INFLUENCES OF ACCULTURATION ON HOUSE FORM AS REFLECTED IN A

RUSSIAN IMMIGRANT GROUP IN THE UNITED STATES

By

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Abstract

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The purpose of this research is an exploration of the influences of acculturation on house form, as it is reflected in a space plan, of Russian immigrants in the United States. In order to observe how cultural change influences house form this research explores the nature of the relationship between culture and house form, the acculturation process, the cultural background and the present day life of the Russian immigrant group.

Demographic research indicates that a foreign-born population of the United States represents a large number of the homeowners. Thus, in residential design cultural needs of this population should be considered. The consideration of the cultural needs results in a culturally appropriate environment. This environment is also called supportive because it promotes familiar activities for the inhabitants. This does not require restructuring cognitive schemata, thus reduces stress. The reduction of stress is necessary in early stages of acculturation because recent immigrants experience multiple stresses upon arrival in a new country.

However, the amount of experienced stress and a need for a culturally appropriate environment can change under the influence of a different culture. This cultural change

that happened as a result of a conjunction of two or more autonomous cultural systems constitutes acculturation. Since design and culture are intimately related a change in culture can result in a change of housing needs and preferences. This research explores this relationship of design and culture by focusing on the exploration of influences of acculturation on house form of Russian immigrants. This exploration suggests that the American house type is not a culturally specific environment for the newly arrived immigrants. Hence, it does not constitute a supportive environment. The understanding of the culturally appropriate environment resulted in a set of guidelines for a space planning of the Russian immigrants' house.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this research is an exploration of the influences of acculturation on house form, as it is reflected in interior space, of Russian immigrants in the United States. The expected outcome of this exploration is an understanding of how to design for Russian immigrants in their various stages of acculturation. This understanding is necessary for various reasons. First, Russians constitute a large number of the foreign-born population in the United States. Demographic research indicates that this population has increased to a record level in the last few decades and continues to grow rapidly (Dearborn, 2001). For example, in 1990, 7.9% of the United State's population was composed of immigrants; this was double the number in 1970. In 2010 the number of foreign-born living in the United States is projected to reach 10.4% of the resident United State's population, or 31.1 million (Pitkin & Simmons in Dearborn, 2001). This significantly changing demographical situation influences various sectors of the housing market in the United States. In Miami, Florida the foreign-born make up 33% of the young-owner households and 42% of young renter households (McArdle & Masnick, 1995). This percentage suggests that in residential design the housing needs of various immigrant groups, including the Russian group, should be considered. The consideration of the cultural needs results in residential design corresponding with cultural identity, which increases the likelihood of house purchase (Dearborn, 2001).

The culturally appropriate environment is also called supportive environment because it promotes familiar activities, and therefore provides a safe and familiar base from which to operate. Supportive environment does not require restructuring cognitive

schemata, therefore reduces stress (Rapoport, 1980; Day, 2000). Research illustrates that stress reduction is necessary in early stages of acculturation because the recent immigrants experience multiple stresses upon arrival in a new country (Lane & Lavitt, 2003; Koyama, 2005). This is another reason why the understanding of how to design a culturally appropriate environment is important.

However, the culturally appropriate environment is not constant, it tends to change when culture changes, because environment and culture are intimately related (Rapoport, 1980). Culture can be modified under the influence of different culture. This cultural change that happened as a result of a conjunction of two or more autonomous cultural systems constitutes acculturation. Thus there is a relationship between acculturation and the built environment. Therefore it is important to study acculturation in order to understand how the housing needs and preferences change when cultural change takes place.

This research studies the relationship between acculturation and a built environment by focusing on house form. Steward Brand in his research on building layers explains house form by "six S's":

- "Site- the geographic setting, the urban location, and the legally defined lot, whose boundaries and context outlast generations of ephemeral buildings

- Structure- the foundation and load bearing elements

- Skin – exterior surfaces

- Services – the working guts of the building: communication wiring, plumbing, sprinkler system, HVAC and moving parts like elevators and escalators

- Space plan – the interior layout- where walls, ceilings, floors, and doors go

- Stuff- chairs, desks, phones, pictures; kitchen appliances, lamps, hair brushes; all the things that twitch around daily and monthly" (1994, p.13).

One of these six aspects of house form - space plan - is the main focus of this research.

In order to observe how cultural change influences house form it is necessary to explore the nature of the relationship between culture and house form, as well as the nature of the acculturation process. These explorations should focus on the Russian case that is the primary objective of this research.

The research on house form and culture suggests that the concept of culture alone is too broad a topic to relate to design; therefore it needs to be subdivided by more definitive categories (Rapoport, 1980). One of these categories is cultural values. Values result in particular life-styles, which have a direct link to activities, which in turn are strongly connected to the built environment. In sum, the connection between culture and house form might be observable from studying the inherent values of a particular cultural group, as well as the connections of these values to their life-styles and activities. Activities in this case are directly applicable to the house form. Research suggests that in order to study cultural activities, values, and life-styles in their pure sense it is necessary to study these aspects in the traditional society (Rapoport, 1969). Therefore, the

traditional society was chosen as a starting point for exploration of cultural values of Russian immigrants. Research illustrates that in traditional societies, the cultural change occurs slowly and over a long period of time, but if this change takes place, a built environment also changes because design and culture are "intimately related" (Rapoport, 1980, p.7). The cultural change might happen due to various factors. One of these factors is the influence of a different culture - acculturation. This influence acts as a catalyst, which motivates the change.

The exploration of the acculturation process raised the question of how to measure acculturation. Research provides this answer by suggesting that acculturation can be measured by comparing the original culture of the immigrants and the culture modified by contact with a different culture. "Changes which took place among the immigrants and did not take place among those who remained in the original culture are the result of the immigrants' acculturative experience" (Lanni in Teske & Nelson, 1974, p.353). Therefore, the original culture of immigrants is considered as a starting point for observing acculturation.

The observation of original cultural background (context) is focused on two house types experienced by the majority, such as the traditional house and the urban apartment. These types of housing are studied by analyzing how the cultural values introduced in lifestyles and activities relate to these two forms of housing. The result of these observations is a set of common characteristics of traditional Russian house and urban apartment. These characteristics and their connections to the cultural values, life-styles and activities are used for comparison with the data provided by the immigrants.

In order to collect data on house form of Russian immigrants in the United States the interview method is chosen. The interview participants are divided by three categories: less than five years living in the USA; more than five, but less than ten years living in the USA; and more than ten, but less than fifteen years of living in the USA. This division is made for the purpose of comparing data and observing changes occurring in early and later stages of acculturation. The analysis of the interview data illustrates a difference in house form preferences between recent and later immigrants, which suggests the acculturation process.

This exploration leads to an understanding of how to design a culturally appropriate house for a particular group of Russian immigrants. This understanding is introduced in a set of guidelines for space planning of the immigrants' house. These guidelines are the result of this research.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

In order to observe how cultural change influences house form it is necessary to explore the nature of the relationship between culture and house form, as well as the nature of the acculturation process. This exploration is the focus of this research paper section. The study starts from the broad overview of theories and is gradually narrowed to the focus of this research - Russian immigrants.

House Form and Culture

" The greatest strength and weakness of this [culture -house form] research field is diversity…. One notes a wide variety of research methods, ideologies, and substantive foci" (Seamon, 1986, p.17). David Seamon argues that Rapoport considers this philosophical diversity a weakness because the core of any intellectual system should be a set of common values, aims, theories, terms, methods, and so forth (Seamon, 1986). On the other hand, Irwin Altman implies that multiplicity of theoretical stages allows addressing the different facets of the research problem (1986). Altman identifies some broad theoretical trends in studying the relationship of culture and built form. The most commonly used among these trends are phenomenological, sociological, social psychological, anthropological, and historical approaches.

Phenomenological approaches

These approaches originated from the history of philosophy and emphasized the experiential and subjective aspects of personal relationships. Examples of these relationships can be insideness – outsideness, conceptual dimensions of center-periphery,

security, privacy, appropriation, authenticity (Altman, 1986). One of the examples of the phenomenological research is Seamon's (1986) study of vernacular environment. Seamon argues, the phenomenological study of vernacular environment reveals crucial experiential links between people and their surroundings. The author suggests terms in which the phenomenology of vernacular environment might precede: landscape, environmental experience, and environmental symbols as experienced. Another example of the phenomenological approach is Cooper-Marcus's research (1978), which studies the recollection of experiences. Therefore, the phenomenological studies suggest the special attention given by researchers to feeling, personal experiences and memories of the resident as the important factors influencing house form.

Sociological and social psychological approaches

The main emphasis of this area is symbolic meaning as it is reflected in house form (Saegert and Winkel in Altman, 1986). The example of this approach is Raglan's (1964) research. His cross-cultural studies emphasize the symbolic nature of relationships among people and provide an explanation of how this symbolism influenced the house form. The main factor in this case is religious values, which influences house form through customs.

Anthropological and historical approaches

This approach relates home design and cultural values, norms and rituals by means of anthropological and historical analyses (Altman, 1986). One of the trends of these studies is the linkage of the past and present in homes, norms, roles and values. Oliver (1986), Miller (1986), Evenson (1989), Knapp (1989), Lawrence, (1986, 1987), Bocher (1975), Rapoport (1969,1980,2005), and Smith (2002) are among the authors

who emphasize the past as an important consideration for understanding people's present house preferences. These authors argue that anthropological and historical research on house form should start from observation of traditional (vernacular) houses. "Traditional" refers to places and buildings constructed by unspecialized builders who usually live in these buildings themselves. The traditional society should be the starting point for exploration because its built environment is less cluttered with unnecessary things than the typical modern environment. Therefore, it is a direct representation of peoples' need, norms, and values. "They [traditional people] make contact with, use and are surrounded by things, meanings and events which truly matter" (Seamon, 1986, p.19).

Another aspect on which the aforementioned researchers seems to agree is the importance of socio-cultural forces over economical forces in determining house form. The main critique of the economical approach is its failure to explain why differences in house form occur under similar economical conditions (Lawrence, 1986; Rapoport, 1980).

However, despite the similarities, the research in anthropological and historical areas offers quite different opinions on how house form is (affected) by culture. According to Oliver's (1986) research on housing in Turkey, the main factor influencing house form is family. The important family values determined by religious beliefs is privacy and protection of women from other men. If house fails to meet these requirements, the family uses this house as a barn or as a storage facility. Lawrence (1987) suggests that house form reflects both cultural and social values and these values should always be considered together. The author defines cultural values as encompassing moral and aesthetic principles, which form an idealized framework of how

the world ought to be, whereas social variables are the pattern processes of everyday life, existential being of people in their surroundings. His research illustrates that not only cultural beliefs but also political and social events are responsible for determining the house form of German settlements in Australia.

Knapp's research on house form in the Chinese culture illustrates another important determinant of house form, which is social status. Only social status defined how many jian (columns) the traditional Chinese house had. The higher the status was, the more jian were allowed. Consequently, a larger house was built. Interestingly, the family's financial situation had little influence on this rule, and people of lower status could be wealthier than people of a higher status, yet, they still were not permitted to expand their houses.

Despite different explanations of how culture influences the house form, these discussions suggest a similarity, which is the relationship of cultural values and house form. As the theories illustrate, these values are culturally specific, therefore resulting in different environments. However, the process of how these different cultural values can be applied to house form can be generalized (Bocher, 1975). This generalized conceptual framework of the application of the cultural values to the built form was developed by Amos Rapoport (1980). Rapoport's framework is used for the purpose of this research.

The Conceptual Framework of Amos Rapoport

In his research "House form and culture" (1996), Rapoport investigated various factors determining house form. In the examples of Old Delhi and New Delhi, as well as certain Latin American cities, Rapoport observed that the same materials, construction,

technology, economy and climate often resulted in completely different built environments. These investigations contribute to the basic hypothesis of his research, which is the house form is not simply the result of physical forces, or any single causal factor, but rather the consequence of a wide range of cultural factors. This theory was further explored and supported by various anthropological and historical research (Oliver 1986, Miller 1986, Evenson 1989, Knapp 1989, Lawrence, 1986, Bocher 1975, Smith 2002). As well as Rapoport, these researchers suggest that cultural forces are primary determinants of the form and other forces are secondary or modifying. Therefore, while the secondary forces, such as climate, materials, technology should be considered in exploration of house form, the primary attention should be given to the cultural forces.

However, despite that researchers seem to accept Rapoport's basic hypothesis, his explanation of how cultural forces contribute to the house form is the subject of criticism. The main subject for this criticism is the categories Rapoport suggested: privacy, family, position of women, social intercourse and some basic needs as the main determinants of the house form. For example, Lawrence (1986) argues that these categories could not be universally applicable because the cultural variables that they stand for had very different definitions in different societies. Therefore, there is no guarantee that these categories are supported by important special components in all societies. Rapoport's further research (1980; 2005) illustrates the replacement of these categories by different hypothesis of how culture influences the house form.

It is now important to introduce Rapoport's definition of culture to better understand how culture influences house form. Rapoport defines culture as "a group of people who have a set of values and beliefs which embody ideals, and are transmitted to

members of the group through enculturation (1980, p.9). By enculturation, Rapoport is referring to passing down cultural beliefs from generation to generation and between the members of the same culture. From this definition one can see that the concept of culture alone is too broad a topic to relate to design; therefore it needs to be subdivided by more definitive categories.

According to Rapoport (1980; 2005) culture leads to worldviews - "the way members of a particular culture "'see' the world" (Rapoport, 2005, p.96). Worldviews reflect ideals of that culture and result in choices, yet they are still a broad concept, which is difficult to apply to the built environment. One of the aspects of worldviews are values. The attitude of people toward various 'goods', such as family, kinship, finances, and social relations can suggest cultural values (Rapoport, 2005). Values are easier to identify and analyze than worldviews, but they are still too complex to provide a direct link to the built environment. However, values are often embodied in images, which can be studied (Rapoport, 1977). Also, values result in particular lifestyles – "the way in which people make choices about how to behave, what role to play and how to allocate resources" (Rapoport, 1980, p.10). This suggests that lifestyles have a direct link to activities, which in turn are strongly connected to the built environment.

In sum, the connection between culture and house form might be observable from studying the inherent values of a particular cultural group, as well as the connections of these values to their lifestyles and activities. Activities in this case are directly applicable to the house form. Anthropological and historical research supports this theory by providing various examples how activities connect culture to the built environment. One example is provided by Lawrence in which he states, "Even the most basic physiological

activities such as cooking, eating and defecation are defined with respect to the values and customs of diverse social groups and institutions" (Lawrence, 1986, p.63). Hence, the activities are the key for understanding how culture relates to the house form.

Activity can be divided into two aspects: instrumental (self-evident) and latent (Rapoport, 2005). The instrumental aspect is a simple function of activity. For example, cooking – converting raw food into cooked food. This aspect of activity does not tell us much about culture. On the other hand, the latent aspect explains exactly how and why the activity is being done. This aspect varies among cultures and defines the culturally unique way the activities are performed. Considering cooking, the latent aspect tells if cooking is a social or private activity, or if it involves special settings, socializing, standing, and so on. Since the latent aspect of activity is culturally specific, by analyzing it one can begin to understand how the broader concepts of lifestyles and values relate to the house form.

Rapoport agrees with the aforementioned anthropological and historical researchers, that to study cultural activities, values, and lifestyles in their pure sense it is necessary to study these aspects in the traditional society (Rapoport, 1969). Rapoport defines traditional house design as a result of collaboration of many people over many generations as well as collaboration between makers and building users. All these people share traditional values. The adherence to these shared values gave collective control, which acted as a discipline. This results in a shared image of life, which contributes to an accepted model of building, thus a smaller number of building types. These buildings, however, are a direct representation of a cultural group that they serve. "The folk tradition is the direct and unselfconscious translation into physical form of culture, its

needs and values – as well as the desires, dreams, and passions of people" (Rapoport, 1969, p.2). Since the traditional house is a physical representation of culture, it might be a proper starting point to study a cultural change.

Rapoport argues that in traditional societies, the cultural change occurs slowly and over a long period of time. However, research illustrates that if this change takes place, a built environment also changes because design and culture are "intimately related" (Rapoport, 1980, p.7). The cultural change might happen due to various factors. One of these factors is the influence of a different culture. This influence acts as a catalyst, which motivates the change. An example of this is India. While under British control, India was highly influenced by Westernized education and a new range of occupations opened up by the British (Evenson, 1989). This contact influenced Indian values and lifestyles, which began to resemble Western values and lifestyles. Since "different people respond to different environments" (Rapoport, 1980, p.15) the form of the house also began to change and until the end of the nineteenth century it was hardly different from British house form. "With adoption of a common housing type among British and Indians, the segregation of these two groups within the city began to diminish" (Evenson, 1989, p.437). Therefore, by observing cultural values and lifestyles, and by applying Rapoport's framework, it is possible not only to observe how culture is introduced in design, but also to understand how house form reacts to the change in culture. This is one reason why Rapoport's framework was adopted for the purpose of this research.

Another reason for adopting the framework is because the research done by Rapoport was cross-cultural. The author explored which cultural forces could be generalized in order to be applicable to design in general, not only to design for one

specific cultural group. The framework was developed based on the observations of various cultures around the world; therefore it might be applicable to the subject of this research – the Russian culture.

Acculturation

The study of acculturation is relatively new, dating back to the first true research of acculturation in the 1930's (Smithon, 1976). Therefore, researchers in this field have not yet developed a generally accepted and suitable definition of acculturation that would cover the various cases of this process. In order to prevent any confusion, some researchers (for example Kiefer, 1974) avoid the definitional issue completely. In their attempts to define acculturation, researchers have reformulated the definition several times (Smithon, 1976). The improved and simplified version of this definition was proposed by the Seminar of the Social Science Research Council in 1954 that stated: "acculturation may be defined as cultural change that is initiated by the conjunction of two or more autonomous cultural systems" (Smithon, 1976, p.31). For the purpose of this research, this definition was adapted, because it was already tested by Michael Smithon in his research on acculturation of Russian groups in the United States and proved relevant for such studies.

Despite the controversies in defining acculturation, the majority of researchers agree that acculturation is a process rather than an event. Sometimes this process is defined as unidirectional. In this model, the process of change moves in the same direction, and this direction is always toward the dominant society (Gordon, 1964). As a result, at the end of the process the immigrants' group is expected to be like the host

culture. Because of deterministic orientation this model excludes the possibility of

individual choice and generational differences among immigrants. Therefore, this method

is more suitable for macro-scale analyses of large cultural aspects, such as social,

religious and economic characteristics of the group (Smithon, 1976).

Another model researchers have developed is vacillating. This model allows

several directions of the acculturation process: toward the dominant culture, toward the

minority traditional culture, or away from both (Smithon, 1976). Kristen Day and Uriel

Cohen's research (2000) on Russian elderly immigrants illustrates the process of moving

toward the traditional culture, which Day and Cohen refer to as 'de-acculturation.' For

example, as the cognitive regression associated with dementia or age occurs, individuals

often revert to the more traditional end of the acculturation process. The familiar

traditional environment in this case acts as a stabilizer and reduces internal stress. The

vacillating model also includes the element of individual choice, which allows moving

away from both cultures and developing unique trends. An example of this can be seen in

Smithon's research on the Russian Old Believers community in Oregon, which revealed

that some second-generation immigrants developed unique and creative reactions to the

contact situation with the dominant society, without passively accepting the dominant

forms (1976). The double lives this group led, as it switched back and forth between the

two cultural worlds is not a life typically led by either Americans or Russians. Smithon

argues that these observations might not be possible if he used the unidirectional

acculturation model with macro-scale analyses, because these observations are too

specific and individual to be observable on the macro level. Micro –level analyses

focused on the changes in personal and cognitive systems of individuals, and the flexible vacillating model of acculturation allowed for these findings.

Degrees of acculturation

For acculturation to take place, there should be at least two cultural groups that are in contact with each other. The immigrant group is usually referred to as a subordinate group, whereas the host culture – dominant. Research illustrates that acculturation is usually greater in the direction of the dominant group than in the direction of the subdominant group (Teske & Nelson, 1974). However, there is the question of how to measure this cultural change. Gilling and Raimy argue that the acculturation process, "whereby the culture of a society is modified as the result of contact with the culture of one or more other societies" includes a spectrum (1940, p.371). This spectrum implies a difference in a degree of acculturation on various stages and can be measured by comparing the original culture of the immigrants and the culture modified by the contact with different culture. "Changes which took place among the immigrants and did not take place among those who remained in the original culture are the result of the immigrants' acculturative experience" (Lanni in Teske & Nelson, 1974, p.353). Therefore, Lanni suggests studying the original cultural group experience as a starting point of the acculturation process. He defines the following steps:

- study the original pre-contact immigrant culture

- the conditions of contact

- the present day life of the immigrant group

- the present-day culture of the immigrants' acculturative experience

This framework can help to observe the differences between the original culture patterns and the new cultural patterns, which changed as a result of contact with different cultures. Consequently, the degree of acculturation can be estimated.

Acculturation vs. assimilation

Besides acculturation, researchers also use the term assimilation to define the change caused by the cultural influence. However, assimilation differs from acculturation. The opinions of researchers regarding this difference can be divided into the following major groups. The first group of researchers considers assimilation a late stage of acculturation (Allen, 1990; Day & Cohen, 2000; Gordon, 1964; Turner, 1990;). On this stage individuals stop retaining beliefs and behavior from their culture. However, Teske (1974), Nelson (1974) and Hardwick (2003) consider assimilation and acculturation separate processes. The latter group of researchers argues that acculturation may not result in assimilation. To support this opinion Teske (1974) gives an example of the Eurasian community of Indians, who were acculturated in terms of the British culture, and who wanted to assimilate into the British community but were not accepted. In the same way, assimilation may happen without previous acculturation. Artists or scientists who immigrated to America may be equal members in American society, yet be poorly acculturated (Silver, 1965 in Teske, 1974). For example, being immediately accepted into American society, because of their fame, these people might not have time enough to change their behavior patterns under the influence of American culture.

However, both groups of researchers agree that for assimilation to occur, a change of cultural values of culture of origin to values of the dominant culture is required (Allen, 1990; Day & Cohen, 2000; Gordon, 1964; Hardwick, 2003; Nelson, 1974; Teske, 1974;

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Turner, 1990). In both cases the term assimilation was used mainly to denote the type of change in which an immigrant group becomes more like the host society. The research on Russian immigrants (Hardwick, 2003; Smithon, 1976; Kosmin, 1979; Day & Cohen, 2000; Ruidl, 1982) and author's personal observation of the Russian immigrant group do not suggest the changes among Russians to be of this type.

The following section of this paper continues exploration of acculturation and assimilation processes by narrowing this exploration to the Russian immigrant group living in the United States. Since this cultural group is the focus of this research, it is necessary to understand the degree of influence of American culture on this immigrant group. In order to observe this let us analyze how the characteristics of the Russian immigrants correspond to some differences between assimilation and acculturation used by Teske, Nelson and Hardwick in their research, which are summarized in the following table:

Acculturation	Assimilation
Does not require change in values, though values may be acculturated	Change in value required
Reference group change not required	Reference group change required
Internal change not required	Internal change required
Out-group acceptance not required	Out-group acceptance is required

Table 1. Comparison of the characteristics of acculturation and assimilation.
From Teske and Nelson, 1974.

The first significant difference between acculturation and assimilation is that for assimilation to occur a change in value is required. The research illustrates that the first generation of Russian immigrants do not tend to change their value system. Smithon's (1976) study of the Russian immigrant group revealed that the change of values was primarily found to be among young adults and adolescents of the second generation. The observation of the Russian Baptist community in Spokane, Washington also suggests that

youths of the second generation tend to be more "Americanized" than their parents, but still they "remain strongly influenced by their parents' values" (Schreiner, 2006, p.17). The fact that the values of the Russian immigrants of the first and sometimes even of the second generation remain unchanged suggests that these immigrants are on an acculturation process, where the change of values is not required.

Hardwick (1993) suggests that Russian immigrants have a tendency to "close" in their ethnic groups and have connections only with the members of this group. "We're all together constantly" (Schreiner 2006, p.17). One of the examples of this is a strong discouragement of intermarriage "'most girls plan to marry Russian guys'…. Parents stress the importance of marrying other Russian Christians. Of her many cousins, only one has married an American" (Schreiner 2006, p.17). Not only spouses, but also friends are to be found among Russian group members. "'So when it came to friends, 'almost all the time friends were from [Russian] church'. His parents actively discouraged hanging out with people who weren't Christian. 'They were really good watching who we were friends with'"(Schreiner 2006, p.17). Therefore, the ethnic group means strong social and family connection for Russians. Consequently, this group constitutes the primary reference group. The preference of this cultural group over American cultural group suggests acculturation, rather than assimilation.

Another significant sign of assimilation is internal change, which implies the change of self-identity of the immigrant. Research illustrates that even the second generation of young Russian Christian adults do not identify themselves as a part of American society. "Almost none of the autobiographies contained any statement which could be constructed as identification by the bibliographer with an American group"

(Smithon, 1976, p.478). This further illustrates that the first two generations of Russians tend to be on an acculturation process. The exception could be the Russian Jewish immigrant group; the majority of this group perceive themselves as "American Jewish" or "New American" after living in the United States for more than twenty-five years (Kosmin, 1979).

The further point concerns acceptance by the out-group. Park and Burgess (1924) suggest that assimilation incorporates both secondary and primary group contact, whereas acculturation only requires contact of secondary group nature. In other words, out-group acceptance may be considered to have been initiated when the individual or group was permitted interaction in primary social relations (Teske & Nelson, 1974). The primary group is characterized by personal, informal, intimate contact, which is usually face-to-face, and which involves one's entire personality. The example of the primary group can be family, friends, and children's playgroups. The secondary group is a group in which contacts tend to be impersonal, formal or casual and non-intimate; in some cases they are face-to-face, and in others they are not (Gordon, 1964). Examples are the work environment, everyday communication with strangers. The nature of the interaction of Russian immigrants with American-born people seems to occur in the secondary group.

The literature suggests that in most cases the communication with Americans is limited to employment and everyday communication in school, stores and shops. However, the communication with the Russian ethnic community tends to have a more intimate character. For example, Kosmin's research (1979) illustrates that eighty-seven percents of the Russian cultural group have close friends who are Russians, and only forty-three percent regularly visit the homes of American-born people. This suggests that

the majority of Russian immigrants are not looking to be accepted into primary group interaction with the American society members. Consequently, in the majority of cases it is too soon to talk about assimilation.

Acculturation and House Form and Culture Theory

Acculturation is a cultural change that occurs due to the influence of a different culture. Some immigrants are flexible to this change, but other resistant. The Russian group that welcomes change is the Russian Jewish cultural group. The example of the change resistant Russian immigrants is the Old Believers settlements in Oregon and Alaska. These groups immigrated to the USA for the purpose of preservation of their cultural and religious values (Smithon, 1976). However, in both cases research illustrates that acculturation impacts various aspects of immigrant life: activities and preferences, beliefs and values, social and economic status, and even self-identity (Day & Cohen, 2000; Kosmin, 1990). The pace of this impact depends on the group's willingness to acculturate and on the amount of contact with the host culture (Hardwick, 2002). However, in any case, the more acculturation progresses, the more the original culture resembles the host culture (ranging along a continuum).

Since culture and house form are intimately related (Rapoport, 1980), the change in original culture should lead to the change in original house form. The example of this influence can be the Hispano settlement in the San Luis Valley of Colorado. The original colonists attempted to establish the settlement and house form similar to the ones they left behind in New Mexico. However, after a large number of Anglos moved into the region, the shape of the Hispano settlement located close to the Anglos, changed and eventually

started to resemble Anglo settlements (Smith, 2002). The amount of these changes depends on the degree of acculturation.

At the beginning of the process, the impact of the host culture on house form is usually insignificant. It is illustrated by the fact that immigrants try to imitate their former built environment in a new place of residence. The example of such practices is California "where Spanish in the northern countries use adobe, the Russian use logs and the American build with frame construction; little stone is used by any of them in spite of its availability" (Rapoport, 1969, p. 110).

The middle stage of acculturation is called biculturalism (Day & Cohen, 2000). In this stage the house of the culture might possess both original and host culture features. The example of this is the international style, commonly referred to as "Functionalism," and its influence in Finland. Resulting from this influence is that the Finnish house form began to represent a combination of modernism and traditional architecture. "The Finns integrated modernism's elemental volumetrics, 'free' plan, concrete frame construction, and taut detail qualities with traditional pitched-roof forms, wood, brick, stone and tile cladding" (Miller, 1986, p.152).

At the end of the acculturation continuum (assimilation) the original house form is supposed to resemble the house form of the influencing culture. A similar occurrence happened in India as a result of Westernization (Evenson, 1989). Thus, the level of cultural modification determines the level of change in house form.

The analysis of the acculturation impact on Russian immigrants suggest that Russian Christians (Old Believers, Baptists), especially the first generation, do not usually modify their cultural values at the beginning of the acculturation process. This

means that the lifestyles of this group still resemble Russian lifestyles. This suggests that the house form preferences of the first generation of Russian immigrants are not expected to be significantly different from those in the country of origin. However, since acculturation is ranging along the continuum (Day & Cohen, 2000), these preferences are expected to be more Americanized as the period of contact with American culture increases.

Supportive Environment

Research illustrates that recent immigrants experience stress – "common pathological manifestation, involving a series of associated psychological effects, which have to be known as the 'General Adaptation Syndrome'" (Rapoport, 1978, p.243). This stress is promoted by change in the socio-cultural environment (Rapoport, 1978), monetary worries (Lane & Lavitt, 2003), difficulties being understood culturally and linguistically (Koyama, 2005), loss of status (Hardwick, 1993). Rapoport argues that the factors that promote stress (stressors) are subjective, hence variable, and depend on the correspondence of the environment to the latent activities of the cultural group (1978). Therefore, the environment, which can be stressful for one group, can be not stressful for another group. For example, Aiello and Thompson's research illustrates the different perceptions of personal space and crowding among various cultural groups (1980). The same environment in that case promotes comfort for one group and a high level of dissatisfaction for another. This suggests that cultural traits should be considered in designing culturally appropriate environments.

House form can be a stress-modulating device (Rapoport, 1978), so that immigrants can prefer a particular house form for the reason of stress reduction. This explains why among immigrants who purchase homes in the US, the likelihood of purchase increases if residential design corresponds with cultural identity (Dearborn, 2001). For example, Ponderose Homes (Freemont, California) was initially unable to sell $650,000 homes in an Asian neighborhood. However, after slight alternations of home elements to correspond to Feng Shui Chinese philosophy the company sold five houses in three months (Kirsch, 1992). The houses, which correspond to cultural identity, is defined as supportive environments (Rapoport, 1978) and are important for recent immigrants as a means of reduction of internal stress. Levitt, Lane & Lavitt suggest that the higher level of support the immigrants get, the higher level of life satisfaction they experience (2003). Supportive environments should be culturally specific, because in this case they promote familiar activities, and therefore provide a safe and familiar base from which to operate. This does not require restructuring cognitive schemata, therefore reduces stress (Rapoport, 1980; Day, 2000).

However, the internal stress, as a result of intense cultural contact, stimulates a need for change (Smithon, 1976). This change is acculturation. Thus, supportive environments that reduce internal stress are slowing down the acculturation process. This can be both negative and positive, depending on the group's goals. However, since the immigrants undergo multiple stress situations upon their arrival in a new country, the supportive environment might be necessary during an early period of adjustment. "By supporting traditional and/or familiar activities they (supportive environments) provide a

safe and familiar base from which to operate; counterintuitively this may speed

adaptation and modernization" (Rapoport, 1980, p.35).

The research on Russian immigrants illustrates that this cultural group needs a

supportive environment. One of the examples of supportive environment is the

homogeneous neighborhood – the neighborhood that consists of one cultural group. The

homogeneous neighborhood provides mutual support, reduces the perceived density of

areas and increases predictability, thus reduces stress (Rapoport, 1980). Hardwick's

research illustrates that Russians have a tendency to cluster in homogeneous

neighborhoods (2002). This suggests a need for supportive environments for the Russian

cultural group.

CHAPTER THREE

CONTEXT

Research on house form, culture and acculturation suggests that to understand how a change of original culture influences house form it is necessary to explore the original culture prior to immigration (Smithon, 1976; Day, 2000). This exploration is the focus of this research section.

In the Russian case it is possible to identify two house types experienced by the majority. These types are the traditional house and the urban apartment. As anthropological and historical research indicates, the traditional house is a physical representation of cultural values, providing a clear link between culture and house form (Oliver 1986; Miller 1986). The traditional type dominated Russia until the beginning of the twentieth century. After the 1930's the abandoning of the villages began in response to official policies in the former Soviet Union intended to "urbanize" rural life (Brumfield & Ruble, 1993). The urban apartment was the only available housing type for the urban dweller. Triggered by political reforms, the transition from rural to urban was not evolutionary. Therefore, the house form change was rapid.

Since planners and not residents designed the urban apartment, the new structures did not resemble village houses (Birdwell – Pheasant & Lawrence – Zuniga, 1999). In most aspects they were contradictory to the traditional house. However, since the majority of people (70 percent) lived in the urban apartment it is necessary to consider this housing during the exploration of the cultural background of the Russian immigrants (Day, 2000). Besides, a connection between urban and rural types of housing always

existed. The main reason for this link was the significance of maintaining family ties and economic importance of villages for urban dwellers (access to resources, especially food). In their turn, the urban dwellers provided a place to stay if rural family members had business in the city (Birdwell-Pheasant & Lawrence-Zuniga, 1999). In this way no matter what type of housing people occupied, they were familiar with and had the possibility to experience both traditional and urban housing. Therefore, both the urban apartment and the rural traditional house should be considered as a part of Russian cultural background.

The following section of the paper provides an overview of the traditional Russian house and urban apartment by analyzing how the cultural values introduced in lifestyles and activities relate to these two forms of housing. Rapoport suggests that for the exploration of the relationship of culture and house form only key cultural values should be considered (Rapoport, 1969). For the purpose of this study the key values of the social interaction, privacy and family have been identified as indicators of this relationship. The author's personal experience, literature review, as well as the later interviews taken into account were the primary reason for isolating these key values.

Traditional House

Social interaction

The key value of social interaction in traditional society results in life style of strong community connections. This social connection was supported by the residents' tendency to live in one place for all their lives (Day & Cohen, 2000). This close community interaction lasted for centuries and resulted in the development of a strong

Russian trait - a need for close social relationships. Gusorsky (1995), exploring Russian elderly, noticed that "Having lived most of their lives in their places of birth, many Russians were deeply rooted and were connected to lifelong, close, and trusted friends" (Day & Cohen, 2000, p. 378). This influenced the house building process and resulted in activity – building houses together. The process of building a home was a social event and a large part of the community helped the future owner (Eldelman in Brumfield & Ruble, 1993). Plans and architectural drawings were not used because knowledge was passed down from generation to generation.

   For decorating purposes family invited carpenters, who traveled from village to village decorating houses in a similar, generally accepted way (Eldelman in Brumfield & Ruble, 1993). This was one of the reasons why there was almost no variety of house form in traditional society. Generally, the meaning of a built environment was shared and understood by everyone (Rapoport, 1969). Because people did not question this meaning, there were almost no differences in house types, special arrangement or home decoration. The traditional house form in Russia was almost unchanged throughout the centuries. Only in the twentieth-century, when alternative heating sources became available, the house form was slightly modified by adding interior partitions in order to separate the kitchen from the living room (Pallot in Brumfield & Ruble, 1993) (Appendix, illustration1).

   The life style of strong community connections also resulted in another activity, which is participation in community life. This was supported by the house form and village layout. Houses in a village were located in close proximity to one another along the street; they faced the road leading to a church (Appendix, illustration 3). This location

of houses was socially significant because on their way to church and back, members of the community had the possibility to make contact with each other by greeting people, exchanging information and news. (Eldelman in Brumfield & Ruble, 1993). Different from some other cultures, where the houses were close to the street and open to the inner yard (India), the Russian traditional house was opened to the street in order to enable people to participate in social life.

Strong community connection was also supported by the importance of interaction with peers. This resulted in the tradition among young people to get-together on a regular basis. Beginning in the fall and continuing through the winter, unmarried boys and girls gathered in a girl's house, socializing, talking and singing until late at night. The girls often brought their needlework and spinning and worked through the evening; when the gathering broke up, the boys walked them home. The latent meaning of these activities was a possibility for girls to appear in their future role as *khoziaki* (housewives) in front of young men (Goldman, 1993).

To support social interaction the traditional house had a separate guest room in the summer part of the house called *gornitsa*, where no housework was performed (Appendix, illustration 1). The exception was very large families, which sometimes allowed girls who were about to get married to sleep in *gornitsa* (Alexandrov, 1970). The windows in *gornitsa* were larger than in the rest of the house, and therefore this space was brighter. In addition, this space was the cleanest and the most decorated because according to this room guests evaluated the quality of the housewife. The fact that the whole separate room was allowed for social interaction in an otherwise small traditional

house, and the majority of family's activities took place in another single room, illustrates the importance of social communication in the Russian traditional society.

Privacy

Based on the contemporary understanding, the privacy level was low in the traditional house. The main reason for this was the fact that there were no detached single-family houses like those that existed in Western society. The house in Russia represented "cooperative living" of joint families. "Villages have been characterized by a mix of older joint-family, open-plan houses and newer single-family dwellings" (Birdwell-Pheasant & Lawrence-Zuniga, 1999, p.180). The several families representing one household constituted a single economic unit. They had shared land, shared finances and shared property.

> "For the peasant, *dvor* (household) was a joint enterprise, everyone contributed
> their labor and shared in the fruits. Separate income was tantamount to deception,
> family members who withheld income violated a cardinal rule and lost their right
> to be a part of the household" (Goldman, 1993, p.147).

All of the resources were owned and managed by men. The reason for multifamily living was the importance of joined labor and a complicated system of property manipulation (Goldman, 1993).

The joint- family life style resulted in a need for sharing space with others. This created a problem especially in winter, when the whole family was dependent on the heat from *pech* (Russian oven) that was the hub of the Russian traditional house (Appendix, illustration 4). It dominated the interior of the house by its size and function and was crucial for the survival in a cold Russian winter (Lipinskaya, 2004). When a new

house was built, *pech* was the first structure erected and a large open space was organized around it (Edelman, 1993). The additional spaces were then built. However, the room where *pech* was located was considered the main living space shared by the household members. For the purpose of heat distribution there were no interior partitions separating *pech* from the space around it. This room was the warmest place in the house; therefore, it was a shared bedroom space for household members during the cold weather months.

Despite the fact that it was crucial for survival in cold Russian weather, sharing one room for sleeping significantly impacted privacy inside of the house. Several authors pointed out the disadvantages of the Russian traditional house in this aspect. However, during the warm weather periods the families had the possibility to use separate additional spaces for sleeping. These spaces were significantly smaller, unheated, and during the winter they were not occupied, but used as clothes storage.

> "The families' private rooms were unheated, 'the only fire…[being] in the main room where food is prepared, where the heads of the group, and eventually the older people and the aged children, sleep'. This served as a symbolic statement that the united family had only one hearth" (Birdwell-Pheasant & Lawrence-Zuniga, 1999, p.185).

Even when the family size increased it did not result in separation of the families, but in growth of the house around *pech*.

The increase of the family size could result in another type of household. This household represented several *izba* (traditional houses) of each married son, gathered under one roof (Eldelman in Brumfield & Ruble, 1993). Three or four houses with *pech* for each dwelling were opened to the common entryway (Appendix, illustration 2). The

greater the wealth of the household, the greater number of *izba* under one roof there might be. This larger household allowed more privacy. However, the principles used in organizing all of the houses within this dwelling were the same as for a single *izba.* In both cases described above, the members of the traditional Russian family preferred to live under one roof, which resulted in a lower level of privacy.

While the privacy inside the house was a problem, the private territory of the household was preserved. Fences and gates were usually used to mark the boundaries of the household (Alexandrov, 1970). There was also a large porch leading to *seni* (separate vestibule space) (Appendix, illustration 5). Strangers waited there before being invited inside (Eldelman in Brumfield & Ruble, 1993).

Family

Literature suggests that the understanding of primary family in the Russian traditional society was much broader than in the Western world. Even people who did not relate by blood could in some cases be considered family members and land shareholders if they contributed labor to the household's land. This possibility, for example, existed for the landless peasants who were willing to work on other's land (Goldman, 1993). Usually the household consisted of six members, which constituted a single economic unit (Eldelman in Brumfield & Ruble, 1993). This life style of living with large and extended family resulted in a need of structuring the household in order to manage the large household size, shared property and finances.

One of the ways of structuring the household was the division between male and female areas of work, which was introduced in house form. The main figure of the family was the man – husband and father (Birdwell-Pheasant & Lawrence-Zuniga, 1999). His

status in a household was supported by the area in the house referred to as the white part of the house. This was his domain and was located in a right icon corner (*perednyi ugol*) diagonally opposite the woman's "black part of the house", where the stove was located (Appendix, illustration 1). The purpose of the white part of the house was to provide a place for religious objects, honored guests and family dinners.

The black part of the house was the work area; all work there was females' responsibility. It was called black because *pech* was located there. Edelman sees a parallel between woman and an image of *pech*. Taking dominance in a house interior by its size (2m x 2m x 1.5m h) the stove was not only a source for heat, but also a provider of a warm, intimate, and nourishing atmosphere inside the house. "The functions of the stove were so vital that house could not be called a true *izba* unless it had such a stove" (Edelman, 1993, p.12). To maximize its functions the face of the stove was turned toward the house. (Lipinskaya, 2004).

Since prior to the end of the 19th century and in some case much latter there were no partitions in the traditional house interior (for the purpose of heat distribution), females working around the stove served as the center of attention for the whole family. This made males aware of the significance of the woman's work for the entire family. "Women played visible and decisive role in those systems. The function and position of the stove within *izba* provided a physical and material affirmation of those roles" (Edelman, 1993, p. 13). However, in the 19th century the "black part of the house" started to be separated from the rest of the house by interior walls. This separation became possible because of the appearance of smaller stoves, which could be placed in each room, thus reducing the reliance on heat from the main stove. These partitions separated

the female domain from the rest of the family, making men less aware of the importance of women's work.

Despite the fact that men in the traditional society had their place in the house (the white part), they did not work there. Men's responsibility was working in the field and in the surrounding house structures – such as various shops and animal stocks. The exception was the cold weather periods, when men's workplace was in the house next to the entrance door. This place located them as far as possible from the icon corner, the most sacred place (Alexandrov, 1970). This suggests a strong separation between house areas and male and female roles in traditional society. This separation was not a physical division, but rather a mental division, an "unmarked threshold," (Birdwell-Pheasant & Lawrence-Zuniga, 1999, p.16) which allowed structuring of the crowded space, preventing chaos.

The life style of living with large and extended family also resulted in multi-functionality of house areas and elements, which was another way of managing the limited space. The kitchen – the woman's domain – with its conceptual central hearth was generally the most multifunctional space in the house, accommodating cooking, eating and everyday social interaction among the family (Birdwell-Pheasant & Lawrence-Zuniga, 1999). "The stove was far more than a useful tool of family life: cooking, baking, drying clothes, cleaning slaughtered livestock, bathing, and sleeping all took place near or on the stove" (Brumfield & Ruble, 1993, p.12). Another example of multifunctional elements was the bed. It resembled the bench and served as a place for seating during the day and for sleeping during the night. Peasants also used this bed-bench as a storage trunk because it had a storage space underneath (Alexandrov, 1970). These examples

illustrate that the function of the areas depended on the time and changed gradually throughout the day. There were no boundaries to separate areas with different functions.

"Although activities within these multifunctional spaces were not bounded by physical walls and barriers, they were far from chaotic. Areas could be segregated by the use of props or conceptually designated by customary location of certain activities within the larger space" (Birdwell-Pheasant & Lawrence-Zuniga, 1999, p.16).

The next way of structuring a large number of household members within a small space was keeping the hierarchy between family members. "What was lost in space was recovered in time, i.e. in the hierarchy of generations" (Birdwell-Pheasant & Lawrence-Zuniga, 1999, p.17). For example, the closeness to the stove of the sleeping place corresponded with power held in the household. Usually this place belonged to the head of the family. However, this was not absolutely rigid. Often fragile or elderly members of the family took this place. This suggests that hierarchy was based on age rather than on gender. "Peasants were capable of greater flexibility of family structure when dealing with generational, as opposed to gender differences" (Eldelman, 1993, p.78). Despite the traditional house being characterized by an open-plan space layout, this space was highly controlled. Structuring the family by generational differences, separation of male and female domains, managing multifunctional areas and keeping boundary between inside and outside made this control possible.

Urban Apartment

The following section of the paper provides an overview of the urban apartment by analyzing how the cultural values of social interaction, privacy and family introduced in lifestyles and activities relate to this form of housing.

Social interaction

In contrast with traditional housing, the urban settlement pattern and house form did not promote strong community connections (Crowley & Reid, 2002). As a result, in the urban society the social interaction did not usually happen among community members, but among friends from various areas of the city. However, the social connection was still important for the reason of mutual help and support. Hardwick calls these social relations "a bounded solidarity" and she argues: "it was forged in the former USSR as a direct response to a shared fear and distrust of Soviet government" (Hardwick, 2003, p.174). This importance of friends continued the tradition of get-togethers. However, these get-togethers were not as large as they were in the traditional society. The reason for this might be the changed ideology of people, which happened as a result of communist political repressions, which affected cities the most. Traditionally, open-minded people began to believe that nobody could be trusted. "In the Soviet Union, one woman who has lived there for 10 years said, 'You always had it here' –she points to her head- 'Be careful'"(Nolte, 1990, p.3). This means that the circle of friends was reduced to people who were really trustworthy. "Mistrust of those outside one's intimate circle was frequently fostered by the Soviet system. Individuals in Russia made and maintained social contact through their jobs as well as through lifelong places of residence" (Day & Cohen, 2000, p. 387).

As well as for traditional people, the social interaction was important for urban dwellers. However, the separate space existing in the traditional house did not take place in the urban apartment. Rapid industrialization and mass migration from the village to the town challenged the government to provide a place to reside for a large group of people. To resettle people as soon as possible the government sped up the building process. "These look-alike towers grew like mushrooms after a rain shower as every feature became standardized throughout the USSR" (Ruble, 1993) (Appendix Illustration 6). The amount of space assigned for each member of the family was reduced to a bare-minimum. The following statistic provides a good picture of living conditions in the former Soviet Union.

As of January 1978, the amount of housing in urban areas averaged 9.2 square meters of living area and 14.3 square meters of total area per person (Appendix, illustration 7). For comparison, in Eastern Europe the average living area per person was assigned between 18 and 26 square meters; in Western Europe it ranged between 28 and 35 square meters and in the United States the living area per person reached 51 square meters, or 5.5 times greater than that of Russia (Vysokovskii, 1993). This means that the majority of people could not allow a separate room for social communication. Under these circumstances the communication usually took place in a living room. However, the urban living room was a reproduction of the social space in a peasant home (Crowley & Reid, 2002).

As well as in the traditional house, special attention was given to the decoration and cleaning of the communication place. Besides providing space for gatherings, the purpose of this place was to communicate the status of the housewife. "The entire family

37

lives crammed into smaller rooms full of things, but that one room is for show, closed off

and carefully guarded by the woman in the house" (Vysokovskii, 1993, p.283). The

attention paid to the living room illustrates that social communication was important for

urban dwellers as well as for traditional dwellers. Even a limited living area did not

eliminate the traditional cultural value of social communication.

Privacy

In the majority of cases, the single-family urban apartment housed fewer people

than the number of family members who inhabited the typical *izba* (Birdwell-Pheasant &

Lawrence-Zuniga, 1999). This suggests that in comparison with the traditional house the

privacy situation in the urban apartment was improved, but it was still far from

satisfactory because of the small size of area allowed for per person. In contrast with the

traditional house, the urban apartment was divided by partitions for areas with different

functions (Appendix, illustration 8). Though, the amount of these areas did not

correspond to the needs of the family. In order to improve the situation the use of the

apartment areas depended on the time of day. This provided an opportunity for

controlling limited space in order to achieve the desired amount of privacy.

> "In cramped apartments, it is not possible to give each activity its appropriate
>
> place. Everyone is mixed together in the most confusing way. The couch and a
>
> portion of the living room, where in the evening guests visit, becomes a two-
>
> person bed and a bedroom at night. The dinner table, also for guests, is by day a
>
> desk in the 'study', which is often used by several family members at once"
>
> (Vysokovskii, 1993, p.282).

The spaces in the urban apartment were multifunctional similar to the traditional house. However, in the urban apartment there were less fixed structures and elements. In the urban apartment there was a tendency of "adopting centripetal interior schemes that diminished the significance of fixed features like the traditional hearth or the centrally placed dining table and developing new types of transformable furniture that could perform two or more functions" (Crowley & Reid, 2002, p.195). Since apartments were built from concrete prefabricated blocks, it was almost impossible to manipulate the shape of the apartment. Therefore, the adjustability and mobility of furniture was very important. This is supported by the fact that the mobile, multifunctional furniture was the most popular in the former Soviet Union (Han-Magomedov, 1995).

Besides the small size of the apartment, the impossibility to sell and to buy property negatively influenced the size of the apartment. The urban apartment was not owned by its inhabitants. The family received the apartment from the government for free and could use it throughout their lifetime, but the government was the actual owner of the property (Rasson, Stevanovi & Ilic, 1999). This resulted in extremely complicated property manipulation in the former Soviet Union (Ruble, 1993; Goldman, 1993). The inflexibility of the urban apartment created inconvenience in various cases of changing family size or composition. Consider the following case. In the event of divorce, there was no possibility to sell a shared apartment in order to buy two separate apartments. The only option was to trade one bigger apartment for two smaller. However, when a family lived in an already small apartment, there were not many choices left. As a result, one of the spouses usually moved to a parent's house. If this was not possible, the family built partitions in order to separate themselves. "Family disputes- especially those surrounding

divorce settlements-could have extremely messy consequences; in some cases, internal partitioning was ordered by a court as the only way of reconciling the plaintiffs' conflicting claims" (Lovell, 2002, p.115). This suggests that because of the lack of property manipulation the privacy situation in urban apartment was still dissatisfactory.

Not only privacy inside the residential units of an urban building was limited, the privacy from neighbors was also a problem. The government program of resettling people in a short period of time affected the size of the shared areas (staircases, vestibules, etc.). This decreased the privacy situation between the neighbors of the apartment complex. Cheap materials and poor planning contributed to this problem (Crowley & Raid, 2002). Therefore, the residents started coming up with solutions for improving insulation. One of these solutions was insulating from outside initially opened balconies and lodges by window. "The common apartment alteration was to enclose the balcony, making it part of the interior space" (Rasson, Stevanovi & Ilic, 1999, p.196).

The shared spaces between apartments located opposite each other on the same floor were divided and a wall was built on both sides. This division resulted in separated entryways for each apartment, which was used as storage space and a physical separation from neighbors. "The entryway became a public/private space transitional zone into and out of the apartment, with the door to the rest of the apartment preserving family privacy" (Rasson, Stevanovi & Ilic, 1999, p.194). This suggests that the privacy situation in the urban apartment was dissatisfactory. This negatively influenced the social connection between neighbors, which in comparison with the traditional society was weakened.

Family

The size of the family in an urban society was significantly smaller than in the traditional society. One of the reasons for this was the fact that the main principle of organization of the traditional household – the joint family living with shared finances and property – did not take place in urban society. Therefore, in the majority of cases, the urban apartment was a single-family dwelling (Rasson, Stevanovic & Ilic, 1999). However, living together with grandparents was fairly common because the grandparents often looked after the grandchildren (Day & Cohen, 2000). Also, the older generation of the World War II veterans had better opportunity to receive a government apartment for the entire family.

Another reason for a small family size in the urban society was a changed role of women. Against the tradition, the Soviet government intended to free the woman from her family responsibilities (Bliznakov, 1993). Restaurants, childcare, recreation and education were supposed to supplant women's housework. Women instead were thought to be included in the labor force, to help rapid industrialization (Bliznakov, 1993). However, this idea failed to work. Being employed and having a workload equal to men, women did not give up their family responsibilities. Women both worked and took care of their families: cooking, cleaning, washing, and raising children. This double workload resulted in a decrease of family size. Therefore, in contrast with the traditional family, the couple in the Soviet Union typically had one child (Valentey, 1987).

Also, the reason for the small family living life style in urban settings was the space constraints. The family was eligible for an apartment that could not exceed the allowed living area for each family member. Because of the absence of private property

ownership in the former Soviet Union, the property manipulations were extremely complicated (Vysokovskii, 1993). A family could only exchange the apartment, if there were other apartments available, but was not allowed to sell the apartment or to buy new. In this case, the apartment was incapable of accommodating the growing family. Therefore, the family often planned according to the living space available. However, if family size still increased, the result was a higher degree of multi functionality of spaces, and consequently a higher control over living spaces.

Besides family composition, "the most apparent change in living conditions was the detachment of social life and daily activities from the natural ground level and their removal into an artificially-created elevated level" (Rasson, Stevanovic & Ilic, 1999, p.180). The absence of private outdoor space suggests the absence of the male domain in an urban dwelling, because the traditional male domain was outside the house: land and surrounding structures. The need for connection to the outdoors was usually met by purchasing *dacha* (summer house). The main purpose of dacha was the possibility for urban dwellers to work on land and be connected to nature (Lovell, 2002). Literature suggests that dacha was a replication of the traditional male domain for urban dwellers. The following passage clearly illustrates the negative reaction of the man toward the penetration of his domain by the woman.

> "Kondrat steadfastly resists any incursion of cluttering 'feminine' artifacts into his austere home. His wife tries to prettify their dacha by laying out a flower oil-cloth on the table, but is told off severely for doing so: 'Don't even think of it! You hold sway at home in the flat, but don't go setting up a stupid perfumery here'"(Lovell, 2002, p.114).

The fact that one third of urban dwellers owned dacha (Vysokovskii, 1993) might be explained by the lack of male domain.

While the male domain in the urban apartment disappeared, the female traditional domain was transposed from rural to urban dwellings. The kitchen in this case replicated the "black" part of the traditional house that was the typical female domain, where the majority of work was performed (Crowley, 2002). The presence of women in the kitchen made this area a hub within the dwelling. Children often did homework in the kitchen under the mother's supervision, while husbands read or had conversations with their wives. However, in contrast with traditional society the strict boundaries between female and male domain did not take place in the urban setting. In order to control the space, the family seemed to rely more on physical boundaries and timed use of multifunctional spaces.

Conclusion

The *izba*-type household was a single economic unit consisting of several joint-families. The living of these families in the open floor plan house stimulated a need for controlling space. This control was achieved by a separation of male and female domains. Day-time / night-time differences in the use of spaces for different functions, such as using a bed and *pech* for different purposes during the day and at night, also contributed to flexibility in fitting the family to the space available.

When migration from the village to the town took place, the households accommodated to some influences while maintaining many early beliefs and behaviors (Rasson, Stevanovis & Ilic, 1999). Grandparents in some cases still lived with children. This was due partly because the number of apartments was below the number of eligible

families, but also due to the persistence of cultural values of grandparents taking care of

grandchildren. The urban dwellers tended to create their own functional spaces within the

given built environment. Some of this adjustment was accomplished through assigning

spaces to suit the family composition. This could mean using the living room for

sleeping, the kitchen for dining, or providing a workplace in the bedroom. Therefore,

despite personal privacy being higher than in the traditional house, it was still

dissatisfactory. Also the control over space was achieved by movable furniture and timed

or multifunctional use of spaces. Table 2 summarizes the most important characteristics

of the urban and traditional dwellings discussed in this part of the paper.

Traditional house	Urban apartment
Strong community connection –house is opened to the main street	Weak community connection –addition partitions to insulate from neighbors
Often get-togethers with friends – separate guest room	Often get-togethers with friends –living room is used for communication
Separation of male-female domains	Female domain dominates within apartment, but male domain does not take place
Multifunctional areas/elements	Multifunctional areas/elements
Flexibility and adjustability of house form to family size	Apartment is not flexible to accommodate family change

Table2. Characteristics of traditional and urban dwellings

In both the traditional house and the urban apartment the limited space and privacy

resulted in the need to control space.

CHAPTER FOUR

METHODOLOGY

The purpose of this research is to explore the influences of acculturation on the house form of Russian immigrants in the USA. This house form exploration is mainly focused on use of interior space. In particular, this research compares changes at five-year intervals during the first fifteen-year period of the acculturation process. The primary objective is an understanding of the requirements for a culturally appropriate house for Russians in the USA. This type of housing can provide a supportive environment that can possibly ease acculturation stress during the post immigration period (Rapoport, 1978). In order to accomplish this it is not only necessary to understand how the pre-contact culture of Russian immigrants relates to the house form, but also to explore how the change of this culture relates to the change of the house form preferences. For the reason of comparison of preferences of house form before and after immigration, it is necessary to ask Russian immigrants about their current preferences and needs. Therefore, an interview as a research method is crucial.

Profile of Study Participants

The literature suggests that acculturation is a process rather than a single event (Day & Cohen, 2000). As a process it should have a beginning, stages of progression, and an end. The beginning of this process happens when the contact of the original and host culture takes place (Teske & Nelson, 1974). The end of the process - assimilation depends on various factors, but usually does not occur among the first generation of Russian immigrants (Smithon's 1976; Schreiner, 2006).

Therefore, this research is focused on an exploration and comparison of changes throughout the process of acculturation occurring at different stages in every five years during the first fifteen-year period. Only immigrants living in the United States less than fifteen years were asked to participate in interviews. This fifteen-year period of acculturation was divided by the following three sub-categories:

Stage 1: Less than five years living in the USA

Stage 2: More than five, but less than ten years living in the USA

Stage 3: More than ten, but less than fifteen years of living in the USA

This division was made for the purpose of comparison of changes occurring in early and later stages of acculturation. Three families of first generation Russian immigrants represent each period of the acculturation process. All participating families reside in Spokane, Washington, have permanent resident status in the USA, and belong to the Russian Baptist community. All participating families are also homeowners.

This research is only focused on the first generation of immigrants because the original cultural values and background of these immigrants were Russian. Therefore, it is possible to observe the change of one's original culture after immigration. This study does not include children because many children were not able to experience the house form and develop a sense of place in Russia (Tuan, 1977; Orme 1978). Elderly are also excluded from the study. Because of the cultural baggage the elderly immigrants may have brought with them, they are the slowest group to acculturate (Hardwick, 1993; Day & Cohen, 2000). To observe a change in the perception of home among elderly, more time than the first fifteen years may be required. Therefore, this study is focused on adult members of the families from ages 25 to 50. This age group is the most appropriate for

the study because they are more flexible to acculturate, they are more familiar with the Russian house form, and have had time to experience this form prior to immigration.

House Form

This section provides an overview of the common characteristics of the American house that were observed in Russian immigrants' residences. All of these residences were characterized by an open floor plan layout. This means that there was limited or no separation between living, dining room and sometimes kitchen areas. Also the transition between the public and private domains was not clear, because the separate public entrance –vestibule that identifies this transition for Russians was not present. The entrance from the outside was directly into a living room. The public entrance usually faced the main street, whereas the rear of the house faced the backyard. The houses had one master bedroom and several separate bedrooms for family members. Size of the house varied, depending on the number of inhabitants. The house plan of the Habitat of Humanity nonprofit organization can be an example of the type of house the interview participants occupied (Appendix, illustration 9).

Interview Questions

Before the interview each participant was familiarized with a consent form that has been approved by the Washington State University Review Board. After obtaining signed permission from each participant, the interview proceeded. The interview was reordered.

The interview consisted of seven questions about Russian and American houses, and that the immigrants have experienced. The idea behind the questions is to stimulate discussion and encourage the respondents to share their life-stories. Smithon (1976) suggests that interviews focused on the life-stories of the immigrants are a proper research method for micro-scale (family, individual level) exploration of the acculturation process. However, the flow of the stories was controlled in order to focus the respondents' attention on interior spaces.

For ease of both the respondent and the interviewer the interviews were conducted in the Russian language. This prevented misunderstanding and incorrect interpretation of the data. Also, the respondents were allowed to draw images in order to illustrate and support their verbal responses.

The following is an example of the interview questions:

1. How many years have you lived in the USA?

    a. Less than five

    b. More than five, but less than ten

    c. More than ten, but less than fifteen

2. Who lives in the house and what is relationship between these people?

3. What are the household responsibilities of each member in the house?

4. When think of being at home, do you think of being in Russia or in the USA?

5. When you recall elements of your home in Russia and in the USA, what do you recall as the most special?

6. What events or periods of life made your home in Russian and in the USA special for you?

7. What do you most like and dislike in typical American home?

Data Analyses

The data was considered significant for further evaluation if at least two out of three participants (majority) in each category provided the same information. These key themes were divided by every five-year period of immigrants' living in the USA. This division was made for the purpose of comparing changes that occur in early and later stages of acculturation. Data corresponding to each stage of acculturation was divided by the categories of social interaction, family and privacy in order to observe a change of these values that happened as a result of contact with American culture.

The key themes identified from the interview data led to the understanding of the immigrants' need throughout different stages of the acculturation process. The result of this understanding is a set of guidelines for space planning of the immigrants' house. Professionals can use these guidelines for designing culturally appropriate house for the interviewed Russian immigrants in the United States.

CHAPTER FIVE

FINDINGS

This section of the paper provides an overview of the interview data by analyzing how the cultural values introduced in lifestyles and activities relate to house form preferences of Russian immigrants in the USA. The key values of social interaction, privacy and family, discussed as Russian cultural background, were used in analyses of interview data in order to observe a change of these values.

Stage One (less than five years living in the USA)

Social interaction

The interview data suggests that respondents perceive their dwellings in Russia as places for social interaction. When immigration takes place, Russians bring their life style of close social interaction to the United States and apply their vision of home to their American dwellings. Therefore, Russians often expect new friends from their church community to come over. "My home in Russia and USA are opened for people all the time. They can serve not only family, but also other people, which makes them special" (Personal communication, Russian immigrant, 1st stage). In both Russian and American houses a living room was identified as a place for social communication.

> "There were so many people at our home for my dad's birthday, that we had to move four dining tables in living room in order to seat people for dinner, but it was not enough. People had to take turns to eat!" (personal communication, Russian immigrant, 1st stage).

The availability and the size of the living room in the American house does not create a conflict with respondents' needs. However, the immigrants perceive the connection of living room with kitchen and dining room a problem. This connection in the respondents' opinion prevents the living room from being mono-functional (only for social interaction), which was desired by the respondents. The respondents agreed that this mono-functionality could be achieved by enclosing the living room from other areas of the house as well as by separating the TV area from the living room.

Privacy

Social communication, so desirable to Russians in the first stage of acculturation, challenges privacy at home. This is the reason why all participants were dissatisfied with privacy conditions in their American residences.

> "When one opens the front door, he can see the whole picture: living, dining rooms, kitchen and even a bedroom, if the bedroom door is opened. In Russia we had a large vestibule which gave as a choice to invite a person or to talk with him there" (personal communication, Russian immigrant, 1st stage).

The vestibule, space separation, and better acoustics were the reasons for this more positive evaluation of privacy situation in Russian homes. These were the common house elements that Russians also preferred to have in their American residences. The key themes in the informants' responses were the desire for strict separation between public and private domains. The vestibule was perceived as the most public area of the house, which needed to be enclosed from the rest of the house in order to prevent physical and visual connection to the more private areas. The respondents demonstrated a negative attitude toward the open-floor plan because it does not provide this separation.

However, while privacy needed to be enhanced, children's privacy in using the computer and TV should be restricted. This was the preference of all Russian parents in this category. "I don't want my son to watch movies which can make him stupid. He is allowed to watch only scientific shows and movies that I chose for him and no more than for two hours a day" (personal communication, Russian immigrant 1st stage). Therefore TV and computer areas, in the respondent's opinion should be located in the area where parent supervision is possible.

Family

The average size of a Russian immigrants' family is four persons. For the most part it is the nuclear family, consisting of a husband, wife and children. Generally the immigrants reported that the size of their family and the size of the house corresponded to each other.

The key themes in informants' responses were the need for a private outdoor space. Besides aesthetic consideration, the immigrants prefer to have the outdoors for growing vegetable and fruit gardens. The respondents perceived the homegrown vegetables healthier than vegetables from the store. Also, the informants believed that the physical work outdoors positively influences health. The outdoor space was also perceived as an educational resource for children; "the observation of the simple processes, which happen in the garden makes children more sensitive to nature" (personal communication, Russian immigrant 1st stage).

Besides the outdoors, the key theme in informants' responses was the kitchen, which in both Russian and American homes was perceived as a woman's domain. "Dad said that woman's place was a kitchen, therefore all family members were often there"

(personal communication, Russian immigrant, 2nd stage). The majority of immigrants did not consider the availability and the size of the kitchen in American houses a problem, but the connection of the kitchen with dining and living rooms caused dissatisfaction. The common preference was a clear visual separation between the kitchen and the rest of the house. However, the opening for communication and food serving was identified as a desirable feature.

Stage Two (more than five, but less than ten year living in the USA)

Social interaction

In contrast with the first stage, the majority of respondents in the second stage of acculturation indicated that social interaction at home is desirable, but rare. One of the reasons for this was a change in behavior patterns over time. Guests in Russia could stop by without invitation and it was socially accepted in Russian culture. However, in the United States dropping by without invitation is often considered rude. After living a number of years in the United States Russians accepted and followed this American social pattern, which complicated the process of having guests over.

> "I'd like to have friends over often; however, people here do not just stop by the
> way they did in Russia, but wait for invitation. When you invite, you need to
> clean, cook, etc. All this process becomes more official and less sincere"
> (personal communication, Russian immigrant, 2nd stage).

A reduced social communication in the second stage does not influence the perception of the living room as a meeting place. However, the living room in this stage was perceived as a family communication place. Similar to stage one, the key themes in

informants' responses were a desire to make the living room a mono-functional area. The respondents agreed that this mono-functionality could be achieved by separating the living room from other areas of the house as well as separating the TV area from the living room.

Privacy

The immigrants' responses in this category were similar to the first acculturation stage. The informants needed a strong division between private and public areas of the house, a separate public entrance and visual access to the children's computer and TV areas. As well as stage one respondents, the immigrants in this stage had a negative attitude toward the open-plan house layout.

The difference in the privacy requirements in this stage of acculturation is the need for a home office, something that the respondents did not mention before. The majority of the informants identified this place as the most important place in the house (Appendix, illustration 10), which needed to be enclosed in order to provide necessary privacy for work. The preferred location of the office varied, but the female respondents had a tendency to prefer this area close to the kitchen. "In this case I can work in the office and have a close eye on my pots" (personal communication, Russian immigrant, 2nd stage).

Family

The data reported in this category was similar to the data in category one. The size of the family slightly decreases from four to three persons, but the composition remains the same-nuclear family. Also, the key themes reported by the second stage immigrants corresponded to the first stage responses. The kitchen was still perceived as female

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domain and needed separation from the rest of the house. However, the connection to the outdoors in the majority of cases started to associate more with leisure time than with work.

Stage Three (more than ten, but less than fifteen years living in the USA)

Social interaction

The interviews in this category of Russian immigrants did not reveal significant changes in their perception of home from the second stage of acculturation. Russians continue to evaluate their homes in Russia as a place for social events and their homes in the United States as a place for family. However, the focus on family significantly increases. "My husband is the head of the family; I want to help him, to be here for him and for my daughters. This is what I call harmony" (personal communication, Russian immigrant, 3rd stage). The result of increased family orientation is a desire to have additional places for family interaction. This is the reason why all immigrants in this category pointed out the importance of outdoor places, such as a deck, balcony and/or backyard for family communication (Appendix, illustration 11). In this stage, the outdoor places are not identified with work anymore, but with leisure time and family interaction. However, despite the attention shifting from living room to outdoor spaces, the living room is still a place for family communication. The difference is that the living room tends to be multifunctional and connected to the dining room. Also, in contrast with previous stages, the informants did not prefer to separate living room and TV room, but reported a possible connection between these two areas.

Privacy

The separation of areas, which characterized the previous stages, is not among the preferable house features in the third stage of acculturation. The separate vestibule and corridors are perceived as "wasted space" because they cannot be used as a part of the major house areas. The immigrants agree that the areas "where you eat" –dining and kitchen – should be separated from the living room, but this separation is not physical but rather visual.

The similarity between the third stage of acculturation and the previous stages is the need to have children's computer and TV areas under parental control.

Family

In the third stage the size of the families significantly increases and reaches an average of seven persons. The family composition generally remains nuclear, but in some cases living with grandparents occurs. It is interesting that such an increase in family size does not result in an increased need for separation. In contrast, the immigrants in this stage of acculturation demonstrate the open-plan house preferences.

As well as in previous stages, the kitchen is perceived as the female domain. However, in this stage the respondents did not report a need to separate this space from the rest of the house. The immigrants prefer to connect the kitchen with the dining room in order to facilitate the communication among family members.

A new feature of third stage immigrants is reported flexibility of property manipulation. The informants' life stories in this stage of acculturation demonstrate that immigrants are not rooted in one place of residency as they used to be. They freely manipulate their property, by selling and buying houses, adjusting their houses to family

needs. "If I want to change something in the house, I'd change the house" (personal communication, Russian immigrant, 3rd stage). This leads to more satisfaction with housing conditions. "I can compare my house in the USA with a comfortable bird's nest, whereas in Russia my dwelling looked like a one legged monstrosity" (personal communication, Russian immigrant, 3rd stage). Also, the majority of immigrants in this category designed and built their houses themselves. As a result, these informants' provided very positive evaluation of the American houses.

The interview data illustrates that the house form preferences of the immigrants change throughout the fifteen-year period of the acculturation process. These changes are summarized in the following table.

	Social interaction	Privacy	Family
1st stage Less than five years living in the USA	Separate, mono-functional place for social communication No TV in communication room	Physical separation of house areas and private / public domains	House size accommodation the nuclear family of four Kitchen is a separate place for woman's work Possibility of family communication in the kitchen
2nd stage More than five, but less than ten years living in the USA	Separate, mono-functional place for family communication No TV in communication room	Physical separation of house areas and private / public domains Home office	House size accommodation the nuclear family of four Kitchen is a separate place for woman's work Possibility of family communication in the kitchen
3rd stage More than ten, but less than fifteen years of living in the USA	Multifunctional areas TV can be included in communication room	Open floor plan	House size accommodation the nuclear family of seven Kitchen is a place for woman's work, which can be connected to dining room Possibility of family

			communication in the kitchen
			Increased mobility and property manipulation

Table 3. Summary of the interview data analyses.

CHAPTER SIX

DISCUSSION

This section of the paper provides analyses of the interview data by observing how the cultural values introduced in lifestyles and activities relate to house form preferences of Russian immigrants in the USA. The key values of social interaction, privacy and family, discussed as Russian cultural background, were used in analyses of interview data in order to observe a change of these values, which happened as a result of contact with American culture. The acculturation is measured by comparing the original culture of the immigrants and the culture modified by contact with American culture. Changes that occur among the immigrants, but did not take place among those who remained in the original culture are considered the result of the immigrants' acculturative experience. The expected outcome of this exploration is an understanding of how to design for Russian immigrants in different stages of acculturation.

Social Interaction

The interview data for stage one of the acculturation process suggests that Russian immigrants in some cases duplicate the former house form, but in others they try to avoid inconveniences of previous built environments in their American residences. The example of replication of the past experience is the fact that the immigrants see the American house as a place for social interaction. The latent aspect of this activity is making connections in a new country. This supports Hardwick's statement of importance of social connections for recent Russian immigrants and corresponds to Belozersky's

common characteristics of this group of immigrants, such as a strong reliance on family and friends (Hardwick, 1993). This need for social interaction continues the tradition of common get-togethers, which took place both in Russian traditional and urban society (Goldman, 1993; Vysokovskii, 1993). The data does not illustrate any conflict between the tradition of get-togethers and American house size. Having experienced the limited space of traditional house and urban apartment in their home country, Russians are used to space limitations (Brumfield & Ruble, 1993;Vysokovskii, 1993). Therefore, in the United States the size of the interviewed immigrants' residences is not considered a problem for the accommodation of social gatherings.

Another trend suggested by interview data is a tendency of Russian immigrants to prevent inconveniences of the former built environment. This is introduced in an attempt to avoid multi-functionality that characterized traditional and urban dwellings (Birdwell-Pheasant & Lawrence-Zuniga, 1999; Growley & Reid, 2002). The example of the preferences for mono-functional spaces is the need for separate communication areas (see p. 48). The fact that the TV area should be excluded from the communication area further emphasizes the need for mono-functionality. This parallels Russian traditional space organization, where the communication space was a separate mono-functional area in the house (Appendix, illustration 1). Despite the fact that the separate place for social communication was not provided by the planners in the urban apartment, there were some attempts made by residents to assign the function of the communication area to a living room (Vysokovskii, 1993). However, because of lack of space the multi-functionality remained an unsolved problem. This can be the reason why mono-functionality of the communication area is so desirable by Russians in their American

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residences. Also mono-functionality provides easier control over the house areas that was practiced both in traditional and urban societies. However, this need for mono-functionality creates conflict with the American house form. The informants' responses illustrate that the open-plan layout of their American houses prevents the communication space from being mono-functional (see p.48). This is the reason why the key theme in the first stage immigrants' responses was dissatisfaction with the open floor plan of the American house. In both cases of duplicating the former house form and of trying to avoid inconveniences of previous built environments, the house form preferences of the Russian immigrants in the first stage of acculturation are strongly related to the past, which does not suggests acculturation.

The responses of the second stage immigrants illustrate a decrease in importance of traditional social interaction practiced by Russians in their home country and during early years in the United States. The immigrants begin to adapt American behavior patterns, such as the importance of invitations for visiting, which negatively influenced the frequency of social communication at home (see p.50). The fact that in the second stage this communication rarely takes place implies a decrease in need for this communication. This suggests acculturation happened as a result of the influence of American more "individualistic," society (Danquah, 2000).

This cultural change in the second stage does not imply the change of the house form. The space used for social communication in the first stage is used as a family living room in the second stage. Also, despite a decrease in social interaction in the house, the mono-functionality requirements of this space are similar to stage one.

However, the third stage of acculturation illustrates the influence of changed value of social interaction on house form. Similar to stage two the social interaction is rare at home and the communication area is mainly for family communication. After ten years of living in the United States the communication area tends to be more multifunctional. The example of acceptance of multi-functionality is the fact that TV and entertainment areas in the third stage are possible in the communication area . Also, because guests are rare, the communication area may not be physically separated from other house areas. This suggests the adoption of the open floor plan characterizing the American house. This illustrates the progression of acculturation.

Privacy

The social interaction category illustrates that while trying to "fix" problems of a former built environment, Russian immigrants in the first stage of acculturation set up requirements for mono-functionality of spaces, which in the respondents' opinion can be achieved by a physical separation of spaces. This separation means not only mono-functionality, but also privacy for the immigrants. The interview data illustrates that partitioning private and public domains is especially important in order for a house to correspond to the immigrants' privacy needs. The example of this is a preference of a separate public entrance or vestibule by the majority of the first stage immigrants .

This need for separation is rooted in the past. In traditional society the separation of spaces within the house was practiced in a number of ways: separation of male and female domains, separation between genders and generations, and physical separations

(Edelman in Brumfield & Ruble, 1993). In the urban apartment this separation was provided mainly by interior partitions (Lovell, 2002). In both cases the private and public domains were clearly separated and the vestibule space signified the boundary between these domains (Alexandrov, 1970; Rasson, Stevanovi & Ilic, 1999). This explains why the majority of the first stage Russian immigrants expressed a need for a separate vestibule space. The exception to the space separation requirements is children's TV and computer area (see p.49). In order to provide control over children's use of these areas, TV and computer areas should be visually accessible.

The requirements for space separation of first stage Russian immigrants creates a conflict with the open-plan of their American residences. The existence of this conflict suggests that the American house form does not correspond to privacy needs of Russians. This does not suggest acculturation, which would be an acceptance of American house form.

This need for physical separation of spaces repeats throughout the first ten years of Russian immigrant's living in the United States, thus is also relevant to the second stage of acculturation. However, despite some similarities between stage one and stage two immigrants' responses, the house form preferences of stage two immigrants are not strongly related to the past as they used to be. The major difference is a change in values from social interaction to profit making. This suggests acculturation influenced by American material values (Kizzia, 1990). This change in values influences the house form preferences and privacy requirements because it results in a need for a home office that in the immigrants' opinion also needs to be a separated space (see p.51).

The biggest change in privacy requirements of Russia immigrants happens after ten years living in the United States – in the third stage of acculturation. In this stage Russians begin to adapt American house form and prefer open-floor plans (see p.53). For example public entrances can be connected with the living room as they are connected in the American house (Appendix, illustration 9). This contradicts the immigrants' experience in Russia, thus is a result of adjustment to American way of life, acculturation. The absence of cultural conflict in this stage is illustrated by highly positive evaluation of the American house, which did not characterize the previous stages (see p.60).

Family

The family composition of the immigrants in the first stage of acculturation is different from multifamily living in Russian traditional society, but it parallels urban society. This is a nuclear family with the average size of four family members (see p.49). This data repeats throughout the second stage of acculturation, which means the house of recent immigrants should accommodate an average family size of four.

The house is perceived as woman's domain, whereas the outside is perceived as man's domain, which parallels the common American vision of home (Ahrentzen, 1990). This is also similar to Russian past experience of traditional and urban built environments with the exception that the separation of male and female areas inside the house in traditional society does not take place in immigrants' American residences. This suggests that the immigrants tend to follow the urban pattern, where male domain did not take place inside the apartment (Rasson, Stevanovi & Ilic, 1999). The main women's domain

identified by the respondents is the kitchen. As well as in traditional and urban society a kitchen is perceived as women's work zone, where a typical female activity - cooking - is performed (Edelman in Brumfield & Ruble, 1993; Crowley, 2002). This perception does not change throughout the three stages of the acculturation process, which suggests that social constructions change very slowly. Allen and Turner's research supports this by arguing that social assimilation, which might include changes in family patterns, occurs when other forms of assimilation – such as economical, spatial and cultural – took place (1990).

According to informants' responses in the first and second stages of acculturation, the kitchen should be a physically separated area (see p.51). The explanation for this preference can be found in the past. Traditionally, the kitchen was perceived as the "black area" of the house and was separated from the "white area" (Crowley, 2002). Also, in the urban apartment the kitchen was separated by partitions. In the third stage of acculturation this preference for physical separation changes and the kitchen can be connected with the dining room (see p.53). This further illustrates the adaptation to the American open floor plan.

Despite the kitchen being a separate space in both traditional and urban society, it was not completely isolated and the family communication often took place in this area (Edelman in Brumfield & Ruble, 1993). Therefore, the respondents expressed a preference for family communication in the kitchen.

In the third stage of acculturation the family composition still remains nuclear, but the size of the family significantly increases. Now, it averages seven persons. In traditional society it would result in house form modification in order to increase the size

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of the house (Edelman in Brumfield & Ruble, 1993). However, after ten years living in the United States, the family does not modify the house size, but changes the house. This property manipulation is also stimulated by the fact that the family does not tend to live together after children grow up. This results in frequent change of residence that was not practiced by Russians in the past. The background overview suggests that both traditional and urban Russians were deeply rooted and characterized by lifelong residences in the same place (Day & Cohen 2000). Therefore, the mobility and flexibility of property manipulation in third stage immigrants suggests a new life style. This illustrates acculturation. The result of this life-style is better correspondence of house form to family composition.

Another innovation that happened in stage three is the change in perception of outdoor space. Traditionally, outside men's domains became a place for family communication (see p.52). This suggests that the perception of the outdoors shifts from work place to leisure time place. This suggests acculturation and the adoption of the American way of using outdoor space.

Conclusion

This research study explored the relationship between house form, as it is represented in interior space, culture and cultural change –acculturation. The majority of acculturation research is focused on the exploration of the acculturation process as it occurs in social, economical, educational and occupational spheres of the immigrants' life. Very little has been said about the effect of acculturation on the residential preferences of the immigrants. However, the residential situation is a part of immigrants'

everyday life, which influences the level of comfort the immigrant's experience in a new country. Therefore, research on the relationship between house form and acculturation can be beneficial to both the design field and the acculturation research field.

This study benefits the design field by providing an understanding of what the cultural needs of a large immigrant group are. Meeting these needs in house design result in a supportive environment. The problem, this research suggests, is that the American house type is not a culturally specific environment for the newly arrived immigrants. Hence, it does not constitute a supportive environment. However, the supportive environment is important for the recent immigrants because of its ability to ease acculturation stress and the adaptation process. Since the American house is the only available house for the immigrants, the immigrants occupy it without having other options. This results in a negative attitude toward the American house form in early stages of acculturation. The interview data suggests that simple adjustments of the American house form, such as, enhanced physical separation of spaces can provide a culturally specific environment for the newly arrived immigrants.

An understanding of what constitute the culturally appropriate environment for the Russian immigrants is introduced in a set of guidelines for space planning. Since the house form preferences differ throughout the fifteen years of the immigrants living in the USA, the space planning guidelines for the early and latter stages should differ. However, because the responses of the immigrants in the third stage of acculturation did not illustrate any conflict with American house form, the American house seems to be appropriate for this group of immigrants. Thus there is no need for developing individual guidelines.

The group that is the most dissatisfied with the American house form is first stage Russian immigrants. In order to provide culturally specific environments for this group of immigrants the following space planning guidelines, based on the interview data, should be considered:

Social interaction:

Guideline 1: Provide a separate, mono-functional place for social communication.

Privacy:

Guideline 2: Provide clear physical separation between public and private domains.

Guideline 3: Separate public entry is required.

Guideline 4: Provide visual connection to computer and TV areas.

Family:

Guideline 5: House size should accommodate a nuclear family of four (the size is average and might vary).

Guideline 6: Provide separate kitchen place accommodating mostly one person's activities.

Guideline 7: Consider place for family communication in the kitchen area.

These guidelines are also relevant for the second stage (more than five years in the US) Russian immigrants. Despite a change in social communication in the second stage of acculturation, this change does not result in different needs for house form. The only significant difference between first and second stage immigrants' needs is that the home office should be considered in the house of the second stage immigrant.

Besides guidelines for the culturally appropriate environment, which benefits the design field, this research also contributes to the acculturation studies. Acculturation as

seen in house form preferences of Russian immigrants seems to have a unidirectional nature because the original house preferences are gradually modified to resemble the host culture. During the first fifteen years of living in the United States Russians do not seem to develop the unique features of the vacillation model of acculturation in their house preferences. This differs from Smithon's research on Russian Old Believers where some immigrants followed the vacillating model (see p.14) in their social and economic acculturation. Smithon explains this vacillating model by both cultural conflict that stimulates acculturation and by strong religious values, which prevents acculturation. The fact that house form does not relate to religious values among Russian Baptists can explain the fast change of house preferences under American influence. The interview data suggests that only after ten years of living in the United States, Russians demonstrate assimilation signs in their house form preferences. The adoption of the American open floor plan is an example of assimilation.

The assimilated house form preferences, found among third stage immigrants, differ from the majority of acculturation research observations, which argues that the first generation of Russian immigrants tend to be on their acculturation process. Therefore, the finding of this different pattern of acculturation and assimilation process happening in case of house form preferences of Russian immigrants is a contribution of this study to acculturation research.

These assimilated house form preferences of the first generation of immigrants might also be considered a contribution to the house form and culture theory. Rapoport argues that culture and house form are intimately related, thus the change of culture leads to the change of house form (1980). The statement "intimately related" implies a balance

between design and culture, where the degree of cultural change results in similar degree of house form change. This research supports Rapoport's statement of design and culture relationship, but does not illustrate an "intimate" balance.

According to the research, the first generation of Russian immigrants is on acculturation process. However, the house form preferences of the third stage immigrants illustrate assimilation features, thus cultural change happens slower than a change in house form preferences. Therefore culture and house form are not intimately linked. This suggests that cultural change can affect house form at different levels. In the case of Russian immigrants the cultural change significantly impacts house form preferences. One explanation for this impact might be a weak cultural value of house form for Russians. This suggests that among some other cultures, where house form relates to the strong cultural values, such as religious, the acculturation in house form preferences might happen differently. This implies a need for further exploration of the relationship of cultural change and house form.

Despite Rapoport's theory of design and culture relationship allows a room for criticism, his framework of the connection of house form and culture through cultural values, lifestyles and activities proved relevant for house form and culture explorations. The fact that in his later research Rapoport has not determined the specific cultural values influencing house form, but allowed the possibility to identify these key values according to a particular culture gives flexibility to his theory. This flexibility allows multi-cultural application.

Limitations

The immigrants in early stages of acculturation were not able to own a house that would correspond to their needs. Therefore, the understanding of culturally appropriate environments is mainly based on verbal responses, rather than physical observations, which can be considered a limitation of this research.

Because the study is composed of a small homogeneous sample of Russian immigrant families who volunteered to participate in interviews, the result of this research may not be applicable to all Russian immigrants living in the United States. The homogeneity of the explored cultural group - Russian Baptists - suggests common shared values, which might differ from values of other groups of immigrants. This further limits the applicability of the findings.

Since the exploration of the process of acculturation in this study is limited to the first fifteen years, the result of the exploration may not be applicable to the later stages of acculturation and assimilation processes. Also, this research cannot be generalized to all Russian populations because the exploration group is narrowed to the adult members of the families from 25 to 55 years olds, whom are familiar with Russian types of homes and are more flexible to acculturate than elderly (Day & Cohen, 2000).

Future directions

The open-ended nature of the interviews, focused on life-stories of the participants, resulted in the additional data beyond the house form. The topic that this data touched was the perception of home by Russian immigrants. The informants' responses suggested a change in personal meaning of home throughout the acculturation stages. The exploration of the personal meaning of home in relation to the interior elements preferences can be one direction of the future development of this research.

Another direction of the future research can be an exploration of the acculturation process among third generations of Russian immigrants. Research suggests that this generation has tendency to return to traditions, which was not observed among first and second generations of the immigrants. The observation of the process of returning to tradition can provide insight into the nature of this process and a reason for this return. This can result in better understanding of the relationship of culture and built environment, which is a fruitful topic for broader future explorations.

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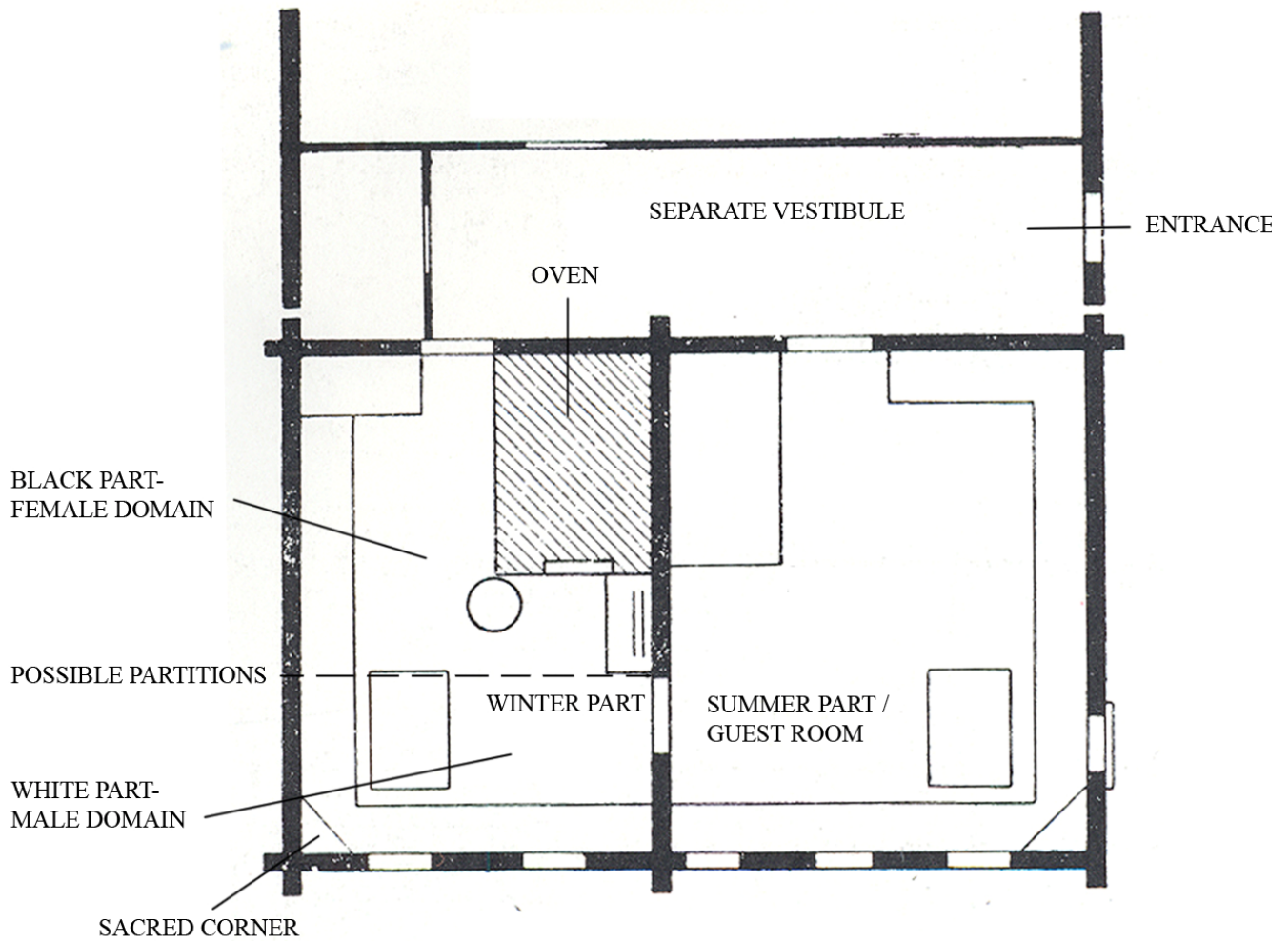Seamon, D. (1986). Phenomenology and Vernacular Lifeworlds. In D.G. Saile (Ed.), <u>Architecture in Cultural Change. Essays in Built Form & Culture Reserch. </u>(pp. 17-25). School of Architecture and Urban Design: The University of Kansas.

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APPENDIX

SEPARATE VESTIBULE

ENTRANCE

OVEN

BLACK PART-
FEMALE DOMAIN

POSSIBLE PARTITIONS

WINTER PART

SUMMER PART /
GUEST ROOM

WHITE PART-
MALE DOMAIN

SACRED CORNER

Illustration 1. Russian traditional house plan.
From "Everybody's got to be somewhere: organizing space in the Russian peasant house, 1880 to 930."(p.
7-25), by R. Edelman, 1993, New York: Press Syndicate of the University of Cambridge
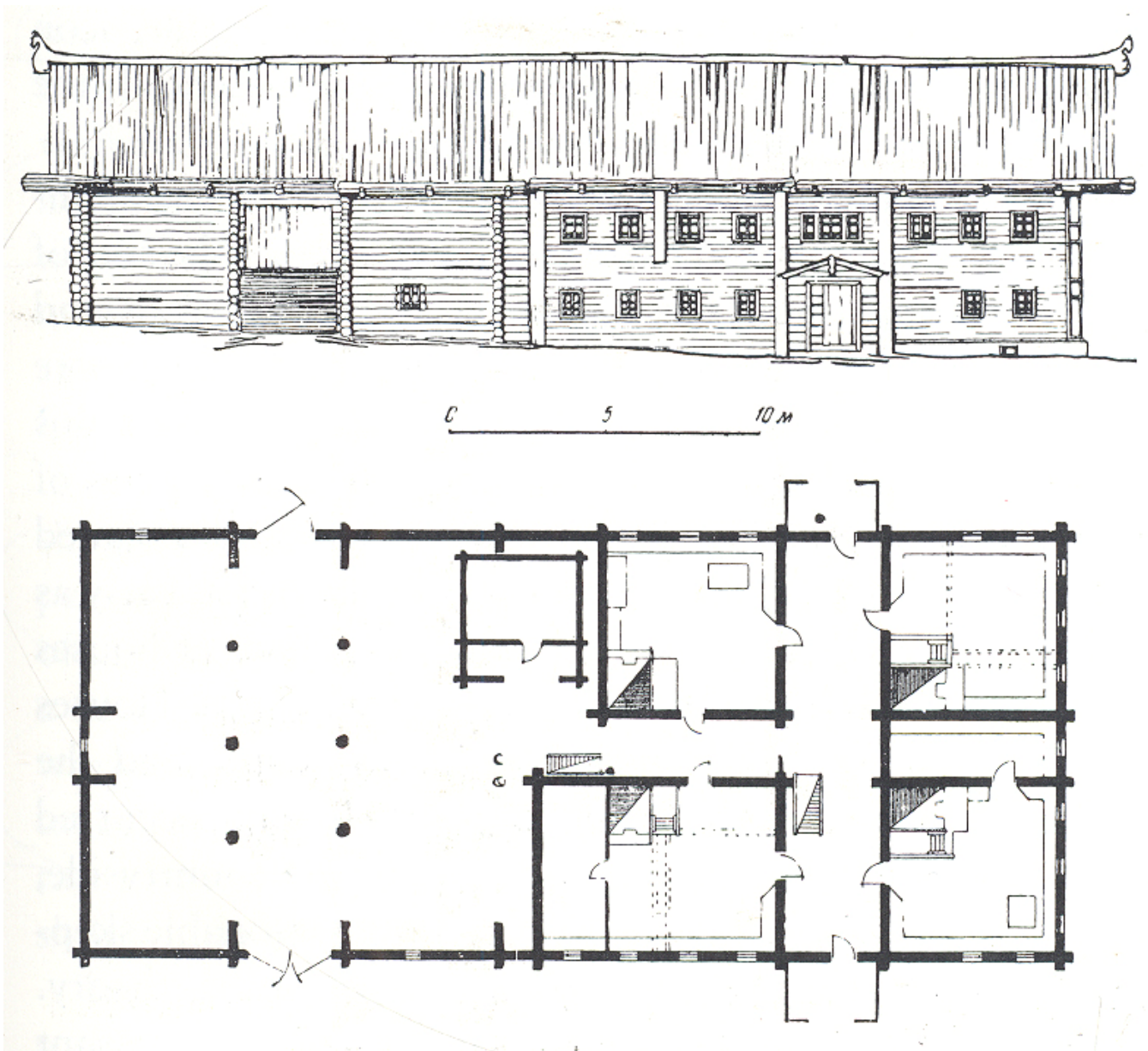
Illustration 2. The house of Russian wealthy peasants.
 From "Everybody's got to be somewhere: organizing space in the Russian peasant house, 1880 to 930."(p.
7-25), by R. Edelman, 1993, New York: Press Syndicate of the University of Cambridge.

Illustration 3. Example of Russian traditional houses facing the street

Illustration 4. Russian traditional oven (pech)
From ww.faculty.washington.edu/../norgwood.html; www.pseudology.org/rodnia/lozemko.htm.
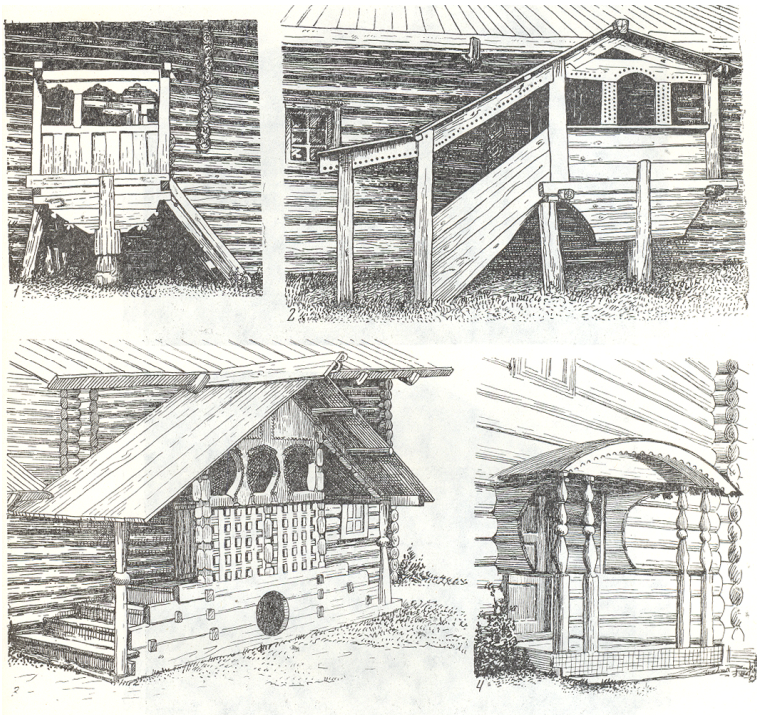
Illustration 5. Traditional porch.
From "Iz Istorii Russkogo Narodnogo Zhilisha I Kostuma."(p. 21), by V., A Alexandrov, 1970, Moskva: Nauka.
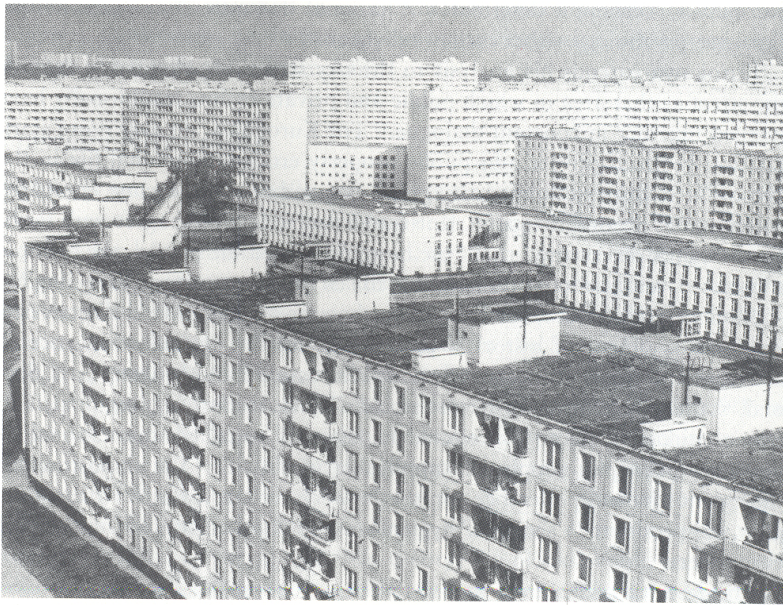
Illustration 6. Urban district.
From "From Khrushcheby to Koronki."(p. 250), by B. A. Ruble, 1993, New York: Press Syndicate of the University of Cambridge
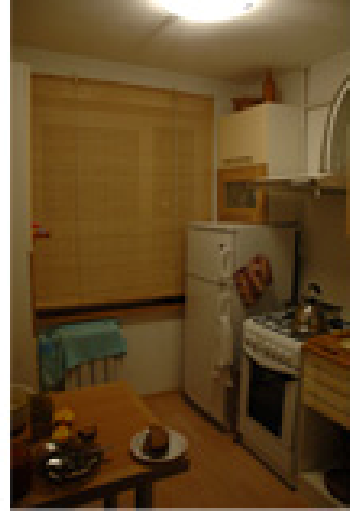
Illustration 7. Kitchen size in the urban apartment
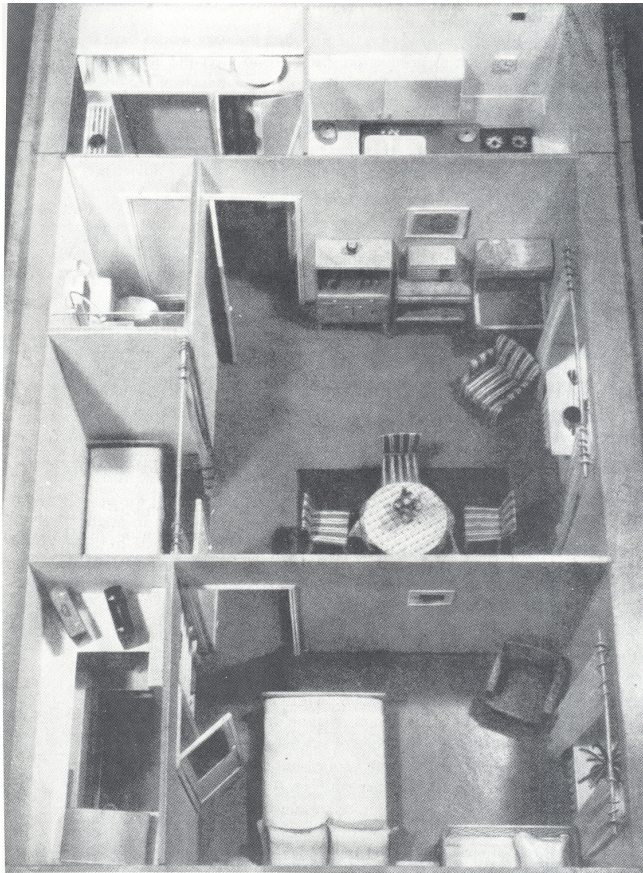
Illustration 8. The example of the urban apartment.
From "From Khrushcheby to Koronki."(p. 246), by B. A. Ruble, 1993, New York: Press Syndicate of the University of Cambridge
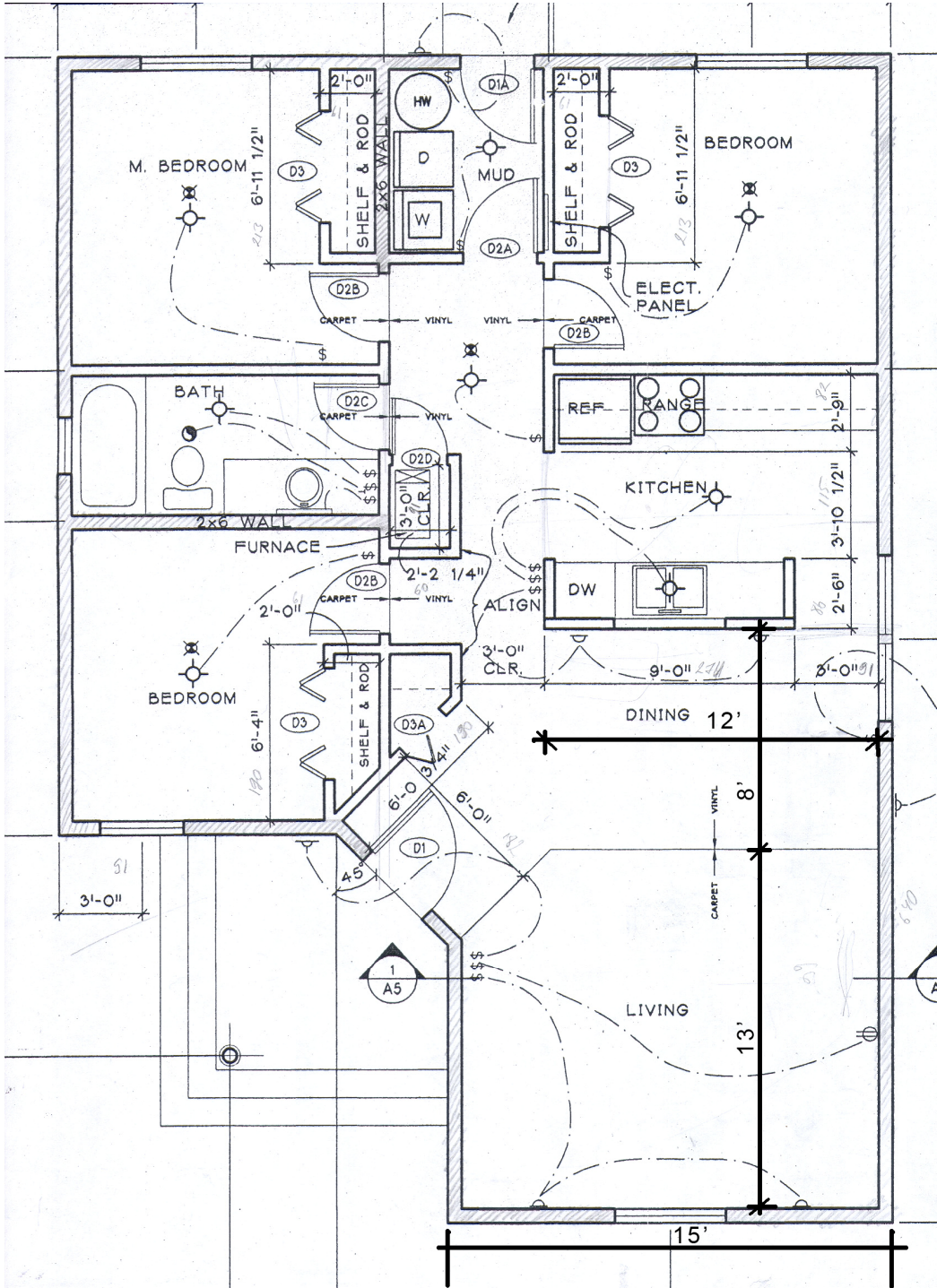
Illustration 9. The Habitat of Humanity residential design project as an example of house type occupied by the Russian immigrants.
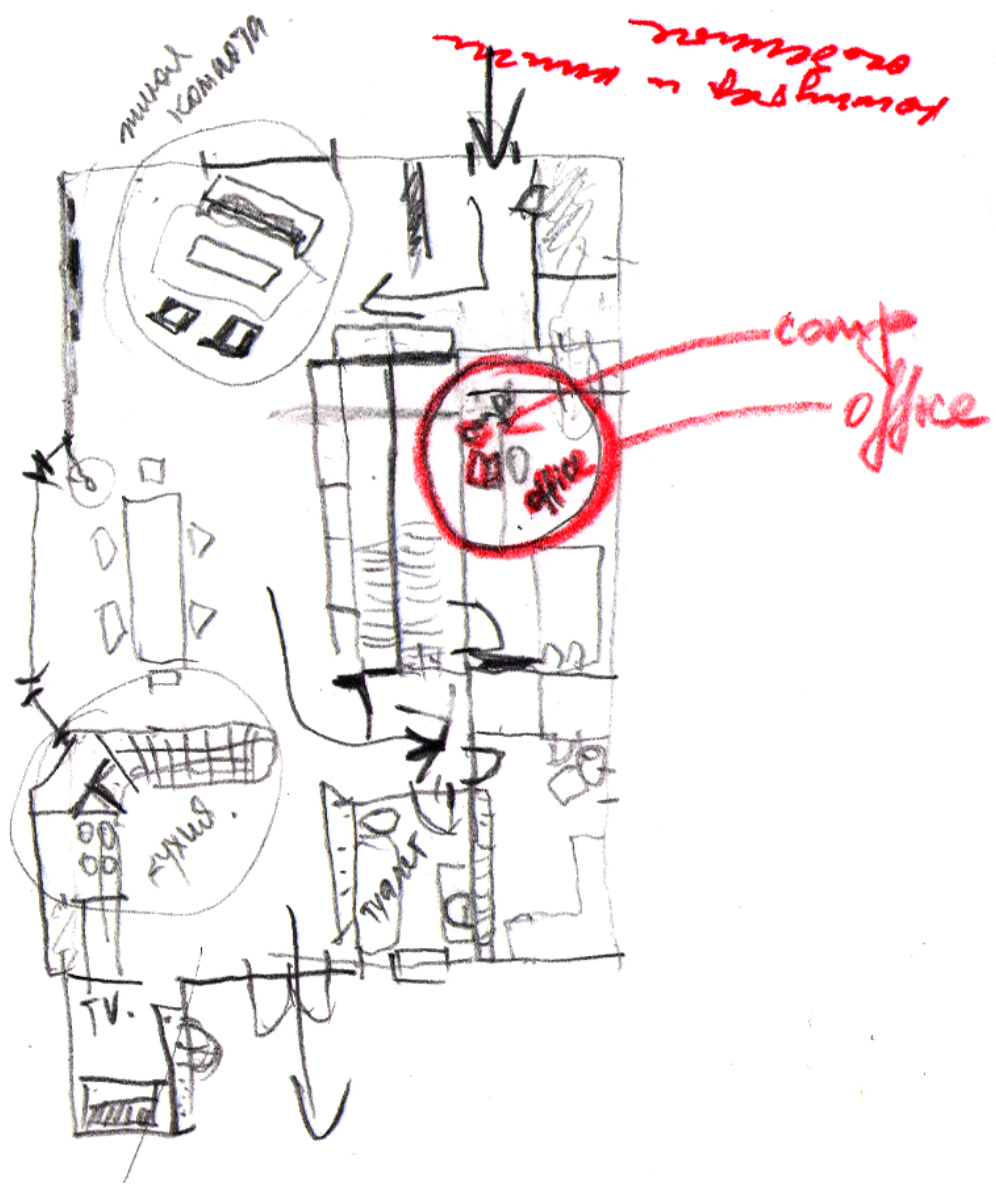
Illustration 10. The drawing of the home office as an important place in the house done by the Russian immigrant in the 2nd stage of acculturation.
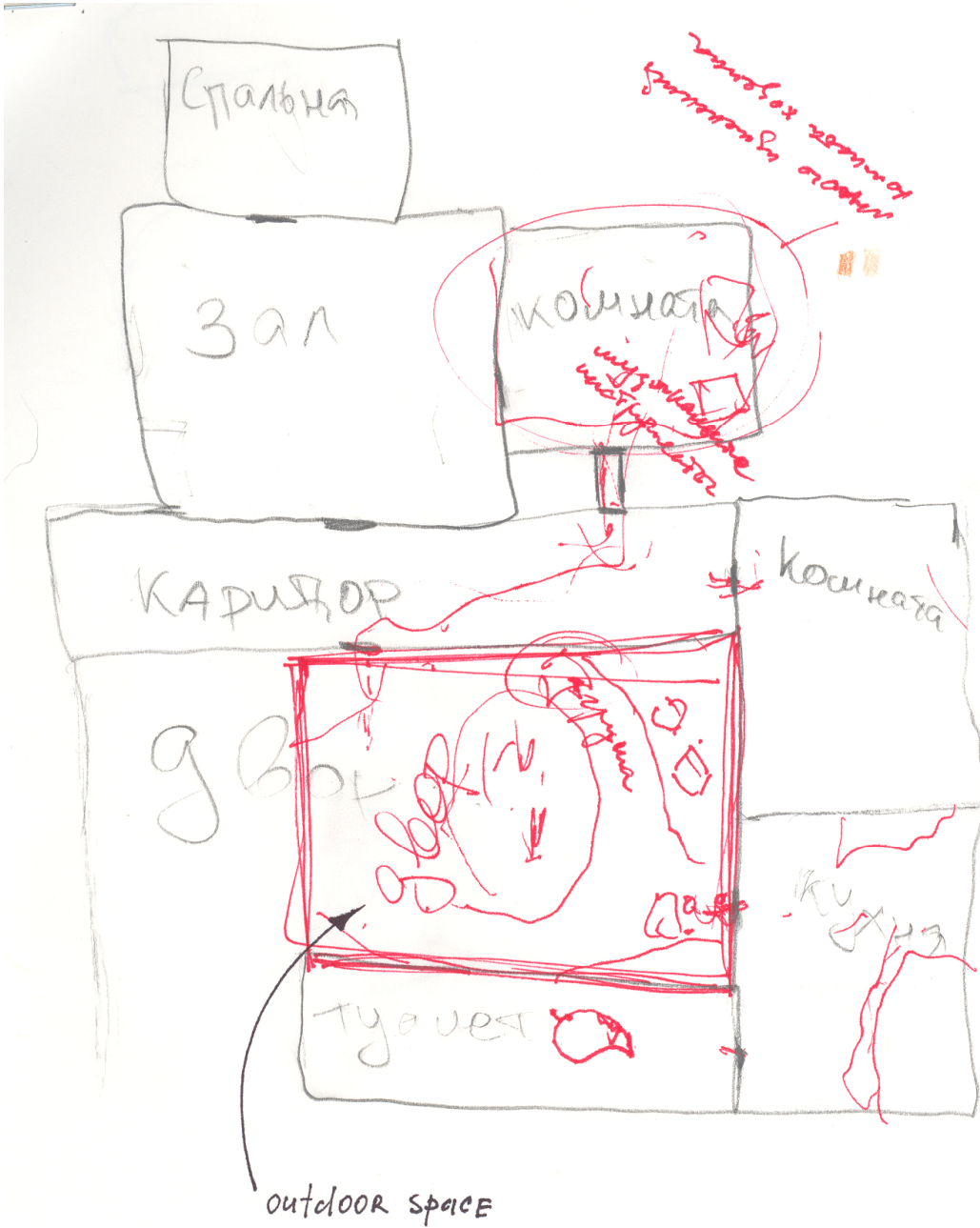
Illustration 11. The drawing of the outdoor place as an important place for family communication done by the Russian immigrant in the 3rd stage of acculturation.