Assemblage and Hologram:  
Two Spectral Forms of Modern Urban Condition  

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Abstract  
This paper investigates the notion of the urban form in a metropolis which has changed rapidly relate to modernization. By discussing the infiltration of modern urban ideology and its reacted experience in a metropolis, this investigation seeks the way of revealing the present condition of urban space. In this changing cognition of urban experience and the quality of space refer to two spectral forms of a metropolis, “assemblage” and “hologram,” through the influence of distributing modern ideology.

Keywords: metropolis; machine image; assemblage; hologram; photography

Introduction  
Modern urban ideology here is defined by the reacted negation of the metropolitan disorder which is derived from the hesitation of the rapid industrial development since the nineteenth century. The ideological order in a new condition of a metropolis was the request of the confusing society by the mechanical progress in industry, and ironically, the model of modern ideology was found in a machine image which troubled the metropolis society since Industrial Revolution. The modernist celebration of a machine as the archetype of order was not only the sanction of progressing technology but also the substitution of the hesitation at the new experience of the industrialization. It was, then, inevitable to avoid the hesitation that the image of a machine was clearly controllable and functionally apparent to represent order of society.

The objective of this paper is to explain the transformation of the modern urban form. In this paper I refer to two different spectral forms; one is “assemblage” and the other is “hologram.” Assemblage refers to a form which accumulates without any order. Hologram is a similar form, but without a material value. The two spectral forms are referred to in modern urban criticism to distinguish different urban conditions as the reactions which derived from the present anxiety. The medium in between the difference of the two forms critically mirror their contemporary urban conditions as the ironic negations of practiced modern ideology in their respective.

First, I discuss the reason for the emergence of the two critical forms and their difference. Second, I discuss the context in which these forms emerge, one which breeds the ascendant modern ideology, and the subsequent struggle of this ideology resulting from its innate contradictions. Third, I explain the transformation of the urban condition by tracing the pervasive role of photography as the medium of the new experiential sensibility. Fourth, I discuss the condition of catastrophic consumerism and the result of the new spatial experience.

In order to achieve these four objectives, I refer to two texts, Manfred Tafuri’s Architecture and Utopia1 and Jean Baudrillard’s America,2 both of which criticize the modern capitalist form as the cycle of consuming continuity. Tafuri’s description traces the struggle of the urban condition of assemblage heading towards the capitalist urban form. Baudrillard’s text reflects the catastrophe of a consuming society through the simulacrum or the hologram of ‘America.’

1. The Reason of the Two Critical Forms  
In different stages, criticism of modernity can be described to reveal the difference of the metropolis’s conditions by using two different spectral forms; ‘assemblage’ and ‘hologram.’ Tafuri, in his text Architecture and Utopia, specified the metropolis in Western modernity as the vision of ‘assemblage.’ In such a space, each subject was in disorder. The nineteenth century metropolis was a cacophony, crowded with people’s anguish in the garrulous condition. Tafuri positions the contemporary West by analyzing past democratic actions through the suffering of the metropolis; the nineteenth century “shock,” a “way of rendering anguish ‘active,’”3 is from the experience of the crowded metropolis.

Assemblage is not ensemble. It has no order. Each organic quality and accumulated memory coexists in
value. But the quality of historical continuity in assemblage still has a reason for a metropolitan perspective. The friction between the traditional perception and the suffering new experience of the “assemblage” resulted in people’s feeling of the loss in the reality of the metropolis. To relieve from the feeling of the loss, it was the urgent appeal to establish the new social order, the “new-found awareness,” and the new order was paradoxically found in the approbation of the suffering. Consequently, the force heading toward the new order invited contradictions to the suffering urban condition. The spectral form of assemblage is the chaotic form of contradiction and agony.

The achievement of the ‘modern ideology’ or the transcendence from traditional ethics to modern aesthetics is marked by the disappearance of substantial value of organic quality. This disappearance urges spatial experience to the equivocation between real and unreal as ubiquitous media of information in urban space. Both Tafuri and Baudrillard describe the catastrophe of modernity to suggest the failure of capitalist society from a Marxist point of view. In their view, images of modern capitalist form exist in a continuous consumption cycle which annihilates substantial value and make social behavior passive.

Baudrillard’s vision in America, his ‘hologram’ image, is more uncertain than Tafuri’s vision, but there is no longer the chaos of Tafuri’s metropolis. In ‘America,’ the value of things almost disappears as one gets closer to “the vanishing point,” and the flooding visual images in everyday life make spatial experience “unreal” or “hyperreal.” Unlike Tafuri’s metropolis, people in Baudrillard’s ‘America’ are not anguished.

The contrast of Tafuri and Baudrillard’s visions comes from the different context of modernity. Tafuri’s analysis is situated in the historical procedure of modernity; his critical perspective regards people’s struggling reaction in the metropolis and the inconsistency of the urban architectural ideology to the practical urban form.

Arrived at an undeniable impasse, architectural ideology renounces its propelling role in regard to the city and structures of production and hides behind a rediscovered disciplinary autonomy, or behind neurotic attitudes of self-destruction.¹

Baudrillard, on the other hand, cites contemporary ‘America’ to imply the modern condition in his own European society, and to predict the impending crisis of modernity. In his analysis, the focal point is on the simulacrum of the mirror which reflects his society, the method of describing utopia. Consequently, he metaphorically points out the failure of modernity in general. Baudrillard demonstrates Western modernization by looking at the other coexisting space ‘America’ after its heyday of capitalism.

2. The Feasibility of Modern Ideology

2.1 The emergence of ‘assemblage’

According to Tafuri, “the active anguish,” was initiated by the concurrent occurrence between “the absolute ‘emptiness’ of the individual” and “the passivity of collective behavior.” It resulted from the industrial transformation of manufactured operations in urban space through the invention of industrial machines and automatic production, and from the extension of the “working-class conditions” to general status. The introduction of the system of the mass-production in the space of industry affected labor’s vast expansion in the metropolis; the mechanical procedure made the idea of handicraft production unstable in economic space.

Tafuri quotes Walter Benjamin’s analysis that as a reaction to “shock,” people are “like automatons, they can no longer express themselves except automatically.” The crowded metropolis caused by the introduction of the mechanical efficiency occasions people’s automatism, a passive symptom, which gives rise to the “tragic reality”: industrial work declines people’s positive manner to their experience, their skill and practice. The metropolis is always in the state of ironic ambiance. The urban condition is in discordance like an “assemblage” in which people do not deal well with the mood of ennui and roam among their anxious subjectivity.

Several of the avant-garde’s attempts during the period of the early twenties which dealt with this confusion of new experience were tempered by their paranoiac/neurotic subjectivity caused by their chaotic context. Tafuri relates the dislocation of subjectivity to the avant-garde movements which were centered in the metropolis.

For all the avant-garde movements—and not only in the field of painting—the law of assemblage was fundamental. And since the assembled objects belonged to the real world, the picture became a neutral field on which to project the experience of the shock suffered in the city. The problem now was that of teaching that one is not to “suffer” that shock, but to absorb it as an inevitable condition of existence.²

2.2 Modern ideology

Modern ideology was paradoxically found in the affirmation of the suffering and adaptation to the new urban condition. It meant the approval of people’s objectivity as a part of the social fabrication of the merchandise machine in order to continue to function; the capitalist system needed to reassure itself with that “virile objectivity.”³ In this ideology, a machine as the model of the ideological urban form should be the incontrovertible system with the lucid function and the axiomatic object for people, because supposedly, it would clear away their urgent anxiety.

This “new-found awareness” of modern ideology was derived from the approbation of the “downfall of reason,”⁴ or the resignation of active thought to the passive as the countermeasure of suffering so that the
“intellectual discipline” can survive, and the denial of the organic quality for the ideal of totality and universality. For this paranoiac “new-found awareness” to actualize “the indissoluble, dynamic interconnectedness between uniformity and diversity” as the “anguish active,” the urban structure should become “like a machine for the extraction of surplus value and in its mechanisms the city reproduces the reality of the ways of industrial production.”

2.3 Modernist model and its contradiction

Despite the withdrawal from active thought resulting from suffering, the new ideology of modern urbanism had to be persuasive to release people from the oscillation between the distress of the objective future and the retrospection to the iconography of classical humanism. In Tafuri’s analysis, the urban ideology from the viewpoint of capitalism is “a productive unity and an instrument of the coordination of the production-distribution-consumption cycle.” Hence, “the ideology of consumption must be offered to the public as the ideology of the correct use of the city.”

A machine as a model of the ideology should be a tractable instrument of a productive unity, as a necessary prerequisite for the urban form to come out of the new capitalist metropolis as a “social machine.” The theoretical premises of a machine as a new model of social fabrication were the possession of a certain program for its function, the composition only of regulated elements to function, and the universal operation in any environment.

However, ideologizing the city as the function of merchandise program operation had to separate its animate actuality from capitalist socioeconomic and political strategies. The predicted impossibility of arbitrary events, which take place in the everyday space of a metropolis, belies the feasibility of the modernist ideology to standardize the spatial experiences in an urban environment. It was the inherent contradiction of the modern urban ideology: a machine was chosen as the model of the city’s regulatory framework and the city was objectified for the aim of efficiency of production in its totality.

The contradiction of modern urban ideology is revealed not only in its administration of the city. In addition to the practical contradiction, the theoretical premise of the machine as its model has been upset because of the discrepancy between the advanced development of the machine and the epistemological limits of the human body; in other words, because of the difference between the intricacy of the machine and its simplified appearance. One cannot easily eradicate suspicion of a product of high-technology when one begins to doubt it.

As the mechanism of machines has become more complex, it has slipped into the uncanny realm of a black box, exceeding human ability to comprehend it. The anxiety created by the invisibility of the machine’s running status is mitigated only by the virtual experience of the response from the controlling device of the machine: whether or not the machine is running can only be determined indirectly through a controlling device, i.e., through icons on a computer screen or through an
“on” light on a machine. The perceptive relationship between a human and a machine becomes indirect, so that the machine is no longer a tractable instrument.

2.4 Mass-consciousness
Perception and consciousness of spatial experience are not fundamentally equivalent. Identical perception does not necessarily induce identical consciousness, because the consciousness of spatial experience may depend on one’s individual memory or cultural and regional/national identity. Perception is also the reaction of sensibility to phenomenon and does not indispensably derive from one’s relic accumulation of mentality. Each person may become conscious of space in his/her own way.

The theoretical rupture of the modernist conception, which stems from the machine model’s immanent disparity as a incontrovertible regulatory paradigm, and the inability to standardize control in the new social condition has emphasized the question of the inequality between people’s general perceptions and their individual consciousness of spatial experience in urban life. The vacillated urban issues of social structure and cultural sensibility from total to segmental, from incontrovertible to arbitrary, from administrative space to paranoiac space, have resulted from this awareness.

In a hypothetical situation, for example, a person is standing in a room and turns his head to scan the space. The latter work to reconstruct the image of the room in his mind is more like editing the puzzled images of each scene by following his ready-made idea of a room as a rectangular shaped room rather than recalling the exact images of the scan. To construct an ideal room, the multiple scanned images combine to make a sequential view of a complete space in the mind of the viewer; this is a translation of assembled segments to a total concept, or a translation from his perception to consciousness. There is no need for the viewer to conjecture all the missing images of the room to reconstruct the room in his mind. In other words, there is no need for the viewer to re-conjure all the exact images of the scan.

Since the modern ideology was a departure from classical individuality to new universal awareness, the difference between perception and consciousness of individual sensibility was not allowed to occur in the modernist framework. In the modern metropolis art scene, for example, the acceptance of the machine model as the conceptual framework directed artwork toward the expression of congruency between perception and consciousness. It was essential that the equalization of the two different terms for the theoretical premise of the modernist conceptual model aspired to a unified sensitivity beyond one’s inheritance and cultural background; the machine should function universally in any circumstance.

In the modern art scene, the zeal to represent the mass-consciousness as a spatial experience was bolstered by a “new-found awareness” of the modern ideology. The invention of abstract art by Vasily Kandinsky spurred this tendency to generate the followed modern art movements with the idea that abstract art was peculiarly ‘modern,’ and that was not only something invented by the age but was also truly expressive of the spirit of that age. Especially among them, De Stijl, the new plastic art movement which occurred in Holland and influenced ‘internationally,’ clearly aimed for the integration of spatial consciousness by “Machine Aesthetic” which was “not only felt to be the beauty of the machine,” but “also taken cognisance of its unlimited expressive possibilities for the arts.” In De Stijl’s manifesto, there is a deep influence from the modern anguished aspiration to “transcend the tragedy of the individual by emphasis on immutable laws.”

1. There is an old and a new consciousness of the age. The old one is directed toward the individual. The new one is directed towards the universal. The struggle of the individual against the universal may be seen both in the world and in modern art.

2. The war is destroying the old world with its content: individual predominance in ever field.

3. The new art has brought to light that which is contained in the new consciousness of the age: a relationship of equality between the universal and the individual.

4. The new consciousness of the age is prepared to realize itself in everything, including external life.

5. Tradition, dogmas and the predominance of the individual stand in the way of this realization.

6. Therefore the founders of the new culture call upon all who believe in reform of art and culture to destroy these obstacles to development, just as in the plastic arts - by doing away with natural form - they have eliminated that which stood in the way of pure artistic expression, the logical conclusion of every artistic concept.

7. The artists of today, all over the world, impelled by one and the same consciousness, have taken part on the spiritual plane in the world war against the domination of individualism, of arbitrariness. They therefore sympathize with all who are fighting spiritually or materially for the formation of an international unity in life, art, and culture.

3. Photography
3.1 The distortion of time sensibility
The new “ethical sensibility” of the “aesthetic consumerism” contains not only distorted information in its spatial experience, but also in its chronological experience. The reproducibility of photography protects its representational information of reality from the wear
of time because it is inherently not a substance but a media. For example, a 150 year old image and a year old image can coexist on the same page of a magazine and have the same substantial values as information about a spatial experience.

As abstract art transcends the representational art by its “significant form” which has no practical purpose, photography seems to transcend the representational art with respect to reality because of its technological ability to produce information which appears to be the evident object as it really is. The photograph’s irreproachable “real” representation and capable ubiquitousness supposedly make it the “most successful vehicle of modernist taste” in regard to transcend of individual subjectivity for the creation of mass-consciousness.

3.2 The arbitrariness and multiple legibility

Photography is not necessarily the correct reproduction of the past experience. A photographed image of an event is chosen by a specific perspective of a photographer. Photography is more like a “selective transparency,” using Susan Sontag’s term, than a recording apparatus of material objects. It is subject to interpretation as a transient iconography. The world of a photographic image is framed by the arbitrariness or subjectivity of a photographer. It is cut apart from the existing world and completed by means of the framed border; it is discontinuous information printed on a thin medium, a paper or a film, through a transparent filter; it is a compressed image of experience diminished to a two-dimensional composition by the photographer’s framework. What the separation of an experience from a continuity of a past event suggests is the fragmented image’s multiple legibility.

To evade its ambivalence, photography needs the help of words like a photo advertisement uses a caption. A photograph does not itself have enough persuasion without a certain context; an arrangement of words which accompanies a photograph can change its meaning of information. A photograph itself is unstable information.

Because the information of a photograph is equivocal, the series of photographs can change the quality of information by order so that one can provide several versions of spatial experience. A demonstration of a spatial experience becomes the arrangement game of semiology.

In a hypothetical situation, for example, a tourist enters New York City with his camera already placed to his eye. His gaze is directed by the finder of the camera. Thus, the camera takes the images of the city for the tourist while the tourist directed the camera through his subjectivity. The decision to take or not take also depends on the tourist’s subjectivity or subject placement/situation (this option of recording or not recording exists on the camera in the form of the recording switch) therefore the series of still images do not necessarily form (a) continual vision(s). Then upon returning home, the tourist plays the discontinuous series of still images on a screen; these images together define the tourist’s trip to New York City. The images, however, are a gathering of material and have not told the tourist’s story of the New York City trip to a third party viewer. The tourist can edit the images to do so by changing their order, and more than one edition of the story can be made in the editing process.

3.3. The ephemeral experience

It may be true that photography is the ideal object of modern sensibility in its aesthetic of commodity. On the other hand, it seems to revert back to the ethics of the tradition against the modern ideology because its image relies on a past time; photography is originally a relic. When a photograph is produced, the experience on the picture already belongs to the past. But what a photograph captures is a fleeting experience, which is a slice of time, and what photographic art indicates is the aesthetic of the moment of transcended past, in other words, of nostalgia. What nostalgia tempts is the sense of pathos to a passing time because the past in a photograph is abrupt; pathos of ephemeral.16

The emergence of photography as a pictorial media realized past experience in present time with its discontinuity; nothing before and nothing after. It is not the revival of tradition because it originally does not have sequential space, nor the termination of history because it comes from past. It is the liquidation of chronological order of experience. Experience of events turns into an object which has lost its original context or memorial accumulation by the extraction of photographic form; Experience becomes ephemeral.

4. To Modern Catastrophe

4.1 The pure object

In contrast to the assemblage as an organic form, the hologram is a mineral or a “pure object” like a photographic experience. The vision of a hologram as a pure object can be free from historical accumulation and ideological contradictions. Its discontinuity from chronological experience makes possible the escape from the dilemma of an assemblage metropolis. A “pure object” in Tafuri’s text as “a metaphor for object-merchandise” was to adapt well to the consumption cycle of “new capitalist society. It was the significant process for modernist urban operation to objectifying a city as a “social-machine” by its function. The “pure object” form was the goal of capitalist vision.

Although the “pure object” was the goal for modern urban ideology, consequently, the direction made the new suffering in the urban space. The notion of semiology, which was founded by the twentieth century linguistic revolution, advocates every value in urban space to be relative as ambivalent information and a reality of value in a context of accumulation becomes ephemeral. “Gambling game,” in Tafuri’s text, is the reaction to deal with this situation in the new space of consumerism and against the coming catastrophe of modernity or the
disappearance of experiential reality by semiological and juxtapositional distraction of the value of organic quality. The modern urbanism has lost the purpose of an architectural ideology as an element of the “social machine,” a metropolis’s totalization; architecture “becomes a spectre of itself.”

If we use Tafuri’s term in Baudrillard’s context, the metropolitan people in ‘America’ already suffered the “shock”; however, they absorbed the condition that occurred in modernization even if the absorption was “the pathos” for them and lead them toward the catastrophe of modernity. People’s passive reaction in the society results from tedium and weary, it leads them to their self-destruction. ‘America’ has already reached the dead point of losing reality and already is in a semiological and juxtapositional spread space; an amnesiac space or the “original version of modernity” in Baudrillard’s term. In it, there is no anguish any more and there is only the irresistible agonizing over an immanent illusion. This is described in Baudrillard’s statement, “orgy is over.”

The “pure object” which Baudrillard uses in his text is a metaphor for superficiality in the continuously cycled consuming character of an amnesiac society. It was not obtained by an active anguish like Tafuri’s “shock,” but originally existed in ‘American’ society and is affect to ‘America’s characteristics of hyperreality and banality.

4.2 The amnesiac space

Hologram is described in the term of "amnesia" in Baudrillard’s context. His conception of “amnesia” is the “forgetting over memory” through speed. His description of speed as an inducement of the amnesiac symptom is the following:

Speed creates pure objects. It is itself a pure object, since it cancels out the ground and territorial reference-points, since it runs ahead of time to annul time itself, since it moves more quickly than its own cause and obliterates that cause by outstripping it. Speed is the triumph of effect over cause, the triumph of instantaneity over time as depth, the triumph of the surface and pure objectality over the profundity of desire. Speed creates a space of initiation, which may be lethal; its only rule is to leave no trace behind.

The “amnesia” is ‘America’s suffering of naked modernity, the modernity which is achieved without "the active anguish," and from the obsession of the decadence of modernity. People in ‘America’ have an “obsessive desire for survival” like in the time of “assemblage” urban condition, but have no obsession over the loss of identity because they have little authenticity of trace in historic accumulation but nostalgia, which is like a discussion in photographic experience; in other words, the New World, like the utopia in the modern ideology, is free from perpetual accumulation of history. The historic sensibility turns into nostalgia as photography also accomplishes.

The amnesiac form described is not just an ‘American’ form but also “the utopian form as a general capitalist society.” While the amnesiac form or “hologram” implies ‘America’ to be the typical modern capitalist society, the symptom in ‘America’ reflected in the image of a mirror suggests the decadence of modernity, because ‘America’ for Baudrillard is the projection of modernity in a mirror. Some descriptions in the text of America show that this amnesiac form is not only a specific symptom in ‘American’ culture but also in Western culture.

Things suddenly become lighter, as culture, our culture, becomes more rarefied. And this spectral form of civilization which the Americans have invented, an ephemeral form so close to vanishing point, suddenly seems the best adapted to the probability—the probability only–of the life that lies in store for us.

California (and America with it) is the mirror of our decadence, but it is not decadent at all. It is hyperreal in its vitality, it has all the energy of the simulacrum.

Assemblage and Hologram: conclusion

The spatial transformation of the urban spectral form takes place in the process of the realization of modern ideology and its disruption, and it is critically explained by the two spectral forms, assemblage and hologram. Each of the forms initiated people’s passive attitude in their spaces. The experience in the space of assemblage caused ironic ambiance in a metropolis because of its disorder, and force the emergence of the new order to release people from their agony. But the new awareness was to make people into objects by molding in the regulation of the urban fabrication which was supposed to be a merchandise machine aiming at the achievement of the “ideal of totality and universality,” the universal consciousness. The new awareness of modern ideology caused the resignation of active thought to the passive in order to absorb the suffering of a metropolis as “an inevitable condition of experience.” In this ideology, the reality of experience stood in the way of industrial production. The modern work of art was the exploration for the mass-consciousness.

A machine was supposedly a modernist incontrovertible conceptual model for the total merchandise society of capitalism. However, as the discrepancy of the model indicates, the goal of a consuming society goes in a different direction from its desired totalization. What the aesthetic consumerism could not root in modern ideology and could not clear of its contradictions is the distortion of the traditional ethical conception of time and space which reveals ephemeral reality with its superficiality in the increasing cycle of consuming speed. The hologram of continuously cycling consuming character makes people’s passivity party to their self-destruction. The prosecution of a
regulatory framework in a metropolis institutes a more serious autonomy to the people’s action, “amnesia,” in the holographic, ephemeral urban condition.

What photography as an experience of mechanical production demonstrates is not the modern ideal sensibility but the orbit in which modernity travels from assemblage to hologram. The travel is traced by photography’s ubiquitousness of real representation, its penetration of unusual spatial experience of space to everyday life, its aesthetic consumerism, and its arbitrary and ephemeral sensibility of time and space. Photography is the departure from the experiential accumulation and continuity as hologram is.

Notes
1 M. Tafuri, “Architecture and Utopia,” tr.by Barbara Luigia La Penta, The MIT Press, 1976.
2 J. Baudrillard, “America,” tr.by C. Turner, Verso, 1988.
3 M. Tafuri, “Architecture and Utopia,” Reason’s of Adventures, tr.by Barbara Luigia La Penta, The MIT Press, 1976, p.1.
4 Ibid., The Crisis of Utopia: Le Corbusier at Algiers, p.136.
5 Ibid., p.1
6 Ibid., The Dialectic of the Avant-Garde, p.81.
7 Ibid., p.86.
8 Ibid, Reasonis of Adventures, p.1-2.
9 Ibid., Ideology and Utopia, p.76.
10 Ibid., The Dialectic of the Avant-Garde, p.81.
11 From the Renaissance to Art Nouveau, architecture had been designed with reference to the classics. Even though each period tried to develop a new conception of architecture, they still relied on the paradigm of classicism.
12 M. Tafuri, “Architecture and Utopia,” The Dialectic of the Avant-Garde, tr.by Barbara Luigia La Penta, The MIT Press, 1976, p.83-84.
13 According to Jacques Lacan, “paranoia” in everyday use means, “a feeling of persecution unjustified in reality,” in “between perception and consciousness.”
14 The manifesto of De Stijl, a modernism movement for the new plastic arts, in 1918 was to seek “a new balance between the individual and the universal and for the liberation of art from both the constraints of tradition and the cult of individuality.” “De Stijl” volume 2, 1918.
15 from an essay left uncompleted at the time of van Doesburg’s death in 1931.
16 R. Banham, “Theory and Design in the First Machine Age,” De Stijl: the Dutch Phase, The MIT Press, 1960, p.151.
17 K. Frampton, “Modern Architecture, A Critical History,” 3rd ed., De Stijl: The Evolution and Dissolution of Neo-Plasticism 1917-31, Thames and Hudson Inc., 1992 p.142.
18 “De Stijl,” Manifesto 1, 1918.
19 The commodity of the camera and the aesthetic of nostalgia is tandem to the people’s enthusiasm for tourism. The space of an unfamiliar place is recorded by the camera as information of a passing reality; this event makes possible the availability of that experience as an object of consumption or of commonality with others. Postcards and tour guide books make special experiences more available to people, and traveling becomes a strategy to collect memorial information.
20 M. Tafuri, “Architecture and Utopia,” The Crisis of Utopia: Le Corbusier at Algiers, tr.by Barbara Luigia La Penta, The MIT Press, 1976, p.145.
21 J. Baudrillard, “America,” The End of US Power?!, tr.by C. Turner, Verso, 1988, p.107.
22 Ibid., p.6.
23 M. Tafuri, “Architecture and Utopia,” Reason’s of Adventures, tr.by Barbara Luigia La Penta, The MIT Press, 1976, p.10.
24 Ibid., Utopia Achieved, p.104.

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