

CONTESTED GROUNDS – *The Spatial Politics of Memory/History* [draft]



The past is now not a land to return to in a simple politics of memory. It has become a synchronic warehouse of cultural scenarios, a kind of temporal casting, to which recourse can be taken as appropriate, depending on the movie to be made, the scene to be enacted, the hostages to be rescued.
Arjun Appadurai in *Modernity at Large*

Instant forgetting is the disease of our time. Thomas Frank, radio interview, 1 January 2010

(left, Rhodes Must Fall protest, University of Cape Town 2016)

One report from a local preservation committee described the Cecil Rhodes Statue that towered over the University of Cape Town's campus as a fine example of coat drapery rendered in bronze. But for university students the likeness of Rhodes, a white late 19th century colonialist figure who raged war

against black populations to expropriate their land for the British Imperial enterprise, and whose racist philosophy became the scaffold for mid-century racial apartheid, the founding father stood for the continued social inequalities and racial injustice that persists in South Africa even after apartheid's fall. The students initiated the campaign #RhodesMustFall in April 2015 and one month later the statue was removed. About another site, "It was a bad memory," explained the Bahrainian authorities five years ago about why they imploded the Pearl Roundabout Monument (1982) along with removing all coins and souvenirs that referenced the public sculpture. Originally a symbol of regional cooperation of Gulf nations, its new meaning had become an iconic rallying place for citizens protesting against the current political regime during the Arab Spring uprisings. Two years ago marked the twentieth-fifth anniversary of the fall of the Berlin Wall and along with it the collapse of Communism and the so-called heroic triumph of Democracy and Capitalism. Amidst the commemorative events and reportage that documented the transformation of Berlin whose new civic and national identity can be seen in the proliferation of new museums, office towers, and public buildings in the capital of the unified German State, curious journalists sought traces of the memory of a city that had once been cleaved into two ideological civic spheres and nation-states of an East and a West. September 11, 2016 marked the fifteenth anniversary of "9/11." But did its commemoration prompt a reassessment of the architectural efforts, a complex and fraught endeavor, to memorialize lower Manhattan's "Ground Zero?" How should the monumental "Freedom Tower," an emphatic declaration of the U.S.'s perceived invincibility within a world of unequal global power relations, be interpreted more than a decade after the event?

These recent examples require that we understand how discourses, representations, and practices of memory, history, and politics impact the social production of space and the making of the built environment. Critical for this seminar will be for us to sort out the difference between the formalization of the past through history and monumental architecture and the informal experience of the past through memory, its various incarnations of collective, individual, and cultural. Rather than position history/memory as binaries, this seminar examines the different ways that time and space are correlated toward political ends. We will situate the tensions between these modes of recalling the past amidst the rise (and fall) of the modern nation-state and the compression of space/time under regimes of globalization and neo-liberal policies. Monumentality in architecture and art have been seminal topics of research within their respective fields, however, the study of its wider political implications has recently only been addressed in new scholarship. For our purposes, scholars in the fields of memory studies, history and cultural and critical theory who analyze the political dimensions of how publics engage the past through buildings and cities will offer useful approaches.

Course Admission:

There are no prerequisites to this course, but students who are interested in enrolling must submit one page statements (PDF or MSWord) that outlines why this course would be relevant to their current work or research. Also include in order of preference three readings you would like to present (see below and for list of readings see Files and Resources/Syllabus/CG_Presentation_List.pdf on Courseworks). Please send these to Prof. Wilson at mow6@columbia.edu no later than Friday January 20, at 6pm. I will notify those who are admitted to the course by Saturday January 21 noon. Please include your name, e-mail, academic program and year on your statement. Please attend the first seminar meeting on Tuesday January 17, 2017 from 4-6pm Buell 300 South.

Course Requirements:

T&S – tell and show, otherwise known as presentations

(for list of readings see Files and Resources/Syllabus/CG_Presentation_List.pdf on Courseworks)

This course will be run as a series of discussions, and therefore all students are responsible for completing all reading assignments. These discussions will be jumpstarted by the observations of 1 or 2 student presenters each week and supplemented by questions from students and commentary from the professor. These fifteen-minute presentations should illuminate for the class some of the key concepts of the readings and identify aspects of those readings likely to be most helpful in your own thinking about the issues and in your work. All students are required to:

- Present a brief biography of the author, i.e. date of birth, death (if relevant,) education, academic appointments or artistic practice, etc.
- Present the theoretical framework of which the reading is a part. For example, a presentation of Halbwachs should acknowledge the influence of Durkheim and mention other writers who are indebted to his work.
- Diagramming or outlining the author's argument and theoretical framework might also prove useful in your presentation.
- Please select *no more than 10 images*, or video/film footage (no longer than five minutes) to analyze and discuss in relation to the reading. Explain why the image(s) are relevant to the reading by reviewing very carefully its content and form.

The scope of these presentations means that you must consult other resources—primary and secondary sources—that further your understanding of the various fields relevant to the course. This presentation may be the foundation for your analysis paper (see below.) Presentations should be clear, thoughtful, and informative. If it helps, prepare your presentation in the form of an essay and read aloud in class – you will have 15 (timed) minutes. Please arrive 10 minutes early to set up for your presentation and be ready to begin promptly at 4 pm. The presentation along with participation in discussions will count toward 1/4 of your grade.

Analysis Paper– You are required to write one short analytical paper—2500 word text (5-7 pages) + images—in response to the first half of the semester's themes. All students are expected to be able to write in a clear concise well-developed essay format. This is an essay that uses one or two of the course's readings to analyze a site, building, or event. In writing the paper students should consider the readings' key themes and how those concepts might relate to the core concepts of the seminar. It should have a balanced narrative of description and analysis. This paper should not be a summary of the readings, but instead should be a critical inquiry into the spatial politics of memory. Please email your paper (PDF or MSWord doc) **due 21.02.17** at the end of class. Please include visual material, appropriately captioned and cited, to further illustrate your argument.

This paper will aid in your comprehension of the readings, develop your capacity for critical thinking, and sharpen your comprehension of the material:

- Remember analysis papers should have an introductory paragraph stating a clear critical thesis.
- The best way to begin an argument, in the introductory paragraph, is to pose a set of critical questions to which topic does or does not respond.
- Next, the body of the paper should logically develop that thesis with examples (appropriately cited) from the reading(s) or other texts and images that support your argument.
- And finally, the conclusion should synthesize your points and make an original statement or observations about the reading.

Remember *an analysis is not a summary, but a critical perspective* on the readings and an expansion of the authors' themes. Please consult a writing guide such as the *MLA Handbook* or the *Bedford Writing Handbook* for assistance with grammar and structure. All papers must be written in a legible font (typically 10-12pt. Helvetica, Times Roman, or Courier) *double-spaced*, 1-1.25 inch margins, and paginated. Please include your name and date. Use endnotes or footnotes. All images, quotes or referenced material must include citations formatted according to a writing manual of style (*MLA Handbook* or *Chicago Manual of Style*.) This essay will count toward 1/4 of your grade.

Final Research Paper – All students are required to turn in a final research paper (4000 words + images; 7500 words + images for Ph.D students) This paper should take the critical insights of the readings and expand them into the analysis or comparison of a particular building, architect, city, landscape or event. All research should present a clear comprehensible thesis and demonstrate thorough research. During the week after spring break in each student will meet with the professor to discuss the direction of the research topic. The final project will count toward 1/2 of your grade and will be **due 05.11.17** via e-mail PDF or MSWord doc) no later than 5pm

Papers will be evaluated on the following criteria: strong thesis; clear, logical, and original argument; critical and creative analysis of theoretical texts and visual material; serious effort, preparation, and engagement in the subject matter. Please consult a writing guide such as the *MLA Guide* or the *Bedford Writing Handbook* for assistance with grammar and structure. All papers must be written in a legible font (typically 10-12pt. Helvetica, Times Roman, or Courier,) *double-spaced*, 1-1.25 inch margins, and *paginated*. Use endnotes or footnotes. All images, quotes or referenced material must include citations formatted according to a writing manual of style (*MLA* or *Chicago Manual of Style*.)

Plagiarism will not be tolerated. Plagiarism is the theft of someone else's thoughts, writings, or work that you claim as your own—this includes copying the work of a classmate or resubmitting an essay prepared for another course. The purpose of utilizing a writing handbook is to fully understand when a thought is an original idea or when and how it should be accredited to someone else through a reference, footnote, or endnote. Those caught plagiarizing will automatically fail the assignment and potentially fail the course.

Attendance and Participation – Attendance is mandatory. Students are required to attend the full length of all classes, attend required extracurricular events, and participate in weekly discussions. If you cannot attend class, you must notify the professor in advance by e-mail explaining why you are unable to attend the class. Please be on time so that we can begin at 4pm.

Readings –

All readings are available online at Columbia Courseworks. All books can be found on-line in Proquest Ebrary and Duke Ebook Project databases on Columbia Libraries E-Resources webpage.

For this course students are expected to have some familiarity with foundational theoretical texts. Excellent sources for these writings include (also see various resources on-line):

Critical and Cultural Theory by Dani Cavallaro

A Dictionary of Cultural and Critical Theory by Michael Payne, Meenakshi Ponnuswami

Critical Theory Today: A User Friendly Guide by Lois Tyson

Week 1 – Introduction – 17.01.17

Wilson, Mabel O. "Tell slavery's violent story through its architecture," *Al Jazeera America*, 6 April 2015.

<http://america.aljazeera.com/opinions/2015/4/tell-slaverys-violent-story-through-its-architecture.html>

Artifact: Stone Auction block from Hagerstown, Maryland. https://nmaahc.si.edu/object/nmaahc_2015.213

Week 2 – Discourse on Spaces of Memory-History- 24.01.17

David Glassberg. "Public History and the Study of Memory," *The Public Historian*, Vol. 18 No. 2, Spring 1996, 7 – 23.

Mitchell, Katharyne. "Monuments, Memorials, and the Politics of Memory," *Urban Geography* 24:5, pp.442-459.

Trouillot, Michel-Rolph, "Chap 1: The Power in the Story," *Silencing the Past: The Power and the Production of History*. Boston: Beacon Press, 1995, pp. 1 – 30.

Week 3 – Space/State/Nation - 31.01.17

Lefebvre, Henri. "Chap 11: Space and the State," *State Space World: Selected Essays*. Edited Neil Brenner and Stuart Elden. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2009, pp. 223 – 253. (Proquest Ebrary)

Goonewardena, Kanishka. "Aborted Identity," in *Memory and the Impact of Political Transformation in Public Space* edited by Daniel Walkowitz and Lisa Maya Knauer. In *Radical perspectives*. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 2004. (Duke ebook)

Week 4 - Collecting Memory/History - 07.02.17

Halbwachs, Maurice. Introduction, Chapter 1 and 2. *The Collective Memory*. 1st ed, Harper Colophon Books. New York: Harper & Row, 1980.

Young, James E., "Introduction," *The Texture of Memory: Holocaust memorials and Meaning*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993, pp. 1 – 15.

Week 5 – Sites of Memory/History - 14.02.17

Halbwachs, Maurice. Chapter 3 and 4. *The Collective Memory*. 1st ed, Harper Colophon Books. New York: Harper & Row, 1980.

Nora, Pierre. "Between Memory and History: Les Lieux De Memoire." *Representations* 26, (1989): 7-25.

Week 6 - Architectural Cult of Monuments – 21.02.17

Riegl, Alois. "The Cult of Monuments: Its Character and Its Origin (1928)." *Oppositions* 25, no. Fall (1982): 21-51.

Oteros-Pailos, Jorge. "Mnemonic Value and Historic Preservation." In *Spatial Recall - Memory in Architecture and Landscape*, edited by Marc Treib. New York: Routledge, 2009.

*** ANALYSIS PAPER due**

Week 7 - Modernism's Monumental Problem – 28.02.17

Atak, Tülay. "A Monument's Domain: Atatürk, Le Corbusier, and Modern Masses, *Future Anterior: Journal of Historic Preservation, History, Theory, and Criticism*, Vol. 9, No. 2 (Winter 2012), pp. 83-95.

Sert, Josep Lluís, Ferdinand Léger and Sigfried Giedion. "Nine Points on Monumentality," 1943.

Wigley, Mark. "The Architectural Cult of Synchronization." *October* 94, no. Autumn (2000). Cambridge: MIT Press, p. 31-61.

Week 8 – Spatial Politics – case study Post-War Germany - 07.03.17

James-Chakraborty, Kathleen. "Inventing Industrial Culture in Essen," *Beyond Berlin: Twelve German Cities Confront the Nazi Past*, ed. Gaveriel D. Rosenfeld and Paul B. Jaskot, Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2007 116 – 139. (Proquest ebrary)

Jaskot, Paul B. "The Reich Party Rally Ground Revisited: The Nazi Past in Postwar Nuremberg," *Beyond Berlin: Twelve German Cities Confront the Nazi Past*, ed. Gaveriel D. Rosenfeld and Paul B. Jaskot, Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2007 143 – 162. (Proquest ebrary)

Till, Karen. "Chapters 1, 5 and 6," *The New Berlin*, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2005. (Proquest ebrary)

Week 9 – SPRING BREAK

Week 10 - Politics of Preservation and Reconstruction - 21.03.17

Allais, Lucia. "Integrities: The Salvage of Abu Simel," *Grey Room* 50, Winter 2013, pp/ 6-45.

Bevan, Robert. "Chaps. 1, 4, and 5," *The Destruction of Memory: Architecture at War*, Reaktion Books, London 2006.

Report: #CultureUnderThreat: Recommendations for the US Government a task force report by the Antiquities Coalition, the Asia Society, and the Middle East Institute 46 pp., April 2016; available at <http://taskforce.theantiquitiescoalition.org/>

Week 11 – Whose Ground Zero? - 28.03.17

Sturken, Marita. "Introduction," "Introduction, Chapters 4 & 5" *Tourists of History Memory, Kitsch, and Consumerism from Oklahoma City to Ground Zero*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2007. (Duke ebook)

Sturken, Marita. "Mourning The Arrested Memory of 9/11" A Social Science Research Council Essay Forum, 8 Sept. 2011, available at: <http://essays.ssrc.org/10yearsafter911/mourning-the-arrested-memory-of-911/>

* **REQUIRED:** visit 9/11 Memorial <https://www.911memorial.org/memorial> [option: also visit 9/11 Museum; note: fee required for entry <https://www.911memorial.org/museum>]

Week 12 - 04.04.17- *Violence, Media and Memory* **Guest: Prof. Laura Kurgan, Center for Spatial Research, GSAPP**
Center for Spatial Research, "Conflict Urbanism: Aleppo," read the case studies on: <http://c4sr.columbia.edu/conflict-urbanism-aleppo/>

Weizman, Eyal, "Introduction, Part II: Matter against Memory," *Forensis, The Architecture of Public Truth*. Ed. Forensic Architecture, Berlin: Sternberg Press, 2015, 361 – 380. Also see: <http://www.forensic-architecture.org/>

Week 13 – 11.04.17 - - *Racial Violence and Politics of Memory 1 – case study South Africa*

Murray Martin J., "Preface, Introduction, and Chap. 2," *Commemorating and Forgetting: Challenges for the New South Africa*, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2013. (Proquest ebrary)

Museum: District Six Museum, Cape Town, see: <http://www.districtsix.co.za/>

Interview: McDougall, Abigail, "The Life and Times of Mr. Peter Buckton: Forty four years of walking past Cecil John Rhodes' Statue", *Africa is a Country*, May 3, 2015 see: <http://africasacountry.com/2015/05/forty-four-years-of-walking-past-cecil-john-rhodes-statue/>

Week 14 – 18.04.17 - *Racial Violence and Politics of Memory 2 – case study United States*

Dwyer, Owen J. "Location, Politics and the Production of Civil Rights Memorial Landscapes," *Urban Geography* 23:1, pp.31 – 56
Hillyer, Reiko, "Relics of Reconciliation: The Confederate Museum and Civil War Memory in the New South," *The Public Historian*, Vol. 33, No. 4, Nov 2011, pp. 35-62

Editorial: Staples, Brent, "Confederate Memorials as Instruments of Racial Terror," *New York Times*, July 24, 2015, see: https://www.nytimes.com/2015/07/25/opinion/confederate-memorials-as-instruments-of-racial-terror.html?_r=0

Week 15 – no class

***FINAL PAPER due – 04.05.17**

Bibliography

Memory Studies:

Assman, Aleida. *Cultural Memory and Western Civilization*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011.

Azoulay, Ariella, *Civil Imagination: A Political Ontology of Photography*, New York/London: Verso Press, 2015.

Bal, Mieke, Jonathan Crewe, and Leo Spitzer, eds. *Acts of Memory-Cultural Recall in the Present*. Hanover and London: Dartmouth College, 1999.

Bald, Sunil. "Memories, Ghosts, and Scars: Architecture and Trauma in New York and Hiroshima," *Journal of Transnational American Studies* vol. 3 no. 1, 2011. 1-9.

Barton, Craig Evan. *Sites of Memory : Perspectives on Architecture and Race*. 1st ed. New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 2001.

Bergson, Henri. *Matter and Memory*. New York: Zone Books, 1988.

Boyer, M. Christine. *The City of Collective Memory : Its Historical Imagery and Architectural Entertainments*. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1994.

Bruno, Giuliana. *Public Intimacy : Architecture and the Visual Arts*. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 2007.

Burgin, Victor. *In/Different Spaces: Place and Memory in Visual Culture*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996.

Crane, Susan, ed. *Museums and Memory*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2000.

Foucault, Michel. *Language, Counter-Memory, Practice*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1977.

Gillis, John R., ed. *Commemorations : The Politics of National Identity*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1994.

Greenberg, Reesa, Bruce Ferguson, and Sandy Nairne, eds. *Thinking About Exhibitions*. New York: Routledge, 1996.

Halbwachs, Maurice. *On Collective Memory*. Ed. Lewis A. Coser. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992.

Hirsche, Marianne, *The Generation of Postmemory: Writing Visual Culture After the Holocaust*, New York: Columbia University Press, 2012

Hobsbawm, Eric. *Nations and Nationalism Since 1780*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991

Huyssen, Andreas. *Twilight Memories : Marking Time in a Culture of Amnesia*. New York: Routledge, 1995.

Huyssen, Andreas. *Present Pasts: Urban Palimpsests and the Politics of Memory*. Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 2003.

Kammen, Michael. *Mystic Chords of Memory*. New York: Knopf, 1991.

Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, Barbara. *Destination Culture - Tourism, Museums, and Heritage*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998.

Lev Manovich and Andreas Kratsky. "Soft Cinema: Navigating the Database." MIT Press, 2005.

Lowenthal, David, *The Past is a Foreign Country – Revisted*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015.

Maleuvre, Didier. *Museum Memories - History, Technology, Art*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1999.

Rossington, Michael and Anne Whitehead. *Theories of Memory: A Reader*

Yates, Frances Amelia. *The Art of Memory*. Chicago,: University of Chicago Press, 1966.

Young, James E. *The Texture of Memory: Holocaust Memorials and Meaning*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993.

Young, James E. *At Memory's Edge*.

Globalization and the Social Production of Space:

Appadurai, Arjun. *Modernity at Large*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1998.

Bhabha, Homi. *The Location of Culture*. London: Routledge, 1994.

Bhabha, Homi. *Nation and Narration*. London: Routledge, 1990.

Clifford, James. *The Predicament of Culture - Twentieth-Century Ethnography, Literature, and Art*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1988.

---. *Routes - Travel and Translation in the Late Twentieth Century*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1997.

Cosgrove, Denis. *Social Formation and Symbolic Landscape*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1984

Deleuze, Gilles. *Bergsonism*. New York: Zone Books, 1991.

Deleuze, Gilles. "Postscript on the Societies of Control." *October* 59. Winter (1992): 3-7.

Deleuze, Gilles. *A Thousand Plateaus - Capitalism and Schizophrenia*. Trans. Brian Massumi. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1987.

Deutsche, Rosalyn. *Evictions*. Cambridge: MIT Press, 1996.

Frampton, Ken. *Labor, Work, and Architecture*. New York: Phaidon Press, 2002.

Gideon, Sigfried. *Space, Time and Architecture*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1982 (1941). Koolhaas, Rem. *S,M,L,XL*. New York: Monacelli Press, 1995.

Gregory, Derek. *Geographical Imaginations*. Cambridge: Blackwell, 1994.

Hardt, Michael and Antonio Negri, *Empire*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2001

Harvey, David *Brief History of Neoliberalism*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005.

Harvey, David. *The Condition of Postmodernity*. Oxford: Blackwell, 1990..

Kern, Stephen. *The Culture of Time and Space 1880-1918*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1983.

Lefebvre, Henri. *The Urban Revolution*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2003.

Lefebvre, Henri. *The Production of Space*. London: Blackwell, 1984.

Marx, Karl. (1846-7). "These on Feuerbach"(1845); "The German Ideology, vol. 1" in *The Portable Karl Marx*. New York: Penguin Books.

Robbins, Bruce, ed. *The Phantom Public Sphere*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1993.

Sassen, Saskia. *The Global City: New York, London, Tokyo*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991.

Sassen, Saskia. *Territory, Authority, Rights: From Medieval to Global Assemblages*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, May 2006

Scott, James C. *Seeing Like a State*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999.

Soja, Edward W. *Postmodern Geographies: The Reassertion of Space in Critical Social Theory*. London: Verso, 1989.

Suggested Readings:

Abbeele, Georges Van Den. *Travel as Metaphor: From Montaigne to Rousseau*. Minneapolis: University of Minneapolis Press, 1992.

Marc Augé. *Non Places: the Cultural Anthropology of Supermodernity*. London: Verson 1995

Bachelard, Gaston. *The Poetics of Space*. Boston: Beacon, 1969. 3-37.

Benjamin, Walter. *Illuminations*. Trans. Harry Zohn. London: Fontana/Collins, 1982.

Boorstin, Daniel J. *The Image - a Guide to Pseudo-Events in America*. 25th ed. New York: Vintage Books, 1987 (1961).

Boyer, Christine. *Dreaming the Rational City: The Myth of American City Planning*. Cambridge: MIT Press, 1983.

Colomina, Beatriz, ed. *Sexuality and Space*. New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 1992.

Crimp, Douglas. *On the Museum's Ruins*. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1993. 282-318.

Davis, Mike. *The City of Quartz*. New York: Vintage Books, 1990.

DeCerteau, Michel. *Practices of Everyday Life*.

Dery, Mark. "The Persistence of Industrial Memory." *ANY* 10 (1995): 25-31.

Easthope, Antony, and Kate McGowan, eds. *A Critical and Cultural Theory Reader*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1992.

Elliott, Bridget, and Anthony Purdy. *Peter Greenaway: Architecture and Allegory*. London: Academy Editions, 1997.

Foster, Hal. *The Anti Aesthetic*. Seattle: Bay Press, 1983.

Foucault, Michel. *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings 1972-1977*. Ed. C. Gordon. New York: Pantheon, 1980.

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MacCannell, Dean. *Empty Meeting Grounds - the Tourist Papers*. London: Routledge, 1992.

---. *The Tourist: A New Theory of the Leisure Class*. New York: Schocken Books, 1989.

McLeod, Mary. "Architecture and Politics in the Reagan Era: From Postmodernism to Deconstructivism." (1989).

Novak, Barbara. *Nature and Culture*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1980.

Ockman, Joan, ed. *Architecture Culture 1943-1968*. New York: Rizzoli/Columbia Books of Architecture, 1993.

Portoghesi, Paolo. "The Post-Modern Condition." In *After Modern Architecture*, 150. New York: Rizzoli, 1982.

Ross, Andrew. *The Gangster Theory of Life: Nature's Debt to Society*. London: Verso, 1994.

---. *Strange Weather: Culture, Science and Technology in the Age of Limits*. London: Verso, 1991.

Sassen, Saskia. *The Global City: New York, London, Tokyo*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991.

Smith, Neil. *The New Urban Frontier: Gentrification and the Revanchist City*. New York: Routledge, 1996.

Sorkin, Michael. *Variations on a Theme Park*. Ed. Michael Sorkin. New York: Noonday Press, 1992. 205-32.

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Veblen, Thorstein. *The Theory of the Leisure Class*. New York: A. M. Kelley, 1975.

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Wright, Gwendolyn. *Building the Dream : A Social History of Housing in America*. 1st ed. New York: Pantheon Books, 1981.

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