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Mapping Identity

The Rules & Models of Putrajaya

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A map is understood as primarily a graphic interpretation of space, geography or objects and in using a language of signs and symbols it gives meaning to its form of representation. To what extent is there a connection between this visual representation of a form of settlement or map, and the reality of settlement itself? This paper examines the agency of the map in its conception of built space whilst considering the meanings, narratives, imaginings, direct or symbolic that the map or architectural drawing conveys. Highlighting a conjunction of urban history and urban design, this paper shows how the Enlightenment's rational mapping proliferated into the Southeast Asian world, how the production of urban space shifted from a socio-culturally motivated style to a highly theorised framework and how theorists reacted to the modernist urban design rationalism which was anchored in the authority of scientific mapping. The embrace of reasoned knowledge in mapping practice signalled the demise of sacred space, prompting a schism between the retrospective view of urban history and the projective view of urban design. In revealing lost meanings and functions of Southeast Asian cartographic representations, to what extent do these abstract socio-cultural imaginings contribute to the contemporary city? The paper investigates these complex negotiations of retrospective and projective mappings of built space at Malaysia's new administrative capital of Putrajaya. To what extent do graphic theorisations of space deal with a perceived loss of quality and identity in the city? Putrajaya represents attempts to progress a socio-political, spatial vision for a Malaysian future which highlights paradoxical relationships between interpreting historical imaginings in a different space and time. The paper looks to cartographies of the past for insight for current modes of production of human settlement and to further understand imaginal mappings and their role in reconciling fields of urban history and urban design.



The proliferation of theorisations of the city in text, for the purpose of realising an improved habitable environment for the human condition became common practice in European and colonial Southeast Asian countries, post-Enlightenment. Prior to this shift in discourse on notions of the city, Southeast Asian peoples understood, imagined and created their lived and after-life spaces through myth, legend, spirituality and other socio-cultural practices. Habitable space developed over time in response to needs, aspirations and purposes around one's life-cycle. Forms of representation to convey the complexities and narratives of pre-modern life were displayed in varieties of mappings. These mappings were unlike our modern map, in their lack of scale, signs and conventions but instead might convey, that which may be termed the "essence" of a place and its peoples. A graphic depiction may suggest some topographical elements, location of water sources, styles of building, cultural dress or denote the cycle of life and non-earthly realms. The essence of everyday life was based on established and understood values of the society. The pre-modern map, in an unselfconscious way had identity inscribed in its making. It demonstrated cultural expression as simply an ordinary way of doing things. It reflected modes of thinking as well as capturing an immediacy of expression without a mediator. Within an existential frame, pre-modern maps through a variety of mediums and techniques mapped a narrative of community as well as cosmographic and spiritual beliefs.

By contrast, and a legacy of post-Enlightenment thinking, new urban forms are created with very different types of modern mappings which are used as tools rather than modes for insight into complex socio-cultural relationships and idiosyncrasies of recipient populations. The modern map proposes a direct and linear relationship between what it represents and reality without offering an identity of a place or an environment. Therefore "meaning" or the "essence" of a place without a definitive history or identity is created, projected and imagined. If it is perceived that there is a need to design national identity into the space or the architecture, the cultural expression sought is reduced to formal images embodied in the revised environment. Using the example of Putrajaya, this paper highlights the role of the map in its modern format has contributed to the process of our realisation of Southeast Asian contemporary built space.

As a key component of the design process, the modern map is only one form of expression which enabled people to think in a particular way. As a tool it reflects modern thinking, around highly self-conscious methods for simulating self-expression. Yet the map itself is perceived as neutral in this process and as having no identity of its own. Its status as a neutral instrument in design is polemical considering it is actually a product of western thinking

and the Enlightenment's scientific rationalism where maps cast physical and universal realities. Planners, architects and urban designers typically do not question the mode of thinking already inscribed in the humble map relating built and geographical space as a non-negotiable truth. It is argued in this paper that due to intrinsic and prescribed thinking specific to modern representations of Cartesian space, ultimately imposes limitations on the resultant spaces.

Guided by the insight of Françoise Choay's study, tracing the origins of writings on urbanism, the paper documents a shift in conceiving urban space from pre-modern unselfconscious practices determining socio-spatial relationships to projective theories of spatial production found in modern maps. This shift of process and conceptualisation in spatial production may be paralleled with mapped projections moving from denoting sociocultural conditions to inscribing an orthographic view of reality. The paper investigates the discourses of identity through form and modern mapping as one of the agencies of modern spatial production. Putrajaya as a place with a new urban history and imagined aesthetic is the culmination of every technique of identity-making occurring predominantly at the hands of the urban design team. Putrajaya as an urban environment created by tools, instruments and ideologies represents the production of contemporary human settlement. This paper provides insight into the production process by studying a shift from identity appreciated by experience and association, to identity creation through form and aesthetics via the mode of the map. Paradoxically our contemporary urbanities have a level of complexity which has emerged in mapped representations as a greatly reduced view of geography and socio-cultural context. What are the limitations and what are the advantages that have arisen as a result of this shift in conceptualising urban space?

Rules and Models

The map in the Enlightenment shifted from being a product of socio-cultural, religious, and cosmographical concerns, and of a non-orthographic type, to a new rationalised, reductive, and planimetric format. There was a move to contemplating the world through theorised conceptions of space which also altered the map's influence in the production of settlements. The forms of mapping which aided the translation of utopian ideas include the survey, master plan and model. Utopian ways of thinking about settlement have been characterised by a change from a retrospective mode of engagement with one's surroundings to the projective. In effect this means there was a shift from quotidian existence being encapsulated in pre-modern settlement to a projective, calculated and identity-construction and planning of urban space.



In her acclaimed study *The Rule and the Model*, Françoise Choay traces this important shift in the conceptualisation and production of human settlements. The shift was associated with the rise of modernity and marked by the emergence of written texts as a theorised mediation for the design and production of urban space. Choay argues that the theorisation of, and associated written discourse on, urban space is both recent and part of the domain of Western culture. It was instigated on a broad scale mainly as a result of the Industrial Revolution, upon which Western cultures imposed or persuaded the wholesale adoption of theorised urban concepts due to their credibility premised on a scientific basis.¹ The trend highlighted is the introduction of “a rational foundation” for urbanisation and the texts, which assert the basis of rational urbanism. This trend assumes a scientific rationale while the authors of the theorised works convey a highly ideological position.²

The groups of works contributing to conceptions of the built spaces are identified as “instauration,” and further divided into sub-categories of “architectural treatises, utopias, and writings on urbanism.”³ These three divisions are key to understanding different ways of seeing, drawing, and mapping the world, and appreciating how rational urbanism came to the fore. Architectural treatises, originating with Alberti’s fifteenth century works, as a group are defined by sets of principles and rules for arriving at built space. Choay dwells on the phenomena of literary utopias and their influence on built environments, the focus here is the translation of utopian ideals into models and mappings, while analysing their impact on urban design. A general definition of a utopia would be an imaginary, ideal place, exemplifying perfection in social, political, and cultural practices. Thomas More’s utopian literary version is the precedent, whereby the arrangement of space is achieved through modelling, and this methodological process unleashes numerous potentials for imagining and ultimately altering the natural world.⁴ However it is the model or prototype aspect of utopia in that it appears “delocalised and reproducible.”⁵ The imaginative possibilities in writings of utopian conditions are reduced to the inflexibility of the model. In terms of representation these rules are relayed via master planning, diagramming, architectural drawing or as a three-dimensional prototype. Finally, the group of texts known as “writings on urbanism” demonstrate how writings about concepts of rules and models have transformed over time.

1. Françoise Choay, *The Rule and The Model*, trans. Denise Bratton. English Trans. (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1980), 3. See also Diane Brand, “Surveys and Sketches: 19th-century Approaches to Colonial Urban Design,” *Journal of Urban Design* 9, no. 2 (2004): 153–75, for a discussion of the colonial mandate of an empirical approach for the cases of colonial Adelaide and Wellington in the nineteenth century.

2. Choay, *The Rule and The Model*, 2.

3. Choay, *The Rule and The Model*, 8; Thomas More, *Utopia*, <http://ebooks.adelaide.edu.au/m/more/thomas/m83u/>.

4. Choay, *The Rule and The Model*, 137.

5. See also Colin Fournier, “Webbed Babylon,” *Architectural Design* 71, no. 3 (2001).

The identification of a series of divisions in the theorisation of the built environment is in effect an exposition of the forms of rational urbanism associated with the advent of modernity. Replacing non-theorised practices of spatial construction with highly conceptualised methods of building is the beginning of urban rationalism. New urban environments were crafted firstly from conceptual and ideological positioning, with utopian intention. Secondly from ideas to sets of parameters, which were then converted to a graphic representation. Essentially ideological words reduced to simple lines and frameworks for the design—limiting, universal in their language and universally applied as a model human environment.⁶ However this language was not neutral and without an intrinsic philosophy, at its core was the basis of rational urbanism originating from western doctrine. Yet with a universality of process, the map being employed as tool rather than a philosophy, produced a quest for difference and identity. Difference was expressed through form and aesthetics, when European modes of production of human settlement were adopted wholesale with colonisation. Post-colonially, Putrajaya represents a series of local projects crafted from the same ‘rules and models’ of rational urbanism. In the absence of historical sacred associations with the site, these projects looked projectively to construct their identity using the inspiration of favoured architectural form and urban design techniques.

6. See Ebenezer Howard, *To-Morrow: A Peaceful Path to Real Reform*. 2nd ed, Garden Cities of To-morrow (London: Swan Sonnenschein, 1898); Le Corbusier, *The City of Tomorrow and Its Planning*, trans. Friedrich Etchells, 8th ed. (London: John Rodher, 1929); Jean Baudrillard, *Utopia Deferred: Writings from Utopie, 1967–1978*, trans. Stuart Kendall (New York: Semiotext(e), 2006).

Incidental Identity

The pre-modern map, in an unselfconscious way had identity inscribed in its making. It was a graphic display of a mode of thinking as well as demonstrating an immediacy of expression without a mediator. Pre-modern maps were not aiming to convey identity, but were more experiential through a variety of media which incorporated different techniques to relate to the story being mapped. Southeast Asian maps also did not reveal bounded space or reference geographical limits. Some conceptions of space related to the locations of important geo-political and religious figures while urbanity was divided between port or trading centres and royal or divine ruling centres. Coastal charts and itineraries may identify trading centres, while cosmographies and pilgrimage routes often used to depict relations of the holistic nature of socio-cultural life in royal cities. However a commonality between these modes of mapping is that they could demonstrate both a level of empiricism and the transcendental.



Religious conceptions of space dominated many pre-modern cultures, and combinations of spatial experiences, visions, as well as socio-religious imagery conveyed through recitals and readings of religious texts created imaginative mappings of the world.⁷ Conceptual mapping practices based upon these descriptions formed a broader corpus of work than our modern understandings of mappings provide. In the pre-modern world, religion motivated a certain reading of spatiality and a means through which to appreciate that experience and environment. In modern society socio-cultural signs and forms play a greater role in aiding our spatial experience as well as identifying with our immediate territory.⁸ For Muslims of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, religious and spiritual associations of sacred events or figures, with particular spaces enabled pre-modern landscapes intrinsic meaning. Aesthetic considerations of the space or a building were secondary to historical associations understood via myths, stories and sacred texts about an element or monument. These associations were seen as virtues of the urban space, landscape or building and thus were an expression of the identity of that place, which is evident in the following example of fada'il.

Although the concept of fada'il predates Islam, "it is used mainly as an adjective in panegyric literature to denote the virtues and merits of certain texts, individuals, cities, monuments or times."⁹ Fada'il writings in the beginnings of the Islamic religion contained comments associated with the Prophet and his companions. Through the identification of certain landmarks of religious significance, fada'il bestows these built forms within the socio-religious landscape with "spiritual, cosmological and eschatological significance."¹⁰ In turn a type of mapping occurs, by which the fada'il in its narrative sets the scene and creates a particular spatial experience for faithful followers of the scriptures. Therefore, in its construction of certain geography of divine significance, the concept of fada'il promotes an imagined spatiality and view of the world, authorised by God and openly conveyed for his believers. Through the transitioning of the map from a socio-religious and imaginative space to its modern, rationalised format it also reveals a different spatiality. Modernity has altered seeing and experiencing by shifting from an emphasis of virtuous or spiritual experience, to prioritising form and aesthetics of urbanities.¹¹ As Samer Akkach highlights there are difficulties in reading and judging events between very different periods in history which provoke different interpretations, "views seem to have been constructed within the then prevailing

7. Samer Akkach, "Religious Mapping and the Spatiality of Difference," *Thresholds* 25 (2002), 69–75, 69.

8. Akkach, "Religious Mapping and the Spatiality of Difference," 71.

9. See also Gerald R. Tibbetts, *A Study of the Arabic Texts Containing Material on South-East Asia (for the Royal Asiatic Society)* (London: E. J. Brill, 1979).

10. Akkach, "Religious Mapping," 73.

11. Akkach, "Religious Mapping," 116.

12. Akkach, "Religious Mapping," 118.

fada'il sentiment and aesthetics, in which form and style play a marginal role."¹²

Aesthetic Aspirations and Putrajaya

The removal of a God-given place as the ground for being, has left a void which each individual in modernity must now build over. Where once our place was given, we must each now make our own place. This brings us both the freedom, and the anxiety, which is the condition of modernity.¹³

13. Glen Hill, "There Is No Place Like Home," paper presented at CAMEA Symposium: *De-Placing Difference: Architecture, Culture and Imaginative Geography*, University of Adelaide, 2002, 58.

By using the modern map as a universal and transparent tool in its making it only permits a certain way of seeing and subsequently designing. It is like using reading glasses to view the world, they permit only a particular type of vision which is limited by their own construction. In this way the modern map may be seen as a corrective lens. Coinciding with the rise of nationalism in the nineteenth century meant there was a growing interest in defining cultural characteristics and identity through design. Moving within the rigid parameters of orthogonal space, modern identity construction was reduced to formal manipulations of plans and buildings—a mode of thinking western and modern in its origin.

Malaysia's first wholesale nation-building exercise was undertaken as a celebration of Independence, granted in 1957. During this period, modernist buildings prevailed under the auspices of British as well as British trained, Malaysian borne architects. However the focus here is the second major undertaking of national identity construction perpetuated on a grand scale with the production of the new satellite city of Putrajaya, in Malaysia conceived in the 1980s, implemented by 2003. In order to stimulate a national consciousness, a frenzied preoccupation with identity construction ensued in both of these cases, with new spatial and formal realisations promoted by the designers and politicians. Putrajaya assumed an identity of a pan-Islamic city with shared Islamic ideologies of global Middle Eastern centres. In the absence of any historical events, mythologies or established and particular socio-cultural practices endemic to the site, Putrajaya represents a city derived from modern mapping and urban design processes. Imaginative "meaning" for this new greenfield city, was driven purely from borrowed aesthetics and form with a predetermined and pre-imagined sense of nationhood. However it is important to note here before embracing



notions of a Malaysia focused ‘nation’, that the concept of an Islamic nation goes beyond national boundaries, whereby the Islamic individual is more important and higher in order than the notion of the geographical. If applied to Malaysia, a national identity is subservient to one’s Islamic identity. Therefore the pan-Islamic view unites Muslims around the region although this identity is still expressed at a local level. For Malaysian Muslims a local vocabulary to this identity embraced religious and national symbols in the architecture while borrowing from western planning principles.

Putrajaya’s conception came out of the Malaysian Government’s vision for the twenty first century (known as Wawasan 2020) under Prime Minister Mahathir.¹⁴ Putrajaya was part of the grand plan to relieve congestion in Kuala Lumpur the capital, in addition to a new airport at Sepang and a high speed transport corridor together with another proposed twin city, Cyberjaya, with the view of the latter being Asia’s next equivalent of silicon valley.¹⁵

The urban design of Putrajaya resulted from a competition between five local architectural companies. BEP Akitek (the King Loo office) won the commission in 1994, with the project title of “The Garden City Concept.”¹⁶

According to Ross King, architect and urban historian, despite its title, the scheme actually referenced the “City Beautiful” movement of late eighteenth century with American origins in its aesthetic focus. Similarities are evident from the planning of Washington D.C. Kun Lim, the lead designer believed capital cities needed axes, and the sketches clearly illustrate this focus.¹⁷

The general arrangement of buildings includes: the King’s palace sited above the PM’s office and residence, while noticeably non-aligned with the dominating axes, reinforcing the importance of the bureaucracy; the main ceremonial axis 4.2 kilometres long, involved substantial engineering to adjust the contours of the site to suit; a man-made lake formed from two natural water-ways meandering across the site; adjacent to the PM’s office and at the bottom of the hill a large public space formed the forecourt to the Masjid Putra (mosque). Architecturally both the PM’s office and mosque, were treated similarly with domed roof elements, establishing an aesthetic and implied relationship between religion and state.¹⁸ The other key domed structures include the Palace of Justice in addition to the Federal Supreme

14. Ross King, *Kuala Lumpur and Putrajaya: Negotiating Urban Space in Malaysia* (Singapore: NUS & NIAS Press, 2008), 130. For post-colonial studies see Anoma Pieris, “South and Southeast Asia,” *Fabrications* 19, no. 2 (2010): 6–34.

15. King, *Kuala Lumpur and Putrajaya*, 132. See also Tim Bunnell, “Cities For Nations? Examining the City-Nation-State Relation in Information Age Malaysia,” *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 26, no. 2 (2002): 284–98; I. Ariff and C. C. Goh, *Multimedia Super Corridor: What the MSC is all about. How it benefits Malaysians and the rest of the world* (Kuala Lumpur: Leeds Publications, 1998).

16. King, *Kuala Lumpur and Putrajaya*, 148. See also Putrajaya Holdings, *Putrajaya: The Federal Government Administrative Centre* (Kuala Lumpur: Putrajaya Corporation, 1997).

17. See also Abdul Rahman Azly, “*Thesis on Cyberjaya: Hegemony and Utopianism in a Southeast Asian State*,” diss.(n.p.: Columbia University, 2004).

18. Janet Abu-Lughod, *Before European Hegemony: The World System A.D. 1250–1350* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991).

Court building, which were designed by architects, politically-favoured and “of the bumiputra ascendancy.”¹⁹

19. King, *Kuala Lumpur and Putrajaya*, 155. See also Chee Kien Lai, “Southeast Asian Spatial Histories and Historiographies,” *Fabrications* 19, no. 2 (2010): 82–105.

According to King and Moser there is a clear and intentional referencing to architecture and urban spaces of the Middle East. The Masjid Putra is said to resemble aspects of Persian-Islamic architecture of the Safavid period and the Putra Bridge, connecting the boulevard to the PM’s office on the mainland, shares similarities with the Khaju Bridge of Isfahan. Putrajaya represents an eclectic mix of international Islamic images, none of which are specifically Malay, with the exception of the King’s Palace and perhaps Putrajaya City Hall.²⁰

20. King, *Kuala Lumpur and Putrajaya*, 165.

These design choices may be seen on the one hand as stemming from a national and political agenda acknowledging the Middle East as an emerging economic centre as well as a desire to end the Indic/Sinic/Islamic colonial associations with Europe. On the other hand, the design process may be implicated and its inadequacies exposed due to limitations of the tools employed to address complex socio-cultural and spiritual needs of contemporary communities. Whereas Abidin Kusno would argue that it is not a case of Malaysian architecture embracing or rejecting western modes of representation but rather a synergy of process and form.²¹ Chee Kien Lai highlights that theorisations of the Southeast Asian city should move beyond colonial and national frameworks and should be appreciated in fields of architecture and urban design, within “concentric and chronotopic spheres” rather than within local debates.²²

21. Abidin Kusno, “Tropics of discourse: notes on the re-invention of architectural regionalism in Southeast Asia in the 1980s,” *Fabrications* 19, no. 2 (2010): 58–73, 61.

22. Chee Kien Lai, “Beyond Colonial Frameworks: Some Thoughts on the Writing of Southeast Asian Architecture,” *Journal of Architectural Education* 62, no. 2 ACSA (2010): 74–75.

23. Sarah Moser, “Circulating Visions of ‘High Islam’: The Adoption of Fantasy Middle Eastern Architecture in Constructing Malaysian National Identity,” *Urban Studies* 49, no. 13 (2012): 2913–35, 2913.

24. Moser, “Circulating Visions of ‘High Islam,’” 2914. See also Hans-Dieter Evers and Rudiger Korff, *Southeast Asian Urbanism: The Meaning and Power of Social Space* (Germany/USA: Lit Verlag/St Martin’s Press, 2000).

25. Moser, “Circulating Visions of ‘High Islam,’” 2920; R. Holod and H Khan, *The Mosque and the Modern World: Architects, Patrons and Designs Since the 1950s* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1997); L. Kong, “Power and Prestige,” in *The SAGE Companion to the City*, ed. T. Hall, P. Hubbard and J. R. Short (Los Angeles: SAGE, 2008), 13–27.

26. W. S. W. Lim, *Architecture Art Identity in Singapore: Is There Life After Tabula Rasa?* (Singapore: Asian Urban Lab, 2004), 5.

Historian Sarah Moser, in her recent publication describes Putrajaya as “the adoption of fantasy Middle Eastern architecture in constructing Malaysian identity.”²³ Moser believes the design of Putrajaya exposes the social and religious changing parameters within Malaysia. Paradoxically, the designed urbanity has “normalised hierarchies of race and religion,” such practices originating in British colonialism.²⁴ The new Islamic international style adopted firstly for the construction of the Petronas Twin Towers in Kuala Lumpur and later in Putrajaya, according to Moser, is quite distinct from the British Raj style of the British colonial days of Malaysia.²⁵ It derives elements from classic and recognised sources of Islamic architecture which include: Arab, Ottoman, Mughal, Moorish, central Asian, Persian and Iraqi.²⁶ All of these styles only possess a few things in common for the context of Putrajaya, that is that they are foreign and



well-renowned as examples of “High Islamic” architecture.²⁷ The other illuminating aspect of Putrajaya is that despite the multi-cultural and religious diversity of Malaysia from a historical and contemporary perspective, no other religious structures were incorporated into the initial urban design. Moser suspects that this political act represents a “fundamental shift in identity politics and a calculated ascendancy of Malays over both colonialism and the Chinese.”²⁸

Specifically from the perspective of urban design, Putrajaya adheres to Choay’s paradigm of rules and models. In the absence of entrenched historical Islamic meaning at the site and without the appreciation of virtues of space and landscape achieved through the practice of *fada’il*, identity and form are constructed projectively, by the hand of the designer and client. Putrajaya displays an eclectic selection of design choices from the British influenced “Garden City” to the American “City Beautiful” movements for its overall urban concept; urban rationalism and ceremonial boulevards arising from politically authoritarian societies; in addition to Middle Eastern Islamic motifs and forms referencing a foreign ideological base. Quite contrary to early twentieth century British plans of Kuala Lumpur whereby there was segregation of different ethnic groups with specific planning typologies utilised to convey difference, Putrajaya eliminates difference by exclusion.

Glen Hill, architectural history and theories scholar, suggests that in modernity, it is a project for individuals of being “other than we are,” or projecting ourselves also in another place than we are.²⁹ This positioning is particularly relevant to the case of Putrajaya, as what is available, as is the situation for any global community, is only the image or aesthetic of the other place. There is not the primordial understanding of a place which was available to the pre-modern world. In modernity, one lives alongside representations of the other place, rather than living in that place.³⁰ Therefore it is the images of a place accrued through a range of different forms of media and experiences which act as understanding at a level of hearsay rather than what may be considered primordial knowledge.³¹ To a certain degree this undermines our dwelling in the world and notion of place, firstly due to how places transform so rapidly in the modern world, and secondly the anxiety that there exists in lack of familiarity that comes with a habitual place of dwelling.³² Therefore place no longer exists as the background to everyday life but rather the foreground, and a site of anxiety over comfort and familiarity.³³

27. William Siew Wai Lim, *Asian New Urbanism and Other Papers* (Singapore: Select Books, 1998), 12.

28. Moser, “Circulating Visions of ‘High Islam,’” 2921. See also J. Lepawsky, “Stories of space and subjectivity in planning the Multimedia Super Corridor,” *Geoforum* 36 (2005): 705–19.

29. Hill, “There Is No Place Like Home,” 59; M. Heidegger, *Being and Time*, trans. John Macquarrie and Edward Robinson (Oxford: Blackwell, 1962).

30. Hill, “There Is No Place Like Home,” 59

31. M. Heidegger, *The Question Concerning Technology and other Essays*, trans. Edward Robinson and William Lovitt (New York: Harper and Row, 1977), 5.

32. Hill, “There Is No Place Like Home,” 60.

33. Hill, “There Is No Place Like Home,” 61.

Concluding Remarks

The transitioning of highly ideological and imaginative theorisations of space to sets of rules, models and mapped diagrams of utopian visions has imposed physical and conceptual limits on new urban environments. Despite the complexities of contemporary urbanities the urban design process and role of the map is utilitarian and reductive. Aesthetics and form have dominated in the absence of tangible histories or distinctive socio-cultural practice. Yet it seems making one's own place is key to living with shifting notions of place. Putrajaya represents another site of modernity where its inhabitants are invited to find their place of dwelling and comfort amidst anxiety. Despite its collagist appearance it is not any worse or any different to any planned contemporary metropolis. It is merely a product of a complexity of processes of production of human settlement, one of which modern mapping contributes. It is this process which requires sustained and innovative review.³⁴

34. Richard Marshall, *Emerging Urbanity: Global Projects in the Asia Pacific Rim* (London: Spon Press, 2003), 10.

