

# NEGOTIATING MODERNITY ON THE PERIPHERY: DANIEL C. DUNHAM'S ARCHITECTURAL LEGACY IN BANGLADESH

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**Abstract:** This study investigates Daniel C. Dunham's architectural legacy in Bangladesh using Peripheral Modernism, a concept proposed by Ákos Moravánszky. As an American architect working in East Pakistan in the 1960s, Dunham's work shows the complicated interplay of Western modernist ideals with local cultural, environmental, and technical settings. The research examines one of Dunham's significant projects, the EPUET (East Pakistan University of Engineering and Technology) Faculty Housing, as a case study. The study examines Dunham's method critically to see how he applied modernist principles to the specific constraints of East Pakistan, resulting in a distinct architectural language that merged global inspirations with local traditions. The study demonstrates Dunham's triumphs and limits, emphasizing the difficulties inherent in cross-cultural architectural practice. By situating Dunham's contributions within the broader discourse of regionally responsive modernisms, this research provides insights into the evolution of contextual architectural practices and their relevance to contemporary global design. The study concludes by discussing Dunham's lasting impact and the implications for negotiating the tensions between global trends and local identities in architectural design.

**Keywords:** *Peripheral Modernism, Daniel C. Dunham, Cultural Adaptation, Contextual Modernism.*

## 1. Introduction

The global development of architectural Modernism in the twentieth century resulted in a substantial transformation in the built environment across many cultural contexts (Giedion, 1967). This movement, known for its focus on functionalism, technical innovation, and rejection of historical adornment, began in Europe and North America but swiftly spread beyond its Western roots (Fig 01) (Giedion, 1967). As modernist concepts crossed geographical and cultural barriers, they were interpreted and adapted in various ways, particularly in regions grappling with rapid development and the search for architectural identity.

The dissemination of modernist architecture was not a simple, unidirectional process of Western imposition. Instead, it involved complex negotiations between global influences and local realities, resulting in diverse manifestations of Modernism across different cultural and geographic settings (Heynen, 2000). This complexity has sparked critical discussions about the applicability and appropriateness of modernist ideals in non-Western contexts, where resources, cultural norms, and climatic conditions often diverge significantly from the Western origins of Modernism.

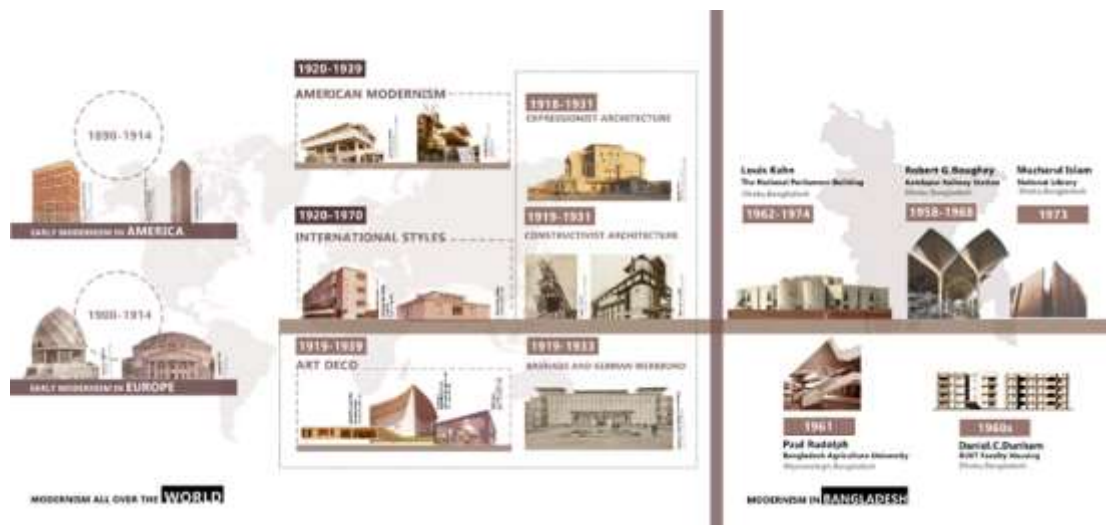


Figure 1: Global Spread of Modernism according to timeline

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In many Asian contexts, including Bangladesh and Sri Lanka, modernist architecture was introduced through the lens of Orientalism, where the West sought to impose its ideals and suppress local traditions (Said, 1979). This perceived threat to Indigenous architectural identities led to a form of "counter-Orientalism," where local actors resisted the uncritical adoption of modernist principles (Bozdoğan, 2002). Against this complex backdrop, the architectural contributions of Daniel C. Dunham in East Pakistan (now Bangladesh) during the 1960s must be re-examined.

Dunham's work, however, offers a compelling case study of Peripheral Modernism, a concept proposed by Ákos Moravánszky that recognizes the periphery as an active site of reinterpretation rather than passive reception (Moravánszky, 2012). Ákos Moravánszky's notion of Peripheral Modernism provides a framework for analyzing the obstacles and opportunities experienced by architects beyond Western centers of modernist ideology. This idea is consistent with broader critiques that dispute the notion of a single, Western-centric modernity, acknowledging many coexisting modernities molded by varied cultural settings (Eisenstadt, 2000).

Within this theoretical framework, the architectural contributions of Daniel C. Dunham in East Pakistan (now Bangladesh) during the 1960s offer a compelling case study of Peripheral Modernism in practice. As an American architect working under the auspices of the Colombo Plan, Dunham found himself at the intersection of Western modernist training and the complex socio-cultural realities of a newly independent nation. By examining Dunham's approach, we can gain valuable insights into the evolving discourse on contextual architecture in post-colonial settings, where global influences and local identities intersect.

This paper discusses Dunham's architectural legacy in Bangladesh within the paradigm of Peripheral Modernism, examining how the architect negotiated the challenges of adapting modernist ideals to the specific cultural, climatic, and technological context of East Pakistan. By exploring Dunham's key architectural projects and his role in shaping architectural education at EPUET (now Bangladesh University of Engineering & Technology), this study will illuminate the complex cultural translation and adaptation processes inherent in the global spread of architectural Modernism. Furthermore, it will consider the broader implications of Dunham's approach for understanding the development of regionally responsive modernisms and its relevance to contemporary architectural practice in an increasingly globalized world.

## 2. Theoretical Framework: Peripheral Modernism

Peripheral Modernism, a concept introduced by architectural historian Ákos Moravánszky, provides a nuanced framework for understanding the complex dynamics of architectural Modernism's global dis-semination, particularly in non-Western contexts. This theoretical approach challenges the traditional center-periphery model of cultural transmission, recognizing the periphery not as a passive recipient of ideas from the center but as an active site of reinterpretation, innovation, and resistance (Moravánszky, 2012).

At its core, Peripheral Modernism acknowledges that modernist architecture's spread involved complex negotiations between global influences and local realities. As Moravánszky argues, "The periphery was an echo chamber of ideas, where the delays and interferences distort or muffle the understanding of the concept and intentions of modernism" (Moravánszky, 2012).

Key principles of Peripheral Modernism include:

- **Hybridity:** Blending modernist forms with local materials, techniques, and spatial concepts.
- **Climatic Adaptation:** Modifying modernist principles to suit local environmental conditions.
- **Cultural Translation:** Reinterpreting modernist ideas through the lens of local cultural practices and values.
- **Technological Pragmatism:** Adapting modernist construction techniques to work within local technological and economic constraints.
- **Critical Engagement:** Actively questioning and reinterpreting modernist principles rather than passively adopting them.

These principles align closely with Kenneth Frampton's concept of Critical Regionalism, which similarly advocates for an architecture that mediates between universal modernization and the idiosyncrasies of place (Frampton, 2019). However, Peripheral Modernism places greater emphasis on the specific challenges and opportunities faced by architects working in non-Western contexts.

The application of Peripheral Modernism in non-Western contexts reveals diverse adaptations of modernist principles. For instance, architects like Charles Correa in India developed distinct regional modernist languages responding to their local contexts (Fig 02). Correa's Ramkrishna House in Gujarat shows how modernist principles could be transformed through local materials, climatic responses, and cultural considerations.

The relevance of Peripheral Modernism to post-colonial architectural discourse is significant. It provides a framework for understanding architectural development in newly independent nations grappling with questions of identity and progress. As Bozdoğan notes in her study of Turkish Modernism, this process often involved reconciling "an ideology of

nationalism with an aesthetic of internationalism" (Bozdogan, 2002). Similarly, Hosagrahar's concept of "indigenous modernities" describes these architectural developments as "neither an uncritical emulation of the West nor a retreat into nostalgia" but rather a "creative engagement with conditions of global modernity in diverse cultural and historical contexts" (Hosagrahar, 2005).

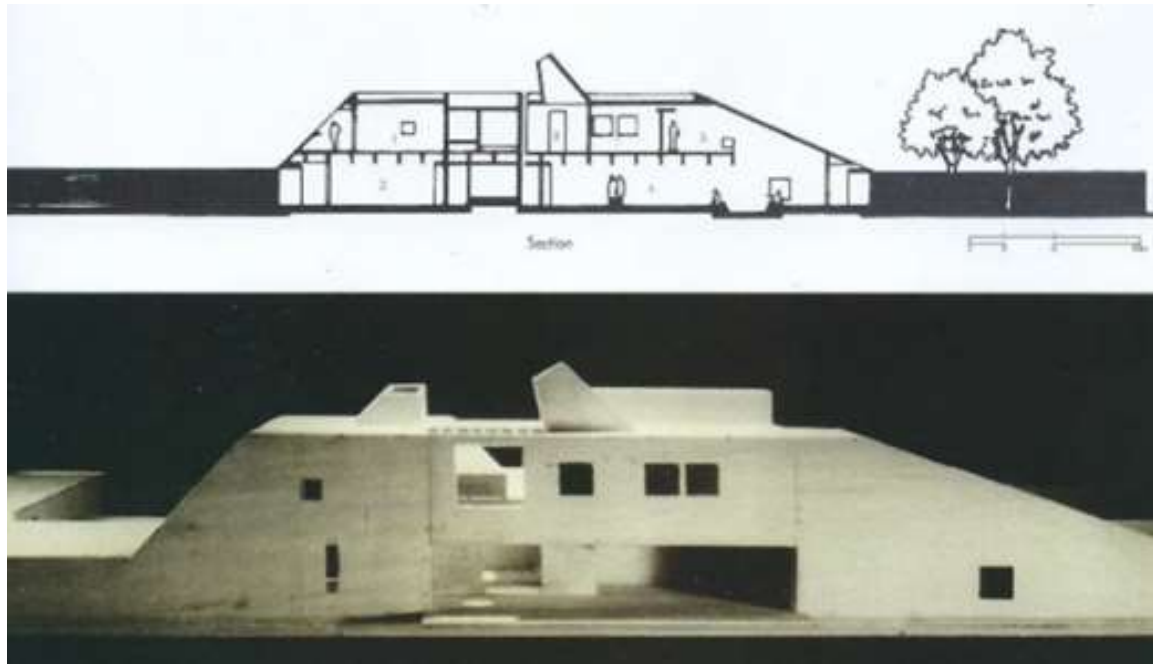


Figure 02: Ramkrishna House in Gujarat designed by Charles Correa (Shah, 2018).

Understanding these peripheral modernities is crucial for developing more inclusive and diverse narratives of architectural history, as argued by Duanfang Lu in "Third World Modernism" (Lu, 2010). Moreover, in an era of globalization, the lessons of Peripheral Modernism offer valuable insights for contemporary architects grappling with questions of local identity and global influences, providing a framework for creating modern and culturally resonant architecture.

### 3. Daniel C. Dunham: Background and Context

Daniel C. Dunham's (Fig 04) journey to becoming a pivotal figure in Bangladesh's architectural landscape was shaped by his diverse educational background and early professional experiences. Born in Omaha, Nebraska, in 1929, Dunham's formative years were influenced by the Great Depression, instilling in him a sense of resourcefulness that would later inform his architectural philosophy (Islam, 2013). Dunham's architectural education began at the University of Wisconsin-Madison, where he excelled in science and art. His pursuit of architectural knowledge led him to Harvard University, where he completed his Master of Architecture degree from 1955 to 1959 (Islam, 2013).

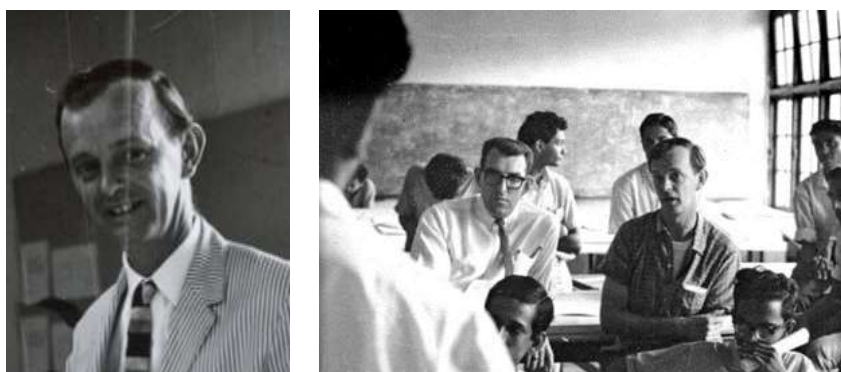


Figure 03: Daniel C. Dunham (on the left) and Daniel C. Dunham in one of his lectures in EPUET (on the right)

The Colombo Plan facilitated Dunham's arrival in East Pakistan in 1960, a cooperative venture promoting social and economic development in South and Southeast Asian nations (Oakman, 2010). Dunham joined Berger Consulting Engineers in Dhaka as part of this initiative, heading their newly established architectural division (Islam, 2013). Upon his arrival, Dunham encountered a nation in transition, grappling with the challenges of post-colonial development and the need for

modern infrastructure. The architectural landscape of East Pakistan at the time was characterized by a mix of colonial-era buildings and traditional vernacular structures, with modernist influences beginning to take root (Ashraf & Belluardo, 1999). Dunham encountered significant challenges in East Pakistan, from material scarcity to limited local expertise in modern construction. His daughter Katherine recalls his resourcefulness, including sourcing essential tools from neighboring countries (K. Dunham, personal communication, May 18, 2024). However, he recognized the region's rich architectural heritage, particularly its climate-responsive traditional architecture (D. C. Dunham, 1963). His Western training and understanding of tropical contexts uniquely positioned him to integrate modernist principles while respecting local traditions and environmental conditions.

#### 4. Aspects of Peripheral Modernism in Dunham's Work

Dunham's EPUET Faculty Housing exemplifies Peripheral Modernism through Hybridity in form, blending modernist and traditional elements, Climate adaptation, using passive cooling strategies, Technological pragmatism, combining modern and local construction methods, Cultural translation, incorporating local practices into modern design, Critical engagement with modernist principles, adapting them to local context. These aspects demonstrate Dunham's nuanced approach to modernism in Bangladesh.

##### 4.1 Hybridity in Architectural Form

Daniel C. Dunham's EPUET Faculty Housing project exemplifies a sophisticated form of symbolic negotiation, an essential aspect of Peripheral Modernism. This negotiation is evident in how Dunham bridged traditional Bengali architectural elements with modernist principles, creating a hybrid form that speaks to both the past and the future. The most striking example of this symbolic negotiation is the incorporation of deep, projected balconies with arched fronts (Fig 05). These balconies serve as a powerful architectural metaphor, embodying the tension between tradition and modernity. As Hasan (2007) notes, arches have been a significant feature in Bengali Islamic architecture for centuries, often seen in mosques and madrasas. Dunham creates a visual link to the region's architectural heritage by incorporating this traditional form into a modernist multi-story building. However, Dunham's use of arches is not merely decorative. Ashraf & Belluardo (1999) argue that such reinterpretations of traditional elements in modern contexts "negotiate between the familiar and the new, creating a sense of continuity amidst change." While referencing the past, the balconies also function as extended living spaces, aligning with modernist ideas about blurring indoor and outdoor boundaries. This dual function embodies what Bhabha (1994) terms the "third space" - a hybrid cultural form that is neither entirely traditional nor thoroughly modern.

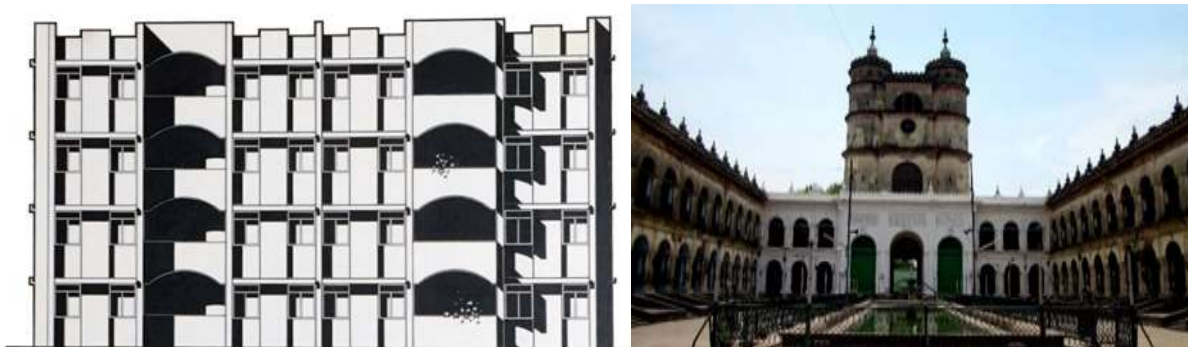


Figure 04: Comparison of Arch of EPUET Faculty Housing and Bengali Islamic Architecture.

The symbolic negotiation in Dunham's design extends beyond individual elements to conceptualize the building as a temporal bridge. As Frampton (2019) suggests, critical regionalism seeks to create architecture that is simultaneously rooted in place and engaged with global modernity. Dunham's EPUET Faculty Housing embodies this principle, serving as what Abel (2017) terms an "architecture of identity" - a built form that negotiates between cultural memory and future aspirations. This approach also aligns with what Lu (2010) terms "critical practice" in Third World modernism - an architectural approach that critically engages with local traditions and global influences. By creating spaces that can evolve with changing needs while maintaining a connection to cultural heritage, Dunham's design acknowledges the temporal nature of culture and lifestyle, positioning the building as a flexible framework rather than a fixed entity.

##### 4.2 CLIMATIC ADAPTATION

Daniel C. Dunham's design for the EPUET Faculty Housing shows a comprehensive approach to climate adaptability, a vital feature of Peripheral Modernism. This approach is particularly evident in his reinterpretation of traditional Bengali climatic strategies within a modernist framework, creating a culturally resonant and environmentally responsive design.

Central to Dunham's climatic strategy is his modern reinterpretation of the traditional Bengali courtyard or '*uthan*' (Fig 06). In conventional Bengali architecture, the courtyard is a microclimate regulator, facilitating natural ventilation and providing a shaded outdoor space. While the multi-story nature of the EPUET Faculty Housing precluded a ground-level courtyard, Dunham ingeniously translated this concept into the deep, projected balconies with arched fronts. These

balconies function as vertical courtyards, creating intermediary spaces that mediate between the interior and exterior environments. This approach bears similarities to Charles Correa's work in India, particularly his Kanchanjunga Apartments in Mumbai. Correa, like Dunham, reinterpreted the traditional courtyard in a high-rise context, creating "open-to-sky spaces" (Correa & Frampton, 1999). Like Dunham's balconies, these spaces serve multiple functions: they facilitate natural ventilation, provide shaded outdoor areas, and connect to the environment often lost in high-rise buildings.

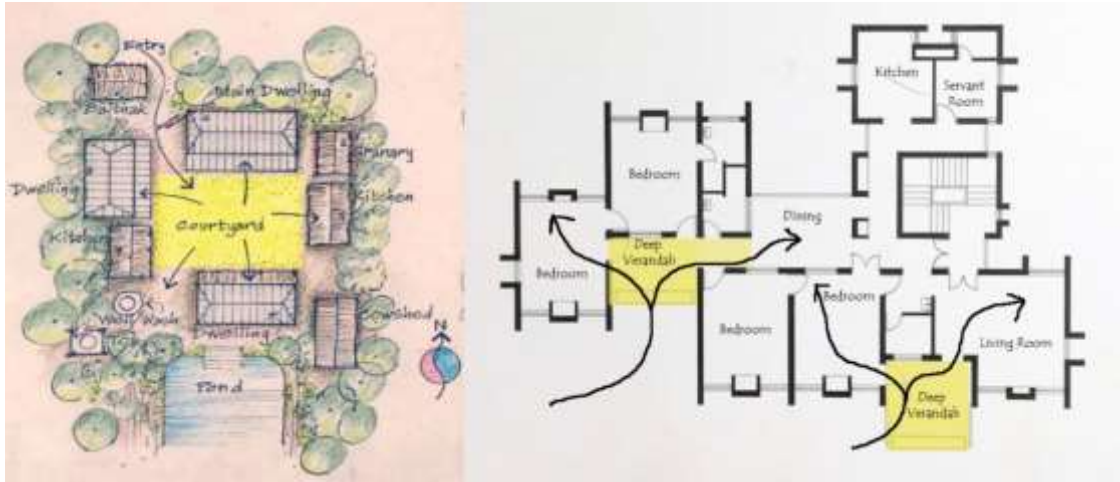


Figure 05: Comparative diagrams of traditional 'bari' layouts and Dunham's EPUET Faculty Housing plan highlighting the deep verandah serving as traditional *Uthan* functionally.

Dunham's handling of light and heat in the EPUET Faculty Housing is particularly noteworthy. The deep balconies act as effective shading devices, protecting the interior spaces from direct sunlight and thus reducing heat gain. This strategy is reminiscent of Le Corbusier's *brise-soleil*, first fully realized in the *Ministério da Educação e Saúde* building in Rio de Janeiro. However, while Corbusier's *brise-soleil* were often fixed concrete elements, Dunham's balconies offer a more flexible and inhabitable sun-shading solution (Curtis, 2015). The interplay of light and shadow (Fig 07) created by the balconies adds a dynamic quality to the *façade*, changing throughout the day. This attention to the temporal aspects of light is reminiscent of Louis Kahn's work in the Indian subcontinent, notably his National Assembly Building in Dhaka, where the play of light and shadow becomes an integral part of the architectural experience.

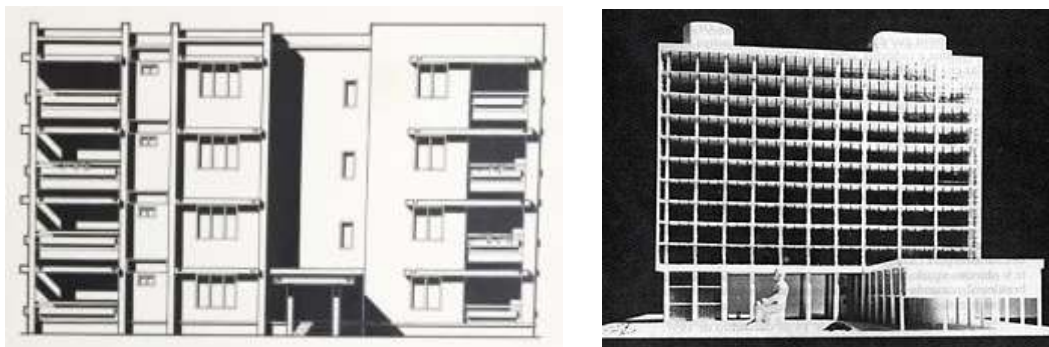


Figure 06: Comparative diagrams of the interplay of light and shadow created by the balconies in EPUET Faculty Housing and *Ministério da Educação e Saúde* building.

Dunham maximized natural ventilation through careful orientation and an elongated form with single-line room arrangements, echoing traditional Bengali house designs (Islam, 2013). This climate-responsive shell allows for internal modifications while maintaining environmental performance.

#### 4.3 TECHNOLOGICAL PRAGMATISM

Dunham's approach to technological pragmatism in the EPUET Faculty Housing project represents a thoughtful negotiation between modernist ideals and local realities. By combining modern structural systems with traditional climate-responsive strategies, Dunham created a hybrid architecture that was both innovative and contextually grounded. Dunham's design demonstrates a nuanced understanding of the challenges and opportunities presented by building in East Pakistan (now Bangladesh) in the 1960s.

Dunham did not simply transplant Western construction methods. Instead, he adapted them to local conditions and available resources. For instance, brick infill walls, rather than concrete throughout, reflect a pragmatic approach to material availability and local construction skills. Brick has been a primary building material in Bengal for centuries, and local masons

were highly skilled in brick construction. While embracing modern construction techniques, Dunham's choice of materials reflects climatic considerations. The use of exposed brick, for instance, not only references local building traditions but also provides thermal mass, helping to regulate indoor temperatures.

Dunham's technological pragmatism is particularly evident in his approach to climate control. Instead of relying on mechanical air conditioning, which would have been expensive and energy-intensive, Dunham employed a range of passive cooling strategies adapted to the local climate. These include Deep *verandahs* and overhangs to provide shade, Cross-ventilation through the thoughtful placement of windows and doors, Brick *jaalis* (perforated screens) in stairways and corridors for airflow, and "*Ghulghuli*" (small ventilation holes) above doors (Fig 08). The design's emphasis on passive climate control systems allows adaptation to changing environmental conditions and technological advancements. While the buildings were designed without air conditioning, their layout and ventilation systems don't preclude the future installation of mechanical cooling systems, demonstrating a forward-thinking approach to technological change.

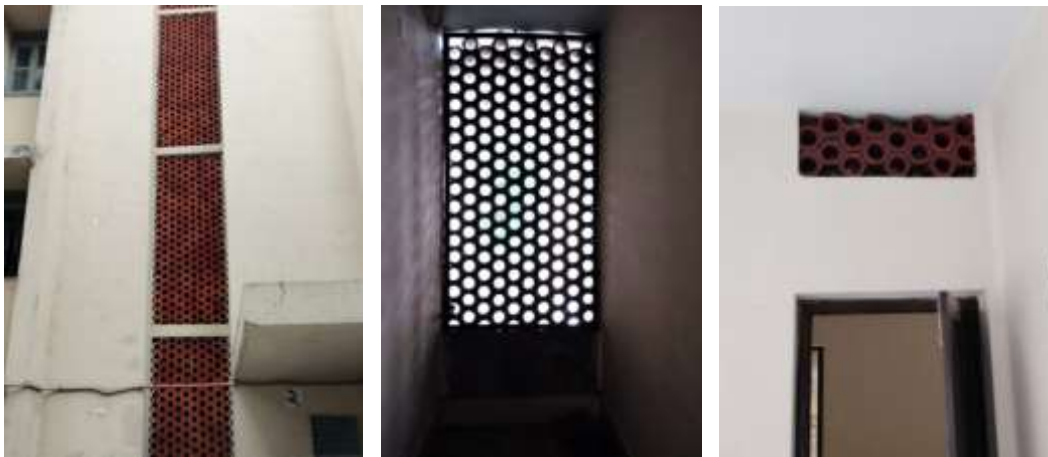


Fig 07: Brick Infill walls, Brick *jaalis* (perforated screens) in stairways, and "*Ghulghuli*" (small ventilation holes) above doors.

#### 4.4 CULTURAL TRANSLATION IN DESIGN

Daniel C. Dunham's design for the EPUET Faculty Housing presents a fascinating case study in cultural translation within architecture. As an American architect working in East Pakistan (now Bangladesh) in the 1960s, Dunham faced the challenge of reconciling modernist architectural principles with local cultural norms, living patterns, and environmental conditions.

One of the most striking examples of cultural translation in Dunham's design is the spatial organization of the housing units. Traditional Bengali houses, particularly in rural areas, often feature a clear separation between public and private spaces, with distinct areas for men and women (Ahmed, 2012). Dunham incorporated this cultural norm into his modernist design by including separate women's quarters and implementing a double circulation system within the units (Fig 09) (Islam, 2013). This adaptation demonstrates Dunham's awareness of "*purdah*," or seclusion, a significant cultural practice in many South Asian Muslim communities. However, it is essential to note that Dunham was not simply replicating traditional spatial arrangements by incorporating these elements into a modern, multi-story apartment building. Instead, he translated the underlying cultural concepts into a new architectural language.



Figure 08: Plan of EPUET Faculty Housing highlighting separate women's quarter and double circulation system.



Figure 09: Design of balconies according to the dimensions of a conventional sari.

#### 4.5 CRITICAL ENGAGEMENT WITH MODERNIST PRINCIPLES

Daniel C. Dunham's critical engagement with modernist principles in the EPUET Faculty Housing project offers valuable lessons for contemporary and future architectural practice. It demonstrates that modernist ideals can be productively engaged with and adapted to diverse contexts rather than uncritically applied or wholly rejected. His work indicates that it's possible to create architecture that is simultaneously modern, culturally sensitive, and environmentally responsive. As Bangladesh continues to develop and urbanize, these lessons from Dunham's approach can help guide the creation of a built environment that is progressive and rooted in local realities.

At its core, the EPUET Faculty Housing embodies several fundamental modernist principles: Emphasizing functionality, rejecting ornamental excess, and using modern materials and construction techniques. However, Dunham's approach was not a blind application of these principles. Instead, he critically engaged with them, questioning their universal applicability and adapting them to the local context.

Modernist architecture often prioritized a universal notion of functionality, sometimes at the expense of local cultural practices. Dunham, however, critically re-examines what 'functional' means in the context of East Pakistan. Modernist architecture often relied heavily on technological solutions for climate control, such as air conditioning. Dunham, however, critically engages with this approach by prioritizing passive climate control strategies adapted from vernacular architecture.

Dunham's approach acknowledges the temporal nature of architecture, recognizing that buildings and societies evolve. His design allows for adaptability through features like subdivisible apartments and the potential for future mechanical systems integration (Islam, 2013). This challenges the modernist view of buildings as static objects, instead treating architecture as an evolving entity. This forward-thinking approach, aligning with Frampton's (2019) critical regionalism, offers valuable lessons for contemporary architects in creating modern and contextually responsive designs.

### 6. Challenges and Limitations of Peripheral Modernism

While innovative, Daniel C. Dunham's EPUET Faculty Housing project reveals several inherent challenges in applying Peripheral Modernism in non-Western contexts. These challenges span cultural, technological, and social dimensions.

Although Dunham demonstrated cultural sensitivity through elements like sari-drying spaces and separate women's quarters, translating local cultural aspects into modernist architectural language raises questions of cultural appropriation. While Dunham consulted with future residents, the extent of local architects' and community members' involvement in shaping the project remains unclear as Said (1979) argues that Western interventions in non-Western contexts often carry implicit assumptions of cultural superiority, even when well-intentioned.

The project's physical and social sustainability presents mixed results. While durable, the concrete structure poses maintenance challenges in tropical climates and requires specialized skills often unavailable locally. The passive cooling strategies, though innovative for their time, may not meet current comfort and efficiency standards. Potential retrofitting with modern systems could compromise the original environmental design, highlighting the challenges of sustaining contextual solutions as standards evolve. The design's response to 1960s social norms, particularly regarding gender segregation, highlights how architectural solutions can become outdated as societies evolve as Habib et al. (2014) Note that while women's access to public spaces has progressed through education and employment, tensions persist between traditional spatial arrangements and contemporary social needs.

While successful within the university context, Dunham's technological pragmatism may have faced different challenges in other social or economic settings. While practical, introducing multi-story, concrete-frame buildings potentially eroded traditional architectural knowledge and practices.

In conclusion, while Dunham's EPUET Faculty Housing project demonstrates innovative applications of Peripheral Modernism, it also highlights the complex challenges in translating modernist principles to non-Western contexts. These challenges span technological, cultural, and environmental dimensions, underscoring the need for a nuanced and critical approach to modernist adaptations in diverse global contexts. As Tzonis and Lefaivre (2003) argue, such projects' success lies not in their faithful adherence to modernist dogma but in their ability to create meaningful dialogues between global architectural trends and local realities.

## **7. Reflective Perspective: Contemporary Relevance and Future Implications of Peripheral Modernism**

Daniel C. Dunham's work, particularly the EPUET Faculty Housing project, has left an indelible mark on Bangladeshi architecture. It has influenced subsequent generations of architects and shaped the discourse on Modernism in the region. His approach to integrating modernist principles with local cultural and environmental considerations has proven to be a valuable model for contextually responsive architecture.

Dunham's work in East Pakistan exhibits many characteristics of Peripheral Modernism, as defined by Moravánszky. He adapted modernist principles to local climatic, cultural, and technological conditions, creating a hybrid architectural language. This aligns with the core idea of Peripheral Modernism, which sees the periphery as an active site of reinterpretation rather than passive reception. However, some aspects of Dunham's work extend beyond typical Peripheral Modernism. While Peripheral Modernism often emerges organically from local architects grappling with modernist influences, Dunham's approach was more intentional and informed by his Western education and experiences.

Given these circumstances, Dunham's work represents a unique form of "Dialogic Peripheral Modernism." This term encapsulates his interactive and conversational approach, reflecting a two-way exchange between modernist principles and local traditions. The dialogic aspect highlights Dunham's active engagement with local contexts, cultures, and building practices, creating a meaningful conversation between global modernism and local vernacular.

In contemporary practice, Dunham's approach remains particularly relevant in addressing architecture's three critical challenges in developing contexts: cultural sustainability, environmental responsiveness, and technological adaptation. Regarding cultural sustainability, Dunham's method of cultural translation provides a model for architects working in traditional societies undergoing modernization. Contemporary architects in Bangladesh, such as Marina Tabassum and Kashef Chowdhury, continue to wrestle with similar challenges. Tabassum's Bait Ur Rouf Mosque (2016) and Chowdhury's Friendship Hospital in Satkhira (2022) demonstrate how contemporary architects can adapt Dunham's principles of contextual response to current needs.

Environmental responsiveness has become increasingly crucial in the face of climate change. Dunham's climate-adaptive strategies and his pragmatic approach to materials and construction techniques offer valuable insights for contemporary practice in resource-constrained environments. His integration of passive cooling systems and natural ventilation provides sustainable solutions that remain relevant today.

However, the contemporary application of Dunham's approach must acknowledge evolving social norms and technological capabilities. While his solutions to gender segregation reflected 1960s social norms, contemporary architects must address current perspectives on gender and public space. Similarly, while his passive cooling strategies remain valuable, they must be integrated with modern environmental control systems to meet contemporary comfort expectations.

The trajectory of Dialogic Peripheral Modernism in Asian countries like Bangladesh and Sri Lanka suggests a promising path forward in resolving the longstanding Oriental dilemma in architectural practice. As these nations continue to develop, this dialogic approach can transform the traditional power dynamics of Oriental-Occidental architectural relationships into a more equitable exchange. Rather than viewing Western influences as either impositions to be rejected or models to be emulated, Dialogic Peripheral Modernism enables these countries to engage with global architectural discourse from a position of cultural confidence. The future implications extend beyond mere architectural form - this new paradigm could reshape architectural education, professional practice, and cultural identity formation in these regions. By emphasizing dialogue over dichotomy, this evolved form of Peripheral Modernism might help Asian nations avoid the trap of neo-orientalism while fostering a distinctive architectural language that speaks to local and global audiences. This new approach suggests that countries like Bangladesh and Sri Lanka could become essential sources of architectural innovation rather than just recipients of Western architectural ideas.

The enduring relevance of Dunham's approach lies in its methodology rather than its specific solutions. As Bangladesh and other developing nations continue to negotiate between tradition and modernity, Dunham's "Dialogic Peripheral Modernism" offers a valuable model for creating globally connected and locally rooted architecture.



## 8. Conclusion

Daniel C. Dunham's architectural legacy in Bangladesh exemplifies a unique form of Peripheral Modernism, which we have termed "Dialogic Peripheral Modernism." This approach, as demonstrated through the EPUET Faculty Housing project, showcases Dunham's ability to create a dynamic dialogue between modernist principles and local cultural, climatic, and technological contexts. Dunham's work embodies key aspects of Peripheral Modernism, including hybridity in architectural form, climatic adaptation, technological pragmatism, cultural translation, and critical engagement with modernist principles. However, his approach extends beyond typical Peripheral Modernism through its intentional and informed nature, reflecting Dunham's Western training and deep engagement with the local context.

This study reveals the potential and challenges of adapting modernist architecture to non-Western settings. While Dunham's designs demonstrate innovative solutions to local challenges, they also highlight the complexities of cross-cultural architectural practice, including long-term sustainability issues, cultural appropriation, and evolving social norms.

Dunham's legacy extends beyond his built works, influencing generations of architects and shaping discourse on contextually responsive modernism. His "Dialogic Peripheral Modernism" offers a model for creating modern, environmentally responsive, and culturally grounded architecture, particularly promising for Asian nations like Bangladesh and Sri Lanka as they evolve from recipients to innovators of architectural ideas.

In conclusion, Dunham's work in Bangladesh is a compelling case study in architectural transfer and adaptation, underscoring the potential for creating meaningful, context-specific modernisms that contribute to global architectural discourse while respecting local identities and traditions. It challenges architects to engage critically with international influences and local traditions, fostering a more nuanced and inclusive approach to architectural practice in diverse cultural contexts.

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