Concrete Resistance: Ando in the context of critical regionalism

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Critical regionalism was first introduced as an architectural concept in the early 1980s in essays by Alexander Tzonis, Liane Lefaivre and, subsequently, Kenneth Frampton. In his writings, Frampton mentions and celebrates Tadao Ando as a critical regionalist, and uses the approach as a paradigm to discuss Ando's architecture. Yet despite the label, Ando has neither used the terms “critical regionalism” to talk about his work, nor raised any objection over the label. It is also important to note that Tadao Ando is not mentioned in Frampton’s original article on critical regionalism, “Towards a Critical Regionalism.” Thus, is “critical regionalist” an appropriate term to describe Ando’s architecture? Catherine Slessor posits an alternative label, “concrete regionalist,” to describe Ando’s poetic adaptation of concrete to the local context, thus playing down the “critical” aspect of his approach. Is “concrete regionalist” a more accurate description of Ando’s work? This paper shall demonstrate that while Ando’s architecture does display some characteristics of critical regionalism, he is not strictly “critical regionalist” if we are to follow its definition as described by Tzonis, Liane, and Frampton. This paper will start by providing background on the evolution of critical regionalism, examining arguments of how Ando’s approach is “critical regionalist,” and finally demonstrating the inadequacy of the label by breaking down these arguments.

The concept of regionalism is nothing new; Vitruvius discussed regional variations in architecture in his ten books, and the Romantics propounded picturesque regionalism during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. However, regionalism is seen in a new light against the backdrop of the hegemony of modernism and the pastiche scenography of postmodernism, both

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3 Catherine Slessor, Concrete Regionalism (New York: Thames and Hudson, 2000), p.50.
of which were thought to have failed to address the human condition in their extreme stances towards historicism. Thus begging the question, “how to become modern and to return to sources?” Alexander Tzonis and Liane Lefaivre posit “critical regionalism” as the solution. The term was originally coined by Tzonis and Lefaivre in their article “The Grid and the Pathway,” where critical regionalism was presented as the third and latest type of regionalism in Greece, succeeding the English picturesque of “nationalist regionalism,” and the Neoclassical “historicist regionalism.”

The article then introduces critical regionalism as the “[upholding] of individual and local architectonic features,” opposed against “the custodial effects of modernism.” Here, modern architecture is thought to be impersonal and monolithic, destroying the humanistic qualities in architectural expression which would be reinstated by a new form of regionalism. This critical aspect is seen to take cues from the writings of Lewis Mumford, who laments the loss of place, or Heimat. Tzonis and Lefaivre regard the writings of Mumford to be the precursor to critical regionalism and see parallels in his stance. In Mumford’s “The South in Architecture,” he champions the regionalist work of H.H. Richardson as a confrontation against the monotony of Beaux Arts Architecture, and subsequently remarks that modern architecture constitutes a “dogmatic,” “sterile,” “restrictive,” “despotic,” and “imperial” way of designing.

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6 *Heimat* is a German term expressing the concept of homeland and thought to be synonymous with the regionalist sense of place and is discussed by Tzonis and Lefaivre in “Lewis Mumford’s Regionalism,” *Design Book Review* (Winter 1991): 23
akin to the academicism of the Beaux Arts tradition.\textsuperscript{7} This confrontation against standardization is what Mumford calls \textquotedblleft the social task of architecture.\textquotedblright\textsuperscript{8}

Frampton follows the lead of Tzonis and Lefaivre in propounding critical regionalism, but he imbues it with a higher sense of urgency and highlights its critical nature against placeless monotony. In the article \textquotedblleft Towards a Critical Regionalism,\textquotedblright Frampton defines critical regionalism as \textquotedblleft an architecture of resistance,\textquotedblright seeking \textquotedblleft to mediate the impact of universal civilization with elements derived indirectly from the peculiarities of a particular place,\textquotedblright thus aiming \textquotedblleft to reflect and serve the limited constituencies in which it was grounded.\textquotedblright\textsuperscript{9} It is a resistance in the sense that it is a reaction against universal standards, culture homogenization and placeless modernism, but at the same time critical in its outlook; self-evaluating such that it is confrontational with not only the world but also to itself. According to Tzonis and Lefaivre, this self-reflective function is executed through the method of \textquotedblleft defamiliarization,\textquotedblright in contrast to the Romantic regionalism of familiarization, which employed nostalgic picturesque elements from a foregone era.\textsuperscript{10} This process entails selecting regional elements and incorporating them in a way that may appear distant, as if it were \textquotedblleft the sense of place in a strange sense of displacement,\textquotedblright seeking to disrupt the sentimental link between the building and the place, and thus in this sense a reaction against the romantic sentimentality of picturesque follies.

\textsuperscript{7} Lewis Mumford, \textit{The South in Architecture} (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co, 1941), p.79.

\textsuperscript{8} Mumford, p.111.

\textsuperscript{9} Frampton,\textquotedblleft Towards a Critical Regionalism,\textquotedblright p.21.

\textsuperscript{10} Tzonis and Lefaivre, \textit{\textquoteright\textquoteright Why Critical Regionalism Today?\textquoteright\textquoteright} \textit{Architecture and Urbanism} (May 1990): 23 – 33. This article describes \textquotedblleft defamiliarization\textquotedblright as a term coined by the Russian literary theoretician Victor Shklovsky in \textit{\textquoteright\textquoteright Art as Technique,\textquoteright\textquoteright} \textit{Russian Formalist Critique} (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1965) and adapted to apply to architecture by Tzonis and Lefaivre in \textit{\textquoteright\textquoteright Critical Classicism: The Tragic Function,\textquoteright\textquoteright} \textit{Classical Architecture: The Poetics of Order} (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1986), p.276.
One of Frampton’s criteria for critical regionalism is a “direct dialectical relation with nature,” a dialog with the environment that Ando’s architecture embodies in the articulation of structure through the changing impact of light and terrain. This dialogue is exemplified in the Rokko Housing at Kobe (1978 – 1983) [Fig. 1] and the Festival Shopping Centre in Naha, Okinawa (1980 – 1984) [Fig. 2]. The Rokko Housing Project is characterized by the steep 60 degree slope of the site located at the foot of Mt. Rokko. Avoiding the modernist tabula rasa approach of leveling the site, Ando chose to situate his building on the severe slopes to make a “quiet building standing quietly in nature,” one that preserves the tectonic quality of the rugged mountains.

While Rokko focuses on issues of terrain, Festival focuses on light, or rather the obscuring of it to produce shade. Of the Festival Shopping Centre, Ando writes: “Walking around Okinawa I learned the preciousness of shade and shadow, and of the importance of the wind… In Okinawa people gather under the shade of the banyan tree (a native subtropical tree) or migrate to any form of shade in the environment.” Thus, the Festival was conceived as a light modulator which mediated the intense heat and lighting conditions of Okinawa. Although Ando’s use of the universal technology of concrete is a modernist stance and has been used in all his buildings thus far, he seems to feel obligated to justify his use of concrete in the Festival from a regionalist perspective:

I noticed the popular use of concrete block in Okinawa. The material has a high R-value (thermal resistance) and the open blocks make natural ventilation possible. Thus the

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13 Ando, Tadao Ando: The Yale Studio and Current Works, p.103.
difficulty of acquiring other construction material and the lack of a skilled labor force makes concrete block an ideal material for Okinawa.14

This explanation seems to point to a self-fulfilling goal that Ando has made for himself. Ultimately, it is the poetry of his work that is the most important: “Rays of light, stroking past the coarse surface, are absorbed and crystallized by each of the block units creating an infinite sparkling brilliance.”15 Here, the work is tactile, another component of Frampton’s definition which “resides in the fact that [the building] can only be decoded in terms of experience itself.”16 Indeed, Ando professes that “a building exists to be seen and experienced and not to be talked about,” seeking to address the tactile range of human perception.17 Thus, Ando is clearly “regional,” but is he “critical”? Ando is “critical” against the modern urban context, which is largely composed of the remnants of Japanese Metabolist architecture. Before the term critical regionalism was introduced in 1981, Frampton classified Ando as part of the Japanese New Wave of 1978, a movement that emerged from opposition against the dying Metabolist modern age in Japan.18 According to Frampton, Ando’s work is conceptually “critical” because it assumes a culturally oppositional stance to “the instrumentality of megalopolitan development” of Tokyo, and resists the “ever-escalating consumerism of the modern city.”19 Led by Kisho Kurokawa and Kenzo

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14 Ando, Tadao Ando: The Yale Studio and Current Works, p.104.
Tange, Metabolism was a movement in the 1960s which proposed a new urbanism based on the city as an organism requiring change and renewal.\(^\text{20}\) The movement saw technology as an extension to humanity and advocated the use of pre-fabricated plug-in units or capsules, which could be arranged interchangeably on a core mega structure, facilitating the changing needs of the city. Ando is adamantly against the superficial use of modernism in Japanese Metabolism, calling the Metabolist megastructures, “standardized, unindividuated souvenirs of Modernism,” which create a “formal expression that is isolated from human life,” an architecture that does not address the human condition.\(^\text{21}\)

Frampton describes Ando’s “microcosmic interiority” against urban chaos to be in direct opposition against the concepts of Metabolism; the idea of stability against the dynamic of change and volatility.\(^\text{22}\) Indeed, Ando seeks to turn away from the “vagueness and irrelativity” of the urban environment by delineating space that is physically and psychologically isolated from the outside world. It is within this “purified space” of enclosure that Ando seeks to introduce an order to connect to the lives of its inhabitants.\(^\text{23}\) Ando calls this order *shintai*, which means the union of body and spirit, and represents the harmony of the body experiencing the architecture. In this regard, Frampton likens Ando to Pugin, as they both share a religious conviction about the potential of architecture for the revitalization of society and life.\(^\text{24}\)

\(^{20}\) For more information on Japanese Metabolism, see Kisho Kurokawa, *Metabolism in Architecture* (Colorado: Westview Press, 1977)


To create this revitalized space, Ando uses the wall as “territorial delineation,” a separating device to “break the unlimited monotony and random irrelativity” of walls used in the modern urban context, such that “walls… control walls.”\(^{25}\) Here, the monotony which Ando discusses refers to urban sprawl and crowded conditions of the modern Japanese city, which break the connection between nature and building. As a reaction to this condition, Ando’s walls draw the barrier between his Shintai space and the urban space. This territorial articulation is exemplified by Ando’s Sumiyoshi House (1975 -1976) [Fig. 3] which boxes itself against its suburban neighbors. The walls of the house wrap around the site perimeter and all that faces the street is a blank concrete façade with a single door. In contrast, the interior is punctuated by an open court which contains the only connecting path from one room to another, exposing the inhabitants to the natural elements. Ando later repeats this technique in the Matsumoto and Ishihara houses in the suburbs of Osaka.

Ando is decidedly “critical” of the urban environment, but he is also critical of the vernacular. In Ando’s 1982 essay “From Self Enclosed Modern Architecture toward Universality,” he recognizes the disjunction between the traditional Japanese way of life, and the way of life introduced to Japan in the postwar period.\(^{26}\) He seeks to justify his departure from the vernacular. Thus, Ando does not address regionalism through the mere simulation of traditional timber construction or the use of evocative domestic elements like the shoji screen or the tatami mat, apparently denying the nostalgic ethos which such vernacular elements would imply. Instead, Ando’s architecture gives rise to a revitalized Japanese feeling for the interplay of light, material and detail, which can be traced to the history of Japanese farmhouses (minka) where light filtering through clerestories produce sharp contrasts of light and shade [Fig. 4]. Ando’s

\(^{25}\) Ando, “The Wall as territorial delineation”: 12.

\(^{26}\) Ando, “From Self-enclosed Modern Architecture towards Universality”: 8.
choice of the universal technology of reinforced concrete is justified as “the most suitable material for realizing spaces created by rays of sunlight,” creating surfaces which are light and homogenous.\textsuperscript{27} However, the use of universal concrete does not imply the use of universal form and space. Ando’s use of long corridors and passageways, for example, can be traced to the alley-like spaces among townhouses in Japan [Fig. 5]. Ando explains the significance of these alleys:

In the past, streets, particularly back alleys, in Japan served as communal spaces for the neighborhood. There were no central gathering places like the piazzas of Europe; these communal spaces threaded their way among buildings and were intimately connected with everyday life.\textsuperscript{28}

In Rokko Housing, these passageways were intended to be activated by the interpenetration of public and private realms so that one can get a sense of the life in each housing unit. Frampton notes that the use of these corridors also derives from the use of shoji panels and fences in sukiya tea houses to stimulate anticipation of the scene to come, only that these vernacular elements have been reproduced in the different material of concrete.\textsuperscript{29} This transfer of ideas from one traditional material and form to another brings to mind the writings of Gottfried Semper.\textsuperscript{30} In fact, although Frampton does not explicitly reference Ando, he discusses Semper’s theory of tectonics as the search for a timeless origin.\textsuperscript{31} Semper’s theory of dressing may not seem to apply to Ando, since Ando’s modern aesthetic does not draw the distinction between Semper’s

\begin{footnotesize}
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\item Ando, “The Wall as territorial delineation”: 12.
\item Frampton, “Tadao Ando’s Critical Modernism,” p.6.
\item Gottfried Semper, The Four Elements of Architecture (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989)
\end{enumerate}
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Kunstform and Kernform, but the underlying concepts of both are similar. In the Prolegomenon to Der Stil, Semper talks about a cosmogonic drive; an archaic impulse:

Surrounded by a world full of wonder and forces… he conjures up the missing perfection in play. He makes himself a tiny world in which the cosmic law is evident within strict limits … in such play man satisfies his cosmogonic instinct. His fantasy creates these images, by displaying, expanding and adapting to his mood the individual scenes of nature around him, so orderly arranges that he believes he can discern in the single event the harmony of the whole.  

This tiny world Semper talks about is reminiscent of Ando’s purified space of Shintai, a space where man is in harmony with the architecture. In fact, Ando also refers to the cosmos in his discussion about his Shintai space:

This space can provide a special point of energy … to reclaim and nourish their spirit and soul. I see the ideal space as being both sacred and secular, to allow the individual either possibility through the serene openness of the place … I am talking about approaching the space of the cosmos. Even if the space is small, there can be the potential of the cosmos.

Thus, both Ando and Semper refer to architecture as the act of creating a spiritual order out of the chaos of the environment.

Ando criticizes Japanese Metabolism for trying to reproduce in modern materials (concrete and steel), traditional Japanese elements that were realized in wood, “ignoring the inevitable and fundamental connection between material and form.” However, there are many similarities between Ando and Metabolism. Ando’s rejection of reproducing the vernacular is in line with the Metabolist concept of change versus tradition, as expressed by the Metabolist Kenzo Tange. Tange “cannot accept the concept of total regionalism,” as “tradition can be

32 This passage by Semper is quoted by Frampton in Studies in Tectonic Culture, p.13
33 Auping, Michael, Seven Interviews with Ando (Surrey, UK: Third Millennium Publications, 2002), p.22.
developed through challenging its own shortcomings,” revealing a regionalism that is self-examining and self-questioning. In fact, Tange explains:

> Tradition itself cannot constitute a creative force. It always had a decadent tendency to promote formalization and repetition. What is needed to direct it into creative channels is a fresh energy which repudiates dead forms and prevents living ones from becoming static.

Tange’s statement was made in reference to the Metabolist movement of renewal which has roots in the Japanese tradition of the cycle of destruction and rebuilding of Shinto Shrines, the most famous instance being the monumental Naiku and Geku precincts at Ise that are rebuilt in their entirety every twenty years. However, it is revealing of the critical nature of Japanese architecture, even in its traditional form. Kurokawa’s Metabolism seems to have an influence on Ando, especially in his concept of *engawa*, the verandah or terrace surrounding traditional Japanese houses, which he used in the Fort Worth Modern Art Museum. In Fort Worth, Ando intended the gallery spaces within double glass and concrete skins of the museum to be “mediating spaces like the *engawa* of Japanese residences.”

Similarly, of the Fukuoka Bank (1975), Kurokawa writes, “The concept of this building for a bank is *engawa* – to create some intermediate relation to the environment [of people].” Thus, we see in the Metabolist movement the use of a modernist language to express a vernacular cause, and Ando’s critical regionalism seems to be an iteration of this concept.

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35 Kenzo Tange, in response to Ernesto Roger’s praise of Tange’s regionalism at the Otterlo meeting of CIAM in 1959. This is quoted by Tzonis and Lefaivre in “Why Critical Regionalism Today?” p.27.


Although Ando’s architecture may be a defamiliarized form of the vernacular, they tend to evoke the same sense of tradition and sentimentality. Ando’s interpretation of the traditional Japanese aesthetic evokes a nostalgic feel for a familiar past. This romanticized emotion can be seen in the way Ando describes his buildings and context, which he refers to as “cruel urban surroundings.” Within his territorial walls, Ando intends to establish a natural, Shinto-like relationship between the person, the building material and natural phenomena; the building is meant to be experienced in “body and spirit.” He talks of the “spirit and emotional contents” which he has translated from the Japanese vernacular and the richness of the tradition of sukiya and minka which is lost in urban chaos and economic growth. In fact, his architecture is largely influenced by the nostalgia of his childhood memories:

We all have had certain experiences in our childhood that have stayed with us for our entire lives. The house that I grew up in was very important to me … It is very long, and when you come in from the street you walk through a corridor and then into a small courtyard and then another long space that takes you deeper into the house. The courtyard is very important because the house is very long and the amount of light is very limited. Light is very precious … Living in a space like that, where light and darkness are constantly interacting, was a critical experience for me.

Thus, the element of light and the use of clerestories and corridors are recurrent themes across Ando’s work as they reflect familiar spaces in his childhood past. Ando says of himself, “I value cultural treasures and would like to develop them in a creative way,” revealing the inherent fondness for cultural artifacts and a related sentimentality in the loss of such an environment due to unrelenting urban progress.

41 Ando, “From Self-enclosed Modern Architecture towards Universality”: 8 – 12.
42 Auping, Seven Interviews with Tadao Ando, p.11.
Over the course of his career, Ando’s architecture reveals an increasing sense of isolation from civilization, in part due to the remoteness of the site. While the Sumiyoshi House is located in the centre of the Osaka residential area, later works are located in relatively undeveloped areas, like the Water Temple (1989 – 1991) on Awaji Island, the Museum of Wood (1991 -1994) in the dense Hyogo forest and Ayabe Community Centre (1993 – 1995) within the mountains north of Kyoto. Is Ando deliberately choosing to site his projects away from the urban context? How much control did Ando have over the location of his architecture? There is limited documentation on this aspect, but we can, nonetheless, begin to establish a pattern. In his early works from the 1970s to the mid 1980s, Ando’s architecture is decidedly confrontational to its urban context, but this sense of confrontation is progressively diminished as Ando chooses to make harmony with unspoiled natural environments, almost ignoring the modern urban condition altogether. This stance may embody a critical opposition against urbanism. But by romanticizing the rural areas, Ando has lost an element of self-criticism.

Furthermore, Ando’s architecture can also be seen to be far more international in scope and less autochthonous than is generally supposed. Ando’s formal language clearly resembles that of Le Corbusier and Louis Kahn, and more locally the Japanese New Wave. Frampton points out that Ando’s Rokko Housing project is clearly derived from Le Corbusier’s Roq et Rob terrace housing of 1949 [Fig. 6]. In fact, Keith Walker’s brief biography of Ando for the Pritzker Prize Foundation describes Ando’s self-education to be deeply involved with the work of Le Corbusier. He speaks of Ando’s recollection of his discovery of Le Corbusier’s drawings in a secondhand bookstore in Osaka: “I traced the drawings of his early period so many times

that all the pages have turned black. In my mind, I quite often wonder how Le Corbusier would have thought about this project or that.” Walker tells of Ando’s visit to Le Corbusier’s Unite d’Habitacion in 1965 and his fascination with the dynamic use of concrete. Ando’s combination of light and concrete also invites comparisons to the monumental concrete buildings of Louis Kahn, where light is seen to bring form into being; a similar aim to articulate form.

In fact, Ando’s architecture appears to be ironically moving towards cultural homogenization, as he employs Japanese concepts regardless of the context. Ando’s Museum of Modern Art in Fort Worth, Texas, for example, utilizes a similar formal language as his previous works, although a Japanese context no longer exists. As described earlier, the museum employs the Japanese notion of *engawa* in the design of the galleries. Nonetheless, Fort Worth is Ando’s first double-skin structure of concrete volumes within a glass-skin box, but this language is, by no means, Texan or American. Incidentally, such a construction is “not so easy to build,” with “not much tolerance for error in terms of craftsmanship.” The need for intricate craftsmanship on this project is arguably a direct counterpoint to the “sloppy” standards of the American construction industry. On the other hand, Ando is regional in modulating the intense Texan sunlight in extensive use of brise soleil in the galleries. The Meditation Space in Paris, France (1994 – 1995) is Ando’s quintessential wall against Japanese urban chaos, this time conceived as a one-storey reinforced concrete cylindrical structure. This work is a commemoration of the fiftieth anniversary of UNESCO (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, established at the end of World War II), and is thus linked to Japan via World War

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44 Quoted by Keith Walker, in his essay for the Pritzker Prize Foundation in *The Pritzker Architecture Prize 1995: presented to Tadao Ando*.

45 Auping, *Seven Interviews with Tadao Ando*, p.19.

II, but it seems to be more suited to a Japanese context. The floor and base of the shallow pond, an integral part of the design, were constructed from granite that was exposed to radiation from the Hiroshima atomic bomb. The Mediation Space is thus decidedly focused on the commemoration of the victims of Hiroshima. It is a Japanese perspective operating in an alien French context.

Ando’s architecture is, perhaps, best described by Frampton: “Ando is at once both an unequivocally modern architect and a figure whose values lie embedded in some archaic moment … committed to some other time before the machinations of progress has turned into an every present nemesis.” The point of dispute of Ando being “critical” lies in this very statement. While Ando may be critical in his opposition against the chaotic Japanese urban context and his refusal to reproduce traditional Japanese elements, it is his romantic sentimentality and homogenized forms that ultimately undermine this label. Then, is it logically possible to create architecture that is both regional and completely without sentimentality or nostalgia? Critical regionalism seems to become an oxymoron, since the notion of place is inevitably tied to the collective memory and cultural history of the place.

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47 Frampton, “Thoughts on Tadao Ando,” p.12.
Appendix: Illustrations

Fig 1: Rokko Housing negotiates the terrain
(Source: Ando, Tadao Ando: Buildings, Projects, Writings, p.107.)

Fig 2: The Festival as the modulator of light.
(Source: Ando, Tadao Ando: The Yale Studio and Current Works, p.108.)
Fig 3: The Sumiyoshi House in the urban context
(Source: Ando, Tadao, Tadao Ando: Buildings, Projects, Writings, p.26.)

Fig 4: Light filtering through clerestories
(Source: Norman Carver, Japanese Folkhouses, p.145)
Fig 5: Alleyways in Japan
(Source: Norman Carver, *Japanese Folkhouses*, p.64)

Fig 6: Le Corbusier’s Roq et Rob (left) and Ando’s Rokko Housing (right)
(Source: Ando, *Tadao Ando: Buildings, Projects, Writings*, p.107.)
Bibliography:

Ando, Tadao, “New Relations Between Space and the Person,” The Japan Architect, October/November 1977: 44
   Ando briefly describes his approach against the backdrop of modernism and post-modernism

Ando, Tadao, “A Wedge in Circumstances,” The Japan Architect, June 1977
   Ando talks about his sentiment-fundamental spaces

   Ando argues that his walls delineate a space which is isolated from urban chaos

   Ando argues his case against modernism and discusses the adaptation of the Japanese vernacular of sukiya and minka in his architecture


   A comprehensive catalog of Ando’s works thus far.

Auping, Michael, Seven Interviews with Ando (Surrey, UK: Third Millennium Publications, 2002)


   A review of Ando’s MOMA in Fort Worth. Deals mainly with the issues of translation from design to built reality.


Argues that critical regionalism is a mere construct imposed from the outside by positions of authority. Good critique of Luis Barragan in this context.


Critical essay on the emergence of the Japanese New Wave after metabolism.


Frampton’s propounds his definition of Critical Regionalism as an architecture of resistance


Frampton argues for evidence of critical regionalism in Ando’s work.


Frampton discusses common themes across Ando’s work, like the articulation of structure through the changing nature of light and the dialogical relationship between building and site.


A comprehensive discussion of issue of tectonics in architecture and the link to the vernacular.


Discusses the loss of home from machine ridden civilization and technology; the human being realizes himself through the act of living.


Discusses philosophy of Japanese Metabolism and its link to traditional Japanese concepts.

Mumford, Lewis, The South in Architecture (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co, 1941) Champions the regionalist work of HH Richardson as a confrontation against the monotony of Beaux Arts Architecture.


Slessor, Catherine, Concrete Regionalism (New York: Thames and Hudson, 2000)


Tzonis, Alexander and Liane Lefaivre, “The Grid and the Pathway,” Architecture in Greece, 1981, no.5 First use of the term “critical regionalism” and traces its development from Lewis Mumford.


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