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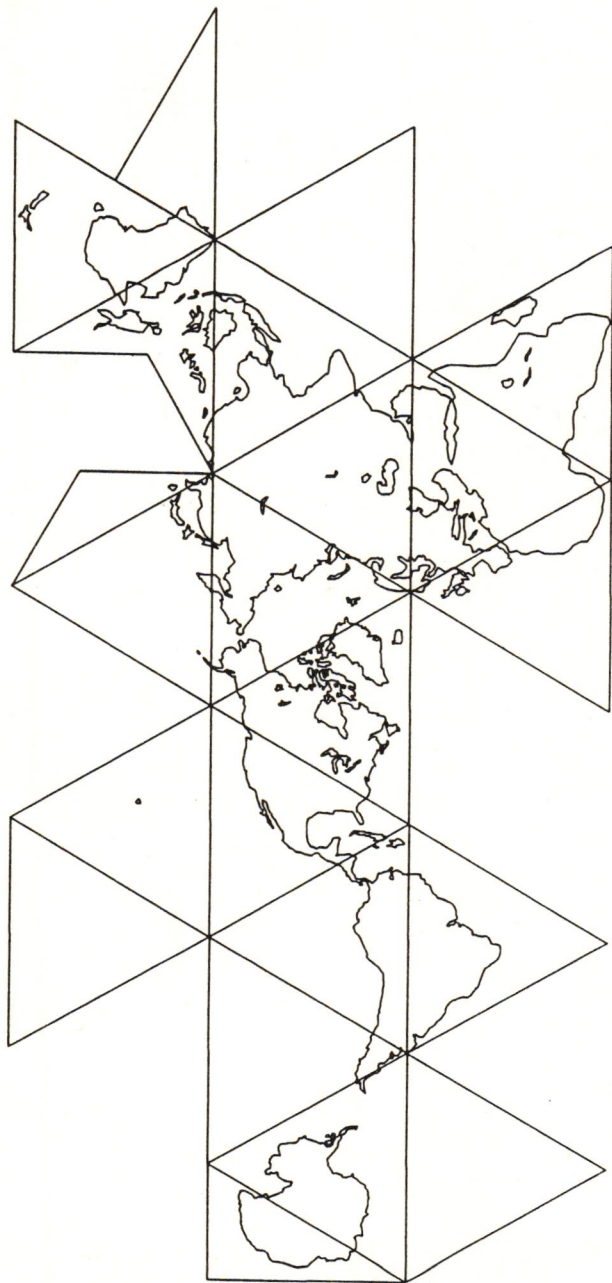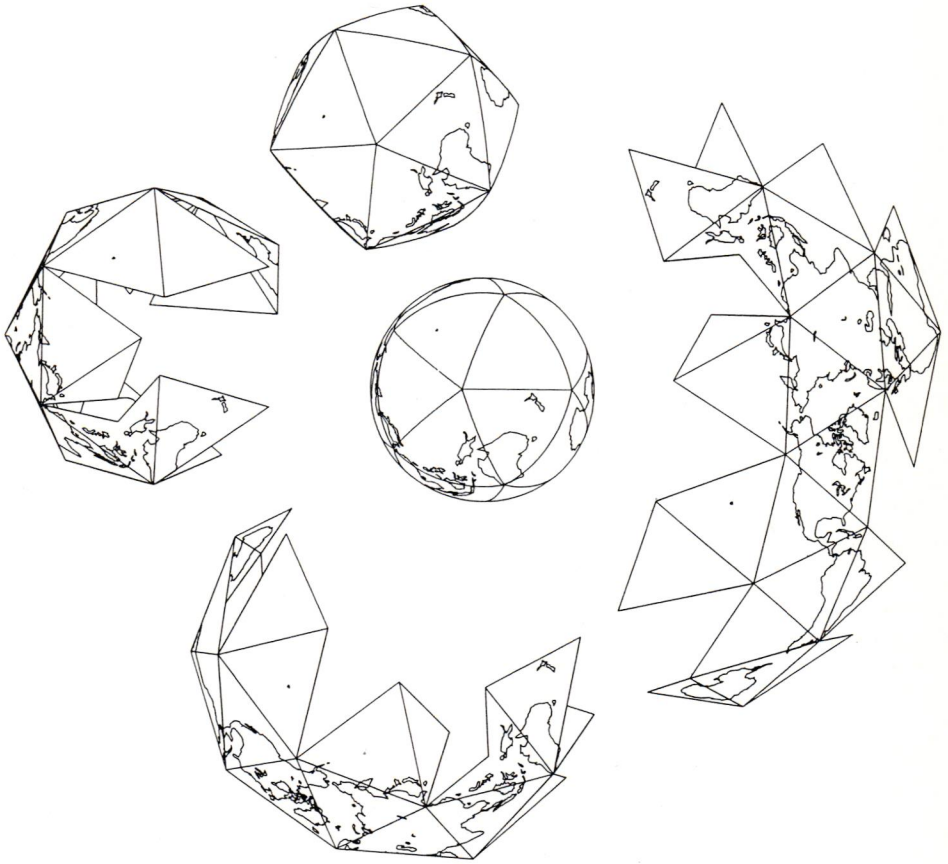# CALIFORNIA

"The Dymaxion Map reveals a One-World Island in a One-World Ocean," wrote Buckminster Fuller. The "One-World" projection highlights the relationships among all nations and cultures of the world rather than one that emphasizes artificial boundaries between them. Symbolic tools, world maps help to shape our perception of Earth. In order to make such a representation, every world map projection must make certain compromises as information is transferred from the spherical globe to a flat surface. With this in mind, educator, engineer, architect, author, cartographer, and futurist Buckminster Fuller set out to develop the world's most accurate two-dimensional representation capable of revealing major trends in world affairs. Fuller's mind's eye saw a "One-Town Air-Ocean World" planet Earth. The Fuller Projection, Dymaxion™ Air-Ocean World, developed by Fuller with Robert Grip and Christopher Kitrick, is now updated by the Buckminster Fuller Institute using the distinguished cartographic services of R.R. Donnelley & Sons. Courtesy, Buckminster Fuller Institute, Santa Barbara.

ARCHITECTURE

CALIFORNIA

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Building the Pacific Rim

etcetera

From the Editor: *pacific turbulence*

Today, economic, political, and cultural systems that share little common sense turn and face each other around a pre-historic ocean that—ringed with the earthquakes and volcanic fire of collid-ing continental plates—after 175 mil-lion years still refuses to be pacific.

This *Architecture California* fo-cuses on the transforming built environ-ment in the Pacific nations, revisiting the claims of modernism that fed archi-tects' aspirations for internationalism in the early decades of this century. Here, Fredric Jameson's characterization of postmodernism as "the cultural logic of late capitalism" finds fresh validity.

The featured authors address two key points. The first point: new rela-tionships of production are emerging with the end of the Cold War and the destruction of socialism's achievements as well as its dreams. U.S. corporations hope for a warm reception in Siberia and an open door to the Asian-Pacific Economic Cooperation forum. China ousts the Beijing McDonalds in favor of Hong Kong funded development and seeks admission to the World Trade Or-ganization. As the Pacific nations rene-gotiate market relationships in the globalizing design and building indus-tries, "border crossing" becomes the rule—from the multinational, multi-dis-ciplinary transactions undertaken by the Ove Arup Partnership to the fine-de-tailed organizing of India's *Mahila*

Milan pavement dwellers who cross their cast confines to build housing.

The second point: after-modern de-sign theory offers little to guide cross-cultural practice. Yatsuka deliberates the responsibilities of border-crossing design practice, dissatisfied with the false dilemma of whether to "speak" international style or localese. Pu Miao testifies to the loss of any authentic ver-nacular *or* modernist inheritance in the cultural vacuum created by China's so-cialist experiments. Yatsuka and Miao reject both the new internationalism and the "affectations" of nationalist culture. Shen's ethical humanistic ap-proach rests in the opportunity for his-toric preservation in Singapore, an all too rare occurrence since 600 parcels of "public" land in Shanghai are being turned under, privatized for the largest urban redevelopment project ever un-dertaken in world history. Davids re-minds us that this tumult occurs all along the Rim, and he embraces a col-lage of international influences with particular local histories and practices.

Integrating the two points is Brechin's recollection of the Pacific as *Mare Nostrum* (Our Ocean): The story of imperial San Francisco—like that of Britain—prefigures the perpetual redivision of lands and resources that
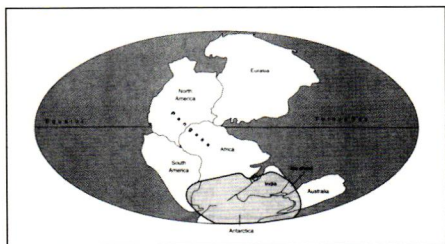
Pangaea, the supercontinent, 250 million years ago.
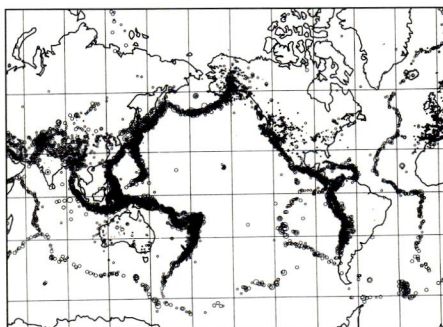
"Ring of Fire" of tremors caused by shifting plates.
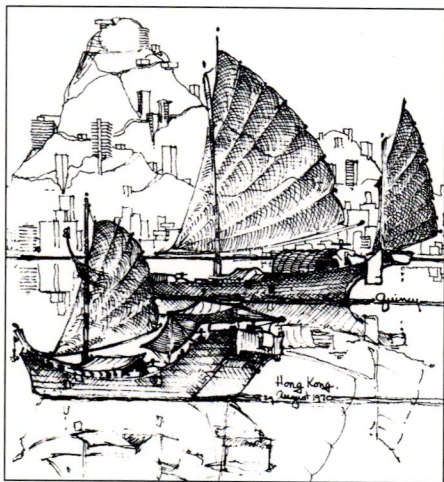
Hong Kong, August 1970. Sketch, A. Quincy Jones, FAIA.

Human "cages" in Kowloon, Hong Kong, 1994. Photo, Lian Hurst Mann, AIA.

drives the mandate to "civilize." Brechin exposes expansion as conquest: social Darwinism professes the explicit superiorities of manifest destiny, naming and blaming the victims.

In the void produced by ignoring Modernism's socialist sub-text, old debates reemerge over the relative merits of narrow nationalism versus cultural imperialism as design approaches. Have we forgotten that many nations and their artists sought escape from imperialism and turned to socialism as the prime modernizer, advancing a redistributive national liberation agenda? The early internationalist movement in architecture sought a fundamental break with the existing order. Thus, the potential of industrialized building systems (with their parsimonious "style") was charged with a fervor for egalitarianism. In many non-European countries, a mediation between socialist realism and indigenous cultures was theorized in design. Let us not discard the Allende enterprise that unleashed unprecedented cultural vigor in Chile until the song writers were assassinated, or the Chinese bicycle cities that spread across the land until bike congestion obstructed new "nonped-estrianized" corridors. If the early experiments at market planning have failed, must we accept postmodernism theory's eclipse of debate over the lessons we might learn? Were we certain of modernism's sins on Stalin Allee in Berlin, we would not reproduce them.

As another round of conquest occurs, geographic and cultural boundaries are temporal and arbitrary, and we have little more than self-benefit to guide us. The New International Style —an export of late modernism like Nestle's formula—cannot be adequately challenged by sensitivity to local clime that will be sacrificed for the right price, or specificity of program that may change over night, or adaptation to cultural motifs that have always registered the overlord's power.

There is no longer an explicit opposition to empire: both idealistic capitalism and anticolonial socialism are in theoretical and practical retreat. Rather, our leaders offer free play for the market and its cultural signifiers. This places even greater importance on the role of consciousness and criticism: As we daily strive to make a living as architects, some utopian impulse must carry us forward. In this light, the recording of inhumanity and the expression of hope are place holders for an alternative international practice.

Lian Hurst Mann, AIA

Mare Nostrum: San Francisco's Reach

Gray Brechin

Saving the world's rainforests, its indigenous peoples, or dolphins without understanding the dynamics of urbanization is like treating the symptoms of AIDS without identifying the disease. Attempted cures in both instances will prove futile. While the virus afflicting individuals was quickly named, that which is killing a planet understandably remains unknown.

Cities have had good press long before the printing press was invented. Cities are, after all, the centers of communication, and a lot more besides. A secure city accumulates capital and knowledge, it generates inventions and creates art and fashion. Those who speak for it can claim that the city is the motor of civilization itself. Civilization, no matter how barbaric, is whatever those who control the media say it is.

Italians have traditionally understood the city as part of a larger whole. They speak of the *città* and its *contado*, i.e., the city and the land that sustains it. Ideally, the two constitute a mutually beneficial relationship; in reality—especially as the city grows to imperial status—the relationship between the city and its *contado* ceases to be symbiotic and becomes parasitic. A near synonym for *contado* is the city's *dominio*, making explicit the hinterland's submissive role.

When a town attains the size of a large modern city, its inhabitants lose any sense of their responsibility to the *contado* and its people. That is the nature of the Imperial city—a center of power which employs remote control to hold an enormous territory by implied and actual force. Over the past five hundred years, a few cities have been able to claim nations as their *contados*, fewer still overseas empires. Think of the super-city, then, as an immense whirlpool, at the heart of which are the financial, administrative, and media centers and the few families which control them.

In the late eighteenth century, Europeans began to learn how to use the mathematical and physical discoveries of the past century to create machinery giving them unprecedented power over nature. As energy from the British coal fields surged into London, the capital began to sprawl across the land as no city before had done. With the advantage of a jump-start in mechanical discoveries and in weapons development, London became both the first modern city and the headquarters of the first global empire. Its fundamental nature, it seemed, was to grow—making those who owned its land phenomenally wealthy in the process. Two centuries later, San Francisco Mayor Dianne Feinstein could state as axiomatic that a city that is not growing is a dying city.

Even as Dickens' London spread along the Thames, a would-be challenger appeared on the edge of the habitable world. The city of San Francisco was born of imperial thrust. In 1846, when a Mexican village stood alone at Yerba Buena Cove, U.S. Army Scout John C. Fremont named the opening to San Francisco Bay "*Chyrsopylae* (golden gate)...on the same principle that the harbor of Byzantium (Constantinople afterwards) was called

San Francisco Harbor, 1850. Courtesy, National Maritime Museum, San Francisco.

Chrysoceras (golden horn)." Fremont imagined the site as destined to rival Imperial Rome, a gateway for trade between the Far East and Far West.

Unfortunately for those who wanted it, San Francisco Bay was then owned by Mexico. The Mexican-American War, in which Fremont played a starring role, resolved that detail. As Mexico succumbed to the vastly superior power of its northern neighbor, a fierce debate raged in the Congress as to how much of its territory the U.S. should take as reparation. Many Congressmen wanted all of Mexico, while others objected to absorbing a "degenerate" and Catholic people along with their real estate. As compromise, Mexico was paid $15 million dollars for its sparsely-inhabited northern half, an offer it could not refuse as long as its capital was occupied by soon-to-be President Zachary Taylor and his army.

The newly-minted phrase "Manifest Destiny" had served to justify the war. Equally inspirational was a much older line from a poem by Bishop George Berkeley: "Westward the course of empire takes its way." Many Americans fervently believed the westward expansion of the white, Anglo-Saxon, or Aryan race to the Pacific was the Lord's will. And God did seem to approve of the war, for gold was discovered in California just a few days before the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo was signed in 1848.

Suddenly, tens of thousands of foreigners poured into one of the remotest areas of the world, and a city whose owners had imperial pretensions of their own appeared overnight at *Chrysopylae*—the Golden Gate. With such an influx, San Francisco real estate offered extraordinary opportunities to speculators who arrived early enough and with sufficient capital— or superior skills of fraud—to acquire swamps, dunes, and bay before anyone else did.

San Franciscans wasted no time in reshaping the topography to conform to ownership maps. They energetically leveled hills to fill the bay in a vain attempt to achieve the ideal flatness of paper. Yerba Buena Cove became the financial district, the command point which sent out troops and technology to transform the West and fuel the city's lucrative growth. Following the gold rush, the American frontier moved east as well as west. Mining was, of course, the first and foremost of

Mission Street Wharf, San Francisco c. 1900-1910.

California's industries, the very model of extractive enterprise, and around it grew up the compelling myths, as well as the ethos, of Western culture. San Franciscans soon began manufacturing their own, improved machinery to exploit their *contado*.

Mining did produce some spectacular fortunes, particularly after the discovery of Nevada's Comstock Lode in 1859. The silver of the Comstock financed the building of the West's infrastructure. Banks and exchanges were formed to raise large amounts of capital for hard-rock mining and railroads; they in turn concentrated and channeled the flow of mineral wealth to a few families who quickly declared themselves the city's *ancien regime*. Left behind for posterity to worry about was the wreckage of the Malakoff Diggings, the Sacramento Valley dredge fields, and other scenes of devastation, as well as the problem of mercury wherever mining occurred. Capital flowed too, to any industry that would produce a quick and spectacular profit; in the attitude towards sequoias, soil, wildlife, water, and people, the extractive ethic of mining remained the same.

Westerners have long assumed a superior virtue for living close to nature. Yet from the start, painters, poets, and publicists celebrated the Arcadian qualities of the Golden State in order to sell and destroy them. The West's literary magazine, *The Overland Monthly*, adopted the motto, "Devoted to the development of the country," and its articles consistently trumpeted the wealth to be made from exploiting the land. Newspapers were no different. The whirlpool grew ever wider.

As San Francisco expanded, so did the zone of deforestation around it. Redwoods fell *en masse* and were fed into the city's planning mills to create its famous Victorian houses, while the bared soil where forests once stood slid into the sea, causing ruinous floods. Wildlife, too, was exterminated in an ever widening band to provision San Francisco's restaurants and hotels; otters vanished along the coast while the Alaska Commercial Company raided the Pribiloff Islands for seal pelts. Sugar plantations hit the Hawaiian Islands like an ecological shock wave. Natives were put to work on land until recently their own, or shot for sport.

Market Street. Courtesy, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

International boundaries are never immutable, and San Francisco, like New Orleans, became a launching pad for privateers hoping to liberate Hawaii, Borneo, Nicaragua, Peru, and various states of Mexico generally for the U.S. and specifically for themselves. In 1853, Commodore Matthew Perry's well-armed Black Ships forced open the door to trade with Japan. Three years later, Perry told the American Geographical Society that the westward course of empire compelled the United States to move its western border to the eastern shore of Asia. In short, the Pacific Ocean would be the nation's *Mare Nostrum* ("Our Ocean"), and San Francisco its Rome on the Pacific Rim. Small wonder that while demanding the admission of California to the Union in 1850, Senator Seward claimed, "The future of our empire hangs on the decision of this day."

Militarism, metallurgy, and mining are intimately connected in the building of empires. Railroads built to exploit the West's mines and speed its commerce served also to move troops about in order to subdue its natives. When the U.S. Circuit Court ruled in 1884 that hydraulic mining had to stop because of the environmental havoc it was wreaking on California's interior, San Francisco's Union Iron Works shifted production from mining equipment to battleships and heavy armaments.

It took fifty years for the United States to pacify and digest the continental *contado* which it had wrested from Mexico in 1848. By 1893, its leaders began to look for new lands and islands. In that year of severe depression, historian Frederick Jackson Turner declared that the American frontier—so essential to the national character—had ceased to exist. Other

pundits called for new markets, for colonies like those of the European powers, for a revival of racial virility and of Manifest Destiny. William Randolph Hearst, heir of a western mining fortune, used his expanding media empire to beat the war drums. Later, he proudly claimed the Spanish-American War as his own. Under Admiral Dewey's command, the Union Iron Works' warships were instrumental in acquiring the Philippines in 1898 and in fulfilling Commodore Perry's prophecy of oceanic empire. In the same year, Hawaii was annexed as a coaling station.

The newspapers of San Francisco were ecstatic about the new Pacific empire. The *Chronicle,* in particular, ran frequent articles on the opportunities for fortunes to be made in gold, coal, sugar, hemp, and hardwoods, as well as cheap labor and the limitless markets of the Asian mainland. Filipinos, unfortunately, felt betrayed by their liberators. An estimated five thousand American troops and as many as a million Filipinos died before a sort of peace settled on the scorched islands.

Teddy Roosevelt and others insisted that effeminacy and hesitance had no place in the American character. Manifest Destiny had returned for a vigorous encore. Seventy years before Mayor Feinstein claimed that a city could only grow or die, San Francisco historian Hubert H. Bancroft approvingly wrote, "Upon a new hypothesis the nations of the earth become divided into two parts: those which are living and those which are dying. The question of survival becomes paramount among all kingdoms and commonwealths. Which are to live and which
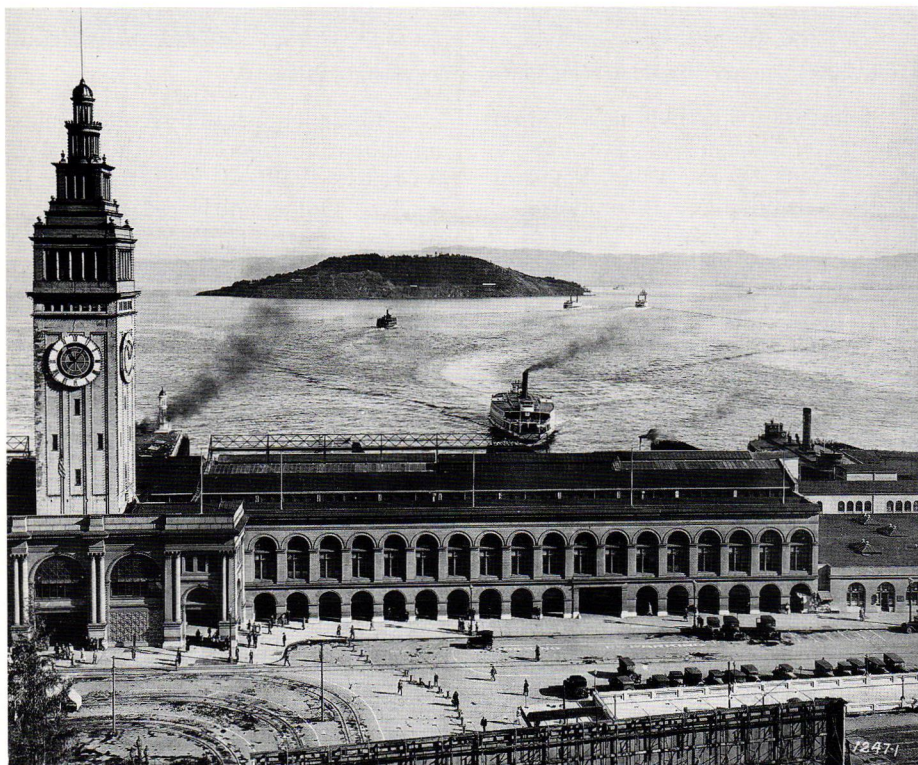
Ferry Building, San Francisco, c. 1925. National Maritime Museum.
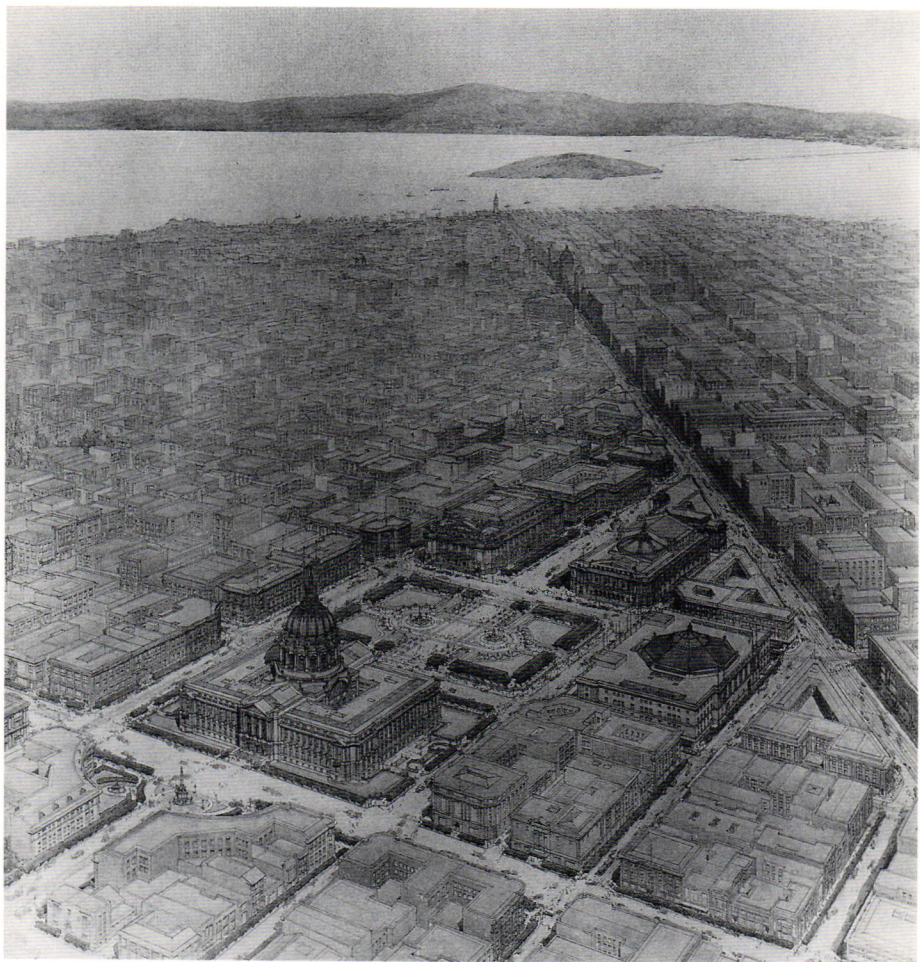
Civic Center Bird's Eye View, 1912. College of Environmental Design Documents collection, UCB.

are to die and be devoured by the others? To live there must be food and light and air, which implies land which again implies war, conquest, subjugation, and extermination." The historian's sentiments were, in fact, common in the mainstream press at the time; the terms Anglo-Saxon and Aryan were interchangeable, and Bancroft's "food, light, and air" would soon be translated elsewhere and by others to *Lebensraum.*

San Francisco's leaders were simply following the age-old prescription for imperial urban wealth. Today, as many more cities compete for the

earth's "food, light, and air," its vital signs are faltering as surely as those of a patient covered with Kaposi's lesions. The euphemisms change, obscuring the cause of the planet's critical illness.

Excerpts from a talk given at the Headlands Center that first appeared in the Center journal in 1991.

"Seamless Arup" Bridges the Pacific

Voices from the Ove Arup Partnership

Ove Arup Partnership is one of the world's largest engineering firms. Established in 1946, the firm has grown into an international group of 60 multidisciplinary offices in 40 countries.

The complex structure of this firm is evolving as opportunities for international practice increase. Duncan Michael, Chairman of Ove Arup Partnership, uses the concept "seamless Arup" to assert that international cooperative working can and should be pursued as the right way—indeed the only way—for the firm to develop into the 21st century.

"Seamless Arup" aims to streamline collaboration between all the parts of Arup worldwide. The firm has local centers of excellence in the many disciplines which it embraces, and "seamlessness" aims to eliminate—as far as possible—geographical and organizational barriers between them, so that the firm's global collective expertise is brought to bear as appropriate on projects undertaken in any part of the world. In order to foster transnational

Ove Arup Partnership has 20 offices on the Pacific.

design projects, the Ove Arup Partnership seeks to mirror the architect and client by combining the convenience and specificity of localized support with the vast resources and interdisciplinary expertise that accompany the diverse experience and tremendous capacity of the Ove Arup Partnership.

Having begun international work out of the United Kingdom and supported many building projects as the European market matured, the international partnership now finds itself responding to the emerging markets accompanying the political openings in Southeast Asia and Eastern Europe.

In the fast growing regions of Asia, Ove Arup & Partners is providing engineering services over a wide range of categories. Infrastructure for a new city (or renewed or expanded city) requires sewer treatment centers, power plants, water treatment centers, transportation systems, airports, and building engineering for a wide range of facilities. Following its Danish founder Ove Arup, the Partnership approaches engineering as "a creative activity, involving imagination, intuition, and deliberate choice." The Asian markets provide excellent opportunities. The region is full of energy, accepting challenges and welcoming new ideas.

Local Arup practices in Hong Kong, Malaysia, Australia, and New Zealand have supported the construction of projects by international as well as local architects since the 1960s. Now there are twelve offices and 850 staff in Asia (including a new one in the People's Republic of China), with an emphasis on expanding the infrastructure and the industrial base, and

eight more along the Pacific Rim, including Los Angeles and San Francisco. Each office has special focuses and, taken together, the firm is making a significant impact around the Rim.

OAP UNITED STATES, IN ASIA: BUILDING ENGINEERING

Ove Arup & Partners was established in 1985 in San Francisco to support local health care specialists such as Anshen + Allen. Now offices in Los Angeles and New York as well as San Francisco and L. A. bring the firm's specialty in building engineering into collaboration with not only architecture firms with local U.S. projects but U.S. clients and architects seeking more effective means to work internationally, particularly in Asia.

"Building engineering" is founder Ove Arup's term for an integrated multi-disciplinary engineering service that supports architects beginning with the conceptual stage of building design and continuing through to completion of construction. Thus, building engineering is inseparable from architectural design. The multi-disciplinary engineering concept of Ove Arup & Partners is to provide a holistic engineering design that ensures efficient and technically advanced buildings. OAP New York Principal Ray Crane says that the philosophy of "engineering coming together with art" is evident in both their infrastructure projects and building systems. "Like formal architectural styles, building systems and infrastructural elements can symbolize a corporation's or government's desire to provide modern, efficient, and technically advanced environments for workers and residents of a city. A new building can become the most visible symbol of a client's financial strength, philosophy, and values."

Bob Emmerson, former Chairman of Ove Arup & Partners United States,
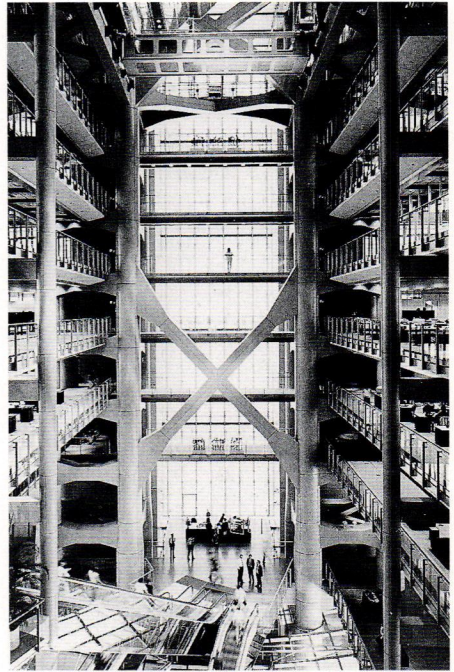
Hongkong Bank, Foster Associates, architect. OAP, Structural Engineering consultants.

identifies "the Arup attitude" as the other feature OAP brings to the U.S. to supplement its emphasis on building engineering. "It is an attitude more interventionist, seeking dialogue and collaboration, anxious to be involved in developing all aspects of the design from the very earliest days of the project; an attitude that seeks the solution best for the project even though the search may be a difficult one."

In the United States, approximately 35 percent of Ove Arup & Partners' fee income is derived from building engineering work in Asia. This effort began by teaming with the largest architecture firms pursuing work in Asia: Skidmore Owings & Merrill (SOM), Kohn Pederson Fox (KPF), Hellmuth Obata Kassabaum (HOK), the Jerde Partnership, and ROMA Design Group. They are also working in Taiwan with local architects.

"Clients have routinely looked to the Americans to set the architectural
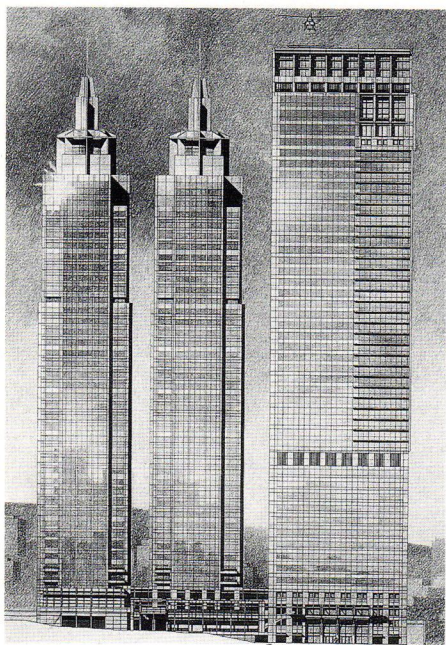
Indra Kayangan mixed-use development. ROMA Design Group, architect, with OAP/Manila.

vision," states Crane. British architects such as Norman Foster and Richard Rogers have designed memorable private projects, yet Crane believes that Americans bring a certain "cachet," particularly in Asia. Thus, the work of U.S. architects in Asian countries has expanded rapidly.

China offers the largest market for domestic as well as foreign-designed

Hong Kong Stadium, commissioned by the Royal Hong Kong Jockey Club. Hellmuth, Obata & Kassabaum, Inc. Sports Facilities, architect. Ove Arup & Partners Hong Kong Ltd., consulting engineers.

development projects. For example, the government is working to reestablish Shanghai as the largest commercial center in Asia. A vision for a new and efficient central business district Lu Jia Zui was created and master planned by Richard Rogers in conjunction with the Ove Arup Partnership and Bartlett and Cambridge research units. Planning for the city has integrated traffic engineers, computer programmers, environmental geographers, wind and water specialists, and urban designers. Three of the world's tallest buildings are planned in the Central Business District. OAP/ New York is working with U.S. firm Kohn Peterson Fox on the Shanghai World Finance Centre—which upon completion will become the tallest building in the world at 1500 feet (460m), housing 2.5 million square feet of space. Similarly, SOM is working with OAP NewYork on an office tower for Philam in Manila, where OAP has an office of 35 people.

Ove Arup & Partners California has diversified further with the advent of western (especially California) architects securing Asian commissions. Jacob Chan, Senior Associate at OAP Los Angeles believes that clients in Asia "are as demanding as western clients; they want attention no matter where they are located." Arups' goal of seamlessness is, nonetheless, very demanding to achieve. "In this situation, it is important to coordinate work well and schedule visits and agendas carefully in order to maintain the client's confidence." Chan underscores that a building and its systems design must develop quickly to keep the momentum moving so early participation of the engineering team is critical.

OAP/LA is working with the Arup Hong Kong office to facilitate the Jerde Partnership's preliminary design for a mixed-use commercial development in Guangzhou, China—one of the first super large facilities under construction
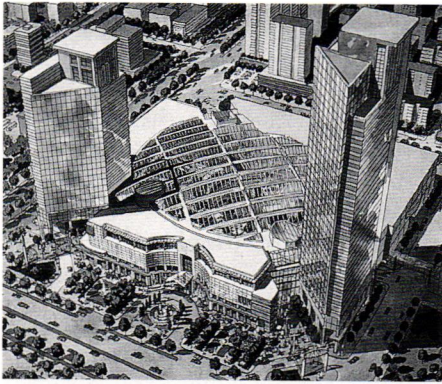
Preliminary design for a mixed-use commercial development in Guangzhou, China. The Jerde Partnership, architect. OAP/LA/UK.

in Guangzhou. The project is a 278,000 square meters combination retail and entertainment center. The development consists of a seven-story retail space incorporating a multi-story department store, mixed-use stores, retail and specialty shops, and food service facilities. There are multiplex cinemas at the top level. A multi-story atrium in the center of the development is covered by a skylight designed to link the interior to the outside world. The structural design accomodates mass transit tunnels running under the site.

OAP/LA is currently working with HOK on the Hansol Corporate Headquarters in Seoul, Korea where Arup does not have a local office but HOK does. Arup offers a sophisticated team from the Los Angeles, London, and Hong Kong offices to deliver the project. The Hong Kong office has a long-established relationship with a number of Korean contractors. OAP's hi-tech expertise has been invaluable to them in assisting in the top down construction method introduced for deep basements, and underdrainage systems to prevent flotation. Arups is also working with Richard Rogers on the Daewoo Corporate Headquarters in Seoul. Chan explains that Korea is one of the four "economic tigers" in Asia, and in the last few years it has moved into high

gear to upgrade its infrastructure. Chan foresees specialist engineering services flourishing on future projects in Korea, particularly in fire engineering, computational fluid dynamics, facade engineering, and design of intelligent buildings.

In the early design phase for the Hansol Headquarters, it was important to fully understand the existing site conditions that would determine the structural system, layout, phasing of construction, environmental systems, and associated life cycle costing. The specific site characteristics were studied for three months, requiring an acceleration of the construction schedule. "An accelerated schedule is," Chan states, "very important since the land values are so high in Asia. Site design is a critical phase and there is no room for design cushions or oversizing of systems—there is a basic need to justify all space based on the land value."

The building for Hansol Corporation, one of the biggest paper companies in Asia, derives its architectural form from the Korean kite. HOK developed the kite form to respond to the vision of the fast growing paper company, providing the Hansol symbol. However, the client also wants a building to function intelligently, and schedule and budget constraints were discussed in the very first workshop. The design team's approach is to create an "intelligent building," which Chan describes as "one that responds to all of the demands of the owner, user, and environment in its structure, materials, and information systems, and at the same time anticipates change." According to Chan, the organization of two side cores with the mechanical room located within creates not only a large central office space that works very well with the Asian system of office management, but also creates the opportunity for two mechanical systems to alternately serve the north and south sides
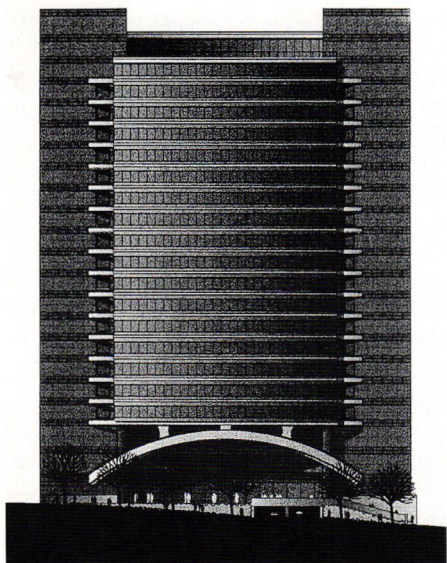
Hansol Corporate Headquarters, Seoul, Korea.
HOK, architect. OAP/LA/UK/HK.

of the buildings with radically different problems of exposure. Given the excavation of a 30 meter six-story basement mostly for parking, the side core scheme allows a modified form of top down construction, saving six months in construction and millions of dollars on overall cost.

Ove Arup & Partners California is also working in the more established market in Japan where it can partner with another Arup office. John Batchelor, director of the Ove Arup & Partners Tokyo office notes that "foreign architects working in Japan find value in our unique position as the only non-Japanese engineering design consultancy with offices in Japan, staffed with bilingual foreign and Japanese engineers. We are able to interpret and explain the complex regulatory system and the unique features of the Japanese construction industry, and to suggest practical ways to innovate within the bounds of what is appropriate to Japan." For the Los Angeles firm Morphosis, OAP/LA engineered the conceptual design for Azabu Office

Building in Tokyo and the Chiba Golf Club in the Chiba prefecture of Japan.

Ove Arup & Partners California finds itself stretching further around the Rim with OAP Manila for Gensler & Associates on ABS/CBN Studios in Manila; the Surabaya Housing Project in Surabaya, Indonesia for HOK/260 Architects; and a new biomedical facility on the 18 acre masterplanned National Institutes of Health's Biologicals campus in Uttar Pradesh, India, with architect Zimmer Gunsul Frasca Partnership.

While the focus of work for Ove Arup & Partners California has been building engineering support for domestic U.S. projects and for American architects working in the Pacific, it is now seeking participation in the engineering design of infrastructure projects that are increasingly being demanded to support the massive development. This work has already begun under the auspices of Ove Arup & Partners in the UK and other Arup offices in Asia.

Arup in Asia: Infrastructure Engineering

The Asian offices have engineered many buildings following Arups' principles, but the distinction to highlight here is the development of interdisciplinary engineering practices that can facilitate the development of massive infrastructure projects. The role of infrastructure engineering in developing regions like Asia plays an important part in the construction of any
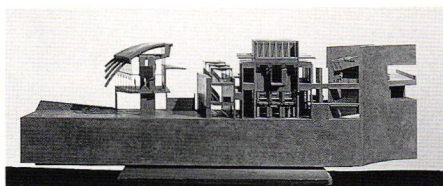
Chiba Golf Club in the Chiba prefecture, Japan.
Morphosis, architect.

new, or renewed city. Both the form of transportation systems—roads, tollways, rail—and their formal placement impact the movement of people and products from sites of fabrication and assembly to destinations for display and consumption.

John Batchelor clarifies the value of Ove Arup & Partners' investment as a non-Japanese firm in the Japanese market. "It is widely recognized that a long-term commitment and full-time presence in Japan is needed to provide the service demanded by Japanese clients and now, after over five years of operating a design office in Japan,

(now nineteen years old) is the center of Arup's involvement in the entire region. The office has grown from a few engineers into a full scale multi-disciplinary practice employing 600 people.

Ove Arup & Partners' Hong Kong office has worked for almost twenty years with the local Mass Transit Railway Corporation (MTRC) engineering stations, viaducts, tunnels, and subways. This experience comes together as airports are added to the international commerce of rapidly expanding Asian cities. As Peter Ayres, Director of the Hong Kong office, explains, the firm has major involvement with the new in-

National Institutes of Health Laboratory. Uttar Pradesh, India. Zimmer Gunsul Frasca, architect.
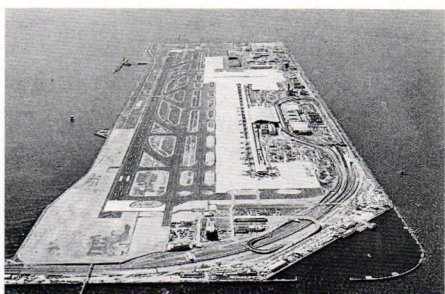
Kansai International Airport. Osaka, Japan. Renzo Piano Building Workshop+Nikken Sekkei, architect.

Arup Japan is seeing a steady flow of exciting work in building design. The interest of leading Japanese architects in Arups is clearly evidenced by ongoing projects with Itsuko Hasegawa, Toyo Itoh, Tetsuo Furuichi, Atsushi Kitagawara, and others."

The firm has designed the organic-like structural systems for projects such as the Kansai International Airport in Osaka, Japan (Renzo Piano Building Workshop with Nikken Sekki). The Kansai Terminal integrates heating and ventilating systems into the structural system providing a column-free space designed for 25 million passengers a year.

Although Ove Arup & Partners first became involved in Hong Kong projects over three decades ago, the firm's permanent office in the territory

frastructure projects necessary for the development of Hong Kong's Chek Lap Kok Airport. "Chek Lap Kok—best known as a political football in the Britain/China negotiations over Hong Kong's 1997 transfer of power—is the core of one of the biggest infrastructure development projects in the world. It is expected to handle 50 million passengers by the year 2040, with half the world's population within a radius of four hours in flying time." Ove Arups & Partners are engineers for five of the stations, including the tunnels and viaducts associated with them, and are civil and structural engineers for the master plan of the linked Kowloon development. The firm also consults for the air-road-rail transportation interchange, including the station at the end of the MTRC Airport Express line. The
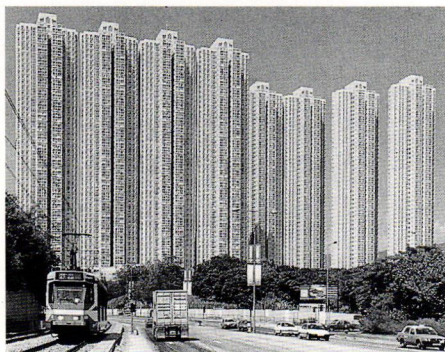
New Tuen Mun Center, Hong Kong. Ng Chun Man & Associates, architect. Ove Arup & Partners, consulting engineers.

Hong Kong Station will be located on reclaimed land in Hong Kong Central, an earlier Arups project. The Hong Kong office manages road and rail bridge engineers in London and Coventry, engineers for the highways and railway in Coventry, and station designers in the London and Cambridge offices.

Ayers continues, "In addition, the firm is active in the People's Republic of China, the Philippines and Thailand, South Korea, Taiwan, Malaysia, Singapore, and Indonesia." Since the advent of China's "Open Door" policy there has been an enormous increase in the rate of development in the Shenzhen Special Economic Zone (SEZ) bordering Hong Kong. This opens the need for transportation links. Hopewell China Development (Superhighway) Ltd. has developed a new toll "Superhighway" linking Guangzhou with

MTRC Airport Express to Chek Lap Kok Airport.

Shenzhen, Zhuhai, and Hong Kong. Ove Arup & Partners worked with the Shenzhen Municipal Engineering Design Institute on the Shenzhen Section. The eastern end of the route crosses an area of fish-ponds that required some twenty bridges along the new highway. Design standards adopted for the Superhighway followed reviews of American, German, British, Hong Kong, and Chinese standards. The firm is, meanwhile, working with British Airports Authority to design the Shenzhen International Airport Terminal.

Hopewell Holdings has also engaged various Arup offices to increase
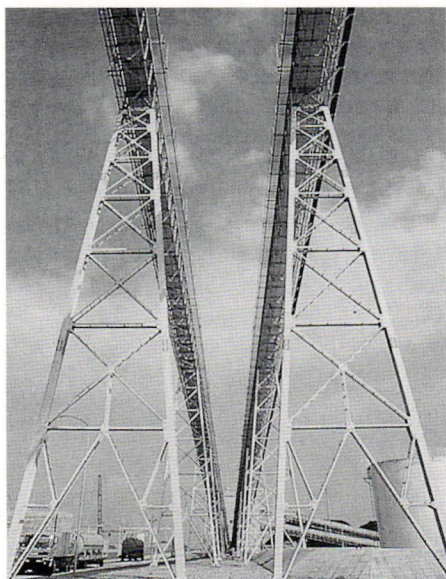
Shajiao 'B' Power Station conveyer system to transport coal to the storage yard.

the power generating capacity throughout Southeast Asia. Five new stations will follow the build-operate-transfer model. Chairman Michael is particularly enthusiastic about OAP's work for Hopewell Power (China) Ltd. Arup has completed the civil works for Shajiao 'B' (2x350mw) and Shajiao C (3x660mw) power stations in China in 1986 and 1995 respectively. Excavation of over one million cubic meters

from a hillside created a rock platform for the turbine generator and boiler structures. The excavated material was used to reclaim the shoreline area to form the remainder of the site. The whole power station is serviced by a network of roads constructed to cope with future settlement of the reclaimed land. In the Philippines, Arup has completed the Navotas Power Station with the Pagbilao Power Station nearing completion and the Sual Power Station just starting. Also a build-operate-transfer project for Hopewell, the 60km Bangkok Elevated Road and Train System involves OAP Hong Kong with a London Task Force and specialists from Bankok, with OAP Los Angeles carrying out the seismic review.

Elsewhere, OAP Kuala Lumpur is engineer for the second phase of a light rail system that includes 12 stations and 11km of viaduct. Also, a multi-disciplinary team is working on the Singapore Mass Rapid Transit Corporations extension to Changi Airport—transit planners, economists, engineers, and rail and bus planners from Arup offices in Melbourne, Singapore, Leeds, Coventry, and London.

THE VALUE OF SEAMLESSNESS?

Working in Asia, the firm has learned that both engineers and architects must tailor their use of materials to match the available local materials. The majority of projects incorporate traditional materials. "It is important to have an understanding of local availability and quality," says Chan. "Homework must be done to prepare for work in overseas locales, especially attention to pressing budgetary constraints. Everyone understands good value—we try to demonstrate this philosophy through smart engineering strategies and sound design principles." This applies to the design of a building, a bridge, or a superhighway.

In order to work internationally and interdisciplinarily, Ove Arup & Partners has developed particular offices into centers of specific expertise that can extend the capacity of the partnership as a whole. Thus, Arup Geotechnics, Arup Transportation, Arups Environmental add to the web of "seamless" practice. Jorgen Nissen, director of the Ove Arup Partnership, discusses the comprehensive and diverse demands on international practice. "We continue to add to our skills. We must do so. Our markets are continuously changing and we must respond to these changes. Environmental issues are now much better understood than they were. The importance of conserving our environment— and even enhancing it—is widely recognized. The public, our ultimate clients, rightly demand a better built environment, and better quality and more amenity from our infrastructure. In the future we shall work to a much wider agenda. Our teams will be even more multi-disciplinary and involve environmental specialists, planners, economists, and so on."

Ove Arup Partnership is celebrating its 50th birthday, the centenary of its founder's birth, and the 10th anniversary of practice in the United States. As Ove Arup Partnership succeeds in stitching together the international firm, increasing possibilities arise for architects in the U.S., and particularly California, to engage in both building design and infrastructure planning throughout the Pacific region.

Based on conversations with Ray Crane from OAP New York office, Jacob Chan and Melani Smith in the Los Angeles office, supplemented by written commentary excerpted from Arup Focus.

"Singapore of Dreams": The Clarke Quay Case

Kenneth Caldwell Interviews
Carol Shen, FAIA

Architecture California *asks Ken Caldwell to share with our readers the first of numerous interviews he has conducted with U.S. architects who are working in Asia for a book in progress,* American Architects in Asia: Completed Projects 1984-1994. *Carol Shen, FAIA, a principal at ELS/Elbasani & Logan Architects, worked with the Singapore architectural/engineering firm RSP and DBS land developer on the development of Clarke Quay. This project is of particular interest because of the Singapore development administrators' commitment to maintain the historic character of the district along a* bend in the Singapore River. The five-blocks of abandoned buildings, rich in character and pedestrian in scale, pose a dynamic counterpoint to the modern high-rises throughout downtown Singapore. Given the attributes of its edges and the historic relationship with shipping and trade, the redevelopment of Clarke Quay oriented toward the river was planned to create an active, "must see" attraction that could bring market activity to the area while preserving the historic character. While respecting the past, this project attempts to add an important new element to the urban fabric of Singapore.
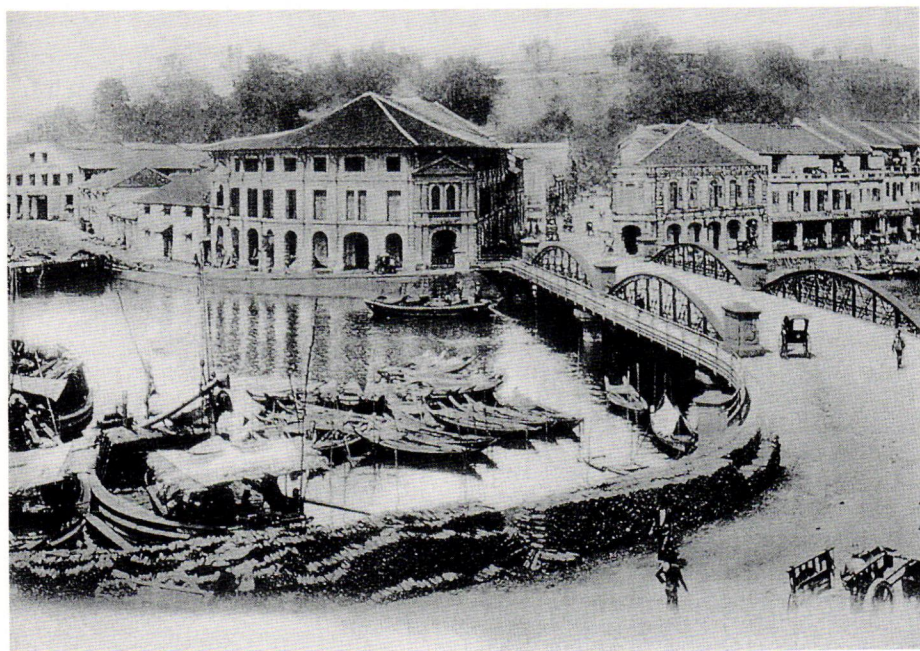
Historic image of Clarke Quay, Singapore.

KENNETH CALDWELL:
Did you actively pursue work in the Far East?

CAROL SHEN, FAIA:
No. Clarke Quay was our first real foray into the Far East. We were reactive, not proactive. ELS was approached by one of the teams that was responding to an RFP from the Singapore government. A large Singapore developer of hotels, residential, and retail projects, in fact the developer for the renovation of the Raffles Hotel, DBS Land, approached RSP, a prominent Singapore-based architecture and engineering firm, looking for a U.S. retail expert.

Why U.S.?

The client decided that American retail expertise would be an advantage to strengthen the team. In Singapore, until very recently, there was not much need for retail expertise. The situation was sort of a "build it, they will come"

approach. Developers were successful just building shell retail space and selling or leasing shop space to tenant operators. A lot has changed since 1989 when we became involved. There is now a surplus of retail space, and market position has become very important.

Was ELS's urban design and historic renovation experience helpful here?

We were invited to participate in the design competition because of our retail experience, but our urban design and renovation background allowed us to develop a strong, balanced scheme and subsequently the final design solution, which integrated many of our areas of experience: retail, urban design, and historic renovation. We were fortunate to collaborate with an excellent local firm, RSP, which took full responsibility for construction documents and acted as liaison with the building authorities.
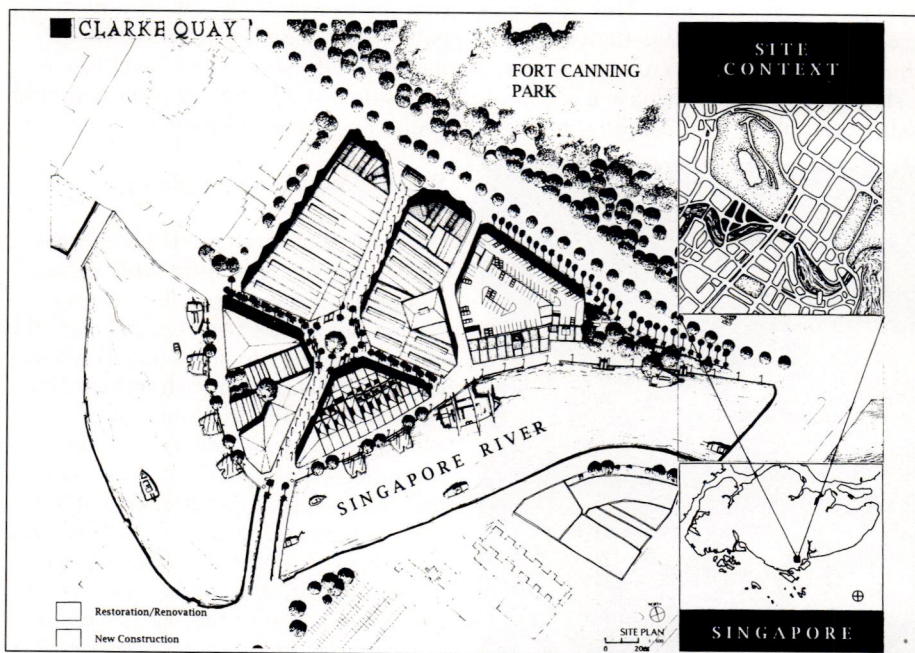
Clarke Quary Site Plan.
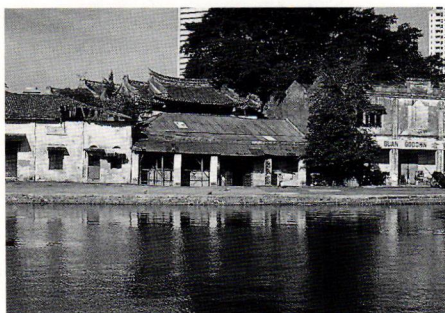
River House with shanty before restoration.

Was this project different than other ELS work?

Yes, in two ways. First, the working relationship with a local architect has typically not been required for our projects in this country. Second, and perhaps more significantly, we designed an entire district. Previously, we had planned entire downtowns or built projects that covered several city blocks. Clarke Quay is a five-block district with dozens of small historic structures to renovate and three large new structures to design. This project is greater in scale and scope than anything we had undertaken in the States. Urbanistically, it is fascinating. One side of the site is bounded by the

Restored River House along the Singapore River.

Singapore River, another abuts a neighboring large hotel and retail center, and the third side faces the busy thoroughfare River Valley Road and the upslope of Fort Canning Park.

Did you rebuild replicas of the original shop houses? Which buildings are authentic and which are invented?

The Urban Redevelopment Authority (URA) was very strict about preserving what was there; bricks, mortar - as much as possible was left of the existing structures. In all the historic buildings, brick party walls were strengthened; foundations and floors were reconstructed; windows, doors and shutters were replaced; and new roofs were installed. After years of abandonment, many of the buildings were on the verge of collapse. The team went to great lengths to keep as much as we could. The plaster is new, and skylights over existing light wells are added. We selected literally dozens of colors so that the project looks muted and variegated, as if maintained over time. A few years of exposure to Singapore's tropical weather and the project should acquire a wonderful patina.

What about the new buildings?

We wanted to reinforce URA's direction and design buildings which would complement the district. In an early scheme we showed brick facades on the new structures which we hoped would match the historic brick buildings. But you can't get old bricks any more. Many design decisions were driven by technology and materials. We finally decided to design the three new buildings with plaster facades, which offered a lot more flexibility in terms of character and cost. We looked carefully at Singapore's turn of the century buildings and the architectural strength of the existing British colonial heritage. In
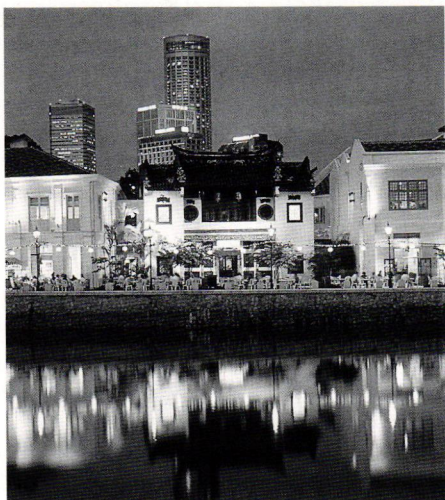
The historic Archives Building.

The new parking garage.

new parking garage, but it's not mimicry. The parking garage, at five stories, the largest new structure, was influenced by the historic Archives Building across the street. The new retail structures facing River Valley Road provide pedestrian arcades and shop frontages where there used to be blank warehouse walls. What is new may be obvious to architects, but if the public doesn't notice and feels comfortable, that's OK with us.

Do you think that the popular success of this project will lead to other work in the Far East?

It may. Thinking of other work opportunities was not a motivating force for us. This project is a good example of adapting historic structures to new programs and uses that are economically more viable today, one of the design objectives our firm pursues. We try to see all of our work as part of a larger objective. Clarke Quay fits well with our goal of creating urban places which are settings that encourage citizens to come together, places that support the city's public life. The conditions—culture, economy, weather—may be different in Asia, but wherever our assignment happens to be, our intentions are the same—creating public places that respond to, fit into, and add to the community. This project, as it happened, was in Singapore.

Do you think that Asian-trained architects have enough expertise to compete with American architects?

Yes, particularly for the technical aspects. They can imitate anything. Of course, some architects are better than others. Where we may be more competitive is in the strategic and analytical work that is an integral part of the retail design process in the U.S., but is not yet fully developed in Asia. Our

designing the new buildings, which are two new retail structures and the car park on River Valley Road, we decided to show that they were indeed new buildings, but ones that complement and do not contrast with the existing historic context. We worked hard to achieve a balance in the design so that the new buildings would be contextual, but not historicist. They take cues from their neighbors, for example the texture and grain of the wall openings in the

Before and after restoration.

theme in urban retail. A year ago, we were invited to compete for the renovation of a modern landmark in downtown Singapore. We wanted to respect the original architect's idea, much as we did recently at San Francisco's Embarcadero Center, while resolving some circulation and merchandising issues and updating other retail features. Our scheme also tried to refer to its place, Singapore. Having worked there for several years, we thought we had a read on this. Ultimately another team was selected whose design was more themed and captured the client's marketing objectives. Within the context of retail commerce, we try hard not to have our designs represent cultural imperialism.

Do you turn down commissions?

Rarely. There seems to be a kind of natural selection process going on in private sector work. Clients who are interested in our sympathetic approach hire us. If they want "flash and trash," they go somewhere else.

Have there been any close calls, where you wanted to resign the commission?

design efforts are not just visual. Our participation on the Clarke Quay team, and on other subsequent design teams in Singapore, has drawn upon our extensive experience with major U.S. retail developers.

Did you try to "theme" your projects in the Far East?

Theming raises a lot of questions for us. In our projects, we do not want to impose a theme from elsewhere; we want each project to reflect the character of the place. On the surface, this is more difficult in ex-urban settings where there may not be any town center, any place. However, it is often the case that clients want an external

Every architect has those. Our practice thrives on repeat clients. So if we stick to it with the good clients, it usually works out. Recently, we completed our first "big box" center in Emeryville. Frankly, we were concerned about this kind of lowest common denominator retail. However, we had prepared urban design plans for the Redevelopment Agency which set out certain principles. This was a huge tract of land where we could continue the city grid and create a framework, the road system, which would serve a more intense future use. In this case, a big box center was the highest economic use for now. We tried to tie the design elements into an industrial vernacular, so

Before and after restoration.

that the project fit in with the nearby warehouses without imitating or replicating them.

Will you continue to pursue work in Asia?

That gets back to exporting inappropriate themes. We will not pursue work in Asia for its own sake. Of course, we recognize that activity is growing in this part of the world. But we are most interested in projects where people need our particular expertise and share our objectives. Every community is unique, and that is where we begin. Years ago, Singapore might have razed Clarke Quay and built something else, and we wouldn't have been involved. This kind of historic urban project is more difficult and more expensive to design and operate, but it creates a different kind of place whose qualities outlast the latest retail fad. We don't want to design places that are excessive or not built right. I think we pursue work, wherever it may be located, that represents enduring and civic-minded values.

Architecture Education in the Pacific Region

W.H. Raymond Yeh, FAIA
Talks with Lisa Padilla, AIA

As dean of the School of Architecture at the University of Hawaii at Manoa (UH), Raymond Yeh leads a diverse student body and faculty representing numerous Asian-Pacific cultures. The School began forty years ago to serve the needs of local firms desiring trained professionals to meet the demands of rapid postwar growth in Hawaii. Today, Honolulu has the largest concentration of U.S. architects in the Pacific. Having recently lectured at several southeast Asian cities, he now shares his thoughts with Architecture California *on architectural education and the East/West exchange of ideas.*

What are your observations concerning architectural education in Asia?

Countries such as Thailand are currently experiencing a tremendous shortage of competent professionals in architecture. To meet the needs of a quickly developing country, Thailand has set into motion a government mandate that is to allocate the equivalent of $42 million U.S. dollars to the country's seven public universities to increase the number of architectural graduates manyfold in the next few years. One of the patterns I observed in Thailand is that recent graduates tend to immediately establish their own practices, rather than joining an existing firm. Licensing requirements are not nearly as rigid as in the U.S. making this an attractive alternative, especially with the availability of new design opportunities.

How would you define the Asia Pacific Region?

The Asia Pacific region is the largest geographic region in the world. If you include India, Mexico and South America, it encompasses virtually half of the world. With the world's economic centers shifting, this region is emerging as a major global economic center. For instance, China has been experiencing a 15 percent annual economic growth over the last several years. Countries such as Taiwan, Hong Kong, Malaysia, Singapore, Thailand and Korea continue a rapid upswing with 6-10 percent annual growth. In comparison, the U.S. and Germany have an annual growth rate of about 2 percent. This global economic shift has caused an increase in international construction contracts in the Asia Pacific area by 25 percent; while there was a corresponding decrease of contracts by about 30 percent in the U.S.

How can students be prepared for practice in the Asia Pacific Region?

Most of the two-hundred architecture students at UH are from Hawaii. Our architecture program is currently developing exchange programs with universities in Taiwan, Hong Kong, Thailand and Australia to enhance the student profile. This will promote an exchange of ideas relevant in cross-cultural practice today and prepare students for doing projects internationally. Economically, Hawaii is currently having a tough time, much like California.

Architectural business tends to be cyclical. There is a real need to broaden the base of service to a regional one from the traditional local base for architectural work. In order to do that well, architects need to address the culture of a place and the inherent local beliefs. Our role as architects is to translate those values into architecture. To date schools of architecture have not taught that well enough. There is a need to understand people first, and then embody the spirit of the place in the design.

Are there mechanisms for the exchange of ideas and ongoing education on Asia Pacific architecture?

Last year, the UH School of Architecture with the East West Center (based in Honolulu and established during the Kennedy administration) and the Honolulu Chapter AIA held a multi-disciplinary symposium entitled "The First International Symposium of Asia Pacific Architecture–The East West Encounter." Over 350 educators and practitioners came from twenty countries to present papers and projects and began a dialogue on design, history, building typology and the emergence of new cities in Asia. This East West Symposium will be held every two years. The Kenneth F. Brown Asia Pacific Culture and Architecture Design Awards program was an international competition held concurrently with the symposium to recognize outstanding examples of contemporary architecture that reflect and enhance their local context, becoming cultural icons of their place and time. Five projects were selected for the honor from five different countries—Australia, Malaysia, Japan, Mexico and Canada. The design architects of these projects will come to lecture and teach at UH during the next year. The symposium will be a biannual event.

How is the role of architecture viewed in Asia?

With the outreach made possible through new media technologies, there are presently more internationally known architects than at any other time in history. Architecture is seen as a commodity in the sense that many Asian cities have brought in international architects to give them what they have already done elsewhere. There is also the beginning of a recognition that this is the wrong approach and that the local "sense of place" needs to be preserved and enhanced.

You were raised in Bangkok, what were the changes on your return?

From the twenty-third floor of Bangkok's new Sheraton Hotel, I could overlook my old neighborhood and boyhood home. At the time, our house was the tallest in the neighborhood with three stories and surrounded by trees. Today the skyline obscures the house as a landmark since the city has had no planning, zoning, or parking regulations. Overbuilt as it is, the city's badly polluted river remains a key orienting element.

Does this change how people navigate through Bangkok?

You either know your way around the city or you don't. Movement through the city by motorcycle is faster than by auto or taxi. People will move in various combinations of transportation, starting by bus, river boat, or taxi, then abandoning that for a motorcycle lift in order to reach their destination faster.

At one time, the city's visual landmarks such as temples were the means by which people oriented themselves in the city. There was no reliance on a numbered address system. These landmarks have slowly become buried

within the new fabric of Bangkok. Though fixed in location, their meanings have been changed in a city undergoing daily upheaval and growth. This transformation is what architects must understand and deal with in order to design effectively in a city like Bangkok.

And your thoughts on the role of an architect in the changing Pacific Region?

The responsibilities of an architect in this rapidly changing world are ever more complex. It is difficult to keep up with the advancement of technology in the practice of architecture. It is even more difficult to fulfill the societal role of architecture. Architecture is more than brick and mortar; it can provide for intellectual and cultural needs beyond the physical realm.

Colonialism has had its day. I hope architects working today in this rapidly growing region will not choose to blindly import styles and impose foreign values.

Architects have the responsibility to take the time to reflect, to understand and ultimately to enhance the values of the local users with their architectural designs. We must not lose sight of the human aspect of architecture or we will relinquish our historic role as architects and become mere building technicians.

Design Trends in Contemporary Chinese Architecture

Pu Miao

Since the 1978 Economic Reform, the Chinese construction industry has been booming. The market growth, along with the relative loosening of ideological control by the Communist Party, supplies a rare opportunity for Chinese architects to produce a group of original works which the world can identify as a "new Chinese architecture," just as occurred for Japan in the '60s. However, many Chinese and western observers have been disappointed by the results of the past 15 years.[1] Based on my research and professional experience in China, this article outlines several characteristics shared by most Chinese contemporary architectural designs, and probes their social and professional causes.

THREE CHARACTERISTICS

By examining recent architectural works—particularly those that have won major Chinese awards or been published in leading professional journals—three common features are evident.

1. IMITATION AS DESIGN APPROACH

Chinese architects in general exhibit a fear of doing anything without stylistic models. The models are usually established architectural conventions that are attached to "appropriate" political or moral meanings: Russian classical for socialism; Chinese traditional revival for nationalism; and high-tech styles for the modernization of China. The generally accepted design process consists of choosing a model and dis-

playing one's talent by making a clever imitation of the model or an ingenious blend of the different vocabularies of conflicting models. The ultimate purpose of the stylistic imitation game is to disseminate certain ideologies. Architectural criticism and competitions in China have further perpetuated the legitimacy of imitation. Architectural writers and competition jurors favor designs that readily fit stylistic labels.

During the schematic design phase of the Great Hall of the People, Beijing (1959), for example, leading Chinese architects selected four models as bases to evaluate schemes. They were "modern Chinese," "modern western" (Modern Architecture), "Chinese classical," and "western classical" styles.[2] Eventually the "western classical" model was chosen because of its similarity to the "socialist realism" of the architecture of Stalin's Russia. Meanwhile, some Chinese palatial decorations were mixed in as a gesture to Chinese nationalism, the other official ingredient of the Chinese communist revolution.

The widely spread trend of imitation has created a design typology very similar to 19th-century European eclectic architecture. Each building type is assigned an appropriate style–Russian classical for government buildings, Chinese classical for cultural institutions and gardens, Chinese vernacular for tourist facilities, traditional building styles of national minorities for projects in areas of those minorities, 1930s Modern for mass housing and utilitarian buildings, and current western
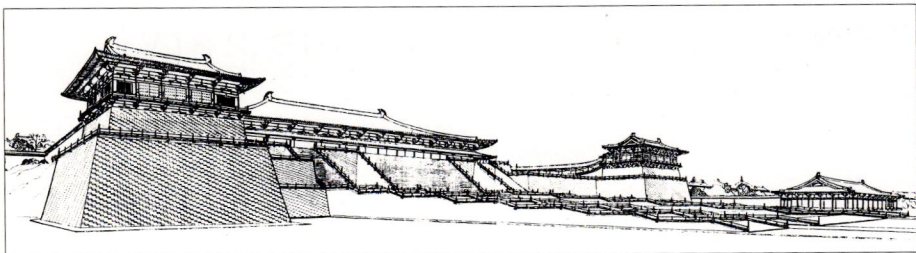
Hanyuan Hall of Daming Palace, Xian (634AD).

fashions (e.g., Postmodernism and Deconstructivism) for buildings with "modern" functions or locations, such as a high-rise commercial building in non-historical location.

The most famous recent examples of this trend are two projects that won several prestigious Chinese architectural awards. Both enjoyed special attention from the government, a lengthy design process, and a generous budget, which only serve to embarrass Chinese architects more because of their mediocrity. The first is the Shanxi History Museum, Xian (1991). Both its general layout and building elevations came
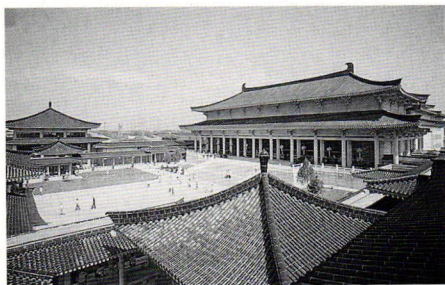
Shanxi History Museum, Xian (1991), by Northwest China Architectural Design Institute.

from the Hanyuan Hall of Daming Palace, Xian. The architect claims that only a historical style is appropriate for a history museum in a historical city.[3] One can only conclude that little progress has been made since those Chinese Classical Revival buildings of sixty years ago.[4] The second well-known imitation is the National Olympic Center, Beijing (1990), which copies its principle concept from the

Japanese architect Kenzo Tange's National Gymnasium, Tokyo (1961). The Chinese clone has awkward proportions, clumsy details, and a faked tensile catenary roof (actually a curved truss system).[5]

2. FAKE DETAILS
Fake details are a necessary byproduct of imitation as a design approach. When an architect transplants a form into a soil where lifestyle, available material and technology, and sustainable resources are completely different from those of the original site, numerous dissonances between the borrowed image
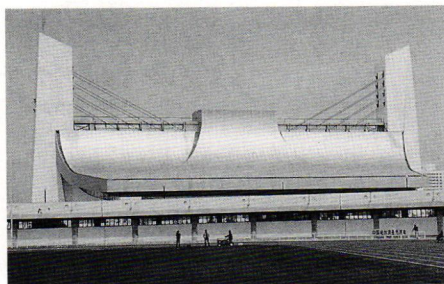
National Olympic Center, Beijing (1990), by Beijing Architectural Design Institute.

and the local conditions are inevitably produced. Without the determination to invent new forms, one can create only false facades to bridge these differences. The Que-li Hotel, Qufu (1984), for example, is a Chinese classical revival design. The traditional sloped roof appears to be made of clay roof tiles laid on wood boards and supported by wood joists under the boards. Since lumber is a scarce build

ing material in today's China, the roof tiles are actually supported by a reinforced concrete shell to which the stucco "joists" were later added.[6]

The 1978 Economic Reform has given birth to many entrepreneurs who are eager to make their properties appear "western" or "modern," meaning high-rise buildings, glass or metal curtain walls, and exposed metal structures. However, the young capitalists in China cannot really sustain the extravagance of a real "western" design in terms of both space allocation and materials. Most Chinese contractors in the previous decades had only dealt with mid-rise brick buildings with a plaster finish; many of them are not familiar with even gypsum wall construction. Thus, we see brick bearing wall buildings made to look like concrete frame or metal ones (by covering the walls with aluminum skins). We see a lobby-like, huge glass curtain facade behind which stands a brick wall with small window openings. We see a six-

Shenzen Development Bank, Shenzhen (1990s), by Huayi Design Consultants, Ltd.

story building made to look like twelve stories by the addition of a continuous canopy in the middle of the window band of each floor.[7] And we see a high-tech elevation with steel frames that have nothing to do with the actual structural system.

3. Affected Manners

Affected manners result from the preference for a certain "atmosphere," or aesthetic "taste," which can only be observed and described phenomenologically. Such preferences of contemporary Chinese architects can be best observed in projects that allow the designers to do something "artistic." The observation is further confirmed by architects' descriptions of their designs, especially in terms of their favorite adjectives. The most sought-after quality often has to do with a weightless, delicate, and genteel appearance, a so-called "youthful" and "cheerful" feeling, or a "grand," "rich" and "luxurious" appeal. In a word, they tend to overdose on sensation, or what I call "affected manners."

The Zhenjiang Hotel (1990) exhibits the typical weightless feeling. The slender members of the skeleton roof (a necessary gesture of the national style), the creamy, smooth surfaces (made of the popular ceramic mosaic), and the streamlined window shapes all contribute to a sense of frivolous lightness. The Shenzhen Railway Station (1993) displays various curves, arches, and round windows on the elevation. But just like the patterns on a stage set, these designs take place only on a thin layer of skin attached to the main body of the building. Unrelated to the structure and function of the building, these artificial shapes with their flimsy appearance and white color create a superficial grandness and variety.

Similarly, instead of exploring an innovative spatial structure, the architectural expressions of the Shanghai Museum (1993) mainly consist of reliefs on
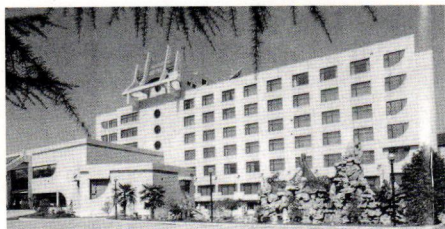
Zhenjiang Hotel, Zhenjiang (1990) by East China Architectural Design Institute.

the walls and four large decorative arches that are supposed to resemble the handles of ancient bronze ware! Almost none of the major public buildings in new China has used the natural appearance of structural material (such as concrete) as an architectural expression.

Why are affected manners problematic? Because they mask the real cultural preferences deeply rooted in the hearts of most Chinese people.[8] Lin Yu-tang and Liang Shu-ming, two keen observ-

Shenzhen Railway Station (1992), by Huayi Design Consultants, Ltd.

ers of Chinese culture, both have stated that simplicity, frugality, and conservatism are among the most prominent "national characteristics" of the Chinese people.[8] In architecture these qualities have best been expressed by the traditional Chinese villages and houses, such as the frank articulation of in-fill walls and framing system, the dark and strong lumber beams and columns, the natural textures of bricks and stones, the sloped roof generated by structure and function, the weighty but also relaxed building stance, and the tranquil neighborhoods and villages enveloped within the endless shades of gray and green.

True, it would be dangerous to confuse contemporary culture with that of feudal times. Nevertheless, many believe that qualities still alive in Chinese people should continue to manifest themselves in the forms of contemporary architecture.

SOCIAL AND PROFESSIONAL CAUSES

The current mediocrity of Chinese architecture can be attributed to problems in the whole Chinese society, as well as in the architectural profession.
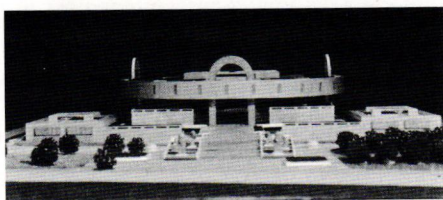
Shanghai Museum (1993), by Shanghai Architectural Design Institute

First of all, these symptoms are the result of a cultural vacuum in today's China. By culture I refer to beliefs shared by the whole society, which include the ideals of lifestyle and aesthetic taste. Cultural values are formulated over a long period by the social class that enjoys the most respect, resources, and leisure in the society, eventually becoming beliefs sustained by the whole society. Moreover, a culture always needs to absorb all the nutritious ingredients it can find from the national and historical heritages bestowed upon it.

The turbulent history of modern China saw the destruction of the old rural gentry and their elegant life style in the early 20th century, but did not allow a stable period long enough for an industrial urban middle class and its culture to establish itself before the 1949 communist revolution took place. The Communists did not create a mature culture of their own due to the failed economic and ideological experi-

ment and the relentless demolition of almost all existing cultural institutions. The lack of continuity in material and ideological culture has created a vacuum. Thus China, a country with a 3,000 year history, finds itself among the most illiterate peoples in the world. Many rich or powerful clients I met in China have only an elementary school education. Most Chinese do not believe in communist propaganda, but they know very little about Confucianism or modern capitalism. The Economic Reform since 1978 has given birth to a new middle class. However, the new elites still need time to improve their own education and to develop a new culture, if not to consider their fragile status in the uncertain climate of Chinese politics and economic policy.

Without much knowledge of or faith in any cultural ideal, past or current, it is no wonder that the majority of the society is absorbed by the quest for material reward, physical pleasure, and political power. None of the major players in the arena, be they the old communist guard, young capitalists, pragmatic government bureaucrats, or foreign investors, feels absolutely safe. What clients demand most from designers is not art works that reflect or construct long-lasting cultural values, but rather symbols that can generate a quick political or commercial sale. To accomplish this goal, the form of the symbols relies on conventions readily and instantly accessible to the ill-educated masses.

However, taking the cultural nihilism in the society in general into account, Chinese architects also need to look into themselves for other explanations of the unsatisfactory state of Chinese architecture. One reason is the inadequate professional training. The architecture schools of Chinese universities enjoyed only a very short period of relative peace between the 1949 Communists' takeover and the 1966-77

"Cultural Revolution." Even within that period education was constantly interrupted by political "cleansings." Teaching was conducted with little information about what was going on outside of China. Today most principals of major Chinese architectural firms are graduates from that period.

Another reason for the present state of Chinesee architecture is the lack of a specifically Modernist tradition among Chinese architects. There are two pivotal moments in the modern history of Chinese architecture. The 1920s saw Chinese students educated abroad returning home to introduce modern architectural practice into China. Three quarters of them were from the U.S. where eclectic architecture dominated (half of the U.S. graduates were from the University of Pennsylvania where Paul Cret taught).[9] In the 1980s when China first opened its door to the outside, Post-modernism was at its peak in the West. Both events, unfortunately, have strongly reinforced the traditional Chinese attitude to revere anything old and to see architectural design as a cosmetic operation aiming at the dissemination of moral messages.

DESIGN FOR TOMORROW

Is there any way for Chinese architecture to get out of the current stalemate? This should be answered with regard to external and internal aspects. Given that social and economic contexts are the infrastructure of any significant cultural development, we have to wait for a new urban middle class confident enough to commission intellectuals to pursue a new set of cultural values for China. However, some Chinese architects will not wait for the golden age to come. Out of the shared critique of the contemporary dominance of imitative style and the sheer human desire to express inner feelings, they are searching

for unconventional or marginal opportunities. Whenever these architects find breakthrough points, they experiment with new architectural languages that somehow respond to the reality of today's China.

Perhaps as a cultural paradigm, genuine art work will expedite the coming of a new shared ideal.[10] As one of these architects trying to reveal the Chinese "spirit" without copying anything, I have used layered spaces, exposed concrete frame with white in-fill walls, and black metal sun screens for the College of Chinese Culture at Shenzhen University (1995). However, both Chinese architects and western observers should realize that the new architectural forms fail to fit into any preconceived, "appropriate" models. As Paul Ricoeur pointed out: "Creativity eludes all definition and is not amenable to planning and the decisions of a party or state."[11]

NOTES

AJ = Architectural Journal (Beijing)
AT = The Architect (Beijing)

1. For example see Academic Committee, Department of Architecture, Qinghua University, "Architecture, Today and Tomorrow," *AT* 33, 6; John Morris Dixon, "Chinese Boom Town," *Progressive Architecture* (September 1994), 49-52; Richard D. Rush, "Shanghai: Home of the Handmade High-rise," *Progressive Architecture* (March 1995), 35-6.
2. Zhang Bo, "Architects' Education," *AT* 12: 5.
3. Zhang Jin-qiu, "Shanxi History Museum," *AJ* (September 1991), 23-4.
4. Such as the Beijing Library (1929) and the Central Museum, Nanjing (1937).
5. Ma Guo-xin, "The Planning of National Olympic Center," *AJ* (September 1990), 13.
6. Zeng Shao-fen, "Three Approaches in Architectural Design," *AT* 36, 3.
7. Xiong Ming, "Problems in Architectural Design," *AT* 2, 72; Bai Zuo-min, "Unity and Variation," *AT* 4, 220.
8. Lin Yutang, *My Country and My People* (New York: John Day, 1935), 39, 43; Liang Shu-ming, *Zhong-guo Wenhua Yaoyi (The Essence of Chinese Culture)* (Hong Kong: Joint Publishing Co., 1989), 22-3.
9. Zhao Guo-wen, "On the 20th-Century History of Chinese Architecture," *AT* 28, 73.
10. Herbert L. Dreyfus, *Being in the World: A Commentary on Heidegger's Being and Time, Division 1* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1994), 338-9.
11. Paul Ricoeur, *History and Truth* (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1965), 281.

College of Chinese Culture, Shenzen Univ. (1995), by SUIAD/Pu Miao. First Floor Plan, South Elevation, Section.

Architecture in the Age of Postmodern Globalism

Hajime Yatsuka

DILEMMA

"Confronted with the possibility of building in Japan, a western architect faces a dilemma," wrote Dutch architect Rem Koolhaas, referring to his housing project in Fukuoka, Japan. The dilemma is as follows; "Should this project be as (western as possible)—is it just another export from Europe to Japan like Van Gogh's paintings, a Mercedes car, or a Louis Vuitton bag—or should it reflect the fact that it is built in Japan?"[1]

Arata Isozaki, who acted as an advocator as well as a master planner for this international project (called NEXUS), once mentioned that there exists a group of architects whom one could call an international architectural Mafia, traveling through the world, being in constant jet lag, participating in major competitions, and sharing first prizes among themselves in turn. It goes without saying that Isozaki counted himself as one of these.

Isozaki's comment underlines the fact that the dilemma Koolhaas felt (or pretended to have felt) is now becoming omnipresent, not only in Japan but also in many other places on earth, perhaps reflecting complicated international trade problems. In the published discussion of the *Progressive Architecture* award jury, of which Koolhaas was a member, there was a polemic on the topic: The American jury seems to have been offended by the manner in which this international "commercial"

use of architecture appears to neglect the local context, while Koolhaas himself simply mentions that it is a situation experienced by no architect in earlier times. The American jury's discomfort was surely not unfounded: Many Japanese international projects in what we call the "bubble economy" period around 1990 were deeply motivated by commercialism. Architects of some celebrity, either domestic or foreign, were actually commissioned to enhance the commercial value of buildings. If he or she were from abroad, they really were foreign imports like Mercedes cars or Louis Vuitton bags.

Koolhaas's evasion, latent with disapproval, was not groundless. His own conclusion to the above-mentioned dilemma was, "As for the first question—western or Japanese— maybe it is no longer interesting, and the '90s could be characterized by the invention of a new transcontinental culture, common to the west and Japan, a montage of elements of both," thus suspending in air the first dilemma. This reaction is natural, because it is almost the only one possible for the western architect who is neither native nor expected to act as such.

GLOBALIZATION AND LOCALITY

The contemporary reality, for me, resides halfway between these two reactions. The reality is that we no longer have specific and inevitable ties with

local tradition in this era of globalization, and the reality also is that there remain local biases that won't and can't be erased by this process of globalization. The biases could be multi-valent and multi-layered, from different living styles and social customs of using space, to different architectural "dialects" reflecting different building methods, materials, techniques and so on.

I myself had the opportunity to work on the design staff for the Museum of Contemporary Art in L.A. by Isozaki. It was only by chance that after six years I saw the completed MOCA, because I left Isozaki's office after the design development stage was finished. At the moment of my first encounter with the building, I felt as if I were seeing Isozaki speaking not in Japanese, our mother tongue, but in English. This might have been due to subtle differences in details and materials, not a deliberate differentiation but accidental difference of construction standards between Japan and the U.S.

This problem of translation is likely to befall architects more than artists, who can depend on private means. Of course it might have been possible to minimize this problem, if the design team had worked very carefully as if they were carrying that building from the home-country. Other Japanese architects like Tadao Ando and Fumihiko Maki, both of whom are more detail-and-material-oriented than Isozaki, seem to have carried their projects abroad in this way. They were earnest enough to try to export exactly the same quality of goods as they produce in the home-country. This does not, however, mean that Isozaki, who may have been more tolerant or nonchalant of these issues, was necessarily any less faithful (or commercial as in the *PA* commentary). There may simply be different approaches to the cultural interchange: Is the Japanese who insists on speaking only Japanese more faithful than the one who enjoys speaking English, even if it is broken? By this I am not necessarily referring to Isozaki. These questions are common today, especially in postmodern consumer society, because this culture is underlaid with small and sophisticated differences.

COMMERCIALISM AND LIVING: SIGNIFICANCE OF THE POSTMODERN

Let us turn once again to the Koolhaas-related housing project NEXUS, to see what happened. Four additional architects were invited from abroad: Mark Mack and Steven Holl from the U.S., Christian de Portzamparc from France, Oscar Tusquets from Spain, and Osamu Ishiyama from Japan. Mark Mack, a California architect, seemed to have decided to "speak" exactly as he does in the U.S. Although he suffered from speaking a foreign tongue (because he was not allowed to use painted timber in the exterior wall and replaced it with metal siding), the completed building was quite straightforward, which I didn't dislike. But for the Japanese consumer—Japanese people today buy expensive flats as commodities to sell—his frank California English (I am not sure if it is mixed with the accent of his native language, German) sounded too substantial and lacked gentrified charm. Oscar Tusquets enjoyed greatest popularity, simply because his design—with its European chicness—appealed to the consumers. Apparently it was not the architect's wish to be favored as an imported commodity, because he seemed to be offended when I pointed out that his buildings would sell best before construction began.

Maybe I should add that I have sympathy for these architects and do not doubt their dedication to their work. Nor am I of the opinion that

such results, which are definitely beyond the architects' intentions, are simply deplorable symptoms of evil commercialism. If we were to set definite barriers between different milieus, without any doubt this act would deprive us of real architectural advances in the contemporary culture of globalism. Although commercialism may have caused much stupid and unhappy confusion, it is impossible to deny that it plays an important role in distributing ideas and talents in this world circuit.

For example, Tadao Ando's success was actually mediated by a faction of Japanese postmodern commercial culture—the fashion industries. Without their support, the present day Ando would never have been possible.[2] I am skeptical of our right to criticize these people for consuming Ando's architectural images instead of rightfully living. While it is true in most cases that images for consumption are still executed in Disneyland style (as are typically shown in large commercial developments—the aesthetics of gentrification), it is ridiculous to believe that we can make a precise distinction between the image and substance of our lives. And it is obviously too naive to believe that living on image is bad and living on substance is right.

Modernists, from Theodor Adorno to Kenneth Frampton, have been very critical of commercial activities and industries. But for me, contrary to the western interpretation that ties it to the revival of historicist language, postmodernism is nothing but the age in which capitalism has achieved maturity, in which commercialism could (at least on occasion) assume another form from its vulgar origins. Wasn't it more that half a century ago that Disneyland was conceived as an alternative "utopian image" to communism? Postmodern culture is based on a subtle shift in the traditional notions of identity and

locality. People are simply *living in a different air*. In this air, the Disneyland paradigm (variations on a theme park as advocated by Michael Sorkin) appears as something obsolete.

HYPOTHETICAL CONCLUSION

Of course I am talking with some exaggeration. But if Japanese capitalism were to succeed in achieving the posthistorical stage of capitalism, which is an ideology of "eternal present," it has to occur this way. In the recent *Architectural Design* article "British Architecture in Exile,"[3] which focuses on British architects' works abroad, Wil Alsop, who enjoys an international (at least on the scale of the EC) success today, deplores his home country's situation: "As this grip of monetarism and market forces has taken hold of decision making in the British Isles, the role of the manager has increased in importance. Personally, I find this an absolute insult to myself and to my profession." This, as will be partially underlined by another British architect later, is a different situation from that which we have in Japan. Is Great Britain, the country that gave birth to capitalism, failing to progress to another stage? Obviously, someone might argue against my naive observations that this story of the rehabilitation (sanctification?) of capitalism in Japan is, if it were ever true, now an old story that became obsolete after the bankruptcy of Japan's bubble economy. Possibly. But apart from the argument on economy and commerce, the problem of the architectural culture in this age of globalism is still not settled.

Tom Heneghan, another British architect currently living and working in Tokyo, writes, "Such visionary initiatives are almost inconceivable in the UK," in the above-mentioned *Architectural Design*. "Such visionary initiatives" are a series of public building

commissions initiated in two of about fifty prefectures in Japan: Kumamoto (Artpolis projects) and Toyoma (Machino-Kao, "Faces of Towns"). Heneghan is involved in both. I am acting as director on the Kuamamoto project with Isozaki acting as a commissioner. While Artpolis contains five commissions for foreign architects among about fifty projects, all of the Toyama projects, though much more modest in size, were commissioned to foreign architects. (To name several of them: Piano, Lapena & Torre, Gigantes & Zenghelis in Kumamoto; the late Herron, Benson & Forsyth, Miralles in Toyama. In another similar kind of project in Nagasaki, Michael Rotondi of L.A. was commissioned). These are not commercially-motivated projects and are still ongoing in spite of Japan's economic recession. But, of course, I am not referring to these to boast of the "visionary initiative" of our statesmen (this is not the case in general, sorry to say), nor to refute the claim that our architectural air is still fresh as Heneghan mentioned. Rather, I believe that these cases exemplify the nature of international projects today.

A good example is the project of Heneghan himself. This is a series of buildings belonging to the prefectural Grassland Agricultural Institute; sheds for cows, calves, and horses, built in the foothills of Mt. Aso in a beautiful natural setting. We (Isozaki and I) coordinated his commissions not to add more internationalist projects to this provincial area, but to have buildings that perfectly fit the landscape, an endeavor for which we believe British people have an amazing sensibility. Heneghan's works are a pleasing contrast to more international works by domestic architects like Kazuo Shinohara, whose designs could be built any place in the world regardless of its local context. In this case the choice of Heneghan was more suitable

to the local context than the choice of domestic designer. This refutes the conventional idea that domestic issues can only be manipulated by local people, which I believe shows only a lack of imagination and understanding of contemporary culture. Koolhaas's hypothetical conclusion that the problem of "dilemma" is no longer interesting could surely be acceptable.

NOTES

1. Koolhaas's comment is published in *Nexus World* (Fukuoka Jisho Real Estate, 1991).
2. See my article "Architecture as Social Reality," in *JA Library* 1993.
3. *Architectural Design* 65 (1995).

Derivative or Imitative?
Modern Architecture in Chile

Rene Davids

While the Pacific Rim is comprised of countries from the Americas, Oceania, Australia and Asia, it is quite common to hear the term used exclusively in relation to the American-Asian connection. With a 2600 mile long coast and a breadth of only 250 miles at its widest, Chile has a much longer Pacific Coast than the continental U.S., and a legitimate claim to be considered an important part of the Pacific basin.

Much has been written about work opportunities for American architects in Asia, the indifference of Asian clients to their own traditions, and the excitement created by the prospect of building the new in the Far East. These attitudes are prevalent in many of the developing nations and certainly in Chile. However, I would like to suggest that when local practitioners appear to be designing in the manner and style of the First World, a creative reinterpretation to their own culture may often be at play.

At the southern tip of South America, Chile is far removed from both Europe and America, to which it is historically and economically linked. Running along its border with Argentina are the Andes, among the tallest mountains in the world. This barrier creates a sense of isolation further intensified by the distance separating the common borders with Peru and Bolivia from the centers of population in each country.

An economic boom hit Chile in the mid 1980s during the final years of the military dictatorship of General Augusto Pinochet. The free market policies that brought economic success have since been continued by the two democratically elected governments which succeeded him. Today the country is regarded by many analysts as a Latin "economic tiger" comparable to Asian countries like Korea and Singapore. From an almost exclusive reliance on copper exports in the late 1970s the Chilean economy diversified to the extent that in 1994 Chile's economy was assessed to be the most competitive in Latin America.

The economic change has had a dramatic impact on the landscape of Santiago, Chile's capital of almost 5 million inhabitants. Founded in 1541, the city grew through periods of boom and bust, gradually extending its metropolitan area. During the 1980s Santiago departed from its traditional growth pattern as large amounts of land were added to its core at an accelerated pace. By merging existing suburban areas with the traditional downtown, the new expansion differed from all previous annexations. Driving this change was the movement of large numbers of the Chilean middle class from outlying areas to high-rise apartments in the city center, in contrast to the American pattern of middle class flight from downtown. With security a major issue, Santiaguinos found that high-rise residential blocks could be easily and cheaply monitored by guards. Much of the new work from the last 15 years has occurred in these recently densified urban areas.

Unlike some other Latin-American countries, Chile has had few architects

of world renown. With no obvious talents like Uruguay's Eladio Drieste, Brazil's Oscar Niemayer, or Mexico's Luis Barragan, nor any stars in exile such as Peru's Henri Ciriani in France or the Argentinean César Pelli in the United States, Chile's architects have played a secondary role even in Latin American terms. Borja-Huidobro and Emilio Duhart, Chilean architects working with Paul Chemetov and practicing mainly in Paris, have become respected figures, but their work, uneven and too closely associated with the rationalist movement and Le Corbusier, has failed to lead and inspire. Should this perceived lack of individual genius be interpreted as the absence of creativity or collective genius?

Isolation, a colonial past and an ambition to be considered part of the developed Western world have made Chile's modern architecture particularly susceptible to foreign influence. Ideas are imported into the country by the immigration of foreign architects, the return of Chilean architects who have studied abroad, and through books and publications. The product of these influences, Chilean architecture often appears alien, out of context or suffering from lack of originality. This has been a recurrent and continuous source of pain in intellectual circles. Sergio Larrain Garcia-Moreno, an influential Chilean architect, and author of the first modern movement building in Chile, wrote in 1937: "We used to import ornamentation from Europe, or the United States; today it is the plan, the structure materials, and the artistic will. The building is in sync with itself but not with our climate, or our character. Reactions or revolutions, techniques, formulas, and manifestoes in Europe or the US are what interests us. We are repetitive people; if our forefathers imitated stuccoes, we have opted to imitate everything. We have science and that makes us more responsible."[1]

When polled in 1972 a third of Chilean architects believed Chilean architecture had made no contribution to modern architecture. Twenty percent thought Chilean architects had played a social role, and fifty percent believed Chilean architecture had some national features, but when pressed for characteristics could only come up with terms such as "simplicity" or "sobriety."[2]

Such lack of confidence on the part of architects in relation to their creative contribution is a reflection of inflated expectations: a national obsession with a search for pure authenticity and clear ethnic expression which sees foreign influence as a kind of malignant tumor and hybrids as sick bodies. Ironically, this attitude has obscured achievements and diverted focus from the less readily discernible but truly creative aspects of the culture. Historian Christopher Wilson observes an analogous phenomenon in this country, where the search for an official authentic style in Santa Fe, New Mexico, has interfered with the creative hybridization among indigenous, Hispanic and Anglo-American influences.[3] Careful analysis reveals that foreign influences in the architecture of Chile are often absorbed only to re-emerge in substantially different but appropriate forms. The following examples illustrate this point.

Spanish colonization of Santiago had proceeded in accordance with the Law of the Indies. Urban blocks were developed with contiguous adobe buildings along their perimeters and inner patios or yards within. As the city grew and densified the courtyards became a potential resource for real estate speculation. Given the large size of Santiago's urban grid (125 X 125m), arcades developed in France at the beginning of the nineteenth century were ideal vehicles to open and colonize the interior of the block. A covered, skylighted passage with shops on either side, arcades afforded shade during the

summer, protection from the weather, and safety from vehicular traffic. Some splendid examples were built. Pictures of the Pasaje San Carlos of 1870 by Ricardo Brown show a magnificent building indistinguishable from its European antecedents. Chilean arcades were still adapting readily to the requirements of modern life in the 1950s, at a time when American and European arcades were decaying or demolished. While in Europe theatres were occasionally attached to arcades, as in the Galerie St. Hubert in Brussels, the cinema next to the Pasaje Windsor in Santiago featured light displays during breaks, extending the world of modern technology, illusion, and magic into the public space of the arcade.

Chilean arcades had become even more popular by the early 1980s, by which time a new derivative form had emerged. Arcades or *pasajes* (passages) had traditionally penetrated the urban block to connect existing streets and intensify movement through the fabric. *Caracoles* or "snails" as the new arcades were called, inserted themselves

Pasaje San Carlos, 1870. Photos, Ricardo Brown.

into the urban tissue to produce large interior spaces for the city. *Caracoles* were developed as ascending spiral promenades with small shops along the entire path. In the center of the spiral is a large public space such as a cafe, and the roof is crowned by a skylight. More akin to Frank Lloyd Wright's Guggenheim Museum than to the traditional arcade, these structures had shop windows where the museum would display paintings. The walls had the depth required for a small retail establishment. *Caracoles* were made possible by particular economic conditions and a strong urban tradition of arcades.

In the 1950s suburban living became increasingly popular in Santiago. The tradition of domestic buildings placed continuously along the perimeter of urban blocks was supplanted by houses or isolated apartment structures surrounded by gardens. To protect buildings from vandalism, plots were surrounded by walls and fences, reinforcing existing cultural predilections. Houses looked substantially like their
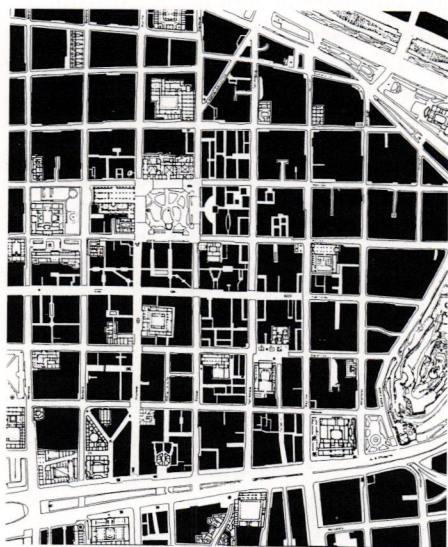
Buildings and arcades in central Santiago.
Courtesy, doctoral dissertation by José Rosas, Barcelona 1986.
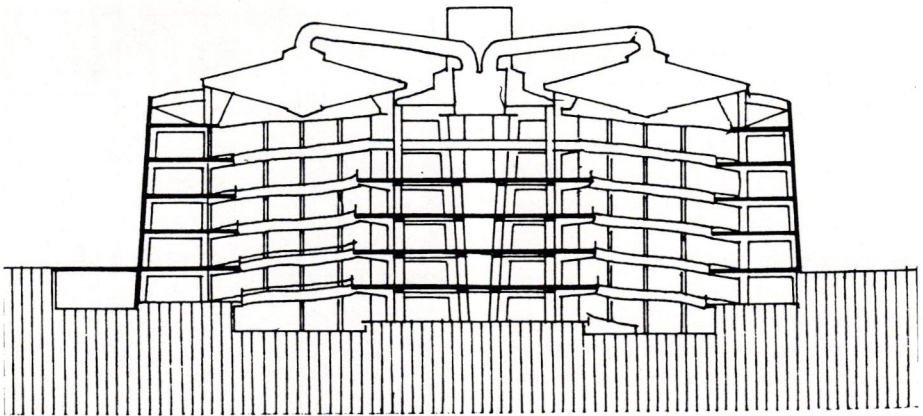
Edificio Dos Caracoles. Larraín Swinburn and Covarrubias Architects, 1976.

Anglo-Saxon antecedents with their plans reflecting local social structure. Maids' rooms, for example, were located near kitchens and close to the main door, making clear social and functional distinctions between cooking, dining, and servant areas. Planned in this way and built out of reinforced masonry, suburban houses felt both more substantial and more rigid than their American counterparts.

In a phenomenon reminiscent of the development of bungalow courts in California, courtyards of attached or row houses also emerged in the '50s in suburban settings to accommodate people with lower incomes. Their layout and iconography were clearly inspired by Raymond Unwin's Hampstead Garden Suburb, and these buildings seemed to draw additional inspiration from the urban courtyard tradition. They kept alive a form which reinforced a sense of community for the houses surrounding the common open space.

It is within this tradition that Fernando Castillo Velasco made his contribution. His architectural reputation was established as a member of a well known Chilean firm of the 1950s and '60s, Bresciani, Valdés, Castillo, Huidobro. The firm's best known housing scheme, Unidad Vecinal Portales (1957), consisted of large slab-blocks placed in a parklike setting connected with "streets in the air." In an attempt to resolve the housing problem by large scale developments and unmistakably inspired by the work of Le Corbusier and Allison and Peter Smithson, these reinforced concrete structures adopted the social principles of the Modern Movement.

Upon his return from Britain where Fernando Castillo had taken up exile during the military dictatorship, his social concerns were expressed in smaller scale developments in the Comuna of La Reina, a semi-rural area of Greater Santiago of which he had been the mayor during the 1960s. Impressed by Britain's brick construction and equipped with new references, including Ralph Erskine's Claire College in Cambridge where he had lived during some of his years abroad, Castillo Velasco began to develop small groups of brick buildings called *communidades*. These ensembles were developed for middle class people interested in participating in the design of their environment and willing to share land among themselves. The aim was to integrate their housing with the semi-rural character of the area. With one exception, the *communidades* were built of exposed cheap reinforced brick

masonry, with metal roofs and wooden doors and windows, often incorporating recycled material. Design emphasis was placed on shared communal spaces. Conceived as backdrops to the pleasures of daily life rather than as sculptural objects, the houses contain sequences of single and double height spaces, covered and uncovered patios, and a rich relationship to natural light and the surroundings. The design of the houses is clearly indebted to Brutalism and the Maison Jaoul of Le Corbusier (1956) in particular, although the quality of the building and detailing is significantly poorer.

By coming together voluntarily and participating in the design process of the whole development and of each house, the people in the *communidades* make lifetime commitments to share more than the a fence, security, and real estate interest. Most *communidades* share a park, playground facilities, and a field for soccer and other games. Community participation has become popular as a means to accelerate the political process of getting individuals approved, but it is rarely a part of middle class housing developments where market research dominates all production. The type and scale of developments, the relationship to the
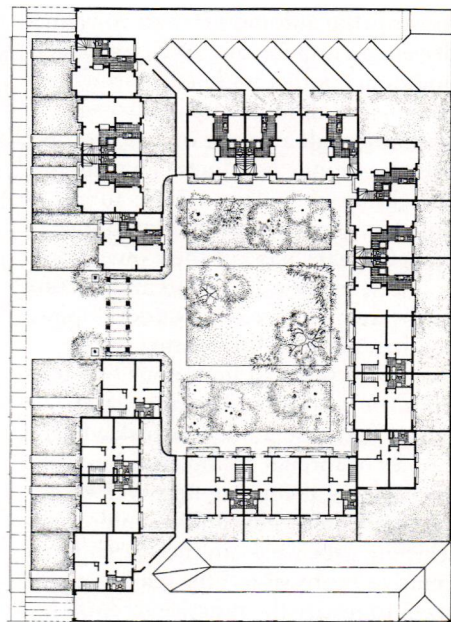
Casas entre medianeros. F. Castillo, P. Labbé, F. Vergara, E. Castillo, H. Varela, architects, 1977.

land, the formal expression, craft and individual detail, the attempts to recycle materials, the spatial sequences were all in opposition to the ideals of Castillo Velasco's pre-exile work. However, in the continuous pursuit of a social framework for his work, this architect found a form unique and particularly appropriate to the physical, cultural, and social context for which it was designed.

Caracoles and *communidades* illustrate creative adaptations by local architects over long periods of time. *Caracoles* illustrate the process by which a European urban building type was first copied, then transformed, and finally evolved into an authentically original expression. The *communidades* of Fernando Castillo Velasco are more eclectic in their borrowings and more diffused in their innovation.

The German magazine *Architekt*[4] describes architecture in the second half of this century in Santiago and Lima as "Americanized," oriented
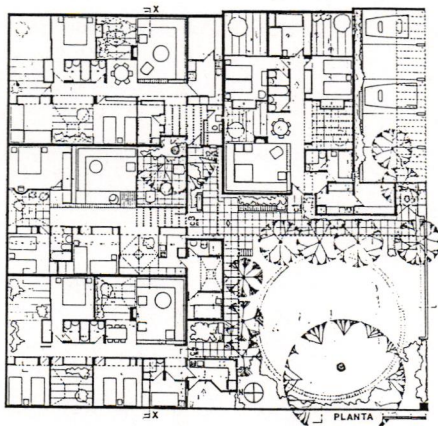
Housing at Av. Sanchez Fontecilla. Alberto Cruz Eyzaguirre, architect.

towards the automobile, and consumer-driven; an architecture of chaotic alien bodies in conflict with its environment—a traditional city ready to reclaim through a patina of dust the once pristine strange buildings. This unkind perception of Andean architecture is only marginally in conflict with the view Chileans have of their own work.

Yet, to regard Chilean architecture or the architecture of most developing countries in the 20th century exclusively as a series of imitations or variations on European, American, and, lately, Japanese models is misleading. Copies of foreign architectural models do occur, and copying may well be a necessary step—not unlike children's learning processes—in the search for creative expression. This reality might seem to justify the practice of employing foreign architects in developing countries as the most efficient way to import ideas. But, in that respect, the Chilean example seems important in distinction from much of what is occurring in Asia: the great majority of foreign architects practicing in Chile are immigrants who have made a commitment unlikely to be made by architects entering a country exclusively for economic gain.

It is difficult for people belonging to one culture to fully understand the needs and peculiarities of another, and it cannot be achieved in the relative short period of time it takes to design a building. This distinction is fundamental because only a genuine and lasting commitment of architects to the place of their creative activity can produce the cultural enrichment that occurs with the intermingling of different traditions and cultural values.

NOTES

1. "El edificio guarda unidad con si mismo, su plano y estructura corresponden a su aspecto, pero no guarda unidad con nuestro suelo, ni con nuestro carácter, o por lo menos , no procura guardarla, sólo le interesa estar de acuerdo con lo último que se hace de revolucionario de Europa, con la técnica de que allí o en U.S.A. se dispone, con la formula de los sabios, con el manifiesto de los artistas. Somos repetidores; si nuestros antepasados imitaban los estucos, nosotros lo imitamos todo. Sólo tenemos mas ciencia que ellos y eso nos hace mas responsables." Eliash Humberto, *Moreno Manuel Arquitectura y modernidad en Chile 1925-1965. Una realidad multiple* (Santiago: Ediciones Universidad Católica de Chile), 32.

2. Koch Ximena, " Opiniones representativas de arquitectos chilenos,"*AUCA 22,* 1972.

3. See Christopher Wilson, "When a room is the Hall," *Mass* Journal of the School of Architecture and Planning, University of New Mexico, Summer 1984, 17-23.

4. Cuadra-Kochansky Manuel, "Architektur zwischen Elend und Glanz," *Architekt* 6 June 1988, 390-396.

Architecture Journals: The Means for Discourse in Latin America

Ramón Gutiérrez
Translated by Richard Ingersoll

To obtain a history of contemporary architecture in Latin America requires an examination of the contents of architecture magazines published since the beginning of this century. This does not imply that periodicals could replace the unimpeachable testament of the works themselves, but these sources offer the best access to the theoretical outline that guides the works, the major ideas of their creators, and quite often the basic materials used for study or preparation (plans, original photos, and earlier projects). Periodicals are also useful for their mixture of theoretical texts, criticism, records of competitions, unbuilt projects, debates, and manifestos. They constitute a substantial portion of architectural culture at any given historical moment. There are also many books that could at least partially duplicate this documentary function, and in recent decades there have been forays into other types of media as well, such as television programs, videos, and regular newspaper columns devoted to architecture.

The widening universe of architectural magazines presents distinct points of origin that show varying points of view over time. There are four types of architectural magazines published in Latin America. Those that have survived the longest are typically sponsored by the professional associations of their respective countries. The oldest continuing magazine in Latin America is *La Revista de Arquitectura* of the

Sociedad de Arquitectos del Uruguay, founded in 1914, followed by *Arquitectura Cuba* of the Unión de Arquitectos e Ingenieros, in print since 1917. *La Revista de Arquitectura* of the Sociedad Central de Arquitectos de Buenos Aires was published from 1915 until 1962, and recently resumed publication under the same name. Another type of magazine, which forms the biggest group, emerges from the architecture schools of universities. In general, these publications have a more ephemeral life due to the instability of their editorial staffs, who graduate or move on to new positions. A third type of magazine is funded through private organizations and study centers. The lives of these publications tend to be fairly tenuous, as they are tied to uncertain financing. And, finally, there are commercial magazines sustained by corporate publishers, which are characterized by their large print-runs and wide circulation. The continuity and frequency of these publications are connected to the market and their ability to adapt to it.

Derived from a study I recently completed on eighty-five architecture magazines in Latin America, these categories help to distinguish the various modalities of magazines. The study reveals the way in which these magazines influence and reflect thought about architecture in this century. Institutional magazines with captive audiences (i.e., the members of their organizations)

generally follow architecture fashions eclectically, unless the organizations' leaders have strong ideological positions, in which case the magazine may assume combative positions and include avant-garde contradictions to the professional status quo. Such magazines may also, in the other extreme, represent only the prevailing positions or trends.

These magazines reveal important processes of change: for example, the student initiative's imposition of neocolonial tastes on *Revista de Arquitectura* (Buenos Aires, 1915) early this century; or the transformation in 1960 of *Arquitectura Cuba* after the Cuban Revolution. Commercial publications probably best reflect the cultural initiatives of contemporary architecture. The first theoretical movement for *el colonial* to confront the academicism of Beaux Arts was expressed in *El Arquitecto* (Buenos Aires) in 1920-25. This movement was subsequently redirected into the "mission style" or "Californianism" through the direct influence of North American magazines and *Casas y Jardines* (Buenos Aires, 1937).

Rationalist thought was diffused through shortlived publications such as *Tecné* (Buenos Aires, 1942-44) and other, more enduring publications such as *Nuestra Arquitectura* (Buenos Aires, 1929-83), which also initiated discussion on mass housing. Around this latter theme emerged *El Arquitecto Peruano* (Lima, 1938-64), founded by Fernando Belaúnde Terry, who was twice elected the president of his country, underlining the importance that the magazine had played in approaching the problem of housing and in defining the collective work and "popular action" of the country's poor inhabitants.

The definitive presence of the modern movement in Latin America was captured in *Integral* (Caracas, 1955-57), *Acropole* (San Pablo,

1950-80), *Habitat* (São Paulo, 1950-80), *Proa* (Bogotá, 1946), *Arquitectura* (Mexico, 1938-72), *A* (Caracas, 1954-55), *Nueva Vision* (Buenos Aires, 1955-58), *Arquitectura y Planificacion* (La Paz, 1947-48), *Espacios* (Mexico, 1952-56), *Arquitectura y Construcción* (Santiago de Chile, 1945-50), and *Arquitectura de Hoy,* the Spanish edition of *L'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui* (Buenos Aires-Paris, 1947-49). These periodicals expressed the ideas of the Latin American pioneers of modernism, including Carlos Raúl Villanueva and Jorge Romero Gutiérrez of Venezuela, Mario Pani of Mexico, Tomás Maldonado of Argentina, Emilio Villanueva of Bolivia, Lina Bo Bardi of Brazil, and Carlos Martinez of Colombia. *Módulo* (Rio de Janeiro, 1955), founded by Oscar Niemeyer, represents a special case, as it served to disseminate information on his work at Brasília and promote the career of its founder.

During the 1960s, commercial publications opened new thematic areas. Some were solid enterprises such as *Punto* (Caracas, 1961) and *SUMMA* (Buenos Aires, 1963-93), which combined information with criticism. Under the direction of Marina Waisman, *SUMMA* issued several thematic monographs and a series of supplements on theory and criticism, entitled *Cuadernos SUMMA-Nueva Vision,* and, the highest expression of this genre, *Summarios*. In 1962 the Bogota-based book publisher Escala launched a line of thematic monographic magazines with inserted portfolios that have become magazines in themselves. The theoretical debate has been further enhanced by *Cuadernos de Escala*, published by *Proa* in Colombia. *AUCA* (Santiago de Chile, 1965), a private commercial enterprise, and the university-affiliate *Arquitectura Autogobierno* (Mexico, 1976). Both

are involved with universities, and are of ideological importance.

Other, related professional fields have been integrated into the architecture discourse through a dynamic process. With regard to the historic plan, there is *Anales* of the Instituto de Investigaciones Estéticas, UNAM (Mexico, 1938), and the research of the Instituto de Arte Americano (Buenos Aires, 1948). To this tradition could be added *Boletín* by the Centro de Investigaciones Históricas (Caracas, 1964-86), *Apuntes* (Bogotá, 1975), and *Documentos de Arquitectura Nacional y Americana,* or *DANA* (Resistencia, 1973), which covers issues related to urban history and the preservation of the historic patrimony. *(DANA is noteworthy for its "Atila" prize, bestowed annually to the project that has done the most damage to Latin American architecture culture.)*

Regarding the debate on ecology and the environment, the magazines *A-Ambiente* (La Plata, 1977), *Boletín de Medio Ambiente y Urbanización* (Buenos Aires, 1982), and *Arquitectura del Paisaje* (Bogotá, 1990) signal an important turn toward interdisciplinary thought. The pioneering *Urbanismo y Arquitectura* (Santiago de Chile, 1939-48) was among the first publications to approach urbanism and planning, topics that were expanded upon by university magazines such as *Urbana* (Caracas, 1982), *Rua* (Salvador-Bahía, 1988), and *EURE* (Santiago de Chile, 1974). Moreover, many publications devoted to graphic, textile, or industrial design began to annex the topic of architecture, as in the case of *Diseño UAM* (Mexico, 1983) and *Diseño* (Santiago de Chile, 1987).

The magazines with the largest circulation, such as *Projeto* (São Paulo, 1977) and *CA* of the Colegio de Arquitectos de Chile (Santiago, 1968) are sufficiently broad in scope to in-

clude theoretical texts, presentation of works, institutional news, and architecture criticism. They generally do not endorse trends; rather, they eclectically express the image of current architecture production. Some commercial and university publications also cover a wide range of work and ideas. Some examples are *Trama* (Quito, 1982), *ARQ* (Santiago de Chile, 1980), *Arquitecturas del Sur* (Concepcón, 1983), *AU* (São Paulo, 1985), *A-U* (Havana, 1990), *SVA-CAV* (Caracas, 1961), *El Arqa* (Montevideo, 1991), *ARS* (Santiago de Chile, 1977), *Hito* (Bogotá, 1984), *Trazo* (Montevideo, 1979), and *Arquitectura Boliviana* (Santa Cruz de la Sierra, 1988). Now-defunct magazines that fulfilled similar roles include *Trama* (Buenos Aires, 1983-90), *Arquitectura* (Rio de Janeiro, 1961-69), *Calli* (Mexico, 1959-70), *Arquitectos Méxicanos* (Mexico, 1960-68), Cota Cero (Asunción, 1978-83), and *Habitar* (San José de Costa Rica, 1976-92).

Architecture publishing today is substantially different than it was in the past insofar as there now exists a certain *esprit de corps* among Latin American magazines that allows them to collaborate and to collectively emphasize Latin American architecture. Many magazines collaborate (like *CA* and *Trama)* or participate in common events and meetings, such as the Seminarios de Arquitectura Latinoamericana (SAL) and the biennial exhibitions of Quito and Santiago. All of this has contributed to widening communication and forging solidarity among architecture magazines, which establishes a unique condition: the capacity to work from a common base and the coincidence of themes in the dissemination of architectural culture.

The notorious vacuum that grew around Latin American culture in the 1970s was reversed by a frankly "Latin Americanist" interest in the decade that

followed. The recuperation of ecological themes and the search for appropriate technologies; the question of cultural identity and the preoccupation with historic patrimony were consolidated into debates occurring at the heart of the profession and of architecture education. As a result, architecture magazines broadened their coverage of urban matters, which had previously been confined to specialized publications. More editorial attention was given to urban and environmental issues, where the impact of design on urban development is evident. Magazine columns were filled with criticism of large-scale real estate developments, the passive role of municipalities in the construction of cities, the deterioration of public space, and the lack of concern for the common good. It is probable that this publishing activity subtly discouraged, either by omission or discontinuity, the debate surrounding postmodernism and deconstructivism, which the publications recognized to be frivolous and ephemeral.

In constructing an architecture culture that is both autonomous and universalist, there has been a tendency on the part of publications to concentrate on a precise understanding of Latin American reality and the spirit of place. Rather than universalize an abstract modernity, the idea of an *appropriate modernity* resonates with many in this phase of critical reflection. The idea of *regionalism* was then dragged into the debate, and persists to this day. This interjection of social consciousness into professional reality is no doubt conditioned by the region's urgent structural problems, such as notoriously unresolved housing issues and other social, educational, and cultural concerns.

The appetite for lush images, the power of graphic illustrations, and the sensibility toward an architecture that pretends to represent local variations of First World buildings have under-mined, to a certain extent, the coverage of social themes central to Latin American reality. This contradiction between a heightened preoccupation with the continental reality of Latin America and the omission of the ideology of its social aspects clearly signals that it is impossible to nurture a cultural consciousness when confronted with the alienating banalities of the architecture jet set. The architecture magazines, with their disparate origins and goals, continue to present the diverse facets of the field, standing as a witness to the debate of our times.

Architecture magazines still fail to carry the discussion to a wide public, even if the quantity of books on Latin American architecture grows each year, exceeding one hundred titles annually from Latin American publishers alone. But they do remain the central source for disseminating architectural discourse in Latin America, essential to our understanding of the architecture of this century.

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Where Worlds Collide: Views on Urban Life from West Hollywood

Allyne Winderman, AIA

PRELUDE: THE O.J. TRIAL AS METAPHOR

> When you are a minority in America, you are always on probation.
> Radio speaker, *"Which Way LA?"*
> August 4, 1995

The O.J. Simpson trial has made clear to everyone what most minorities and women already know, that there are different perceptions of reality. The country is transfixed by this trial of the former football player and actor accused of murdering his wife and her friend. Looking at the same evidence, nearly three-quarters of Caucasians are convinced of Mr. Simpson's guilt while African Americans by the same percentage believe him innocent. For many African Americans, the trial confirms that authorities cannot be trusted, particularly the police, and that the power structure cannot abide a successful black man. Their inevitable conclusion is that O.J. was "set up, getting his comeuppance for being famous, rich, and for having a blonde wife." Meanwhile, middle-class caucasians seek more law and order.

While the apocalyptic vision of the Los Angeles of the future shown in the 1982 movie *Blade Runner* has become an overused image, it is impossible to overlook or dismiss its imagery. Has a dark looming chaos overcome the city? Is the city an alien being filled with the cacophony of heterogeneous signs, languages, and people? Was Ridley Scott prophetic, will Los Angeles become the Blade Runner city, or has it already?

Or is this trial merely bringing to the surface the most obvious fact, that while we occupy the same city, we are not in the same place?

LOS ANGELES: A CITY IN TRANSITION

Los Angeles was first settled by the *pobladores*—eleven families, forty-four people who journeyed here from Sinaloa and Sonora, Mexico a thousand miles away. Foretelling Los Angeles' future, twenty-six had some African ancestry, almost an equal number were native American Indian, and two were Spanish. Los Angeles was established as a town in 1781 and named *el pueblo de la reina de los angeles*, the town of the queen of angels. The town grew slowly until the Anglo-American conquest of 1848, which brought settlers to the West in droves.

The city of Los Angeles today has a population of 3.5 million people (9 million in L.A. County). The city's population is 42 percent Latino, 13 percent African American, 9.2 percent Asian, and 37.3 percent Caucasian, the first time since the settler rush that whites are again in the minority. A major center of continuing Pacific immigration, Los Angeles has significant Mexican, Salvadoran, Chinese, Korean, Jewish, Iranian, Armenian, Filipino, Thai, Guatemalan, Japanese, Israeli, Russian, Indian, and Vietnamese populations, to name just a few of the identifiable cultures. The changing nature of this city makes it, arguably, the most vibrant, energetic and creative place in the United States today. It also brings

into question how all of these groups interact, how they create an ethnic identity in this mix of cultures, how this identity differs from the identity of people in their homeland, and how and if they will come together to form a unified city.

Moreover, these changes are not commonly understood or universally embraced. The trend in the Los Angeles region is for the white and wealthy population to move farther from the center, leaving the older parts of the city to the many minority groups and recent immigrants. While the City of Los Angeles grew by 17.5 percent over the last census decade, the surrounding communities grew by much greater numbers including 76.5 percent in Riverside County, 58.5 percent in San Bernadino County, and 26 percent in Ventura County. In Los Angeles, a city that has been accused throughout its history of having no center, the centrifugal trend of growth away from the traditional center has accelerated over recent years, resulting in a city that appears to be extremely segregated both by race and by class.

In this context, the city of West Hollywood, contained within the heart of Los Angeles, does not mirror its surroundings but, unique in its own history, nonetheless represents many of the issues of urban cultural identities and their challenges to the built environment—a unique but suprisingly characteristic microcosm of a cosmopolitan *pueblo de la reina* in the 1990s.

WEST HOLLYWOOD

A city of 36,000 people, West Hollywood (home of the famous Sunset Strip and situated between Beverly Hills and Hollywood at the center of Los Angeles) through various twists of fate, had been an unincorporated part of the County of Los Angeles until 1984 when it established itself as a city. The City is 30 percent gay, 50 percent Jewish, 22 percent elderly, 13-15 percent Russian immigrants, 4 percent African American, and 9 percent Latino. At times, membership in groups overlaps.

Because the area had been neglected by the enormous county bureaucracy before cityhood, the overwhelming characteristic of the residents of the city is their enthusiastic participation in civic life. Great crowds of people attend city celebrations ranging from the Gay Pride parade to the city's 10th anniversary party. City Council and Planning Commission meetings attract members of the business community, residents, and the loyal opposition.

In the following testimonies, a cross-section of city staff share their views about how ethnicity has affected their life in Los Angeles and why they have chosen to live or work in West Hollywood.

STEVE MARTIN
CITY COUNCIL MEMBER
My father is Irish, my mother is Chinese, Mexican, and Filipino. My great, great grandfather was from Canton, China. When he tried to come to California, he couldn't get in due to the Chinese Exclusion Act. So he went to Sonora, Mexico where he married, later moving with his bride to New Mexico and then to California.

I grew up in L.A. It's my home even though it has changed dramatically since my childhood. In the city, there are still places like open fields that remind me of my childhood. In those days, we used to build tumbleweed forts in the fields and play in the flood control channels.

I am reminded of my ancient past through various rituals and objects. For example, Mexican Catholics incorporate pre-Columbian symbols into Christian iconography. The images used during religious processions honor traditions that are one thousand years

old. Skulls, bats, frogs, jaguars, eagles—the forms used in masks and ornament in contemporary Mexican and Mexican-American culture—were all sacred symbols of the Mayan and Aztec cultures.

Because of my background I am able to relate to people of different cultures. I am sensitive to recurring spasms of racism in our society and remember my great, great grandfather's exclusion from California, my grandmother's stories of the Zoot Suit wars against Mexican-Americans, and my Japanese neighbor's internment during World War II. It makes me aware that being different can be dangerous; that there is always a price for not assimilating.

I like to live in West Hollywood because the city has incredible diversity, but a reassuringly small town environment. People here expect you to be unusual—if you are ordinary, it's a bit odd. Even the animals are exceptional. There is a noisy family of parrots in my neighborhood. They came up from Mexico, but they fit in even though they are immigrants.

Fran Solomon
Deputy (assistant) to the Mayor
I am a Russian Jew. My great grandparents were immigrants. I live at Venice Beach and work in West Hollywood. I like the balance of being able to take advantage of all the cultural offerings of West Hollywood and Los Angeles while being able to escape to the beach which is isolated and restorative. It gives me the down time I need to keep my sanity.

Although West Hollywood and Venice are very different physically, both places have in common a liberal political philosophy and an "artsy" creative environment. That is what attracts me to them. Both places also have large Jewish populations. I don't know whether we are attracted to

places with these characteristics or if we play a part in creating them.

As I get older, I want to feel more rooted. I find myself relating more to my Jewish background. I like to live in communities that make me feel more connected, that are urban and diverse with a visible Jewish population. That makes me feel at home. There is an unspoken understanding, I know a lot about you if you tell me you are Jewish. I am now beginning to understand the concept of Israel the desire for a Jewish homeland.

Thinh Tran
Administrative Assistant
My ethnic background, Vietnamese, does affect the way I view the city. I live in West Hollywood because of the strong gay subculture in which I would like to participate and be a part. By being part of two minority groups, gay and Vietnamese, I believe that I view things in a different light than, say a white heterosexual male. I am more sensitive to discrimination, but I do not live my life thinking that everything affects my life differently because I am Asian. I consciously notice other Asians every day, even though I don't have Asian friends I hang out with. My best friends are all white. I'm not sure why.

I tend to notice the ambiance/atmosphere of people that are at places I visit. For example, I would notice if there were many Asians or if the place was really white and not very diverse. I notice different clusters of people in this city, as well as other places. Some nightclubs tend to gear toward different groups: whites, straights, minorities, and Asians. My favorite places to hang out/visit: Abbey Coffeehouse, Mickey's nightclub, Cafe de Paris restaurant, Virgin Megastore, Century City Plaza.

I know this will never happen, but I wish that we could have more of a melting pot in the city for gays of all

races. I work in West Hollywood because I really enjoy working for a city that shares the same values as myself. I can work, live and play all in one city!

KIPUKAI KUALIĪ
ACCOUNT CLERK

My ethnic identity most definitely affects the way I view the city. Not only ethnic identity, but also my cultural background and the way I was raised. I was born and raised on the island of Kauai, in Hawaii. I am of the Roman Catholic faith. My dad has worked in the sugar plantations for over thirty years and my mom for a small Catholic school cafeteria.

Being Hawaiian means having an almost spiritual relationship with the land, sky, and ocean. This in itself clearly affects the way I view and use West Hollywood.

I always find myself drawn to whatever bits of nature I can find in this rat race in the middle of L.A. Where I live, there is a beautiful courtyard garden with a fountain, barbecue, and large Hawaiian ferns (*hapu*).

I do not own a car. I love to walk and view all the trees and flowers in the neighborhood. I love to be in the outdoors as much as possible. I prefer shopping in the streets to shopping in a mall. I would not want to live on a major street with lots of traffic. I don't like cars and all their exhaust. I won't really hang out at coffee shops or restaurants on sidewalks near to such exhaust.

Well, I'm definitely an island boy at heart. My ideal home would be made of wood and glass with lots of decks and open spaces (lots of plants) it would be fifteen minutes from the sea, fifteen minutes from the mountains, and if possible fifteen minutes from the big city.

While I need the warm weather and pieces of nature here and there, I also like the excitement of being in the middle of a big city. I do have a love-hate relationship with L.A. I love the excitement and opportunity to do almost anything. I hate the rat race and crime.

West Hollywood is a unique and vibrant community. There is definitely an open air feel. This city is doing a great job at making the best of its limited space. The streets are clean and vegetation is all around. I like that!

MAHYAR AREFI
URBAN DESIGNER AND ARCHITECT

I was born and raised in Iran and was working there as an architect and professor of architecture at the University of Tehran. I came to Los Angeles recently to work on my doctorate at the University of Southern California. I think my ethnic identity significantly affects the way I use urban spaces rather than the way I view the city. I live near downtown LA in a predominantly Hispanic community. Language and appearance are the two important factors that reveal ethnic identity. Local community services mainly serve the needs of the Spanish-speaking residents, i.e. banks, churches, grocery stores, etc.

In general, the community does not sufficiently provide the residents with parks and other recreational facilities. However, due to the language and cultural differences I hardly use public amenities. Although as a habit I like walking, the neighborhood is not pedestrian-friendly. The most drastic difference I experienced between L.A. and where I grew up is that L.A. has been essentially designed for cars. If you don't have a car, you are literally paralyzed and there are not enough facilities to encourage you to walk, i.e. safe, shaded sidewalks. If I had free time, I'd like to travel and see people. I rarely attend ethnic festivities except for the New Year.

I work in West Hollywood for three reasons: I like where I work and I like the people I am working with; my job relates to my education; and importantly

enough, I have to work fairly close to where I live since I don't have a car.

JONAS IONIN
HOUSING AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT
INTERN
As a Chinese-Russian-American, born and raised in San Francisco, ethnic identity plays a significant role in the way I view and use the City of West Hollywood. Identifying most with the Russian Orthodox ethnicity, there are many cultural and traditional traits that have been instilled in me from birth that affect the manner in which I perceive not only West Hollywood but the world. Although there are numerous commonalties within my community (language, traditions, religion, and perceptions) each person is an individual molded by his/her environment and no two environments can be identical. Even identical twins raised in similar environments, as genetically close as they are, experience the world in different ways.

San Francisco differs from Los Angeles in many ways, but the most obvious is geographic. San Francisco is limited in its sprawl by the Pacific Ocean and the Bay creating a city with different neighborhoods in close proximity to one another and each with its own individual identity. The diversity has created a city with possibly the most appreciation for human differences on the planet.

I chose to work in West Hollywood because my skills fit the city's needs, and the opportunities provided by the city fit my needs. In addition, it is close to my home and UCLA where I will be attending graduate school.

HELEN GOSS
MANAGER OF PUBLIC INFORMATION AND
CABLE TELEVISION
I grew up in South-Central Los Angeles. The things that I saw as a child growing up in South-Central form the basis by which I function today. As a person who has lived in the Los Angeles area for more than 36 of my 40 years, this city is very much part of how I define myself as an African-American.

Each day, I must confront the reality of the disparities in society and the social, economic, and political injustices that we face daily in this city and country. As a college-educated and professional African-American, I am even more aware of the disparate treatment of people based on race. As I go about my daily life this reality impacts the decisions I make about where I live, shop, go to the movies, where my daughter goes to school, who she plays with, and what parts of the city I visit at night.

Los Angeles is a richly diverse city but the people tend to segregate into their neat communities and only view people who are different in gross stereotypes.

JEFFREY AUBEL
REHABILITATION ASSISTANT
Being Irish-German born and raised in Philadelphia has affected the way I view the City of West Hollywood and life itself. West Hollywood is an eclectic environment. The gay community and the Russian community live along side the typical American family. This is similar to my home town since there are many different cultures living day to day, side by side. I find it enjoyable to be able to experience cultures other than my own so that my horizons are always expanding. This isn't just limited to West Hollywood. Los Angeles is filled with cultural pockets that I can visit whenever I feel the need.

There are many ways to experience all the diversity of Los Angeles, whether it be a Cinco de Mayo fest or simply eating sushi on Sunset Boulevard. I find that after being here for over six years, it has really become a culture of its own to be able to jump

from country to country merely by driving two blocks down the street.

Philadelphia is different from Los Angeles in that people from different ethnic backgrounds tend to stay more to themselves and not interact as much as I see in Los Angeles. I don't know if this is because Angelenos are, for the most part, all new arrivals from somewhere else or just more adventurous. Whatever the reason, it makes daily living exiting and much more enjoyable.

PAUL AREVALO
DIRECTOR OF FINANCE

My father is Spanish, my mother Puerto Rican. My wife is Chinese-American. I don't think my ethnic background affects the way I see the city at all. It's funny however, we just bought a house. When we looked at the original grant deed, we wouldn't have been able to buy the house when it was originally built. The neighborhood excluded all but whites from ownership.

I was born in L.A. I couldn't see living anywhere else. I like the big city feel. Within minutes you can be in unique, eclectic communities like West Hollywood and Beverly Hills while you are equally close to traditional communities like San Marino, or even rural areas. In L.A. you can be anything you want—you can be as uptight or as relaxed as you want to be.

MODEL FOR THE FUTURE?

Notwithstanding the stereotypes of West Hollywood as idealist and of Los Angeles as a banal and undifferentiated city, we have seen that it is an evolving and complex aggregation of people and cultures. The physical manifestation of these cultures is at times simple and appealing as a tourist destination, however the cultures themselves are faced by many challenges, some shared and others unique.

Assimilation is the biggest challenge: the goal of all immigrants must be to become "American," but what does that mean? How does the precarious ethnic identity remain intact when faced with the ubiquitous pull of American culture? Is it destructive to the ethos of America to encourage strong ethnic identity among immigrant groups? What is the meaning and necessity of place for the children and grandchildren of immigrants?

Will the freedom of America eventually lead to a homogeneous culture? Each ethnic group faces this issue in its own way, and each with its own anxiety. It is hard for the children of immigrants to understand the struggles their forebears experienced. An elderly Japanese-American woman poignantly expressed the importance of preserving the architecturally unremarkable historic buildings in Los Angeles' Little Tokyo district, "We need to keep them: our children must know what we went through."

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Women Pavement Dwellers Organize for Housing in India

Sheila Patel

Registered in 1984, by a group of social workers, researchers, students, doctors, and other professionals, the Society for Protection of Area Recourse Centres (SPARC) has aimed to explore new forms of partnerships with the poor in their quest for equity and social justice. We believe that the poor can and must organize themselves and develop skills to sustain their organization. For this, they need a physical, emotional, and social space to pool their human resources and learn from each other. Area Resource Centre (ARC) is the term we have coined to describe such a space. We at SPARC aim to create, strengthen, and develop such ARCs.

From the beginning, we made sure that the poor identified the issues to be taken up in the course of our work. The communities we worked with ordered the priorities of the issues we tackled. We formulated certain guiding principles for our work:

- beginning dialogue with the poorest;
- focusing on collective perceptions rather than individual;
- starting with practical explorations.

When we began in 1984, India had just gone through a decade of intensive urbanization. This led to a massive proliferation of slum and pavement settlements in the cities. Because India was perceived essentially as a land of villages, most developmental intervention had been in rural areas, where Non-Governmental Organizations had worked with people movements on land and related issues. There were relatively few NGOs working with the urban poor.

SPARC wanted to create a process whereby NGOs could work with poor communities in cities to ensure equity in the distribution of resources. It also hoped to create mechanisms which would help migrants form organizational networks to help them in times of crisis or meet their survival needs.

Pavement dwellings are seemingly makeshift structures built on sidewalks. In Bombay, the plight of pavement dwellers is most obvious and yet the least acknowledged. They are the most vulnerable and yet invisible section of the urban poor.

In our work with them we wanted to ensure that :

- the poorest are acknowledged
- demonstrate that if a strategy worked for them it would work for other poor communities
- show that by creating the nucleus of an urban movement with the

poorest and worst off population, other groups of the urban poor could also rally in solidarity.

Within any vulnerable group, women bear the brunt of deprivation. Although they create innovative means of survival using available resources, their unique role has rarely been fully acknowledged either by the community, by NGOs, by the State, or even by the women themselves.

Because women play a crucial role in existing community problem solving processes, we feel that their involvement must be central in designing alternative solutions and strategies and executing them.

A year after we started our work, the Supreme Court of India handed down a landmark judgement in what is known as the "pavement dwellers case," which gave the Bombay Municipal Corporation (BMC) the right to evict pavement dwellers and demolish their houses. The court held that although people had a right to life, they could not live on pavements or roads. It added, however, that the BMC should only take steps after giving people adequate notice and providing them an alternative.

This judgement highlighted the fact that there were no easy solutions to the problems facing pavement dwellers. An answer would only emerge if all the actors involved—the communities, the city authorities and the State—could work toward a solution. It was at this point, a watershed in many ways in the life of the city, that SPARC formulated its role, functions and strategy.

The women from pavement settlements stated categorically that secure shelter was their main priority. Secure habitat would be the first step in any process aiming to move people out of poverty.

Between 1986 and 1987, we worked with 600 women from seven pavement settlements and explored all aspects related to the issue of secure shelter. In the process, we educated ourselves about land development planning, housing norms, construction standards and materials, developing a Housing Training Process which was rooted within the community.

This training strengthened the internal organization of these settlements, created structures, leadership collectives and problem-solving forums. The most powerful, and far-reaching outcome of this exercise was the development of our own house model and settlement plan.

Savings groups for housing were started, construction skills were acquired and on the foundation of these two simple things, we sought to build a movement of the urban poor with a central focus on secure shelter.

Mahila Milan (MM), which means "women together" was the name the six hundred women from pavement settlements decided to call themselves. These women had become strong, confident, and articulate as a result of their training. While they sought to strengthen their own work, they also began to connect and share experiences with other settlements. Today MM includes women from settlements in Bombay and other cities.

National Slum Dwellers Federation (NSDF) was started in the mid 1970s by slum leaders from several cities who wanted to participate in policy discussions affecting the poor. After observing SPARC and MM, they sought to align themselves with this partnership. As a result, several objectives were fulfilled.

SPARC wanted to expand its work while maintaining its focus on pavement dwellers. It realized that unless other groups of poor, who usually ignore the pavement dweller's plight, linked up with them, pavement dwellers would continue to be isolated. On the other hand, NSDF recognized the
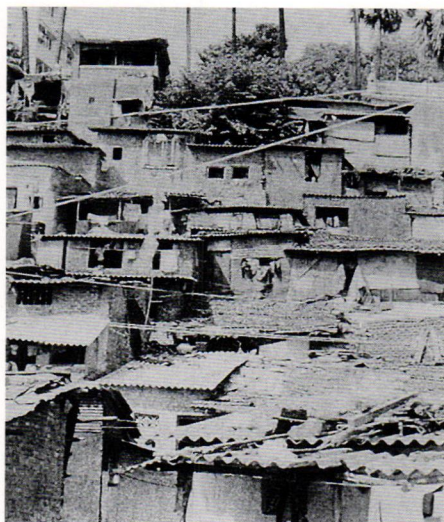
power of women's participation and SPARC's advocacy as a major sustaining factor of slum mobilization.

The roles of the three partners evolved clearly: MM would be a network of women's collectives from the communities which were affiliated to NSDF. The network would form women's collectives, assist them to get recognition and support from the settlements, and train them in the skills they would need to become central in the community's decision-making process.

NSDF would organize and mobilize slum and squatter settlements to create the social and political environment needed for the poor to negotiate with resource providing institutions. SPARC would train, educate, advocate and lobby to set up this process, and when the resources were made available, MM collectives, on behalf of their settlements, would administer and manage these resources.

Our involvement with street children began in 1988, when SPARC undertook a survey of those children who are roofless and rootless in the city of Bombay. Mahila Milan and the Federations felt a strong bond with these children.

Rather than try and constrain them in an environment which is hostile to

their needs, a more effective strategy of allowing them to form their own loose federation evolved. This could then link up with the SPARC-NSDF-MM partnership. The children decided to call this federation "Sadak Chaap," which literally means the stamp of the street.

The main problem these children face is the lack of a safe place to sleep. This problem has been temporarily solved by allowing the Byculla resource center to be used as a night shelter. Members of the federations try and help the children to deal with the police and get medical care.

People learn most effectively from peers through an experiential methodology. This is doubly true for women. Teaching refines and sharpens self-learning and improves articulation.

The Housing Training was based on the concept that the issues of women and shelter are linked together in that women understand best the design of their own home. In the training, women began by evaluating, with the help of architects, how they had utilized the space in their own home and the rationale behind it. Then they moved on to question which of these elements needed to be changed, and how these changes could be brought about given the constraints of costs and availability of space. In other words, how could they optimally utilize resources available to them in planning their homes.

Large numbers of women were involved in the process of designing houses. Life-size model houses were constructed out of cardboard, wood, cloth, and sometimes even concrete, so that people could go inside and get a feel of the alternative. Other members of the community inspected these models and finally selected the best design. The women had to explain their designs, not only to their peers, but also to government officials and other professionals.

In order to reduce the costs of construction and ensure that everyone understood the dynamics of "pucca" housing, it was recommended that the women contribute labour. Those who showed a potential for this sort of work would get more involved. For women, this process had many benefits. Many of them who had previously earned very little now received a minimum wage. Once the skill was acquired, they would benefit in the job market. Since the women were in charge of material themselves, there was no question of wastage or theft, and correct amounts of cement were used. This also had implications for long-term maintenance.

In poor settlements, the absence of toilets for women has become an urgent issue. Because women have been told that such facilities can only be provided by the State, they have resigned themselves to the fate of existing without them.

Mahila Milan became involved in the issue of toilets when they were working on settlement design. They observed that the existing large blocks of municipal toilets were dirty and inadequate mainly because they were located too far from the houses. Ratios of households to toilets greater than 4:1 were common. Moreover, the current toilets were constructed of inferior material, often blocked and dysfunctional. Children were often pushed
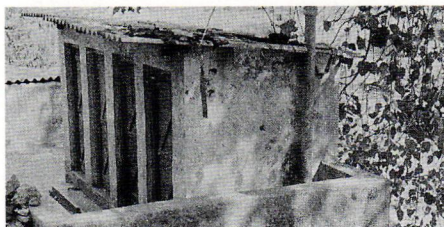
aside, since they had to compete for the same toilets as the adults, and squatted outside, thus soiling the area around the toilet.

In designing an alternative, the women felt strongly that the quality, design and ratio of toilets must be improved. The special need for children's facilities must also be considered.

The first actual construction started in Bombay. Federations in Kanpur, Bangalore, Madurai and Cochin initiated similar processes. The land and cost of construction is borne by the State while the women contribute labor, supervise the construction, and manage the toilets on completion.

Most poor women constantly require sources of credit to meet their daily crisis needs. Given the lack of resource availability, they either borrow from each other, or else fall prey to exploitative money lenders who charge extortionate interest rates. Mahila Milan felt that this was one area they needed to tackle collectively.

The crisis credit scheme emerged out of the housing training process, in which women analyzed both their immediate and long term monetary needs. Money was put aside in the bank for their shelter requirements, and a pact was made not to withdraw from this amount. Instead, they created another pool of their daily savings, which would serve their daily monetary needs.

The actual process was surprisingly simple: Every settlement identified one woman per 10-15 households who assumed the responsibility of visiting them to undertake all monetary

transactions—deposits, loans and repayments, both for the housing savings in the bank as well as the Mahila Milan Crisis Credit Scheme.

Each of these representatives was part of a Committee, which was in charge of loan disbursements. Each group developed its own rules of lending and repayment. The crucial factor was that money. could be given out at any time, since it was handled entirely by the women of the community.

The scheme was launched by Mahila Milan in Byculla. As they visited other settlements, many groups in Bombay and other cities in India felt it addressed their needs and adopted the scheme. Although the actual amounts may be modest, this scheme has a strategic value in that it not only fulfills basic community needs, but also trains women to handle monetary transactions. This saving is visible to the entire community and has affected the equation between the men and women. The records of loan repayments maintained have become the basis on which women apply to banks and financial institutions for further loans.

For the poor, ration cards not only provide access to cheaper food and fuel, but also serve as a means of identification in the city. Every citizen of India has a right to a ration card; it is only a question of whether it is temporary or permanent. In the past it had been difficult for individual families to understand the bureaucratic procedures involved in obtaining ration cards.

When groups of women put in their application collectively, not only did they find that they obtained ration cards, but they also succeeded in having them issued in the women's names! The main stumbling block, namely an "official" permanent address, had been overcome by convincing the ration officers that the pavement dwellers were not a transient population.

After women had held a temporary card for five years, the officers were even willing to issue permanent cards. Today the street children have also been granted ration cards by the authorities, since the Mahila Milan women have provided an address, which is a prerequisite. This has been a major breakthrough for the Sadak Chaap federation.

Women are centrally involved in issues related to the home and community. However their contribution tends to be invisible and taken-for-granted. In order to bring about meaningful change this contribution needs to be made visible. Women need the skills, support, and resources to intervene in formalized structures. If this is not taken up consciously, women tend to abdicate their role and the men then assume positions of leadership.

Involving women is both a means as well as an end. It is a means, because it ensures sustainability and practical solutions. It is an end because giving women recognition and equality ensures them a rightful place in the social fabric. By strengthening what women do and getting recognition for its usefulness by men, the women grow both individually and collectively and become an invaluable asset to the community.

The New International Style:
It Matters Where You Are

Christine Killory, RIBA, Associate AIA

The notion of the Pacific Rim is at once mesmerizing and exhausting, its rhetoric overworked by advertising agencies all along the West Coast as trade missions are dispatched to exploit the emerging markets of the diverse countries that form its circumference. The current San Diego edition of the *Pacific Bell White Pages* contains listings for sixteen different "Pacific Rim" entities, selling everything from computer products and financial services to property management and HVAC systems. Entrepreneurial enthusiasm about the Pacific Rim reflects both the traditional American optimism about the future and an equally unshakable belief that somehow there is a profit to be made out of it. It is something of a cliché to complain that the world has been reduced to global Blockbuster franchises and quite unfashionable to wonder about the technological revolution roaring ahead, the social and economic consequences of which have barely been examined.

Although the geologic configurations which surround it include the coastlines of four continents, the Pacific Rim is most frequently invoked to describe commerce between North America and East Asia's rapidly developing economies. A common widely perceived effect of this new commercial dynamic is that instantaneous global telecommunication and computer networks will overthrow the ancient tyrannies of time and space. Whether one likes it or not, it follows that there will be less need for national cultures or cities, less privacy, and fewer jobs. Companies will have no headquarters so office buildings will be obsolete; workers will live where they like, the office staff can be on the road, and everybody will stay in touch via fax machines and electronic mail. Although newspapers and local news broadcasts are overwhelmingly dominated by what is happening in their immediate vicinity, the belief that advanced technology will eventually erase the contingencies of geography is widely shared.

In architecture too these efforts to break free of space and time on the Pacific Rim are being noisily promoted by firms grateful to discover expanding markets when there is a shrinking demand at home. Through a sort of colonialism by contract, the kind of huge, slick, bland developments that have done so much to erode the public confidence in the profession over the past few decades can be designed for export, often at the expense of indigenous cultures, other systems of aesthetics, and building traditions centuries old. The optimistic argument goes like this: "The only real assurance of character and individuality in the modern world is good architecture. The late 20th century no longer provides the world with the opportunity for diversity and to enforce it merely produces pastiche. Authenticity is dead, and is being replaced by architecture with universal value."

If architecture is, among other things, a portable skill, can a semblance of cultural identity be maintained or must it inevitably be sacri-

The World Game,® conceived by Buckminster Fuller, uses simulated enactment—on a giant Dymaxion Air-Ocean World map—of global transactions based on scientific, economic, and cultural facts to "make the world work for 100 percent of humanity, in the shortest possible time, through spontaneous cooperation, without ecological offense or disadvantage to anyone." Courtesy, World Game Institute™.

ficed to the historic melting pot? Is the fact that the same buildings can be efficiently churned out anywhere in the world something to celebrate? Can jet-lagged architects simultaneously produce excellent architecture, be responsive to national needs and exploit their expertise on a worldwide scale?

Architecture has spent most of past century grappling with these issues.

Practicing architecture in a borderless world still holds the same contradictions. The clash between global ambitions and local traditions has bedeviled modernism since its beginnings, inseparable from the dream of an architecture that could be produced anywhere on demand.

When the Modern Movement was promoted as the International Style by

Henry Russell Hitchcock and Philip Johnson in 1932, the emphasis on "style" sustained the illusion that a set of visual formulae could be picked up anywhere and applied like packaging. The black and white photographs in their book of buildings from all over the world fostered the appearance of homogeneity, blurring important differences, and obscuring troublesome disparities.

Yet, the continuing vitality of modernism, then and now, has always been ensured by things that do not fit the local vernacular style from which modern architecture draws and to which modern architecture contributes. The main reason for this is that history and culture count. What something becomes depends very much on where it began and where it is, the weight of time and space, and of physical surroundings. The burdens of history and culture are greater than any earthbound technology is likely to lift: architecture at its best is their creature of space and time, not independent of them. Architectural diversity can flourish where national identity is little more than a loose organizing framework, when architecture is pursued with the intent of cultural advancement, not merely to increase the fortunes of some multinational corporate entity.

These days, North America is set apart from much of the Pacific Rim by an undeniable perception that the public has had enough of large architectural solutions, and the consensus of opinion has lately come down rather more on the side of diversity than the homogeneity and assimilation associated with the melting pot. People are suspicious of grand gestures, or at least unwilling to pay for them. Instead, information technology has replaced buildings and structures as objects of wonder. It is not accidental that these developments come at a time when Americans are beginning to explore their own tangled cultural roots.

The contemporary built environment in California, where the newest immigrants to the United States maintain personal and financial ties to their homelands with fax machines, e-mail, and instant bank transfers is not tolerant of crude bulk or vast schemes. The process—and merchandising—of innovation is more analogous to the sophisticated development associated with the world of high technology. For example, homes designed to appeal to Asian Americans are based on traditions originating from the ancient Chinese tradition of *feng shui*, a mixture of astrology, Taoism, and philosophy which literally translates as "wind and water." There are dozens of new books explaining *feng shui* to Americans. Where immigrants formerly adjusted to America, America is now beginning to adjust to immigrants.

It used to be that only corporations were global; now people are global. People used to live in neighborhoods in cities and never leave them. Now this isn't even true of countries. Technology is slowly making the world seem smaller, but nothing gets better magically because of technology.

Some of the development now taking place in China, Southeast Asia, and Oceania resembles in speed, scale and quality the "visionary" projects of urban renewal that decimated American cities some decades ago. Whole neighborhoods were cleared and rebuilt or destroyed by freeways in an effort to bring on the new technology. We have since learned to our sorrow how very difficult it is to reassemble a community once it has been broken up. With traditional forms of settlement breaking down, where we are—how we live, what our neighbors do, the social glue of personal relations—matters more than ever.

símbolo de
caracol
(símbolo maya)

caperucho de
remate

decoración de
fachada (acercamiento)
estrella y flor

copa de
remate
(espiral de caracol)

etcetera
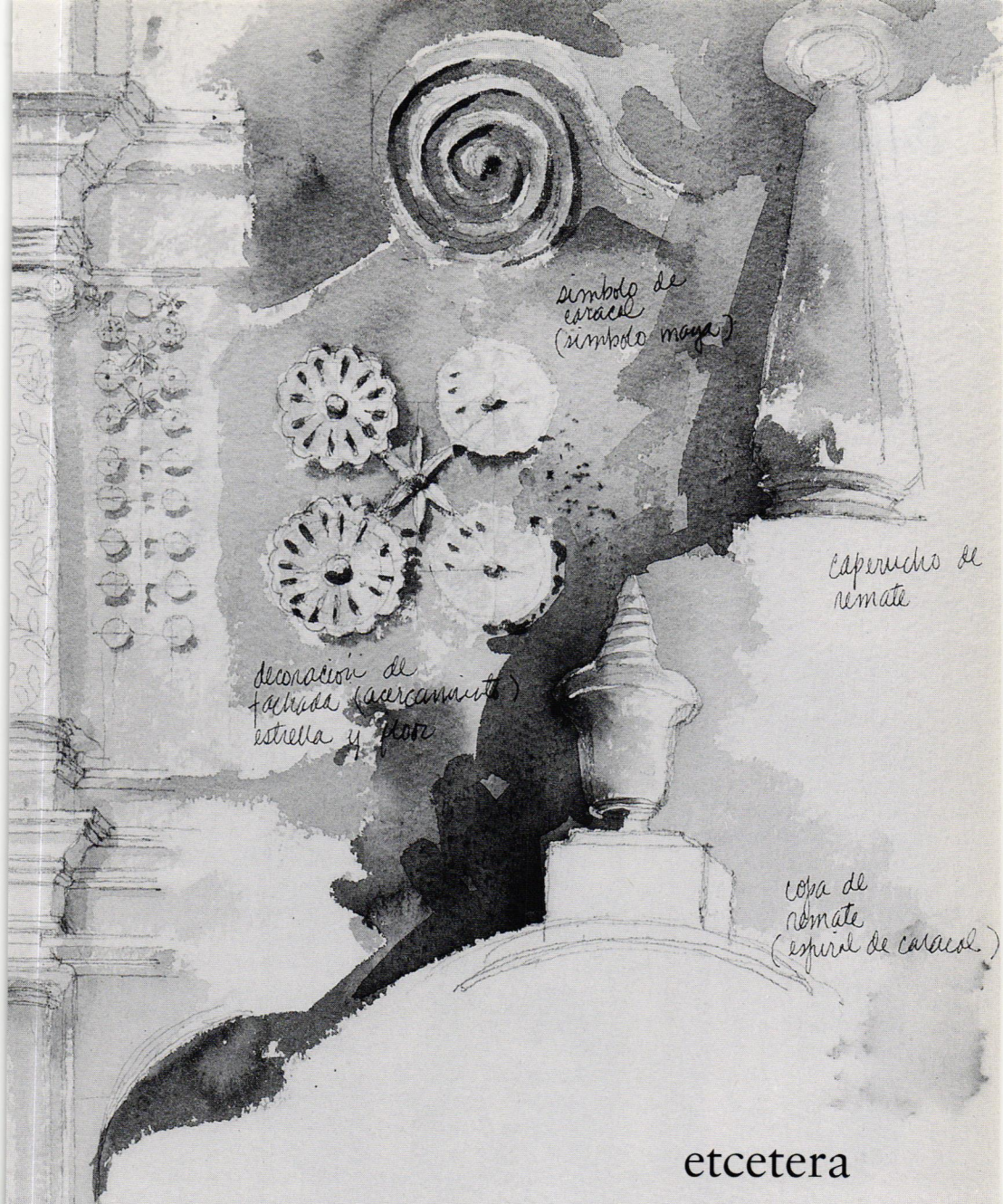
orden de columnas
columnas decorada de ramas (foliada)

de la
detalles fachada poniente
de la Catedral de San Cristóbal
de las Casas, Chiapas
Chiapas

Bailando por la costa sur

Ignasio Fernandez
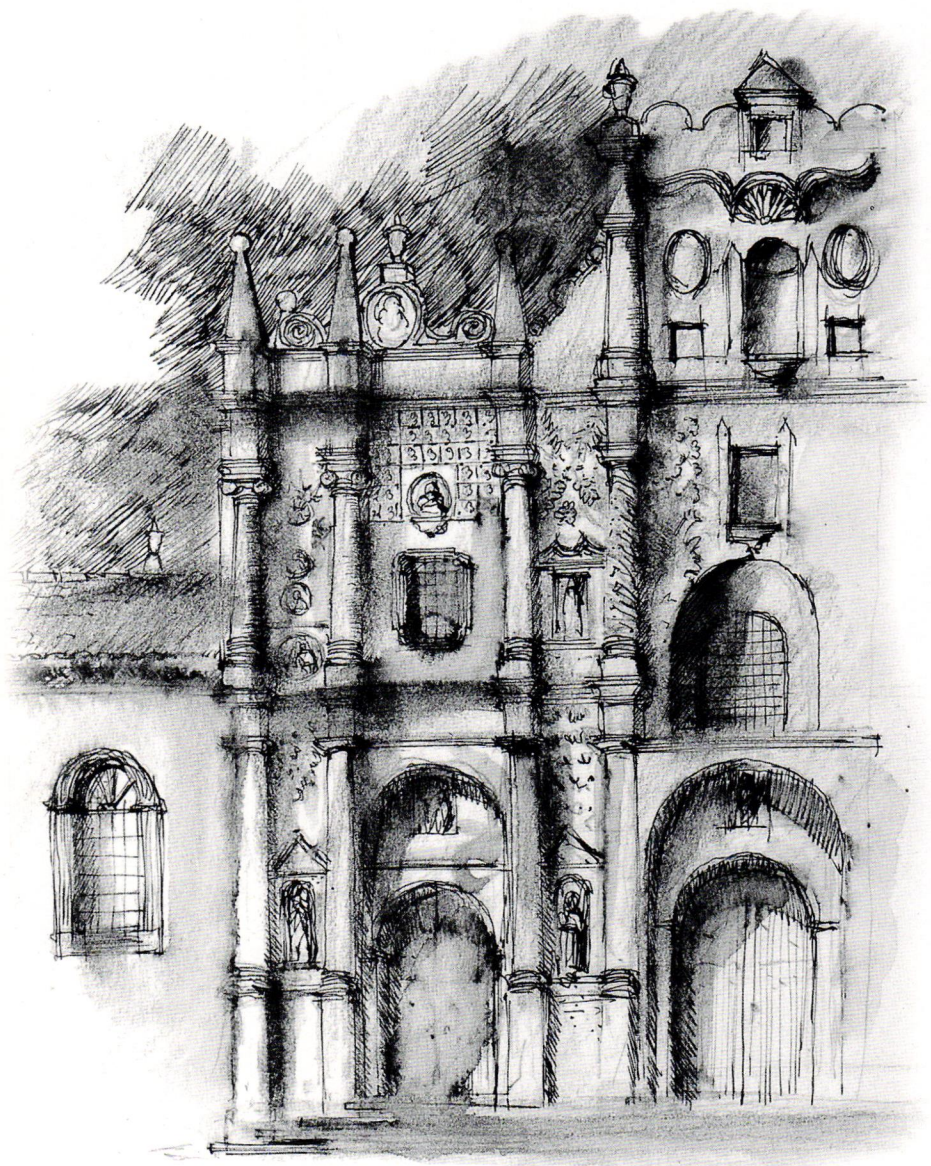
Ignasio Fernandez spent three years traveling from Los Angeles to the foot of Chile sketching, painting, talking, dancing, and writing his impressions of the Latin Rim. His bilingual notebooks record the journey.

Plaza Central, Quiriguá

Ignacio '90

En la Plaza Central de Quiriguá hay una bella,
enorme ceiba y también hay las estelas más altas
de Mesoamérica. Hay muchos pájaros en los árboles
de Quiriguá y esos son los únicos que hay pues
el resto fue tallado para acomodar los fincas
bananeras que producen para Del Monte
También hay unas piedras talladas zoomorfias
que tienen diseños preciosos en detalle y
originalidad, esos, con los diseños laterales de la
estela D son los diseños más imaginativos y
artísticos que he visto hasta ahora
Quiriguá se encuentraba entre el Atlántico
y Copán.

Vista hacia la merced   Ignacio '90

Vista hacia el volcan agua al atardecer   Ignacio '90

as the tucan with the red tip on his beak flies off the palm in terror, the
jaguar devours the groundkeeper at Uaxactún below the pyramid-astrological observatory
while the woodpecker pounds loudly like a hollow drum on a dry tree and while
i get bitten by mosquitos

altar "redondo" de sacrificio" devotio de fa Plaza Ruinas Uaxactún   ymon 91

De Valledupar me fui en cuatro puertas en una nube de
polvo seco que colgaba en el aire en cámara lenta, como
Michael Jordan   baja de la cesta; apretado
por la   codicia y el silencio, incómoda
como otro   de los viajes por tenencia
inaudi-   ables. Pueblo Bello tenía
ta   calle central del mismo
polvo   y el pueblo se extendía
cuesta   abajo. Allí comí en
el   restaurante de
Cuba   la última
nequita   de hermanos)
El viaje   San Sebastián
fue en   compañía de
6 meses   el "prope" y
nos   haciendo chistes   do en el
                                  enormes piedras
                                  por los aguas
                                  y la silena
                                  visité El Pueblito,
                                  acepta entrevi-
                                  sta. Esta
                        puerto   entiene casas
                        que son habitas durante
parte del año. El puente está empedrado con grandes
piedras e importantemente caminé entre los indígenas
sin hablar en ellos. Ellos, los hombres mascaban hojas
de coca y en un popovo lleno de conchas trituradas
introducían un palito (de aro) dentro del popovo y en su
bocas, una sustancia verde de coca y sus popovo
también. En el camino, regresa a Pueblo Bello caminé
con un indígena que me contó que Pueblo Bello a
ver un "familiar" que se había ausentado por 10 años
sin dejar noticia a la familia, ahora se encuentra
enfermo en Pueblo Bello y iba a verlo yo si no
labios verdes de la coca y un popovo también verde
                          Seoname - maku mauru

el danzón de Amanda

Una noche en Camagüey iba caminando solo y pasé un edificio con ventanas grandes que daban a la calle. Me paré junto a la ventana atraído por un ritmo sincopado y cuerpos negros vestidos de blanco bailando con una elegancia y sensualidad que me impresionó. Más tarde ya adulto y fuera de Cuba reconocí el ritmo como el ritmo del Danzón. Esta historia se la conté a Amanda en Bogotá 3/92

≡ La parte superior de Qallaqasa es un perfil oscuro que contrasta con el cielo azul y claro con nubes viajeras. Detras y a la derecha se ven los nichos huecos y depredados del cementerio velado en viejos tiempos. Un camino de bellas piedras trabajadas sube la cresta en diagonal a lo mismo que terrazas agricolas enormes descienden al valle. Una masa de piedras siena con nichos terrazas y volumenes sin techo son definidos por el sol poniente. Ignacio 92

Qallaqasa
Pisac

He died dancing, __ while they were playing reggae music he felt tired, his body ached and his was __ of break but __ not pay attention to his body's warning __ he increased __ __ of his movements and concentrated __ the __ __ of the music to the point that he __ __ until __ __ he and felt not the body pains __ thought of __ great dancing moments when he and __ had __ together, their bodies so close that there was no __ between __ and all movements were like a dialogue of the most intimate manner. He remembered the sensual joy of her body pressing __ and how her thighs wrapped __ around his while his head __ was somewhere, __ indescribable, __ That must be __ he found out the Later couldn't help but people there them and what to stare at was a very private them had been in reality, being moment, was all the people there enjoyed by moved like a while they paints on a canvas painter

with motions full of passion in harmony with the music that seemed to be directing their movements. move where his last thoughts before the heat attack set in and dropped him to the floor like a cow shit. He felt alone, because he was dancing alone in a disco in Baños Ecuador The other customers gathered around him and saw the joy still reflected on his force that had a hint of coldness thru the perspiration of the dance.

Were the Cathedrals White?

Michael Woo

*The 2nd Annual AIA National Diver-
sity Conference—"Building Bridges:
Diversity Connections"—brought to-
gether architects from many regions
and disparate life experiences. Forging
links between design professions, the
conference addressed the diverse cul-
tural contexts that will define the next
century. Excerpted here is the keynote
address by former Los Angeles City
Councilman Michael Woo, now West-
ern States Director of the the Corpora-
tion for National Service. Woo brings
to bear on issues facing us today les-
sons from his experience as an urban
planner and political leader.*

We are entering a very strange time at
the end of the millennium. Many things
are ending while others emerge, and
there is a high degree of uncertainty
and anxiety for people in all walks of
life. We increasingly see traditional
institutions struggling to retain power,
out of touch with the changing demo-
graphics of the population. This results
in inevitable tensions or conflicts be-
tween the changing populations and
the people who retain the power.

Looking at the big picture and try-
ing to respond to what seems to be a
growing trend towards individual
responsibility or private solutions as
opposed to public solutions, I imagine
that architects and other "large vision"
professionals who might otherwise fa-
vor a collective public sector approach
may become disheartened, narrow their
focus, and concentrate on doing good
work in their specific practice, hoping
that the bigger picture will somehow
take care of itself. When individuals try
to ignore the bigger picture, social real-

ity has a way of intruding upon the
private enclaves nonetheless.

As Paul Williams, the distinguished
Los Angeles architect who practiced
during the golden era of Hollywood,
wrote, "I am an architect. Today, I
sketched the preliminary plans for a
large country house which will be
erected in one of the most beautiful
residential districts in the world, a dis-
trict of roomy estates, entrancing vis-
tas, and stately mansions. Sometimes
I have dreamed of living there. I could
afford such a house. But this evening,
leaving my office, I returned to my old,
small, inexpensive home in an unre-
stricted, apparently undesirable section
of Los Angeles, because I am a Negro."
The man who designed Perino's restau-
rant and additions to the Beverly Hills
and Ambassador Hotels, who had
movie stars as clients and friends, still
had to deal with a part of collective
reality that he could not get away from
no matter how successful he became as
an individual professional.

Race is just one part of the social
problem of exclusion. One could just
as easily tell other stories, perhaps the
stories of women architects who have
had to balance professional goals with
the personal burdens imposed by a
society that places upon women an un-
equal share of family responsibilities.
One can see similar problems for gay
and lesbian architects who are still
being shunned, who are still not being
treated like everyone else.

I was startled when I reviewed the
materials for the Diversity Conference
and realized the limited number of
women and minorities who are practic-
ing in the architecture profession or

who are members of AIA. Looking at these numbers, I imagined two possibilities: either the backgrounds of people entering the field are not that diverse, or the diverse population of students who are coming through the schools don't think that the profession offers them opportunity or that the AIA is responding to their needs.

This comes back to the larger picture: In a world where so much is changing, it is a great challenge for institutions like the American Institute of Architects to address the needs of an increasingly diverse population. What can a professional association do? What can individuals who are active in the profession do, to bring traditional institutions more into touch with social reality? As an outsider to your profession, but an outsider who responds to the combination of idealism and creativity that originally drew many of you to architecture, allow me the liberty to put some ideas on the table.

First of all, I recognize that there are in fact significant changes going on within the American Institute of Architects. There are at least some African-Americans and women rising to positions of leadership. The Diversity Conference includes member architects in discussion of these issues. Perhaps the AIA can explore what can be done to show not only that the American Institute of Architects will address common professional issues, but that it is going to address larger questions and respond to specific social impacts on members who may feel that the AIA is not concerned about their needs.

The obvious issue on the front burner is affirmative action: The repeal of affirmative action rules would remove the only leverage out there with which to pressure those who otherwise feel most comfortable doing what they have always done, the only leverage to force them to open up the doors of opportunity to others who traditionally have been excluded.

In my own thinking on the subject, I have gone through a transition. A year ago, before I had thought very much about this issue, I tended towards a pragmatic position. As a Democrat, I realize that Republicans are going to use the affirmative action issue to drive a wedge between white and non-white parts of the traditional Democratic Party constituency. Therefore, I thought, "How can we come up with a compromise that doesn't divide us but still deflects the attack on affirmative action programs?" For the last year I have looked for opportunities to compromise, and I have gradually come to the conclusion that *we cannot compromise on this issue.* That is, we can't satisfy the goal of opening up the doors of opportunity to people who have been excluded while at the same time appeasing those who don't want either the heavy hand of government or any other heavy hand to force contractors or governments or others who have money and contracts to change their way of doing business. So my views have shifted from a desire to be pragmatic to a more idealistic view about what our society really should be like and what institutions should be doing to open up the doors of opportunity to all. I urge you to foster that discussion.

As an Asian American, I am taking the responsibility to talk to Asian-American groups on the subject. When I recently spoke to an Asian-American audience at San Francisco State, I said to the students, "Look, if the predictions are true regarding the University of California system, the reversal of affirmative action would unleash Asian enrollment; it may become 35 percent, 45 percent, 55 percent, or higher. What are you going to do when there's a backlash, when there are people who are wondering 'Why is a group that makes up 10 percent of the California

population monopolizing such a huge percentage of our tax-supported institutions?'"

Sometimes, Asian Americans will assert that merit and academic accomplishment are the main reasons that Asian Americans comprise such a disproportionately large percentage of the University of California student body. But I would respond by pointing out that in a superheated political environment, self-serving claims of superiority will not serve our community well. I have been trying to find ways to spread the message to Asians that we are part of a larger community, that we have responsibility to share resources within that community, and that maximizing our own position is not what's best for the overall society or us within it.

In your role as professionals, you have opportunities to go out and talk to people. It's not going to be simple. There are going to be winners and there are going to be losers, but, in the midst of all this thunder and lightning about affirmative action, we must reach some understanding that we are all part of a larger society, that we have an ethical responsibility to share the resources of that society in a responsible way. Think about that when you try to redefine the role of professional architects and the AIA in advocating for more issues.

Second, the AIA can do a lot to recognize the accomplishments of individuals or firms that are addressing the unmet needs of professionals, and in particular the architectural profession. In a recent conversation with a partner in a large corporate architecture firm who happens to be a woman, she explained the problems facing women architects feeling pressured to put in a lot of hours on the job, and on the other hand having family responsibilities to deal with. I asked her to tell me one or two architecture firms that have pioneered some kind of solution, such as job sharing, to lighten the burden on women or men who bear family responsibilities. She said, "I can't." She couldn't think of one. Obviously this dilemma has resulted in many women architects either being self-employed, working in smaller firms, or staying at lower levels in large firms, rather than competing on the terms their male colleagues accept at the expense of their family life. The AIA can encourage firms to be innovative and recognize those who are willing to take a chance, to absorb some of the economic cost of addressing the needs of a significant number of members of the profession.

Third, the AIA can promote the role of architecture in transforming the urban environment. When I was on the Los Angeles City Council, I worked with the Museum of Contemporary Art, which was planning a retrospective exhibit on the Case Study Houses of the post war period. In addition to the museum exhibition itself, MOCA proposed a design competition for a new multi-family project faithful to the spirit of the Case Study Houses. Adele Santos was chosen as the architect, and the Los Angeles CRA came up with financing and land. It took about seven years, but the La Brea-Franklin project finally got built. This is an example of how the architecture profession actually creates something that is sitting there on a corner for people to see, and shows that affordable, multi-family housing does not have to be a blight on the community. It does not have to be a center of gang activity. It can actually be more attractive and better designed than most of the market-rate housing built up around it.

Fourth, I think that there is an important role for architects and the AIA can play in educating the public. The purpose of architecture school should not be only to create great architects, but to train future clients as well. No matter how great the architects are,

they won't do much good if the they don't have clients who are willing to pay for the quality of work that architects are capable of doing. The AIA can remind the news media of its responsibility to educate the public about the built environment. This requires pressing the major metropolitan newspapers for coverage about architecture. If you don't have a design critic who appears regularly in your paper, you must fight for one.

Finally, to the growing number of women and minority architects, I want to stress the importance of not accepting the role of victim. *Do not accept outsider status within the profession.* Fight the tendency to think of yourself as a victim or an outsider. Find ways to form coalitions with other people, to help other people who are in the same situation.

A couple of years ago I gave a talk to an Asian-American student group in the Chicago area. I was being driven around by the president of the student organization. She was Chinese, a senior who had just been admitted to medical school for the fall. She had been encouraged to become a doctor ever since she was two years old. As we were driving around Chicago, she said to me, "I think I'm changing my mind; I don't want to be a doctor anymore. And I don't know how to tell my parents." I suggested that there were zillions of Asian-American doctors in Chicago many of whom have gone through the same kind of anxieties, and she might try talking to one. "Are you kidding?" she reacted. I suspect that what she was saying about Chinese doctors in Chicago is also true of Chinese architects, engineers, other professionals, and I suspect it is true not only of Chinese. A certain detachment starts to develop as you strive to excel in a profession, some of it encouraged by the profession itself: It's possible to forget where you came from when you

want to do a good job, you want to make money, you want to get ahead, and you've got to work long hours. We need to find ways to establish contact and continuity between the people who have made it, the people who are making it, and the people who haven't made it yet. This crosses ethnic lines. It crosses generational lines. But many of the people who are still on the outside feel very discouraged, lonely, hopeless, because they experience a lack of support. This is precisely why we must seek each other out, support each other, and build support into new institutional mechanisms. On this note, I commend the AIA for supporting the national conferences on diversity, and I commend you for taking the time to focus on broader issues about your profession and about our society.

Let me close with a story from ancient times. A man was walking down the street in an ancient city, and he spotted a huge construction site. He walked down to the site and saw hundreds of construction workers. He walked up to one worker and said, "What are you doing?" The first construction worker said, "I'm cutting stone." The man walked on to the next construction worker and asked, "What are you doing?" The second worker said, "I'm mixing mortar." The curious man kept walking and asked another worker, "What are *you* doing?" The third construction worker said, "I'm building a cathedral."

There is a natural tendency concenrate on the immediate task of the week, day, or hour and fail to see the big picture. Remember that you're not just cutting stone, you're not just mixing mortar, you're actually building a cathedral. If we can keep that cathedral in sight, it gives us hope that in spite of the obstacles, the slowness, the seeming unwillingness of others, there is a larger structure that we are all trying to build.

Architects Jump Around

Michael Rotondi, AIA, John Kaliski, AIA, Charles Jencks

Architecture California 17:1 included excerpts from Charles Jencks's new book The Architecture of the Jumping Universe *(Academy Editions, 1995). Michael Rotondi and John Kaliski engage Jencks in this excerpt from an edition of "The Politics of Culture," broadcast on KCRW (89.9 FM), National Public Radio's Southern California station at Santa Monica College.*

Charles Jencks
The Architecture of the Jumping Universe advances the idea that we are experiencing a paradigm shift in science and culture, coming fundamentally from cosmology and to a degree religion. The new paradigm explains the activity of the universe as much more dynamic than the passive mechanism depicted by modern theorists such as Newton and the scientists coming from Newton. The universe is seen as unfolding, and *jumping*. Newton thought of the universe as a clock. The model that I—along with many cosmologists and other scientists—am proposing is that it's much more generative.

That in a nutshell is what I argue in this book, and I believe it will have profound implications not only for architecture, but also for religion and the other arts. It has large implications for the politics of culture .

Michael Rotondi
In all of your writings, you've talked about the culture of architecture, but you've also placed architecture in the broader context of what we call "human culture." How does architecture determine human culture as well as affect human culture?

Charles Jencks
Architecture used to be called the "mother of the arts." She was seen as bringing together painting, stained glass, craftsmanship—everything. Why? Because architecture represents our place in the universe, our deep spiritual and scientific ideas.

John Kaliski
You begin the book talking about the traditional idea of architecture as a woman, and by the end of the book the model of the architect is basically paternalistic. But the architect is seen as a paternalistic figure that takes in the world, interprets it, and creates a vision for the world. I would define that model as a modernist idea of the architect, and what strikes me is that the model itself may jump as the paradigm shifts again. Models that are emerging may be more concerned with the nurturing role of the architect in society.

Charles Jencks
I argue in the book that God as "the architect of the universe" was the Christian idea. You often see God depicted in the 13th century bible with architect's instruments. Plato said that God is the great architect of all things. And the Christians took this over. The problem with this is that it's a male god making things. In this book I say, "well, the great new model that's emerging from these sciences accounts for things not only being made, but being gestated." They're nurtured, and so the female role is on a par with the making of things. This is really hard for architects, isn't it? To think about gestating, rather than making?
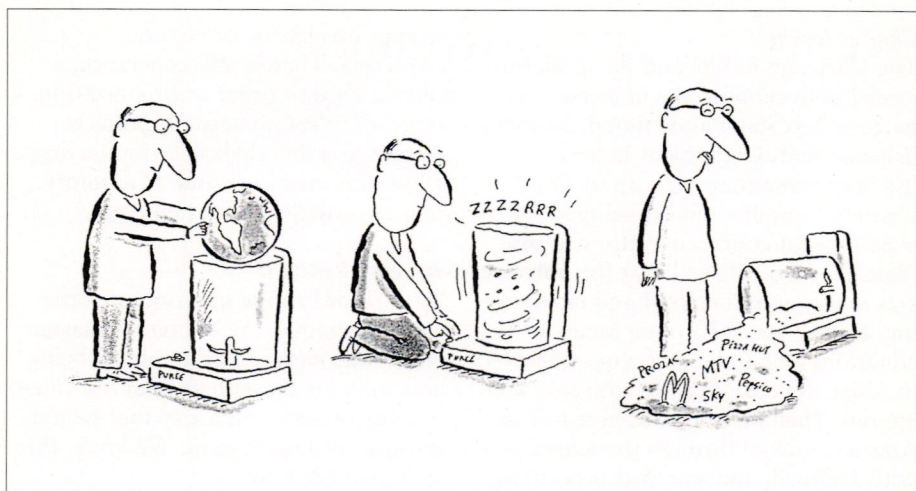
The World as a Blender, Axel Scheffler. Letter from Australia.

Michael Rotondi
John, how would some of those thoughts apply to the perception of the city, the conception of the city, and ultimately imagining how to reconstruct the city?

John Kaliski
The principal of self-organization that Charles points out in his book is something that, at least in terms of the history of the discussion of cities and architecture, is pre-figured in the work of Jane Jacobs from 1961. In her book, *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*, she very clearly talks about how cities are very, very complex and chaotic organisms that have order within chaos and that define success precisely because they're complex and chaotic *and* ordered all at the same time.

Michael Rotondi
How do you raise your comfort level in the realm of uncertainty, which is the world of complexity?

John Kaliski
You can take information from everything and then—as is mentioned in the book—you can play with it. The act of play with all of this information—not only for yourself, but playing with other people—actually becomes a way in which comfort is established.

I think one of the things that's been lost in modern architecture is that its founders were all great players. The people that were basically the second and third and fourth generations—and each successive generation—became more corporate and rigid. They actually became focused on introducing and selling formulas, as opposed to going out and talking to lots of people, being engaged in the processes of culture and of everyday life, and then using those as the source of inspiration for their work. While I suspect I have a somewhat different level of optimism about whether or not you can literally represent these sciences, I do firmly believe that accepting the process as part of your work—which is a "becoming" process—you can make incredibly creative leaps that can be very optimistic and inspiring to people.

Michael Rotondi
There are certain terms that I think it would be good to explore: cosmogenesis, morphogenesis, and one that is more commonly used, transformation—things changing.

Charles Jencks

The Christian model and the modernist model both thought the universe was more or less static and eternal. Newton believed that. Copernicus believed it. It's interesting that right up to 1929 Einstein himself—who developed the view that, of course, overthrew it ultimately—even believed that the universe was constant and eternal and unchanging. For 10 years, he put a factor in his equations—he fudged his equations!—in order to prove that the universe was eternal. Then he came out here to Los Angeles, looked through the telescope with Hubbell, and saw that everything was going away from him. Then he said, "that's the greatest blunder of my life, fudging the equations." The universe is cosmogenetic, it's expanding. This is one of the most fundamental ideas that we have, that the universe is expanding, it's generative, it's creating all the time. That's why I use the word cosmogenesis, to bring that generative quality out. How strange it is for our mind set. If you have the wrong world view, you can't even see where your equations and your theories lead.

Michael Rotondi

I think that there is a fundamental difference between controlling and nurturing, which is part of the paradigm shift. The new world view realizes that we aren't in control of everything, and that all of the mysteries were here before we arrived. We're here to discover the mysteries, as opposed to create the mysteries. It's a curious position that we work ourselves into when we think everything outside of us is absolute and immutable and fixed. We know that there's constant change. Now we're realizing that the entire universe is no different from us.

Charles Jencks

It's not only constant change. These new sciences show detractors, or strange attractors, or chaotic attractors. There's still coherence, a certain kind of order or organization. After all, it's a universe. It holds together. It is this chaotic attractor that allows for creativity and uncertainty. But, nevertheless, order emerges.

Michael Rotondi

With regard to the question of static versus dynamic, the old term "master plan" was based in principle on being able to come up with an idea for an entire city or sector of a city that would grow according to plan. We know that isn't possible now.

John Kaliski

I don't believe there is any such a thing as "planning" anymore, not because we don't plan or don't design cities, but because the professions of planning and urban design have very little to do with the way things are made on an everyday basis. The person who makes things exists within a social and political situation that is constantly emerging. The trick in the new city—the trick in the cities of the future—is to use the energy of people getting together to make things, and then use the architect (or the planner, or urban designer, or landscape architect) as a medium by which things emerge. It's very much a bottom-up idea. Then the question becomes: What are the overarching forces? I think the overarching forces of ecology and politics, for me at least, are shaping practice in an emerging art of making.

Charles Jencks

I argue that there is a role for the master plan. Indeed, you need both top-down and bottom-up organization. You need both, and both should change and be flexible. For me, they should reflect the cosmogenetic universe, which is twisting, warping, and jumping.

Letters

Dear Editor,

The May 1995 issue (Vol. 17, No. l) of *Architecture California* should not only be "required reading" for all of us. It should be quoted as a role model for others to follow!

First of all, you start your editorial with the Vitruvius definition that I have posted on the wall in my office. Then you go on to explain the Editorial Board's planning of the issue and your position regarding this, which seems so logical that it should be widely held and understood.

But we all know it is not. I personally fault our profession as a whole for not having done a better job in making our potential clientele and the public at large aware of the "kinds of things we can and *do* do."

The majority of the articles (and the superb sketches) are clear, enlightening, and a pleasure to read. Perhaps the absence of Big Time (Big Name?) Architects has a lot to do with this particularly good issue.

I do have a bone to pick. As a bi-cultural person, I want to make a few remarks, as follows:

a. The qualification and quantification of Latinos is not valid. I can understand a demographer like Estrada doing this, but it opens the door to further misinterpretation of the "group," thus perpetuating many of the old myths.

b. Education (in all its meanings, including a command of the official language) continues to be *the* only hope that Latinos will eventually make their numbers count by voting. I do not know whether I'll ever see this happening in my lifetime, but there is no other answer!

Nelson Fay, AIA
Encino
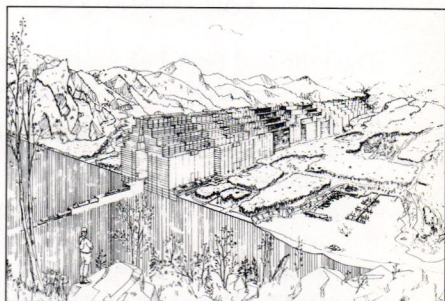
Dear Editor,

Because of your preoccupation with environmental protection, I am sending you the conclusions of our study. Urgent ecological and social problems must be dealt with quickly in order to avoid potential degradations that will bring irreversible consequences. We have concluded that cities must be reorganized: Linear Cities!

Gilles Gauthier, Architect
Montreal, Canada

Bianca Kovar, *I pray you'll find me in the wreckage*, 1994. http://burn.ucsd.edu.

CALL FOR ABSTRACTS FOR VOLUME 18 NUMBER 1

The Editorial Board of *Architecture California* seeks abstracts on the topic of the future of the architecture profession. As we approach the end of the century, *Architecture California* will inevitably return in a variety of ways to this theme. This edition of *Architecture California*, to be published in May 1996, will address the evolving state of architecture practice, with particular consideration given to discussions of the meaning of "traditional" practice, the role of the "professional," and the place of licensing as roles in the building and design industries transform. Also, a focus will be exploration of the technological transformations and new economic configurations that shape our practice. Additionally, proposals are invited that address aspects of architecture education needed to respond to these transformations. The Editorial Board seeks proposals for articles from practitioners, clients, scholars, or allied professionals who are participating in this transformation of the building and design industries and, specifically, the relations of architecture production.

The *etcetera* section always welcomes a variety of submissions beyond the scope of the focus topic.

All proposals will be reviewed by the Editorial Board, and those selected for publication will then be further developed with the Editor. Please send abstracts of approximately 500 words to the Editorial Office in Los Angeles no later than February 1, 1996.