

Recent energy around struggles for social justice and their articulation in academic discourse is both inspiring and troubling. The new activity is inspiring because it heralds change in conditions that have long been static. But it is disturbing because it begs the question: *why now?* This energy has found its way into the field of architectural history in the form of a *decolonial turn*.¹ This article aims to articulate a theoretical and methodological framework for this decolonial approach. It does this by reconstructing the evolution of scholarship in architectural history that has probed relationships between power, identity constructs, space-making, and representation. I argue that today's decolonial approach in architectural history builds substantially on the work of non-Euro-American immigrant women scholars in United States institutions in the 1980s. Inspired by their engagement with postcolonial theory, these women pioneered research questions and methods that center global relations, forefront relationships between the present and the past, explicitly engage the political, and seek to transform material human conditions. These themes are precisely what define the work characterized as decolonial in contemporary architectural discourse.

The Decolonial Turn

On looking at the titles of academic conferences and texts published over the last few years, even an outsider to architectural history would notice a change in the tenor, thematics, research questions and methods, and geographical scope covered.² The scholars involved share a sense of participating in a sea change in the discipline that mirrors a swell in critical activity in the public sphere. Though it is not always labeled as such from the outset, «decolonial» is frequently used during discussion to characterize this work. What does decolonial mean in the context of research and writing on the history of architecture?

Decolonizing Architecture Art Research (DAAR), a «research and project-based artistic practice» based in Palestine, sees decolonization as a «critical position and conceptual frame» for architecture to participate in social and political struggles «against a present system of inequality and control.»³ Based on this understanding, DAAR pursues both a creative practice of intervening directly in extant colonial buildings and infrastructure, and a historiographical and pedagogical practice concerned with critically examining how architecture has worked under colonialism.⁴ Declaring, for example, that Italian «fascist architectural modernism emerged and served as an ideological and technical tool within the larger European colonial project,» DAAR posits its approach as a radical departure from previous work.⁵

Another group, *Settler Colonial City Project: Decolonizing Architectural Pasts and Futures*, aims to acknowledge ongoing epistemic and physical violence, dispossesses

sion, and explore «how the architectural theories and practices of Indigenous people across the globe might impact the writing of architectural stories, the limits, possibilities, and definitions of archives, and even the category of «architecture» itself.»⁶ Here, decolonization is concerned with uncovering how colonization continues to disrupt society through the built environment and to distort architectural discourse, and it is implied that this constitutes a new horizon of research.

Likewise, a Architectural historian Yat Ming Loo suggests that decolonization is concerned with engaging «specific material practices, actual spaces, and concrete politics» in formerly colonized societies, and indicates that this approach transcends previous postcolonial critiques of hierarchies of space, power, and knowledge.⁷ Together, these examples highlight some of the characteristic concerns of decolonial approaches to histories of the built environment.

Postcolonial Architectural History

However, many of the concerns posited as neologisms in decolonial scholarship have, since the 1980s, been at the center of a body of work that I label «postcolonial architectural history». As I will argue, this scholarship has been relegated to the margins and its interventions have consequently gone either uncredited or unnoticed. Postcolonial architectural history is a subfield that analyzes the built environment primarily through the lens of postcolonial theory. However, as I indicate below, it has all the relevant characteristics of a field, including a set of theoretical and methodological norms, a distinct intellectual history, an accumulated body of specialist knowledge, a set of cultural practices that differentiate it from other fields, and even an institutional manifestation through which it reproduces itself.⁸ Though its roots lie in the scholarship and activism of local intellectuals in Europe's colonies in the late colonial period, postcolonial theory itself is often dated to the publication of Edward Said's *Orientalism* in 1978.⁹ Said argued that Europe has long engaged in a project of colonial domination by claiming intellectual authority over a place, *the Orient*, which it constructed as the ontological and epistemological other of Europe. Since then, four generations of scholars have studied Europe's historical and ongoing discursive, political, and economic structures of cross-cultural domination. It has been a complex and contested endeavor that has spun-off into a larger discipline, postcolonial studies, which is invested in analyzing both the *discursive* practices and *material* effects of European colonialism «from the sixteenth century up to and including the neo-colonialism of the present day.»¹⁰ Notoriously slippery, postcolonialism is used as «a critique of totalizing forms of Western historicism; a portmanteau term for a retooled notion of class [...]; the name for a condition of nativist longing in post-independence national groupings; a cultural marker of non-residency for a third-world intellectual cadre; the inevitable underside of a fractured and ambivalent discourse of colonialist power; an oppositional form of «reading practice»; and [...] the name for a «literary» activity.»¹¹

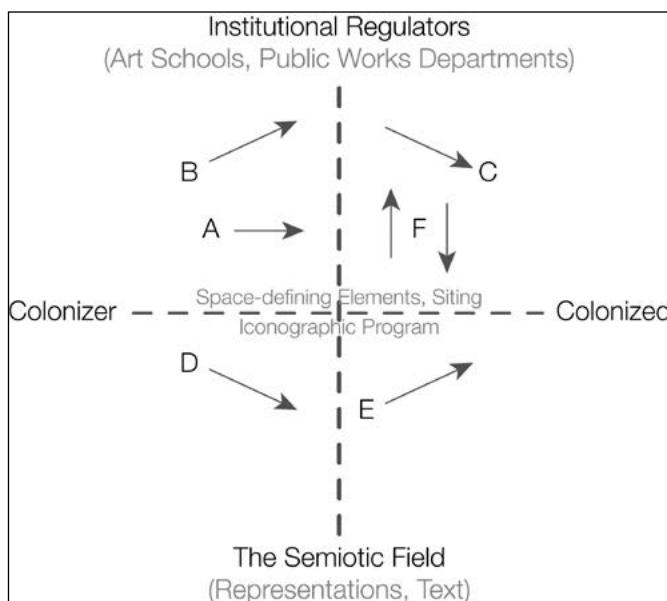
To be clear, the *post* in postcolonial studies has never been merely a marker of time. Rather the opposite: *post* is the link between the colonial present and past, or a call to action instigated by the unequal present. Furthermore, postcolonial studies has always been about colonialism's legacies. Indeed, these legacies inspired postcolonial theory in the first instance, as illustrated by the much-debated connection between Said's scholarship and his identity as a Palestinian in exile.¹²

Postcolonial architectural history, then, is at once at home in postcolonial studies and in architectural history. Postcolonial architectural historiography proceeds by conducting a postcolonial reading of its sources. This deconstructive form of reading is based on the original method of postcolonial theory, which highlighted the internal contradictions of colonialism within a literary text, and revealed its ideologies and processes.¹³ Unlike this earlier ‘colonial discourse analysis’, however, postcolonial architectural historiography analyzes material objects, space, and the visual field, in addition to language and text. This is its unique contribution to postcolonial studies. Contrary to Arindam Dutta who decries it as a mere one of numerous applications of postcolonial theory, postcolonial architectural history offers a unique opportunity to clarify one of the most important conundrums in postcolonial theory: because architecture is simultaneously material(ist) and representational, postcolonial architectural history is able to explain how colonialism functions both through direct forms of domination and via less direct means in the semiotic field (Fig. 1).¹⁴ This is also the insight from which much postcolonial architectural history proceeds.

Two Schools of Postcolonial Architectural History

Scholars working in postcolonial architectural history date its beginnings to the 1970s publication of the sociologist Janet Abu-Lughod’s texts on urbanism in North Africa. Her texts dismantled the orientalist edifice of the *Islamic city*, and sought «to explain the present and to pose a moral problem for the future.»¹⁵ Abu-Lughod’s work was followed by a series of major publications that reached a crescendo in the 1990s, under the invigorating influence of poststructuralism and deconstruction.

Much of this scholarship has been carried out by women from outside Euro-America who pursued doctoral studies and developed teaching and research careers in the United States. Most of it has emerged from two US institutions, the University of California at Berkeley and Binghamton University. Birthed in 1968,



1 Diagram showing how architecture operates in colonial contexts. Arrows show the direction in which power works.

the Berkeley doctoral program set the stage through its unusual commitment to interdisciplinarity. The programs' founders believed that other disciplines could offer important insight on their object of study which they broadened to encompass ordinary buildings and cities. Doctoral students were required to complete courses in other departments such as sociology, cultural geography, and anthropology. Under the leadership of its first fulltime member, Norma Evenson, the program gathered a constellation of faculty committed to this ethos and with strong research interests in «nonwestern» topics.¹⁶ These faculty members directed dissertations that turned into monographs in the 1990s. Though diverse in geographic focus, timeframe, and thematic focus, what characterizes this work is a rejection of issues of style in lieu of a focus on space and the social processes that constitute it, including ideology and power, and especially in regions and periods like the Ottoman Empire and South Asia in the late nineteenth century that had not typically been the subjects of architectural historiography in Europe or the United States.¹⁷ The Berkeley school codified its approach with the establishment of the International Association for the Study of Traditional Environments in 1988, and its associated conferences and journal.¹⁸

The second school of thought developed under Anthony D. King at Binghamton University. King joined the Department of Art History in 1987 but held a joint appointment in sociology.¹⁹ Soon after arriving at Binghamton from the United Kingdom where he had received his doctoral degree, King visited Berkeley where he taught two graduate-level courses. In recent reminiscences, he notes that this was the beginning of a long term intellectual exchange.²⁰ King's first monograph, *Colonial Urban Development: Culture, Social Power and Environment* (1976), set the stage for his subsequent teaching and research through a study of the «colonial third culture» (the product of contact between metropolitan society and the dominant pre-existing local culture) in Delhi, India.²¹ Since then, King and his students have theorized the spaces of global cultures, urbanism and colonialism as part of the world economy, and buildings and cities in relation to identity.²² Like the Berkeley school, the Binghamton school rejects buildings as primarily aesthetic or technical artifacts, and instead treats them as objects invested with social meaning.²³ Arguably, the Binghamton school is distinguished by its embrace of the global economy as a determinant in the production of built environments. King's approach is codified in the *Architext Series*, which he has co-edited for Routledge since circa 1999.

Scholars of postcolonial architectural history, of course, came from other programs as well.²⁴ Key scholarship has emerged from United Kingdom, Australia, Turkey, and Belgium – all countries grappling with legacies of imperialism and colonialism.²⁵ Due to the dearth of doctoral programs in formerly colonized states like India, Indonesia, Nigeria, and South Africa, it is no surprise that representation from these locations has taken on the form I focus on in this essay.²⁶

Beyond the structures of doctoral programs and interests of their faculty, I want to draw attention to the identities of doctoral scholars of postcolonial architectural history. There are at least two reasons to reflect on the female, immigrant, «non-Western,» and postcolonial backgrounds of these scholars.²⁷ First, the fact that they have adopted a common theoretical lens and methodology (described below) justifies searching for other commonalities within the group. Second, scholars from formerly colonized nations have been the standard-bearers of postcolonial studies.²⁸ This is not a simple question of how subjectivity may shape scholarship.

Rather, positionality is part of the conceptual armature of postcolonial theory where «exile» has been theorized as an experience of otherness from which the «contingency of human experience» can be more fully grasped.²⁹ As I posit in this article, the positionality of the scholars most closely associated with postcolonial architectural history may have inflected the reception of their work. The problem is generally signaled by undercitation, and it appears in work that is both sympathetic to and critical of postcolonial architectural history.³⁰ By rendering these women invisible, architectural history is enacting a form of violence akin to the violence that postcolonial and decolonial frameworks both challenge.³¹ Consequently, this article centers the work of immigrant and non-European women scholars.

Exemplary Texts

While postcolonial architectural historians have produced a significant number of monographs that illustrate their goals, methods, and insights in excruciating detail, I want to turn my attention to a group of articles that outline the shape of the field.³² Space does not permit me to summarize all of these publications. In lieu of a comprehensive account, I am offering brief analyses of articles by three authors, Swati Chattopadhyay, Hannah Le Roux, and Ola Uduku, which are only infrequently discussed beyond the subfield.³³

In a virtuoso deployment of postcolonial critique within architectural history, Swati Chattopadhyay broke new ground in her 2000 article, «Blurring Boundaries: The Limits of 'White Town' in Colonial Calcutta.»³⁴ The essay brought a post-colonial perspective to one of the discipline's flagship journals, the *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*. Building on her 1997 Berkeley doctoral dissertation, Chattopadhyay analyzes the narrative perpetuated by nineteenth-century European observers that the colonial city of Calcutta was divided into black and white zones. Her analyses showed that though English visitors noted that black and white towns existed, they could not agree on where the boundaries of these spaces lay. Conversely, Bengali residents divided the city into a complicated hierarchy of localities. Within this urban landscape, both Indians and the English built for investment. Rooms in these buildings often had no designated functions to accommodate a dynamic rental market that demanded residential properties, warehouses, shops, and other spaces. Further analysis, exemplified in a comparison of Government Hall (Calcutta) to Kedleston Hall (Derbyshire) on which it was modeled, reveals that interior doors lacked locks and there was little separation between service and served spaces. Publications and paintings show that these open plans made it possible for phalanxes of servants to cater to the needs of colonial households. But they also imply severe discomfort with this arrangement, which impinged on bourgeois English notions of domestic privacy and decorum. Racial difference based on skin color was an important aspect of this perceived threat and conventional spatial arrangements were understood as a contributing factor. In theorizing this contradiction, Chattopadhyay draws on postcolonial theories of hybridity and the hypothesis that distinctive «third cultures» were often produced in the «contact zones» of European colonization.³⁵ She concludes that English observers' distinction between the black and white towns of Calcutta did not align with reality either within individual homes or in urban space. Rather, the «obsessive articulation of delimiting practices» was a rhetorical device that attempted to «fix the signs of difference, in order to resist the effect of the hybrid.»³⁶ It signaled

discomfort with the similarities between the so-called black and white towns, recognition of the essential hybridity of these spaces, and of Indians' place at the center of colonial life despite colonizers' desires. Chattopadhyay's interpolation of real estate advertisements in newspapers, excerpts from colonial settlers' diaries and travel narratives, building and city plans revealing change over time, and illustrations and paintings of everyday scenes by Indian and European artists, challenged architectural history's reliance on architectural archives containing documents and representations created by architects, and architects' consequent monopoly on defining the terms of architectural history.³⁷ By analyzing binaries and contradictions, and centering locals as agents in their own histories to challenge an orthodoxy (the dualism of the black/white city) that had not been questioned even in postcolonial circles, Chattopadhyay proves the value of the postcolonial approach. Because of its vacillation between materiality and representation, architecture has the ability to illuminate the workings of empire.

Next, I turn to a body of work published independently and jointly by Hannah Le Roux and Ola Uduku between ca. 2003 and 2006.³⁸ Uduku was one of the first women of African origin to receive a PhD in architecture in the United Kingdom, where she lives and works today, and Le Roux lives and works in South Africa. After meeting at a conference in 1999, the two embarked on a collaboration. The publications that came out of their project thematize a number of topics that were picked up later by other scholars. They focus on the development of «tropical architecture,» which was both an educational institution established in 1954 at the Architectural Association in London at the behest of a Nigerian architecture student, Adedokun Adeyemi searching for a relevant education; and a particular approach to designing for tropical conditions that was institutionalized across the British empire. Though it was often presented as a rational, technical, ideologically-neutral discourse, Le Roux shows that climate discourse and politics were deeply imbricated. In an elegant analysis that utilizes postcolonial and poststructural theories, she considers the built boundary, which tropical architecture obsessively contemplated. According to Le Roux, examples such as Tedder Hall at the University of Ibadan (Fig. 2) designed by Maxwell Fry and Jane Drew in 1953–9 in British-occupied Nigeria, illustrate how the triple skin of the boundary (brise soleil, glass windows, and airspace/balcony) structured relations according to an inside/outside binary. At the boundary, architects tried to mitigate the impact of climate on the body, and, through this, the comfort of the expatriate western body became the universal standard for good design. Boundary-making was racialized since colonizers and colonized did not have the same power to construct space, and it was gendered since the male eye looked out onto a subjugated colonial territory figured as female. The boundary was also a site of the assimilation of local forms like piloti, cantilevered balconies, and brise-soleil, which were denied indigenous authorship and history once they became part of the British discourse of climate responsiveness. Thus, «troubling relations between dominant and subordinated subjects were constructed along with built boundaries.»³⁹ However, Le Roux also shows an ambivalence at the heart of competing colonial desires to modulate colonial space for the European body and to consume the «exotic» world beyond the boundary. This ambivalence creates space for «creative resistance» to the intentions of climatic discourse, as seen at Tedder Hall where users have reclaimed agency by transforming the thickened space of the boundary into living space.⁴⁰ Rather than indefinitely identifying



2 Jane Drew and Maxwell Fry, *Tedder Hall*, 1953–1959, University of Ibadan, Ibadan, Nigeria, Detail of the private balconies of a study bedroom wing of Residential College 2, 1955, Photographer unknown

exclusions and illustrating the impossibility of representing the «non-Western» as scholars have charged some postcolonial architectural historiography of doing, Le Roux, through her postcolonial reading, shows that a transformative post-colonial architecture that does not reproduce oppressive power relations is possible.⁴¹ Le Roux's attentiveness to inconsistencies within colonial discourse, and to relations of power and their material and discursive mechanisms and manifestations, are characteristic of postcolonial architectural history.

In her contributions, Uduku argues that tropical architecture was conceptualized, taught, and communicated as a set of universal norms, through entangled global, transnational, trans-imperial knowledge networks centered on London. These networks included long-established colonial agencies like the School of Tropical Medicine and Hygiene; educational institutions like the Architectural Association but also new architecture programs in Ghana and Nigeria; building research stations in Australia, Ghana, India, and South Africa; British architecture firms with branches in Africa, the Caribbean, and South Asia; exiled German architects seeking new pasture for their radical experiments; West African and Caribbean students abroad who formed their own discursive and politically-active community; and West African architects practicing at home.⁴² This work prefigured a raft of subsequent analyses of the transnational networks of modernism.⁴³

Architectural journal articles, technical literature, and photographs were crucial to tropical architecture. However, as Le Roux and Uduku assert, these media distort our understanding of the creation and reception of the phenomenon. Media were almost exclusively produced in England and authored by British subjects embedded in mobile networks that paralleled the original commodity flows of colonialism. Indigenous voices were almost completely absent as were images of use.⁴⁴ Consequently, Le Roux and Uduku highlight the complicity of conventional archives in colonialism, and model the importance of identifying counter-sources such as the only professional journal published in West Africa, *The West African Architect and Builder*, or unofficial notes from the 1953 Conference on Tropical Architecture at University College London that record the deep involvement of students from across the colonies in establishing tropical architecture as a course of distinct field.⁴⁵

Modern European Colonialism and Postcolonial Architectural History

These and other foundational articles in postcolonial architectural history reveal shared patterns of thought and analytical strategies, some of which are listed in the table below. As the table indicates, these themes and methods resonate beyond the limited scope of modern European colonialism in Africa, Asia, Australia (typically assumed to be the purview of postcolonial studies). Postcolonial architectural history should therefore be understood as a theoretical orientation and set of methods, rather than geographically or chronologically-defined approach. It exceeds a desire to write the non-Western into history. And it cannot be reduced to a revisionist reworking of modernism via colonialism and orientalism – as it is often mistaken for.⁴⁶ Indeed, it can equally well tackle monumentalization and colonial policies for the preservation of a seventeenth-century Sufi monument, and the overlap between the organization of construction labor and penal reform in nineteenth-century Southeast Asia.⁴⁷ Methodologically, postcolonial architectural history uses diverse strategies such as discourse analysis, contrapuntal reading, and archival troubling⁴⁸, drawn from poststructuralism, feminist critique, Marxist analysis, and other theoretical frameworks. However, the literature does not support a distinction between a poststructuralist thread of postcolonial architectural history focused on identifying exclusions to prove the impossibility of representing the other, and a humanist approach that posits already existing shared historical values.⁴⁹ Rather, these two positions exist simultaneously within individual texts as they do, for instance, in Le Roux's construction of an argument that both reveals how design worked to exclude Nigerians and how Nigerian users overcame this exclusion; and Chattopadhyay's analysis of how narratives insisted on distinguishing the black and white cities of Calcutta in an effort to disregard damning evidence of blurred boundaries.⁵⁰ Some scholars are critical of the apparent capaciousness of the field, which seems to encapsulate a wide variety of critical perspectives on the experiences of a range of oppressed subjects as well as nations like Thailand that did not experience formal European colonization.⁵¹ This is a valid concern that has been discussed extensively within the discipline of postcolonial theory itself.⁵² Arguably, however, the expansion of the category of postcolonial is postcolonial theory's greatest success since it lends critical energy and voice to «all types and sites of struggles against hegemonic power,» and therefore has the potential for a greater impact on the material human condition.⁵³ From this vantage point, postcolonial architectural history has a clear path forward – through decolonial critique.

THEMES	THEMES	THEMES	METHODS
Place, space & cultural landscapes	Knowledge-power	Nationalism	Multiscalar formal & spatial analysis
Race	Universal history	The city	Discourse analysis ⁵⁴
Cultural construction of identities	The global	Materials & technologies	Archival troubling ⁵⁵
Indigeneity	Local agency & resistance	Migration & mobility	Unpacking materiality / representation
Hybridity	Modernity	Networks	Autoethnography ⁵⁶
Decolonization & Neo-colonialism	Vernacular, tradition, informality	Preservation & heritage	
Labor	The archive & evidence		

Table 1: Characteristic themes and methods in postcolonial architectural history

Decolonization and Decoloniality

What exactly are decolonization, decoloniality, and decolonial critique? Like postcolonialism, these terms originate from outside architectural history.⁵⁷ In the English- and French-speaking contexts, between the two world wars, colonial policy makers envisioned a gradual transfer of power to «indigenously based, formally sovereign, nation-states,» which they called «decolonization».⁵⁸ This seemingly technocratic idea was actually a response to widespread anticolonial resistance and national movements that spurred a global shift in values. As we know, events gained unexpected (from European perspectives) momentum, and Europe's nineteenth-century colonial empires in Africa and Asia came to often violent ends between the 1940s and 1960s. However, it soon became clear that political disentanglement was rarely accompanied by economic, social, cultural, and cognitive disengagement.⁵⁹ Thus, decolonization is both a constitutional-legal moment and an incomplete process, and both have been preoccupations of postcolonial studies, where scholars have focused on revealing the structural and epistemological dimensions of decolonization's incompleteness and developing practices to dismantle persistent colonial power.⁶⁰ Kenyan literary scholar and postcolonial theorist, Ngugi wa Thiong'o, for example, advocates adopting indigenous languages in order to restructure cultural and political life. His open-air community theater rejected both colonial language and architecture, but was violently suppressed by the postcolonial state in the 1970s and 1980s.⁶¹ In place of the Greek-style proscenium theater (Fig. 3) erected by the British colonial state, where English language productions were held, Kamiriithu Theater consisted of a self-built

[...] raised semi-circular platform backed by a semi-circular bamboo wall behind which was a small three-roomed house which served as the store and changing room. The stage and the auditorium – fixed long wooden seats arranged like stairs – were almost an extension of each other. It had no roof.⁶²

There, the self-funded Kamiriithu group along with local residents scripted and staged Gikuyu language performances that promoted language learning, taught Kenyan history, provided entertainment, and questioned the nature of contemporary Kenyan society and leadership by a postcolonial elite indebted to colonial political, economic, and cultural systems.⁶³

Scholarly approaches to decolonization have another, concurrent origin story.⁶⁴ It emerged from the work of the Peruvian sociologist, Aníbal Quijano, which gained traction in the 1990s. «Coloniality,» Quijano argued, began with the conquest of Latin America and «the constitution of a new world order, culminating five hundred years later, in a global power covering the whole planet.»⁶⁵ This power, which was accompanied by an understanding of modernity and rationality as uniquely European phenomena, classified the world according to the mental construct of race, and invented a new structure for controlling labor, resources, and products – global capitalism.⁶⁶ Walter Mignolo has expanded on Quijano's definition of decoloniality as the «epistemological decolonization» necessary to «clear way for new intercultural communication [...] as the basis for another rationality.»⁶⁷ Mignolo insists that decoloniality is not a conceptual frame for interpreting world events. Rather, it is a practice in which one «extricate(s) oneself from the linkages between rationality/modernity and coloniality.»⁶⁸ He conceptualizes engagement with these phenomena in spatial terms as dwelling, border thinking, and territorial epistemologies. He also engages with indigenous philosophy and aesthetics, advocating that



3 *National Theater*, Government Road, 1959, Nairobi, Kenya, Photographer unknown

these be understood as prior to European incursions and be used as the basis for a reconnected past and future.⁶⁹

Postcolonialism and decoloniality are often presented as antagonistic approaches but they are actually closely aligned. In 2020, the journal *Postcolonial Studies* brought these longstanding antagonisms to the fore by staging a dialogue between scholars holding different positions.⁷⁰ In his contribution, Ming Dong Gu notes that decolonial scholars have behaved as though «postcolonialism did not exist.»⁷¹ Another contributor, Morgan Ndluvu, praises decolonial theory for its «academic humility» and «non-dictatorial» praxis, implying that postcolonial theory is guilty of these sins.⁷² Walter Mignolo's contribution contrasts studying the «semiotic dimension of colonisation (of languages, memories and space)» (which I take to mean postcolonialism) with decoloniality as a «praxis of living», while insisting at the same time that decoloniality is only one out of many «options» for confronting the disruptions that coloniality perpetrates.⁷³ As Sudesha Guha observes, one strand of current decolonial scholarship has focused on the ethics of curating colonial collections in museums, and, in the process, has «overlooked» the usefulness of understanding «the nationalist politics of decolonization» at the moment of formal independence from European colonialism for «interrogating the cultural imperialisms of the post-colonial states» today.⁷⁴ As I will argue architectural historiography has inherited these tensions.

In fact, though they have distinct disciplinary genealogies and geographical foci, postcolonial and decolonial approaches both challenge insular historical narratives deriving from Europe, and aim to unsettle and reconstitute processes of knowledge production.⁷⁵ Two potential distinctions have been tabled. First, decoloniality is said to be more concerned with the afterlife of colonialism and contemporary global inequalities than postcolonialism. Second, postcolonialism is often criticized for a tendency to remain in the theoretical and cultural domains, while decoloniality pays greater attention to material socioeconomic conditions.⁷⁶

However, my summary of the link between personal experience and knowledge production illustrates just one way in which postcolonial theory is grounded in overcoming present inequalities. And a recent exchange in the journal *Postcolonial Studies* reveals that Mignolo's decolonial theory has itself been accused of engaging inadequately with the «material struggle for decolonization» and privileging epistemic work over liberating land and body.⁷⁷ What distinguishes postcolonialism and decoloniality may, in fact, be a matter of their degree of political-material engagement (conventionally understood as activism).

Out of the confluence of these and other genealogies, decolonization has gained both academic and popular significance.⁷⁸ Eve Tuck and Eugene Wang have memorably protested that instead of focusing exclusively on the «repatriation of indigenous land and life», decolonization has become a metaphor for all social justice initiatives, critical methodologies, and efforts to decenter settler perspectives.⁷⁹ Nelson Maldonado-Torres helpfully points out that the current decolonial turn contains equal parts honest discovery and dangerous opportunism.⁸⁰ While the decolonization bandwagon raises all sorts of concerns, this essay suggests another, more positive way of viewing.

Decolonial Architectural History

The term *decolonial* has been applied most consistently to architectural critique by DAAR. In two recent publications, DAAR argues that existing scholarship on colonial architecture only focuses on the colonial past, and there is therefore a need to investigate the afterlives of colonial architecture in order to do the work of decolonization.⁸¹ Here, we see the misleading insistence that decolonial architectural scholarship represents a new agenda and set of methods. In DAAR's own words, they want to replace the «aesthetic» framework that has been used to analyze colonial architecture with one that «treats architectural space as the product of social, political, and economic transformation.»⁸² These comments reveal a fundamental misunderstanding of postcolonial architectural scholarship, which takes the interrelation between space and society as a basic premise and often eschews stylistic concerns, and (per its origins in postcolonial studies) is fundamentally a history of the present.⁸³ Nevertheless, the methods of multiscalar formal and spatial analysis, discourse analysis, and archival troubling that feature strongly in DAAR's work are characteristic of postcolonial approaches. For example, DAAR replicates the fruitful move that Mia Fuller and several other scholars made years ago of taking built structures and urban ensembles within Italy itself, such as the suburb built for the 1942 *Esposizione Universale di Roma*, as archives of Italian colonialism.⁸⁴ However, a distinction exists between decolonial and postcolonial approaches to architectural history in the degree of emphasis on the present, on praxis, and in geographical focus. Perhaps, as Hannah Le Roux has recently suggested, postcolonial architectural historiography has not been «anti-colonial» enough.⁸⁵

The scholarly activity that I categorize under the broad rubric of decolonial architectural historiography – because it self-identifies as inaugurating a new, more politically-engaged sensibility in architectural history discourse – has focused on four general areas: the global, race, indigeneity, and gender.⁸⁶ There have been several productive recent initiatives to teach and write global architectural histories.⁸⁷ Mark Jarzombek explains that «a global history of architecture» is concerned with the «recently emerging geopolitical institutionality of architecture's

history,» challenging the self-naturalization of the nation-state alongside modernism, and reproducing that which has been suppressed by universalism.⁸⁸ Initiatives like Jarzombek's have expanded the discourse in helpful ways. Nevertheless, they have often ignored postcolonial responses to the same questions. Jarzombek misrepresents postcolonial approaches as limited to the period after (European) colonialism, and disingenuously characterizes this work as esoteric and «small in scale».⁸⁹ A handful of white male architectural theorists are credited with transforming the discipline in the 1970s and 1980s by parsing the local in relation to the universal, and developing traditional and vernacular architecture as «a type of disciplinary thinking and production».⁹⁰ As Swati Chattopadhyay explains, however, postcolonial architectural historiography has long examined the «instantiation of the particular as an effect of the universal», and has conceptualized the global as the possibility of challenging the presumption of the universal.⁹¹ Le Roux and Uduku's transnational actors in the networks of British-West African modernism in the 1950s are just one example of this work. Unfortunately, refusing earlier scholarship has consequences. To quote Alice Te Punga Somerville: «Approaches connected to white men, as objects of study or as researchers, are likely to travel along the arteries of our academic worlds in very different ways than, for example, the work of (and about) indigenous peoples.»⁹²

Recent energy around investigating race in architecture is exciting for the attention it draws to a much-ignored topic but troubling because it has taken so long to generate broad interest. Race has been the topic of several recent conferences, symposia, and publications.⁹³ A recent volume, *Race and Modern Architecture: A Critical History from the Enlightenment to the Present*, aims to explore how race – «a concept of human difference that established hierarchies of power and domination between Europe and Europe's «others»» – has constituted modern architectural discourse from the European Enlightenment to the present.⁹⁴ An impressive array of chapters cover topics as diverse as European attitudes towards the Chinese garden and the disparate photographic portraiture of postwar African-American and Euro-American emplaced life. However, the introduction to the volume conflates «modern architecture,» «modern architectural history,» and the entire discipline of architectural history, whose imbrication with the concept of race is presented as the subject of the book.⁹⁵ The authors do not define these much-debated terms from the outset. The text states that «modern architecture entailed spatial practices like classifying, mapping, planning, and building that were integral to the erection of this racialized hegemony», implying that the defining characteristic of modern architecture was/is its racializing bent.⁹⁶ If this is the case, then how does this definition relate to other more standard definitions of modern architecture? By contrast, as I have argued in this article, postcolonial architectural history offers a perspective that is useful for analyzing ideologies of exclusion and hegemonic practices that do and do not fit readily into the category of modern architecture.

Like the other scholarship categorized here as decolonial, *Race and Modern Architecture* posits itself as a new turn: «*Race and Modern Architecture* begins the work of exhuming the racial logics embedded in our most canonical histories.» Though it acknowledges that postcolonial architectural history has shown that race, modernity and progress were mutually constructed, the introductory essay goes on to deny their contribution: «If the methodological approaches of critical race theorists and postcolonial scholars already teach us to identify the underlying discourses

that structure the gaze of the architect or designer, then the book's chapters identify what tools are still necessary to relate the built environment to these broader cultural processes.»⁹⁷ It seems to me that a misunderstanding of the goals, methods, and outcomes of postcolonial architectural history is at the root of this aporia. Postcolonial architectural history is misunderstood here as a geographically- and temporally-bound enterprise concerned with «colonial buildings» and «world exhibitions», and with identifying the «underlying discourses that structure the gaze of the architect or designer.»⁹⁸

As I have shown in this article, postcolonial architectural history has a much wider set of theoretical positions, thematic concerns, and methodologies. It has done precisely the kind of work that *Race and Modern Architecture* calls for, by providing «critical hermeneutical methods for uncovering the role of racial thought in familiar objects and narratives.»⁹⁹ Discourse analysis has been a mainstay of postcolonial efforts to uncover the constitutive role of race, and there is no doubt that «race is there, even when we think it is not» in the postcolonial architectural scholarship summarized in this essay.¹⁰⁰ Furthermore, postcolonial architectural history has paid close attention to the constitution of archives at the nexus of state power and individual subjectivity. It pioneered critical engagement with state (rather than architect's) archives and sought alternate archives, and it was instrumental in the elevation of vernacular buildings into objects of study and sources in their own right.¹⁰¹ However, postcolonial architectural history has not centered race to the exclusion of other constructs, and it can be faulted for not paying adequate attention to the United States, Canada, and South America though it has addressed the Caribbean.

Recent scholarship on race and the global both lay claim to a heretofore unseen politics of engagement with the present.¹⁰² These claims are even more direct in another wing of decolonial scholarship in architectural history – on settler colonialism and indigeneity. Publications such as «The Settler Colonial Present - On This Land, A Cultural Site»; «At the Border of Decolonization»; «Indigeneity, Contingency, and Cognitive Shifts»; and «Decolonial Ecologies» attest to the importance of these themes in current decolonial scholarship.¹⁰³ In «At the Border of Decolonization», Andrew Herscher and Ana María León formulate a new project that seeks to collaboratively produce knowledge about the cities of Turtle Island/Abya Yala/The Americas in relation to settler colonialism, «Indigenous survivance», and decolonial struggles.¹⁰⁴ They assert that «settler colonialism» has recently emerged as a name for a distinctive form.¹⁰⁵ Furthermore, architectural theories and practices of Indigenous people, they suggest, have not been adequately examined in light of how these practices might impact the category of architecture itself and the writing of architectural history. In fact, indigeneity, settler colonialism, and the settler colony, are foundational concepts in postcolonial studies. Indeed, postcolonial studies controversially contests the concept of indigeneity as a potentially essentialist trap set by imperialist discourse.¹⁰⁶ For its part, postcolonial architectural history has obsessively examined the status of local/vernacular/traditional/indigenous forms and practices in the built environment.¹⁰⁷ New work like the *Settler Colonial City Project* might profitably engage with the large body of scholarship on architectures of African and indigenous enslavement and genocide in the Caribbean; and on the colonial gaze that emptied local lands of their inhabitants and inserted them into a global network of productive capital, and the problematic architectural and legal

regimes that enabled the partitioning and expropriation of indigenous land in the past and in the present in Australia, South Africa, and Namibia.¹⁰⁸

Unlike the global, race, and indigeneity, gender is one topic that postcolonial architectural historiography has given short shrift, and which decolonial scholarship, under the influence of earlier feminist scholarship, is shining a light on.¹⁰⁹ Torsten Lange and Lucía C. Pérez-Moreno's recent article reflects critically on the explosion of «fourth wave» feminist initiatives insisting on structural transformations in architectural practice and formal architectural education.¹¹⁰ They identify continuities with earlier «gendered analyses of privacy and domesticity and the *herstory* mode of writing women into the canon», as well new directions that analyze women's emotional labor as a form of spatial production, link queer sexuality and gender, and explore collective authorship and non-human forms of embodiment.¹¹¹ Their exhortation to write «speculative and performative» histories that intervene in the present and future arguably links their work to the decolonial turn.¹¹² Another example, the Feminist Architectural Histories of Migration Project, engages directly with postcolonial approaches in its emphasis on migrants crossing colonial and postcolonial margins. It too explores design labor without authorship, uses and users who endowed architecture with value, spatial practices of occupation, and «the obscured work of teachers, researchers, and writers».¹¹³ Indeed, my analysis in the current article illustrates the need for a feminist-inspired documentation project targeting the work of non-European women scholars of postcolonial architectural history.

What connects these four bodies of work – on global, race, indigeneity, and gender – is their strongly activist orientation. If indeed an emphasis on material conditions is what distinguishes decolonial from postcolonial frameworks, then architecture's special relationship to materiality/materialism may again offer a bridge. Buildings themselves are material and they play a direct role in shaping socio-economic conditions, inter-human relations, and in creating ideologies. Jyoti Hosagrahar sees a widespread if unspoken acceptance of postcolonial tenets in contemporary practitioners tendency to see architecture as globally constituted, critique universal design, embrace the local, and pursue social responsibility in design.¹¹⁴ DAAR's interrogation of the status of Italian colonial-fascist buildings in Asmara, Addis Ababa, and Palermo in the midst of today's neocolonialism and coloniality picks up dangling threads in postcolonial scholarship, while their interventions in Israel's colonial-military infrastructure enact a repossession that resists reproducing colonial relations in a mode similar to the adaptation of the building boundary described by Le Roux.¹¹⁵ Meanwhile, Anooradha Siddiqi and Kelema Lee Moses relink decolonial efforts to long histories of early anti-colonial activism and contemporary postcolonial scholarship, but propose methodological expansions: Siddiqi invites us to look at the refugee camp as a generator rather than object of theory and knowledge(s), and Moses suggests that centering contingency in architecture and place-making processes creates openings for multiples ways of knowing such as indigenous design thinking in the United States.¹¹⁶

Conclusion

Given the similarities and differences I have summarized between postcolonial and decolonial approaches to architectural history, I would argue that the decolonial turn in architectural history represents an extension of the postcolonial framework

across a variety of domains, with a stronger activist bent and an expanded chronological, geographical, and thematic purview.¹¹⁷ Postcolonialism seems to have finally transformed the canon. However, the transformation remains incomplete if the body of scholarship that has sustained it since the 1980s is rendered invisible.

In an effort to resist the hegemonic logic of academic architectural history and of twenty-first century European and North American social systems, I have chosen to center the scholarship of immigrant, non-European, non-American women scholars of postcolonial architectural history. In academic writing, our historiographical conventions rely on a certain amount of *strawmanning* – new research starts by pointing to flaws in existing scholarship. This in part explains decolonial scholarship's investment in claiming novelty, and accounts for the undercitation of postcolonial architectural history. But strawmanning does not justify the absence of a serious engagement with other work, or the violence wrought by muting the voices of a group that is already under-represented in the discipline. My purpose here is not to discredit decolonial scholarship. On the contrary, I welcome it and the spotlight it shines on inequality and violence of all kinds, and it is my hope that this article will inspire collaboration across the perceived divide between decolonial and postcolonial perspectives in architectural history.

Notes

1 «On turns» in the humanities and social sciences since the 1960s, see Jo Guldi, «What is the Spatial Turn?», <https://spatial.scholarslab.org/spatial-turn/>, accessed June 8, 2021; and AHR Forum: Historiographic «Turns» in Critical Perspective, in: *American Historical Review*, 2012, Vol. 117, No. 3, p. 698–813.

2 See, for example, William Littmann, How I Found the Courage to Decolonize my Syllabus, in: *Platform*, March 1, 2021, <https://www.platformspace.net/home/how-i-found-the-courage-to-decolonize-my-syllabus>, accessed June 8, 2021; Yat Ming Loo, Towards a Decolonisation of Architecture, in: *Journal of Architecture*, 2017, Vol. 22, No. 4. p. 631–638; Decolonizing the Spatial History of the Americas, The University of Texas at Austin School of Architecture, 23 Aug – 15 Oct, 2019; Decolonizing Architectural Pasts and Futures, Saturday October 19, 2019, Chicago, IL; Andrew Herscher and Ana María León, At the Border of Decolonization, in: *e-flux*, At the Border, May 6, 2020, <https://www.e-flux.com/architecture/at-the-border/325762/at-the-border-of-decolonization/>, accessed June 8, 2021; Andrew Herscher and Ana María León, Editorial, in: *e-flux*, The Settler Colonial Present, October 12, 2020, <https://www.e-flux.com/architecture/the-settler-colonial-present/>, accessed June 8, 2021. Also see the articles in *Future Anterior*, 2019, Vol. 16, No. 2.

3 About, <http://www.decolonizing.ps/site/about/>, accessed August 9, 2021; Sandi Hilal and Alessandro Petti, *Permanent Temporariness*, Stockholm 2019 p. 144; Sandi Hilal, Alessandro Petti, Eyal Weizman, *Architecture After Revolution: Decolonizing Architecture Art Residency*, Berlin 2013, p. 18; T. J. Demos, Decolonizing Architecture/Art Residency, in: *Art Forum*, 2012, Vol. 50, No. 8, <https://www.artforum.com/print/reviews/201204/decolonizing-architecture-art-residency-30581>, accessed June 8, 2021.

4 DAAR has published several essays in architectural history venues, and has recently established a postgraduate program at the Royal Institute of Art in Stockholm that includes courses on the history of colonial architecture. See, for example, Emilio Distretti and Alessandro Petti, The Afterlife of Fascist Colonial Architecture: A Critical Manifesto, in: *Future Anterior*, 2019, Vol. 16, No. 2. p. 46–58; «Decolonizing Architecture Advanced Studies», <https://www.artandeducation.net/announcements/320831/decolonizing-architecture-modernism-and-de-modernization>, accessed February 10, 2021.

5 Distretti and Petti 2019, p. 57. In the context of previous scholarship on Italian and other modern European colonial architecture, Distretti and Petti's assertion is a statement of the obvious. Notably, the authors do not cite any existing architectural historical scholarship on Italian fascist colonial architecture. Relevant publications include Fasil Giorghis and Denis Gérard, *The City & its Architectural Heritage: Addis Ababa 1886–1941*, Addis Ababa 2007; Marida Talamona, *Addis Abeba capitale dell'impero*, «*Storia contemporanea*», 16, 5–6, 1985, p. 1093–1130; Mia Fuller, *Moderns Abroad: Architecture, Cities and Italian Imperialism*, Routledge, 2007; Edward Denison, Guang Yu Ren and Naigzy Gebremedhin, *Asmara: Africa's Secret Modernist City*, London, Merrell, 2003; David Riffkind, Gondar: Architecture and Urbanism for Italy's Fascist Empire, in: *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, 2011, Vol. 70, No. 4, p. 492–511; Sean Anderson, *Modern Architecture and its Representation in Colonial Eritrea: An In-visible Colony*, 1890–1941, Farnham, 2015; Brian McLaren, *Architecture and Tourism in Italian Colonial Libya: An Ambivalent Modernism*, Seattle 2006.

6 Andrew Herscher, Ana María León, Ayala Levin, and Meredith TenHoor, «Indigenous Knowledge and the Decolonization of Architectural Pasts and Futures», <http://we-aggregate.org/project/indigenous-knowledge-and-the-decolonization-of-architectural-pasts-and-futures>, accessed February 11, 2021.

7 Yat Ming Loo, Towards a Decolonisation of Architecture, in: *Journal of Architecture*, 2017, Vol. 22, No. 4. p. 631–638.

8 To my knowledge, postcolonial architectural history has not been formally defined as a subfield previously. However, it has all the relevant characteristics including a set of theoretical and methodological norms, a distinct intellectual history, an accumulated body of specialist knowledge, a set of cultural practices that differentiate it from other fields, and even an institutional manifestation through which it reproduces itself. On what defines a discipline, see Armin Krishnan, What are Academic Disciplines? Some observations on the Disciplinarity vs Interdisciplinarity Debate, in: *ESRC National Centre for Research Methods Working Paper Series* 2009, Vol. 3, www.ncrm.ac.uk, accessed February 11, 2021.

9 Edward Said, *Orientalism*, New York [1978] 1979.

10 Bill Ashcroft, Gareth Griffiths, and Helen Tiffin, *Postcolonial Studies: The Key Concepts*, New York 2000, p. 188.

11 Stephen Slemon, The Scramble for Postcolonialism, in: *The Post-Colonial Studies Reader*, ed. by Bill Ashcroft, Gareth Griffiths, and Helen Tiffin, New York 1995, p. 45–52, here p. 45.

12 For the debate about contemporary postcolonial subjectivity and its relationship to scholarly production as exemplified in the case of Edward Said, see, for example, Paul Armstrong, *Being Out*

of Place: Edward W. Said and the Contradictions of Cultural Differences, in: *MLQ: Modern Language Quarterly*, 2003, Vol. 64, No. 1, p. 97–121.

13 Ashcroft/Griffiths et al. 2000, p. 192.

14 Stephen Cairns calls this the exceptional status of architecture within the broader system of cultural production, and points out that architecture's unique possibilities were already recognized by colonial administrators in eighteenth century India who privileged architecture in their machinations precisely because they thought that its materiality/materialism could be used to stabilize notoriously slippery field of signification in colonial discourse. See Stephen Cairns, The Stones of Orientalism, in: *Colonial Modernities: Building, Dwelling and Architecture in British India*, ed. by Peter Scriver and Vikramaditya Prakash, London 2006, p. 51–65.

For a critique of postcolonial architectural history as just another application of postcolonial theory, see Arindam Dutta, *The Bureaucracy of Beauty*, New York 2007, p. 35.

15 Janet Abu Lughod, *Rabat: Urban Apartheid in Morocco*, Princeton 1981, p. xviii; Janet Abu Lughod and Richard Hay, *Third World Urbanization*, New York 1979; Janet Abu-Lughod, The Islamic City – Historic Myth, Islamic Essence, and Contemporary Relevance, in: *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, 1978, Vol. 19, No. 2, p. 155–76; Zeynep Celik, Reflections on Architectural History Forty Years after Edward Said's Orientalism, in: *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, 2018, Vol. 77, No. 4, p. 381–387. Abu-Lughod's work coincides with the Saidian watershed moment and there are affective ties as well since Said dedicated his *Orientalism* to her and her husband.

16 I use «nonwestern» with immense reservation since one of the major arguments of this essay is that postcolonial architectural historiography is a theoretical framework with a specific methodology rather than a geographical focus.

17 Examples include Zeynep Celik, *The Impact Of Westernization on Istanbul's Urban Form, 1838–1908*, Ph.D. Dissertation, University of California, Berkeley, 1984; and Anoma Pieris, *Hidden Hands And Divided Landscapes: Penal Labor And Colonial Citizenship In Singapore And The Straits Settlements, 1825–1873*, University of California, Berkeley, 2003.

18 Kathleen James-Chakraborty, All past buildings will be deemed worthy of study: the Berkeley PhD program and its interdisciplinary orientation,» in: *Design on the Edge: A Century of Teaching Architecture at the University of California, Berkeley, 1903–2003*, ed. by Waverly B Lowell, Elizabeth Douthitt Byrne and Betsy Frederick-Rothwell, Berkeley 2009, p. 126–130; Kathleen James-Chakraborty, Beyond postcolonialism: New Directions for the History of Non-western Architecture, in: *Frontiers of Architectural Research*, 2014, Vol. 3, No. 1, p. 1–9.

19 Anthony D. King, The Times and Spaces of Modernity (or Who Needs Postmodernism?), in: *Global Modernities*, ed. by Mike Featherstone, Scott M Lash a. Roland Robertson, London 2002, p. 114–128.

20 Anthony D. King, *Writing the Global City: Globalisation, Postcolonialism and the Urban*, New York 2016, p. xvi.

21 Also see Anthony King, The Colonial Bungalow-Compound Complex: A Study in the Cultural Use of Space, in: *Journal of Architectural Research*, 1974, Vol. 3, No. 2, p. 30–43; Anthony King, The Bungalow: The Development and Diffusion of a House-type, in: *Architectural Association Quarterly*, 1973 Vol. 5, No. 3, p. 6–26 and No. 4, p. 4–21.

22 King's legacy at Binghamton was celebrated in a conference, «Writing the Global City,» held in his honor in 2013. The program for the conference offers a preliminary overview of the scope of King's students' work, and is available at https://bingdev.binghamton.edu/archistory/King/KingPROGRAM_FINAL_Letter.pdf, accessed January 15, 2021.

23 James-Chakraborty 2009; James-Chakraborty 2014.

24 Also see Vikramaditya Prakash's retrospective meditation on the origins of postcolonial approaches to architectural history in Dh̄ar̄an̄a: The Agency of Architecture in Decolonization, in: *Future Anterior*, 2019, Vol. 16, No. 2, p. 86–120.

25 In Belgium, notable examples include the work of Bruno de Meulder, Johan Lagae, Tom Avermaete, Luce Beeckmans, and others. In the United Kingdom, the work of Ola Uduku, Iain Jackson, Alex Bremner, Lukasz Stanek, among others is notable. Much relevant scholarship from the UK and Central Europe is published in the open access journal, *Architecture Beyond Europe*, <https://journals.openedition.org/abe/>. In Australia, Duanfang Lu, Anoma Pieris, and Peter Scriver, are leaders in the field. In South Africa, Hannah le Roux and Huda Tayob have completed important work. Other interlocutors include T. Elvan Altan, Belgin Turan Ozkaya, Kivanc Kilinc, and others. Even a brief survey of these scholars reveals networks of affiliation that confirm the disciplinarity of postcolonial architectural history. Important contributions have also been made by scholars working in cognate disciplines such as anthropology, geography, urban planning, and literary studies. The overview I offer in this article is based exclusively on England and German language scholarship as a result of the Anglocentric bias in contemporary academia as well as an artifact of my own scholarly and personal position. For more on language in architectural history scholarship, see English as the Academic Lingua

Franca?, European Architectural History Network, 6th International Meeting, Edinburgh, June 3, 2021, accessed June 14, 2021.

26 On the lack of graduate education in architectural history in South Asia and Sub-Saharan Africa, see Jyoti Hosagrahar, South Asia: Looking Back, Moving Ahead—History and Modernization, in: *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, 2002, Vol. 61, No. 3, p. 355–369; Ikem Okoye, Architecture, History, and the Debate on Identity in Ethiopia, Ghana, Nigeria, and South Africa, in: *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, 2002, Vol. 61, No. 3, p. 381–396; A.G. Krishna Menon, Educating the Architect, in: Seminar (India) Magazine, 2000, No. 494, <https://architexturez.net/doc/az-cf-21224>, accessed March 11, 2021.

27 Kathleen James-Chakraborty points out that postcolonial studies of architectural history have been dominated by scholars from the erstwhile modern European colonies. See James-Chakraborty 2014, p. 3. Among them, scholars who have explicitly adopted postcolonial perspectives in their work include Zeynep Çelik, Sibel Bozdogan, Gülsüm Baydar Nalbantoglu, Swati Chattopadhyay, Preeti Chopra, Jyoti Hosagrahar, Anoma Pieris, Ola Uduku, Hannah Le Roux, Madhuri Desai, Mrinalini Rajagopalan, Anooradha Siddiqi, Samia Henni, Mira Rai Waits, Tania Sengupta, and myself, among others. I am not suggesting that only these scholars have explored architectural history using a postcolonial theory framework. Rather, I am highlighting the strange tendency to ignore the contributions made by this core group. Some male, non-European scholars have experienced different types of silencing that this essay does not address. Since nobody is immune to the hegemonic systems, I recognize that the list I focus on in this essay may exclude some scholars who should be included.

28 James-Chakraborty 2014, p. 3. See also, for example, Armstrong 2003 and Anuradha Dingwaney Needham, Inhabiting the Metropole: C. L. R. James and the Postcolonial Intellectual of the African Diaspora, in: *Diaspora: A Journal of Transnational Studies*, 1993, Vol. 2, No. 3, p. 281–303.

29 David Morgan, *Critical Distance: The Postcolonial Novel and the Dilemma of Exile*, Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Tennessee 2009, p. iv, https://trace.tennessee.edu/utk_graddiss/624, accessed March 2, 2021. The specific group of scholars I am focusing on here have generally not reflected on their identities in their published works. Others like Abidin Kusno have remarked on this topic in his *Behind the Postcolonial: Architecture, Urban Space, and Political Cultures in Indonesia*, New York 2000, p. ix.

30 See, for example, Mark Jarzombek, Architecture: The Global Imaginary in an Antiglobal World, in: *Grey Room*, 2015, Vol. 61, p. 111–122,

here p. 120; Esra Akcan, Postcolonial Theories in Architecture, in: *A Critical History of Contemporary Architecture 1960–2010*, ed. by Elie Haddad and David Rifkind, London 2014, p. 119–140; Irene Cheng, Charles Davis II, Mabel Wilson, *Race and Modern Architecture: A Critical History from the Enlightenment to the Present*, Pittsburgh 2020, p. 11; Distretti and Petti 2019, p. 58.

31 Hilde Heynen notes a similar concern about the suppression of meritorious strands of thought in the historiography of architectural theory, and recognizes postcolonial critique of the problem. Hilde Heynen, CODA: A Discipline in the Making, in: *The Figure of Knowledge: Conditioning Architectural Theory, 1960s - 1990s*, ed. by Sebastiaan Loosen, Rajesh Heynickx, and Hilde Heynen, Leuven, 2020, p. 299–314, here p. 299. On the undercitation of scholars of color in general, see Eve Tuck, K. Wayne Yang, and Rubén Gatzambide-Fernández, Citation Practices Challenge, in: *Critical Ethnic Studies*, 2015, <http://www.criticaethnicstudiesjournal.org/citation-practices>, June 10, 2021.

32 Several of the articles in this core group were published in the radical architecture journal, *Assemblage. A critical journal of architecture and design culture*, that was published between 1986 and 2000. The As an experimental publication, *Assemblage* was arguably the only venue where analyses of colonialism, race, gender, class, and sexuality, which, according to Mark Wigley, challenge the «institutionalized and highly protected stories that organize architecture,» could be published. Stimulated in part by the neo-conservative «Culture Wars» in North America that transformed «identity politics» into an epithet, there was a backlash against the journal and its brand of architectural theory, and analyses of the politics of subjectivity and the political structures of architecture were forced underground. See Mark Wigley, Story-Time, in: *Assemblage*, 1995, No. 27, p. 88; Karen Burns, Anthologizing Post-Structuralism: Architecture Écriture, Gender, and Subjectivity, in: *The Figure of Knowledge: Conditioning Architectural Theory, 1960s – 1990s*, ed. by Sebastiaan Loosen, Rajesh Heynickx and Hilde Heynen, Leuven, 2020, p. 255–268.

33 A more comprehensive full list of articles that establish the historiograph of postcolonial analysis in architectural history would include King 1974; Zeynep Celik, Le Corbusier, Orientalism, Colonialism, in: *Assemblage*, 1992, Vol. 17, p. 58–77; Sibel Bozdogan, Journey to the East: Ways of Looking at the Orient and the Question of Representation, in: *Journal of Architectural Education*, 1988, Vol. 41, No. 4, p. 38–45; Richard Ingersoll, To the Editor, in: *Journal of Architectural Education*, 1989, Vol. 42, No. 4, p. 61; Gülsüm Baydar Nalbantoglu, Toward Postcolonial Openings: Rereading Sir Banister Fletcher's History

of Architecture, in: *Assemblage*, 1998, Vol. 35, p. 6–17; Sibel Bozdogan, Architectural History in Professional Education: Reflections on Post-colonial Challenges to the Modern Survey, in: *Journal of Architectural Education*, 1999, Vol. 52, No. 4, p. 207–215; Gülsüm Baydar Nalbantoglu, Beyond Lack and Excess: Other Architectures/Other Landscapes, in: *Journal of Architectural Education*, 2000, Vol. 54, No. 1, p. 20–27; Panayiota Pyla, Historicizing Pedagogy: A Critique of Kostof's A History of Architecture, in: *Journal of Architectural Education*, 1999, Vol. 52, No. 4, p. 215–225; Jyoti Hosagrahar, Interrogating difference: Postcolonial Perspectives in Architecture and Urbanism,» in: *The SAGE Handbook of Architectural Theory*, ed. by Greig C. Crysler, Stephen Cairns a. Hilde Heynen, London 2012, p. 70–84. The list of articles and monographs that are historical rather than historiographical is even more extensive. A helpful bibliography is included in James-Chakraborty 2014.

34 Swati Chattopadhyay, in: *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, 2000, Vol. 59, No. 2, p. 154–179.

35 Chattopadhyay cites Homi Bhabha's *The Location of Culture*, London 1994, p. 115. Anthony King's discussion of the bungalow-compound complex made a related argument, and both arguments resonate with postcolonial theorist Mary Louise Pratt's concept of the «contact zone». See King 1973; and Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes Travel Writing and Transculturation*, New York 2008 [1992], p. 8.

36 Chattopadhyay 2000, p. 176–177

37 Though familiar today, Chattopadhyay's sources were certainly not orthodox for architectural history research in 2000 when this article was published. For example, out of 16 research articles published in the *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* in 2000, Chattopadhyay's was the only piece to use genre paintings as evidence; and only one other article cited real estate advertisements in newspapers. Out of 48 articles published between 1999 and 2001, five (including Chattopadhyay's) invoked real estate advertisements, and only Chattopadhyay's analyzed a genre painting.

38 Hannah Le Roux: The Networks of Tropical Architecture, in: *Journal of Architecture*, 2003, Vol. 8, No. 3, p. 337–354; Modern architecture in post-colonial Ghana and Nigeria, in: *Architectural History*, 2004, Vol. 47, p. 361–392; Building on the boundary – Modern architecture in the tropics, in: *Social Identities: Journal for the Study of Race, Nation and Culture*, 2004, Vol. 10, No. 4, p. 439–453. Uduku: Educational Design and Modernism in West Africa, in: *Docomomo Journal*, 2003, Vol. 28, p. 76–82; Modernist Architecture and the Tropical in West Africa, in: *Habitat International*, 2005, Vol. 30, p. 396–411. Le Roux and Uduku: The Media and the Modern Movement in Nigeria and the Gold Coast, in: *Nka: Journal of Contemporary African Art*, 2004, Vol. 9, p. 46–49.

39 Le Roux 2004, p. 440.

40 Le Roux 2004, p. 447.

41 Two architectural historians who have engaged with postcolonial theory, Esra Akcan and Sibel Bozdogan, have each expressed this concern. See Esra Akcan, Postcolonial Theories in Architecture, in: *A Critical History of Contemporary Architecture 1960–2010*, ed. by Elie Haddad and David Rifkind, London 2014, p. 119–140, here p. 134; and Bozdogan, Architectural History in Professional Education, p. 208. Related reservations are expressed, for example, in Tomá Berlanda, De-colonising Architectural Education: Thoughts from Cape Town, in: *Built Heritage*, 2017, Vol. 3, p. 69–72, here p. 71; and Tanya Southcott and David Theodore, Othering, in: *Journal of Architectural Education*, 2020, Vol. 74, No. 2, p. 162–164, here p. 162.

42 See, for example, Uduku 2005, p. 399, 408–409.

43 Tom Avermaete, Nomadic Experts and Travelling Perspectives: Colonial Modernity and the Epistemological Shift in Modern Architecture Culture, in: *Colonial Modern: Aesthetics of the Past – Rebellions for the Future*, ed. by Tom Avermaete, Serhat Karakayali a. Marion von Osten, London 2010, p. 130–151; Jiat-Hwee Chang, A Genealogy of Tropical Architecture: Colonial Networks, Nature and Technoscience, London 2010; Rachel Lee, Otto Koenigsberger, Transcultural Practice and the Tropical Third Space, in: *OASE*, 2015, Vol. 95, p. 60–72; Lukasz Stanek, Architects from Socialist Countries in Ghana (1957–1967): Modern Architecture and Mondialisation, in: *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, 2015, Vol. 74, No. 4, p. 416–442.

44 Le Roux a. Uduku 2004, p. 47.

45 Le Roux a. Uduku 2004, p. 49.

46 James-Chakraborty 2013, p. 3; Akcan 2014, p. 129.

47 Mrinalini Rajagopalan, *Building Histories: The Archival and Affective Lives of Five Monuments in Modern Delhi*, Chicago, 2016; Anoma Pieris, The «Other» Side of Labor Reform: Accounts of Incarceration and Resistance in the Straits Settlements Penal System, 1825–1873, in: *Journal of Social History*, 2011, Vol. 45, No. 2, p. 453–479.

48 I take «archival troubling» to mean critiquing institutional archives and institutional time, unearthing hidden voices or lost patterns, and problematizing the process of unearthing to lay bare the «constitutive incompleteness of the historical archive itself.» See Dimitris Papamikolaou, *Archive Trouble*, 2017, in: *Culturescapes: Archaeology of the Future*, ed. by Kateryna Botanova, Christos Chryssopoulos and Jurriaan Cooiman, Basel, 2017, p. 38–52, here p. 47.

49 Esra Akcan makes this distinction in an essay notable as one of few instances in which

postcolonial approaches to architectural analysis are thematized in a general publication. See Akcan, 2014, p. 134–135. Also see Bozdogan, 1999, p. 209.

50 Nalbantoglu also maintains these two positions simultaneously in her essays, *Toward Postcolonial Openings and Beyond Lack and Excess*.

51 Hosagrahar 2012, p. 71; Akcan 2014, p. 133.

52 Dipesh Chakrabarty, *Subaltern Studies and Postcolonial Historiography*, in: *Nepantla: Views from South*, 2000, Vol. 1, No. 1, p. 9–32, here p. 26; Editor's Column: The End of Postcolonial Theory? A Roundtable with Sunil Agnani, Fernando Coronil, Gaurav Desai, Mamadou Diouf, Simon Gilandi, Susie Tharu, and Jennifer Wenzel, ed. by Patricia Yaeger, *Publications of the Modern Language Association*, 2007, Vol. 122, p. 633–651.

53 Hosagrahar 2012, p. 72. For a contrasting view, see Eve Tuck and Eugene Wang, Decolonization is not a metaphor, in: *Decolonization: Indigeneity, Education & Society*, 2012, Vol. 1, No. 1, p. 1–40. For critiques of postcolonial theory, see Vivek Chibber, *Postcolonial Theory and the Specter of Capital*, London 2013.

54 On discourse analysis, see Benita Parry, Problems in Current Theories of Colonial Discourse, in: *Oxford Literary Review*, 1987, Vol. 9, No. 1, p. 27–58.

55 See Papanikolaou 2017, p. 47.

56 'Other' as the subject of anthropology, in autoethnography, the ethnographic gaze is framed dialogically, and the ethnographer becomes the «subject-object of observation.» See James Buzard, On Auto-Ethnographic Authority, in: *Yale Journal of Criticism*, 2003, Vol. 16, No. 1, p. 73; and Itohan Osayimwese, Architecture with a Mission: Bamum Autoethnography During the Period of German Colonialism, in: *German Colonialism Revisited: African, Asian, and Oceanic Experiences*, ed. by Nina Berman, Klaus Mühlhahn, and Patrice Nganang, Ann Arbor 2014, p. 18–38.

57 «Decolonize» has different genealogies in different linguistic and intellectual contexts including British, French, Soviet and Latin American. In this article, I focus on the British and Latin American genealogies.

58 Jan C. Jansen and Jürgen Osterhammel, *Decolonization: A Short History*, Princeton 2017, p. 2, p. 160.

59 Jansen/Osterhammel 2017, p. 15.

60 See, for example, Ngugi wa Thiong'o, *Moving the Center: The Struggle for Cultural Freedoms*, Portsmouth 1993; Aijaz Ahmad, *In Theory: Classes, Nations, Literatures*, London 1992.

61 Peter Ukpokodu, «Plays, Possession, and Rock-and-Roll: Political Theatre in Africa,» *TDR*, Vol. 36, No. 4 (1992), p. 28–53.

62 Ngugi wa Thiong'o, *Decolonizing the Mind*, London, 1986, p. 42.

63 Peter Ukpokodu, Plays, Possession, and Rock-and-Roll: Political Theatre in Africa, in: *The Drama Review*, 1992, Vol. 36, No. 4, p. 28–53, here p. 31.

64 Here, I am referring to the body of literature known as «decolonial theory.»

65 Gurminder Bhambra, Postcolonial and Decolonial Dialogues, in: *Postcolonial Studies*, 2014, Vol. 17, No. 2, p. 115–121, here p. 117.

66 Aníbal Quijano, Coloniality of Power, Eurocentrism, and Latin America, in: *Nepantla*, 2000, Vol. 1, No. 3, p. 533–580; Gandarilla Salgado, José Guadalupe, García-Bravo, María Haydeé a. Benzi, Daniele, Two Decades of Aníbal Quijano's Coloniality of Power, Eurocentrism and Latin America, in: *Contexto Internacional*, 2021, Vol. 43, No. 1, p. 199–222, Epub January 15, 2021. <https://doi.org/10.1590/s0102-8529.2019430100009>

67 Walter Mignolo, On Decoloniality: Second Thoughts, in: *Postcolonial Studies*, 2020, Vol. 23, No. 4, p. 612–618, here p. 615.

68 Ibid.

69 Ibid. Also see Walter Mignolo, *The Darker side of Western Modernity: Global Futures, Decolonial Options*, Durham 2011, p. 113.

70 Prior to 2020, multiple articles were published in *Postcolonial Studies* that attempted to grapple with decolonial theory and its self-understanding as a radical new way of approaching the colonial world order. See, for example, Bhambra, Postcolonial and Decolonial Dialogues. For his part, Mignolo has refined his understanding of the relationship between postcolonialism and decoloniality over time, and explained it in defense against protestations from the postcolonial camp. See Mignolo, *The Darker side of Western Modernity*, p. xxiii–xxxi, p. 55. Also see, Nelson Maldonado-Torres, A Questionnaire on Decolonization, in: *October*, 2020, Vol. 174, p. 73–78; Saloni Mathur, A Questionnaire on Decolonization, in: *October*, 2020, Vol. 174, p. 79–80; and Sindre Bangstad, Achille Mbembe's Decolonization, in: *Africa is a Country*, <https://africasacountry.com/2020/11/achille-mbembes-decolonization>, accessed June 10, 2021.

71 Ming Dong Gu, What is «Decoloniality?» A Postcolonial Critique, in: *Postcolonial Studies*, 2020, Vol. 23, No. 4, p. 596–600, here p. 599.

72 Morgan Ndlovu, Well-intentioned but vulnerable to abuse, in: *Postcolonial Studies*, 2020, Vol. 23, No. 4, p. 579–583, here p. 579.

73 Mignolo, On Decoloniality: Second Thoughts, p. 613, p. 615.

74 Sudesna Guha, Decolonizing South Asia through Heritage-and Nation-Building, in: *Future Anterior*, 2019, Vol. 16, No. 2, p. 30–45.

75 Also see Walter Mignolo's comments in *The Darker Side of Western Modernity* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2011), xxvi.

76 Bhambra 2014, p. 115, p. 119.

77 Mignolo 2020, p. 613.

78 For instance, the Decolonize Movement in the United States emerged in 2011 as a splinter group from the Occupy Wall Street Movement. See Angie Beeman, Walk the Walk but Don't Talk the Talk: The Strategic Use of Color-Blind Ideology in an Interracial Social Movement Organization, in: *Sociological Forum*, 2015, Vol. 30, No. 1 p. 127–147.

79 Tuck/Wang 2012.

80 Nelson Maldonado-Torres, A Questionnaire on Decolonization, in: *October*, 2020, Vol. 174, p. 73–78.

81 Hilal/Petti 2019, p. 9, Alessandro Petti, The Afterlives of Fascist-Colonial Architecture, in: Hilal/Petti 2019, p. 302–303.

82 Petti 2019, p. 302–303.

83 For an example of postcolonial architectural scholarship that comments directly on the afterlives of colonial structures, see Daniel Coslett, *Neocolonialism and Built Heritage: Echoes of Empire in Africa, Asia, and Europe*, New York 2020; also see Anooradha Siddiqi, Architecture Culture, Humanitarian Expertise: From the Tropics to Shelter, 1953–1993, in: *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, 2017, Vol. 76, No. 3, p. 367–384.

84 Mia Fuller, «Wherever You Go, There You Are: Fascist Plans for the Colonial City of Addis Ababa and the Colonizing Suburb of EUR '42,» in: *Journal of Contemporary History*, 1996, Vol. 31, No. 2, p. 397–418; and Mia Fuller, Italy's Internal and External Colonies, in: *A Moving Border: Alpine Cartographies of Climate Change*, ed. by A. Bagnato, M. Ferrari, E. Pasqual, New York, 2018, 99–111; Distretti and Petti 2019, p. 48.

85 Hannah Le Roux, Comfort, Violence, Care: Decolonising Tropical Architecture at Blida, 1956, in: *ABE Journal*, 2020, Vol. 17, <http://journals.openedition.org/abe/8197>, accessed February 28, 2021.

86 It is important to acknowledge that the decolonial scholarship in architectural history is strongly informed by longstanding developments in a number of disciplines including, in addition to postcolonial studies, feminist studies, folklore studies, critical theory, literary studies, critical anthropology, critical geography, and others.

87 See, for example, Francis D. K. Chine, Mark Jarzombek a. Vikramaditya Prakash, *A Global History of Architecture*, 2nd ed., Hoboken 2010; and the Global Architectural History Teaching Collaborative (of which I am a longstanding member), <https://www.gahtc.org/>, accessed February 27, 2021

88 Mark Jarzombek, Architecture: The Global Imaginary in an Antiglobal World, in: *Grey Room*, 2015, Vol. 61, p. 111–122, here p. 112.

89 Jarzombek 2015, p. 112, p. 120.

90 Jarzombek 2015, p. 113.

91 Swati Chattopadhyay, Seize the Definition, in: *Grey Room*, 2015, Vol. 61, p. 123–125, here p. 124–125.

92 Alice Te Punga Somerville ((Te Ātiawa/Taranaki)), OMG Settler Colonial Studies: Response to Lorenzo Veracini: Is Settler Colonial Studies Even useful?, in: *Postcolonial Studies*, 2020, p. 3, DOI: 10.1080/13688790.2020.1854980. Karen Burns acknowledges this problem for architectural scholarship in

93 Karen Burns, Anthologizing Post-Structuralism: Architecture Écriture, Gender, and Subjectivity, in: *The Figure of Knowledge: Conditioning Architectural Theory, 1960s – 1990s*, ed. by Sebastiaan Loosen, Rajesh Heynickx, and Hilde Heynen, Leuven, 2020, p. 255–267, here p. 256.

94 Lwandle Fikeni, Apartheid: The Design of Racism in South Africa, in: *The Funambulist*, Vol. 5, December 20, 2016, <https://thefunambulist.net/magazine/05-design-racism/apartheid-design-racism-south-africa-lwandle-fikeni>, accessed June 14, 2021; Race, Space, and Architecture, <https://racespacearchitecture.org/index.html>, accessed June 14, 2021; Black Lives Matter, organized by Meredith TenHoor and Jonathan Massey, 2015, <http://we-aggregate.org/project/black-lives-matter>, accessed June 14, 2021; JSAH Roundtable: Constructing Race and Architecture (1400–1800), in: *SAH News*, February 3, 2021, [https://www.sah.org/about-sah/news/sah-news/news-detail/2021/02/03/jsah-roundtable-constructing-race-and-architecture-\(1400-1800\)](https://www.sah.org/about-sah/news/sah-news/news-detail/2021/02/03/jsah-roundtable-constructing-race-and-architecture-(1400-1800)), accessed June 14, 2021; Race, Ethnicity, and Architecture in the Nation's Capital, Thirteenth Biennial Symposium, Latrobe Chapter, Society of Architectural Historians, February 2021, <https://www.latrobechapter-sah.org/current-symposium>, accessed June 14, 2021; Architecture and Inequity: New Practices of Care: London Festival of Architecture Symposium, June 2021, <https://www.royalacademy.org.uk/event/lfa-symposium-2021-architecture-and-inequity>, accessed June 14, 2021. But also see earlier contributions such as Meltem Ö. Gürel and Kathryn H. Anthony, The Canon and the Void: Gender, Race, and Architectural History Texts, in: *Journal of Architectural Education*, 2006, Vol. 59, No. 3, p. 66–76.

95 Ibid.

96 Ibid.

97 Cheng/David et al 2020, p. 11, p. 19. The short list of works in postcolonial architectural history cited by the authors excludes the majority of female, immigrant, and minority scholars who have been at the forefront of this subfield. While the authors use the academic shorthand of gesturing to the vastness of the literature in

order to obviate the need for extensive citation, I argue that this practice contributes to a larger pattern of exclusion in the discipline of architectural history. Of the very interesting chapters in the section titled «Race and Colonialism», all three were written by scholars trained in the United States. Two of the contributions are from immigrant, non-white, male-presenting scholars, and two are from established contributors to the subfield of postcolonial architectural history. The disregard for prior scholarship is conspicuous in a chapter from elsewhere in the volume: in Kenny Cupers' chapter, *The Invention of Indigenous Architecture*, the author fails to engage with the only three scholars who have conducted critical monograph-length studies of his topic in the last thirty-nine years. See, for example, Itohan Osayimwese, *Prolegomenon to an Alternative Genealogy of German Modernism: German Architects' Encounters with World Cultures ca. 1900*, in: *Journal of Architecture*, 2013, Vol. 18, No. 6, p. 835–874; Itohan Osayimwese, *Colonialism and the Archive of Modern Architecture in Germany*, Pittsburgh 2017; Hollyamber Kennedy, *Modernism's Politics of Land: Settlement Colonialism and Migrant Mobility In the German Empire, from Prussian Poland to German Namibia, 1884–1918*, Ph.D. Dissertation, Columbia University, 2019; Hollyamber Kennedy, *Infrastructures of 'Legitimate Violence': The Prussian Settlement Commission, Internal Colonization, and the Migrant Remainder*, in: *Grey Room*, 2019, Vol. 76, p. 58–97; Hollyamber Kennedy, *Against the Migrant Tide: The Prussian Settlement Commission, from Posen to Windhoek*, Paper presented at European Architectural History Network, Fourth International Meeting, Dublin, Ireland, June 2–4, 2016 Ariane Komeda, *Werden, Wandel und Wirkungskraft eines Architekturtransfers in Swakopmund: Deutsche Kolonialarchitektur in Namibia 1884–1914*, Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Bern, 2018; Ariane Komeda, *Kolonialarchitektur als Gegenstand transkultureller Forschung: Das Beispiel der deutschen Bauten in Namibia*, in: *Kulturerbe und Denkmalpflege transkulturell. Grenzgänge zwischen Theorie und Praxis*, Bielefeld, 2013, p. 119–138.

98 Cheng/David et al 2020, p. 11, p. 19.

99 Cheng/David et al 2020, p. 11.

100 Ibid.

101 Cf. Cheng/David et al 2020, p. 10.

102 See, for instance, *Race and Modern Architecture's* caveat that it does not aspire to a more «truthful» history but rather to «provoking architectural historians, students... to become more self-aware.» (Cheng/David et al 2020, p. 20).

103 Jonathan Cordero et al, *The Settler Colonial Present - On This Land, A Cultural Site*, in: *e-flux Architecture*, October 23, 2020; Andrew

Herscher and Ana Maria Leon, *At the Border of Decolonization*, in: *e-flux Architecture*, May 6, 2020, <https://www.e-flux.com/architecture/at-the-border/325762/at-the-border-of-decolonization/>, accessed February 27, 2021; Kelema Lee Moses, *Indigeneity, Contingency, and Cognitive Shifts*, in: *Ardeth* [Online], 6 | 2020, Online since 01 November 2020, connection on 14 March 2021, URL: <http://journals.openedition.org/ardeth/1171>;

104 Herscher/Leon, *At the Border of Decolonization*. I look forward to reading in-depth scholarly treatments in architectural history that explore indigeneity through the lens of decolonial theory. These might include contributions such as Manuel Svarzberg-Carrió, *Designing Post-Industrial Society: Settler Colonialism and Modern Architecture in Palm Springs, California, 1876–1977*, Ph.D. Dissertation, Columbia University, 2019 (which is currently embargoed).

105 «Settler Colonial City Project,» <https://settlercolonialcityproject.org/Decolonizing-Architectural-Pasts-and-Futures>, accessed February 27, 2021.

106 Cf. Kenneth Good, *Settler Colonialism: Economic Development and Class Formation*, in: *The Journal of Modern African Studies*, 1976, Vol. 14, No. 4, p. 597–620; Aboriginal/Indigenous Peoples, and Settler Colony in Ashcroft/Griffiths et al 2000, p. 4, p. 211; Mudrooroo, *White Forms, Aboriginal Content*, in: Ashcroft/ Griffiths et al 1994, p. 228–232; David Chandler and Julian Reid, *Becoming Indigenous: the 'Speculative Turn' in Anthropology and the (Re)colonisation of Indigeneity*, in: *Postcolonial Studies*, 2020, Vol. 23, No. 4, p. 485–504.

107 While these terms are not equivalent, they are proximate in the way they have been used historically and continue to be used today in architectural thinking (though arguments might be made about their specificity). Examples of postcolonial scholarship on this topic includes Courtney Micots, *Status and Mimicry: African Colonial Period Architecture in Coastal Ghana*, in: *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, 2015, Vol. 74, No. 1, p. 41–62; Richard Harris and Garth Myers, *Hybrid Housing: Improvement and Control in Late Colonial Zanzibar*, in: *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, 2007, Vol. 66, No. 4, p. 476–493; Jyoti Hosagrahar, *Indigenous Modernities: Negotiating Architecture and Urbanism*, London 2005; Itohan Osayimwese, *Architecture with a Mission: Bamum Autoethnography During the Period of German Colonialism*, in: *German Colonialism Revisited: African, Asian, and Oceanic Experiences*, ed. by Nina Berman, Klaus Mühlhahn a. Patrice Nganang, Ann Arbor 2014, p. 18–38; and Itohan Osayimwese, *(Re)Translating Hermann Fröbenius' Survey of African Architecture*, Leiden forthcoming; among others.

108 Pratt 2008; Mary Louise Pratt, Scratches on the Face of the Country; or, What Mr. Barrow Saw in the Land of the Bushmen, in: *Race, Writing, and Difference*, ed. by Henry Louis Gates, jr., Chicago 1985, p. 138–164; Hollyamber Kennedy, A Spatial Writing of the Earth: The Borderscapes of Colonial Namibia, forthcoming; Kennedy 2019; James Delle, *The Colonial Caribbean: Landscapes of Power in Plantation System*, New York 2014; Louis Nelson, *Architecture and empire in Jamaica*, New Haven 2016; Le Roux 2020.

109 Examples that are arguably grounded in the postcolonial tradition include Anoma Pieris, Between the Home and the World in Violent Conflict, in: *Gender, Place & Culture*, 2012, Vol. 19, No. 6, p. 771–789; Mrinalini Rajagopal, Cosmopolitan Crossings: The Architecture of Begum Samru, in: *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, 2018, Vol. 77, No. 2, p. 168–185; some essays in *ABE Journal*, 2019, Vol. 16, ed. by Anooradha Siddiqi a. Rachel Lee. For decolonial feminist architectural history, see Ana María León, Andrea J. Merrett, Armaghan Ziae, Catalina Mejia Moreno, Charlotte Kent, Elaine Stiles, Emma Cheatle, Jennifer Y. Chuong, Juliana Maxim, Katherine Guinness, Louisa Iarocci, Martina Tanga, Olga Touloumi, Rebecca Choi, S Surface, Saher Sohail, Sarah Parrish, Tessa Paneth-Pollak, To Manifest, *Harvard Design Magazine*, 2018, Vol. 46, p. 182–189, <http://www.harvarddesignmagazine.org/issues/46/to-manifest>, accessed March 11, 2021; Torsten Lange and Lucia C. Pérez-Moreno, Architectural Historiography and Fourth Wave Feminism, in: *Architectural Histories*, 2020, Vol. 8, No. 1, 26, DOI: <http://doi.org/10.5334/ah.563>.

110 Lange/Pérez-Moreno 2020, p. 1.

111 Lange/Pérez-Moreno 2020, p. 4.

112 Lange/Pérez-Moreno 2020, p. 5.

113 Anooradha Iyer Siddiqi and Rachel Lee, On Margins: Feminist Architectural Histories of Migration, in: *ABE Journal* [Online], 16 | 2019, Online since 07 April 2020, connection on 12 March 2021, URL: <http://journals.openedition.org/abe/7126>; DOI: <https://doi.org/10.4000/abe.7126>, p. 4. Also see the recently announced EU-funded project led by Kathleen James-Chakraborty, Expanding Agency: Women, Race and the Global Dissemination of Modern Architecture, <https://www.ucd.ie/artshumanities/newsandevents/professor-kathleen-james-chakraborty-awarded-erc-grant/>, accessed June 14, 2021; and Women in Architecture, <https://www.womenarchitecture.com/>, accessed June 14, 2021.

114 Hosagrahar 2012.

115 For postcolonial analyses of Italian colonial architecture and its afterlives, see, for example, Brian McLaren, The Architecture of Tourism in Italian Libya: the Creation of a Mediterranean Identity, in: *Italian Colonialism*, ed. by Mia Fuller a. Ruth Ben-Ghiat, New York 2005, p. 167–78. On DAAR's interventions in extant colonial buildings, see Hilal/Petti et al 2013, p. 20; Hilal/Petti 2019, p. 303; and «Towards an Entity of Decolonization / Verso un Ente di Decolonizzazione,» <http://www.decolonizing.ps/site/2020/10/towards-an-entity-of-decolonization-verso-un-ente-di-decolonizzazione/>, accessed March 11, 2021.

116 Anooradha Iyer Siddiqi, The University and the Camp, in: *Ardeth* [Online], 6 | 2020, Online since 01 November 2020, connection on 14 March 2021. URL: <http://journals.openedition.org/ardeth/1179>; Kelema Lee Moses, Indigeneity, Contingency, and Cognitive Shifts, in: *Ardeth* [Online], 6 | 2020, Online since 01 November 2020, connection on 14 March 2021. URL: <http://journals.openedition.org/ardeth/1171>; Kelema Lee Moses, «Lessons from Hawai’i,» Platform, October 19, 2020, <https://www.platform-space.net/home/lessons-from-hawaii>, accessed March 14, 2021. Several articles in a 2019 issue of *Future Anterior* devoted to decolonization also interpret it in terms of 1940s-1960s anticolonial nationalism, and center postcolonial theory and its advocates in architectural history (but do not name the group of women discussed in this article). See, for example, Vikramaditya Prakash, Dhārānā: The Agency of Architecture in Decolonization, in: *Future Anterior*, 2019, Vol.16, No. 2, p. 86–120; Sarah Griswold, High-Tech Heritage: Planes, Photography, and the Ancient Past in the French Mandate for Syria and Lebanon, in: *Future Anterior*, 2019, Vol.16, No. 2, p. 1–15.

117 Yat Ming Loo hints at but does not develop a link between postcolonial and decolonial architectural history in Yat Ming Loo 2017.