

# Ethics and Rhetoric in Learning-From

The practice of learning-from posits that there are alternative models already present in the world for official architectural culture to derive value from, a tendency we can track back at least as far as the CIAM-Alger group's decentering discovery of design worth advocating for in North Africa.<sup>1</sup> Discussing Ungers' *Die Stadt in der Stadt*, Marot defines learning-from as a "site specific manifesto" wherein architects become "apologists for specific places...viewed as holding the keys to an alternative way of approaching urban design." We also discern, however, a larger struggle inherent in the works of learning-from, one that complicates the straightforward consideration of alternative models, and is suggested by Marot's use of the word "apologist." For truly alternative approaches come with alternative models of ethics that have made their building processes possible – variously, a lack of zoning and codes, of decorum, of tradition, of familiar judgments and programmatic imperatives.

Against this, we may fairly characterize a core tradition of assumed ethical norms in architectural culture that ranges from those shared with professional and commercial culture as a whole to the cloudier realms of aesthetic propriety. One proxy for these norms would be the AIA's Code of Ethics, which in addition to mandating honesty and fairness in business dealings enjoins members to at once "striv(e) to improve the environment" and "continually seek to raise the standards of aesthetic excellence."<sup>3</sup> As many critics have observed,<sup>4</sup> however, the drives toward formal innovation and ethical practice – commonly bound together in Giedion's directive to make an "interpretation of a way of life valid for our time"<sup>5</sup> – are difficult to reconcile in reflection and design.

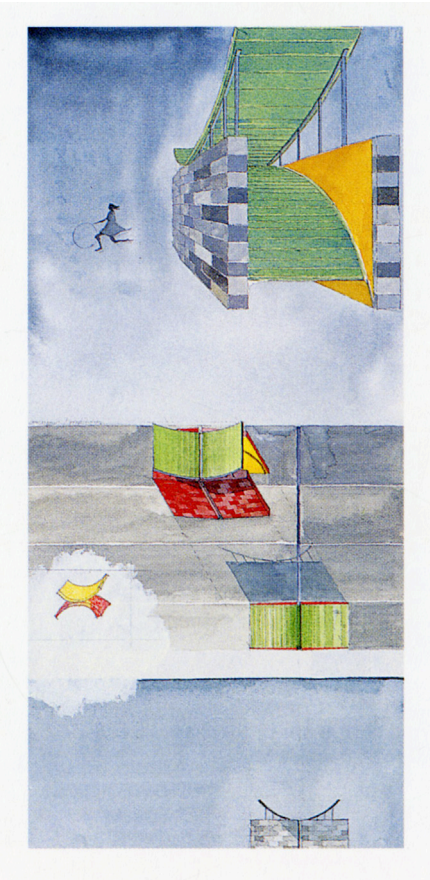
Learning-from's approaches to this problem can be divided into two broad categories. The first, and more common, is assumed by Marot. It valorizes a particular area, positioning its worth against the deficiencies of the assumed mainstream of architectural culture. Then, as the authors examine the fitness of their chosen place, they must negotiate an opening disconnect with normative ethics. Such learning-from texts seek to explain, justify, and transmit a cultural affective bonding that has already taken place in the designer, questioning and displacing

**CHRISTINE ABBOTT**

Washington University in St. Louis

**JUSTIN SCHERMA**

Washington University in St. Louis



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Figure 1: "Street Walker's Drive-In" (Drive-in Brothel). *Urban Diaries*

an existing moral contract with architectural culture. The second type, while still a site specific manifesto, uses deep engagement with a place as a critique of normative ethics. Here, the problems of particular places are made to speak to the limits of architectural endeavor; these may then be provisionally resolved through new forms of design.

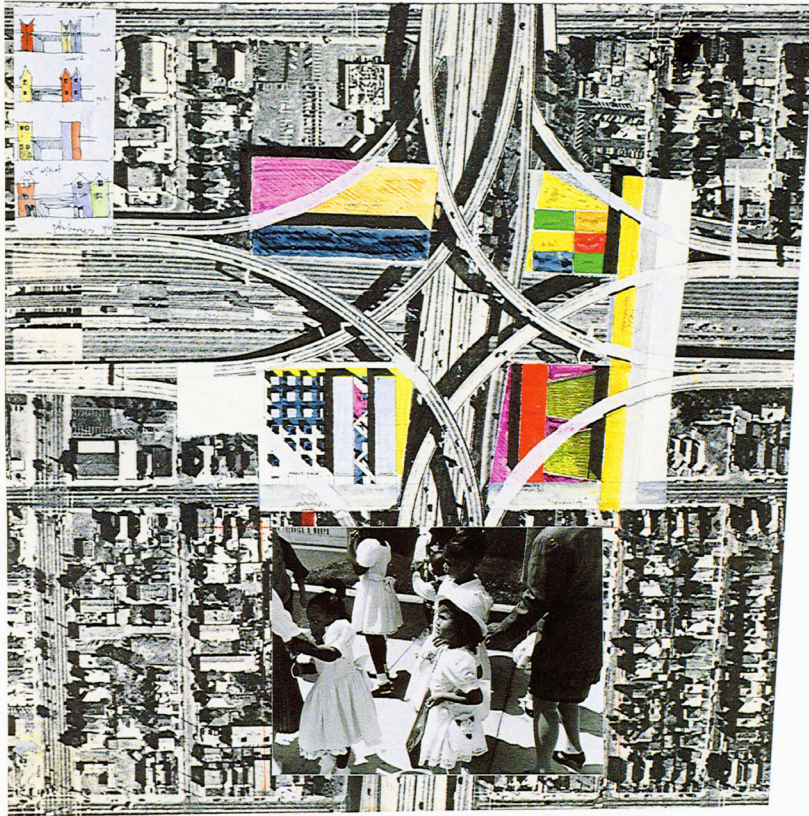
To examine how such authors negotiate these difficulties, we turn to the discipline of rhetoric. Here, we follow the expanded definition of rhetoric put forth by Kenneth Burke<sup>6</sup>: not simply persuasive speech, but any means of influencing human identification. Rhetoric's function here is to secure common ground in contested spaces, spurring action and consideration by shifting the terms of debate. We may further qualify rhetoric as specifically construing such communication as a repertoire of distinct techniques. It operates variously by marshalling data, shifting connotation, or simply eliding inconvenient facts. In navigating a break with architectural decorum, authors must both perform their awareness of ethics as conventionally constituted and bridge the way to altered models of practice, thus demonstrating both common ground and needed points of departure from convention. Where explicit reasoning cannot be depended on, particularly in the emotionally-charged dimension of ethics, rhetoric can help forge understanding.

Here, we present learning-from projects as models of rhetorical negotiation with architecture culture's interwoven impulses toward normative ethical practice and continual formal revolution. We focus on three such books as distinct versions of this problem, with decreasing levels of internal resolution in resolving moral dilemmas. In *Learning from Las Vegas*, the moral imperative is modified and shifted, with the perceived faults of the case in question repositioned as correctives to a moribund and elitist culture. In *Delirious New York*, the moral imperative is denigrated in order to advance the value of untrammelled fantasy. *Urban Diaries*, on the other hand, wrestles with the moral imperative through design and discourse without a neat resolution. In each case, the examination of place is made to engender two outcomes: a manifesto putting forth new forms of practice, and an encapsulation of the desired practice in the form of the author's own designs. We conclude by examining the work of a current firm, SAYA, as a contemporary example of learning-from in practice as it wrestles with morality.

*Learning from Las Vegas* immediately raises the specter of moral controversy by reiterating common conceptions of Las Vegas; namely, that it thrives on gambling and its opportunistic commercial enterprises, many centered on pleasure-seeking. The aesthetic condition of Las Vegas equally presents a challenge to the values of architecture, as the city's urban and architectural form is governed by the clarity and prominence of signage and integration with vehicular traffic, with cavalier borrowings of architectural iconography. Explicitly reacting against polemics of visual quality like Peter Blake's *God's Own Junkyard*, Izenour, Scott Brown, and Venturi claim the strip as the ground for a study that not only illuminates aesthetic problems in architecture, but valorizes a popular architecture vexed by authoritarian enemies through urban renewal and public review.<sup>7</sup>

They accomplish this through a neat splicing of the visual conventions of Las Vegas and the architectural academy. The array of drawings, photographs and analytical grids draw from reassuring analytical languages, traceable to entities like CIAM, but are combined with pop art references or tied to morally questionable subject matter, as in their "comparative analysis of pleasure zones."<sup>8</sup> Promotional

materials rub shoulders with sober plans and sections, as the book code-switches between the two visual languages. The point of the student images seems rather less in capturing any larger urban organization of the city than in the combination of the marshalling of fact and the forced fraternization of high methods and low subject matter. This is matched in the text, where the authors partially affirm architectural discourse as they invert it; a mix of irony and engagement is at work in the question “Is Boring Architecture Interesting?” or the alternative section title, “Think Little.” While these propositions flip values of contemporary architecture on their head, they are never allowed to wholly overrule the architectural minds at work; *Learning from Las Vegas* does not go native, rather mimicking the eclecticism of its subject’s self-presentation in its varied rhetorical battery.



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The text is, in this way, solicitous to the probable responses of its readers. In another line of rhetorical tactics, the text directly counters potential objections, as when the authors insist that “learning from pop culture does not remove the architect from his or her status in high culture.”<sup>9</sup> The underlying premise of “learning from the existing landscape” is characterized as “being revolutionary for an architect,”<sup>10</sup> gratifying the architectural habit of revolution through an ostensibly ignoble subject. While disclaiming Las Vegas’ place within any proper genealogy of design, the original studio description nonetheless urges students to place the A&P within a trajectory of “vast space”<sup>11</sup> beginning with Versailles and moving through the English landscape garden, Broadacre City and Ville Radieuse.<sup>12</sup> This gambit of identification tends to at least defer the conditioned response to vulgar development inculcated in architectural culture, but must be helped along through the mediating agency of humor. This is built into the

Figure 2: Grove Shafter Aerial Collage. *Urban Diaries*

drawings, as physical elements declare “I am a Monument”<sup>13</sup> and a gas meter whispers “Psssst! I’m not here – pretend you don’t see me!”<sup>14</sup> Such speeches, jarring in context but friendly in form, smooth over the necessary disjunctures between high and low, ethical and permissive.<sup>15</sup>

For as it proceeds, *Learning From Las Vegas* must navigate the basic ethical quandary of the legitimacy of commercial values as a driver of architecture. The opening sections identify the A&P as a lens for learning from Las Vegas; in light of Marc Levison’s recent *The Great A&P and the Struggle for Small Business in America*, the A&P can be understood not as just any store with a large parking lot, but as the harbinger of big box retail that would incite a particular kind of urban sprawl to displace denser urban areas, already seen as wholesome and better designed than their suburban counterparts. The text quickly counters criticism of “Commercial Values and Commercial Methods” by logically arguing that no examination of Gothic Cathedral expects a debate about medieval religion; “So, Las Vegas’s values are not questioned here.”<sup>16</sup> The effect is, as Harries complained,<sup>17</sup> to temporarily sever the equivalence between ethics and ethos, sealing the strip and its suburban relatives off from their larger implications and concentrating on their comprehensibility and contemporaneity.

For its part, *Delirious New York* intentionally pursues this severance by recasting the role of research. Koolhaas’ first page lays out his rhetorical approach:

How to write a manifesto – on a form of urbanism for what remains of the 20th century – in an age disgusted with them? The fatal weakness of manifestos is their inherent lack of evidence.

Manhattan’s problem is the opposite: it is a mountain range of evidence without manifesto.

This book was conceived at the intersection of these two observations: it is a retroactive manifesto for Manhattan.<sup>18</sup>

In framing his intent, Koolhaas illuminates the problems he faces. He wants to make a manifesto, but knows the glut of unsupported material, of personal and temporal enthusiasms, has “disgusted” any possible audience, lay or professional, he may reach. He knows that evidence of some sort is needed to transmit his own enthusiasms, and solve the problems he diagnoses in contemporary practices. He also knows that his own enthusiasms sit uneasily with the architecture of good intentions. Eschewing, as Izenour, Scott Brown and Venturi did, many of the more habitual persuasive paraphernalia of modern architecture – statistical graphs, chlo-ropleth maps, and other scientific visualizations – Koolhaas instead seeks to reproduce his own views in his reader through the form of a popular history, one that roots out odd and mislaid corners to demonstrate both a profound alterity and a secret unity in the past. The varied visual materials of *Learning from Las Vegas* are naturalized as illustrations in this format, while the text is atomized into short headings reflecting the episodic Manhattan grid. Here, the Manhattan of the early Radio City Music Hall is posited as a coherent reality, one that endlessly proliferated new spaces and situations, one that admitted the agency of the architect on the condition of shedding certain preconceptions of what architecture was. It is a magic window of space and time, perhaps achievable again, hosting a constant creation of new experiences, structures, and typologies.

Within this historical structure, the manifesto remains implied as “a hidden second argument” that the “Metropolis needs/deserves its own specialized architecture”

to “develop the fresh traditions of the Culture of Congestion.”<sup>19</sup> With the introduction of OMA’s early work at the end of the text, Koolhaas at once manages to illuminate his own impulses discreetly and position himself as the inheritor of a more robust tradition of architecture. What are the attractive claims of this alternative model of practice to a larger audience? It is “at once ambitious *and* popular...loved in direct proportion to its defiant lack of self-hatred...inspir[ing] in its beholders *ecstasy about architecture*,”<sup>20</sup> just as Manhattan’s architecture once was. Contrast this to killjoy reformers like Robert Moses, whose “Urbanism of Good Intentions” replaces extravagant Dreamland with “innocuous vegetation.”<sup>21</sup> Resurrected in the present, such a fulfilled architecture would be reflected in its own practitioners, purged of their doubt and isolation.

In seeking to demonstrate to his audience the good news, Koolhaas confronts a thorny problem. He acknowledges that he has chosen to grapple with a datum without any given meaning; the quantities of vastness and accumulation which draw his interest rule out any self-evident lesson. Due to his historical remove from the moment he investigates, he also lacks the first-hand credibility of other learning-from texts. To get around this, *Delirious New York* finds its own preoccupations and organizational principles throughout the mountain of evidence. Through the Paranoid-Critical Method he has borrowed from Dali, Koolhaas claims the freedom to define Manhattan entirely through the prism of the Downtown Athletic Club. Seeing this history through his account, nowhere overtly fictional, the uninformed reader might be excused in thinking that grid plans, landscape parks, pleasure gardens, and skyscrapers were invented in Manhattan; that Coney Island was an exclusive outpost of Manhattan, which had never been burdened with other boroughs or suburbs; that every floor hosted elaborate movie sets, occupiable for a small fee. Plainly enough, the book itself is Murray’s Roman Gardens, “as if history has been an extension in which each episode can be rewritten or redesigned in retrospect, all past mistakes erased, imperfections corrected.”<sup>22</sup> In harvesting history to present Manhattan urbanism in its most fantastic light, Koolhaas’ view shows an essentially *selective* face of the rhetoric of learning-from: far from exploring without preconceptions, he mines the exploration site for confirmation, ruling out what does not comply. In this way, the selection and arrangement of materials, decontextualized and placed in juxtaposition, fall in line with the definition of rhetoric held by Aristotle, the “detection of persuasive aspects of each matter.”<sup>23</sup>

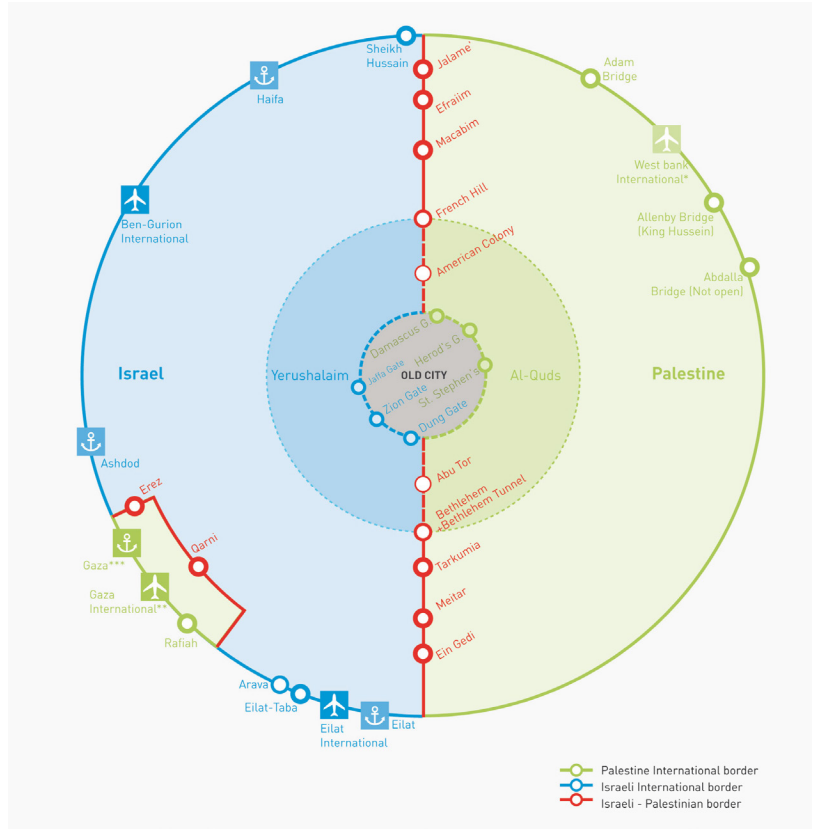
Nowhere does he suggest that these spaces are morally ideal, only that they are a zone of possibility pregnant with power for well and ill – in Sanford Kwinter’s formula, he seeks to “convert optimism into danger and to make that danger speak.”<sup>24</sup> Koolhaas’ own disinclination toward moral imperatives is affirmed in an enthusiastic New York which only, mysteriously, loses its nerve, its will to become-Koolhaas. The disaster that ended Dreamland, in Koolhaas’ narration, is not the invitation to sobriety or correction that it would reflexively appear as to most, but an apotheosis of urban possibility, only lacking in that it suggested its own demise. Tellingly, he allows that his take “should...be read against the torrent of negative analyses that emanates from Manhattan about Manhattan.”<sup>25</sup> It is effectively, then, a supplement, a heterotopic fantasy to be laid alongside received wisdom.

We might see this in the work of architect and landscape architect Walter Hood, who negotiates a uniquely challenging version of the learning-from task in his book *Urban Diaries*. Hood’s urban interest is West Oakland, an historically black neighborhood hard-hit with disinvestment and physical decline and also the site of Hood’s home and studio. He begins his study with the intimacy of a diary entry,



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Figure 3: SAYA, A Transportation Border Zone:  
Jerusalem Diploma Project



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Figure 4: SAYA, The Border Regime for Jerusalem  
in Peace

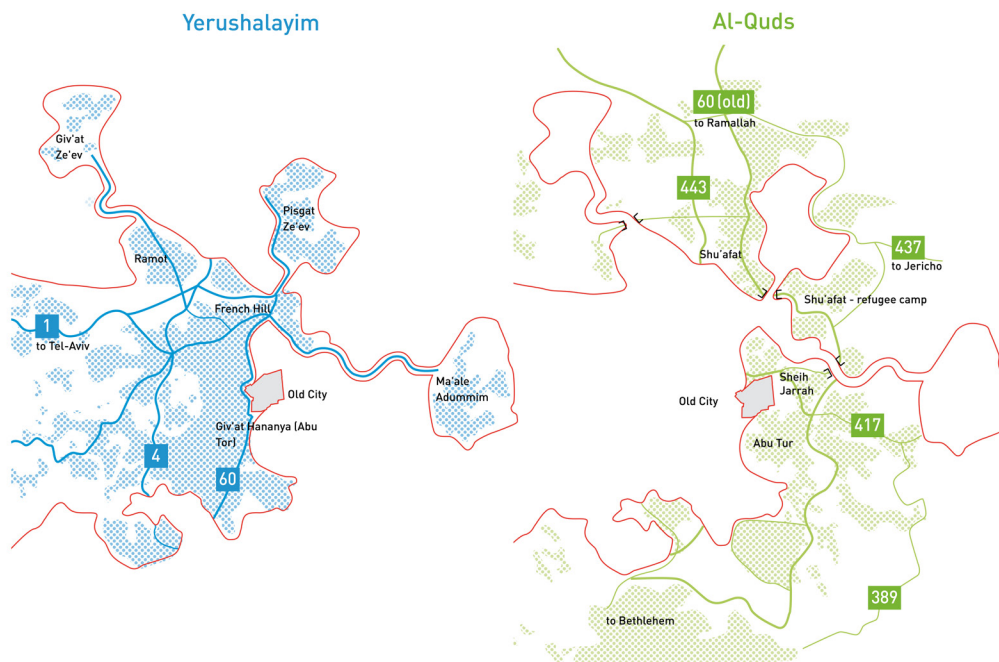
expressing a deep ambiguity in his situation: “Looking out onto the streets from my window, I am aware of the paradox surrounding my residency here.” Hood is “part of the neighborhood” but also “in the role of observer and scribe.”<sup>26</sup> His first rhetorical move is to capture the reader’s attention with personal and vivid descriptions, winning credibility from sustained first-hand experience.

Hood moves quickly toward a critique of existing conditions, revealing an acid view of the Model Cities Program that implanted disused and dangerous parks in the 1960s. He points out that the off-the-rack apparatus of play equipment, courts, and benches reflect “social reform tactics, allowing only normative or mainstream use of spaces...although the minipark serves some children and teens, it leaves other segments of society without a sense of legitimate right to use the space.”<sup>27</sup> These ill-fitting parks, in combination with new public housing, displaced highly chaotic but highly functional low-income neighborhoods. As the social programs meant to animate these new structures dry up, they have become uncommunicative and dysfunctional urban voids. Hood thus replaces disengaged theories of urban planning with improvisation, a method for design and inquiry that seeks to balance “individual expression” with “social, environmental and political multidisciplinary analysis” and to express attitudes about place “from an insider’s view.”<sup>28</sup>

Hood’s improvisations target five public spaces in the neighborhood. Through observing the community life of these spaces, Hood imagines a series of interventions that will answer the present habits of its inhabitants instead of aspiring to overwrite or reeducate them. Through the proposals, “Human action and need are investigated, producing site-specific improvisations that support the mundane patterns and practices of everyday life.”<sup>29</sup> The interventions lead to an uneasy mixture of what have become fairly common tactics of uplift – community gardening, job

initiatives, incentives for more healthy groceries – and more subversive measures – spaces to accommodate informal selling, public drinking, and most memorably, create secure semi-public spaces for prostitution. Thus, unlike *Learning from Las Vegas* or *Delirious New York*, *Urban Diaries* does not learn from an alternative architecture, instead positing one that might stand against the habitual moralist reflexes of the architecture and planning communities.

Hood’s method of rendering and textually describing the interventions smoothes the reception of these measures. Early-on, improvisation is positioned to contrast and supersede the “quantitative methods” of the Model Cities program as it “creates a direct link between theoretical planning and real community issues.”<sup>30</sup> A concise historical analysis of Sanborn maps and descriptions of land use and demographics acknowledge more data-driven methods of research, but the narrative accounts laid out in a chronological diary entries supply the heft of Hood’s grounding for his interventions. Crucial to his argument for an improved and pioneering solution is a demonstrated “understanding of common, everyday objects and practices” to temper solutions born out from theory and data-driven methods alone.<sup>31</sup>



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As a communicative device, *Urban Diaries* conveys its conflict in part through combining informal narrative descriptions with formal design descriptions. Bolded labels of the design work, for example, remain somewhat innocuous, while italicized narrative labels assume more colloquial or explicit terms. The term “Restaurant” in bold becomes “Rib-Crib” in italics,<sup>32</sup> while “St. Walker’s Drive In” becomes a “Drive-In Brothel.”<sup>33</sup> (fig. 1) Photographs depict West Oakland residents playing, gathering or traversing the landscape, giving a sense of intimacy undercut by the wariness of the text.

Hood points out with indignation that the persistent signs of public life and

Figure 5: SAYA, Jerusalem Annex to the Geneva Accord

enterprise in such a neighborhood are the very activities that habitually serve as signs of failure to the culture at large—drinking, hanging out, commercial activity, even recycling. Sharing Koolhaas’ critique of interventionist design as bourgeois meddling, Hood similarly finds strength in spaces of disreputable recreation. Unlike Koolhaas, however, he cannot find a utopian moment when such spaces could intersect with design culture; and in his very embeddedness, he is compelled to cast about for solutions to a clearly inequitable reality. The lack of resolution between strategies of uplift and accommodation in Hood’s work, then, is less a defect than an honest reflection of his own attitudes toward the community. He puts forth that “this research does not attempt to solve problems but to make them visible,” something embodied in his self-contradictory statement that the project “validate(s) ‘familiar’ activities, events, and patterns of life without applying moral judgments.” In characterizing his project as a way to “transgress the boundaries of normative societal attitudes toward neighborhood,”<sup>34</sup> he is short-circuiting the architectural will to prescription. Here, the advance in architectural design springs directly from moral uncertainty.

To understand how such work and its accompanying difficulties may be taken up into practice, we examine a final learning-from endeavor. The work of SAYA, a resolution planning, architecture and urbanism firm based in Jerusalem, engages with the acute moral uncertainty of territorial ethnic-religious conflicts, wresting a kind of certainty through elaborate analytical measures and articulate design proposals. With the tag line “Designing for Change” (formerly “Designing Peace”), SAYA centers their practice around spatial solutions to the Israeli-Palestinian divide that aspire to “promote public interest” and “public good.”<sup>35</sup> Nonetheless, a two-state solution, which SAYA takes as more or less inevitable to peace, yields design problems along boundaries that challenge architectural ethics, contradicting the norms of universal access to open space, ethnic integration and the preservation of thriving existing communities. A scheme for a future border path through the mixed neighborhood of Abu Tor, for example, admits that it must face “the challenge of recreating separation within a populated mixed neighborhood.” As the work vows to cut a border condition in “the most sensitive way possible” it concedes to the impossibility of cutting such a boundary in a perfectly sensitive way.<sup>36</sup> In another study, SAYA takes on a similarly problematic case for the dismantling of Israeli settlements for re-use in a future Palestinian state; one whose execution, indeed, “requires a dissection” of the settlements as well as “a strong argument” to offset protests from settlement residents and their supporters.<sup>37</sup> Not surprisingly, SAYA must deploy rhetorical procedures to make such arguments for this and other proposals.

While SAYA acknowledges the compromises of architectural designs grounded in division, they assimilate designs for a two-state solution into a larger culture of contemporary architecture through abundant evidence. This focus on objectivity rather than immersion connects SAYA to *Learning from Las Vegas* rather than Hood, bolstering their credibility with equitable and thorough research rather than nimble improvisation. In *Is Peace Possible? The Core Issues of the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict*, SAYA projects an even-handedness in examining Palestinian histories of land loss and refugees alongside security measures “Israel can take to protect itself – even after a peace deal is signed.”<sup>38</sup> In the same study, they overlay desired territorial claims of Israel and Palestine in the Annapolis process to pinpoint spatial discordance and inform proposed borders. One such project for a *Border Regime for Jerusalem in Peace* folds detailed studies of

#### ENDNOTES

1. See Çelik, “Learning from the Bidonville.” *Harvard Design Magazine* 18 (2003), p. 70-74.
2. Ungers and Koolhaas, *The City in the City*. Zurich: Lars Müller, 2013, p. 7.
3. [aia.org/aiaucmp/groups/aia/documents/pdf/aiap074122.pdf](http://aia.org/aiaucmp/groups/aia/documents/pdf/aiap074122.pdf), accessed September 2014.
4. Karsten Harries’ *The Ethical Function of Architecture* uses this as a springboard for further investigation into the connections between ethics and ethos; this line of inquiry is more literally investigated by Tom Spector in *The Ethical Architect* and William M. Taylor and Michael P. Levine’s *Prospects for an Ethics of Architecture*.
5. Giedion, *Space, Time and Architecture*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1974, p. 33.
6. See Burke’s *A Rhetoric of Motives*.
7. Venturi, Scott Brown, and Izenour, *Learning from Las Vegas*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, p. 162-165.
8. *ibid.* 71.
9. *ibid.* 161.
10. *ibid.* 3.
11. *ibid.* 13.
12. *ibid.* fig.12.
13. *ibid.* 156.
14. *ibid.* 158.



projected population growth, transportation and tourism trends into a border scenario, abstracting the map of Jerusalem into a partitioned circle in green (Palestine), blue (Israel) and gray (Old City) (fig. 4). The graphic quickly registers as an even distribution of land and is set among a context of supportive maps in corresponding colors. This graphic moment reflects a second asset in presenting proposals for separation fortified by architectural and infrastructural design; SAYA's visualization techniques make vivid and, thus, more conceivable potential futures for peace. Border proposals dive into spatial particulars: where cameras will be placed, how traffic patterns work, the sequencing of checkpoints, and materiality of separation. A rendering for *Border Zone* supplants more disturbing notions of this unwanted condition with a scene framed in tree foliage, populated with individuals calmly coming and going through a network of wood-planked pathways layered in section (fig. 3). Catchy, digestible phrases like "Tourism without Borders" and "Architactics" give semantic resonance to these illustrations.

Like *Urban Diaries*, SAYA's border work engages deeply with a place to simultaneously suggest an expansion of architectural practice and a revision of its ethical norms, offering provisional resolutions through new architectures and infrastructures. What does this most contemporary (and on-going) example of a learning-from operation offer to the future of the learning-from project at large? One consideration is the evolution in means of delivery. The proliferation of SAYA's communication formats reflects the contemporary condition of dispersed media and a broadening and political scope toward which these learning-from studies could be applied. Websites, exhibitions, graduate seminars and traditional design plans are stitched together in their practice with a common notational language and visual clarity, freeing them from the single book and positioning their work flexibly towards a broad social context.

More fundamental, however, in the evolution of learning-from is the persistence of moral dissonance within these studies, with the resulting designs becoming resting places for paradox in practice. Hard juxtapositions in the mode of *Learning from Las Vegas* become the best means for coming to terms with intractable social impasses. These learning-from places encapsulate some of the most difficult and vital situations architects face; as West Oakland can be understood as representative of many similarly destabilized minority neighborhoods, Jerusalem can be understood as epitomizing the politically contested urban border. When SAYA's work seizes rhetorical timeliness, or *kairos*, it borrows both urgency and a spirit of controversy and irresolution within a working design proposal. Updating Giedion's directive that ethical architecture reflects its time, future forms of learning-from may find similar cogency in places that embody issues of political or environmental urgency.

If we are to learn from learning-from, we must understand that in jumping moral divides we must be open to tolerating ambiguity in the results. Minor strokes of ethical resolution must consider the larger strokes, as electrical fences and dissected communities seem to be the best supports for a peaceful political transition. We may be called upon to navigate these ethical complications sympathetically and critically – in George Baird's words, from within our "fellows' experience, rather than above or outside it."<sup>39</sup> In this process, rhetoric not only brings the author closer to affected parties, it pries open the mind of the reader, realigning expectations to face surprising realities of our time.

15. This technique is also at work in the books of Venturi and Scott Brown's successors in *Atelier Bow-Wow*, whose humorous presentation of the low architecture of Tokyo similarly smooths over their stated shame in having such ignoble urban fabric.
16. *ibid.* 6.
17. Harries, *The Ethical Function of Architecture*. Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 1997, p. 78.
18. Koolhaas, *Delirious New York*. New York: The Monacelli Press, 1994, p. 9.
19. *ibid.* 293.
20. *ibid.* 10.
21. *ibid.* 79. Manhattan's "accumulation of possible disasters that never happen" have given way in the 21st century to disasters that do happen, as OMA's own recent plan for coastal parks demonstrates. The winning entry in the Rebuild by Design competition underlines the distance between Koolhaas' authorial take and the current-day fortunes of the massive multidisciplinary team, forsaking Manhattan for Hoboken and the "lobotomized" space for an exhaustive list of stakeholders to be consulted and defended. Natural space is the carefully contextual solution in the service of altruistic aims, with little space for Koolhaas' challenge to norms.
22. *ibid.* 103.
23. Aristotle, *The Art of Rhetoric*, tr. Hugh Lawson-Tancred. London: Penguin, p. 70.
24. Kwinter, *Rem Koolhaas: Conversations with Students*. New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 1996, p. 68.
25. Koolhaas 11.
26. Hood, *Urban Diaries*. Washington, DC: Spacemaker Press, 1997, p. 5.
27. *ibid.* 8.
28. *ibid.* 6.
29. *ibid.* 53.
30. *ibid.* 6.
31. *ibid.*
32. *ibid.* 64.
33. *ibid.* 56.
34. *ibid.* 70.
35. [www.sayarch.com/about](http://www.sayarch.com/about), accessed December 2014.
36. [www.sayarch.com/urban-separation-in-mixed-neighborhoods-the-case-of-abu-torabu-tur-2005-revisited-2008-2/970](http://www.sayarch.com/urban-separation-in-mixed-neighborhoods-the-case-of-abu-torabu-tur-2005-revisited-2008-2/970), accessed December 2014.
37. [www.sayarch.com/approaches-for-the-palestinian-re-use-of-evacuated-israeli-settlements/466](http://www.sayarch.com/approaches-for-the-palestinian-re-use-of-evacuated-israeli-settlements/466), accessed December 2014. This study by SAYA was in collaboration with E.C.F (The Economic Cooperation Foundation), Tel Aviv.
38. [www.sayarch.com/peace-is-possible-visual-concept-and-website/638](http://www.sayarch.com/peace-is-possible-visual-concept-and-website/638), accessed December 2014. This was featured in a four-part series in the *Atlantic*.
39. Baird, "La Dimension Amoureuse" in *Architecture Theory Since 1968*, ed. K. Michael Hays. MIT Press, 2000, p.54.