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perceptions of the country as primitive and exotic. Perhaps by using the *salakot* and infusing it with modernist architectural language, Arellano was able to repudiate the colonial past of the Philippines without abandoning its cultural present as a sovereign nation. Though brief in its presence, the architecture of exposition pavilions has proved to be an enduring part of nation building for former colonizers as well as the formerly colonized.

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Red Stone, Invisible Legacy: Goan Aesthetics in Charles Correa's Design

The obituary for Charles Correa (1930–2015) in the *New York Times* hails him as an "American trained" architect, who reached "deep into India's past for inspiration in producing work that is notable for its imagination and breadth."¹ Of course, Correa's design practice drew from "Indian" traditions, including the use of the mandala, a sacred geometric configuration associated with Buddhism. The visibility of mandalas in the architect's designs questions the alignment of his legacy with an Indianness that can only be understood as heralding a mythic Hindu past. As it continues to be perpetuated today, such Brahmanical bias is supported in tandem between the homeland and the diaspora. In this essay, we focus on Correa's Permanent Mission of India to the United Nations (PMI) building in New York (1985–92) to seek out the influence of the architect's minority Goan origins on his design practice. In so doing, we aim to demonstrate how Correa's regional influences represent a more complex sense of South Asianness, and thereby challenge monolithic notions of transnational Indian identity that are uncritically echoed in the lore associated with this community's built heritage.

Correa's native Goa was a former Portuguese colony (1510–1961) that was not a part of British India. Goans localized European and Christian aesthetics in their building forms, a legacy identifiable in Correa's work. Take, for example, the PMI building's red granite cladding, its warm hues a stark contrast to the monochrome New York skyline (Figure 12). Correa's use of this red stone may suggest a parallel to the Mughal-era Red Fort, which stands in New Delhi, India's capital, and which is the site of many national celebrations. In its crimson aspect, the PMI building then metonymically represents India in New York through the architect's use of this historically and nationally significant color. However, the color of the stone is also reminiscent of the red laterite of Goa. In fact, this strikingly colored material is featured in Correa's design of the state's Kala Academy, a performance venue that suffered structural damage due to negligence in 2023. The shared aesthetic of unadorned red stone in the making of Kala Academy in Goa and the PMI building in New York speaks to the continuity of Correa's color palette across projects and continents.

Built a decade prior to the PMI building, Kala Academy (1973–83) is Correa's tribute to his ancestral state, as evidenced by his use of the region's indigenous red laterite in the iconic riverfront building (Figure 13). Correa's employment and showcasing of the red laterite, a common construction material in Goa, in its uncovered form echoes the most famous Goan edifice to also bear this constitutive element. Built in the sixteenth century, Goa's Basilica



Figure 12 Charles Correa, Permanent Mission of India to the United Nations, New York, 1985–92 (copyright Charles Correa Associates; courtesy of Charles Correa Foundation).

of Bom Jesus is emblematic of baroque architecture, the Indo-Portuguese variation of which finds expression in the local red stone (Figure 14).²

At the same time as Indo-Portuguese baroque domesticated and remade European styles of the era, it also incorporated vernacular aesthetics, some of which were Islamicate.³ Even as Correa often evoked Indian and even Hindu influences in his oeuvre, these were not the only South Asian design inspirations that shaped his practice. We argue that Correa’s legacy—as exhibited in the PMI building and other works—is representative of a South Asian aesthetic complicated by Indo-Portuguese, Islamicate, and other heritages that are often obscured when his work is described as merely being “Indian.” This is then also instructive for how other “Indian”-inspired architectural history in the United States should be examined.

Correa’s architecture is typically attributed to his education in the United States under Buckminster Fuller and the influence of Le Corbusier; the impact of his youth in Goa is frequently overlooked.⁴ In Goa, most houses built during the Portuguese period are characterized by unique sit-out spaces at their entrances, a feature locally known as the *balcão*. During his time in Goa, Correa would have experienced familial gatherings in these climatically adapted spaces, a regional inheritance that can be traced in his architectural expression.⁵ For example, large openings in the upper reaches of the PMI building are double-height balcony spaces for the use of residents. Mirroring the *balcão*, a tropical feature, this element seems out of place in the New York setting. Yet, when enclosed with glass, such spaces are useful even during North American winters, the balconies functioning as intermediate zones between the interior and exterior of the edifice.⁶ Conceptually extending the use of the Goan *balcão*, which traditionally fronts a

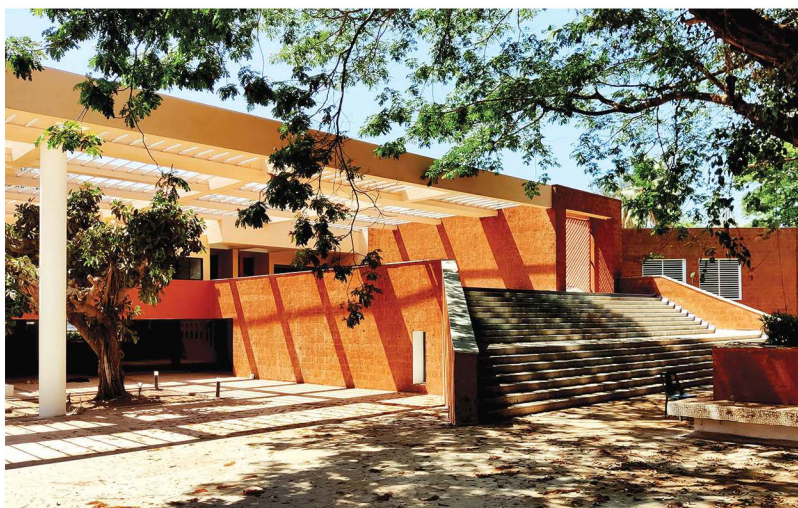


Figure 13 Charles Correa, Kala Academy, Goa, 1973–83 (photo by Vishvesh Prabhakar Kandolkar).



Figure 14 Basilica of Bom Jesus, Goa, 1594–1610
(photo by Vishvesh Prabhakar Kandolkar).

single-family, low-rise dwelling, the PMI building’s balconies encourage sociality despite the weather, owing to their deliberate placement in a multifamily/multiuse high-rise.

Although it can delimit entry, the placement of the *balcão* at the front of Goan homes makes public the interactions of people of different castes; by no means a venue that encourages egalitarianism, it nevertheless becomes a site of social negotiation. Prior to the PMI building, Correa experimented with climate-responsive, veranda-like communal spaces in his conception of the 1983 Kanchanjunga Apartments, a Bombay high-rise. In bringing this design feature to the United States, Correa transferred an Indo-Portuguese-inflected, South Asian aesthetic to the New York skyline and, with it, a convivial space that potentially questions established caste and social hierarchies.

The PMI building’s surface aesthetics reveal how Correa blended modernist ideas with the aforementioned Goan features in his vision for the structure. According to Anne Anlin Cheng, modernists celebrated blank walls in architecture, where “the philosophic preoccupation with surface served as a cornerstone for a host of . . . innovations.”⁷ Correa’s early works, such as the Administrative Offices of Vallabh Vidyanagar University in Gujarat (1958–60), exemplify how he followed modernist ideals by using exposed concrete surfaces as a vocabulary for his architecture. Subsequently, he developed a keen interest in critical regionalism, an approach that emphasizes the connection

between a building and its cultural, social, and geographical contexts. Despite his initial fascination with modernist surface aesthetics, Correa gradually incorporated regional influences into his designs, creating a unique style that blended global and local elements. As a result, his works, including Goa’s Kala Academy with its exposed indigenous stone, stand out as examples of critical regionalism, showcasing how architecture can be rooted in a specific place and time while still partaking of and participating in innovation.

Correa’s design philosophy can be traced between the various South Asian examples we cite above and the New York PMI building. Though Correa used red granite directly sourced from South India on the building to “proclaim with a flourish the presence of India in New York,” the exposed red stone may also proclaim the presence of Correa’s native Goa in a novel setting.⁸ Uncovering the invisible Goan influences in Correa’s oeuvre recharacterizes how his work should be viewed for its inclusion of diverse aesthetics. In turn, Correa’s legacy in the United States offers a transnational vantage point from which to rethink the relationship between built heritage and Indianness. Only one of them is fixed in stone.

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Finding a Way Home: Japanese American Resettlement after Incarceration

In late 1945, the U.S. federal War Relocation Authority moved dozens of ramshackle trailers to an unimproved lot in Burbank, California, a growing suburban community north of Los Angeles. This settlement, informally named the Winona trailer camp, was one of more than a dozen federal emergency housing projects set up by the WRA in West Coast cities to provide desperately needed housing for thousands of people of Japanese ancestry who had recently been released from incarceration camps (Figure 15).¹

These temporary camps established by the federal government after the war are just one example of a far larger housing crisis that followed the unjust incarceration of more than 120,000 Japanese Americans from 1942 to 1946. While architectural historians have previously addressed the physical landscapes of the incarceration camps, more attention needs to be paid to Japanese Americans' postwar experiences as they attempted to secure housing in a discriminatory real estate market—a traumatic and disruptive process that kept an already oppressed group from fully benefiting from the booming economy of the West Coast after the war.² The significance of this period is summed up by historian Greg Robinson: "The resettlement period was just as important [as wartime confinement], if not more so, in shaping the lives of Japanese Americans, and their communities, social activities, and jobs."³ This brief essay takes up Robinson's argument, focusing on the built landscape and the search for housing by individuals of Japanese ancestry in the Los Angeles and Bay Area regions between 1940 and 1970.

The resettlement period can be said to have begun as early as late 1942, when the federal government began to allow thousands of incarcerated Japanese Americans to leave the camps where they had been held and relocate

to cities outside the West Coast "exclusion zone" if they secured employment or gained admission to colleges or universities. Nearly 35,000 individuals participated in this program during the war and moved to cities such as Chicago, Dayton, Minneapolis, and St. Paul in the Midwest; New York, Philadelphia, and Pittsburgh in the Northeast; and Denver in the Mountain West.⁴

However, most of the Japanese Americans who participated in this relocation program moved back to the West Coast soon after the war—joining the men, women, and children who went there directly from the camps upon their release. Multiple factors made it extremely difficult for returning Japanese Americans to find adequate housing, including racial covenants that favored whites, laws that restricted land- and homeownership by Japanese Americans, and persistent animosity toward a group of people who were said to resemble the former enemy. In addition, incarcerated had suffered vast economic losses when they were forced to abandon real and commercial property quickly in 1942 during the incarceration process; when they returned to the West Coast, they had little capital to spend in the housing market. Even those Japanese Americans who served in the military during the war and could take advantage of home and business loans available to veterans were impeded from participating in the housing market by the discriminatory practices of private developers. Racism against Japanese Americans severely limited job opportunities, as many incarcerated were kept out of white-collar or professional jobs and instead were channeled into jobs as gardeners, domestic workers, or factory employees (Figure 16).⁵ In sum, those attempting to resettle in the West were at a systemic disadvantage as they searched for decent housing and work after the war.

Many Japanese Americans, notably elderly Issei (first-generation) immigrants, were compelled to seek shelter at emergency facilities such as the aforementioned Burbank trailer camp or one of at least fifteen other housing settlements established by the WRA and local housing agencies that provided homes for more than 7,000 Japanese Americans after the war.⁶

Japanese Americans who managed to find apartments and houses on the private market in the early resettlement years often found themselves in substandard accommodations, with some families resorting to living in tents, garages, barns, or backyard shacks. Many Japanese Americans moved frequently in the immediate postwar years to take advantage of any improved housing situation, a process that dramatically disrupted the school and work lives of resettlers.⁷

Only in the mid- and late 1950s did Japanese Americans begin to achieve some degree of housing stability as they moved to suburban neighborhoods, notably the Crenshaw, Gardena, and Montebello neighborhoods in the Los Angeles area and the Richmond and Sunset districts in