Mise en Scène:
Architecture and its Cinematic Dilemma

MICHAEL STANTON
American University of Beirut

That there is more than a passing correspondence between cinema and architecture is tantalizingly obvious. The most powerful of contemporary representational media, film and video, eclipse the fine arts, literature and architecture as well, all of which have withered semantically in the Modern Age. Cinema has surpassed these troubled disciplines, or has *caused* their marginalization, depending on which history is accepted. It has taken the aesthetic field that the classical representational and plastic arts no longer appear capable of addressing. No wonder architecture desires the ''special'' relationship with cinema that it deserves. Many architects, and a few from the cinematic milieu,[1] have tried to dissect this relation to reveal its potential in practice. They have proposed a variety of analytic and formal investigations, propelled by the evident reciprocities between these connected media and by the desire to identify with an art that is young and robust. But so far, despite the awareness of the particular connection of film with architecture, the attempts at forming workable critical correlations are incomplete at best. And resulting productive strategies for architectural work have been meager. This essay will revisit some pertinent episodes in the formation of this relation. The text itself takes on the character of montage. A series of historical vignettes will present certain themes concentrating on the effect of technological change on modern representational media. Similarities and differences will then be noted in a discussion of position and practice and reflecting the themes established.

EPISODE 1

''And here we rediscover Victor Hugo's old intuition: the city is a writing; the man who moves about in the city, i.e., the city's user (which is what we all are, users of the city) is a sort of reader who,

according to his obligation and his movements, samples fragments of the utterance in order to actualize them in secret.''
      Roland Barthes, ''Semiology and Urbanism''[2]

The added chapter ''This will kill that'' in Victor Hugo's *Notre Dame de Paris*,[3] was not the first, and certainly has not been the last, articulation of the representational problem that architecture and the arts confront in an age of increasing technological development and resulting information/image transfer. Hugo's fiction is set at the end of the Medieval period, at the brink of the Renaissance and the recovery of the ''free'' word, but it pertains to the future as he saw it in 1832, particularly to the Industrial Revolution that was developing around him. The contemporary preoccupations of the Gothic Revival and Romanticism, and of the Pastoral passed down from Jean-Jacques Rousseau, are reflected in Hugo's theme, but his clear articulation of the problem as a ''linguistic'' issue was unique. Hugo was assisted by Henri Labrouste in the rewriting of his novel and the addition of the new chapter ''This will kill that.'' Labrouste's own Prix-de-Rome reconstructions of the Doric temples at Paestum presented in 1828 were considered to be ''abuses'' by Quatremère de Quincy and his colleagues at the Académie des Beaux-Arts, not just because he chose a Greek rather than a Roman topic in Italy but because he portrayed the temples as inscribed with graffiti, with the walls literally written on. Language defaced the ancient object much as Hugo's Archdeacon declared the printed book would negate the narratives provided by the cathedral to an illiterate or text-deprived society, and thus would diminish the building as a means of propaganda.

Labrouste's Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève of 1838-'50 further promoted this interpretation of building as document. The institution endeavored to become books
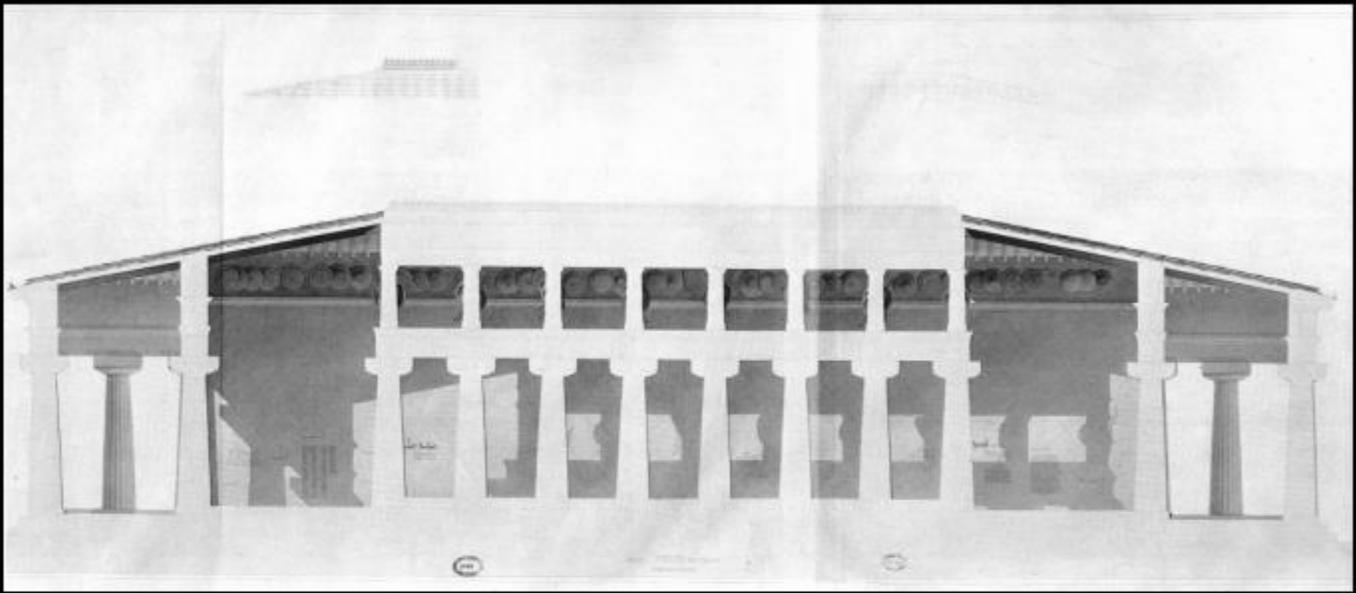
Reconstruction of the Temple of Hera, Paestum, Henri Labrouste, 1828

and relieve the Archdeacon's distress. On its exterior were carved the names of 810 authors beginning with Moses who carried words in stone. The library's extravagant narrative was conveyed by its encyclopedic facade, but also by the interior promenade with its disjointed episodes; from primeval lobby past the reproduction of Raphael's *School of Athens* on the main stair,[4] to the iron-supported double vaults and cascading stacks repeating Étienne-Louis Boullée's single-vaulted scheme for the Bibliothèque Nationale which he rendered inhabited with figures from the Raphael painting.[5] The sort of narrative technique as employed in the Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève and described by Barthes in relation to urban perception, the presentation of episodic images that viewers assemble and complete to produce possibly dissimilar interpretations, would only become convention in the Modern era: in Sergei Eisenstein's early montage innovations and in films like Resnais' *Last Year at Marienbad*, Antonioni's *Red Desert* or, more recently, in David Lynch's *Lost Highway*.[6]

In Hugo and Labrouste's chapter and at Labrouste's revolutionary building, a technology-generated anxiety of representation was manifest more or less simultaneously with the invention of photography and well before the first attempts to make pictures move. A favorite subject of the French inventors of photography was the Panthéon, the church of Sainte-Geneviève deconsecrated upon completion, where Hugo was buried across the Place du Panthéon from Labrouste's Bibliothèque. The Panthéon was conceived in 1755 but completed thirty five years later. These years saw famous social changes, revolutions and the birth of modern nations, and radical shifts in technology and ways of production, beginning the Modern. J.-G. Soufflot's design for the Panthéon both suffered and profited from the shifts in symbolic efficacy and building technology that the infantile Industrial Age was already generating. And it became the panoptic subject of early mechanical reproduction. As Labrouste's building was in construction, the Place was regularly occupied by these first photographic pioneers and their

strange machines, the effect of which the Bibliothèque, a conscious response to the impact of print, was unconsciously anticipating.

It was inevitable that media will further erode, or at least transform, the significance of buildings. This kills that continually! First print, then photograph, then film. Traditional representational hierarchies were subjected to deforming stresses by mechanical reproduction and by the political/class transformations that made the 19th century an era that we are still reacting to. Not coincidentally, at that time buildings were becoming increasingly bombastic in their historicist linguistics, insisting on their eloquence as they fell into "silence,"[7] culminating in the stentorian unintelligibility of late Beaux-Arts Neoclassicism and Fascist Baroque.

EPISODE 2

"The public is an examiner, but an absent-minded one."

Benjamin, Walter, "The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction."[8]

In a proposal that was revolutionary to a degree that we are still assessing its implications most of a century later, Walter Benjamin's "Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction" confronted the spectacular effect of photography on the aura of the fine arts during and after the time of Hugo and Labrouste. Benjamin also commented on, with the same synthetic brilliance, film and its continuation of the transformations begun by photography and running parallel to, and really a reflection of, social changes. Benjamin's seminal comment in the same article on cinema and architecture as a media appreciated by a public "in a state of distraction,"[9] was a first articulation of the
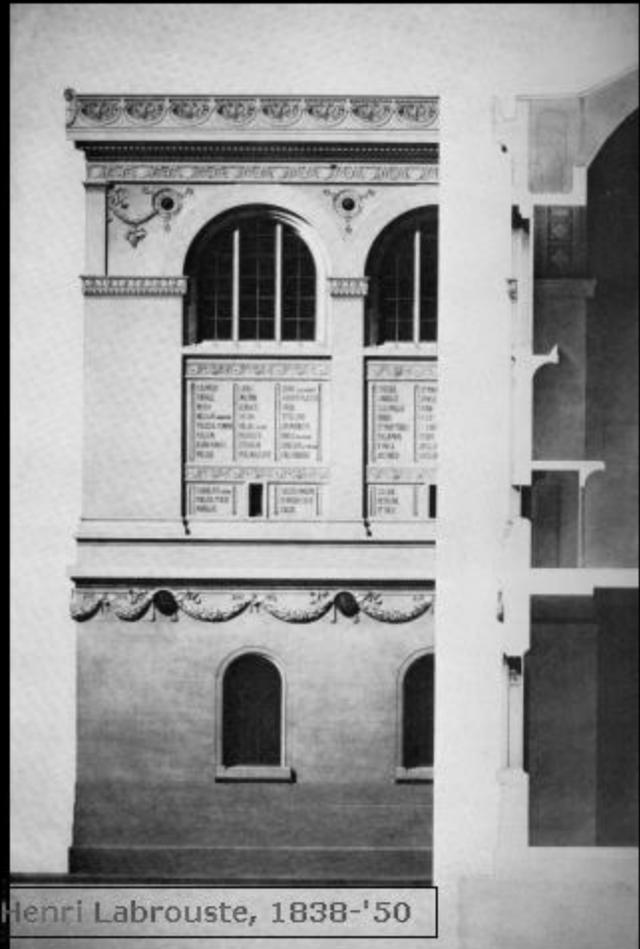
Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, Henri Labrouste, 1838-'50

Lost Highway, David Lynch, 1997

potential of film and architecture as similar phenomena, as expressions not just of compromised power relations but of the ''collective'' itself. The distracted nature of such reception necessitated reformed aesthetics and proposed new audiences. To suggest such a formulation was to empower representational operations beyond a simplistic Realism that was becoming severely discredited due to its attachment to Stalinist and Fascist propaganda.[10] Cinema, and architecture more subtly, were plainly the media that could profit from this new politics, given their immediate and subliminal relation to a ''distracted'' collective.

EPISODE 3

The lifting of totalitarian influence in Europe after World-War-II and the concurrent attempts to formulate popular politics across the continent led in many places to redefinitions of the roles of cinema and architecture.

Both arts engaged the urban as a way of implementing newly liberated, post-Regime-Realist methods. As Italy recovered from its immersion in Fascist ideology, Neo-Realism became an internationally acclaimed cinematic *vague* and a nationally effective device for producing an art available to the ''distracted.'' Directors like Visconti or De Sica often used non-actors and actual sites always projecting a somewhat romantic depiction of the simple life of *cittadini* and *contadini* in aesthetically powerful and ideologically direct compositions.[11] *Noir* lighting contributed to mythic pictures with reformed political implications.

Meanwhile, with less international attention, a Neo-Realist architecture was proposed. The two arts were pursuing a similar route toward methods of depiction that intended to guide their elitist practices closer to the collective. In architecture this meant a reference, within the accepted procedures of the Modern Movement, to indigenous form and space. The vehicle was

often social housing, that insistent post-War program in Europe where social-democratic concerns at least influenced, if not dominated, national politics. The Tiburtino housing estate in the *periferia* of Rome[12] was the often-cited example of a spectrum of different attempts to consolidate a transformed language. At Tiburtino a combination of village details and scales, some tile roofs and a complexity derived from vernacular townscape, stated the basic syntax that would be used with much greater skill, and less nostalgia, in the Tuscolano INA Casa complex near Cinecittà, particularly by Adalberto Libera in his horizontal housing scheme of 1950-54, but also by Muratori, DeRenzi and others.

In the opening sequence of Federico Fellini's *La Dolce Vita*, released in 1960, the helicopter-borne Christ is hauled over Tuscolano on its way to the Vatican. This enormous neo-realist district, parts still under construction when the film was shot, is thus the first image of the film and Fellini returns to it often, and to others of these suburban estates, as he drifts through the film's disoriented vignettes in which the *dérive* finds its most tangible manifestation, much more effective than any Situationist scenario. Tuscolano signifies automatically a series of social shifts and political conundrums in which the director further embeds his characters as the film progresses. Almost all scenes in Fellini's epic are set in the post-War suburbs of Rome, in the non-nostalgic fabric in which all but a few Italians live, far from the Medieval labyrinths and Renaissance ensembles dear to tourists.[13] La Dolce Vita, a film that is technically post-Neo-Realist, like Visconti's equally powerful *Rocco and his Brothers*,[14] nonetheless owes its visual style and everyday cinematic and architectural formats to Neo-Realism.

In Naples, Milan and the smaller Italian cities, Neo-Realist architecture was being developed, almost all of it state-sponsored projects for housing or for new entitlement agencies. It applied indigenous material,
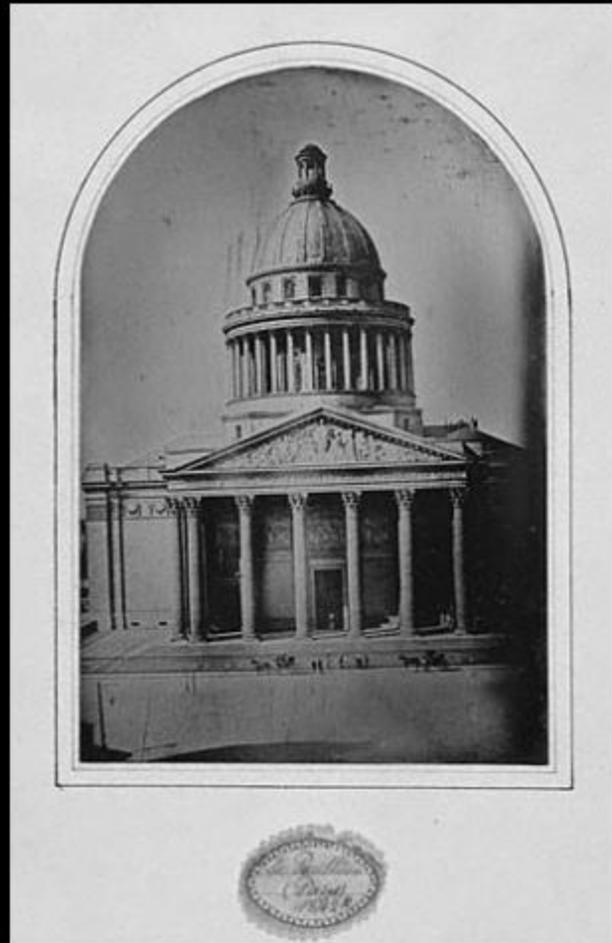
Panthéon, Paris, Daguerretype, Alphonse-Louis Poitevin, 1842

The Bicycle Thief, Vittorio De Sica, 1948

finish, even decoration: to the horror of a northern European Modernism that had relied on, and was not disappointed by, the previous generation of Giuseppe Terragni and his Fascist colleagues to produce superior International-Style masterpieces with Italian finesse. Perhaps the most successful of these post-war experiments was in fact for a private client, the Borsalino Corporation residential block in Alessandria by Ignazio Gardella from 1950. There a tiled facade, shutters that slide on the surface, a dramatically projecting roof, contribute to a sense of both place, social position and innovation. By appropriating certain signs from mass culture that emerged from beneath the level of a design culture tainted by identification with *borghese* taste, Neo-Realism used the vernacular at both an architectural and urban scale. A mass art, in the model suggested by Benjamin, could be imagined and possibly implemented. The success of this depended, as always, on the skill and conceptual strength of designers or film-makers. In both cases clear masterpieces emerged, almost despite the contradictions of Neo-Realism's glib

equation of popular form with resistant politics. However effectively such experiments were able to engage new social interests, and certainly Tuscolano and *La Dolce Vita* were successes in this regard, they placed discourse firmly in "the city" as a phenomenon and relied on the urban as a datum. In Neo-Realism a simple reciprocity was recognized between the devices of representation of the popular arts, film and architecture. This was not a particularly theoretical construct. The two were presented in a direct and unconscious way to a "distracted" collective because they share a broad range of methods, ways of communication and of shaping representation.

EPISODE 4

"One might say that the dramatic conception; of painting that was gradually being evolved during these years (mid to late 1700's) depended for its

Rocco e i Suoi Fratelli, Luchino Visconti, 1960

successful realization upon the establishment of the supreme fiction of the beholder's nonexistence.''
Michael Fried, *Absorption and Theatricality*[15]

To be fair and so that a false comfort, similar to that which settled over the association of language and architecture a generation ago,[16] does not again descend, it should be noted that there are gross differences between cinematic and architectural representation: in space, temporality, rhythm, scripting. Nearly impossible in architecture, panoptic control is inevitable in film. Each scene is determined in its point of view. The frame describes exactly. It is not a window. The viewer is placed, is not free to zoom or pan. The ''gaze,'' never a visual phenomenon as such,[17] is directed from the screen, not into it. Cinema presents its narrative in a linear fashion. This has been contested by many directors but the fact remains that a film begins, proceeds and ends, usually with the latter word on the screen. This lends itself to a controlled point of view and

sequencing of episodes that a building can never predict. Architectural narrative is random and bodily whereas, in film, the flow is exact, the eye replaces the other senses and imagination replaces the body.

Film and video subsume the space of the viewer within that of the image. This commanding representational discourse now diminishes the historical relations of body and artifact, while potentially proposing new ones. In film the lack of actual depth is more than compensated for, as it is in painting, by the potential interpretations that are necessitated as the viewer assembles the two-dimensional into coherent space at the speed of perception. Montage, leaps of perception, metonymic references and allegorical tableaux, are so typical in film that we take them for granted. While never experiencing them outside of these media we begin to desire them in the actual. As was true with painting, the two-dimensional image has spatial qualities more seductive than the three dimensions referred

to. Thus the ability of film and video to suck the existence out of the space around their projection, to replace the world with its simulation. The viewer absorbs the propaganda and allegories that re-define culture in a dark non-space, seated rigidly facing the screen, ultimately alone with the replacing image. He or she is denied the collective sense that defines the customary social realm, and which it was formerly the duty of architecture to orchestrate.[18]

The eschatology of Medieval representation, of which Hugo's Archdeacon lamented the passing, has been achieved again in film. The invitation is total to enter and empathize…and be influenced by…the other. Indoctrination envelops. The viewer is not set apart from a didactic assembly of symbolic forms as with the conventionally spatial cathedral, but floats instead and is consumed by the image while simultaneously consuming.[19] The mirror of the screen creates its own double in the dark of the movie-house/living room. Scene and

reflection reverse. In this heterotopic space,[20] the viewer hovers, passive, physically and intellectually, receiving and becoming. Such precise control is impossible in the random narrative and imprecise positions offered by buildings. Furthermore there is no script to architecture, or at least not an obvious one. There is no seriality to buildings. And, unless franchised, they cannot show at local theaters everywhere.

The contemporary facts of technology and economics question the viability of old systems of depiction. Certainly, both the linking of painted and actual space as proposed by Fried,[21] and the certainties of architectural position, began to erode during the revolutions of the 19th century, under pressure from the shifting cultural values and new technologies detailed by Benjamin. Exponential increases in the volume and speed of data transfer engage the lugubrious practice of architecture in an impossible effort to keep pace with accelerated marketing strategies and conform to their

Borsalino Housing, Alessandria, Ignazio Gardella, 1950

La Dolce Vita, Federico Fellini, 1950

image-driven dictates. Through film on the other hand, the resulting anxiety of could be somewhat mitigated. The collateral recognition of decreasing architectural effect could likewise be at least partially resolved. A ''distracted'' public could be addressed, both as client and as audience, within the ''autonomous'' processes of disciplinary representation.[22]

EPISODE 5

Then there are the similarities! While perhaps appearing to irrevocably diverge at the crucial point of representation, at the point of experience where a two-dimensional image must, in myriad ways, differ from three-dimensional sensation, a link is nevertheless made through spatial strategies employed by film and architecture. Differences begin to fall away under the intense pressure of information transfer. While frames may diverge, the devices of presentation are often synonymous. Montage, mise en scène, and other cinematic procedures have direct architectural analogies. Cutting, movement, zoom, panning, tracking, episodic development, these techniques are shared likewise. Similarities in narrative have already been discussed. If discourse on architectural promenade may be revived, and new technologies make this even more necessary given their reliance on antiquated spatial sequencing in state-of-the-art environments,[23] then the linear process of cinematic narrative can be directly correlated to the multi-directional nature of the same process in the ''use'' of buildings. Buildings are like interactive films, offering controlled choice. Furthermore, filmic space and, more crucial, filmic narrative techniques, reconstruct the notion of the city. The rhythms, the caricatures, the texts of passage and stasis, the entropy and intense immediacy, all these urban values characterize the cinematic. Neo-Realists and their Film-Noir colleagues in the U.S., knew this. The ''real'' urban environment consumes and emulates the represented

one. This link is only a symptom of the civic nature of the two arts.

There are also methodological similarities. Unfortunately these are not usually discussed[24] despite the fact that the political implications of representation are most rich on the level of production and thus it here that theory can find the most available chink in the armor of form and the instant commodification form is prey to two centuries after Hugo. Addressing method and practice, criticism can make direct interventions. Nonetheless most critics continue a frontal assault on the images and shapes that are the product of these actions.

Like buildings, films, especially commercial ones, are very expensive. Premeditation is required and the market is an essential topic at the start of any project. Producers/developers are integral with the initiation of projects and in their completion. While the fine arts, literature, even industrial design, can first produce and

then market, film and architecture still follow the craft model that used to inform all arts. A program is still an *a priori* requirement. A client is located, a project defined, a plan put into place. With intense self-consciousness, a project evolves. Planning, organization, all the trappings of business, are essential. Despite *auteur*ist heroics in both arts, thousands of workers can be involved in the completion of a film or architectural project.

END

Methodologically, formally, linearly, spatially, in narrative and particularly in relation to the everyday nature of audience appreciation, these media are probably more proximate than is generally recognized. Similarities divide into those that are formal/spatial, conditions that are always available in a direct comparative way, and the methodological/political, those that address

Lisbon Story, Wim Wenders, 1994

The American Friend, Wim Wenders, 1977

action, power and economy, more obscure but essentially more fertile. Differences persist in relation to narrative and point-of-view. The basic panoptic nature of film and audience has to be reinterpreted when related to architecture. Given these tantalizing yet elusive correlations, the question becomes central: how can one art inform the other? Ironically it may be proximity that makes the explanation elusive. The affinity of architecture and film, the ostensible easiness of the answer in other words, makes it difficult to formulate. Closure does occur here. Instead the many shared formats, and the clear divergences, all provide material that produces a field of fertile cross-reference.

In fact such media may artificially disengage for disciplinary reasons. Disciplines do tend to define themselves by difference. Returning to the ''easy'' formula of Benjamin's passage provocatively suggested again by Neo-Realism, in other words returning to the public and to the city as a stage and character in a civic drama

performed in filmic or architectural space, the drama is both formal and social. Finally a return to the answers of this topic's political episodes ties its various vectors into a loose knot and charts some directions they may take. For one art may recycle the techniques and practices of the other. Subversive and incremental recycling may reinvigorate both. Small borrowings, observing the critical points made here and by others before, may finally be more effective in generating action.

Thanks to the American Academy in Rome where, while a Fellow in Architecture in 1990-'91, research on Neo-Realist architecture began.

NOTES

[1] From the architectural side, Bernard Tschumi and Diana Agrest are some of many who have tried to make workable connections. Wim Wenders, in conversation with Hans Kollhoff after making *Wings of*

Desire (screenplay in collaboration with Peter Handke, 1987) and trained designers like Peter Greenaway and Alain Resnais, make connections from the cinematic side.

2 Barthes, Roland, for a colloquium at the University of Naples Institute of Architectural History in 1967. Published in English in Roland Barthes *The Semiotic Challenge*, trans. Richard Howard (New York: Hill and Wang, 1988) p. 191.

3 ''This will kill that'' was added to the 8th edition of the book. It responds to an undeveloped statement by the Archdeacon in the previous chapter. Hugo, Victor, *Notre-Dame de Paris*, 1832, (Paris: Librarie Ollendorf) pp. 174-188.

4 For an interpretation of this narrative see Levine, Neil, ''the Romantic Idea of Architectural Legibility: Henri Labrouste and the Neo-Grec,'' in *The Architecture of the Ecole des Beaux-Arts,* ed. Drexler, Arthur, (New York: MoMA, 1977) pp. 325-416.

5 Given this double association to Boullée's design, it was appropriate that Labrouste would finally build the Bibliothèque Nationale with iron domes.

6 Last Year at Marienbad, dir. Resnais, Alain, 1961; *Red Desert*, dir. Antonioni, Michelangelo, 1964; *Lost Highway*, dir. Lynch, David, 1997.

7 Here *silence* is used recognizing the potential given this term by Manfredo Tafuri and those of his generation and similar political engagement.

8 Benjamin, Walter, ''The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction.'' trans. Zohn, Harry, in *Illuminations* (New York : Harcourt Brace, 1968) pp. 234.

9 After a lengthy meditation on film Benjamin writes ''Architecture has always represented the prototype of a work of art the reception of which is consummated by a collectivity in a state of distraction... Reception in a state of distraction finds in the film its true means of exercise.''

''The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction.'' op.cit., pp. 232 & 233.

10 See Stanton, Michael, ''New York Rules, OK?'' in *Art and Design* — April, 1985 (London: Academy) To identify a popular art that was indirect, that might work within a particular discipline to overturn the conventions of that discipline rather than attempting to directly sway popular opinion from the forum of that art, both returned art to its potential for a more complex semantics tending toward abstraction and broadened the role art could affect in its interaction with society.

11 See *Ossessione,* 1942 & *La Terra Trema*, 1948, dir. Visconti, Luchino; and *The Bicycle Thief*, 1949, dir. De Sica, Vittorio.

12 INA Casa Tiburtino 3° housing quarter designed and built after 1950, planned by Ludovico Quaroni and individual blocks by Mario Ridolfi and others.

13 Fellini only occasionally returns to the delicious fabric of historic Rome: particularly in the long sequence where Marcello Mastroianni

The Asphalt Jungle, John Huston, 1950

The State of Things, Wim Wenders, 1982

follows Anita Eckberg's American character from St. Peter's, through catacombs and ruins and ends in the Trevi Fountain, that premier Roman tourist sensation. The film's other story-within-story set in ancient Italian architecture is the party in the country palace where a decadent aristocratic family hosts an array of sycophants and parasites. Appropriately, the American and a superfluous upper class find themselves in the a nostalgic Italy dear to themselves. All other scenes, in which modern Italians face the collapse of their belief systems, happen in the rude *terrain vague* of the expanding city.

[14] *Rocco e i Suoi Fratelli*, dir. Visconti, Luchino, 1960.

[15] Fried, Michael, *Absorption and Theatricality: painting and the beholder in the age of Diderot* (Berkeley: University of California, 1980) p.108. According to Dave Hickey in ''Prom Night in Flatland: on the gender of works of art'' in *The Invisible Dragon: Four Essays on Beauty* (Los Angeles: Art Issues, 1993) pp. 38–50, Fried asserts that the generation of David effectively brought down a ''fourth wall'' sealing the viewer from the charged space of Rococo painting.

[16] In 1972 the seminal essay by Alan Colquhoun, ''Historicism and the Limits of Semiology,'' in *Essays in Architectural Criticism: Modern Architecture and Historical Change*, (Cambridge, MA: MIT, 1981) pp. 129–138, exposed the problems with direct transference of linguistic and literary critical models to architecture.

[17] For Lacan the visual was metaphorical, not direct. This is the problem with all representational theory which tries to make

directly imagistic analogies based on his work, or more problematic, design that tries to justify optic events with Lacanian explanations.

[18] The last two sentences are paraphrased from Stanton, Michael, ''Discourses of Position: Ideology and Situation in Italy,'' in *Defining the Urban Condition: Accelerating Change in the Geography of Power: Proceedings of the ACSA European Conference 1995*, Lisbon. The upcoming references to Michael Fried's work and modern representation likewise evolve from that article.

[19] These points were breached in Stanton, Michael, ''The Rack and the Web: The Other City'' in *White Papers, Black Marks*, (Minneapolis and London: University of Minnesota Press and Athlone Press, 2000) pp. 138 & 139.

[20] See the analogy of the mirror in Foucault, Michel, ''Of Other Spaces: Utopias and Heterotopias'' 1967, trans. Jay Miskowiec, from *Architecture Mouvement Continuité 5,* 1984 also published as ''Of Other Spaces — the Principles of Heterotopia'' *Diacritic 16*, No. 1 (1985) or in a slightly altered translation in *Lotus international 48/49* (Milano: Electa, 1986) pp.8-17.

[21] See Hickey, Dave, ''Enter the Dragon: on the Vernacular of Beauty'' in op. cit., pp. 11–24. While discussing the ''therapeutic institution,'' Hickey suggests an interpretation of Foucault's *Discipline and Punish* portraying post-Enlightenment art as depicted space of surveillance, equating the forms of rehabilitation to the forms of representation. This would partially explain the phenomena of both panopticon and

panorama and the erosion of narrative that they were a symptom of, a topic of interest for both Benjamin and Foucault.

[22] Here I sample Walter Benjamin for another reason. The author systematically engaged in an extraordinary synthetic interpretation of collective phenomena.

[23] The ''new technologies,'' in their need to communicate, to instruct, *and to sell*, always base their syntax on known conditions and, in the case of the internet and computer applications in general, often employ very conventional architectural terminology and events. See Stanton, Michael, ''Redemptive Technologies'' in *ARCHIS 1 — Architecture, City, Visual Culture*, January 1997, Rotterdam; or in slightly altered versions ''Redemptive Technologies: Millennialism and the Loss of History'' in *Constructions of Tectonics for the Postindustrial World: Proceedings of the ACSA European Conference 1996*, Copenhagen; and ''Redemptive Technologies'' in *Pandora's Knot: Untying the Box: Proceedings of the ACSA Southwest Regional Meeting 1996*, New Orleans, 1996.

[24] Such practical issues are generally not addressed in the halls of discourse. Everyday practices within various disciplines, those in which political readings lodge most naturally, are often dismissed at too base. While this sort of epistemological squeamishness makes sense from the point of view of scholarly discretion, the findings that might result from investigating such practices could also be important, if disquieting.