

After Austerica

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Abstract

This paper considers the Gold Coast as a subject of architectural historiography, raising a series of questions to be addressed in subsequent studies. A product of urban development largely unfettered from the end of the 1950s until the 1980s by either strict regulatory control, a sense of history, or questions of architectural merit, the Gold Coast poses the curious problem of a city that has prospered while consistently demonstrating the redundancy of architectural ideas and the inefficacy of architectural agency on the city fabric. The epithet of 'city' is indeed worn uncomfortably across a conurbation organized as nodes and networks in the absence of an historical centre, but it serves this paper as an index of an historical discussion within architecture on the city as a field of architectural action that has recently seen a return. What is left, this paper asks, and what is relevant to the Gold Coast, of the theorisation of the city, within architecture, to be found in Reyner Banham's Los Angeles (1971), Robert Venturi, Denise Scott Brown and Steven Izenour's Learning from Las Vegas (1972), and the 1960s discussions between Aldo Rossi and Manfredo Tafuri provoking Rem Koolhaas's response in Delirious New York (1978), in which the question of architecture's absence describes the scope of opportunities for contemporary architecture. As reference to Pier Vittorio Aureli's more recent Possibility of an Absolute Architecture (2011) demonstrates, this is not (only) a matter of nostalgia for a certain moment in the history of theory. It also returns us to the question of how to balance historical knowledge of architectural works with an historical assessment of the status of architectural ideas and actions within the city as a setting for architectural thinking and practice that is, or can be, at stake in those same ideas and actions.

In *The Australian Ugliness* (1960), Robin Boyd captures an enduring image of the Gold Coast in the portrayal he offers of Surfers Paradise, its most urbanised moment. Surfers is the Coast's centre-by-proxy, its most concentrated, visible node along the ocean edge. Boyd found there an extreme demonstration of what he cast as an Australian 'featurism', where 'building disappears beneath the combined burden of a thousand ornamental alphabets,

coloured drawings and cut-outs'. As a general tendency that 'oozes out evenly, flatly, to the farthest places where Australians live', featurism was indebted to what one could find in the 'fashionable centres of Sydney, Surfers and St. Kilda Road'.¹ Boyd's humorous and penetrating account of Surfers Paradise—that 'fibro-cement paradise under a rainbow of plastic paint'—is nothing if not evocative in its moralism. Recounting lights and sand, improbable fashion and the 'chocolate brown' limbs it insistently reveals, he observes: 'You might call Surfers a sort of cream, or thick skin, skimmed off the top of Australia's mid-century boom. It is rowdy, good-natured, flamboyant, crime-free, healthy, and frankly and happily Austerican.'²

Australia's ugliness may be skin deep, as Boyd observes at the outset of his book, but Surfers is all skin. It serves as the ad hoc capital of an Austerica coined to make sense of those moments of Australia's 'entirely aesthetic' uptake of popular American culture, manifest most conspicuously in the urban signscape and the architecture of consumption. Clearly much has changed to the fabric and tone of Surfers Paradise in the intervening half-century, but the imagery Boyd invoked remains firmly wed to a popular, nostalgic image that the Gold Coast more broadly now openly cultivates for itself. His reservations notwithstanding, Boyd is relatively generous with his subject, looking to Surfers to understand what it revealed of Australian architecture and society. His generosity is not matched by the comments made by Sydney-sider Neville Gruzman a generation later, speaking of the very different city that had been realised in the interim. On the eve of the first Gold Coast regional awards of what was then the Royal Australian Institute of Architects (RAIA/AIA) Gruzman targeted the consequences of a boom of largely unguided, developer-driven building along the beach strip. For him, 'the Gold Coast is a disaster which should be bull-dozed into the surf.'³

Charted during the 1820s and settled steadily since the 1840s as a series of holiday, timber and farming settlements the Gold Coast (formerly South Coast) was proclaimed a city in Queensland's centenary year of 1959.⁴ In that year the RAIA's journal *Architecture in Australia* dedicated a special issue to the new city, in which the editors and contributing authors already identified the problematic consequences of rapid urbanisation and comparatively laissez-faire development, even in its nascence. Articles and a series of four editorials treated matters of town planning, canal estates, suburban subdivision, architectural types related to tourism—including a proposal for an 'ideal' resort by Milo Dunphy—and the problems of regional development.⁵ Peter Newell offered a potted history of Gold Coast architecture, and the journal surveyed a handful of recent and projected architectural works, including the Chevron Hotel (David Bell, from 1957) and the Torbreck Home Units (Job & Froud, unbuilt), both for Surfers Paradise.⁶ Although wide-ranging within its modest scope,

the issue did not attend to what we now regard as the two landmark modernist buildings of the Gold Coast's thriving tourism industry. Karl Langer's 'luxury' Lennon's Hotel in Broadbeach was opened in December 1955, but would in 1987 experience the sting of obsolescence in consequence of retail land development. The ten-storeyed Kinkabool opened at the end of that decade in Surfers Paradise on the site of the Flamingo nightclub to the design of the freshly reorganised practice of Lund, Hutton and Newell as the city's first high-rise hotel. They nonetheless index the new city's aspiration to secure the role of Australia's playground.

Between the criticism penned for the pages of *Architecture and Australia*, the work finding its way from the drawing board to the construction site, and the account offered by Boyd, the problems and possibilities of the Gold Coast as a rapidly growing city had already been clearly described by the end of the 1950s. 'It may be too late for the Gold Coast,' wrote the editor of *Architecture in Australia* in 1959, but the rest of Australia might learn from the misfortunes of that new city: 'a wild jungle of indecorum' in which 'the higher manifestations of life' were decidedly absent.⁷

This phase of the city's life was arguably curtailed with the withdrawal of development financing and the ensuing recession of the early 1980s.⁸ From this moment until the 1995 amalgamation of the Gold Coast and Albert River Shire (to the north and west of the coastal strip) something shifted decisively in the relationship of the city as a contemporary entity to the values against which it measured itself—not exactly eclipsing what Boyd and others had captured a generation earlier, but rather subjects of criticism into the bases of a carefully managed nostalgia. From the middle of the 1980s, a distinct lack of building and social controls was traded for a multi-layered approach to planning and governance shaping the environment and civic identity of what would become, by the century's end, the country's most populous municipality after Brisbane.⁹ This resulted in the paradoxical regularisation of character values based in historical instances and effects in which planning regulations had been either productively absent or demonstrably malleable. One can point to repeated attempts to translate the effects of lightly planned urban development and expansion into urban design and planning principles. One can identify multiform efforts to retrospectively figure an incidental architecture of beach shacks, high-rise apartment blocks and lurid signage as a value to inform heritage assessment and architectural production. And one can sense a sustained preoccupation on the city's part with rendering positively the values Boyd and his colleagues at *Architecture and Australia* had articulated as evidence of a society in decline. This underpins an officially celebrated and propagated taste for Surfers Paradise kitsch and a highly controlled local celebration of the sky-scraping adventures of the

1950s, '60s, and '70s provoked by Bruce Small's Floridian visions for the city and Stanley Korman's unabashed capitalism.¹⁰ In the sum of these efforts, we can encounter the Gold Coast as a city prone to stumbling self-preoccupation as it continues to wrestle with the present-day legacy of its less-than-straightforward past.

Despite the large number of notable buildings to have been proposed for, realised and demolished on the Gold Coast, the extent to which architecture has historically had any agency in that city remains decidedly unclear. Indeed, as strictly defined, architecture has arguably had *no* role in shaping the Gold Coast's morphology, character or operation except as a pragmatically necessary by-product of real-estate development, tourism, retail commerce and estate planning. What, then, is architecture on the Gold Coast, as a field of knowledge and as a practice with defensible edges? And how, then, might we constitute the Gold Coast both as a field in which architectural ideas and actions occur and are played out *and* as a subject, in itself, of architectural history and criticism? These questions open out on to issues that are too large to consider here, but we can at least begin by suggesting that the tactics lie less in looking to works like Langer's Lennon's Hotel for instances of architecture's agency in the Gold Coast than to the same architect's contribution to Bruce Small's canal estates of Miami Keys and Rio Vista or to Korman's Paradise Waters.¹¹ But Where Langer's hotel is long gone and with it a lesson in the key of an architecture that lost in the face of development, these estates present a more lasting and more compromised monument to his contribution to Gold Coast architecture. Therein we can understand something of the subordinate status of architecture and architectural ideas in the historical situation the Gold Coast presents, as well as of the resistance Langer mounted against this condition.

There is little enough treatment of Gold Coast architecture in the architectural historiography of Queensland (or Australia) to cast this as a plea for a radical change of pace, at least as it concerns the Gold Coast in particular. As a subject not replicated elsewhere in Australia except, as Boyd suggested, in its diffusion, the Gold Coast obliges historians who would study it to reconsider any favour they might hold with architectural history as a practice concerned with significant efforts by the architecture profession and key moments in the development of a local architectural culture. For all that it might be problematic as an attempt to regulate the Gold Coast's architectural, urban and cultural values, the 1997 *Gold Coast Urban Heritage and Character Study* offered the first major assessment of these matters. Writing on architectural and urban history therein, Philip Goad demonstrated the superfluity of specific architectural works by treating limiting his analysis to those aspects of urban morphology (beach, highway, canal estate, suburb, hinterland) and to those building types (holiday house/unit, motel, residential tower, theme park, shopping mall) that shaped the

city's character. Among numerous references to American precedents and to the clear and cultivated parallels between the Gold Coast and Miami, Langer's Lennon's Hotel is the only discrete work of Gold Coast architecture mentioned by Goad, and it had been demolished a decade earlier.¹²

This is not to suggest that a book like Andrew Wilson's *Hayes & Scott* (2005) misses the mark, especially since this book makes a valuable contribution to the regional evolution of modern architecture. It is, however, necessary to observe that the idiosyncratic ways in which architecture figures in the Gold Coast tends to authorise its exclusion from mainstream architectural history. As a problem for architectural history and criticism the Gold Coast at least runs against the dominant grain of Queensland's architectural discourse, as is borne out in two recent instances. At the exhibition *Place Makers* (Gallery of Modern Art, Brisbane, 2008), Ian Moore's Air Apartments at Broadbeach is the Coast's sole representative. In the lengthy entry on Queensland in the *Encyclopedia of Australian Architecture* (2012), principally by Don Watson, the Gold Coast is also neatly circumnavigated.¹³ To paraphrase an observation made to the Gold Coast City Council recently by Michael Rayner, chair of Queensland's 2012 AIA State Awards, the axes of contextualism and experience that have long served to define the best works of Queensland architecture—epitomised in the locally celebrated tectonic and phenomenological relationship between house and site, body and view—simply fails to account for much the work undertaken by architects on the Gold Coast.¹⁴ The effect is that this latter work is difficult to value in relation to the prevailing measures of the state's architectural culture, and that appealing to those measures locally has served to undermine the very position of architecture in the city.

The project this problem describes consciously reflects the premise of Robert Breugmann's *Sprawl* (2005) as well as the Aggregate compendium *Governing by Design* (2012).¹⁵ What moments and tendencies shed light on the situation of architecture in this city—as moments marked by realised works, intentions, propositions or critical interventions? And in what situations is it proper to conceive of the city as a project in architectural terms—distinct from the domains of urban planning, policy and economics and of social and cultural analysis? This runs to the question of what architecture is on the Gold Coast as an institution, as an agent that figures in the development of that rapidly growing city. Although the city has been systematically turned over to architecture's cognate fields in recent decades, the 1970s presents us with a period of time in which the city was more overtly argued as a problem for architecture. The paradigmatic lessons of such idiosyncratic cases as Las Vegas, Los Angeles and Manhattan were presented by Robert Venturi and Denise Scott-Brown, Reyner Banham, and Rem Koolhaas respectively as tests of the limits of architectural knowledge

and practice.¹⁶ These cities had largely eluded existing analytical frames established by critics, historians and theoreticians of architecture, but they were the new wine, as Banham put it, for which the historian required new bottles.¹⁷ Although its paradigmatic role remains unproven—especially against such American cities as San Diego, or Miami, against which Goad insistently holds the Gold Coast—we can at the very least treat the Coast as new wine on Australian, regional terms.¹⁸ In doing so it seems useful to consider the utility of existing (seemingly obvious) frames within the history, criticism and theory of architecture as a predicate for addressing the city not as a subject of urbanism, economy, planning or social or cultural history, but of architectural history and criticism. For their adherence to the idea that the city can be architecture's subject and for the (again, seemingly obvious) correspondence of their subjects with the Gold Coast, two seminal works of the 1970s require our brief consideration: Scott Brown and Venturi's *Learning from Las Vegas* (1972) and Banham's *Los Angeles* (1971).

The values celebrated by Scott Brown, Venturi and their students tapped into the cultural preoccupation with the sign and advertising landscapes popularised in the art works of Ed Ruscha and Robert Rauschenberg and addressed in the architectural criticism of Peter Blake, all of whom informed, one way or another, the framing of the Yale studio.¹⁹ Just as Las Vegas from the 1960s moved decisively from an architecture of signs to an architecture of significant form and formal iconology—from Dunes to New York, New York—so too has the Gold Coast moved past the neon and brightly painted townscape identified by Boyd a decade earlier in *Surfers Paradise*. It still existed in 1973, when John Gollings ventured north to apply the lessons drawn from Las Vegas to a photographic documentation of the Gold Coast, still centred on Surfers. In returning to those very same images four decades later, however, reshooting and therefore re-documenting on the same terms as Gollings had approached the city in the 1970s, it becomes clear that the conceptual and technical framework of Venturi and Scott Brown attends to a city marked out in signs that has long been supplanted in consequence of a shift in scale towards high-rise monumentality affecting the profile and volume of the city as a whole.²⁰ The Gold Coast simply exceeds the frame informed by Scott Brown and Venturi and tabled as an easy comparison based on historical verisimilitude that—and quite literally, from a photographic perspective—once served it adequately.

Whereas *Learning from Las Vegas* speaks to values past and the nostalgia now attached to them, Banham's *Los Angeles* offers the more salient lesson of the necessity to adapt historiographical and critical tools to the problems at hand. As he observed in the book and memorably repeated in the BBC production *Reyner Banham Loves Los Angeles* (1972),

where English scholars had once learned Italian to study Dante in the original, he had 'learned to drive in order to study Los Angeles in the original'.²¹ Read through Banham, there are several points at which the two cities can, at the least, converse: essentially centre-less, sprawling, managed by an automobile infrastructure, and divisible into distinct zones analogous to Banham's ecologies. For LA's Downtown consider Surfers Paradise as the supposed focus of a city spreading inland from the 57 kilometres of coast defining its eastern boundary; for the debts owed by the freeways to LA's original rail systems consider the trajectory from logging routes and historic train lines to the Gold Coast Rapid Transit Corridor (GCRTC). Both coastal cities, neither was settled by the sea, but from inland; and neither feels obliged to negotiate the largely transparent legacy of nineteenth-century city plan forms in the present.

Besides the lesson in methodological adaptation Banham demonstrates by trading bicycle clips for a driver's licence, his reconciliation as part of a whole of the four distinct ecologies of the Angelino case resonates with the contemporary problem of thinking of the Gold Coast as a city at all—and therefore, under his terms, as a subject of architectural history. Goad isolated the Gold Coast's various ecologies in his analysis of 1997: the beach, on which high-rise development is concentrated; the apparently infinitely extendable suburbs, which cast the beach strip into stark morphological relief; the motorways and arterials (and the GCRTC from 2014, by extension), determining zones of governance and obliging residents to rely on their cars; and the hinterland, into which suburbia drifts, but which for leaving the alluvial plane behind has a vastly different character, more akin (also in the demands of and for high-end architectural design) to the Sunshine Coast north of Brisbane. These superficial distinctions are not open for direct comparison, however, and instead speak to the hypothetical resonance Banham might have found between (his) Los Angeles and a much smaller and significantly more straightforward Gold Coast. We might read into Banham's *Los Angeles* a *strategy* for constructing the Gold Coast as a subject of analysis, an historical and critical subject that consistently fails to register against habitual measures.

A third and much more recent book suggests both an imperative and a mechanism for considering critically and historically the agency of architectural ideas and practice on the Gold Coast. The argument that architecture, in the city, is something distinct from urban planning, urban design, economics or governance is premised on the idea that the city as an entity can be understood through architecture, or in relation to an architecture that is conceivably discrete from the city, which nonetheless serves as the setting for architectural actions and ideas. Through its sustained inattention to this distinction, architecture on the Gold Coast—as it concerns the city and not the discrete, site-specific object—has

inadvertently divested itself of any agency over the course of an historical trajectory in which architecture's master has shifted from speculative development to urban and regional planning. The categories tabled by Pier Vittorio Aureli in *The Possibility of an Absolute Architecture* (2011) help us return to the historical moment in which architectural discourse sought new terms for addressing architecture's status in the city, effectively breathing new life into a decades-old debate that had been largely set aside through the seemingly obvious redundancy of architectural ideas in a field determined and changed by social, political, economic and technological interactions.²²

Aureli returns to a territory sketched out by the Venetian discussions on architecture, history and the city that informed his own intellectual formation—most notably delineated by Aldo Rossi and Manfredo Tafuri—to reflect upon the conditions of architecture's specificity, in and of itself, and hence upon its efficacy as an intellectual and political practice.²³ He emphasises the utility of distinguishing between the city as a field of operation and management and the city as a fabric in which architecture intervenes. He describes the city as a problem of economics (invoking the Greek word *oikos*), which extends to the various levels of governance and control in which architecture is complicit as urban design and neutral form production (architectural design), but through which means architecture sacrifices its political valency. This valency, he argues, is the capacity of architectural works and ideas to stand simultaneously within and apart from the city and the forces and tactics of urbanisation for which the city stands, and to serve as a moment of critical pause beyond the reach of those processes.²⁴ The absolute architecture Aureli regards as possible is an architecture of limited, and hence engaged, political form as an expression of a project (on the city), in which the city is present analogously within the architectural project. Through being 'resolutely itself', such an architecture would problematise the city in which it exists or for which it is proposed, while resisting the conceptual or actual isolation of an autonomous architecture.²⁵ It would conduct an autocriticism of architecture itself—as his historical examples of Palladio, Piranesi, and Boullée demonstrate—a criticism of the city as an invested externality, and hence a criticism of their relationship, all at once. 'From this perspective we can say that it is precisely the condition of the *absoluteness* of the form of an object (*absolute* being understood in its original meaning, "separated") that implies what exists outside of it.'²⁶

Although it is difficult to bring these distinctions back to the Gold Coast as a latent subject of architectural history in which we might find moments of the absolutism of which Aureli writes, it is not impossible to conceive of the task of assessing architecture's historical agency in this city on Aureli's terms. It is feasible, even necessary, to bemoan the failure of such contemporary projects as the Surfers Paradise Hilton (Buchan Group, completed 2011) or

Oracle (Broadbeach, DBI, completed 2010) to serve consciously as political agents in counter-point to the forces of urbanisation otherwise shaping the city. But as with these projects, or with Langer's canal estates, or the postmodern forms of the high-rise building boom, we can begin the task of treating the Gold Coast seriously as a field in which architecture has defined itself and in which it has been defined by forces of greater potency. As the basis for a research programme concerned with the architectural history of the Gold Coast, it is necessary to account for all of the various ways that architecture has been practiced and tested there—extending from the treatment of 'singular buildings, monuments, and landmarks' to considering the implications of those events describing the 'moments when architecture and design participated integrally in managing the changes' to which the city has been subject.²⁷ The task of this nascent research programme is, then, to understand just how architecture has reacted to the various circumstances in which this has occurred. On the back of this knowledge, we can better assess how the Gold Coast, as an urban field in which architecture raises more questions than it answers, might continue to serve as an extreme demonstration of tendencies shaping the status and scope of architecture in Australia and the region.

Endnotes

¹ Robin Boyd, *The Australian Ugliness* (Melbourne: F W Cheshire, 1960), 31, 91. By 'farthest places', Boyd specifically means Tasmania.

² Boyd, *The Australian Ugliness*, 68-69. Passages of *The Australian Ugliness* date to an article in *The Age*, December 28, 1957, which presumably coincided with Boyd's summer vacation of that year.

³ Numerous citations of Neville Gruzman in the *Courier Mail*, *Gold Coast Bulletin*, *Daily Mail* and others, including Lynnette Cassells, 'High Rise "Art" Vying for an "Oscar" First', *Gold Coast Bulletin*, May 9, 1984 and John Affleck, 'No Horror in these Designs', *Gold Coast Bulletin*, May 12, 1984. The Gold Coast Region RAIA awards were made on May 11, 1984 and exhibited at Evandale May 8-18.

⁴ For a brief survey of urban development, demographic tendencies and milestones in the urban history of the Gold Coast, see Aysin Dederkorkut-Howes & Caryl Bosman, 'The Unbearable Lightness of Being Gold Coast', paper delivered to the State of Australian Cities, Melbourne, November-December 2011, online at <http://soac2011.com.au/full-papers-list.php> (accessed March 3, 2012).

⁵ H. J. Hitch, 'The Spa and Sea Resort'; Milo Dunphy, 'An Ideal Holiday Resort on the Gold Coast'; L. Peter Kollar, 'The Gold Coast and the Principles of Regional Development'; and Karl Langer, 'Development of Canal Estate on the Gold Coast', *Architecture in Australia*, 48, 1 (January-March 1959), 50-52, 53-55, 58-63, 66-67 respectively.

⁶ Peter Newell, 'Umbigumbi to the Gold Coast', *Architecture in Australia*, 48, 1 (January-March 1959), 70-73. Architectural criticism follows on pages 74-79 of this issue. Compare E. J. Hayes, 'Gold on the Sand', *Architecture in Australia*, 47, 1 (Jan-Mar 1958), 87.

⁷ Editor, 'Gold Coast: I. The Challenge', *Architecture in Australia* 48, 1 (January-March 1959), 47-48.

⁸ Michael Jones, *A Sunny Place for Shady People: The Real Gold Coast Story* (Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 1985), 35, 42, 45.

⁹ The most indicative document of this shift from the perspective of architectural culture is Allom Lovell Marquis Kyle, Henchall Hanson & Associates, et al., *Gold Coast Urban Heritage & Character Study*, report to the Gold Coast City Council, 1997.

¹⁰ Compare this point with Alexandra Teague, 'Materialising the Immaterial: Social Value and the Conservation of Recent Everyday Places', PhD diss., University of Melbourne, 2004, esp. chapters 7

and 8, which respectively offer case studies of the Gold Coast (in general) and Lennon's Hotel, Broadbeach (specifically) as problems in architectural heritage.

¹¹ They are, however, addressed by a nascent architectural history research programme at Griffith University under my direction. This includes or overlaps with several discrete projects: a multi-authored, multi-disciplinary study provisionally called *Off the Plan: Considering the Gold Coast*—edited by Aysin Dederkorkut-Howes, Caryl Bosman, Donna Houston & myself, gathering work undertaken by the Gold Coast Area Research Team (GoCART) of Griffith's Urban Research Program; a Gold Coast architecture guidebook, being prepared with Katherine Rickard; an historical and critical account of the regional awards cycle of the R/AIA since its inception in 1984, again in collaboration with Rickard, and funded by the AIA and Griffith University; and a reappraisal of the 'fibro' holiday house on the Gold and Sunshine Coasts, in collaboration with the two city councils and Studio MITT. An undergraduate and graduate student research programme on local architectural and urban history has also been initiated within the Griffith School of Environment.

¹² Philip Goad, 'The Gold Coast: Architecture and Planning', in Allom Lovell Marquis Kyle, Henchall Hanson & Associates, et al., *Gold Coast Urban Heritage & Character Study*, 37-41, esp. 38-39, 41.

¹³ Miranda Wallace & Sarah Stutchbury (eds.), *Place Makers: Contemporary Queensland Architecture* (Brisbane: Queensland Art Gallery, 2008), 180-87; Don Watson & Stuart King, 'Queensland Architecture', in Philip Goad & Julie Willis (eds.), *The Encyclopedia of Australian Architecture* (Melbourne: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 574-78.

¹⁴ Seminar to the Gold Coast City Council by Michael Rayner (speaking with Mark Damant), 'Gold Coast Contemporary Architecture: A Comparison with Other Queensland Regions', Nerang Bicentennial Community Centre, April 11, 2012.

¹⁵ Robert Bruegmann, *Sprawl: A Compact History* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005); Aggregate, *Governing by Design: Architecture, Economy, and Politics in the Twentieth Century* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press).

¹⁶ Robert Venturi, Denise Scott Brown & Steven Izenour, *Learning from Las Vegas* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1972); Reyner Banham, *Los Angeles: The Architecture of Four Ecologies* (1971, Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1973); Rem Koolhaas, *Delirious New York: A Retrospective Manifesto for Manhattan* (New York: Monacelli, 1978). On Las Vegas, which is a popular local reference for Gold Coast architecture, see also Hilar Stadler & Martino Stierli (eds.), *Las Vegas Studio: Images from the Archive of Robert Venturi and Denise Scott Brown*, exhibition catalogue (Kriens: Museum im Bellpark, Kriens; Frankfurt am Main: Deutsche Architekturmuseum, 2009); and Aron Vinegar, *I am a Monument: On Learning from Las Vegas* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 2008). The exhibition *Las Vegas Studio* will tour to the Gold Coast City Art Gallery in 2013.

¹⁷ Banham, *Los Angeles*, 21.

¹⁸ Goad, 'The Gold Coast', 37, 39. See also Allan Shulman (ed.), *Miami Modern Metropolis: Paradise and Paradox in Midcentury Architecture and Planning* (Glendale, Calif.: Balcony Press, 2009)—with thanks to an anonymous referee for drawing this collection to my attention.

¹⁹ Compare Peter Blake's book from later that decade, *God's Own Junkyard: The Planned Deterioration of America's Landscape* (New York: Holt Reinhart Winston, 1979); also, Alexandra Schwartz, *Ed Ruscha's Los Angeles* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 2010).

²⁰ This project is currently under development for exhibition in 2013, but has been predicated in Jeff Carter, John Gollings & Trent Parke, *Streets of Gold: Photographs from Gold Coast Streets, 1957-2008*, exhibition catalogue (Surfers Paradise: Gold Coast City Art Gallery, 2008); and in *Now and When: Australian Urbanism*, Australian entry to the Biennale di Venezia, 2010, re-exhibited in reduced form at the Gold Coast City Art Gallery, March 26 to May 1, 2011.

²¹ Banham, *Los Angeles*, 23; Julian Cooper (dir.), *Reyner Banham Loves Los Angeles* (BBC, 1972).

²² Pier Vittorio Aureli, *The Possibility of an Absolute Architecture* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 2011).

²³ Two key books in this respect are Aldo Rossi, *L'architettura della città* (Padua: Marsilio, 1966) and Manfredo Tafuri, *Teorie e storia dell'architettura* (Rome: Laterza, 1968). See also Elisabetta Vasumi Rovere, *Aldo Rossi e L'architettura della città: Genesi e fortuna di un testo* (Turin: Allemandi, 2010).

²⁴ Aureli, *The Possibility of an Absolute Architecture*, 1-46.

²⁵ Aureli, *The Possibility of an Absolute Architecture*, ix.

²⁶ Aureli, *The Possibility of an Absolute Architecture*, 31.

²⁷ Daniel M. Abramson, Arindam Dutta, Timothy Hyde and Jonathan Massey, for Aggregate, *Governing by Design*, ix.