their attitudes, but also their immediate abodes. It is important at this juncture, where globalization is threatening many cultures at the roots, for Architects to be aware of the inherent dangers of losing cultural identity. Therefore added efforts are needed to understand the underlying culture, how they are reflected in architecture and to be able to incorporate these values within the design of spaces.

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