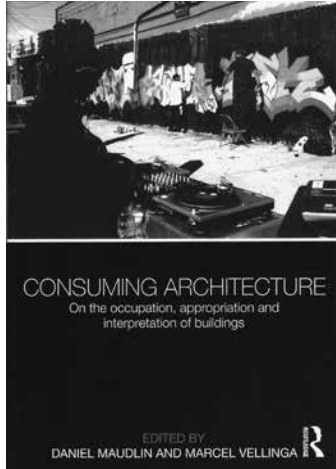


## Book Reviews



***Consuming Architecture: On the Occupation, Appropriation and Interpretation of Buildings.*** Edited by Daniel Maudlin and Marcel Vellinga. London and New York: Routledge, 2014. 300 pp., 101 b&w illus.

In 2007 the filmmaker Heinz Emigholz released *Schindler's Houses*, a documentary about forty of the Austrian architect's extant homes throughout Los Angeles. After a brief voiceover, in which he comments that there will be no further sound except ambient noise, Emigholz explains that this will allow "the artist's work to speak for itself, providing the deepest and most telling insights into the creator." By silently moving around and through all the houses — which are sometimes occupied, but mostly not (but invariably filled with personal belongings) — what the director unintentionally does, however, is provide unforgettable, peripatetic proof that Rudolf Schindler, as "the creator," did not foresee how these homes would eventually be used.

This essential dichotomy, between intention and actual use, was the theme of a conference entitled "Fixed? Architecture, Incompleteness and Change," held in April 2011 and organized by the Cultural Theory Space Group in the School of Architecture, Design and Environment at the University of Plymouth. It specifically addressed the difference between how architecture is conceived and designed and its eventual lived reality. At this event more than forty contributors explored the issue of fixity — or just when a building may be considered to be finished — as well as the implied expectation of decline once it is turned over to a client. In *Consuming Architecture: On the Occupation, Appropriation and Interpretation of Buildings*, editors Daniel Maudlin of Plymouth University and Marcel Vellinga, the Director of the Paul Oliver Vernacular Library at Oxford Brookes, have chosen eleven of the papers from the conference for publication. To these they added four additional articles, which they commissioned to distill the conference findings, fill out the three categories of the book's subtitle with five authors each, and ensure that all disciplines were adequately represented.

In their extensive and extremely lucid introduction, Maudlin and Vellinga jointly set out the parameters of the arguments that follow, and provide summaries of the three sections on "Occupation," "Appropriation" and "Interpretation." Despite multiple configurations of intentionality, the editors explain how all the contributions to the volume are based on the premise that works of architecture should not be considered complete after being occupied, but rather that they only then enter "an ongoing and formative process of consumption." Paying unmistakable homage to Henri Lefebvre's *The Production of Space*, as well as the Actor Network Theory of Michel Callon and Bruno Latour and the cultural studies of Pierre Bourdieu, they further assert that, rather than remaining static after the construction phase ends, this "imbuelement of meaning is a continuous dialectical process, played out by different actors, in different contexts of time and space, during both the production and subsequent consumption of the object" (p.1).

These theoretical referents reappear throughout the subsequent text, first becoming apparent in Part 1, "Occupations" (or more accurately "Habitations"), which deals with dwelling and the interaction between a house and its inhabitants over time. In the first chapter there, "The (In)complete Architecture of the Suburban House," Wouter Bervoets

and Hilde Heynen explain how Callon and Latour's theory can be applied to the analysis of a house as both a network and an actor within the larger web of government policies circumscribing a Belgian suburb. In "House Behaviour in the Australian Suburb: Consumption, Migrants and Their Houses," Mirjana Lozanovska then expands on this inherent tension, contrasting the cultural values of southern Europeans with the generic homes of their adopted country and the ways in which they transform them. The third chapter in this section, "Performing Their Version of the House: Views on an Architectural Response to Autism," by Stijn Baumers and Ann Heylighen, further shapes this theme of interaction by investigating how heightened perception reconfigures spatial experience and meaning.

The final two chapters in Part 1, "Transformation Unwanted! Heritage-Making and its Effects in Le Corbusier's Pessac Estate," by Anita Aigner, and "A Progressive Attachment: Accommodating Growth and Change in Alvaro Siza's Malaqueira Neighbourhood," by Nelson Mota, cleave more closely to Lefebvre's notion of the imposition of authority. In this case that would be the autocratic architect dictating conditions to ordinary people, or clients, a figure who returns those engaged in the design of the built environment to more familiar ground.

Part 2, "Appropriations" (which perhaps should more accurately be titled "(Re)-Occupations"), transports us from private habitation to public space by presenting five examples of political or organizational acquisition or recovery, sequentially calibrated from the macrocosm of the South African city to the microcosm of a single layer of graffiti spray paint. These manifestations are all described by the editors as "the consumption of architecture as a series of deliberate, physical acts of resistance by groups or individuals" (p.109).

In this section's first chapter, "Becoming Visible: Transforming the Spaces of Apartheid South Africa," Lisa Findley and Liz Ogbu track deliberate patterns of racial alternation and territorial substitution, describing the reversal of the fault lines of discrimination that has now taken place throughout that nation. In "Simla or Shimla: The Indian Political Re-Appropriation of Little England," Siddharth Pandey describes how the paradigm of British colonial identity, as a smaller village-like manifestation of the "politics of exclusion," has been both preserved and transfigured since Independence.

Malcolm Miles's "Ideological Regeneration: the Cafesjian Centre for the Arts and the New Yerevan" turns the cultural microscope down one more click, to the scale of a single museum project in Armenia. The Cascades and North Avenue, a contiguous street that the project terminates, was originally designed by Alexander Tamanian in 1926, and later abandoned for political reasons. But the street is now being completed with extensive support from the expatriate Armenian publisher Gerard Cafesjian, the architect David Hotson, and the engineers Dewhurst Macfarlane and Atelier

Ten, presenting layered overtones of what Miles describes as "a complex ideological web involving nationalism, an internationalism seeking an end to Armenia's isolation from the West, residual socialism and a new consumerism . . ." (p.154).

One more magnification in scale takes us to the rudimentary shelters built by participants in the Occupy London movement, which paralleled its Wall Street equivalent in 2011. In his groaningly titled "The Winter of Discount Tents: Occupy London and the Improvised Dwelling as Protest," Benjamin Taylor treats these makeshift structures as "architectural interventions: contemporary intra-urban vernaculars," rather than simply temporary symbols of dissent, evolved in response to different conditions in each of the jurisdictions in which they appear (p.169).

In "On the Origins of Hip Hop: Appropriation and Territorial Control of Urban Space," the last of the chapters in this section, Adam Evans narrows the focus yet again to the scale of graffiti, in its original incarnation as a socio-spatial manifestation of activism and identity, not as art. To do so, he evokes Lefebvre even more than previous writers, deliberately structuring his contribution on the French theorist's triad: "the model that proposes that space is conceived [through authoritarian design and planning]," as by the modernist urban planner Robert Moses; "perceived," as is the image of the New York City his plan created; and "lived," through social engagement, *detournement* and occupation, "as interpreted through the medium of graffiti" (pp.185–86).

In "Interpretations," the third part of their book, Maudlin and Vellinga imply that deconstruction never happened. And they use the final theme of the written message from Part 2 as a segue into the realm of structuralism, and semiotics, in various forms of media, as a way to find meaning in architecture. As such, the editors move the concept of consumption, manifested as a corporal act, into the infinitely riskier, evanescent realm of binomial ideas and images. Their intent is to use this final section as graphic documentation in support of the contentions contained in the first two.

In the first offering here, "'Why Does it Never Rain in the Architectural Review?' Photography and the Everyday Life of Buildings," David Cowland questions why discourse about the built environment has privileged drawings over photographs. Citing the *Architectural Review's* sterile images as proof of elitism, he argues for a documentary approach, to provide a "counterpoint to the idealized architectural image" (p.220). In the second article, "Scenarios 'For Poetry Makes Nothing Happen': Art and Architectonic Urban Experimentations," the artist Ronny Hardliz draws parallels between artistic research and practice and their architectural equivalents, claiming they share a balance between reflexivity and public responsibility, but that the latter should provide "a place of encounter" and "a medium of life" (p.224). Eleanor Suess then concentrates on this relationship between architecture and art by comparing drawing, as a fixed, static medium, and film,

as an active and more promising means of representation, in “Doors Don’t Slam: Time-Based Architectural Representation.”

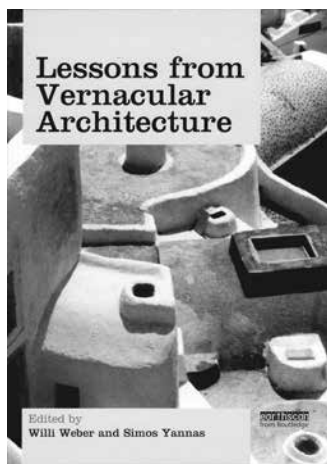
The final two articles the editors have selected, which are “SEII: (Re)generations,” by James Swinson, and “Between the Cloud and the Chasm: Architectural Journals, Waste Regimes and the Economics of Attention,” by C. Greig Crysler, follow their highly effective pattern of moving through progressively finer topical filters in each of the three sections of this book. Swinson discusses the street-level vantage point he employs in images of Kensington, South London (the SEII part of the title), as more humane and representative of public perception than the “panoptic” and “planner’s-eye” alternative typically found in professional journals. Crysler, in turn, equates architecture with the paper media that recorded it in the recent past, referring to each of them as “waste in transit,” before focusing on newer and less conventional sources such as zines and the Web (p.278).

The cumulative effect of the deft editorial selections by Maudlin and Vellinga, only briefly alluded to here, is ultimately compelling in its totality, presenting a new, and vitally important, critical position that is long overdue.

*James Steele*

*University of Southern California*

*Lessons from Vernacular Architecture.* Edited by Willi Weber and Simos Yannas. London and New York: Routledge, 2014. 240 pp., 276 color illus.



The purpose of this book is both ambitious and modest. It is ambitious because it sets out to prove, from a technical standpoint, what the editors observe has been mostly an anecdotal claim: that there are environmental advantages to vernacular architecture. It is modest in that it does little to challenge an architectural narrative that has traditionally ignored human agency in that type of construction.

The book is divided into two parts of seven chapters each. Part One offers a series of studies of vernacular buildings in places such as Lebanon, China and Turkey. The contributors here set out to analyze the climate, lighting, and other features of these constructions, with a varying level of technical depth. In its second part the book then presents an assortment of examples of how architectural designers and

other people have used the principles of vernacular construction as a source for what seem to be environmentally responsive buildings.

The editors promise “detailed and reliable measurements” of the environmental benefits of vernacular architecture (p.1). In reality, most of the case studies are based on a simple analysis of form common to the very literature the book intends to challenge. That is not a problem, per se — this is just the beginning of a much needed project, that of bringing quantitative rigor to the discussion. And the formal analyses are of good quality, with the contributors providing detailed descriptions of buildings, complete with useful photographs, diagrams and plans.

In all, only five chapters live up to the promise of providing numerical data to support the book’s thesis. However, there are methodological and other limitations even in these chapters. To begin, the book’s argument is based on a dichotomy, vernacular versus modernist construction, in which the latter is informed by principles of the International Style. The book sets out to demonstrate that the former is better from an environmental standpoint. It does this with as much rigor as it can; yet it does not offer a similar level of attention to analysis of the counterpart. Instead, it quickly reaches the verdict that modernist construction is inefficient, disruptive, and in general inconvenient.

One consequence of this approach is that the book cannot offer real comparisons, because its focus is solely on the preferred side of the dichotomy. Only in one chapter is there a side-by-side comparison. This comes in chapter 12, which analyzes temperature differences between traditional and modernist Thai houses. Notably, this is the chapter that offers the book’s most nuanced assessment: that while there exist some cases in which the climate advantages of the traditional structures are clear, there are others in which the picture is more complex. Yet the methodological bias applies even here, since the comparison is based on two different house forms — with different heights, proportions, areas, materials and designs. Although the results are significant, it still represents an apples-to-oranges comparison. Despite its claims to rigor, then, from a methodological standpoint, the book still appears to be a work in progress — if a significant one.

The most serious limitation of *Lessons from Vernacular Architecture*, however, is that it remains framed within a long tradition that reduces vernacular architecture to an issue of form, removing human agency from the narrative. Regardless of how accurate the claims are that vernacular buildings are environmentally superior, traditional dwellers worldwide are moving away from such forms of construction. This explains the increasing presence of modernist construction in traditional environments (which so evidently bothers contributors to this volume). In addition, the adoption of modernist practices is so prevalent that, symptomatically, most of the descriptions in Part One are of historical structures: abandoned settle-

ments in Egypt, medieval public baths in Syria, centuries-old houses in China. . . . Tellingly also, most of the case studies are described using the past tense. Thus, the vernacular architecture this book studies has a common problem: it is historical. Indeed, this can be read as an architectural history book.

The general bent of the argument from here is to quickly condemn this phenomenon as an abnormality that has to be corrected. Yet there exist powerful reasons for the adoption of modernist construction — socioeconomic constraints being among the most important. The truth is vernacular architecture has become a very expensive type of construction, largely unaffordable among its own creators. The book itself unintentionally demonstrates this. Its examples of successful vernacular design are the houses of comparatively wealthy patrons — from British tradesmen in colonial India, to retirees in Ireland, to famous architects in Japan, to plantation owners in Mexico.

The critical question in traditional environments today is not whether vernacular constructions are environmentally efficient. It is for whom that notion is relevant. With regard to the title of this book, we must ask: Who are the “lessons from vernacular architecture” for? They are for “us,” the editors explain (p.2). But their “us” is an unmarked one, which presents the findings as universally applicable. It is, however, a positional “us.”

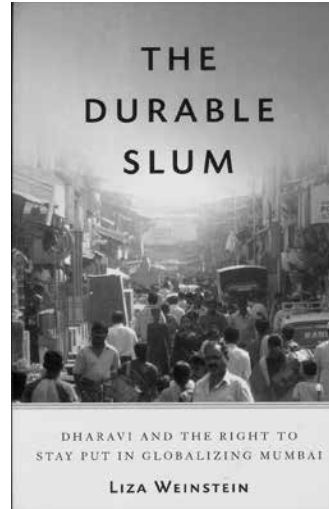
A common dilemma that a building practitioner faces when working in traditional environments (including some of the ones described here) is that, although traditional dwellers may acknowledge that modernist architecture is less comfortable from an environmental standpoint, they still prefer it over their own traditional construction. This paradox has been widely documented in literature, most famously by Hassan Fathy in his narrative of frustration trying to implement traditionalist construction among villagers in Gourna, Egypt.

Regardless of how rigorous its analysis may be, *Lessons from Vernacular Architecture* thus remains too fixated on how to preserve certain forms, while ignoring the deep social reasons why such forms are “disappearing” (p.85). Why do traditional dwellers decide to embrace the modern, thus challenging conventional environmental wisdom? This book offers no new insight here. Instead, it echoes an old and well-known Victorian lament, which makes its purpose modest.

This book falls in a long tradition of architectural writing that ignores human agency in vernacular architecture. Such books conceive of change as abnormal, and reduce the worth of traditional culture to objects — shapes for a new green pattern book, in this case. That considered, *Lessons from Vernacular Architecture* provides an appeal for high architectural design for those who can afford it — more praise for postmodernist neovernacular design, now adorned with the rhetoric of sustainability.

**Gabriel Arboleda**  
Hampshire College

*The Durable Slum: Dharavi and the Right to Stay Put in Globalizing Mumbai.* Liza Weinstein. Minneapolis and London: University of Minnesota Press, 2014. 240 pp., 26 b&w photos.



Liza Weinstein’s excellent book about Dharavi’s past, present and future comes at a time when Mumbai’s megaslum has catapulted into the global imagination. Notwithstanding Dharavi’s popular appeal following the Oscar-winning film *Slumdog Millionaire*, or the fetishistic celebration of its recycling industry by the global North, Weinstein’s account is a much needed, scholarly inquiry into the historical conditions that

produced the slum and its seemingly precarious existence in the face of local and global political-economic forces.

*The Durable Slum* makes three broad proposals. The first is that slums are not, as many scholars suggest, marginal places on the periphery of cities where poverty and informal settlements merge. Weinstein makes this case in Chapter 1, “Becoming Asia’s Largest Slum,” by tracing Dharavi’s historical origins as a nineteenth-century fishing village, with tanneries and a potter’s colony, to its more recent development of manufacturing and recycling industries that reveal it to be a centralized, yet heterogeneous settlement. Dharavi, the slum, Weinstein suggests, emerged out of a tacit government policy of “supportive neglect,” which allowed “illegal housing and businesses to proliferate” in a burgeoning industrial city. Consequently, Dharavi grew into a significant center for worker housing — in addition to industry. After more than a century it was then strategically nicknamed “Asia’s largest slum” to bring attention to its extreme density (almost half a million people in 535 acres) and woefully inadequate services.

Weinstein’s second proposal is that the well-entrenched megaslum of the second half of the twentieth century is the outcome of state and local government interventions. In particular, she takes up this paradoxical claim in Chapter 2, “State Interventions and Fragmented Sovereignties,” where she traces the colonial and nationalist legacies of government formation in India to show that public authority was ambiguous and fragmented across local municipalities, state, and central governments in the postcolonial era. Government programs for slum clearance, slum improvement, and housing provision were conflictive at best; and it was their ineffectiveness — often accompanied by the threat of eviction — that motivated local groups to act against them. This tena-

scious opposition only hastened the failure of government-led rehabilitation programs, and produced, in turn, the well-entrenched slum. By 2001, 50 percent of Mumbai's twelve million people were still housed in informal or slum settlements.

Weinstein's third proposal involves globalization: that the megaslum is inextricably tied to the political economy of the megacity and to global flows of capital and city building. In Chapter 3, "From Labor To Land: An Emerging Political Economy," and in Chapter 4, "Political Entrepreneurship and Enduring Fragmentations," she analyzes Dharavi's link to interconnected political-economic transformations of the late 1980s and early 1990s, among which were the collapse of Mumbai's sizeable textile industry, rampant land speculation, and India's integration into global flows of capital following economic liberalization in 1991. A further signal of Dharavi's links to globalization is the Dharavi Redevelopment Project (DRP), initiated in 1995 — an ambitious, and perhaps ludicrous, vision of Indian-born U.S. architect Mukesh Mehta — to turn the megaslum into market-rate commercial spaces while keeping existing residents and industries. So too were the aspirations of the local elite to make Mumbai a "world-class city" in the early 2000s.

As these proposals structure the narrative in chronological terms, they also raise a central theme that occupies Weinstein throughout the book: of the slum as precariously balanced between "ephemerality and entrenchment" in the context of global urban development. Marxist urban theory, Weinstein points out, posits the idea of "accumulation through dispossession," and tends to emphasize the "obliterating character" of global capital on urban space. On the contrary, Weinstein's research reveals, Dharavi has demonstrated a great deal of resilience through the defiant actions of numerous local actors and other contingent factors. She argues that neoliberal economic strategies, such as public-private land grabs for development, often interceded by local constituencies, were not entirely successful in Dharavi. In fact, Weinstein boldly asserts that as communities across the world are being demolished to make way for new development, "it is likely, that even in these places, more remains durable than prevailing wisdom or our existing theories would suggest." However, she cautions that this resilience comes at the price of a status quo of poverty, as the prospects to improve material conditions steadily melt away.

This is the conundrum that Weinstein explores in Chapter 5, "The Right to Stay Put," which she says can be seen as "simply resisting displacement." As such, it is distinct from the revolutionary claims of a "right to the city." Over the decades, activist groups and residents have employed a wide range of resistance strategies including electoral politics, protests, and litigation in courts. But the larger issue, according to Weinstein, is the politics of the participatory process in urban renewal schemes. Here the DRP's commitment to engage the "political society" of Dharavi (which Weinstein tracks through extended fieldwork) — mixed with varying degrees of negotia-

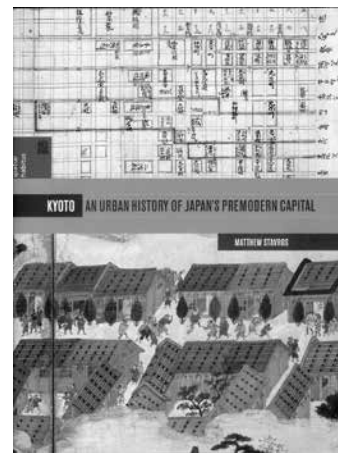
tion, confrontation and cooption — still suggests a form of "civic governmentality" that is democratic. Although imperfect, as Weinstein concedes, it still does not amount to a "politics of inclusion," where the slum's constituents are merely "managed," or improbably steamrolled into submission, especially considering the political power they have garnered through decades of struggle. Dharavi's history, in Weinstein's account, reveals several lost opportunities for substantive change.

Weinstein's book stands out for its extensive fieldwork and historic research. And it effectively demonstrates how these methods can challenge established theories about urban informality and globalization, as well as popular assumptions about places such as Dharavi. By relating the megaslum to broader geo-political and geo-economic changes, the book qualifies as an important contribution to the field of global urban studies.

**Tanu Sankalia**

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***Kyoto: An Urban History of Japan's Premodern Capital.*** Matthew Stavros. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2014. 256 pp., b&w and color illus.



The symmetrical, gridded plan of eighth-century Heiankyō, predecessor to modern Kyoto, has long served not only as a model of East Asian urbanism, but also as a metaphor for the Japanese adoption of classical Chinese city-planning principles. This uncritical idealization of early Kyoto as the embodiment of continental planning typifies many English-

language accounts of East Asian urban history. Matthew Stavros's highly readable history of premodern Kyoto offers a clearly argued and beautifully illustrated corrective to this misconception of unchanging classical perfection.

Stavros begins his book by succinctly recounting the familiar story of Kyoto's founding ideals, as well as the more interesting story of its actual early development. In Chapter 1 he explains how the city was planned by Emperor Kanmu (r.781–806) as an expression of centralized rule along Chinese lines. The gridded plan of the capital city thus centered conceptually and physically on the figure of the emperor as the nexus of political, social and economic power. And the demarcation of imperial ritual from civil bureaucratic areas

and the creation of east and west market districts were only two manifestations in Kyoto of the ideals expressed at spectacular scale in the Tang dynasty capital of Changan. Stavros uses excellent illustrations to show how the gridded plan reinforced spatially and architecturally a hierarchy of socio-political rank and privilege. The overall city plan, the more complex layout of the imperial enclosure of the Daidairi, and the spatial qualities of aristocratic, *shinden*-style residential architecture serve in Stavros's analysis as nested scales of imperial ritual and pageantry.

In Chapter 2 Stavros then demolishes this picture by showing how the ideal plan clashed with realities on the ground. The plan's grandiose scale and its inattention to site topography left the flood-prone western half of the grid largely unbuilt, or relegated to agricultural use. Furthermore, the status-graded division of the grid not only failed to accord with changing economic realities, but it presupposed the formation of social units that coalesced in unintended spatial patterns within the city. For example, commercial development dictated by proximity to the street transformed the basic urban social unit from the square *machi*, formed between streets, to the street-centric *chō*, defined by the residences and businesses facing each other along a given block of a specific street. Unintended commercial development along streets contrasted with the demise of the west market district by the mid-ninth century. In a similar vein, Stavros shows that the increasingly privatized control of state institutions, as well as the decline of the Tang dynasty in China and the Silla kingdom in Korea, made even the facilities for state ritual of marginal use. Most shocking perhaps was the early demise of the Daidairi, the imperial enclosure, a victim of recurrent fires, the shift in actual political power to increasingly dispersed aristocratic households, and the increased portability of imperial statecraft as emperors came to reside permanently in originally temporary palaces, or *sato-dairi*.

The next four chapters contain Stavros's most original and interesting analysis. Here he details the transformation of the gridded city into a complex series of urban islands created by concentrations of political and economic power wielded by aristocrats, powerful clergy, retired emperors, and warriors. In his third chapter, Stavros shows how this process of "nodal urban development" led by the eleventh century to an urban fabric completely different from the classical model. He recounts the formation of the aristocratic northeastern suburbs of Kamigyō ("upper capital") and the development by commoners of the densely populated, commercial district of Shimogyō ("lower capital") — as well as the development of the surrounding hills and peripheral temple-palace complexes by retired emperors seeking to hold onto political influence. Accompanying this increasingly fragmented urban development, however, was the remarkable persistence of the notion of the capital as the formal seat of imperial ritual and ruling legitimacy. Stavros shows how the new conception

of a central, urban "Rakuchū" and a surrounding "Rakugai" periphery mirrored the spatially bifurcated public and private identities of competing social elites.

Paradoxically, the establishment of military rule in Kyoto under the Ashikaga shogunate in the fourteenth century led to a reinvigoration of the notion of urban space as a reflection of centralized rule, this time under the Ashikaga shoguns working in tandem with courtly and clerical elites. Stavros describes not only the Ashikaga reticence to violate the classical proscriptions against warrior presence in the ritual core of the city, but also their embrace of the *shinden*-style villas that most histories of Japanese architecture cite as an aristocratic precursor to the later, samurai promotion of the *shoin* style of elite residential architecture. Under the reign of the third shogun, Yoshimitsu, the primary imperial ritual and residential spaces were reconfigured in axial alignment with Ashikaga sites in a monumental expression of centralized authority.

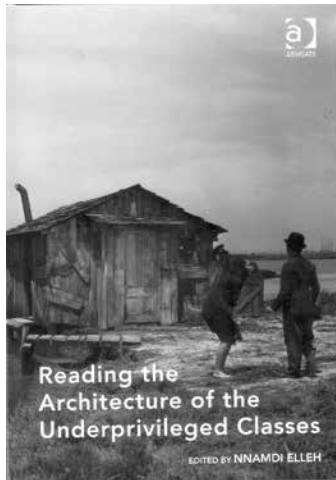
The sixth chapter details the destruction of the medieval urban order and the last vestiges of the classical ideal during the Warring States era, inaugurated by the outbreak of the Ōnin War in 1467. The subsequent century of internecine conflict left the city divided into fortified neighborhoods concentrated in the southern and northern cores of the Kamigyō and Shimogyō districts.

The final chapter details the rebuilding of Kyoto under Oda Nobunaga and Toyotomi Hideyoshi. Nobunaga's construction in 1569 of his Nijō castle in the war-ravaged city center placed a fortified, moated compound at the heart of a city whose borders had previously excluded the architectural expression of warrior dominance. From its inception, a persistent symbol of imperially sanctioned political legitimacy, Kyoto ironically served as the prototype for the development of the early modern castle-towns (*jōka-machi*) that marked the nodes of samurai political hegemony in the early modern period. Under the leadership of Hideyoshi in the late sixteenth century, the cityscape was transformed through the relocation of major temples, the completion of major road and bridge projects, and the creation of aristocratic and warrior enclaves, whose imprint is evident in the modern city.

Stavros's text makes an important contribution to English-language scholarship on both East Asian urbanism and pre-modern urban history. The combination of clear arguments enlivened with quotations from period accounts, extremely useful maps and explanatory diagrams, and the cogent summarization of the voluminous literature on Kyoto history makes this the rarest of academic works — a book at once accessible to undergraduates and resonant to specialists. Stavros reminds us of the complex relationship between urban ideals and shifting social realities: that the physical fabric of cities and architecture matter in ways that outlive their physical dissolution.

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*Reading the Architecture of the Underprivileged Classes: A Perspective on the Protests and Upheavals in Our Cities.* Edited by Nnamdi Elleh. Farnham, U.K., and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2014. xviii + 278 pp., 123 b&w illus., 7 tables.



They have many names: French-colonial *bidonvilles*, Brazilian *favelas*, Turkish *gecekondu*s, Venezuelan *barrios*, South African townships, or more generally “ghettos,” “shantytowns,” or simply “informal settlements.” Dozens of localized names in thousands of distinct settings around the globe all refer to a commonality of architecture of the underprivileged in the developing

urban centers of the modern age that has been marginalized, discounted, even forgotten.

Spurred by the contradiction that such a pervasive phenomenon rose in parallel with iconic modern design, Nnamdi Elleh, the editor of the volume, asks “Do the architectural productions of underprivileged classes in the developing parts of the world belong in the modernist discourse?” (p.xvii). He seeks to answer this question with a three-part investigation — first analyzing historiography and suggesting theoretical approaches, second spotlighting creativity and variety in informal development, and third highlighting the effect of political decision-making on informal development.

The introductory section contains three essays by Elleh, himself. The first attempts a historiography of informal dwelling in the form of a literature review. Here Elleh spotlights certain texts that are noted for not including any such housing type, and then establishing a thread that builds from Bernard Rudofsky to Paul Oliver, to Janet Abu-Lughod and Lisa Peattie, to Nezar AlSayyad, Peter Kellett and Mark Napier, Ananya Roy, and finally coming back to Amos Rapoport. Rapoport’s 1988 essay “Spontaneous Settlements as Vernacular Design” presented a nuanced view of spontaneous settlements as cultural landscapes in a “state of flux,” with both “traditional core elements and newly introduced elements highly desired by the builders and users” (p.35). With the aid of seventeen “process characteristics” and twenty product characteristics, Rapoport accounted for the category of vernacular moving from folk settlements to cosmopolitan urban settings. Elleh ends this review with his own observations of Ndebele settlements in urbanized South Africa, showing that while some traditional architectural elements may still be present, their actual use is more in accordance with modern urban life.

Elleh’s second essay, “The Global Context(s): Architecture and Urban Revolution(s) to Transform the Society and the Individual, 1900-2014,” ostensibly addresses the themes of the book’s subtitle concerning protest and upheaval. First, Elleh suggests a parallel between early twentieth-century avant-garde ideals and present social movements; second, he notes that the rise of industrialized cities precipitated the emergence of the underprivileged, and that they were widely commented on long before architects took note. Reformation of social and spatial human experience is an ongoing project. As the chapter develops, Elleh focuses sustained attention on one main case study, Carin Smuts Studio in Cape Town — which demonstrates a dramatically modern design, but also a respect for and use of traditional skills and components. Elleh also recounts the many reform-minded urban utopias, from Robert Owen to CIAM, and laments that these optimistic efforts of the Modern Movement all seem to have given up before they had a chance to succeed. Elleh also notes that surveys of architecture likewise fail to acknowledge the architectural production of the underprivileged.

Further asserting his desire to connect spontaneous development with the avant-garde, Elleh’s third chapter, “Architecture of the Underprivileged Classes and Cubism,” recalls the advent of Cubism at a time when modernist painters showed a “criticism of industrialization as alienating agency.” Elleh asserts here that “the architectural production of the underprivileged classes is the last visual representation of an aesthetic practice that has never broken from its lineage in the historical avant-garde” (p.71).

The volume’s second section provides views into the creativity and adaptability of the underprivileged in the southern United States, Brazil, Austria, India, and the Philippines. Edward M. Orłowski’s “House of Blues: The Shotgun and Scarcity Culture in the Mississippi Delta” provides a valuable brief overview of the shotgun house type, connecting it with a nuanced reading of African-American history after emancipation. Lillian Fessler Vaz addresses Brazilian *favelas*, drawing on the conceptual language of Michel de Certeau’s micro-resistances, Milton Santos’s luminous versus opaque spaces, and A.C.T. Ribeiro’s sense of the city as the “granary of social experiences . . . [and] creativity” (p.104). Sophie Hochhäusl looks to the development of Austrian settlements and allotment gardens in the early 1920s, a period of remarkable individual manual labor and self-help in creating settlements — before funding allocations limited resources to the larger *Höfe*, or communal apartment blocks. And the Indian slum dwelling is praised by Vasudha Ashutosh Gokhale as small in objective spatial dimensions but remarkably versatile, providing a basis for shared and multipurpose spaces, strong family ties, and impressive spiritual resources.

Postcolonial pride of independence spurred the new Philippine government to establish Quezon City, a grand gesture echoing Daniel Burnham’s Plan for Manila. In the

last essay in this second section, Edson Cabalfin explores the *gillages*, or informal settlements that ultimately filled in the plan and expressed the empowerment of the populace until informal settlements became integral to the growth and development of the capital city. As with many essays in this section, Cabalfin highlights the strange dichotomy between the often negative public perception of such developments and the actual success they achieved in enabling a sense of community, a blurring of public and private spaces, fluidity of property boundaries, and the creation of generally adaptable, dynamic, flexible spaces.

As several essays in the first section suggest, planning administrations are often complicit in how informal settlements are established, demolished or refurbished. The interesting intersection of official and unofficial processes are examined in the book's third and final section. This begins with Matthew Barac's recounting of fieldwork in the South African township of Khayelitsha, which aimed to produce an ethnographic study of professional practices and practice environments demonstrating gaps between popular and professional placemaking. Claudia Seldin and Isabela Ledo then address literal conflicts between politically supported "sports-related mega-events" and *favela* communities in Rio de Janeiro. Their case studies document the effects of the redevelopment of Marvelous Port and the Olympic Park in support of what David Harvey has characterized as how "capitalism itself had become rampantly feral" (p.205).

Irina Băncescu and Daniela Calciu next chart the mixed effects of Communist rule on Romanian Roma populations. This included a lack of minority recognition, policies of forced assimilation and sedentarization, and evictions through slum clearance. But they also note that violence and discrimination have increased since December 1989. Port Harcourt, Nigeria, serves Chukudi V. Izeogu as a case study showing the failures of public policy and even public/private partnerships to address the needs of low- and moderate-income residents, and suggesting a more "holistic and comprehensive approach" (p.245).

The final essay on Abuja, Nigeria, by Amy Latessa, provides a fitting summation of a major undercurrent in much of the book. Planned as a new federal capital, Abuja emerged on the world stage as another model of progressive modernism reflecting icons similar to those of Chandigarh and Brasília. What the promotional literature and the celebratory image left out were the marginalized or excluded moderate- and low-income residents — who were essential to the functioning of the city but were denied a place in its planning. As posited by the volume as a whole, the "invisible presence" (p.258) of dispossessed participants presents an undeniable, if uncomfortable, reality that understanding of modernism fails to include.

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*Jakarta, Drawing the City Near.* AbdouMaliq Simone. Minneapolis and London: University of Minnesota Press, 2014. 336 pp., 24 b&w photos.



If there is a way to summarize this book, it would be that AbdouMaliq Simone has made a remarkable attempt to "theorize" (for want of a better word) what he has called the cities of the "near-South" (a usefully ambiguous term) through his observations of Jakarta. Built on his *City Life from Jakarta to Dakar*, this work makes a significant and needed contribution to urban studies in general, and the study of Jakarta in

particular. It does so in two distinct ways.

First, the book can be read as an attempt to provide a bridge between Deleuzian techniques of reading and ethnographic accounts of place in Jakarta. This is an interesting approach, especially when "theory" and "practice" are equally respected. In this book, they seem to occupy parallel tracks, yet reach out to each other. And the interaction overturns several existing frameworks and replaces them with a series of interesting concepts. We get a sense, then, that Jakarta is not merely a "case study" to illustrate theories. The city itself is a theory — a way of thinking — or better, a way of living.

Second, the representation of the city is stylistically Simone. It requires a certain degree of patience (which is a way to enter into thinking), because the text itself, like Jakarta, offers no comfortable vantage point. For some readers, such a text may be exhausting, but it is worth the trip. There is a performative quality in Simone's writing that defies criticism (of his assumptions, neglects, lack of evidence and incompleteness, and the discursive order of the sections). The book is thus set up like a city to be experienced in all its limit and wonder. We get a sense of the complexity, the richness, the endless discursive possibilities of the city, in regard to which theories may give us only temporary comfort — even if they are needed to make some sense of it all from a distance.

Perhaps that is why the work is structured so we can see how theories and practices intersect: to allow an escape from Jakarta, yet pick up something from it that may be used to reflect (theoretically) on other cities. This involves consideration of perspectives, and how to engage with and withdraw from the city — theoretically, morally, and politically. And it implies reflections on policy — not the usual recommendations from above, but how policy can generate unpredict-



able participation from below. The book is therefore not a standard ethnographic account of a city. It leaves out many things, but it also manages to cover a lot — maybe too much for some to digest. But what should we expect? We are dealing with a city that works on the basis of excess, uncertainty, and, should we say, dreams, for better or worse.

Simone has made Jakarta both familiar and uncanny. It is familiar for it draws scenes of the world; but there are also stories and a feeling of un-worlding. While one of the things we learn from the book is the irreducibility of Jakarta to urban theories, Simone manages to find Jakarta a proximate place in the discursive traffic of critical theory and practice. He has the courage to define a city like Jakarta, making it sociologically and intuitively precise, yet without making it a thing. The nearness to theories allows the city to be grasped in order for it to emerge as something else. For instance, a concept such as the “near South” opens up a space for Jakarta to become a relational reference for all the existing geographical concepts, without becoming just one of them. The concept of “urban majorities” shows that the city is governed not by an authority or an administration, but by a multitude of differentially shared commitments. It shows Jakarta as a city of people (not a singular term), who find themselves nowhere and somewhere at the same time; a city which creates huge problems as well as opportunities. What kinds of people are being produced? Who are they? And how do they make the city work for themselves? How do they make sense of the city, even as this means moving into a threshold of unclear perspectives?

This book responds to these questions, but in a way that evokes a sense of drifting. Those looking for a foundational critique — that, after all, Jakarta is a capitalist city and a playground of oligarchs — will be frustrated. Instead, we are asked to drift in and through urban space almost without plan or sequence — and certainly without a bird’s-eye view. Yet we must acknowledge a striking series of encounters with different places that encompass the official, the informal, the excesses, the neglected, the leftovers, the trash. There are tales about emerging high-end megastructures such as new towns and superblocs, highrise residential buildings, franchised convenience stores and their spontaneously created public spaces, the older running-down inner city, the off-hour street “whole-sale” markets, the unfinished structures, the ruins, the pluri-districts. In these different places Simone shows many types of people, who often have to self-classify themselves to be able to work in them. And he shows how their work is marked by dreams and nightmares; by practices of illegality (or better, informality?); by dangerous liaisons with big businesses, government officials, and *preman*; by improvisations in rearranging spaces to live; by unruly practices in well-designed new towns; by the unleashing of individuality that paralyzes sociality; by memories of former life; and, finally, by the appearances of ghosts in the brand-new,

bright megacomplexes of the city. His accounts, however, are measured. While things look unreasonable, he gives us reasonable complexities, understandable ambivalences, and persuasive speculations that give Jakarta its life.

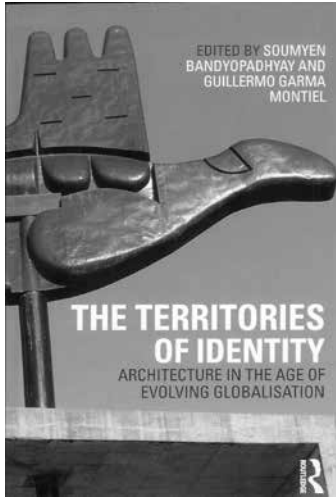
There is an energy in the text that, once released, should be allowed to flow without much intervention. (The more lines I add the more I pretend to be Simone.) So let’s raise one or two questions. First, the question of “time.” In different places throughout the text, we encounter notions such as “increasingly,” “over a period of time,” “during the New Order,” “things are changing,” and “become less.” All these suggest a sense of change (in the political regime, at least?) and an articulation of different subjectivities. But they also make us wonder how important this sense of change is to the theorization of the city. How important is the sense that today is different from the past (perhaps the past of Suharto), and to the emergence of a particular way of reading the city? Is *Drawing the City Near* a reflection of post-Suharto time and an invitation to read the city differently? To paraphrase W.B. Yeats, when things fall apart, there can be no center to view the city, except to be part of the pieces, to “draw the city near.”

How should we locate this book in existing scholarship? There are a good number of excellent books about Jakarta, going back to the works of, among others, Susan Abeyasekere, Lea Jellinek, Allison Murray, Christopher Silver, and Lizzy van Leeuwen. But these are largely framed by disciplinary interests such as history, anthropology and planning. This work of Simone occupies a different platform — one that is distinctive. It is conceptually more sophisticated, more theoretically rigorous, and, of course, more experimental than the works above. Above all, Simone’s work is consistently comparative in a way that moves Jakarta beyond Indonesia or Asia or the “near South.” *Drawing the City Near* is clearly a major contribution to urban studies.

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***The Territories of Identity: Architecture in the Age of Evolving Globalisation.*** Edited by Soumyen Bandyopadhyay and Guillermo Garma Montiel. London and New York: Routledge, 2013. 256 pp., b&w illus.



Architecture can be a crucial agent that elucidates a city's complex socio-spatial relationships for its residents — not only through venues for living, service and recreation, but through barriers, fortresses and segregated quarters. Architecture exhilarates as much as it frustrates. In this sense, buildings and urban spaces translate universal ideologies into simpler and more comprehensible forms that affect everyday life. It is fitting, then, that theorists, historians and sociologists should interrogate architectural processes and production to pose epistemological questions on the nature of being, identity, and urban reality.

Not since the publication in the 1960s of Hannah Arendt's *The Human Condition* and Jane Jacobs's *The Death and Life of Great American Cities* has the need to revisit the relationship between man and the built environment been as urgent as it is today. For most of the twentieth century, forces of global modernity swept aside traditional urban forms, communities and localities. But these forces operated within the territorial confines of the nation state. Today, neoliberal urbanism is reconfiguring both the socio-political and spatial realms, so that the act of building has become increasingly contested in both developed and developing contexts alike — from housing projects in London, Cairo and Bombay, to football stadiums in Qatar and Brazil.

Grounded in Foucault's notion of the "utopia of the image," Soumyen Bandyopadhyay and Guillermo Garma Montiel's edited volume *The Territories of Identity* sets out to question how space and place provide a medium for the *self* to reflect on its *being* in the world. The editors frame this inquiry according to three main concepts: "critical regionalism," "dynamic narratives of place and location," and "emerging territorialities" in the age of globalization. To their credit, the book provides an entertaining read, combining diverse topical and regional contributions that breathe fresh air into architectural theory. The work is particularly ambitious in aiming to respond to questions on the reciprocal relation between identity, architecture, and urban transformation. It thus poses questions everyday encounters with space and place that will help us navigate the nature of everyday being in the city.

The fifteen contributions in this volume were selected from a conference entitled "The Multiple Faces of Identity in the Design Environment," hosted by Nottingham Trent University in September 2009. It organizes these into three thematic sections — "Place and Identity," "Memory and Identity," and "Representation and Identity." The chapters cover an extensive span of history, and vary considerably in their scale of investigation. For example, one interrogates the micro, bottom-up reconciliation initiatives that emerged in Belfast following the Good Friday Agreement (MacLaren, Ch.9). Another traces aspects of identity in the work of the Turkish artist Canan Dagdelen (Lefavre, Ch.5). Nicholas Temple's reading of the *Oecumene* reveals how the ancient Greeks saw their society as an exemplar of civilization, reducing others, in their ethno-centric view, to the status of subhumans (Ch.1). And Andrzej Piotrowski challenges our reading of architectural monuments as representative of dominant cultural narratives. Using the Holy Trinity Chapel on the border between Poland and Lithuania, he argues that spaces without conclusive messages have "nonetheless played an instrumental role in shaping cultural identity" (Ch.12, p.145).

"Part Three, Representation and Identity" is particularly intriguing. It investigates the postcolonial transition of identity in Poland, Puerto Rico, Mexico and Singapore and the implications of this for the practice, profession and image of architecture. The search for authentic identity was the chief motive of both colonizers and the colonized in promoting an architecture that built on local peculiarities yet corresponded to global images. Nezar AlSayyad's analysis of the underlying dynamics of postcolonial urbanism provides a good introduction to this condition (Ch.10). According to AlSayyad, the lack of a conceptual language in the colonies led the colonized to adopt terminologies developed by colonizers, with "all its baggage of physical realities and ideological constructs like the nation state" (p.137). Nationalist movements thus adopted colonial structures, systems and concepts (such as urban planning and modern architecture) to fulfill the promised image of national modernity.

With the forms of architecture and urbanism increasingly associated today with the evolving socioeconomic structures of neoliberal society, such an underlying discourse of colonial/postcolonial identity leads the book to read more as a historical manuscript than a contemporary discourse. Yet the book does succeed in challenging stereotypes of architecture as a direct visual translation of cultural or national identity, reflecting on the forms by which interpretations of identity articulate space and place in the global world. And it offers genuine readings of the socio-political complexities that affected the shaping of architecture throughout the twentieth century.

There are two aspects where, in my view, the book does not fulfill its promise, however. First, it claims to be interdisciplinary when in fact its contributors are chiefly scholars

of architectural history and theory. There are only limited representations here from other disciplines such as sociology, anthropology or geography. To this extent, its critical inquiry is structured to reflect the standpoint of one, specific discipline. This becomes apparent halfway through when obvious similarities of theoretical framework and reference points become clear. Second, the contributors seem to fear engaging with the realities of present-day architectural discourse and its associated challenges. With the subtitle “Architecture in the Age of Evolving Globalisation,” readers might expect critical discussion of the dominance of capitalist architecture and neoliberal urbanism, but this is largely absent.

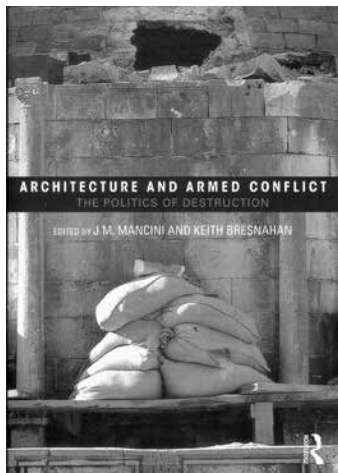
That said, the book is a good read in architectural history and theory. And it may encourage similar critiques of twenty-first-century architecture and the political and institutional transformation of modern-day stateless interdependency.

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***Architecture and Armed Conflict: The Politics of Destruction.*** Edited by J.M. Mancini and Keith Bresnahan. London and New York: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, 2014. 220 pp., 100 b&w illus.



This volume brings a crucial new perspective to studies of architectural destruction by presenting it from an interdisciplinary and comparative viewpoint. The editors seek to answer important questions with regard to multiple conflicts and time periods. How has the deliberate destruction of buildings and landscapes figured in recent conflicts, and how have people and

states responded? How has the destruction of architecture been represented in different historical periods and to what ends? What relationships are there between the destruction of architecture and the destruction of art — particularly in terms of iconoclasm? If architectural destruction is a salient feature of armed conflict, how has it been addressed in postconflict environments? And what are the relationships between architectural destruction and the processes of restoration, re-creation, and replacement?

Looking for multidisciplinary responses to these questions, the book offers geographically diverse case studies on the very meaning of architectural “destruction,” as well

as “reconstruction.” It is divided into five sections. The first contains essays by Christina Schwenkel and Darja Radović Mahečić examining the motivations that underlie architectural destruction and reconstruction. Using disparate cases from the post-World War II era, they focus on the “deliberateness” of architectural destruction during war. The second section analyzes various media such as images, texts, and material artifacts reproduced during and aftermath of war. And the essays here, by Heather D. Baker, Keith Bresnahan, and Melissa Renn, attempt to assess the critical role that the representation and reproduction of architectural destruction plays in shaping identity and politics. The third section consists of essays by Christine Stevenson, Milda B. Richardson, and Ramona Usher. These authors tackle how architectural destruction and iconoclasm have played a crucial role in certain communities and their broader cultural, social, and religious imperatives. Essays by Jyoti Pandey Sharma and Rita Harkin in the fourth section focus on postconflict environments. In particular, they demonstrate the power of planning mechanisms in the city in the context of architectural destruction — shaping various forms of social practices. The essays in the last section, by Janet T. Marquart, Evert Vandeweghe, and Kathleen James-Chackraborty, question the political and economic roles played by architectural destruction during war and in its aftermath. Similar to first section, the case studies here illustrate the relationship between destruction and reconstruction.

As in many edited volumes, one of the primary challenges here has been to organize the contributions according to a lucid conceptual frame. Although the essays were generally well chosen for their sections, it could be argued that those in the first and last sections could have been combined, as they offer similar, powerful perspectives on the legacies of “architectural destruction” and “reconstruction.”

Overall, considering the stunning developments of the twenty-first century, this volume provides another reminder that architectural history requires an interdisciplinary perspective. Further, it reminds us that one cannot think about architectural production (and destruction) as separate from the political and social contexts in which it is embedded.

That being said, *Architecture and Armed Conflict* might have been stronger had its editors widened their focus to include greater consideration of the global South. Although the volume features two case studies from Asia and one from ancient Mesopotamia (which is located in what is now called the Middle East), it is dominated by views from the “West”: nine from Europe and one from United States. Specifically, one cannot help but wish there had been greater interest in the Middle East and Asia. Considering these regions’ historical trajectory of war, armed conflict, and the brutal destruction of built environments, which has now spanned colonial, postcolonial and contemporary times, such a non-Western perspective might have been tremendously revealing.

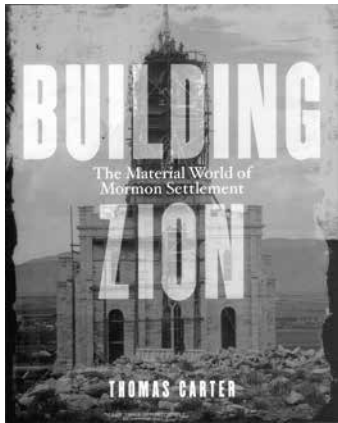
Over the past thirty years there has been considerable debate about Eurocentrism in architectural history. And yet, from Spiro Kostof's *A History of Architecture: Settings and Rituals* to Mark Jarzombek's *A Global History of Architecture*, much scholarly work has been advanced challenging such a Eurocentric stance. Nonetheless, it seems more effort and study is needed to provide architectural history with a truly global perspective.

**Muna Guvenc**

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***Building Zion: The Material World of Mormon Settlement.***

Thomas Carter. Minneapolis and London: University of Minnesota Press. 330 pp., 215 b&w illus.



As Christian denominations go, it's hard to find one that is so well known and yet so little understood by those on the outside as the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints, or the Mormons. With a tradition of secrecy surrounding the practices that take place in its temples, yet with a recruitment mission that is practically

unparalleled, the LDS Church and its related sects have been satirized or otherwise depicted in popular culture in at least two Broadway musicals, an HBO series, and numerous television shows. For all their visibility, however, these vehicles of (usually) derision have shed very little light on just what the Mormon Church actually is. The history of the church provided by the Mormons has been generally well scrubbed, and for outsiders seeking simply to understand its history, much of the church's historical practices require a lot of digging.

But those who study the built environment, particularly architectural historians, know that the places people construct are the best windows into their worldviews, thought processes, and belief systems. With *Building Zion: The Material World of Mormon Settlement*, architectural historian Thomas Carter looks incisively through the window of the Mormon landscape to the LDS Church's past. He examines without judgment a central principle of Mormon millennial theology, the City of Zion, through the patterns and places its early practitioners created when they settled in the western U.S. Carter locates his study specifically in the Sanpete Valley of central Utah, an area he chose because it is both rich in Mormon architecture and small enough to be thor-

oughly studied. There, he shows, lie clear examples of the landscapes of temple and house, the opposing but not contradictory elements that imbue the Mormons with both their *otherness* (the temple provides a distinctive, unique and collective identity) and their *orthodoxy* (the houses and landscape patterns contain the normativity that allows LDS adherents "to fit rather seamlessly into mainstream American culture" (p.xii)). The underlying, formative impetus to the initial construction of these landscapes is the spiritual concept of the City of Zion, which the Mormon emigrants took so literally that, even a century and a half later, it is still visible in the landscapes they constructed.

Carter's theoretical footing in this endeavor is solid, and the book carries an incisive common-sense analysis not unlike that found in classic works like Henry Glassie's *Folk Housing in Middle Virginia* and Dell Upton's *Architecture in the United States*. Carter provides a good historical grounding as well, digging into the theology that underpinned the LDS's City of Zion. "In its ideal form, Zion was a true sacred landscape: a strong axis mundi integrated all elements — towns, roads, fields, and buildings—into a single coherent system" (p.13). He traces the evolution of the ideal from Joseph Smith's early conceptualization of it in Missouri to Brigham Young's implementation in Utah. The effect the idea of Zion had on the early Mormons (Carter calls them "Saints" throughout, which seems to offer both distance and respect) is best understood in their relationships to the church's hierarchical structure, which Carter depicts through examples taken from the writings of the early church leaders.

Carter leads readers through Zion's reflection in the Mormon world through an ever-narrowing lens: the relationships of towns to one another and the central city; the gridded patterns of the town plans; the arrangements of the house lots within those plans. Mormon housing, despite the asceticism taught by the church, contained as much display as houses in other parts of the western U.S., where barge-board and finials were meant to communicate social position and permanence in the face of boom-bust economies built on mineral extraction. As the practice of polygamy began to appear in Mormon society in the late 1850s, the altered structure of these families led to altered forms in Mormon houses. Houses that were, on their face, much as any other of the time, sometimes contained interior plans that clearly betrayed this difference.

It is at the scale of the individual that the storytelling in Carter's work comes to the fore. Carter has a talent for finding the people in the archival material, using letters and other documents to bring to life accounts like that of Jens Weibye, a Danish immigrant who married in the United States and, "heeding the call and gathering to Zion" (p.152), came to Utah with his wife and settled in Sanpete in 1864. Carter documents Weibye's construction and expansion of his home and his acquisition of additional houses as he added a second

wife and a third — and then, after the death of his second wife, a fourth — ultimately treasuring those moments when his family was able to share even a meal together peacefully. Carter admits that his is not a history of polygamous housing so much as an attempt to understand a handful of individuals through the histories of their homes.

Thomas Carter's central aim, to interpret the manifestation of the City of Zion in the landscape of the Sanpete Valley, allows not only for a better understanding of the early Mormons, but also helps in understanding how their negotiation of the secular and the sacred informs the religion today. *Building Zion* is the culmination of a lifetime of study for Carter, and this is evident in the depth of understanding — indeed, the depth of feeling — he has for his subject. Although a “gentile,” as non-Mormons are known in Mormon culture, Carter's affection for his material is woven throughout, and he clearly knows the church's history and its influence as well as or better than many insiders. *Building Zion* is an important book, and it will take its place among the works of Glassie and Upton and others that have markedly influenced how landscape and architecture scholars view the worlds we study.

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