Looking For Regionalism in All The Wrong Places

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Introduction

This paper is about a search for regional qualities in all the wrong places, namely, in the mainstreams of North American architectural practice. It is about why I looked, who I talked to, and what I found.

Modern architects have been ambivalent about regionalism. On the one hand regional images are much loved because they imply the kind of authenticity and extended qualities of place which can only emerge across a large landscape. On the other hand, the enthusiastic embrace of regional images is often considered a historicist romantic exercise in scenographic nostalgia. Regional qualities introduce a tension between the autonomy of the architect and a complex existing milieu of tradition, construction, and communication. The penchant of some architects and critics to view as regional isolated images rather than more complex generative processes of development has retarded the evolution of this discourse by oversimplifying it. The range of definitions of regionalism in contemporary use is indicative of this ambivalence.

Definitions of Regionalism

The classic view on the linkage between regionalism and modernism was recently restated by William R. Curtis:

"At its best regionalism penetrates to the generating principles and symbolic substructures of the past then transforms those into forms that are right for the changing social order of the present."[1]

This is fundamentally a cultural definition, and carries with it an implicit investigation of typologies within an historical context.

Curtis's definition stands in distinct contrast to the most famous recent attempt to relate regionalism and modernism, Kenneth Frampton's "critical regionalism" which he introduced in 1983 in three related articles.[2]

According Frampton the centralizing effects of mass culture and industrialized technology tend to produce world of banal images, devoid of any authentic relationship to their location:

"Modern building is now so universally conditioned by optimized technology that the possibility of creating significant urban form has become extremely limited."[3]

leading to

"the victory of universal civilization over locally inflected culture."[4]

Critical regionalism, resists this tendency through its own methodology:

"The fundamental strategy of Critical Regionalism is to mediate the impact of universal civilization with elements derived indirectly from the peculiarities of a particular place....It may find its governing inspiration in such things as the range and quality of the local light, or in a tectonic derived from a peculiar structural mode, or in the topography of the site."[5]

That there is a distinct hierarchy among the possible "governing inspirations" is made clear later:

"Despite the critical importance of topography and light, the primary principle of architectural autonomy resides in the tectonic rather than the scenographic:..."[6]

These formulations raise two problems. The first is found in the position of the critique with respect to the universal culture. The mass or "universal" society is portrayed as a monolithic cultural datum, which can only be resisted, not altered, and by implication has no redeeming internal characteristics. This formulation makes it hard to acknowledge the complexity of interactions between the mass and local culture. Although Frampton cites Paul Ricoeur in his formulation of the problems of universal culture, Ricoeur explicitly distanced himself from a rejection of modernization.[7] This problem may have been a motivation for the following passage which appears only in the Perspecta article:

"It is my contention that Critical Regionalism continues to flourish sporadically within the cultural fissures that articulate in unexpected ways the continents of Europe and America. These borderline manifestations may be characterized, after Abraham Moles, as the 'interstices of freedom'. Their existence is proof that the model of the hegemonic center surrounded by dependent satellites is an inadequate and demagogic description of our cultural potential."[8]

This may also be the reason that the Portuguese architect, Alvaro Siza steadfastly rejected Frampton's categorization of his work as critical regionalism. In an interview he alluded to his criticisms of Frampton's negative views on universal civilization:

"Contemporary developments are in the direction of the separation mentioned. I do not think this is inevitable. I have worked in different developed countries with industrialized building methods and in Portugal where pre-industrialized conditions exist. An enormous range of building processes exists around the world, and I believe that these influences will come and enrich our

experiences. I don't believe in the fatalistic ideas that construction processes in all countries and all regions will move in the same direction, including the separation and specialization of work. The poverty of contemporary architecture in many countries cannot simply be attributed to the lack of quality in the architectural work. The division of labor and the impossibility of a critical vision of the processes of design suggestion resignation. It is as if things are all preestablished and optimization complete. This attitude eliminates reflection and criticism as well as the accumulation of experience which is a vital part of the history of architecture."[9]

The second problem is found in Curtis's assumption of the relative dominance of the past. In his formulation regionalism stems from an abstraction of the principles of the past. Why is the only legitimate regionalism that which is isolated (and influenced) by historic distance?

The link between these two formulations is in their failure to explore or acknowledge the regional characteristics of contemporary practice. An alternative view of regionalism, acknowledging contemporary conditions was neatly stated by Alan Colquhoun:

"But there is another phenomenon which might equally be called 'regionalism' that has nothing to do with any vernacular utopia or any critique of industrialism. This regionalism exists as part of the unconscious ideologies underlying current practice and is connected with the actual political economic situation whose modalities are only indirectly related to any supposedly indigenous culture. It is the result of a complex interaction between modern international capitalism and various national traditions ingrained in institutions and attitudes. We should not expect to find, in this sort of regionalism, any differences of fundamental kind, or complete survivals. Rather it manifests itself in the form of nuances. The materials of culture are similar in all cases, but each country tends to interpret these materials in a slightly different way."[10]

The regional conditions sought and explored here are closest to those described by Colquhoun, but are not necessarily based upon national attributes.

Regional Variation in Regulation and Technology

If not to national characteristics, where then would one look to observe these subtle and active forms of regional difference? Two areas, familiar to all practicing architects, (and often neglected by academics) were selected for focus; **local technology practice** and **local regulatory culture.**

Local regulatory culture is the composite milieu which impacts on the form of buildings in particular geographic area through the combined effects of building and zoning codes, planning regulations of all types, and political constraints. These impacts may be well defined through codes and legal structures, but they may also be subtle in the sense of what types of buildings will be approved by local regulators and design review boards, and how regulations will be interpreted.

Within the architectural office the interpretation of building codes is often the province of the technical specialist, while the impact of the other levels of regulation and negotiation are dealt with by managers and principals.

Local technology practice is the unique and geographically bounded influence of a building construction material, technology, technique, or custom of a nature that for all but the largest or most well funded of projects, it must be considered a design constraint. Knowledge of local technology practice is not recorded systematically or necessarily broadly known by design professionals outside its immediate impact area. Within the architectural office it is often the province of the technical expert who is responsible for adapting designs generated by others to the realities of a particular local practice.

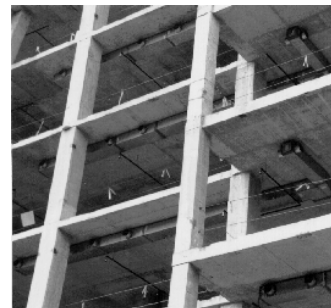**Figure 1.** Market Square Study elevation 1986 (Hartman-Cox Architects)

Figure 2. Lincoln Square View of Concrete Frame (Hartman-Cox Architects)

A Prototypical Interaction of Regulation And Technology

How might regulation and technology interact to create unique local variation? A strong example of this possibility exists in the mixed use buildings being built on Pennsylvania Avenue and elsewhere in downtown Washington, DC.

The regulatory context is clearly dominant in the forming of these buildings. Height limits of 90 and 130 feet, themselves descendants of Washington's Parisian genealogy, obtain throughout the downtown. More recently a tremendous emphasis upon preservation and tradition, has led to subtle forms of political control through the varied approval processes, particularly those of the Pennsylvania Avenue Development Corporation and the Fine Arts Commission.

The interaction of high value development opportunities (permitting fairly expensive buildings) with this regulatory climate and local technology has produced a prototype building which can be described

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as follows: Neo- classical plan, flat plate concrete frame, highly optimized to achieve 9 or 13 stories, classical facade executed in pre-cast concrete.

Although many of these constraints have existed for some time, the current synthesis is unique and represents a time-dependent resolution of the requirements. It will not last forever without change. Typical of a regional solution--it is not found elsewhere, and it has a local master--Hartman-Cox, whose Market Square complex is representative of the type.

Flat plate concrete technology is not new or innovative in principle, but it is simply not used elsewhere for downtown office buildings, because more cost effective solutions are available. Thus the Washington prototype is not new, it is a subtle and ultimately powerful collection of nuances of image and technology.
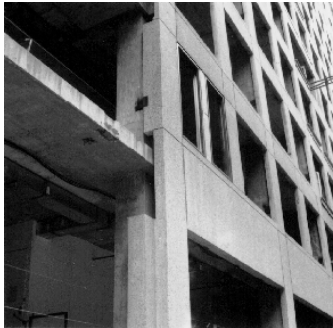

Figure 5. Pre-cast over concrete frame. Franklin Park (Hartman-Cox, Architects)

Figure 3. Typical Washington Post-Modern Pre-cast vernacular (Architect withheld)

Figure 4. Typical Washington Post-Modern Pre-cast vernacular (Architect withheld)

Method of Inquiry

It became apparent that such subtle phenomena could not be profitably studied through secondary sources for there was little. Five nationally prominent award winning architects were identified and interviewed in open ended discussions to elicit their views on the degree of local inflection present or possible in regulation or technology. These architects were: Andres Duany of Duany and Plater-Zyberk, Miami (telephone interview), Susan Haviland of Daniel Solomon Architects, San Francisco, (telephone interview), Pietro Belluschi Architect, Portland, (telephone interview), George Hartman of Hartman-Cox, Washington, and Barney Cunningham of Geddes, Brecher, Qualls, and Cunningham, Philadelphia. The latter two are principals of firms which have won the AIA firm award.

Regulation as a Means of Preserving or Implementing Regional Solutions

During the last two decades there has been a progressively greater emphasis upon the development of design guidelines and regulations derived from analysis of existing prototypes. Such guidelines have been developed both for all new construction and intervention in existing environments.

The foremost example of guidelines for all new construction has been the town of Seaside Florida whose plan and zoning regulations were developed by Andres Duany and Elizabeth Plater-Zyberk. Since this project they have been invited to prepare regulations for communities in Georgia, Massachusetts, and south England. Their work always commences with a study of the local vernacular architecture and attempts to derive from it principles for modern development. According to Andres Duany, their studies avoid the "international" styles such as the Victorian and look to local work prior to 1870. By this method they feel it is possible to "inherit centuries of wisdom". Variables which have proven crucial have been the size of windows, the pitch of the roof, and the presence or absence of porches. According to Andres Duany they "assume the ignorance and ill-will" of subsequent designers and attempt to weave a regulatory web which will guarantee the incremental development of the image they see.[11]

A project seeking to comprehend and further an existing local tradition of gardens was conducted by Daniel Solomon and the Center for Environmental Structure at Berkeley for Pasadena. (winner of a PA award in 1989). This study identified through research the specific characteristics of the gardens which have given Pasadena its character and suggest ways of guiding and controlling aspects of future development to continue this prototype. Validation studies were conducted in part by studios at Berkeley which resulted in further modifications to the recommendations.[12]

Possibly the best example of extended research in the local vernacular linked to regulation has been in San Francisco where the form of the city and its individual buildings has been the subject of both public agency and related academic study since the early 70's. The model evolving in San Francisco has been based upon a composite analysis of the city and its form as well as of the characteristics of the prototypical buildings. Numerous special studies have been conducted, many of them directed at comparing the actual effects of zoning

with the prospects for extending and adapting versions of existing prototypes.[13]

Figure 6. Seaside Design Type VII based upon Charleston Single House (Duany and Plater-Zyberk)

Regulated Regionalism: Problems and Issues

Regulated regionalism entails a unique alteration of the traditional design process as viewed by architects wherein many questions which would be traditionally the subject of schematic design are answered up front by an intensely researched and tested set of guidelines. Whether this represents a lessening in faith in the profession, (in that few practitioners could possibly invest the kind of research involved in the best of these efforts), or simply a recognition that this is more efficient use of society's scarce professional resources does not really seem to matter.

One of the obvious dangers of this regulated regionalism is that of a rigidity and lack of flexibility. The best of current practice, by attempting to define generative factors seems to be less likely to be affected by this problem. The wide variety of aesthetic positions represented by architects who are working at Seaside and the functional emphasis of many other guidelines gives reason to hope that this will not be the case. These efforts do risk the problem Colquhoun warned against in his counsel to avoid attempts to create "vernacular utopias". As many communities rush to get on the bandwagon, (sometimes for purely economic motives) it will be more likely to see overly dictatorial approaches.

Another weakness is that very few architects have been properly trained to develop or work with such guidelines. Developing such guidelines requires excellence in the analysis of both historical and current vernacular architecture with a strong understanding of the leverage points within the design process. Designing within such guidelines requires the ability appreciate their development, but not to be bound to their pre-conceptions.
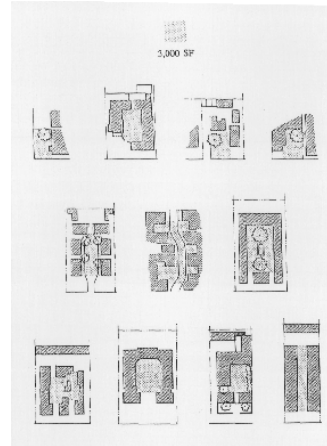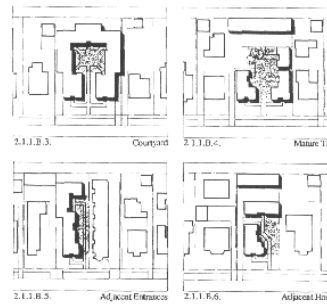

Figure 7. Pasadena Analysis of garden types (Daniel Solomon and Assoc.)

Figure 8. Pasadena Permissible garden types (Daniel Solomon and Assoc.)

Local Technology Practice

Regional differences in technology have always been present, but often suppressed in the efforts to achieve universal forms. Indeed, George Hartman has spoken eloquently of efforts to replicate sophisticated and expensive concrete window detailing similar to those developed by I.M. Pei with the lesser means and materials commonly available in Washington.[14] The nature of the differences has often been that of a lack of sophistication in peripheral areas with less building activity. The best modern architects have always considered technology very carefully, and this has inevitably introduced a local component in their work.

The development of the aluminum skin of Pietro Belluschi's landmark Equitable Building in Portland Oregon in 1948 was, for example, significantly influenced by the presence of the aluminum industry in the Pacific Northwest. Aided by low cost electrical power, the Northwest had become a center for aluminum production during the war. Belluschi was encouraged by the head of the Bonneville Power Administration to explore architectural uses of aluminum and did so in a study for an office building commissioned by Architectural Forum in 1943.[15] Details of the curtain wall were developed in close cooperation with a local aluminum craftsman with aircraft industry experience.

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The pop riveting borrowed from the aircraft industry is credited with keeping the panels very flat and providing an elusive visual texture. It would be hard to imagine such a tour de force in aluminum occurring at that time in any other region.[16]

Figure 10. Equitable Building Wall Section

This should not be misunderstood as a suggesting that the Equitable Building is culturally regionalist. The 1948 Architectural Forum article makes it clear that the extensive use of aluminum cladding was widely expected to develop nationally.[17] It can, however, be argued that this building was technologically regionalist at the time of its construction. The role of regional technological resources was one of facilitating the research and development (and possibly the higher costs of first use) with a new technique. The degree of technical innovation can be assessed also as local building authorities vetoed the architect's proposal of aluminum clad pre-cast spandrel panels. The building was therefore built with a poured in place concrete frame with essentially an aluminum plate skin. The skin of this building employs cast aluminum 3/16" thick and "sheet" aluminum 1/8" thick. It can fairly be argued that the success of this prototype was also related to this generous use of the material as distinguished from later efforts to develop an economical, broadly applicable technology.

Figure 9. Equitable Building General View (Pietro Belluschi, Architect)

The pre-cast concrete industry in general is a stronghold of regional variation. This field is not unlike the beer industry eighty years ago when limitations on transportation and refrigeration dictated highly local production and distribution. Transportation limitations are still very significant and there are still important local variations in quality and capacity for producing effective pre-cast material. Nature of the product is that it requires a great deal of hand attention and the constant exercise of sophisticated judgment.

Pennsylvania is one region that developed a strong pre-cast industry in spite of the strongly established presence of masonry. According to local sources the availability of highly skilled carpenters and the extreme interest of the cement industry in the Lehigh Valley, particularly the Universal Atlas Cement Company, combined to provide the pre-conditions for the development of a sophisticated local industry.[18]

Although the Universal Atlas Cement Company is no longer owned by United States Steel and lacks the resources to contribute to the industry as it once did, the relatively small and highly personalized producers still exist and provide pre-cast to New Jersey and Washington as well as throughout Pennsylvania. By contrast, the Phoenix area has no high quality architectural pre-cast available locally.[19]
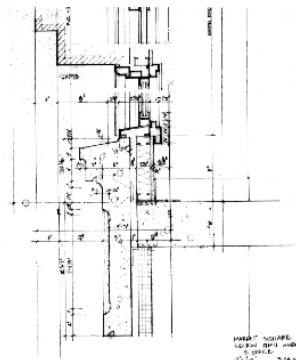

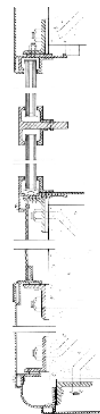**Figure 11.** Market Square Pre-cast element (Hartman-Cox, Architects)

Figure 12. Market Square Wall section sketch

In a somewhat reciprocal sense to the modernist examples given above, the rise of the post modern (in the classical sense) has also given impetus to the pre-cast industry, particularly in the area of high quality, fine grained pre-cast called cast stone, which is often used in applications similar to those of limestone. Many of the companies producing this material went into a long period of decline during the depression and survived on

the limited amount of maintenance and traditional work being done, only to be discovered by architects anxious to implement these techniques again.

Another project of Hartman-Cox explores a unique form of regional thinking which could be exploited further by architects. (And also reveals that these architects are not limited to the neo-classical in their focus) In the U.S. Embassy in Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia, the design process was weighted, as for all government projects, in favor of materials made in the United States when their use is possible. The careful evaluation and specification of locally available materials such as the roof tiles, and the Shanghai plaster stucco finish, over the predictably crude local cast in place concrete frame were essential parts of a strategy developed by Hartman-Cox to both control costs and to ground the structure within its region.[20]

Figure 13. Franklin Square Pre-cast element with granite facing (Hartman-Cox, Architects)

Discussion of Technology

Technology is rarely primary, but is always crucial in that it defines the possible. Technology is thus very much a question of what is available in the mind of the architect. The technical development of the work in the architect's office becomes the cutting edge where abstraction is made real. The lack of knowledge within many architectural practices of the specific opportunities which may be present locally causes a greater drift toward the universal than the situation actually warrants. Each architect interviewed on the subject of technology emphasized the presence of craft traditions with the mainstream. One pre-caster in Pennsylvania is so secretive, for example, that he will only accept jobs that he likes, and would not consent to an interview for this study. Another pre-caster in Washington revealed that the Hartman-Cox representative who came to discuss technique was the first architect he had seen in some time.[21] The continuation of the historic relationship between the architect and the artisan is still possible, despite the legal tornado which typifies modern North American construction.

The technical execution of the work by contractors and suppliers also raises real questions regarding the education and skill level available. Efforts to retain historical techniques such as the training courses sponsored by the Association Preservation Technology are too few and far between. There is also an as yet unwritten history of the building industry as viewed in terms of labor force and ethnic migration patterns.

The fragmentation of the building industry into many small companies in North America has created problems of adequate capital for research and development, on the one hand, but has probably aided the development and preservation of unique techniques. Consider the problems now faced in Eastern Europe where in some countries massive state efforts to rationalize the building industry have left tremendous investments in large prefabrication plants possibly unsuited to producing the type of materials now desired.
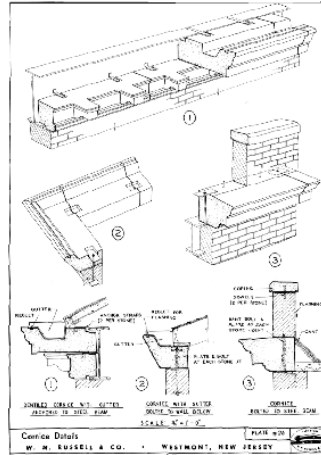

Figure 14. Russell Cast Stone Co. Current Catalog

Some Final Questions

An interesting distortion of regional intent occurs when a firm or team within a firm absorbs particular ways of doing things which are perceived as universal because they are locally ubiquitous, and they then work in another location, thinking that their process is indeed universal. This could be called "reverse regionalism". The classic example is the export of western high-rise office buildings, optimized for high land value, high labor cost settings, to low land value, low labor cost third world settings. But far more subtle examples of this process exist.

It is inherent in the communications and culture of the profession that these kinds of reversals or transformations can occur, sometimes with very positive results. That this is not always recognized, however, is evidence of an educational and methodological gap of the first magnitude, since the self-consciousness of the profession is limited by the education of its members.

Frampton's discussion of critical regionalism was influenced by Paul Ricoeur's consideration of the problem of modernization:

"Thus we come to the crucial problem confronting nations just rising from underdevelopment. In order to get on the road toward modernization, is it necessary to jettison the cultural past which has been the raison d'etre of a nation?[22]

The situation which concerned Ricoeur is now happening throughout the world as many countries

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emerge to "developed" status. These differences are now crucial. More work by North American architects will confront these regional and cultural conditions.

Both the media and education are universalizing elements. Critical regionalism as hypothesized by Frampton could easily devolve to the practice of feeding a few particular elements into an essentially unexamined universal process, creating buildings to be reviewed by critics responding to the dynamics of the multi-national media. There is a need to consider ways to balance the universal and the particular. Two steps would be (1) to develop far more local criticism, and (2) for greater technical and regulatory knowledge to be developed and disseminated at the regional level.

Brief as this overview has been, it has shown developments beneath the surface of contemporary practice that are unknown by many participants in it. Why is this? It points to lack of self knowledge of the profession whereby it doesn't acknowledge the way in which building occurs. This has many ramifications; poor education, erosion of opportunity, inability to control the building team, etc. etc. The profession may be more highly universalized than the technology and techniques it is trying to organize.[23]

We need to begin to study the culture of building. One approach to doing this would be to view the mainstream as kind of vernacular itself, and apply the methods for the analysis of vernacular architecture to it. The structural analysis of Virginia tidewater vernacular architecture by Henry Glassie defines an approach which could be productive. He defines and considers both the particular context of each artifact, as well as the abstract context, that is the perceived context in the mind of the maker. Once defined, much can be explained through the interaction of the dual contexts.[24]

The significance of this discussion is that it implies a rich continuum between strong and weak regional factors, not an opposition between universal and regional culture. It further implies a variety of hybrid regions which might be defined in new ways. And finally it provides a new intensity to efforts to develop a framework for the analysis of vernacular architecture of all types.

ENDNOTES

[1] William R. Curtis, "Towards an AuthenticRegionalism", MIMAR #19, Jan-Mar1986, p. 24

[2] Kenneth Frampton, "Towards a Critical Regionalism: Six Points for Architecture of Resistance", chapter in Hal Foster, ed., The Anti-Aesthetic, (Port Townsend, WA: Bay Press, 1983); Kenneth Frampton, "Critical Regionalism", In: The American Dream: A Collection of Essays (Atlanta: Georgia Institute of Technology/ACSA, 1983); Kenneth Frampton, "Prospects of a Critical Regionalism", Perspecta 20, 1983

[3] Kenneth Frampton, "Towards a Critical Regionalism..." op.cit. p.17

[4] Ibid. p. 17

[5] Ibid. p. 21 Frampton identifies Alex Tzonis and Liliane Lefaivre as the originators of the term "Critical Regionalism" in their article "The Grid and the Pathway. An Introduction to the work of Dimitris and Susana Antonakakis" Architecture in Greece, 15 (Athens: 1981) p. 178

[6] Ibid. p. 27

[7] Paul Ricoeur, History and Truth, trans. Charles A. Kelbley, (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1965) p. 274-275.

[8] Kenneth Frampton, "Prospects of a Critical Regionalism" op. cit. p. 147

[9] Alvaro Siza in an interview with Peter Testa, "The Making of Architecture: An Interview with Alvaro Siza", Harvard Architectural Review,, #7, (Cambridge: Harvard University, 1988) p. 183 See also Peter Testa, "Tradition and Actuality in the Antonio Carlos Siza House", Journal of Architectural Education, Vol. 40, No. 4, Summer 1987, p.24-30, in which Testa contests what he views as Frampton's categorization of Siza as a regionalist.

[10] Alan Colquhoun, "Regionalism and Technology" in Modernity and the Classical Tradition, (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1989) p. 207; Original essay appeared in Casabella 491 (May 1983).

[11] Andres Duany, Partner in Duany and Plater-Zyberk Architects, Miami, telephone interview, December 29, 1990

[12] "A City of Gardens" report by the Center for Environmental Structure, University of California, Berkeley and Daniel Solomon and Associates, Draft April 25, 1988

[14] George Hartman, Partner in Hartman-Cox Architects, Washington, DC, Winner of AIA Firm Award 1988, Interview, January 5, 1990.

[15] "Office Building 194x", Architectural Forum, May 1943, p. 106-112

[16] Pietro Belluschi, Telephone Interview, January 24, 1990.

[17] "Equitable Building, Architectural Forum, September 1948, p. 98-106

[18] Barney Cunningham, Partner in Geddes, Brecher, Qualls, and Cunningham, Philadelphia, Winner of AIA Firm Award 1986, Interview, December 22, 1989.

[19] Tim McGinty, Associate Professor of Architecture, Arizona State University, Personal Communication, December 1989.

[20] George Hartman, interview op. cit.

[21] Ibid.

[22] Paul Ricouer, op. cit., p. 277.

[23] Some partial confirmation of the tendency of the profession toward greater universality than its context can be claimed from the following study comparing the perceptions of architects and non-architects which revealed that architects in different countries still had more similar responses to each other than to non-architects from the same country: David Canter, jose Cecilio Sanches-Robles, and Nicholas Watts, "A Scale for the Cross-Cultural Evaluation of Houses", in Canter and Lee (eds.), Psychology and the Built Environment, (London: Architectural Press, 1974). My thanks to Linda Groat for pointing this out to me,

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Hartman-Cox Architects: Fig. 1, 12; Cross Currents of American Architecture, Architectural Design Profile 57, (London: Architectural Design, 1985) p. 73 permission applied for, Fig 6; "A City of Gardens" report by the Center for Environmental Structure, University of California, Berkeley and Daniel Solomon and Associates, Draft April 25, 1988, courtesy Daniel Solomon, Figure 7,8; Roger Sturtevant, in Jo Stubblebine, ed. the Northwest Architecture of Pietro Belluschi, (New York: F.W. Dodge, 1953) p. 40, permission applied for, Fig 9; Drawing after wall section appearing in Architectural Forum, September 1948, p. 98-106. Drawing by William Hellow of Claflen Associates, Fig. 10; Russell Cast Stone Co., Catalog, Fig. 14; All photographs by author.

LOOKING FOR REGIONALISM IN ALL THE WRONG PLACES

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Abstract

This paper challenges the dismissal of the architecture mainstream as inherently non-regional (Frampton 1983) by examining the striking but subtle impact of two factors which have received little academic attention, but are highly critical in practice. The substantial regional differences which exist in **local technology practice**, and **local regulatory culture** continue to have profound effects on the making of buildings. It will be shown that these factors do not produce the same neat formal packages and familiar images of regionalism expected by critics, but rather result in a more subtle weave between local and non local determinants of form. The significance of this discussion is that it implies a rich continuum between strong and weak regional factors, not an opposition between universal and regional culture. It further implies a variety of hybrid regions which might be defined in new ways. And finally it provides a new intensity to efforts to develop a framework for the analysis of vernacular architecture of all types.