

“Slow” architecture and its links with Slow Food

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There have always been links between food and architecture, but the connections between Slow Food and Slow Architecture that are explored here could highlight a number of lessons learned and shared between these two multidisciplinary movements. As global trends within the context of an increased awareness of sustainability, they could make a contribution towards a renewed focus on local regions, craft and sensory experience.

Key words: Slow Food, slow architecture, regionalism, craft, and the senses.

Daar was nog altyd skakels tussen kos en argitektuur, maar die skakels tussen *Slow Food* en *Slow Architecture* wat hier ondersoek word, kan ’n reeks lesse uitlig wat geleer word deur, en gedeel word tussen, hierdie twee multi-dissiplinêre bewegings. As wêreldwye tendense binne die konteks van ’n toenemende bewustheid van volhoubaarheid, kan hierdie bewegings ’n bydrae lewer tot ’n hernude fokus op plaaslike streke, vakmanskap en sintuiglike ondervinding.

Sleutelwoorde: Slow Food, slow architecture, regionalisme, vakmanskap en die sintuie.

Over the past few decades there has been an increasing global awareness of the need for sustainable development. The United Nations Conference on the Human Environment in Stockholm in 1972 highlighted the links between environmental quality and the quality of life (Rogers, Jalal and Boyd, 2005: 42), and the United Nations attempted to bring these concerns onto the political agenda by publishing the report *Our Common Future* in 1987 (WCED, 1987).¹ This report provided the widely-used definition of sustainable development as “Development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs.” The subsequent Earth Summit in Rio de Janeiro in 1992,² the adoption of Agenda 21,³ the Rio Declaration and the establishment of the Commission on Sustainable Development helped to consolidate this awareness into what some might call a collective consciousness.

It is in this context of an increased societal awareness of sustainability that Slow Food has evolved, and in parallel with Slow Food, there have been various resurgences and evolutions in architectural practice that can be seen to have links with this movement and could therefore be referred to as “Slow” architecture.

The growth of Slow Food

The idea for this paper struck me while I was cutting a round loaf of bread. Not just any bread, but a loaf made of wheat and rye sourdough, baked in a wood-fired oven by a fourth generation baker using locally produced stoneground flour in a slow fermentation and long-rising process. He uses no preservatives or artificial substances in his bread, but it lasts longer than most other types of bread that we have become accustomed to. It can be frozen for weeks, defrosted and then reheated and it still tastes better than the average mass-produced loaf of bread that is packed

with additives to make it last longer. This baker subscribes to the principles of the so-called Slow Food movement.⁴

Slow Food is currently an international organisation with upwards of 100 000 members in 1300 local chapters or *convivia* in more than a hundred countries (Slow Food 2013: 1). It started with humble beginnings in the early 1980s when Carlo Petrini and a group of his friends from the small town of Bra in Italy's Piedmont region were outraged by the quality of the food at the Festival of the Thrush in Montalcino. They were all members of the *Associazione ricreativa culturale italiana*, or Arci for short, which was a national association in Italy that was supported by the Communist and Socialist Parties. Arci had branches throughout the country, called *Casa del Popolo* or "houses of the people" that organised cultural events like festivals, sporting events and debates.

The small towns in Italy were (and sometimes still are) quite insular, so the friends were in Montalcino to learn about the local wine called *Brunello de Montalcino*, in order to improve the wine culture in their own region, which produces the red wines Barolo and Barbaresco. However, due to poorly prepared thrushes, inedible *ribollita* (Tuscan soup), red wine that was too cold and a bad dessert, the group of friends decided to take the issue of bad food up with the Arci organisation.⁵ A lengthy debate ensued, which led to the formation of Arci Gola or Arcigola (which is a play of words that means arch-taster or arch-*gourmand*),⁶ a national oenogastronomical league, in Bra in 1986. This organisation eventually led to the establishment of Slow Food (which was initially also a reaction to the fast food giant McDonalds' opening of a 1200m² outlet on the *Piazza di Spagna* in Rome and the spread of fast food culture, television and consumerism in Italy) and the inaugural meeting of the International Slow Food Movement took place at the Opéra Comique in Paris in 1989.⁷

Slow food, in essence, is against the standardisation of culture and taste. Its main principles can be summarised as placing an emphasis on the appreciation of good, healthy food and the skills involved during its production, the protection of local customs and species, the protection of biodiversity, and the education of a broader public about food.⁸ The movement's manifesto (Slow Food, 2013) mentions the principles of *Good, Clean and Fair*: *Good* is about food's sensory qualities, but it is also about the quality of materials and production; *Clean* is about the environment, biodiversity, health, sustainable farming, processing and consumption; and *Fair* is about social justice, better labour conditions, the right to food, reward, cultural diversity, tradition and a more balanced global economy.

Slow Food aims to promote regional food that is prepared by identifiable producers, as opposed to the sometimes bland, industrially manufactured consumer products that permeate the marketplace. This resonates with many people who are concerned about the industrialised food cycle where genetically modified organisms, the use of pesticides, herbicides and fertilisers, numerous additives, homogenised taste and unknown origins are often integral to the process. Meneley (2004: 172) provides a somewhat extreme and overly simplified table of these apparent opposites as shown in Table 1, but the reality is much less clear-cut and there are numerous grey areas.

Slow food	Fast food
Artisanal	Industrial
Handcrafted	Mass-produced
Local	Global
Natural	Artificial
Rural	Urban
Healthy	Dangerous
Pure	Tainted by additives and artificial modifications
Distinctive	Homogenised
Consumed convivially	Consumed alone
Vulnerable	Hegemonic
Appreciation	Profit
Place of origin known	Place of origin erased
Producer known	Identity of workers erased
Defetishised	Fetishised

Table 1
Oppositional framework between slow food and fast food. (source: Meneley, 2004: 172).

A fairly lengthy argument can be constructed around any of the opposites found in this table, for instance the mere fact that Slow Food International exists, can be seen to negate its claims to localism. While specific products are categorised according to region, many of the producers are networking internationally, usually in the hope that their products can be distributed in foreign markets. Slow Food does promote region-specific products, variants or methods where the *terroir* and producers are acknowledged and valued, so suffice it to say that the table provides diametric opposites to the basic intentions of Slow Food, but that the items under fast food do not necessarily represent its intentions, and that the tendency for significant overlap on both sides should be acknowledged. There are also unintended consequences, for instance where larger producers that are affiliated with Slow Food are more likely to gain access to international markets, rather than the smaller artisanal producers that Slow Food usually seeks to promote.⁹

Slow Food is frequently criticised as being elitist, since it often promotes expensive, high-quality, specialised products that only the well-off can afford,¹⁰ and Simonetti (2012: 171) is of the opinion that the movement's principles of *Good, Clean and Fair* are all just marketing in order to reach well-off consumers who feel guilty about it and who want to ease their conscience by being on "the right side" while eating well. Van der Meulen (2008: 234) makes the point that conspicuous consumption of these products by the elite could turn these products into so-called cultural goods, which will make them desirable and eventually more accessible to the so-called middle and lower classes. Mass-producers often follow the example of smaller, specialist producers, which also means that similar products (not necessarily always of the same quality) can become readily available. Tam (2008: 210) argues that the criticism of Slow Food being elitist is as a result of limited understanding of the movement, where the enjoyment of food is also about the relationship with one's social and natural environment: She argues that the movement

is doing much to preserve biodiversity, food knowledge, and craft and by doing this, it is aligned with the drive for the eradication of hunger. Page (2012: 2) also mentions the movement's focus on social and environmental responsibility and notes that it has moved beyond its original, more gastronomic focus to become more concerned about the environment, education and fair trade. Schneider (2008: 385), while conceding that Slow Food's emphasis on artisanal production can run the risk of being too expensive for most people, proclaims Slow Food as being a social movement, since it is responding to issues such as globalisation and biodiversity loss through its collective identity. The way it uses existing social and cultural capital, forms networks between different occupations, uses the media, provides education, promotes good ingredients and products, stands for craftsmanship, considers fair trade, emphasises the use of care when doing things, all proves that it has concerns other than just the sheer enjoyment that is to be had when things are done in a certain way.

Pumpkins on the roof: food and architecture

Cooking is able – just like architecture, to report precisely on a culture, a region or a person. So cooking does not just mean preparing appetizing food, but [it] is a cultural activity on the same plane as architectural work – even though it is a more transient art as such (Hagen Hodgson and Toyka, 2007: 9).

The link between food and architecture is not limited to the design of buildings where food is produced or consumed, or to mental images of pumpkins drying on corrugated roofs or to the traditional roof-wetting *braai* (barbeque). The connection between food and architecture, or between cooking and shelter, has been widely published: Vitruvius mentioned the fire and the roof as the two main requirements for dwelling;¹¹ Gottfried Semper defined the four elements of architecture as the hearth, the roof, the floor and the wall;¹² while today, access to food and housing are enshrined in our constitution as basic human rights.¹³ Cooking and building are both referred to as arts – *Baukunst* and *Kockkunst*, or *Boukuns* and *Kookkuns*, but they both combine function or necessity with art. The link between food and architecture is about entire interconnected systems and life cycles; the production of both typically starts in the soil as natural ingredients or materials, which go through various growth and production stages, are transported, prepared and assembled, consumed or occupied, until being disposed of or demolished, or alternatively composted or recycled. Both of these systems have a wide range of impacts on the environment, the economy and society (so-called three-tiered sustainability¹⁴ as outlined in the previously mentioned United Nations report *Our Common Future*), but in this case the focus will be on specific links between food and architecture that may be drawn from the principles of the Slow Food philosophy.

Ingredients and production: The architect Claudio Silvestrin (in Hagen Hodgson and Toyka 2007: 125) compares his work with traditional Italian cooking, where the quality of natural ingredients is one of its most important elements. Speaking about a small plaza close to his home, the Australian architect Richard Leplastrier (1999: 9) says that “It’s nothing about ‘good design’, it’s everything about ingredients.” A restaurant called Nomu¹⁵ in Copenhagen, Denmark, is a case in point, where the foraging and harvesting of local and seasonal indigenous ingredients is a key feature of its new Nordic cuisine. The unbroken connection from the origin of an ingredient to the patron’s plate is a driving force in the restaurant’s ethos, and the owners believe that there is usually a decline in flavour as soon as an ingredient is removed from its natural situation. In an attempt to preserve the time and place of its original setting, the natural environment in which an ingredient found itself prior to plating is reflected in the

restaurant's dishes. This can be compared to the use of a natural, unprocessed timber pole, called a *tokobashira*, sometimes found in the *tokonoma*¹⁶ of a traditional Japanese house.

Both in cooking and architecture, raw materials are processed through craft to become something else or to create something that is greater than the sum of its parts. The quality, environmental and ethical qualities of these materials are important though: Slow Food is in favour of organic agriculture, which has less of an impact on the environment and reduces the use of pesticides, but organic certification is perceived to be insufficient if farming or production is not done according to the “Good, clean and fair” principles to ensure sustainable production. Donal Hickey (in Castelli and Haslam 2012: 49) makes the point that Slow Food has been very effective in increasing organic production, changing labelling practices and improving food traceability.

The production and consumption of seasonal, local and traditional produce is highly encouraged by Slow Food – while it can be argued that being able to buy most products at any time during the year virtually anywhere in the world naturally improves people's diets (and it is very convenient), it can also be said that the hidden costs associated with this (and the fact that most products have to be frozen during transport) results in an environmental and economic deficit in other areas of the world.¹⁷ Another issue that Schneider (2008: 397) mentions, is that the loss of biodiversity through the reduction of the different number of plant and animal species offered to the market, and the mass-production of monocultures, undermines the very advantages that globalisation can offer in terms of diversity. He goes on to mention Petrini's position towards globalisation as a desirable thing if it helps to create diverse networks of communities, instead of levelling them. The growth in popularity of heirloom fruits and vegetables shows a renewed interest in biodiversity and the diversity of taste, resilience and lifespan of produce - if processing can be less intensive, or if products can be used closer to their natural form it will result in less energy use and cost. The same applies to building materials (one can equate the use of unprocessed building materials to the raw food movement), where less processing can reduce energy use, costs, and maintenance, while also making them easier to recycle. They will in most cases then also be more intrinsically linked to their place of origin: Norberg-Schulz (1979: 18) explains the spirit of place as being what something is, which is similar to Louis Kahn's statement that materials or elements should be what they want to be. Fuentes, Roaf and Thomas (2007: 111) call it “building-in soul” where each material has an essence that can link one to a specific locality, and each material can also be imprinted with care to add additional layers of meaning. This link to the environment or craft is lost when something is overly processed or industrially transformed (as opposed to being industrially shaped or crafted in its natural state¹⁸) to such an extent that its character or connection to its environment has been lost – there is a saying that if you have something in your shopping basket that your grandmother would not recognise, it is probably not such a good idea to buy it.

Community: As is evident in the sheer number of associations, groups, movements and networks that have been created during the lifetime of Slow Food, the idea of community is important when thinking about food. It is about shared experience and conviviality. This is perhaps something that is lacking in the experience of architecture – it has become a jealous profession, and it does not always produce spaces and places that encourage this shared conviviality. One can compare the sterility of many fast food outlets with the sterility of mass housing delivery, where infrastructural economies, the aspirations of housing recipients, the requirement for large profit margins and outdated planning and zoning regulations are just some of the reasons that hamper the creation of successful public space that is conducive to a sense of community and conviviality. An interesting aspect of Slow Food's use of social capital is that its

founders made extensive use of existing social networks to increase the reach of their movement, which included old local associations and widespread political networks like the previously mentioned Arci, which had offices spread throughout Italy. In a similar way, while there are and have been many networks within the architectural profession,¹⁹ there are also networks outside of their profession that architects can draw on, like trade networks, craft networks,²⁰ specifiers' networks, professional networks (not just including their own profession) and social media networks to form effective groupings to promote specific aims. There is an increased awareness of local fashion, a small resurgence in the much maligned local textile industry, local arts and crafts (like weaving, basketry and wood turning), and furniture design amongst others. Many of these items are also being promoted through initiatives like the World Design Capital 2014 and tradeshows like Design Indaba, local magazines and television, and many of them are being used as integral parts of architectural projects.

Publicising specific groupings can be very effective: Van der Meulen (2008: 228) mentions the *Osterie d'Italia*, which was first published by Slow Food Editore in 1990. This guide of small, traditional restaurants did a lot to promote them and to ensure their continued existence, while the *Vini d'Italia* guidebooks provide exposure for many Italian wines that would otherwise not have had it. Page (2012: 3) argues that the creation of localised groupings are essential to connect producers to consumers, and she mentions that Petrini describes consumers who make the decision to purchase products grown in economically and environmentally sustainable conditions as “co-producers”. This can be compared to participatory design in architecture or urbanism, where end-users can be involved in the design or construction process – if this can be achieved more readily in the creation of buildings, it could contribute to the increased creation of social capital.

Form, proportion and measurement: Hagen Hodgson and Toyka (2007: 8) in questioning the connection between the art of building and the art of cooking, argue that both measure and consider proportion, both deal with form and shape, composition, assembly and harmony: They are simultaneously art and craft. In terms of both food and architecture, measure and proportion refer to size, scale and composition on a plate or as elements in space, or as the proportional measure and quantity of ingredients or different materials. Form, shape, assembly and composition relate to the way that ingredients or building elements are volumetrically designed and grouped together, while harmony refers to the overall balance of the final composition of a dish or a building in terms of all the senses. The way that cooks add ingredients, and continually taste a dish in order to make small adjustments in flavour until the composition is proportionally balanced before serving it, can be compared to the continuous tweaking, adjusting and redrawing of a design or a model before completing the building.

The senses: Slow Food has been arranging the biennial *Salone del Gusto* (trade fairs devoted to artisanal products) which include Taste Workshops that focus specifically on the sensorial aspects of food, and in 1997 Slow Food also launched the “Ark of Taste”, which is committed to publicising endangered products, to analyse them from a sensory perspective, to encourage people to purchase and eat them, and to award restaurants that use and promote these products in their own region. While Slow Food has often been accused of being hedonistic, its drive to preserve products, cultural heritage, biodiversity and tastes shows a measure of responsibility beyond mere sensory gratification.

Taste, when considered as a preference, rather than one of the physical senses, is also something that food and architecture have in common: Hagen Hodgson and Toyka (2007: 11) note that taste is based on shared social values and quote the philosopher Immanuel Kant's

definition of taste as “The ability of aesthetic judgement to choose in a way that is generally valid. Thus it is an ability to make social judgements of outside objects in the imagination.” According to him, ideal taste is about morality and not pleasure alone.

There are other, more tenuous links that one can make between food and architecture in terms of age, preservation, and patina too: The curing or ageing of food to improve certain taste characteristics, to reduce the amount of processing, or to aid in its lifespan can be compared to the purposeful weathering of building products (like weathered or naturally oxidising steel, which is gaining popularity again) or the Japanese concept of *wabi-sabi* (the love of imperfect things, weathering or decay that show evidence of the transience of life). Pallasmaa (1996: 21) also laments the ageless perfection of industrially manufactured materials and he emphasises the importance of the experience of time.

Poetry: Cooking and building are both about something more than necessity or utility – they are about culture, society, art and sometimes the intangible. Norberg-Schulz (1979: 23) argues that architecture is about practicality and poetry, and that society’s achievements do not count for much if people are unable to dwell poetically.

Humans like sweet things, but not all the time; we like salt, but it is unbearable in huge quantities. It is the same when things are just too utilitarian. It doesn’t fully satisfy the appetite. The utilitarian gives answers but the poetic creates wonder, and architecture involves the inclusion of these two, often competing, qualities. (Brit Andresen in McCartney, 2011: 164)

There are a number interpretations of what *slow architecture* can be, ranging from architecture that took a long time to build, for example the Sagrada Familia in Barcelona by Antoni Gaudi; or architecture that is produced slower, more organically or more sustainably. Another focus is on liveability as promoted by Slow Home Studio²¹ in North America in response to “cookie cutter fast houses”, where “A ‘fast house’ is designed to be sold. It’s designed as a marketing event, just like a Doritos corn chip is designed to be eaten. It’s designed to be so irresistible that you can’t just eat one, even if it’s bad for you. You want to consume it (John Brown, quoted in Hofmann 2010: 1).

O’Brian (in Castelli and Haslam 2012: 3) lists six traits of slow architecture as patience during the process and for the refinement of craft, craft itself (the slowness of craft, but also the allowance for weathering), sensuality and materiality, specificity and adaptability, delight, and contentment. Some of these traits are explored further in this paper with a specific focus on the principles that link to those of the Slow Food movement itself (these will be explored in later sections and include rootedness, the senses and craft in particular), where the emphasis is on the *care* of production: A member of the 2011 Pritzker Prize jury, upon evaluating Eduardo Souto de Moura’s work, referred to it as *slow architecture* because it required careful consideration and that it is rooted in its site. This does not necessarily mean that architecture produced on a tight schedule is not site-sensitive or well-considered, but the jury felt that Souto de Moura made a particular point of really integrating his work with its surroundings. In basic terms, slow architecture can therefore be described as a combination of a concern for region, craft and sensory experience. These principles have been a concern for many architects in the past, but a few have produced a body of work that exemplifies the integration of all of these ideas.

Historically there are a number of local South African architects in whose work some of the traits of slow architecture are evident, including Sir Herbert Baker (who was schooled in the Arts and Crafts tradition), Gerhard Moerdijk, Norman Eaton and more recently Gawie Fagan. However, in terms of southern hemisphere countries, there is a group of contemporary

Australian architects, including the likes of Glenn Murcutt, Richard Leplastrier and Brit Andresen, who have been, and currently are, practicing in a way akin to slow architecture. The rootedness of their designs in place and its localised globalism, the attention to climate, the quality of products, craft, the multi-sensory aspects of materials, and their readiness to educate and advocate the need for these principles aligns them firmly within this definition of slow architecture. Practitioners from around the world attend the annual Glenn Murcutt Master Class in Australia, and many do so in order to rediscover the basic principles of architecture; something that cannot be automatically achieved through the use of computers or modern technology. It is also about generating understanding, and Andresen (in Turner 2011: 36) mentions the fact that everyone generally wants to start designing too quickly, but that it is necessary to keep questioning and to slow down first. Part of this slowing down on the course involves developing an understanding of the landscape and local culture, which is usually facilitated by an aboriginal elder. There is also the connection with food on the course, where meals are crafted communally and the conviviality during meal times forms a big part of the experience.²²

So in the world of tender deadlines, fast-track construction, critical path, and stringent delivery deadlines, slow architecture does not mean slower production or delivery times, but a more considered approach to material selection, origin, region and craft. Haslam (in Castelli and Haslam 2012: i) states that a specific amount of time is required to perform any given task well, and Tam (2008: 210) echoes this statement in saying that slowness is not about speed or the lack of it, but about pleasure and care, and that fast food is not bad because of its speed, but because it is *careless*. She adds that the slow movement is not just about speed or duration, but about timelessness and opportunity in a specific moment. One can compare the process of delivering a building to ordering a meal in a slow food restaurant; the preparation, cooking and delivery usually takes place under pressure and within a very tight timeframe – the slowness comes in the growing, production and selection of the ingredients and the time taken to savour the final product.

Three existing architectural ideas or movements that can be seen to be compatible with the principles of Slow Food are critical regionalism, the arts and crafts movement, and phenomenology or architecture of the senses, so some parallels between these three concepts and Slow Food will be briefly explored in the following sections.²³

Rootedness in place

Christian Norberg-Schulz (1979: 18) speaks of *genius loci* or the spirit of place and he cites Lawrence Durrell writing in 1960 that “As you get to know Europe slowly, tasting the wines, cheeses and characters of the different countries you begin to realize that the important determinant of any culture is after all the spirit of place.”

There is often a disconnection between products or buildings and their locality or the origin of their products, which can result in a sense of placelessness and anonymity, in fact it was (and is) sometimes a very real intention in architecture and food if one thinks of modernism, the International Style and international food franchises. Meneley (2004: 166) mentions that the success of most Tuscan extra virgin olive oil can largely be attributed to the craft used in its production (mostly traditional methods with considered technological streamlining only) and the embedded nature of place in the product: The region and the producer’s estate are always clearly identifiable and traceable, including the romantic imagery that is conjured up when most people think of Tuscany – there is a direct link between the product and its locality, and also

between the consumer and the producer. Ironically enough, some of the largest multinational fast food outlets of today started in this way as small, local outlets in Orange County, California in the 1940s and 1950s.²⁴

With increasing globalisation and mass production, the tradition of craftsmanship and the knowledge of craft can play a big role in the re-emergence of local food and architectural typologies. This is especially relevant in South Africa where labour-intensive construction techniques can be beneficial in terms of employment and Architectural expression – these do not necessarily have to be based on traditional vernacular building methods, but can also be developed as by-products of regional industries, for example where disused fruit packaging crates were recently redeveloped as a cladding system for a crèche in Prince Alfred by students from the RWTH Aachen University. Besides the environmental advantages and the creation of employment, it also means that the new building has a very direct visual reference to its place of origin. A rather unexpected person to have mentioned similarities between the principles of Slow Food and architecture is the Prince of Wales in an address at a Terra Madre conference in 2004 (Petrini and Padovani 2005: 173):

Slow Food is traditional food. It is also local – and local cuisine is one of the most important ways we identify with the place and region where we live. It is the same with the buildings in our towns, cities and villages. Well-designed places and buildings that relate to locality and landscape and that put people before cars enhance a sense of community and rootedness. All these things are connected. We no more want to live in anonymous concrete blocks that are just like anywhere else in the world than we want to eat anonymous junk food which can be bought anywhere. At the end of the day, values such as sustainability, community, health, and taste are more important than pure convenience. We need to have distinctive and varied places and distinctive and varied food in order to retain our sanity, if nothing else.

While one can disagree with his version of regionalism and his preferred aesthetic, the link between food or architecture and its region is an important one. Petrini *et al* (2005: 119) agrees with other authors that the benefit of regionalism in terms of food has only recently been appreciated again in the western world and that it has long been neglected. Some of the difficulties encountered by Slow Food in terms of regionalism, which can also be encountered in the pursuit of architectural regionalism, are described by Van der Meulen (2008: 225) as the three “major ‘business’ dilemmas” of Slow Food: Setting up local food groups to compete with global mass-production, the creation of their own regionalist food group as opposed to their own multi-national network, and the necessity of engagement with larger sponsors while championing smaller producers. An example from the *Terra Madre* network of successful regionalist Slow Food production is the Monkó cacao of São Tomé,²⁵ which is an island off the Gabonese coast in West Africa: Here a unique type of rustic chocolate is manufactured close to the plantations, which because of its special origin can compete with larger producers from other countries. Engagement with *Terra Madre*, links to other international organisations, and international publicity is providing plenty of exposure for the small-scale producers on the island.

It may be a case of “Think global, act local” as the saying goes, but architects are also increasingly working in a local and global arena simultaneously, where regionalism has to be re-evaluated in terms of global trends and advancements without losing its local identity. Frampton (1992: 315) mentions the need for local cultures and identities to be local manifestations of global culture and that it is not just a variation of vernacular architecture. He cites the works of Alvaro Siza, which are tactile and tectonic, while being intimately tied to their local topography without being overly conscious of their image – this suggests a link between critical regionalism and architecture of the senses. He also cites the work of Luis Barragan as a local, highly visual

and atmospheric manifestation that originally had its roots in the International style, but was transformed to create a unique, locally relevant typology. Other architects whom he mentions as practitioners of critical regionalism whose work also addresses the importance of material selection and craftsmanship are Jørn Utzon, Sverre Fehn, Carlo Scarpa, Mario Botta, and Tadao Ando. Regionalism is one of the traits that are also part of the arts and crafts movement, where “fidelity to place” was something that was publicised by A.W.N. Pugin, who had strong objections against so-called modern or foreign styles (Davey 1980: 13).

Wang Shu, of the practice *Amateur Architecture Studio* that he runs with his wife Lu Wenyu, is another architect who can be seen to practice according to the principles of slow architecture. Many of his projects take years to be conceived and he often ponders a design for a long time without drawing anything (other than calligraphy, which helps him to relax), before the entire design is often hand-drawn in one continuous flurry of activity.²⁶ One of his main concerns is the loss of social and cultural capital due to the rapid demolition of so many of China’s old *hutong* neighbourhoods like the one that he grew up in. He is fascinated by China’s *literati*²⁷ tradition and his buildings reflect this by showing a strong link to region and tradition, and they are often fragmented to create the impression that they were designed by different architects over time and to create a sense of community (like the Hangzhou campus of the China Academy of Art), or their inside spaces are varied and echo the lost spaces of the *hutongs* with narrow, twisting passages that lead into large atriums like in the History Museum in Ningbo. His contemporary historic-regionalist approach draws on traditional Chinese landscape painting, poetry and calligraphy, the Zhejiang Province’s vernacular traditions and the local landscape, and this museum was initially conceived as a hill (since the area has a very old tradition of hill and water painting) and then gradually resolved into a village, which was a response to preserve the memory of the houses that were demolished on the museum’s site. He approaches all of his buildings as a house, which imparts additional meaning or the sense of dwelling to any structure (the new tendency in South Africa of referring especially to government buildings along these lines, for example *Government House*, *Education House* or *Finance House* in turn lacks some of this depth) and he refers to the vernacular Chinese courtyard houses as the principal origin of most Chinese buildings today.²⁸

Besides for buildings, slowness can also be applied on an urban scale, as is evident in the *Cittá Slow* or the Slow City Association. The principles of Slow Food were adopted by a number of small cities in Italy in 1999 that identified themselves as centres of artisanal food production with a specific sense of place. This gave rise to the Slow City movement and *Cittá Slow* in 2000. The central ideas of the association are to regulate urban development in order to preserve the traditional city fabric and to promote sustainable transport solutions, to provide economic incentives to support food production through natural means, and to provide opportunities for producers and artisans to engage directly with consumers and agriculture.²⁹ It would probably be easier to achieve these goals in smaller centres³⁰ and some proponents of the movement are arguing for slower development with a higher quality, which is not always possible, but many of these small centres get global recognition through another Slow Food initiative called *Terra Madre*.³¹ This is an international network of more than two thousand food communities, which connects food producers and chefs with academics and consumers to share ideas, techniques and flavours.

The senses

One of the challenges facing both food and architecture is the increased ornamentalisation of both through the media. High-quality visual imagery is used to portray both, to the extent that its real substance and the other sensory experiences like taste, touch and spatial experience become secondary – Norberg-Schulz (1979: 190) calls it the *poverty of stimuli*. In terms of food, the media promotes the aesthetics of being thin, so scientific measures like weight-loss pills and dietary supplements are being employed on the one side, with generally unhealthy scientifically manufactured foods (usually supported by glossy visual imagery) being one of the primary causes of obesity on the other. Similar aspirational trends are found in buildings, where people have a specific media-induced image of what a house should be, but where engineering guidelines determine the design of houses and suburbs with inferior spatial and environmental qualities. Tam (2008: 211) makes the point that the portrayal of food as so-called “gastro-porn” heightens expectations, but as with real pornography, that gratification is never met. One can make the same point about “archi-porn”; Frampton (1992: 327) warns against this reduction of architecture to a series of images, and lists architecture’s tectonic nature as one of the principles of critical regionalism:

Critical regionalism emphasises the tactile as much as the visual. It is aware that the environment can be experienced in terms other than sight alone. It is sensitive to such complementary perceptions as varying levels of illumination, ambient sensations of heat, cold, humidity and air movement, varying aromas and sounds given off by different materials in different volumes, and even the varying sensations induced by floor finishes, which cause the body to experience involuntary changes in posture, gait, etc. It is opposed to the tendency in an age dominated by media to the replacement of experience by information.

Pallasmaa (1996: 20) has a similar opinion when he calls scenographic architecture that does not pay attention to craft and materials “stage sets for the eye”. He describes the historic dominance of sight as a sense in western culture, which is being continued by the media today, where sight and hearing are the dominant senses, while the others are regarded as archaic sensory remnants. He argues that multi-sensory experience or collaboration between all of the senses enhances one’s sense of reality, that buildings are frozen moments in time, and that architecture can allow one to experience the healing qualities of time in an increasingly fast world, which is similar to what Alexander (1979: 511) calls the timeless way.

Norberg-Schulz (1979: 190) uses similar terminology to that of Pallasmaa when describing the work of Frank Lloyd Wright and his use of natural materials as a want for rootedness and a *hunger for reality*. This relates to Pallasmaa’s view that the more senses something addresses, the more *real* it becomes. The tactility that Frampton mentions above (and the relationship between sensuality and reality mentioned by Pallasmaa and Norberg-Schulz)) is something that Cooke (2013: 40) also discusses in his comparison between textural architecture and so-called magic boxes: He compares the highly tactile, sensual and multi-sensory work of Alvar Aalto and Sigurd Lewerentz (particularly St. Mark’s Church in Stockholm, Sweden) with the new library in Seinäjoki by JKMM Architects. He describes the new library as using an approach that is currently commonly used by many architects, where visually-dominated, globalised building designs aim to create a “kind of magical, illusionistic fantasy world”. One can make the same comparison between the atmosphere in unique local restaurants and globalised fast-food chains’ “magic boxes” that impose their own standard reality wherever they arrive. Food itself also traditionally grew its very tactile own wrapping (an orange peel or banana skin would be a case

in point), which can be compared to the typical fast-food magic box that contains yet another bland hamburger.

Pallasmaa (1996: 49) also mentions Alvar Aalto as an architect who considered all of the senses in his architecture, and who was interested in the encounter between an object and a person's body as opposed to its aesthetic qualities only:

The architecture of Alvar Aalto exhibits a muscular and haptic presence. Aalto's architecture incorporates dislocations, skew confrontations, irregularities and poly-rhythms in order to arouse these bodily, muscular and haptic experiences. His elaborate surface textures and details, crafted for the hand, invite the sense of touch, and create an atmosphere of intimacy and warmth. Instead of the disembodied Cartesian idealism of the architecture of the eye, Aalto's architecture is based on sensory realism; his buildings are not based on a single dominant concept or Gestalt; they are sensory agglomerations.

These principles can be compared with those of one of the most well-known and acclaimed restaurants in the world, which was a small Michelin 3-star restaurant called elBulli.³² It defined the multi-sensorial experience as one of the most important aspects of its food, together with regionalism, a bond with nature, and the link between creativity and technique.³³

Education is one way of making people aware of all the other sensory aspects that can contribute to good food and architecture. Schneider (2008: 391) mentions the success of Slow Food's school-based and community-based sensorial education programmes.³⁴ It also launched the previously mentioned *Ark of Taste*, which is a catalogue that aims to preserve specific types of heritage foods (those that are tasty, in danger of disappearing as a tradition or product, sustainably produced, historically or culturally important and generally produced on a smaller scale). Donal Hickey (in Castelli and Haslam 2012: 49) mentions the success of so-called food heroes and celebrity chefs in improving knowledge about good food through education and advocacy. In 2010, a Slow Architecture Project was launched in Ireland, which took place on a (slow) canal boat that travelled along the Grand Canal from Shannon to Liffey, stopping at seven different destinations with exhibitions and workshops as part of its tour. Several artists and architects took part in this travelling exhibition, where more than 300 learners from a number of schools along the route had the opportunity to take part in workshops about the theme of slow architecture.³⁵ The creation of intra- and interdisciplinary networks are a very good way to foster education and innovation in different fields, and networks or groupings like Slow Food's *Terra Madre, convivia* and *presidia* are somewhat reminiscent of the arts and crafts movement's guilds like The Art Workers' Guild, the Century Guild, the Guild and School of Handicraft, and the Arts and Crafts Exhibition Society, while the integration of craftsmanship, design and the senses taught at the University of Gastronomic Sciences can be likened to the efforts of the Bauhaus. Both of these institutions had/have an interdisciplinary intake and teaching programme with a specific focus on the unification of art and craft.³⁶

Craft (baking and making)

John Ruskin, one of the original forerunners of the arts and crafts movement, when discussing the search for truth in his *The Seven Lamps of Architecture* published in 1849, mentions three basic principles that should be followed in architecture: The honesty of structure, the quality of materials, and the use of craftspeople in lieu of machine-manufacture. This can be compared to Slow Food's *Good, Clean and Fair* principles as explained previously, which refer to the

quality of materials, reduction of processing (honesty), and social justice in terms of better labour conditions.

Meneley (2004: 172) makes the link between Slow Food and the Arts and Crafts movement and she mentions that both movements locate the solution to industrialisation and capitalism in the individual: The idea that a positive sensory experience can ameliorate the negative aspects of society, be it through the provision of beautiful hand-crafted objects in their homes, or through the ingestion of good food. The unequal distribution of resources can be used as a critique on both movements, since high-quality crafted goods and food both tend to be much more expensive than the mass-produced alternatives, although a more direct link between consumers and producers will be able to reduce the difference in cost. As with all things, there are sometimes hidden costs which are not accounted for if one only thinks in monetary terms: The perceived affordability of mass-produced building materials or foods does not mean that there are not very high environmental or social costs. Higher embodied energy in products, pollution (especially through unsustainable harvesting or extraction, production and transportation), infrastructure costs, the lack of fair trade, unequal distribution of profits, increased resistance to antibiotics, obesity and toxins contained in both building materials and foodstuffs are just some of the factors that society is paying for without them necessarily being included in the physical cost of each mass-produced item.

Simonetti (2012: 180) feels that Slow Food's ideology does fit in with the idealised image of the countryside that emerged in England during the 1700s and 1800s, but that the movement is prone to mythicise and romanticise the past with blatant historical inaccuracy. He goes on to mention the class and gender differences, lack of social mobility, lack of food, and oppression rampant during those times and that according to him, these issues were addressed specifically through technological advances and economic growth. A potential problem that he raises in terms of craft is that artisanal production or hand-crafted products imply a limited production (which Slow Food is generally in favour of) of items that demand a higher price-tag. While he also mentions that Slow Food is extremely suspicious of science, it should be noted that science is responsible for many of the best aspects of today's world – the general principle should be one of considered science or science with conscience, where progress and tradition or globalism and regionalism can support one another. This is similar to the stance taken by Frampton (1992: 327), where he describes critical regionalism as being critical of modernism without denouncing it, or its emancipatory and progressive nature.

The Arts and Crafts movement does conjure up images of draperies and wallpaper, but craft has moved beyond that. Art and craft are ways of using and preserving traditional knowledge, which is being lost at a rapid rate in the construction industry, without compromising new technology or aesthetics but by underpinning them with social and cultural capital: Contrary to Ruskin's complete rejection of technology, new materials or machine-manufacturing, Schneider (2008: 390) makes the point that traditional knowledge is a way of tempering scientific knowledge and he highlights the opportunities inherent in the preservation of traditional knowledge and its educational potential.³⁷ This is something that Gottfried Semper explored in his work *Der Stil* and it was also the stance taken by Frank Lloyd Wright, who was a member of the Chicago Arts and Crafts Society and who advocated the fusion of arts and crafts with machine-manufacturing – he even gave a lecture in 1901 entitled *The Art and Craft of the Machine*, although he seems to have alternated between strong support for, and deep suspicion of, standardisation and mass-production.

The difficulty in finding experienced craftspeople and the lack of artisanal education in construction is a trend both in South Africa and abroad that should be addressed. In his work, Gion Caminada (in Hagen Hodgson and Toyka, 2007: 92) aims to add value through the extensive processing of sometimes inferior local building materials in order to promote job creation and craftsmanship. Local raw materials are usually fairly affordable, while localised processing can be fairly expensive, but the added value in terms of the creation of cultural capital cannot be underestimated. Brian O'Brian (in Castelli and Haslam, 2012: 2) feels that the lack of time during the creative phase of a building, when it can be layered through thought and craft, results in a reduction of a user's experience of time and that it takes away the capability of buildings to mark time. Arts and crafts are not about nostalgia, and Pallasmaa (2009: 52) also feels that craft is highly relevant today:

Fortunately, a new interest in traditions has followed the industrial rage and saved these and numerous other crafts, but there are still countless skills and an immense stock of unverbalsed knowledge around the world, embedded in ageless modes of life and livelihoods, that need to be maintained and restored. These traditional cumulative practices of the human hand around the world form the true survival skills of mankind.

The arts and crafts movement also saw an improvement in the relationship of people to their places of food preparation: The separate Victorian dining room and kitchen became less common (especially in middle-class houses) and were combined into one entity. A breakfast nook was provided in the kitchen or cooking area where the family could gather at any time during the day, which also tended to happen more often since the housewife now usually made the meals, instead of them being prepared by servants. This meant that the kitchen often became the heart of the home, where the art and craft of building and cooking were literally in the same place. Just as with Slow Food, the arts and crafts movement could be criticised for being a trend for the amusement of the wealthy only, for misplaced idealism, and that both do/did little for the conditions of ordinary workers. Davey (1980: 27) mentions William Morris' contradictions in terms of the movement, which can be compared with Slow Food's main dilemmas and the contradictions in terms of food mentioned earlier: "Morris was a capitalist who preached communism; a designer of mass produced art who believed in the freedom of individual craftsmen; a manufacturer of machine-made ornament who preferred utter simplicity."

Davey (1980: 213) does however feel that craft is highly relevant in the face of the rapid deterioration of many modernist buildings and mass-produced goods: The quality and potential for individuality and the integration of work and leisure holds a lot of potential for the arts and crafts movement's principles.

Pallasmaa (2009: 69) states his view that architects should develop deep, personal friendships with craftspeople, artisans and artists, so their intellectual world can be reconnected to the world of making. This is similar to the relationships that A.W.N. Pugin (one of the forerunners of the Arts and Crafts movement) forged with craftspeople – he was even a partner in one of the bigger craft manufacturing firms of the time (Davey, 1980: 11); Richard Lepastrier is also a case in point: It is through his almost life-long friendships with builders and shipwrights that a lot of his projects achieve an uncommonly high level of craftsmanship. One of his projects has a roof that lifts up like a sail to allow hot air to escape, while another has rolling canvas sides, and yet another has a harp-like system of ropes that control the opening of clerestory windows and ceiling panels – he's been building his own boats for many years.³⁸



Figure 1
Leplastrier operating the harp-like rope system (photograph by the author, 2005).

Leplastrier is probably the ultimate regionalist, both in his work and in his life – he has shunned architectural exposure so as not to be set apart from his local community whom he values so much. His most famous work is arguably the Palm Garden House, which was crafted relatively slowly over a period of 18 months and was completed in 1976. It was built by Leplastrier and his shipwright friends – his own description of the house (in Turner 2011: 38) tells of the importance of nature, climate and craft in his work:

It has a shell roof of corrugated copper and inside that is a skin ceiling that's like a cello, made out of 6mm thick redwood and polished like a musical instrument. And as this roof rolls over away from the wall it starts to dissolve, disappearing at its edges like a mirage. And there is the garden, like a Rousseau painting, the heart of the house, with just these canvas [walls] that roll up.

Wang Shu's regionalist work also has a strong focus on craft: He regularly uses recycled materials obtained from the demolished *hutong* buildings, which strengthen his own buildings' link with the past. Russell (2013: 2) mentions a woman who would regularly go to stare at Wang Shu's History Museum in Ningbo's walls³⁹ for long periods of time, who once told the architect that she sees "many familiar things" in them. The walls have similar characteristics to Dimitris Pikionis' pathways on the Acropolis in Greece, and Wang Shu's work can also be likened in some respects to that of certain arts and crafts architects: The walls of the Ningbo Museum's walls follow the principle that Ruskin called *savageness* or the purposeful creation of imperfection (similar to *wabi sabi*). They can be compared to the highly textured walls of The Barn that Edward Schroeder Prior designed at Exmouth in 1896 and a passage from Davey (1980: 73) describing them, could well have been a description of the Ningbo Museum:

Warm grey ashlar is mixed haphazardly with passages of red boulders and little arpeggios of sea pebbles, all combined to give a wonderfully varied texture that could never had been exactly specified by the architect but which must have come at least as much from the craftsman's sensibilities as from the drawing board.

One can trace a connection from the Arts and Crafts movement through practitioners of a more craft-based or regional modernism (in particular Scandinavian architects like Alvar Aalto and Sigurd Lewerentz in his later work) to the work of the "slow" architects mentioned here. In his later residential work like the *Maisons Jaoul*, Le Corbusier also moved away from the sleek,

white modernist aesthetic towards a more craft-based and textured approach, although the result was more brutalist than that of his Scandinavian counterparts. He developed close relationships with craftspeople and experimented with using industrial techniques and products combined with traditional technology like Catalan vaults and *mal foutue* (“messed up”) brickwork. He was initially criticised for this, but the Jaoul houses subsequently became very popular with architects.⁴⁰

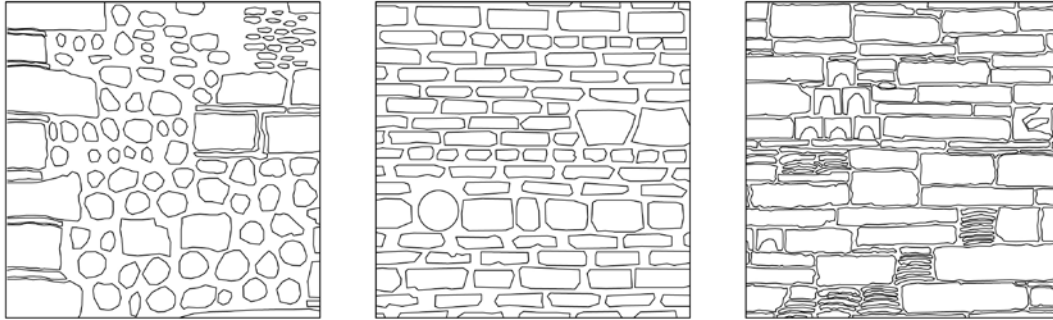


Figure 2
Comparison between the *savage* walling at The Barn, the walling of Lewerentz’s Church of St. Mark and the *wa pian qiang* walling at Ningbo.
(photograph by the author, 2013)

Describing the Sanhe house in Nanjing, China, Wang Shu (Shu, 2013: 1.2) relates it to slowness: “I imagined a child from a village in southern China, asleep on the back of a buffalo working in a rice field, with that falling and rising hump. The house was also asleep. The atmosphere was so tranquil that time slowed down.”

Conclusion

Food and shelter have always been parallel requirements for human existence and together they support, and often define, the act of dwelling. In earlier times, people foraged or hunted for food to eat and materials to construct their dwellings, and then used these to provide for their most basic survival needs. However, over time, both these processes were increasingly refined through craft and skill to improve their performance (in terms of durability, economy, pleasure, and numerous other measures), until they could be elevated into art forms. Since the industrial revolution, many of these processes have been taken over by large economically-driven conglomerates that the general population supported in order to gain time for doing other things, but in doing so, much of what had been achieved in terms of environmental rootedness, craft, and pleasure, was increasingly neglected. There is, however, a growing counterpoint to this trend, which is related to an increased global awareness of food and sustainability. The culinary arts, gastronomy, and “foodie” culture in general have, in recent times, undergone unprecedented growth, and it has gained increasing exposure on television, in books and at food events, and the Slow Food movement has managed to achieve a global presence mainly due to this increased awareness.

Over the past few decades, the Slow Food movement, besides being concerned with taste, has been addressing social, economic and environmental sustainability through a wide range of initiatives centred on local production, artisanal values and various networks concerned with fair trade and labour. By exploring these principles and their primary links with slow architecture like rootedness in place, the engagement of the senses and craft, it could help architects to renew their focus on local opportunities of place-making, craft and expression within the larger global context of sustainability. Architecture has often taken its cues from art, philosophy and social movements, so while there are well-established principles and precedents in architecture in terms of arts and crafts, phenomenology and critical regionalism, Slow Food offers an opportunity to consider these ideas in one basket as it were; while there is cause for criticising the movement, thinking about architecture in terms of food can bring practitioners back to basic principles.

There have always been numerous links between the arts of food and architecture, including, amongst others, the careful selection of ingredients or materials, the processes of design and production, the engagement of community, the use of form, measurement and proportion, the means to engage all of the senses and the potential ability to turn the utilitarian into something that can satisfy all the senses. Food, especially slow food, is about physical, emotional and spiritual sustenance, and there are things like flavour and aroma that cannot really be explained without experiencing them. Food shares this with architecture. Architecture is also about more than economy, efficiency and industry – it is about poetry: Besides all the functional requirements, it is about framing, reflecting and amplifying its parts, its users, its site and its environment, and it is about the sheer enjoyment and sensory pleasure of buildings and places – not just as “eye candy” (like it is portrayed in magazines, on blogs, social media networks and websites) – but as an experiential act.

Notes

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|---|--|----|--|
| 1 | This document, which is commonly referred to as the Brundtland report is called <i>Our Common Future</i> , and it was published by Oxford University Press on behalf of the United Nations World Commission on Environment and Development (WCED) in 1987. | 7 | Petrini, C. and Padovani, G. (2005: 76); Slow Food (2013: 7). |
| 2 | The United Nations Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED). This is also referred to as the Rio Conference or the Rio Summit, and it was followed by the United Nations Conference on Sustainable Development, again in Rio de Janeiro, in 2012. This is sometimes referred to as Rio+20 or Rio Earth Summit 2012. | 8 | Simonetti, L. (2012: 169). |
| 3 | This is an oft-modified voluntary action plan or agenda for the United Nations, governments and various organisations that flowed from the so-called Earth Summit. | 9 | Meneley, A. (2004: 165). |
| 4 | The master baker referred to here is Markus Färbinger of <i>Ile de Pain</i> in Knysna. | 10 | Färbinger (2014) argues that this is not necessarily the case, since commercial cereals can sell for R60.00-R150.00 per kilogramme, while artisanal bread usually sells for R35.00 per kilogramme. He is also of the opinion that the nutritional value in artisanal bread is higher than in most commercial cereals. The same applies to the difference between soft drinks and water or between sweets or candy and fresh fruit. |
| 5 | Petrini, C. and Padovani, G. (2005: 5). | 11 | Vitruvius, P. (1999), <i>Ten Books on Architecture</i> , book II, chapter I; translation by Ingrid D. Rowland. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. |
| 6 | Schneider, S. (2008: 386). | 12 | Semper, G. (1860). <i>Der Stil in den Technischen und Tektonischen Künsten oder Praktische Aesthetik</i> , volume 1. Frankfurt am Main: Verlag für Kunst und Wissenschaft; and |

- Semper, G. (1863). *Der Stil in den Technischen und Tektonischen Künsten oder Praktische Aesthetik, Vol 2*. Munich: Friedrich Bruckmann.
- 13 Republic of South Africa. (1996). *The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa*, no. 108 of 1996, Sections 26 and 27. Pretoria: The Department of Justice and Constitutional Development.
- 14 This is a conceptual structuring of sustainability into three tiers that highlight the relationships between the environment, economic development and socio-political development. It is becoming more common to add additional tiers like institutional sustainability and moral or cultural sustainability.
- 15 This particular restaurant, under the watchful eye of Chef René Redzepi, was ranked the Best Restaurant in the World for three years running from 2010 to 2012 by *Restaurant* magazine.
- 16 The *tokonoma* is the spiritual heart of a traditional Japanese house in the form of an alcove, where items of particular artistic merit are displayed. The *tokobashira* is a timber post, which is sometimes left in its raw form or only skinned without being planed, to symbolise the primary support for a house.
- 17 By providing products in stores in other parts of the world involves extensive transportation (which requires large quantities of fossil fuels, and results in pollution). Farming practices in developing countries where these products are sourced are not always monitored, which could result in soil degradation and biodiversity loss, and in some cases the need for providing cheap products results in labour exploitation through lower wages or the use of illegal labour to provide the products at a lower price.
- 18 For instance using techniques such as CNC (Computer Numerical Control) cutting of timber or laser-cutting of materials.
- 19 CIAM, the South African Modernist movement, Advocacy Planning and Community Design, the Congress for the New Urbanism and the various voluntary Architectural Institutes are just some examples.
- 20 The Cape Craft and Design Institute (CCDI) is a local case in point. See www.ccdi.org.za
- 21 Slow Home Studio (2013: 1).
- 22 Having had the good fortune of being able to attend the Master Class in 2005, I made a list of five or six bullet-points to remind myself of each day's most memorable experiences. These were usually funny things that some of the fellow students said, places we visited, and words of wisdom from the masters, but the last note for every single day without exception was what we had for dinner...
- 23 The intention of this paper is not to delve into any of these concepts in detail, but rather to highlight a few similarities with principles of the Slow Food movement.
- 24 Schlosser, E. (2001: 13-28). These include McDonalds and Taco Bell.
- 25 Petrini, C. and Padovani, G. (2005: 210).
- 26 Shu, W. (2013: 1.7).
- 27 *Literati* refers to China's cultured mandarins that effectively ruled the country for many years.
- 28 Shu, W. (2013: 1).
- 29 Cittaslow. (1999: 1-4); Slow Food. (2013: 6)

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