Between Populism and Dogma: Álvaro Siza's Third Way

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In the heyday of the debate on postmodernity, Kenneth Frampton presented critical regionalism as an alternative approach to the modernist dogma and what he considered to be 'the demagogic populism of post-modern architecture'.[1] This proposal seemed to open a third way to escape the convergence towards each one of these allegedly opposed poles. However, this critical approach is built on a fundamental paradox. It is formulated from a central position, i.e., the developed and industrialized world, yet it is concerned with peripheral phenomena and regional architectural approaches with an anti-centrist sentiment.

Nevertheless, under the epithet of critical regionalism, some marginal architectural practices were inscribed into the historiography of architecture and became instrumental in presenting an alternative, both to the modernist dogma and to postmodernist populist use of the vernacular to 'give people what they want'. In the early 1980s, concepts of modernism and avant-garde were reconceptualized within the discourse on postmodernism. In this context, to what extent did critical regionalism and its affiliated concept of *arrière-garde* contribute to a novel approach in the dialectics between modernity and tradition, between universal civilization and local cultures? Did it instrumentalize peripheral architectural practices to define its position in the modernism versus postmodernism debate? Or did it contribute to challenging the modernist dogma by bringing together alternative off-centre modernist architectural approaches?

The architecture of Álvaro Siza is one of those marginal practices frequently used to illustrate that alternative position. Siza began his career in the late 1950s working in the office of Fernando Távora, who was a member of CIAM's younger post-war generation. First influenced by the epistemological shift proposed by this generation and then following his own personal approach, Siza sought an alternative path for the polarization of the architectural discourse, focusing his attention on the relation to the context. However, to what extent can Siza's architectural approach be assessed as regionalist? Is it simply the result of historical continuity? Does it engage in modernism's mission to promote art's autonomy? Or, conversely, does it attempt to follow the historical avant-garde's goal to narrow the gap between art and everyday life?

To answer some of these questions, I will reflect on critical regionalism and its critique to explore the possibility of its role as a mediator between dogmatic applications of the modern canon and populism. Critical regionalism will be discussed within the broader frame of the redefinition of hegemonic relationships, especially postcolonial critique and the relation centre-periphery.

Using Siza's project for the Malagueira neighbourhood in Évora (Portugal), I will argue that the architect's approach created a third way between populism and avant-garde, using the architectural project as support to deliver a product that results both from an ambivalent relationship with the context

and the creative conflict between the architect and the future residents, through user participation in the design process.

Critical regionalism: looking for mediation between universal and local

In his seminal essay published in 1961 in the French journal *Esprit*, Paul Ricoeur posits the paradox: 'how to become modern and to return to sources?'[2] Ricoeur's paradox brings to the fore the challenges to cultural identity in a globalized world. He states that

We can easily imagine a time close at hand when any fairly well-to-do person will be able to leave his country indefinitely in order to taste his own national death in an interminable, aimless voyage. At this extreme point, the triumph of the consumer culture, universally identical and wholly anonymous, would represent the lowest degree of creative culture.[3]

However, Ricoeur rejects resistance to progress as an excuse to preserve a 'rooted' culture. He challenges both nostalgic and progressive approaches, claiming that 'the problem is not simply to repeat the past, but rather to take root in it in order to ceaselessly invent'.[4]

For some decades following Ricoeur's essay, the debate around universal civilization and popular culture emerged as a central topic in the architectural debate. In the mid-1970s, Alexander Tzonis and Liane Lefaivre argued that during the 1950s and 1960s 'the role of the architect was symbolically reduced […] to a "minimum structure" while that of the user was to increase proportionally'. This was the background against which 'a compromise between the idea of the universally applicable set of architectural norms and of the idea of user sovereignty proved impossible for these two tendencies were irreducible contradictions'.[5] The authors contested that

The rationale of the populist movement can be put succinctly. Given that all evidence denied the existence of a single universally good and desirable formula in architecture, and, given the fact that the Welfare State architecture, both as a theory and practice forced individuals to live in an environment alien to them, then it must be replaced by an alternative way of thinking and doing architecture. In it's [sic] *ultimate conclusions populism saw design as a direct outcome of the needs of the user, or as directly accountable to them only.*[6]

The emergence of what Tzonis and Lefaivre named the populist movement was mainly fostered by a critique on functionalist theories and the normative approach of welfare state policies.

In 1981, some years after publishing the essay 'In the Name of the People', Tzonis and Lefaivre coined the term 'critical regionalism' with an essay about the work of Greek architects Dimitris and Susana Antonakakis.[7] In this essay, they divide regionalism into three phases. The first is linked with the rise of nationalism, anti-absolutism, and liberalism and is characterized by promoting ideals such as uniqueness, particularity, and distinctiveness. The second phase, which they call historicist regionalism, emerges at the end of the eighteenth century and is based on the high regard for the local remains of medieval structures and on the disdain for neoclassical uniformity. Finally, they present critical regionalism as an approach still deriving from 'ideals of the singular and the local, of liberty and anti-authoritarianism', but they argue that now its opponents are 'the despotic aspects of the Welfare State and the custodial effects of modernism' instead of absolutist regimes or academicism.[8] Critical regionalism reacts against 'the idea of abstract universal norms as a result of the re-emergence of the importance of the State and the faith attached to industrialization which a highly normative architecture had seemed to express'.[9] Therefore, according to Tzonis and Lefaivre, both the populist movement
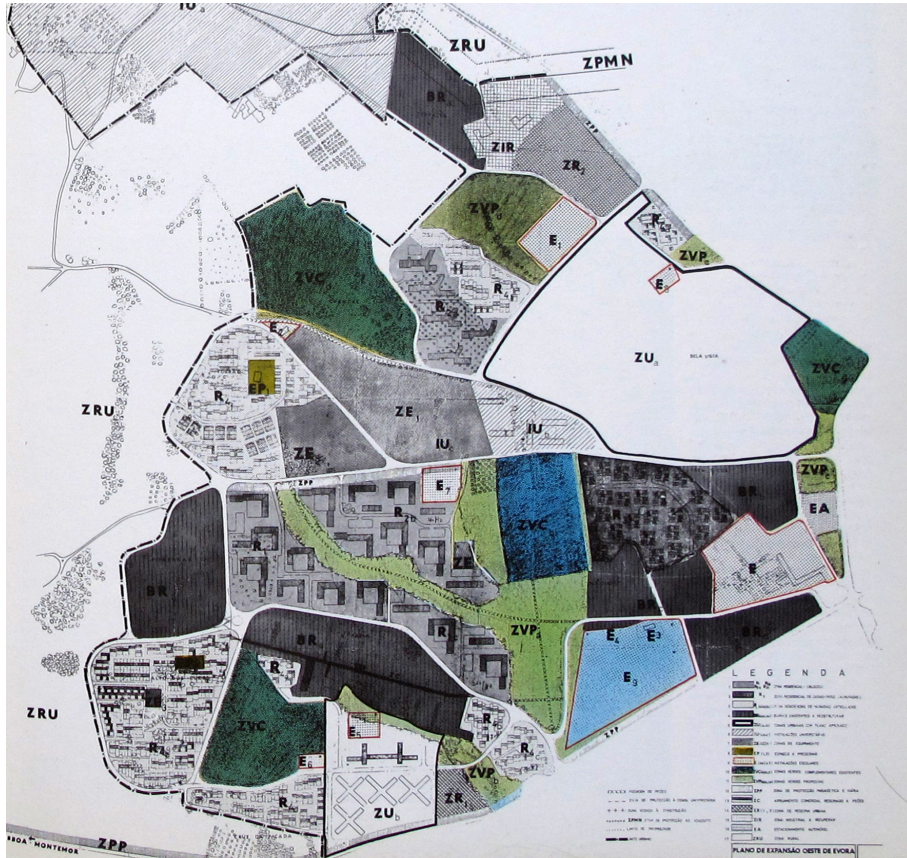
Fig. 1: Plan for the expansion of Évora's western area - DGSU (1975). The Malagueira sector occupies the central part, with the L and U shape proposed buildings. Image courtesy of Álvaro Siza, Arquitecto, Lda.

and critical regionalism shared the criticism of the architectural consequences of the welfare state's normative aspects. Thus, stressing the differences between critical and populist approaches became a crucial issue to Tzonis and Lefaivre. They claim that in Greece, 'there was always the danger of abandoning the more difficult critical approach for a sentimental utopianism, making architecture an easy escape to the rural Arcadia, poor but honest'.[10]

Two years after Tzonis and Lefaivre's essay, Kenneth Frampton recuperates the term critical regionalism and discusses it in the framework of Paul Ricoeur's dialectics between rooted culture and universal civilization. Frampton uses a long quotation from Ricoeur's essay as the epigraph to his influential 1983 article 'Prospects for a Critical Regionalism'. He highlights Ricoeur's claim that 'a hybrid "world culture" will only come into being through a cross-fertilization between rooted *culture*, on the one hand, and universal *civilization* on the other'.[11]

Ricoeur's polarity 'culture versus civilization' was instrumental in framing Frampton's use of the term critical regionalism, describing an architectural approach with a 'strong desire for realising an identity'.[12] Frampton's use of this polarity was, however, dissociated from the political circumstances that influenced Ricoeur's essay. According to Mark Crinson, 'Ricoeur had considered the phenomenon of universalisation, its benefits and problems, as part of the colonial world and the relationship of anti-colonial liberation movements to these matters'. Crinson argues that 'the central problems of Ricoeur's essay […] were flattened out [by Frampton] and cut free from their contemporary geopolitics'.[13]

In fact, in his article, Frampton was mainly concerned with the populist contingencies of the emergence of postmodernism. Hence, he already anticipated a possible misinterpretation of his own regionalism with other approaches based on nostalgic representations of the past. Frampton elucidates that

It is necessary to distinguish at the outset between critical regionalism and the simplistic evocation of a sentimental or ironic vernacular. I am referring, of course, to that nostalgia for the vernacular which is currently being conceived as an overdue return to the ethos of a popular culture; for unless such a distinction is made one will end by confusing the resistant capacity of Regionalism with the demagogic tendencies of Populism.[14]

In the same year, when Frampton publishes the aforementioned article, he also contributes a chapter to the book edited by Hal Foster titled *The Anti-Aesthetic: Essays on Postmodern Culture*.[15] The title of Frampton's essay, 'Towards a Critical Regionalism: Six Points for an Architecture of Resistance', shows his persistence in developing the term 'critical regionalism'.

In his synthesis of 'The Rise and Fall of the Avant-Garde', Frampton highlights the evolution of art towards becoming a commodity, losing its autonomy. He proceeds by elucidating postmodernist architecture's support of either pure technique or pure scenography. In the third point, 'Critical regionalism and world culture', Frampton struggles to posit critical regionalism in such a way as to avoid its association with conservative policies, such as populism or sentimental regionalism. Moreover, the avant-garde is also dismissed because 'its initial utopian promise has been overrun by the internal rationality of instrumental reason'.[16] Therefore, Frampton proposes a new approach: an *arrière-garde* position. He claims that

Architecture can only be sustained today as a critical practice if it assumes an arrière-garde position, that is to say, one which distances itself equally from the Enlightenment myth of progress and from
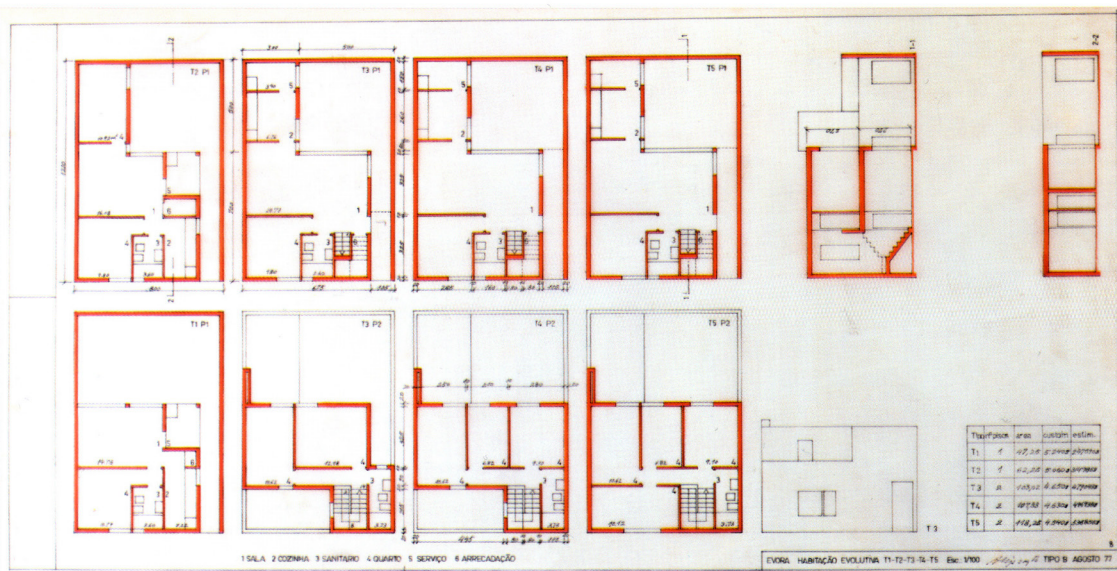
Fig. 2: Evolutive housing types (First version, August 1977) - Type A (front yard; above); Type B (backyard; below).
Image courtesy of Álvaro Siza, Arquitecto, Lda.

a reactionary, unrealistic impulse to return to the architectonic forms of the preindustrial past.[17]

What defines the resistant characteristic of this architecture is its strategy of mediating the world culture with the peculiarities of a particular place, taking into account such things as topography, context, climate, light, and tectonic form. Frampton argues that this approach stands in contradistinction to the populists' demagogic use of communicative and instrumental signs as primary vehicles.

The bulk of references presented by Frampton concern peripheral practices, overlooking other contributions emanating from more central geographies where that commitment to place was also an issue. In fact, Frampton's formulation of critical regionalism as an alternative to postmodernism, according to Dirk van den Heuvel, may be considered a late fruit of the English discourse on New Brutalism, neo-Palladianism, and the Picturesque, in which the Smithsons, Colin Rowe, Nikolaus Pevsner, and Reyner Banham were main protagonists.[18] However, Frampton presented neither the Smithsons in particular nor Team 10 as reference groups for a critical regionalist architectural approach. In order to better understand critical regionalism's immanent tension between the centre and the periphery, a closer look at both the context and regionalism debates will be presented and discussed in the next section.

Context thinking and the tension between centre and periphery

The context debate has occupied a central position in the post-war architectural discourse, especially at the CIAM congresses and Team 10 meetings, as part of the critique of modernist practice. In the 1950s, Ernesto Rogers used the expression *preesistenze ambientale* to criticize the first generation of modern architects' 'tendency to treat every scheme as a unique abstract problem, their indifference to location, and their desire to make of every work a prodigy'. According to Adrian Forty, Rogers argued in favour of 'architecture as a dialogue with the surroundings, both in the immediate physical, but also as a historical continuum'.[19] In the 1960s, the Italian word *ambiente* was translated into English as 'context' despite having different meanings in the original Italian. Context and contextualism would eventually become key concepts in the works of authors such as Christopher Alexander, Colin Rowe, and Kenneth Frampton.

The idea of context has had multiple interpretations. According to Dirk van den Heuvel,

In the 1950s, the idea of context was connected to the biological idea of 'environment', to an idea of 'ecological urbanism', and of course, to the concept of 'habitat', which scourged the CIAM debates and ultimately led to its demise. By the 1970s, however, context had come to mean historical context in the first place, while being refashioned as typo-morphological orthodoxy.[20]

However, 'in the case of the Smithsons, and Team 10 in general, the value attached to specificity-to-place and context-building leads to quite the opposite of a historically grounded, typo-morphological orthodoxy'.[21] Since the beginning of the New Brutalism debate, 'to the Smithsons, "context thinking" was part and parcel of an architecture which was the "result of a way of life", a "rough poetry" dragged out of "the confused and powerful forces which are at work"'[22]. Therefore, 'the "newness" of the "machine-served society" - the technology and market-driven consumer society, the allegedly resulting loss of sense of place and community - was a central and constitutive part of the problem of a context-responsive architecture'.[23]

Hence, one can observe in the Smithsons' discourse a phenomenological approach to the idea of context, where the everyday assumed a central position. However, although sharing
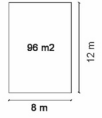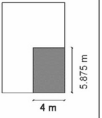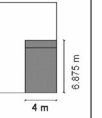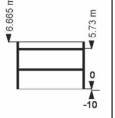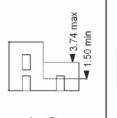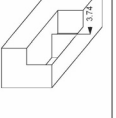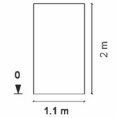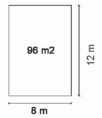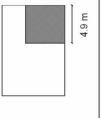
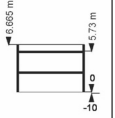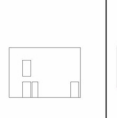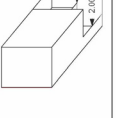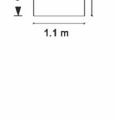| Housetype	Lot area and dimensions	Alignments and mandatory free-space 1st floor	Alignments and mandatory free-space 2nd floor	Maximum number of floors	Street elevation: maximum surface area, number of openings, and wall height	Maximum volume	Openings: maximum dimension (only second floor's street elevation)	Recommenda-tions
Frontyard	96 m2, 12 m, 8 m	5.875 m, 4 m	6.875 m, 4 m	0 = floor 1 level; 6.665 m; 5.73 m; 0; -10	3.74 max; 1.50 min; floor 1 - 2 open; floor 2 - 1 open	3.74	0 = floor level; 2 m; 1.1 m	Check the Town Hall's project-types. Enclosing walls and chimneys should be studied in collaboration with the Town Hall. The yard should be gardened or covered by an ivy lattice
Backyard	96 m2, 12 m, 8 m	4.7 m, 4.9 m	4.9 m	0 = floor 1 level; 6.665 m; 5.73 m; 0; -10	floor 1 - 3 open; floor 2 - 1 open	3.74; 2.00	0; 3.74; 2.00; 1.1 m	
Specifications	a) One or two-storey houses b) Annexes, store-rooms, and garages are not allowed c) Respect for the National and the Municipal building regulations d) First and second floor levels should be requested in the Town Hall e) Use a Town Hall's expandable project-type or a project that respects these regulations (subject to approval by town hall) f) Individual or collective garages available, according to Town Hall plan and regulations g) Use service gallery and its walls h) External whitewashed walls, terraces, wooden or colored aluminum mullions are mandatory i) Overhangs or cantilevered volumes are not allowed j) Number and dimensions of openings are constrained. Mortar frames with a maximum overhang of 1 cm and 20 cm wide, painted in the traditional colors (gray, yellow, green, blue, and rose) are allowed							

Fig. 3: Malagueira's building regulations for the two initially proposed housing types: front yard and backyard. Image courtesy of José Pinto Duarte.

common ground with the Smithsons' approach, Frampton disregarded it, whereas a more ethnographic approach would have seemed preferable for assessing the work of Álvaro Siza.

In contrast to the omission of Team 10 members, Álvaro Siza was a regular presence in - sometimes even the flagship of - Frampton's writings about critical regionalism. However, Siza's affiliation with this architectural approach is challenged by Peter Testa who claims that

For 'Critical Regionalism' to serve as a means of identifying an architectural position I interpret that it demands that the relations between architectural forms and elements be primarily rooted in local traditions, while the elements which make up the architecture may or may not be local.[24]

Therefore, Testa posits the question: Is Siza's architecture 'derived from indigenous sources and ideas? Or conversely, is it derived from universal sources inflected by local conditions?'[25] The tension between universal civilization and rooted culture emerges again as the framework for Testa's criticism on Frampton's position. He argues that 'Frampton's Critical Regionalism, as currently formulated, contains basic methodological problems that neutralize it as a critical position and render it incapable of explicating Siza's architecture. I contend that Siza is not a regionalist architect'.[26] Testa calls this architectural approach a 'non-imitative contextualism'.[27] He claims that 'for Siza the site is an artifact which lies beyond design, as a socio-physical and historical matrix made up of superimpositions, transformations, conflicting demands and interpretations'.[28]

Testa stresses the difficulties of using an umbrella definition, such as critical regionalism, to qualify such a hybrid approach where both the values of the universal civilization and rooted culture are present at the same time. 'Siza's contextualism involves the construction of relational structures, which include systematic transgressions, and his works do not simply develop by replication or analogy to the setting. […] This architecture is both autonomous and involved with its surroundings.'[29]

Testa's critique raises some issues regarding the framework of the concept of critical regionalism. Moreover, Frampton's omission of his fellow Brits, the Smithsons, from his critical regionalism argument is, thus, most remarkable since both parties shared a similar concern with a phenomenological commitment to place. Nevertheless, one could argue that the Smithsons' agenda was dealing with the problems of universal civilization and the machine-served society from inside, from the centre, while Frampton was more concerned with anti-centrist sentiments, such as Siza's, which were located in peripheral positions.

This issue is stressed by Keith Eggener, who draws attention to a paradoxical aspect of the critical regionalist approach.[30] He claims that 'its proponents opposed the domination of hegemonic power and reactionary populism, rampant globalization and superficial nationalism'.[31] However, he also stresses that 'identifying an architecture that purportedly reflects and serves its locality, buttressed by a framework of liberative, empowering rhetoric, critical regionalism is itself a construct most often imposed from outside, from positions of authority'.[32] Jorge Figueira also highlights this position. He argues that 'Frampton seeks to place at the centre of the postmodernism debate a place of an *ethnographic* taste, where a "resistant" architecture rooted in and respectful of the topography can flourish, in a domain where the "tactile" rules over the "visual"'.[33] Borrowing from urban historian Jane M. Jacobs' critique of postcolonial discourse, Eggener argues that 'in stressing place, identity, and resistance over all other architectural and extra-architectural considerations, critical regionalist rhetoric exemplifies the "revisionary form of
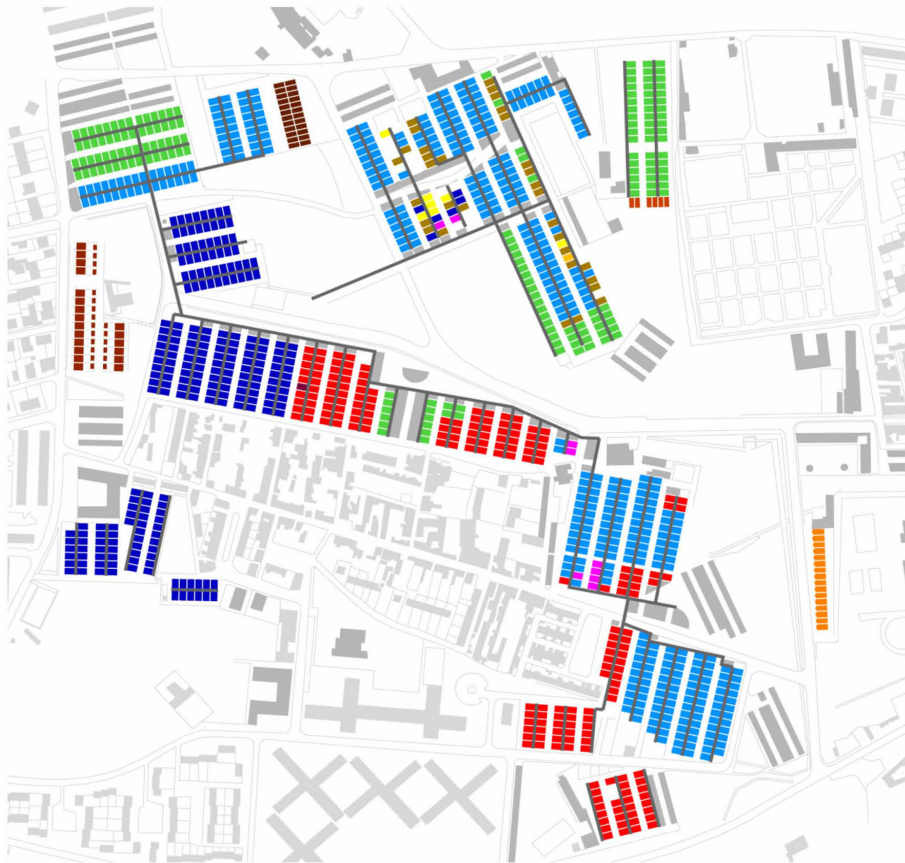
Fig. 4: Breakdown of Malagueira's housing tissue into types developed over the period of 1977/1995. Image courtesy of José Pinto Duarte.

imperialist nostalgia"'. Moreover, he states that 'like postcolonialist discourse in general, critical regionalist writing regularly engages in monumental binary oppositions: East/West, traditional/modern, natural/cultural, core/periphery, self/other, space/place'.[34]

Following Eggener's suggestion of critical regionalism as a postcolonialist concept, I would argue that the resistant capacity of regionalism, evoked by Frampton to defend against the demagogic tendencies of populism, can also be brought in relation with Homi Bhabha's idea of cultural hybridization. According to Bhabha,

Produced through the strategy of disavowal, the reference *of discrimination is always to a process of splitting as the condition of subjection: a discrimination between the mother culture and its bastards, the self and its doubles, where the trace of what is disavowed is not repressed but repeated as something* different - *a mutation, a hybrid.*[35]

However, from the perspective of the status quo, represented for Bhabha by the colonizers, hybridity challenges the classical roles that result from the exercise of authority; it creates a menace to the identification of clear forms of relation between the colonizer and the colonized subjects. He argues that

The paranoid threat from the hybrid is finally uncontainable because it breaks down the symmetry and duality of self/other, inside/outside. In the productivity of power, the boundaries of authority - its reality effects - are always besieged by 'the other scene' of fixations and phantoms.[36]

I would suggest that a condition of thirdness emerges from this challenge to the previously accepted symmetries and dualities. Something that Bhabha describes as 'an "interstitial" agency that refuses the binary representation of social antagonism. Hybrid agencies find their voice in dialectic

that does not seek cultural supremacy or sovereignty'.[37]

Frampton's claim of critical regionalism as an architecture of resistance 'introduces a critical "other-than" choice that speaks and critiques through its otherness'.[38] Likewise, he recuperates Abraham Moles' concept of interstices of freedom to declare that the flourishing of critical regionalism 'within the cultural fissures that articulate in unexpected ways the continents of Europe and America […] is proof that the model of the hegemonic center surrounded by dependent satellites is an inadequate and demagogic description of our cultural potential'.[39]

Keith Eggener argues that critical regionalist writing regularly engages in monumental binary oppositions. However, I contend that stressing polarity is a strategy to enhance a condition of thirdness as a conciliatory outcome between, for example, dogmatic and populist practices and discourses.

Thus, in order to illustrate the extent to which the term 'critical regionalism' stands, or not, for a valid concept to frame Álvaro Siza's architectural approach, I will present and discuss his project for the Malagueira neighbourhood as an example in which the instrumental use of a condition of thirdness emerges as a strategy to resist populism, but also to challenge pre-established canons.

The Malagueira neighbourhood project will be discussed with the focus on two main issues: the definition of the masterplan's strategy (architecture for the people) and contributions to the project brought on by the development of a participatory process (architecture with the people).[40]

An ambivalent approach: exploring conflicts, resisting populism
On 25 April 1974, a bloodless revolution ended forty-eight years of dictatorship in Portugal. On 15 May,

Fig. 5

Fig. 6

Fig. 5: Malagueira neighbourhood - aerial view. Source: As Cidades de Álvaro Siza, Carlos Castanheira and Chiara Porcu (eds). (Porto: Figueirinhas, 2001), p. 49. Image copyright José Manuel Rodrigues / Álvaro Siza, Arquitecto, Lda.
Fig. 6: A street façade in Malagueira neighbourhood. Image: Nelson Mota.

Nuno Portas, an influential contributor to both the national and international promotion of Siza's works, was appointed Secretary of State of Housing and Urban Planning, and one of his first decisions was the creation of a nationwide programme to solve the housing shortage. The SAAL process was created in July 1974, and, due to political problems, ended in October 1976.[41] One of SAAL's main characteristics was its use of a participatory methodology to include future users in the design process.

Álvaro Siza was one of the architects engaged in this endeavour. Siza's projects for the SAAL process in the city of Porto earned him a leading role in the architectural milieu as a successful architect for social housing. This resulted in the city council of Évora inviting him in 1977 to develop a project for a district called Quinta da Malagueira (the Malagueira estate).

Siza started his professional career working with Fernando Távora in the late 1950s. In this period, an intense debate about architecture and national identity fostered a young generation of architects to develop a survey on Portuguese regional architecture. One of the goals of the survey was to assess the extent to which the regime's claim of a national architectural language could be found at the site.[42] Távora, who was one of the central figures in this survey, argued that 'with the survey on Portuguese Regional Architecture, a third way or a new modernity was being launched.'[43]

This debate would be reflected in Álvaro Siza's early works. During the next decade, however, Siza began developing his own architectural approach. In fact, Jorge Figueira argues that in the late 1960s 'Siza realizes that both "tradition" and "modern" are no longer stable values that allow the formulation of a synthesis'. Therefore, he developed the ability to 'insinuate the desire in what is real, and to build simultaneously in autonomy and in relation to the site'.[44] This singular path would gain Siza both national and international recognition in the late 1960s and early 1970s.

In fact, Évora's mayor, Abílio Fernandes, reported in 1979 that 'the importance of the [Malagueira] operation required that few risks were taken […]. At that time, [Álvaro] Siza Vieira was the only choice who, because of his *curriculum*, and national and international reputation, would bring about consensus among the municipality executive board'.[45] This statement, published just two years after the project's commission, illustrates the manner in which Siza's architectural approach became politically instrumental as far as being considered consensual.

The Malagueira neighbourhood was part of a larger plan approved in 1975 for the western part of Évora's outskirts. The area of the neighbourhood was 27 hectares (approx. 67 acres), and it was decided to build 1,200 housing units there [fig. 1]. Siza developed the preliminary plan from May to August 1977, and it was approved by the city council in November 1977. Subsequently, the plan was discussed with both the municipality's technicians and politicians, and the members of local housing cooperatives, who represented the future users. The plan established that the housing units should be distributed through different intermediation processes and promotion methods: public, private, and cooperative.

Siza's projects for the initial social housing units consisted of a reduced palette of housing types - only two - with an evolutive scheme to increase the number of rooms according to the family's growth [fig. 2]. Each housing type was built on a parcel of 8x12 m, which became the basic modular unit for the general plan. Siza defined a set of simple building regulations to govern the initial design and the growth of the housing units in the neighbourhood [fig. 3]. The longitudinal arrangement of units in two rows, laid out back-to-back against a common infra-

Fig. 7: Study for the plan's 'grid' relating with the existing infrastructure of the clandestine neighbourhood of S. Maria. Image courtesy of Álvaro Siza, Arquitecto, Lda.

structural wall, form the typical block.[46] The sectors are defined by the arrangement of blocks according to a grid, whose direction varies according to the site's specificities. Over the years, while the plan was being developed, other variations of the two initial housing types were designed, though the basic module of 8x12 m was retained [fig. 4]. The overall scheme results in an immense white sheet spread over the landscape, as Siza likes to call it [fig. 5].

This straightforward strategy was combined with the maintenance of some pre-existent features, thus creating diversity throughout the entire plan's area. Moreover, the articulation of each housing unit or sector together with the topography also give the arrangement of the basic units a variegated appearance. Thus, even though only two basic housing types were used, the multiplicity of different arrangements, their response to the topographical conditions, and the diversity contribute to delivering a result resembling the region's vernacular references [fig. 6]. With this strategy, the sense of identity and diversity found in the existing spontaneous settlements in the vicinity could also be accomplished using the architectural project as a tool to translate the informal features into the plan.

Relating this strategy to the 'crisis in high modernism that came about in the era of decolonisation', Marion von Osten argues that there was a younger generation of European architects, while referring to concepts and working methods as developed by the Smithsons and Team 10,

Who became interested in the everyday, the popular and the discovery of the ordinary. This shift was celebrated by 'as found' aesthetics, which encouraged a new relationship to the constructed environment as it is used and visually perceived by photographs and anthropological studies.[47]

Likewise, Siza's strongest built references for the design strategy were the clandestine neighbourhoods in this specific part of Évora's outskirts, which he terms 'pre-existing sectors' [fig. 7]. Siza enhances the naturalness of these settlements, which he considers as 'apparently spontaneous although in actuality resulting from secular tendencies of transformations and adaptation to the environment'.[48] Siza does not suggest clearing these existing clandestine and sub-standard settlements. Instead, he proposes to integrate them in the plan together with the new constructions.

In order to justify his attention to the spontaneous settlements, Siza argues that the architect's approach can benefit from the maturity of those constructions to deliver a so-called natural architecture. He states that 'only after a lot of experience and a lot of knowledge one achieves that naturalness present in the architecture without architects'. He assumes, thus, that he has 'the obsession to be able to, one day, accomplish that naturalness'.[49]

Siza also comments that in Malagueira 'property limits, little paths, trees, some rocks, were useful as references to our intervention'.[50] The importance given to the site's pre-existing features highlights an approach where the architect rejects the idea of the *tabula rasa* as a methodological principle. In fact, in one of the first sketches for the plan, Siza represents features found on the site (such as abandoned windmills, existing pedestrian paths, illegal settlements) and he adds to the sketch: 'incluir tudo' (include everything) [fig. 8].

This relation with the site's pre-existing features, with the development of an 'as found' approach, is frequently highlighted in the assessment of Siza's works. Frampton goes back to the S. Victor neighbourhood (1975-1977) - a SAAL process project - to identify this approach. He claims that in this project, Siza 'insists on the vital co-existence of the new with the ruined, thereby denying the modernist tradition
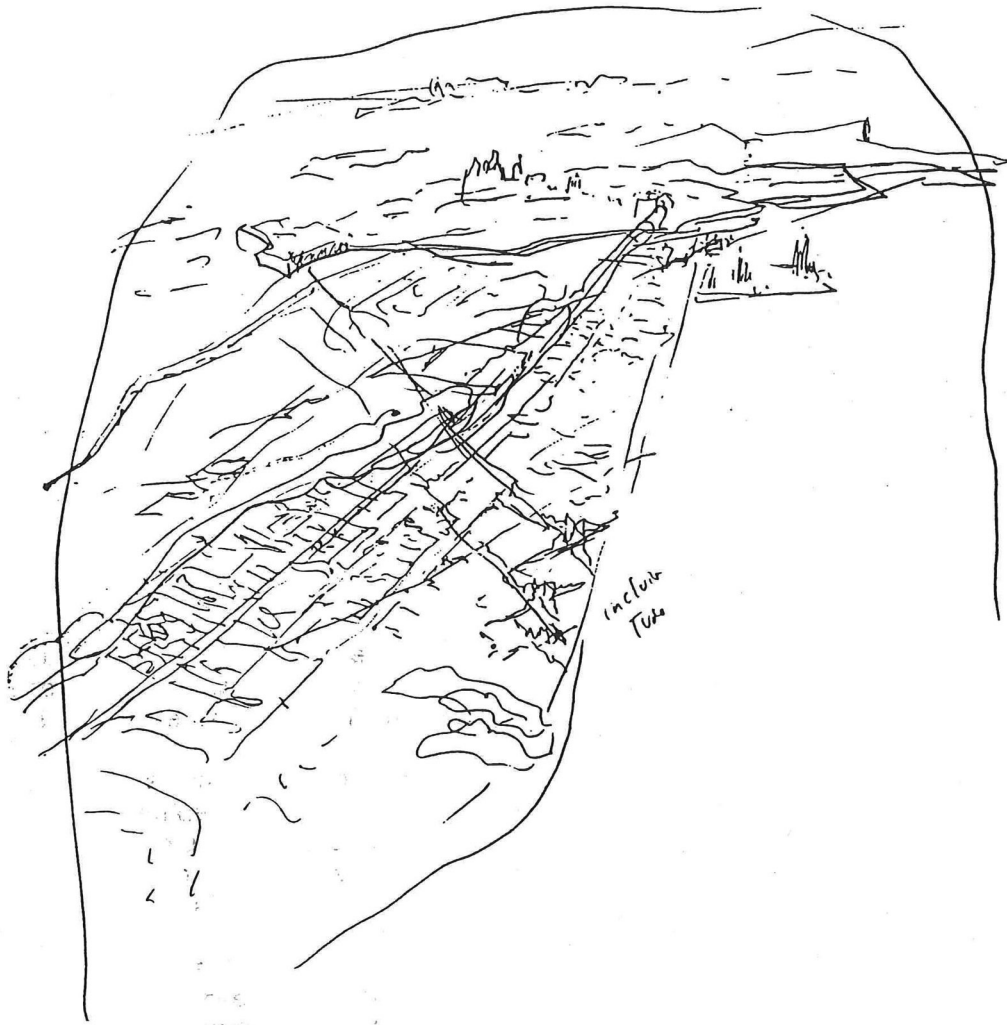
Fig. 8: Sketch made by Siza in the study flight over the Malagueira area. Image courtesy of Álvaro Siza, Arquitecto, Lda.

of the *tabula rasa*, without abandoning the utopian (normative) implications of the rational form'.[51] The idea of co-existence in Siza's approach to the site buttresses this tendency to negotiate modernity (which Frampton calls 'rational form') with the ordinary (the remnants on site).

Peter Testa has also identified this process in Siza's housing project developed in the early 1980s for Berlin's IBA housing programme. 'Siza proposes a dialectical approach which relies on a creative dialogue with the context "as found" rather than universal solutions or subjective inventions.'[52] Testa stresses the value attributed by Siza to what is supposedly unimportant. In fact, this 'archaeology of the ordinary' was present in Siza's work even before he designed social housing projects. In 1972, Siza already highlighted his transition from a selective towards a so-called realistic approach in relation to this context. He claims that

In my initial work, I began by studying the site in order to classify: this is OK, I can use this, this is terrible, etc. But now I take everything into consideration since what interests me is reality. There is no classifying architecture as 'good' or 'bad'.[53]

As in S. Victor or Berlin, the layout for the Malagueira neighbourhood presents strong dependencies on both pre-existing features and the topography. However, the outcome of the project was not only attributable to this archaeology of the ordinary, but also to a complex negotiation process with the different actors involved.

On the one hand, the harmonization of Siza's project with the region's characteristics was praised. In fact, just two years after the beginning of the process, Évora's mayor reacted with satisfaction to the initial outcomes of Siza's project, specially highlighting its 'affordability' and 'compatibility' with the region's vernacular architecture. He claimed that

The author's merit results from being able to introduce in his study and acknowledgement of Alentejo's architecture an inexpensive solution that could be affordable for the most needy members of the population, after the integration of a popular contribution, which he was able to promote and render compatible.[54]

On the other hand, although praised by the local authorities, the development of the Malagueira plan struggled with several difficulties related to central administration. Siza challenged the standard social housing strategy sponsored by the central government - multi-storey housing blocks - opting for a so-called more natural solution. In his proposal, as stated above, Siza clearly preferred using the urban fabric of the illegal and spontaneous neighbourhoods built on the site as his reference, rather than the typical official multi-family social housing buildings built on the southern part of the site [fig. 9] or the rural or bourgeois single-family houses.

This option, together with other unorthodox approaches, created some tensions between the architect and other participants in the process. Siza claims that

I have no knowledge of a project more discussed, step-by-step, more patiently revised and re-revised. At least 450 families, in several meetings, have seen it, listened to its explanation by words, models, sketches, drawings, photomontages; they delivered criticism, proposed changes, approved. Municipality technicians and representatives of the population gave their opinion; technicians from my office, from the engineers' office, from several services, have developed and reviewed it; when necessary, they have suggested changes, analysed the economical and technical viability, and coordinated efforts. Many people have officially approved the project. Others, and sometimes the same, have surreptitiously contested it.[55]

Fig. 9: Siza's houses in Malagueira in the forefront with FFH's housing blocks in the background. Image: Nelson Mota.

This statement reveals Siza's anxieties about dealing with the participatory process and with the bureaucratic apparatus that he faced during the initial phase of the project. However, despite all the struggles and set-backs encountered in the course of the project, Siza managed to deliver the negotiated outcome without shying away from his responsibilities as a technician. Referring to Siza's SAAL experience with user participation in the design process, Frampton argues that 'it was this intense and difficult experience which has led him, in retrospect, to caution against the simplistic populism of "giving the people what they want"'.[56] Both in the SAAL process and in Malagueira, the architect, other technicians, and the dwellers did not go through this participatory process without conflicts.

Siza claims that 'participation procedures are above all critical processes for the transformation of thought, not only of the inhabitants' idea of themselves, but also of the concepts of the architect'.[57] Commenting on his experience with user participation in the SAAL process, Siza states that

Their attitude was sometimes authoritarian, they denied all awareness of the architect's problems, they imposed their way of seeing and conceiving things. The dialogue was very contentious. In front of such a situation, the architect can assume two attitudes. He can acquiesce in order to avoid tension. This stance is, however, purely demagogic and, in this case, the intervention of the architect is in vain. On the contrary, he can confront the conflicts; […]. Consequently, to enter the real process of participation meant to accept the conflicts and not to hide or avoid them, but on the contrary to elaborate them. These exchanges then become very rich, although hard and often difficult.[58]

Using the critical assessment of hegemonic relationship models as a framework, I would argue that Siza's experience with user participation in the design process resonates with Homi Bhabha's concept of ambivalence in the relationship between the colonizer and the colonized: the will of the colonizer to see himself repeated in the colonized, and the need to repudiate that image. Felipe Hernández claims that for Bhabha,

Ambivalence shows that the colonisers are also internally in conflict between their wish to repeat themselves in the colonised [...] *and the anxiety of their disappearance as a result of the repetition, because if the Other turns into the same, difference is eliminated, as are the grounds to claim superiority over it.*[59]

Therefore, one could suggest that Bhabha's concept of ambivalence becomes instrumental in assessing architectural practices where the relation between the architect and 'the Other' (the future user in the case of social housing projects) is a central issue. In fact, commenting on some contemporary architectural approaches, José António Bandeirinha claims that

Today, it is not so much the forms of social organisation or the practices related to them that exemplarily inspire erudite otherness, [but] *rather the morphological dynamic itself - the design of the homes, the neighbourhoods, and their reciprocal mediations, the transformative pressure of time, etc. - which brings very strong motivation to architectural practice.*[60]

Bandeirinha denounces an architectural practice where the context becomes a model instead of an object of transformation, overlooking the role of the architectural project as a mediator. He claims that this resonates with the concept of *mimicry* - borrowed by Bhabha from Lacan - 'a strategy which aims towards the appropriation of the other, granting it simultaneously the illusion of some power, through a false homogenisation'.[61] Bandeirinha argues that some of the SAAL projects were praised

in some critical assessments because of 'their ability to mingle with a formal or material expression which was very closely linked to that of the living and urban spaces, "popular spaces", in the end resorting to a *mimicry* effect, *avant la lettre*'. In contrast, he presents Siza's projects in the SAAL process as 'one of the most lucid interpretations of the contours of participation, as a methodological component of the project'.[62] Concerning his methodological approach, Siza claims that

To work as an architect requires great confidence and capacity of affirmation, and, at the same time, a certain distancement [sic]. *This is Brecht's attitude with regard to theatre: distancement does not mean that one does not assume the role, it means that one becomes conscious of acting out that role.*[63]

Referring to Siza's affiliation with Brecht's notion of *Verfremdung*, Bandeirinha claims that, for Siza, 'the commitment with the residents would not imply a direct adoption of their aspirations, but rather the rigorous and permanent consciousness of having their interest made manifest through *representation*, which in this case was Architecture'.[64] Thus, the notion of *Verfremdung* becomes instrumental in supporting a position of resistance to a populist approach where the aspirations of the users would unconditionally define the architect's performance. With the architectural project as mediator, the architect uses it as a tool for the translation of the users' aspirations. In Siza's Malagueira plan, as in Brecht's plays, 'the actor speaks this [both highly polished and plain] language as if he were reciting someone else's words: as if he stood beside the other, distancing himself, and never embodying the other'.[65]

Thirdness and reciprocity: beyond a critical approach

Siza's affiliation with Brecht's notion of *Verfremdung* displaces the architect's action to, on the one hand, an intermediary position, a place of conflicts

and tensions, but, on the other hand, also to a place where he has to negotiate consensus. In this process, as in the relation of the colonizer with the colonized, an area emerges that stands between cultures, which Homi Bhabha termed the Third Space. According to Felipe Hernández, Bhabha interprets 'the Third Space as a liminal site between contending and contradictory positions. Not a space of resolution, but one of continuous negotiation'.[66]

This liminal site also resonates with what Tom Avermaete called an epistemological shift in which 'emerges a new viewpoint which conceives the built environment as result, frame and substance of socio-spatial practices'.[67] Avermaete argues that this epistemological shift 'is the result of a reciprocal and multifaceted relationship between different actors, performing on different continents and interacting with the materiality of architecture and urbanism'. As a consequence of the international architectural debate, the author claims that 'from the 1950s onwards architects started to speak "in the name of the people" and criticised modern architecture for its paternalistic, bureaucratic and anti-democratic character'.[68]

Where does critical regionalism stand with regard to its epistemological approach? On the one hand, I contend that reciprocity and interaction are central concepts for the definition of critical regionalism as a process - not a result - where the mitigation of polarities (such as universal civilization and rooted culture) becomes its fundamental goal. On the other hand, the centre-periphery model is still present. The prefix 'critical' is essential to frame this discussion. In fact, Dirk van den Heuvel considers critical regionalism

One of the most improbable propositions in the context debate: that it would be possible to be both contextual and critical. Criticality, or critique is a key modern concept, and presumes an outsider position by definition, or at least an outsider's look.[69]

This reinforces the idea of critical regionalism as a look from the centre towards the periphery. Regionalism is then assessed from a central position that evaluates the criticalness of the peripheral approach. The prefix 'critical', however, assumes a moral tone: what is critical is good whether the uncritical is bad or, rather, popular. Critical regionalism's epistemological approach can also be framed with its emergence in the context of the early 1980s debate on the relationship between the concepts of avant-garde and modernity. In 1981, Jürgen Habermas claimed that the project of modernity has not yet been fulfilled, arguing that 'the modern, avant-garde spirit […] disposes over those pasts which have been available by the objectifying scholarship of historicism, but it opposes at the same time a neutralized history, which is locked up in the museum of historicism'.[70] In the same issue of the journal *New German Critique* in which Habermas's essay was published, Peter Bürger replies, arguing that using modernity and avant-garde as synonyms 'veils the historical achievements of the avant-garde movements. […] Their radical demand to reintegrate art into everyday life is rejected as a false sublation'.[71]

Yet in the same issue, Andreas Huyssen supports Bürger's critique about the interchangeable use of the terms avant-garde and modernism. He claims that

Modernists such as T.S. Eliot and Ortega y Gasset emphasized time and again that it was their mission to salvage the purity of high art from the encroachments of urbanization, massification, technological modernization, in short, of modern mass culture. The avant-garde of the first three decades of this century, however, attempted to subvert art's autonomy, its artificial separation from life, and its institutionalization as 'high-art' which was perceived to feed right into the legitimation needs of the 19th-century forms of bourgeois society.[72]

The interchangeable use of the concepts of modernity and avant-garde was, however, not limited to Habermas. For example, Hilde Heynen argues that in the Frankfurt School's critical theory the concept of avant-garde was tied to the experience of fissure that is typical of modernity, and that both had embedded a logic of negation, of a break with tradition, a critical position.[73] Heynen contends that, for example, 'in Adorno's view it is only by preserving its autonomy that art can remain critical'.[74]

This debate creates an important framework for assessing Siza's architectural approach in the late 1970s with the Malagueira project. The historiography of Portuguese architecture reluctantly assumed an avant-garde approach as its fundamental constituency. Instead of a rupture with the past or with tradition, its ability to build consensus and continuities was repeatedly highlighted. According to Alexandre Alves Costa, 'the sense of continuity in Portuguese architecture lies, above all, in handling language diversity in the temporary and local character of consensus, rather than in the sole purpose of a national identity'.[75] Portuguese architecture is characterized more by a heterodox approach than an orthodox application of the dogma.

Likewise, Jorge Figueira also agrees that Portuguese architecture did not engage in a full experience of modernity. He argues that the most acclaimed architectural approach in the historiography of twentieth-century Portuguese architecture was its engagement in the revision of the modern movement's principles. He claims that

The 'third way', which found expression in a few exceptional works and followed international 'revision of modernism' premises - i.e., the integration of 'tradition' and 'modernity' - resolved the dilemma that persisted throughout the 20th century and was of central importance to Portuguese architectural culture.[76]

However, Figueira argues that those exceptional works[77] - built during the 1950s and 1960s - 'are terminal rather than founding works, i.e. they neither explain nor apply to what followed them'.[78] He claims that 'the work of Álvaro Siza in the 60s and 70s created a *suspension* in time that emerged as a kind of re-foundation of modernism. It was this sort of *seduction* […] that attracted the attention of the international critics'.[79]

Following Bürger's and Huyssen's definitions of modernism as a mission to salvage the purity of high art and the historical avant-garde as an effort to reintegrate art with everyday life, I would contend that Siza's Malagueira project operates within a blurred boundary of those two concepts. On the one hand, Siza reclaims the use of the architectural project as support for his approach, and, on the other hand, his project results in a 'contamination' by the specificities of the context. Therefore, rather than a re-foundation of modernism, I would suggest that Siza's Malagueira project reveals a re-foundation of the avant-garde, where the gap between high culture and the everyday is shortened through the use of a mediation strategy supported by the architectural project.

In the context of this re-foundation of the avant-garde, charged with its univocal perspective, critical regionalism becomes a reductive means of assessing a complex architectural approach such as Siza's. What emerges from the Malagueira project is Siza's hybridity, his position in the Third Space, as suggested by Bhabha. Therefore, I argue that Siza's Malagueira neighbourhood represents an architectural approach that challenges dogmatic preconceptions and resists populism; it undermines any clear hierarchy between centre and periphery, self and other. The creative force that Siza finds in these blurred hierarchies and reciprocities challenges established definitions of modernism, postmodernism, avant-garde, autonomy, participation, or populism.

It entails an embedded condition of thirdness that results from a process of negotiation, in which the architectural project occupies a pivotal position as an instrument of mediation between those opposing poles, rather than a tool to claim architecture's autonomy. After struggling to solve the inevitable conflicts that emerge from this negotiation, the success of this venture depends on a third way that finds its path between dogmatic and demagogical practices and delivers a conciliatory outcome, a negotiated avant-garde.

Notes

1. Kenneth Frampton, 'Prospects for a Critical Regionalism', *Perspecta*, vol. 20 (1983), pp. 147-62.
2. Paul Ricoeur, 'Universal Civilization and National Cultures' in *History and Truth*, trans. by Charles A. Kelbey (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press, 1965), p. 277. This essay was first published in French in 1961 in the journal *Esprit*.
3. Ibid., p. 278.
4. Ibid., p. 282.
5. Alexander Tzonis and Liane Lefaivre, 'In the Name of the People: The Populist Movement in Architecture', *Forum*, 25:3 (February 1976), p. 8. This essay was first published in German in 1975 in the journal *Bauwelt*.
6. Ibid., p. 26.
7. Alexander Tzonis and Liane Lefaivre, 'The Grid and the Pathway. An Introduction to the Work of Dimitris and Susana Antonakakis. With Prolegomena to a History of the Culture of Modern Greek Architecture', *Architecture*

in Greece, 15, 1981, pp. 164-178.

8. Ibid., p. 172.

9. Ibid., p. 174.

10. Ibid., p. 176.

11. Kenneth Frampton, 'Prospects for a Critical Regionalism', p. 148; original emphasis. For a critique of the relation between critical regionalism and the polarity of 'civilization versus culture', see also Alan Colquhoun, 'The Concept of Regionalism' in *Postcolonial Spaces*, ed. by Gülsüm Baydar Nalbantoğlu and Chong Thai Wong (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 1997), pp. 13-23.

12. Kenneth Frampton, 'Prospects for a Critical Regionalism', p. 148.

13. Mark Crinson, 'Singapore's Moment: Critical Regionalism, Its Colonial Roots and Profound Aftermath', *The Journal of Architecture*, 13:5 (2008), p. 587.

14. Kenneth Frampton, 'Prospects for a Critical Regionalism', p. 149.

15. Kenneth Frampton, 'Towards a Critical Regionalism: Six Points for an Architecture of Resistance', in *The Anti-Aesthetic. Essays on Postmodern Culture*, ed. by Hal Foster (Seattle: Bay Press, 1983), pp. 16-30.

16. Kenneth Frampton, 'Towards a Critical Regionalism', p. 20.

17. Ibid.

18. cf. Dirk van den Heuvel, 'Another Sensibility - The Discovery of Context', OASE 76 (2009), pp. 21-46, esp. p. 43.

19. Adrian Forty, *Words and Buildings* (London: Thames and Hudson, 2000), p. 132.

20. Dirk van den Heuvel, p. 23.

21. Ibid., p. 24.

22. Ibid., p. 35.

23. Ibid., p. 41.

24. Peter Testa, *The Architecture of Álvaro Siza* (Porto: Edições da FAUP, 1988), p. 11. This study was originally published in 1984 by the MIT, Department of Architecture, Program in History, Theory and Criticism; as 'Thresholds working paper 4'.

25. Ibid., p. 11.

26. Ibid., p. 10.

27. Ibid., p. 130.

28. Ibid.

29. Ibid., p. 132.

30. Keith Eggener, 'Placing Resistance: A Critique of Critical Regionalism', *Journal of Architectural Education*, 55:4 (May 2002), pp. 228-37.

31. Ibid., p. 230.

32. Ibid., p. 228.

33. Jorge Figueira, 'Filling the Void: Post-Modernism and Portuguese Architecture, 1960s-1980s', *Murphy*, 1 (March 2006), pp. 180-200; original emphasis.

34. Keith Eggener, p. 234.

35. Homi K. Bhabha, 'Signs Taken for Wonders: Questions of Ambivalence and Authority Under a Tree Outside Delhi, May 1817', *Critical Inquiry*, 12:1 (Autumn 1985), pp. 153; original emphasis.

36. Homi K. Bhabha, 'Signs Taken for Wonders: Questions of Ambivalence and Authority Under a Tree Outside Delhi, May 1817', p. 158.

37. Homi K. Bhabha, 'Cultures in Between', *Artforum*, 32:1 (September 1993), p. 212. cf. with Edward Soja's idea of thirding-as-othering; see Edward W. Soja, *Thirdspace. Journey to Los Angeles and Other Real-and-Imagined Places* (Cambridge, MA: Blackwell, 1996), pp. 60-70.

38. cf. Edward Soja, p. 61

39. Kenneth Frampton, 'Prospects for a Critical Regionalism', p. 149.

40. cf. Michael Shamiyeh, 'Foreword', in *What People Want. Populism in Architecture and Design*, ed. by Michael Shamiyeh and DOM Research Laboratory (Basel: Birkhäuser, 2005), pp. 25-26.

41. For an insightful approach to the SAAL process, see: José António Bandeirinha, *O Processo SAAL e a Arquitectura no 25 de Abril de 1974* (Coimbra: Coimbra University Press, 2007).

42. cf. Sindicato Nacional dos Arquitectos, *Arquitectura Popular em Portugal* (Lisbon: SNA, 1961). For a comprehensive reading of the architectural discourse and practice in Portugal in the 1940s and 1950s, see José António Bandeirinha, *Quinas Vivas. Memória Descritiva de alguns episódios significativos do conflito entre fazer moderno e fazer nacional na Arquitectura portuguesa dos anos 40* (Porto: FAUP Publicações, 1996) and Ana Tostões, *Os Verdes Anos*

na Arquitectura Portuguesa nos anos 50 (Porto: FAUP Publicações, 1997).

43. Fernando Távora, 'Prefácio', in Irene Ribeiro, *Raul Lino, Pensador Nacionalista da Arquitectura* (Porto: FAUP Publicações, 1994), p. 5.

44. Jorge Figueira, 'Um Mundo Coral. A Arquitectura de Álvaro Siza', in *O Arquitecto Azul* (Coimbra: Coimbra University Press, 2010), pp. 71-72; trans. by the author.

45. Abílio Fernandes 'O Presidente da C. M. Évora fala sobre o projecto', *Arquitectura*, 132 (1979), p. 36; all the references to the journal *Arquitectura* were translated from the Portuguese by the author.

46. For an extensive study of Malagueira housing types using shape grammar methodologies, see José Pinto Duarte, *Personalizar a Habitação em Série: Uma gramática discursiva para as casas da Malagueira do Siza* (Lisbon: Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation / FCT-MCTES, 2007).

47. Marion von Osten, 'In Colonial Modern Worlds', in *Colonial Modern. Aesthetics of the Past - Rebellions for the Future*, ed. by Tom Avermaete, Serhat Karakayali, and Marion von Osten (London: Black Dog Publishing, 2010), p. 24. For an insightful approach to Team 10's members and activities, see *Team 10, 1953-1981. In Search of a Utopia of the Present*, ed. by Max Risselada and Dirk van den Heuvel (Rotterdam: NAi publishers, 2005).

48. Álvaro Siza, 'Plano de pormenor de uma area de 27ha integrada no Plano de Expansão Oeste de Évora', *Arquitectura*, 132 (1979), p. 38.

49. Interview of Álvaro Siza by Enrico Molteni (Oporto, 28 April 1996), in Enrico Molteni, *Álvaro Siza. Barrio de la Malagueira, Évora* (Barcelona: Edicions UPC, 1997), p. 47; all the citations from this book were translated from the Spanish by the author.

50. Interview of Álvaro Siza by Marc Emery, *L'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui*, 211 (1980). In Enrico Molteni, *Álvaro Siza*, p. 111.

51. Kenneth Frampton, 'Poesis and Transformation: the Architecture of Álvaro Siza', in *Álvaro Siza. Poetic Profession*, ed. by Pierluigi Nicolin (Milano: Electa, 1986), p. 14.

52. Peter Testa, p. 75.

53. Álvaro Siza, Controspazio, 9 (1972); quoted in Bernard Huet, '"Álvaro Siza, architetto 1954-79", Padiglione d'Arte Contemporanea di Milano, 1979', in *Álvaro Siza*, ed. by Pierluigi Nicolin, p. 179.

54. Abílio Fernandes, p. 36.

55. Álvaro Siza, 'Notas sobre o trabalho em Évora', *Arquitectura*, 132 (1979), p. 38.

56. Kenneth Frampton, 'Poesis and Transformation', p. 12.

57. Interview of Álvaro Siza by France Vanlaethem, 'Pour une architecture epurée et rigoreuse', *ARQ Architecture / Quebec*, 14 (August 1983). Quoted in Frampton, 'Poesis and Transformation, p. 12.

58. Ibid., p. 13.

59. Felipe Hernández, *Bhabha for Architects* (London and New York: Routledge, 2010), p. 41.

60. José António Bandeirinha, '"Verfremdung" vs. "Mimicry". The SAAL and some of its reflections in the current day', in *Let's talk about Houses: Between North and South*, ed. by Delfim Sardo (Lisbon: Athena, 2010), p. 72.

61. Ibid., p. 73.

62. Ibid., p. 75.

63. Interview of Álvaro Siza by Alejandro Zaera Polo, 'Getting Through Turbulence. An Interview with Álvaro Siza', *El Croquis*, 68/69 (1994), p. 11.

64. José António Bandeirinha, p. 75; original emphasis.

65. Ernst Bloch, '"Entfremdung, Verfremdung": Alienation, Estrangement', *The Drama Review: TDR*, 15:1 (Autumn 1970), p. 124.

66. Felipe Hernández, p. 95.

67. Tom Avermaete, 'Nomadic Experts and Travelling Perspectives: Colonial Modernity and the Epistemological Shift in Modern Architecture Culture', in *Colonial Modern*. ed. by Tom Avermaete, Serhat Karakayali and Marion von Osten, p. 141.

68. Tom Avermaete, p. 146.

69. Dirk van den Heuvel, p. 46.

70. Jürgen Habermas, 'Modernity versus Postmodernity', *New German Critique*, 22, (Winter, 1981), p. 5.

71. Peter Bürger, 'The Significance of the Avant-Garde for Contemporary Aesthetics: A Reply to Jürgen Habermas', *New German Critique*, 22, (Winter, 1981), p. 21.

72. Andreas Huyssen, 'The Search for Tradition: Avant-

Garde and Postmodernism in the 1970s', *New German Critique*, 22, (Winter, 1981), p. 27.

73. Hilde Heynen, *Architecture and Modernity. A Critique*. (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 1999), pp. 26-27.

74. Hilde Heynen, p. 192.

75. Alexandre Alves Costa, *Álvaro Siza. Architectures 1980-1990* (Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional-Casa da Moeda / Centre de Création Industrielle Centre Georges Pompidou, 1990), p. 12; trans. by the author.

76. Jorge Figueira, 'Filling the Void', p. 180.

77. Jorge Figueira refers to Fernando Távora's Santa Maria da Feira market (1953-59) and the church of the Sacred Heart of Jesus (1962-75) designed by Nuno Teotónio Pereira, Nuno Portas, and Pedro Vieira de Almeida.

78. Jorge Figueira, 'Filling the Void', p. 180.

79. Ibid., p. 181; original emphasis.

Biography

Nelson Mota, an architect, graduated from the University of Coimbra (1998) where he received his MSc in Advanced Studies in Architecture, Territory and Memory (2006). Since 1998, he has been involved in architectural design, teaching, and research. Since 2009, he has been based in the Netherlands, where he is currently teaching and developing his PhD in Housing and Identity at the Delft University of Technology.