Title
Paperwork, Games, Language: A Counterhistory of the Institute for Architecture and Urban Studies, 1967-85

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Publication Date
2022

Peer reviewed|Thesis/dissertation

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

Los Angeles

Paperwork, Games, Language: A Counterhistory of the Institute for Architecture and Urban Studies, 1967-85

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the

requirements for the degree Doctor of Philosophy in Architecture

by

Alexander Maymind

2022

ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

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by

Alexander Maymind

Doctor of Philosophy in Architecture

University of California, Los Angeles, 2022

Professor Michael Osman, Co-Chair

Professor Sylvia Lavin, Co-Chair

This dissertation examines the institutional history of the Institute of Architecture and Urban Studies (IAUS), an architectural nonprofit and alternative educational space, in the context of the American postwar research economy and urban crisis of New York City. The dissertation constructs a counterhistory of IAUS as a para-institute, in contrast to the dominant hagiographic narratives, which rely primarily on oral histories and focus on the political economy of media and publications. The three chapters examine this institutional history through the lens of paperwork and bureaucratic documents, urban planning and urban design projects, and entanglements with semiotics, mental health, and public housing policy. A focus on archival documents from research projects, institutional management, and institutional self-preservation attest to the ways in which

the continual process of defining and re-defining the institutional scope of work, methods, protocols, personnel, roles, and the management of the institute as such, reflected manifold extra-disciplinary forces such as changes in non-profit funding streams, shifts in federal housing policies, vagaries of architectural culture, and exigencies of social science research. At a moment when schools of architecture frantically searched for new ways to define and live up to their social responsibility and architecture's political agency and urban focus was rapidly shifting toward what is commonly identified as architectural autonomy, IAUS triangulated between multiple modes of knowledge production and dissemination, educational programs for students and practicing architects alike, and wide-ranging and ambitious research efforts. I examine how IAUS' methods and modes of knowledge production existed without any clear disciplinary boundaries, and operated in a nomadic terrain besieged by forces of neoliberal capital, which affected the very utility and orientation of knowledge as such and challenged the efficacy of research.

The dissertation of Alexander Maymind is approved.

Cristóbal Amunátegui

Debora Silverman

Sylvia Lavin, Committee Co-Chair

Michael Osman, Committee Co-Chair

University of California, Los Angeles

2022

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and Jim Kies for their help with all things administrative and bureaucratic, large and small. Financial support from the Graduate Summer Research Mentorship program, the Elaine Krown Klein Fellowship, as well Doctoral Student Travel grants all enabled my research at crucial points throughout my time at UCLA.

Much of my research for my dissertation was aided by teaching opportunities at institutions over the past decade including Cornell University, University of Michigan, SCI-Arc, and others schools of architecture where I have taught courses that directly or indirectly engaged my historical questions and theoretical concerns. For this, I sincerely thank Dagmar Richter, John McMorrough, Todd Gannon, Heather Flood, Juliana Maxim, Hadrian Predock, and most recently, Jennifer Yoos for the opportunities to teach and to test ideas in so many productive scenarios and settings. I am grateful to the many colleagues and students who have participated in these courses, and have tolerated and/ or enjoyed my occasionally wayward pedagogical focus in these settings. I have had the good fortune to discuss my dissertation with colleagues including Mark Rakatansky, Daniel Sherer, Can Bilsel, Juliana Maxim, Shannon Starkey, Daniel Lopez Perez, Ewan Branda and Paulette Singley among others. These conversations have continually reminded me of the larger discursive network of which this dissertation strives to take part in and meaningfully contribute to. The opportunity to present my dissertation in various formats was provided by conferences, guest lectures, and informal presentations, for which I am immensely grateful.

My research was made possible by the invaluable help of the Canadian Center for Architecture in Montréal on two separate occasions. A 2018 visit to the Study Center and archives were facilitated by the efforts of CCA librarians. In 2020-21, I participated in the Doctoral Research Residency Program during which time Tim Klähn, Camille Saade-Traboulsi, and Rafico Ruiz offered feedback, archival access, and earnest advice. Tim Klähn in particular deserves my endless gratitude for his continued assistance, which was not only timely but full of generosity. Friends, interlocutors, and colleagues over the years, including Michael Abrahamson, Kim Förster, Eliyahu Keller, Joy Knoblauch, Karen Kubey, Enrique Ramirez, and Benjamin Smith have made a substantial impact on the clarity of my thinking, and improved the wherewithal of my historical acumen. More recently, conversations that skillfully avoided the all-too-easy nostalgia of the backwards glance with Julia Bloomfield, Silvia Kolbowski, Anthony Vidler, Kenneth Frampton, Joan Ockman, Peggy Deamer, Peter Eisenman, Randall Korman, and Robert Livesey have enlivened my understanding of the day-to-day life and protocols of IAUS, and in doing so, greatly enriched the texture of the narrative I have attempted to stitch together, while also adding a healthy level of doubt about the value and trapdoors of oral histories.

Finally, I thank my parents, Michael and Ilana, and my brother, Leo and his partner Allie, for their sustained support, guidance, and belief in the progress of this effort over a nine year period of time, especially at moments when the light at the end of the tunnel has been particularly hard to locate. My father has continually pushed me forward to simply

keep going, keep writing, and keep working, while my mother's devotion to her academic pursuits and teaching has been an inspiration that I have learned from in ways that I may not even realize fully. Lastly, closer to home, many thanks to my beautiful and delightful daughter Noa, for reminding me daily that life truly lives beyond the page. Above all, I owe a tremendous debt of gratitude and thanks to my partner, Lauren, for her encouragement, support, and unconditional love.

1

Introduction

> *[An] interest in beginnings is often the corollary result of not believing that any beginning can be located.*
>
> - Edward Said[1]

Beginnings: Institutional Authority and Institutional Critique

In discussing the effects of the events that unfolded during the fateful year of 1968 on architectural education with more than thirty years of hindsight, architect George Baird remarked that:

> the spectacular reconsideration of the basic premises of architectural education, and the politicization that followed from it, have marked forever all who witnessed the 1968 events. I am continually surprised by the number of schemas one can construct retrospectively around that pivotal and eventful year and the consequences of the loss of moral confidence of modern architecture and practice that began to overtake events from that date onward.[2]

Unpacking Baird's claim about "the 1968 events," to use his term, and other architectural histories which have mapped the "loss of faith in elite institutions," it is critical to avoid making a simple equation between the politicization of education and the changes and reforms which unfolded in the shadow of 1968 as a catacylsmic event.[3] Instead, one must look more broadly at the moment of 1968 and its cultural and

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[1] Edward W. Said, *Beginnings: Intention and Method* (New York: Basic Books, 1975), 5.

[2] In the same essay, Baird argues that the post-1968 politicization of architecture also would produce "formalism" in stating: "the rationalists and the contextualists returned more or less innocently to history. By the same token, the New York Five and their adherents returned to the imperatives of high formalism with the same lack of shame with which their European colleagues were looking again at history." George Baird, "1968 and its aftermath: The Loss of Moral Confidence in Architectural Practice and Education," in Peter G. Rowe, William S. Saunders, *Reflections on Architectural Practices in the Nineties*. (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 1996): 64-70. Indeed Baird suggested as much in his essay in expressing the variety of views which 1968 spawned, and in particular the modes of "formalism" which were to rise in the 1970s in the "innocent return to history." Ibid.

[3] Thomas Bender, "Politics, Intellect and the Academy," *Daedalus*: *American Academic Culture in Transformation: Fifty Years, Four Disciplines* (Winter, 1997, Vol. 126, No. 1), 1-38.

social histories which have elaborated the conflicting and contradictory ideological registers of the sixties, a moment marked by the influence of a growing youth rebellion, civil rights riots, and anti-institutional sentiment, as well as the New Left examination of the institutional base of American social problems. The events of this long decade, often labeled under the moniker of “the Sixties,” underscored how the persistent critique of “institutional authority,” particularly in relationship to societal skepticism and critique of experts, expertise, institutions and their mandate, became a central preoccupation that would greatly affect the future of universities as a site of liberal education.[4] For Baird’s generation, the loss of confidence in modern architecture was but one of many openings into a disciplinary and professional field that had lost its center in more ways than one. Or, to put it succinctly, according to an off-the-cuff remark made by architect Bernard Tschumi after 1968 “… nobody wanted to call himself an architect anymore.”[5]

However, before the events of 1968 as a cultural and historical hinge point unfolded, a slightly earlier moment in the mid-1960s was significant for the ways in which governmental institutions as well as philanthropic organizations and schools of architecture frantically searched for new ways to define and live up to their social

[4] There is a substantial literature on this moment in American cultural history. See, for example: Andrew Jewett, “The Politics of Knowledge in 1960s America,” *Social Science History*, Vol. 36, No. 4 (Winter 2012), 551-581; Howard Brick, *Age of Contradiction: American Thought and Culture in the 1960s.* (New York: Twayne), 2006; Carl Davidson, "Toward institutional resistance," in Immanuel Wallerstein and Paul Starr (eds.) *The University Crisis Reader. Vol. 2, Confrontation and Counterattack*. (New York: Vintage): 129-38; Theodore Roszak, *The Making of a Counter-Culture*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1968); Andrew Feenberg, *Questioning Technology*, (New York: Routledge, 1999).

[5] Joan Ockman, “Talking with Bernard Tschumi,” *Log 13/14 Aftershocks: Generation(s) since 1968* (Fall 2008): 159-170.

responsibility.[6] In this moment in the middle of the decade, American knowledge production and institution-building rapidly evolved and a significant number of architectural research institutes developed, multiplied, and flourished, at a time when societal institutions, from the armed forces to government, endured heavy scrutiny and attack. This time period is often historicized against the backdrop of a series of ideological shifts from the import of the military-industrial-academic research complex (during the Eisenhower presidency in the 1950s) to a critique of humanism and the myths which previously justified scientific research, producing what has been called the "cultural turn" during the Kennedy and Johnson administration in late 1960s and early 70s.

Taking a wide view of this period, The Institute for Architecture and Urban Studies (hereafter identified by the acronym IAUS) was one of many such institutes and agencies.[7] Because IAUS was conceived of at a moment in the late 1960s when the American context was replete with university laboratories, centers, and other such organized research units, throughout the dissertation it is useful to compare these academically-oriented research groups and institutes such as IAUS to larger, more established political and policy think tanks like the Rand Institute or the Urban Institute. This is particularly important as a framework, given that much of the historiography around IAUS has identified it as a unique occurence that deserved to be seen as fundamentally different from schools of architecture, or other research formations which

[6] On changes to academic culture, and the flurry of new and recently-founded institutes at universities and other para-academic organizations, see Susanne Schindler, "The Institutions Must be Designed Before the Buildings," *Perspecta* 53 (2020): 110-135.

[7] The specifics of the acronym as a naming protocol is discussed below in chapter one.

unfolded around the same time. In fact, it was one of many such para-institutional formations. For example, to mention but a few of these, which indicates the overall trend at this moment: at University of Pennsylvania, the Institute for Urban Studies (IUS) and Institute for Architectural Research (IAR), which both were replaced by Institute for Environmental Studies in 1965 (IES); at University of California, Berkeley the Institute of Urban and Regional Development (IURD) and Center for Environmental Structure (CES); at Columbia the Center for Environmental Studies; at Princeton the Research Center for Urban and Environmental Planning and Bureau for Urban Research; at Rutgers the Built Environment Group; at MIT the Laboratory for Environmental Studies; at Cornell the Center for Housing and Environmental Studies; MIT-Harvard Joint Center for Urban Studies, and many others of a similar ilk.[8] The crucial difference between these and IAUS is that most if not all were formally and institutionally attached to major schools of architecture on the eastern seaboard, and thus benefited tremendously and intellectually from existing traditions, bodies of faculty, and conventional tools of knowledge production and dissemination as well as procedures and protocols of how research unfolded.

IAUS was founded in September of 1967 by Gibson James, Arthur Drexler, Peter Eisenman, John Entenza, and Burnham Kelly and their associates and successors in

[8] At Princeton, Robert Geddes became dean of the School of Architecture and Urban Planning in 1965, and a year later created the Center for Studies of the Planned Environment within the School; in 1967, it was renamed the Research Center for Urban and Environmental Planning and merged with the former Bureau of Urban Research, founded in 1950. Beginning in 1967, the Center's work included several initiatives, funded through Model Cities, for the State of New Jersey's Department of Community Affairs. The Center was closed in 1980 at the same time that the School of Architecture dropped Urban Planning from its name. The overlaps between these study centers and IAUS merits further investigation. See also William C. Miller, *Architectural Research Centers: An Annotated Directory*. Council of Planning Librarians Exchange Bibliographies 199 and 333 (July, 1971 and October, 1972).

order to create an extra-institutional space outside of established architecture schools which could serve three interrelated functions: “instruction and research facilities of the graduate and postgraduate levels,” “perform research and planning activities ... to draw upon any available resources of any university of the MoMA and any municipality,” and "continuing education to the public through seminars, lectures, publications, and exhibitions.”[9] Understanding the institutional identity and hybridity of functions was one of the main entry points of my interest in the dissertation. In its constitution as such, determined by three modes of work as described in the foundational charter (instruction, research, and continuing education), IAUS entered into and exacerbated an existing ambiguous space that was not exactly coincident with the autonomy of the university as understood in the liberal Enlightenment model nor was it coincident with the commercial realm of practice, as determined by budgets, clients, regulations and production costs. The model of education was located between two poles which are nominally understood to have defined the postwar period as education transitioned from a modern system of professional training that “codified the architect’s responsibility to design and build for the needs of society, to a postmodern system of architectural education that positioned architecture as a critical and intellectual practice that questioned the very limits of the discipline.”[10]

In examining how IAUS was structured, organized, and conceptualized from the “very beginning,” we are able to understand not so much its origins but points of intersection

[9] Provisional Charter of the Institute of Architecture and Urban Studies, the University of the State of New York Education Department, issued September 29, 1967. Courtesy of New York State Education Department, Office of the Board of Regents.

[10] Irene Sunwoo, “Between The “Well-Laid Table” And The “Marketplace”: Alvin Boyarsky’s Experiments In Architectural Pedagogy,” (Ph.D. Dissertation, Princeton University, 2011), iv.

that would later become even more entangled around questions of the agency of education, and how it affected subject formation. IAUS was composed of a revolving cast of characters: architects, students, historians, teachers, researchers, fellows, visitors, lecturers, and other recurring roles were crucial to its liveliness and created an unpredictable exchange of ideas and conversations that was anything but static. Many of these roles were however codified and fixed based on predeterminations according to the exact involvement that was expected, in terms of days of the week, hours spent, research agendas defined, and so forth. Nonetheless, the social and intellectual intersections of these different groups of individuals was a crucial component of the milieu of IAUS.

It is exactly comparisons to other academic formations and institutes which formed the basis of Lucia Allais' essay "The Real and the Theoretical, 1968," one of the only texts by an architectural historian on IAUS which is based on archivally rigorous research, an essay which explored IAUS as an "architectural thinktank."[11] In fact, the literature review on IAUS is surprisingly thin, which poses the question as to why this is the case, and how much of what we know about it has been carefully curated by a few select writers or memoirs. It is worth recounting Allais' argument here in more detail, as her essay not only offers a key jumping off point for many of my own questions that are encountered in the chapters below, but also framed an understanding of how IAUS transformed from *and* became an "influential cultural center, attracting a stellar network of scholars and

[11] Lucia Allais, "The Real and the Theoretical," *Perspecta* 42 (2010): 27-41. For an alternative view on the think tank and its intersections with art practices in a midcentury context, see Pamela Lee, *Think Tank Aesthetics: Midcentury Modernism, the Cold War, and the Neoliberal Present.* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2020).

students from American and European universities and providing a vibrant disciplinary forum while architectural education and practice were in crisis."[12] At the same time, deviations from her argument are helpful to understand the ambitions of the dissertation as well. In the essay, she traced the rise and fall of the Harlem Plan project in order to narrativize the early years of IAUS and tell a story that crisscrosses from its origins to several early efforts to ultimately meditate on a larger exploration of the history of theory. She persuasively located the 1968 Harlem Plan as a critical fork-in-the-road between work centered on community engagement and activism with a nascent Black subject and emerging subjectivity in Harlem, and the failure of that project due to political differences. In her argument, which traced a fine line between "theoretical pragmatism and financial opportunism" she read this early moment in IAUS history as an attempt to arrive at a "post-MoMA ghetto formalism" that would marry two divergent needs – "to get Black youth involved in urbanism, while IAUS attempted to get architects involved in Black affairs," into one concrete proposal.

However, contrary to her argument, the Harlem Project proposal was not out of character despite its eventual failure; in fact it was typical for the work in the first several years of IAUS. Nonetheless, her essay leaps forward and backward in the IAUS timeline to specific moments, identifying key points that help to situate the individual instances of pragmatism and theoretical production. Moreover, the broader ambition of her essay is to historicize an institutional framework for understanding the fifteen-year history of IAUS in three distinct phases: firstly as a government-contract research institution (1967 and 1974), secondly beginning in 1974 as an academic research

[12] Ibid.

institute, and thirdly as a veritable cultural center from 1978 until its demise in 1985. In sketching out this periodization of IAUS, she also claimed that “the only opportunity for an original contribution is for theorization of the institutional hybridity of the Institute.” To this last point, my interest in IAUS was to explore further beyond institutional hybridity to the larger question of how institutionality was changing in this moment, and how para-institutionality developed.

Importantly, the arguments in her essay have tacitly been accepted by other historians, who have taken the thinktank designation as the primary infrastructural formation that underpinned IAUS without necessarily expanding on how this came to be or what an architectural think tank was or is in terms of its modes of knowledge production and institutional infrastructure. To take but one example on the opposite side of the country, at Berkeley, architect and educator Sym Van Der Ryn was similarly interested in exploring “new concepts of institutional environment and organization that will place highest priority on individual and community development, participation and positive social change.”[13] Van Der Ryn’s working paper titled “Notes on Institution Building” outlined the ways in which “in a real sense, institutions are society. It is impossible to remove them from their societal context.”[14] This is to say that institutional reform took many forms, from an emphasis on institutional critique of existing educational formations in search of more authentic community partnerships to new affiliations which were developed through a network of relationships. Differentiating between these

[13] As quoted in: Michael Carriere, “Between Being and Becoming: On Architecture, Student Protest, and the Aesthetics of Liberalism in Postwar America,” (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Chicago, 2010).

[14] Ibid.

formations is crucial in regards to understanding how each calibrated their research efforts, sponsorship, and other activities according to demands of funders, societal expectations, and problems in the “real world.”

Counterhistory

In direct contrast to the notion put forward by Stanford Anderson that “IAUS was a highly significant phenomenon; its story is becoming a major research project,” the dissertation exposes several gaps in the historiography on IAUS, not in order to construct a major research project but to explore why such a thing has not occurred as in the exact manner in which he exclaimed.[15] Arguably IAUS has an outsized history in architectural discourse, as evidenced by the number of tangents, reference points, and historical actors which can be tied back to its orbit, some of which are still unfolding today some forty years after its doors shuttered. At the same time, there exists a substantial critique of the main historical actors, outputs, and its exclusivity as a very small group of individuals, or “minority of minorities that New York architects.”[16] Writing in the 1976, Brian Bryce Taylor explained:

> The genealogy of recent institutions, political (the U.D.C. [Urban Development Corporation], the U.D.G. [Urban Design Group]) or more specifically cultural (IAUS, Oppositions), that we have traced down from the MOMA or its family patrons is intended to point up the hermetic - one could almost say incestuous - social milieu architects have frequented. (The tradition goes back many generations.) The activities of those younger architects who figure prominently within this system of closed relationships have done little or nothing to transform the essential forms of production in a way that might create new cultural values, or might re-define an architect's role in relation to the masses of society.[17]

[15] Stanford Anderson, “CASE and MIT: Engagement” in: *A Second Modernism: MIT, Architecture, and the 'Techno-Social' Moment*. (United Kingdom, SA+Press, Department of Architecture, MIT, 2013), 578-651.

[16] Brian Brace Taylor, “Self-service skyline.” *L'Architecture d'Aujourd'Hui*, Paris, n. 186, p. XXXVIII-XXXIX.

[17] Ibid.

Reconciling these two poles was one of my primary interests in the dissertation. This is to say that the history of IAUS in the last forty years of American architectural history is both complicated, in terms of its influence, which is arguably both projected and contested, and ambiguous as to what exactly it achieved or did not archive. Architectural histories of the postwar period which have discussed IAUS have by-and-large avoided archival investigation and research, and instead have relied on charting its effects, influence, and ramifications through multiple modes of media, dissemination, and publicity. This feedback loop of the political economy of media includes tracking both publications which came from and originated with IAUS, including *Oppositions*, *Skyline*, and *October*, and those that referred to it directly or indirectly, creating what Beatriz Colomina has called a "cycle of production and reproduction as two terms within a continuous cycle, their roles overlapping."[18] This cycle of production and reproduction is what much of the intellectual history of IAUS has focused on, in terms of mapping the discursive debates around the emergence of postmodernism, the re-animation of modernist legacies and fallen figures, and the struggles around architectural autonomy as an artistic and cultural pursuit in a late-capitalist economy.[19] I

[18] See: Beatriz Colomina, "Introduction: On Architecture, Production and Reproduction," *Architecture Production* (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 1988), 7-23; Joan Ockman, "Resurrecting the Avant-Garde: The History and Program of Oppositions," in Beatriz Colomina, ed., *Architecture Production* (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 1988), 180-181; Daniel Sherer, "Architecture in the Labyrinth. Theory and Criticism in the United States. "Oppositions", "Assemblage", "ANY" 1973-1999," Mitchell Schwarzer, "History and Theory in Architectural Periodicals: Assembling Oppositions," *Zodiac* 20 (1999), pp. 36–63. See also Craig Buckley and Beatriz Colomina, eds., *Clip/Stamp/Fold: The Radical Architecture of Little Magazines, 196x – 197x* (New York and Barcelona: Actar, 2010); and Alexis Sornin, Helene Janniere, and France Vanlaethem, *Architectural Periodicals in the 1960s and 1970s: Towards a Factual, Intellectual and Material History* (Montreal: IHRA/ABC Art Books Canada, 2008); im Förster, "Massimo Vignelli: Oppositions, Skyline and the Institute," *Places Journal*, September 2010. Accessed 20 Aug 2022. https://doi.org/10.22269/100916.

[19] As noted by Vincent Pecora, Oppositions was not a unified group of writers. Tafuri was the only one writing in Oppositions to maintain a focus on the institutional boundaries by which architecture as a social

would argue that these histories have been less motivated to understand how IAUS ascended to a position of power, why it pursued its ambitions, how power might have been redefined by the work that unfolded there and in affiliated institutions, or what struggles and failures occurred along the way.[20]

Arguably, the attention on media production has led architectural historians to remark that IAUS was most notable for its production of a generation of authorities, or architects and educators who would later come to establish a key position in the discursive field in New York City's educational and professional milieus (Rem Koolhaas, Arthur Drexler, Emillio Ambasz, Alan Plattus, Robert Slutzky, Stanford Anderson, Andrew MacNair, Robert Gutman, Deborah Berke, Anthony Vidler, Mario Gandelsonas, Diana Agrest, and many others), and their function has been coterminous with their role as individual producers. In contrast to this focus on individuals and individual authorship, IAUS self-consciously (so to speak) presented itself as a "team" or a collective unit, as portrayed in a by-now well-known photograph of the group dressed up as a soccer team with matching sweaters, which has since circulated through exhibitions such as *Radical Pedagogies* and others (figure 0.01).[21] Despite this presentation of IAUS as a soccer

practice defines itself, a concern for the nature of the division between its labor and that of others, and a healthy skepticism of all those "closed systems" within which the themes of polysemy and pluralism are formed and controlled. Vincent Pecora, "Towers of Babel," in: Diane Ghirardo, editor. *Out of Site: A Social Criticism of Architecture* (Seattle: Bay Press, 1991).

[20] Allais described the impacts of *Oppositions* in the following manner: "Their influence was determined not by their readership, but by their attachment to glamorous political scenes—much as Oppositions achieved success not because of the sobriety of its style, but because this sobriety provided a counterpoint to the exclusive cultural image the Institute projected in its more popularizing ventures." Ibid.

[21] The sweaters featured a Cesariano logo which is discussed below in chapter one. For more on Cesariano, see Sylvia Lavin, "A Report on Little Tools of Knowledge" in: *Architecture Itself and Other Postmodernization Effects* (Germany: Canadian Centre for Architecture, 2019): footnote 291. For more on the source of the Vitruvian figure in the design of the insignia, see Rudolf Wittkower, *Architectural Principles in the Age of Humanism.* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1998): 15. See also the representation of

team, the reality is more complicated in that its institutional structure was made up of overlapping associations (the fellowship, research staff, visitors, guest lecturers, teachers), temporary alignments (research projects), and other forms of ephemeral collaboration that were constantly shifting and evolving over the course of the fifteen year time period of its existence.

The dissertation attempts to take an altogether different path from one which has been mapped out in earlier histories: instead it considers the institution itself as an abstract author in the larger context of New York City and beyond, determined by *and* determining of a variety of forces beyond the individual's control. This could be understood as a process of untangling the many contradictions of IAUS in order to explore its history. As a counterhistory, the dissertation is structured as a series of diagonal slices through its institutional history to reveal problematics and intersections with other issues larger than architecture itself, particularly around relationships with municipal governance and administration, finance, and economic shifts in the moment of late capitalism.[22]

IAUS was arguably caught between several contradictions which lay hidden below the surface of its institutional identity during much of its existence. On the one hand, its focus moved away from and toward education in different guises, as it had declared in its initial conception and charter documents. This is to say that education served as a

International Institute of Design participants, organized by Alvin Boyarsky, as a graphic layout of baseball cards.

[22] Catherine Gallagher and Stephen Greenblatt. *Practicing New Historicism* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2020), 49-74.

useful proxy for other modes of work and production that did not always serve the original function. Indeed, the first group of Cornell graduate students filed several grievances over the course of the academic year to the head of Cornell's department of architecture back in Ithaca, and declared that "projects contracted primarily to finance the Institute or to provide a vehicle for a member of the faculty should not involve student help except on a voluntary basis. The administration must bear in mind at all times that students are at the Institute for an education, not for labor purposes."[23] This complaint was one of several rather difficult road bumps in the first handful of years of educational offerings at IAUS, which struggled to find a balance between the needs of the students and the opportunities provided by contact with municipal agencies and other contract work.

On the other hand, while education purportedly served as the foundation to the work which unfolded there, the dissertation tracks how IAUS struggled to maintain a sustained research agenda, and would later shift to the production of what has been identified as "architectural culture" through a litany of exhibitions, lectures, presentations, public events and gatherings, and publications. Following Bruno Latour's emphasis on documents and facts, or what could be described as a search for an understanding of actual practices which explain what happens between the relationships of daily practice and theory, the dissertation is particularly interested in nominal tasks of paperwork, which reveal and identify relationships to other institutions,

[23] Institute for Architecture and Urban Studies fonds, Collection Centre Canadien d'Architecture/Canadian Centre for Architecture, Montréal: DR1999:0380. "Memorandum from Jan 15, 1969 to Dean Burnham Kelly from Jack Dobson, Stephen Quick, Roswell Sanford, Terry Williams regarding Clarification of student concerns."

to subject formations, and to control mechanisms which situate the institute in relationships to larger more established institutions.[24] Many of these day-to-day practices were quite surprising for an institute that has dedicated itself to architecture and urban studies; they pertain to everything but architecture. Arguably a counterhistory emerges from this focus on documents, which is not the narrative of a hegemonic power, or a fractured and fledgling institution that has lingering influence because of its charismatic personalities.

One could rightfully expect the principal figure behind such a history to be architect Peter Eisenman, director and initiator of IAUS. And yet, paradoxically, if one looks at the vast literature on Eisenman's work as an architect what is visibly missing is IAUS as both intellectual framework and literal setting for the work that unfolded under his authorship. IAUS provided not only a space from which to work on projects, but also willing interns, intellectual debate and feedback, and a forum in which to position his work as an architect relative to other ongoing concerns at the end of the difficult decade of the 1960s.[25] What's purposely absent or excluded in the dissertation is Eisenman's own residential and private commissions, which have received much historical attention. Projects like House VI and others which unfolded during this same time frame are most often viewed outside of IAUS. To further historicize the work of Eisenman's design work at this point after several generations of historians have taken on the task, with varying degrees of scholarly obedience to the proclamations of works themselves, requires both

[24] Bruno Latour and Steve Woolgar, "Documents and Facts." *Laboratory Life: The Construction of Scientific Facts.* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986), 69-86.

[25] IAUS as a quasi-professional architectural studio for Eisenman's domestic projects is critically discussed in Sarah Hearne, "Other Things Visible on Paper: Architectural Writing and Imaging Craftsmanship 1960-1987," (Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, 2020).

careful attention to the stakes of any potential return and a deftness for navigating past histories, some of which have accepted a certain amount of Eisenman's premises knowingly or unknowingly before their task had begun. As Robin Evans has noted, much of the writing on Eisenman transfers "the same little zoo of terminologies and examples which Eisenman populates his own writing with."[26] Outside of this "little zoo" is a different set of issues that are not limited to a single author-architect, but instead point to problems that were not structurally addressed in Eisenman's work, which centered on reconceptualizing and redefining architectural autonomy, a nascent professional practice, and a theoretical agenda manifest through teaching efforts at schools in and around New York City.[27]

Institutional History

It has been said that institutions are, above all else, messy. As described by Arindam Dutta in his introduction to the edited volume, *A Second Modernism: MIT, Architecture, and the 'Techno-Social' Moment*, institutions "seldom approximate the inconsistencies

[26] Robin Evans, "Not To Be Used for Wrapping Purposes," *AA Files*, no. 10, Autumn 1985: 68-78. Histories that invoke Eisenman indirectly can be said to do so in the form of a historical chronicle that is largely invested in the vicissitudes of numerous individuals at the settings in which Eisenman worked, taught, or had influence; therefore these histories are constructed by and large as institutional histories which, once again, render events, projects, and publications primarily as evidence that is subordinated to the larger narrative of progress or influence. In some sense these conditions have produced a historiographic echo chamber where the only sounds that resonate are those that are already intrinsically present in some form or another.

[27] Many of these histories have too often viewed Eisenman and his residential design work through the lens of the autonomous creative isolated individual working in a space of perfect isolation. Hearne's dissertation goes a long way towards a productive alternative view. Key to this alternative view is a shift from understanding Eisenman as an autonomous author to looking at the production of his design work, writing, grant proposals, and other related architectural production, with renewed attention to issues of tectonics, materiality, clients, and constraints. Here it is also useful to consider Eisenman in a similar manner to how Irene Sunwoo historicized Alvin Boyarsky, his immediate contemporary: She constructed a history of the AA through symmetries and asymmetries between three overlapping frameworks: a person, an institution, and a pedagogical system, each of which centers and decenters Boyarsky as a historical object within wider historical contexts and debates.

or finitude of this world, least of all the muddling, moldering, shambling structures that are institutions themselves."[28] Writing about the ways in which MIT School of Architecture serves as a site for multifarious explorations, Dutta has remarked that institutional histories tend to be written in the shadow of master narratives. He remarked that:

> institutional schisms or failures are routinely ascribed therefore to the failure to craft grand narratives. If anything, cohesiveness of narrative may well provide a compensatory mechanism to cover over what may in fact be an inscrutable set of factors—byzantine allegiances, pet peeves and ideological anathemas or obsessions, cabalistic rivalry, not to rule out erotic or sexual tensions—all of which may well thrive within an institution's "normal" functioning in a mode that may well otherwise defy simple rationalization."[29]

This would seem to be particularly true in the case of IAUS. Byzantine allegiances, pet peeves, and ideological anathemas are certainly part of this history to be sure, but they are not foregrounded here; in fact, quite the opposite is the case. Instead these types of inscrutable factors are analyzed to reveal what has been covered up or overlooked in a focus on characters and actors, or in an anti-materialist mode, in a focus on the intellectual history as understood through the discourse in publishing histories and patterns. To that end, I explore and mine institutional history as a historical method and narrative strategy, while simultaneously avoiding conforming to the genre writ large.[30] Instead of subscribing to institutional history as a mode of historical writing and investigation, I rely on critical aspects of this form of institutional history to recount key aspects of the institutional narrative and evolution, while also relying on other modes of

[28] Dutta, ibid.

[29] Ibid.

[30] Sally Gregory Kohlstedt, "Institutional History," *Osiris*, 1985, Vol. 1, Historical Writing on American Science, The University of Chicago Press on behalf of The History of Science Society (1985), pp. 17-36.

writing to fill in blanks, modify and expand the framework, and to position IAUS in a larger territory of institutional figures, changes, and contexts in this time period. While institutional history puts the institution front and center as historical actor and agent, what is critical to take into account are all of the other forces outside of and adjacent to architectural production that are not within the realm of authorial control, but hold great power over its objects and outputs.

Archival Loss + Archival Analysis

Following Mike Featherstone's argument that the "capacity for the archives to yield up significant material to the researcher depends upon the modes of classification adopted by the archivists," it is critical to examine the archive as a highly constructed and anti-natural phenomenon with an extrinsic organization determined by authors outside of the nominal domain of architectural histories: archivists, website editors, and other figures who produce grey matter whose work is viewed as incidental to the construction of historical narratives.[31] In paying attention to histories around archives, the dissertation is keenly invested in examining its own methods in a similar manner to the kinds of self-conscious efforts found in IAUS' efforts as well. The primary archival material of IAUS is located at the Canadian Center for Architecture in Montreal, an institution that was founded several years after IAUS' decline and eventual disappearance. The archive contains a vast array of documents and paperwork: internal memorandums, institutional frameworks, policies and procedures, by-laws, meeting minutes, project summaries, research notes of various kinds, bills, grant solicitations and applications,

[31] On the epistemology of archives and their effects on knowledge production, see: Mike Featherstone, "Archive" *Theory, Culture & Society.* Vol. 23, No 2-3 (2006): 591-596.

fundraising letters, as well as bureaucratic and managerial documents such as timetables, salary adjustments, handwritten corrections, and other textual efforts, of which 787 documents are currently digitized from an unknown total amount.[32] Certain material has been digitized by the CCA, and thus made available for my consultation by request. This digitization is also of note in considering the fact that the bulk of this digitized material has been not simply consulted, but analyzed in terms of what these documents leave out, why they were digitized, and what is and what is not preserved. Additionally, a substantial portion of the archive was lost or discarded when IAUS went bankrupt in 1985.

To wit, CCA's website describes the collection in the following seemingly comprehensive manner:

> The Institute for Architecture and Urban Studies (IAUS) fonds documents different aspects of the administrative, pedagogical, and publishing activities at the IAUS, enabling a better understanding of Peter Eisenman's leading role in the making of the Institute the foremost intellectual forum of the USA during the 1970s. The IAUS fonds is a collection of various documents (textual records, photographic and printed material) generated and collected from 1965 to 1985 by Peter Eisenman as the Director of the IAUS. The total contents of the archive are 837 photographic materials, 602 ephemera, 216 drawings (including 181 reprographic copies), 33 sound recordings, 2.36 l.m. of textual records, and 1 book.

[32] Future research will inquire into the terms of this donation, how it came to be, and what the agreement was to house the archive in perpetuity. For more details on the collection itself, see Institute for Architecture and Urban Studies fonds, Collection Centre Canadien d'Architecture/ Canadian Center for Architecture, Montréal,, available here: https://www.cca.qc.ca/en/archives/193021/institute-for-architecture-and-urban-studies-fonds Accessed August 1, 2022.

In this way, the archival information and its framing by something as seemingly innocent as the ‘scope and content’ description inadvertently positions attention to the individual figure of Eisenman as such despite the fact of a network of multiple actors and agents which were involved in the institution; which was ironically of its most salient effects of its institutional aspiration in creating a space of collaboration and interdisciplinary thought that exceeded nominal departmental boundaries and academic units in the universities. Additionally, the archive is said to privilege the “making of the Institute the foremost intellectual forum of the USA during the 1970s,” while overlooking the archival aspect of false-starts, failures, missteps, and other such attempts which hold historical interest in this context.[33] What failed or didn’t quite go right is of note just as much as the notable successes that have made an impact.

The archival material was collected and then donated by Peter Eisenman and others, and the arrangement of the archive, as described by the CCA, “attempts to reconstitute the series of files which were mixed up and to preserve the integrity of the contents of the files.”[34] In attempting to reconstitute the files to preserve the integrity, the CCA here is understood as an active participant in the interpretation, organization, and therefore the historicization of the collected materials. The archival material consulted follows in the vein of Mike Featherstone’s observation that the archive is rather a “repository of material which has only been loosely classified, material whose status is as yet indeterminate and stands between rubbish, junk and significance; material which has

[33] Ibid.

[34] Ibid.

not been read and researched."[35] In fact, the archive of IAUS contains a great deal of material that oscillates between rubbish and significance; some of which can be read as meaningful only in conjunction with a great deal of other documents on hand. The document is understood as, according to media scholar Lisa Gitelman, "any object can be a thing, but once it is framed as or entered as evidence ... once it is mobilized, it becomes a document, an instance proper to that genre."[36] More importantly, the assorted materials that make up the archive are understood here as a highly constructed, as opposed to neutral or self-evident, occurence of an institute invested in its own historicity, its own validity as an institution. Working from *and* against the grain of the archive also allows a number of competing voices and objects to be read as evidentiary, not simply the objects or texts that are thought to nominally play this role, thereby opening the material up to actors who were not necessarily authors. Critical to the framework here is an attention to the silences and blindnesses that have previously been overlooked, in favor of a history of charismatic individuals. It is also worthwhile and curious to ponder how this came to be. Much of the state of what was saved and eventually archived is due to the fact that after IAUS moved to its final location in Union Square in 1983, during which time Mario Gandelsonas became the temporary director, for one reason or another they failed to keep up on rent payments and their fundraising dwindled during the Reagan era. Eventually, bankruptcy ensued shortly thereafter in 1984, and at the end of its existence, sheriffs came to lock the doors and hold a

[35] Ibid.

[36] Lisa Gitelman, *Paper Knowledge: Toward a Media History of Documents*. (Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press, 2014): 14.

bankruptcy auction, which led to ten or so filing cabinets lost or destroyed in the process.[37]

Looking at the archive through an analysis of its organization, it is divided into four categories–1/ administration and finance, 1967-84; 2/ activities: conferences, research, and lectures, 1965-1979; 3/ publications, 1966-84; 4/ records of Peter Eisenman, 1966-1984. This division reveals that the files themselves are not strictly organized according to a logic which explains what the choice of what was kept and what was discarded.[38] In fact, materials from each of these categories can be found throughout; a single folder might contain documents as varied as a list of names for potential lectures, meeting minutes with revisions, policy documents, application letters, miscellaneous CVs, balance sheets, and more. To take but one example, the Administration subseries contains the following list of contents:

> Bill from Bonnie Thayer, May 18 1973
> Final Report to the NYS Council on the Arts, 1972-1973
> Memo of Peter Wolf on New Project Finance Structure, 11 May 1973
> Job applications of Louis Lister & Mary Turner, January 1973
> PDE's letter to Suzanne Frank announcing her election to the position of Research Associate at the Institute
> Balance Sheet, April 30 1973
> Proposal for Project Development to Manhattan Community Board, by Peter Wolf, 18 April 1973
> PDE letter to Arthur Drexler concerning IAUS's debt to the MoMA surrounding LRHD Housing exhibition, December 18 1973.[39]

[37] The exact contents of their file cabinets remain unknown. How Eisenman was able to save what he did is also a question to be further explored. Author conversation with Silvia Kolbowski, February 13, 2022; and author conversation with Julia Bloomfield, May 22, 2022.

[38] “The fonds was acquired through 5 accessions from 1994 to 2003. The initial, first, second and fifth accruals were donated by Peter Eisenman. The third and fourth accruals were transferred from the CCA's Prints and Drawings Department, from the Peter Eisenman fonds (AP143).” Ibid.

[39] Institute for Architecture and Urban Studies fonds, Collection Centre Canadien d’Architecture/ Canadian Center for Architecture, Montréal, folder AP057.S1.SS4.

Also of note is the fact that the archival description relies on specific quotations from within the archive itself, creating a recursive loop where certain definitions and terms are recirculated without being defined precisely and repeated in multiple contexts which dulls their meaning and specificity. For instance, in the section on administrative history of the archive, in describing the “atelier” system, the website quotes documents within the archive itself to explain that "in an effort to achieve a synthesis between the theoretical world of the university and the real problems confronting urban centers throughout the country," but does not specify from where this description emerges or how it was one specific snapshot of a moment in a changing and evolving institute.[40]

This attention to archival construction and presentation is key to the empirical use of this material, and underscores the notion of the archive as a self-consciously constructed albeit partial collection of miscellaneous materials, much of which focuses on paperwork for projects, publications, and events which are, unsurprisingly, less-carefully documented or entirely absent or missing due to their ephemeral nature or their purposeful exclusion from the archive. This is to say that the bureaucratic support materials overwhelm the material that they ostensibly support, revealing the centrality that bureaucratic management played in constituting institutionality. Working from *and* against the grain of this archive also enables a number of competing voices and objects to be read as institutional evidence, not simply the objects or texts that are thought to

https://www.cca.qc.ca/en/archives/193021/institute-for-architecture-and-urban-studies-fonds/193022/administration-and-finances/193044/administration. Accessed July 31, 2022.

[40] Ibid.

nominally play this role, thereby opening the material up to actors who were not necessarily authors. An attention to documents as such, and the historiography around documents produced a set of constraints of available material. It is in this sense that the dissertation is organized around projects and questions that were the most polysemic in their structure and therefore, the most at odds with the strong author function that IAUS is typically associated with. Why these projects and issues were selected, out of all the things that IAUS did, reflected a focus on institutionality and its intersection with the evolution of architectural research, production, and reproduction over the course of the 1970s. Significantly for the dissertation, the materials studied here are not a complete account of the IAUS archive, nor are they a complete account of all the questions that would arise from an institutionally-oriented analysis of IAUS. Such a comprehensive effort will have to wait until the entire archive is available and fully processed at a later date, which, as I understand it, is not currently part of the CCA's plans for the material they have within their collection. This critical understanding of the archive as such also leads to questions of how histories of IAUS have been composed and written from points of view that are not dependent on the archive as a factual repository.

Memories and Memoirs

Stanford Anderson, writing in a retrospective memoir-narrative about CASE (Conference of Architects for the Study of the Environment) and its intersections with MIT and the military-industrial-academic-research complex, described the significance of the IAUS by noting that it was "a highly significant phenomenon; its story is becoming a major research project."[41] However, no such history has appeared since the years of

[41] Ibid.

its closure in 1984, although several historians have picked up the thread and then deviated from the course of writing an institutional history, including Kim Forster in 2011 and Deepa Ramaswamy in 2010. To this point of starts and stops, Cesare Brignani argued that:

> a critical history of that discourse, of those conflicts theoretical and ideological, remains to be written. Or, perhaps, as with that other great 20th-century think tank called the Bauhaus, the history of the Institute for Architecture and Urban Studies may need to be told, written, and rewritten many times over.[42]

While IAUS' history has received a modicum of historical attention by scholars in the past few decades, this attention has by-and-large placed undue weight on the nature and "influence" of the Institute as constituted by particular individuals who were involved in its many programs, events, and publications. In short, this adds up to a collection of myths that are irreconcilable: on the one hand the purportedly important role of IAUS in the past fifty years of American architecture; on the other hand a missing history which describes "what really happened." My interest in IAUS laid in the boundary between these two poles, in order to dissect and challenge origins and effects. For instance, one can witness the newly emerging interest in IAUS as seen in a spate of recent references, and yet an ultimately vague identification of what this influence has created or produced in the decades since.[43] The most recent example of these first-hand

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[42] Cesare Brignani, "'Team Vitruvius,' review of *The Institute for Architecture and Urban Studies: An Insider's Memoir* by Suzanne Frank," *The Architect's Newspaper (*Apr. 6, 2011): 9-10.

[43] See Suzanne S. Frank, *IAUS, the Institute for Architecture and Urban Studies: An Insider's Memoir* (Bloomington, IN: Author House, 2011); and *The Making of an Avant-Garde: The Institute for Architecture and Urban Studies 1967–1984*, directed by Diana Agrest (Los Angeles: Diana Agrest Films, 2013), documentary; as well as a dissertation in German at the ETH by Kim Förster, "The Institute for Architecture and Urban Studies, New York: 1967-1985): A Cultural Project in the Field of Architecture" (D.Arch. Dissertation, ETH Zürich, 2011). See also Ernesto Ramon Rispoli, *Ponti sull'Atlantico: L'Institute for Architecture and Urban Studies e le relazioni Italia-America (1967-1985)* (Macerata, IT: Quodlibet Studio, 2012).

accounts is the 2014 documentary by Diana Agrest called “The Making of an Avant-Garde,” in which we find an example of such a reality effect in the sense that it is composed of a bevy of interviews of individuals who were participants, onlookers, and conspirators at the IAUS. Of note is the lack of audio in the recordings, leaving the viewer’s imagination to fill in the sounds and conversations which are seen but not heard.[44] The documentary has since elicited a small handful of critical reviews which challenge the authenticity of what is depicted partially on the basis that those that were “really there” are not necessarily the most reliable sources for constructing the history of what transpired.[45] This was in part due to IAUS’ own methods against historiographical intervention; it produced the impression that it was writing its own history as it unfolded, in terms of multiple publication systems which commented on itself, producing a de facto record keeper of itself, and its criticism, audience, and thereby created a totally circular broadcasting system. The separation between reality and history was actively blurred at IAUS. As noted by IAUS fellow Andrew MacNair, “it was what did not happen that was important.[46] Looking at the IAUS with updated questions, we find numerous other characters who are pulled into the history of the institution reluctantly or otherwise, from urban consultants, social science researchers, doting librarians, MoMA trustees (as well as wives of MoMA trustees), and fumbling administrators, to other agents of

[44] This was a point explored by Sylvia Lavin in dialogue with Diana Agrest at a screening of the film. Conversation at UC Berkeley Diana Agrest, in conversation at UC Berkeley, November 17, 2014, “Diana Agrest – 11.17.14 The Making of An Avant Garde: The Institute for Architecture and Urban Studies, 1967–1984,” Vimeo video, 39:06, uploaded by the UC Berkeley College of Environmental Design, October 18, 2016, https://vimeo.com/187873842.

[45] See, for instance, Belmont Freeman, ““The moment for something to happen”,” *Places Journal*, January 2014. Accessed 02 Mar 2019. https://doi.org/10.22269/140113.

[46] Interview with Andrew McNair, in Suzanne S. Frank, *IAUS, the Institute for Architecture and Urban Studies: An Insider’s Memoir* (Bloomington, IN: Author House, 2010), 260.

influence such as early financial support from the FBI, corporate CEOs, and other sources of unexpected funding.

In contrast to the idea of this precondition and ubiquity, the dissertation constructs a counter-narrative that explores an altogether different direction: to take as its principal objects of concern not the intellectual history but to investigate what fragments, failures, conflicts, false-starts that are more telling than a recapitulation of the known history of IAUS. Aspects of IAUS lore, gossip, and myth are shoved aside for forgotten or unfinished projects and work that has fallen by the wayside–which is not to say that these myths are themselves forgotten for they often reveal exactly that which is hidden or covered over in order to tell a story of fame, success, and achievement. The current histories of the IAUS, some of which are elaborated and discussed below in order to elucidate blind spots and overlooked narratives, are additionally burdened by two particular deficits: the abundance of first-hand accounts of individuals who "were really there" which currently stand in for facts or historical evidence, and a teleological narrative which centers on charismatic and exceptional individuals as the fundamental vectors through which a dominant narrative has developed and become internalized in mainstream accounts of 1970s architecture. This first-hand evidence about the IAUS, relayed through anecdotes, stories, and other forms of media that capture a view of the past, acts as a "reality effect."[47] To cleave apart the history of the IAUS from the *representation* of that history is, in part, one of the most critical tasks taken up here.

[47] Barthes, as quoted in Allais, footnote 41. Roland Barthes, "L'effet du Réel," in Oeuvres completes, Tome II: 1966-1973 (Paris: Seuil, 1994), translated as "The Reality Effect," in *French Literary Theory Today* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982).

1

Figures

Figure 1.01 - “The IAUS Team,” *Casabella* 359-360, *The City as an Artifact*, December 1971. IAUS members as a soccer team. Top row, from left: Joseph Rykwert, Duarte Cabral de Mello, Isaac Mario Gandelsonas, Kenneth Frampton, Jachim Mantel, Gregory Gale, Thomas Schumacher, Stanford Anderson; Bottom row, from left: Elizabeth Cromley, Robert Slutzky, William Ellis, Beth Spekter, Emilio Ambasz, Peter Eisenman, Victor Caliandro, Suzanne Frank. Photo by Dick Frank.

2

Institutes, Institutions, and Institutionality

The best institutions can never be foolproof... Institutions are like fortresses. They must be well designed and properly manned.
– Karl Popper[48]

An unfortunate but necessary result of democracy is that architects must learn to deal with institutions politically if their art is to flourish at all - so we have learned that institutions must be designed before the buildings.
– Jonathan Barnett[49]

One is beginning to sense the presence of tail-chasing here: of definitions being established which require consent to other definitions which, in turn, refer to the first definitions.
– Janet Daley[50]

Introduction

In 1965, several universities reorganized the structure and curricula of their schools of architecture, testing new models of how to relate design, research and action in the field in coordination with governmental and philanthropic funding, and in doing so, created centers for urban research. These urban centers had differing agendas, some tending toward "urban extension" or providing design and planning services to underserved communities. Other organizations focused on "research" to advance knowledge of planning processes; often these organizations combined these two approaches.[51] Many

[48] Karl Popper, *The Poverty of Historicism* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1957): 157.

[49] Jonathan Barnett et al., letter to Romaldo Giurgola, September 29, 1965, Box 2, "Lindsay, John V. mayoral campaign materials relating to urban design, 1966-1967" folder, as quoted in Mariana Mogilevich, "Designing the Urban: Space and Politics in Lindsay's New York," (Ph.D. dissertation, Harvard University, 2012).

[50] Janet Daley, "A Philosophical Critique of Behaviorism in Architectural Design," in *Design Methods in Architecture*, ed. Geoffrey Broadbent and Anthony Ward (London: Lund Humphries, 1969), 72.

[51] For a concise history of the emergence and rationale behind urban research at schools of architecture, see Eugénie L. Birch, "Making Urban Research Intellectually Respectable: Martin Meyerson and the Joint Center for Urban Studies of Massachusetts Institute of Technology and Harvard University 1959−1964," *Journal of Planning History*, Vol. 10, No. 3 (2011): 219–238.

of these were intimately connected to and dependent upon host academic institutions as universities extended their reach further into the domain of scientific research, and architecture departments searched for scientific grounds on which to base architectural research in manifold ways. As noted by Avigail Sachs, the term “research” changed in meaning: more than just implying a set of accepted practices, it embodied the aspiration to put architecture on a firm scientific basis.”[52] This focus on the realm of the “scientific” was one of the most critical determining ambitions of the decade as architecture departments sought to locate and position their work as “objective” in contrast to a disciplinary self-definition manifested through taste, intuition, aesthetics, or even scientism.

This chapter examines the evolution and development of institutes *and* institutionality, both within architecture departments, schools, and outside of pedagogical formations. In doing so, how and why this happened, and the ways in which it altered knowledge production in the post-1968 moment is examined through this viewpoint. In particular, this chapter examines IAUS in terms of similarities and differences relative to other such institutes, agencies, formations, as well as relative to larger questions of academic and non-academic power structures in order to understand how concerns such as funding,

[52] See Avigail Sachs, *Environmental Design: Architecture, Politics, and Science in Postwar America*. (United States: University of Virginia Press, 2018). See also Roger L. Geiger, “Organized Research Units--Their Role in the Development of University Research,” *The Journal of Higher Education* , Jan.-Feb., 1990, Vol. 61, No. 1, pp. 1-19; Roger L. Geiger, “The Dynamics of University Research in the United States: 1945-90” in T.G. Whiston and Roger L. Geiger, eds., *Research and Higher Education: The United Kingdom and the United States.* (Buckingham: SRHE/ Open University Press, 1992); Avigail Sachs, “The Postwar Legacy of Architectural Research” Journal of Architectural Education 62, no. 3 (February 2009), 53-64; Brendan Moran, “Research: Toward a Scientific Architecture” in: Joan Ockman and Rebecca Wlliamson, eds. *Architecture School: Three Centuries of Educating Architects in North America*. (Washington, D.C.: Association of Collegiate Schools of Architecture, 2012), 386-391.

power, and legitimacy were tied to claims toward knowledge production as these shifted in a period shaped by the techno-social research economy and academic-military-industrial complex.[53] While similarities abound, more specifically here an examination of IAUS as a para-institute demonstrates the contradictions and complexities inherent in changes that unfolded in the discourse and profession in the late 1960s around the dual axis of the technocratic and the cultural.[54]

The framework and focus of this chapter is in contrast and dialogue with existing narratives of the time period, which describe a transition from a behaviorist paradigm to a "cultural turn." What is arguably passed over in accounts by historians such as Avigail Sachs and Joy Knoblauch among others is the degree of overlap and multi-constitution between these two different aspects of the research economy in the late 1960s. Studying this moment in greater detail in regards to its political and socio-economic context reveals under what circumstances it began, thrived, faltered, and ultimately failed, and how this history was deeply affected by forces larger than architecture "theory" and "discourse."[55] Moreover, this chapter examines the institutional framework of IAUS through four distinct but interrelated threads—administration, configuration,

[53] For a book on the larger forces which determined the research economy, see: Stuart W. Leslie, *The Cold War and American Science: The Military-Industrial-Academic Complex at MIT and Stanford.* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1993); Reinhold Martin, *The Organizational Complex: Architecture, Media, and Corporate Space*. (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2003).

[54] Felicity D. Scott. "Architecture or Techno-Utopia." *Grey Room*, no. 3 (2001): 113-26. See also: Michel Foucault in his "History of Systems of Thought" at the Collège de France, on discursive practices: "Discursive practices are not purely and simply ways of producing discourse. They are embodied in technical processes, in institutions, in patterns for general behavior, in forms for transmission and diffusion, and in pedagogical forms which, at once, impose and maintain them." Michel Foucault, "History of Systems of Thought" (1972), trans. Donald B. Bouchard and Sherry Simon, in *Language, Counter-Memory, Practice*, ed. Donald B. Bouchard (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1977), 200.

[55] Ibid.

wordcraft, and funding. In focusing attention on these bureaucratic and often overlooked aspects of its constitution, day-to-day work protocols, material and immaterial production, as well as specific projects that speak to unrealized intentions, failed works, conflicts, and false-starts, a different IAUS emerges.

Furthermore, the chapter argues for a shift away from an intellectual history that floats above the fray in an idealist mode, which is often centered around key charismatic figures – primarily White male, ivy-league-educated architects operating in a space of privilege and connection, defined by their personal agency as actors in a field determined by creative and intellectual autonomy largely unhindered – to a materialist history which is engaged in understanding and situating institutional validation in the context of the American research economy and "urban" crisis of New York City during the John V. Lindsay mayoral administration (1966-1973).[56] This shift looks to place renewed emphasis on other figures, voices, and characters in the history, those who were previously incidental or adjacent to the episodes in the historiography of IAUS, written by historians interested in rewriting our understanding of this "tumultuous" decade.

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[56] On New York City under the Lindsay administration, see: Mariana Mogilevich, "Designing the Urban: Space and Politics in Lindsay's New York," (Ph.D. dissertation, Harvard University, 2012).

Renewing Urban Renewal[57]

Founded in 1967, IAUS followed in the wake of the controversial *The New City: Architecture and Urban Renewal* exhibition at the Museum of Modern Art.[58] Indeed, a 1979 IAUS brochure claimed that *The New City* exhibit was instrumental in the formation and galvanizing of ideas. The brochure claimed:

> Many of the young architects who formed the core of the initial Fellowship had already been independently engaged in seeking alternatives to traditional forms of architectural education and practice. The exhibition “The New City: Architecture and Urban Renewal” at the Museum of Modern Art, a natural consolidation of these efforts, led to the formation of the Institute [1967].[59]

While there is very little that is “natural” about “consolidating” efforts, this quote reveals the extent to which individual authors realized that a discussion amongst peers in the right forum would be beneficial on a number of different registers. An examination of this

[57] 1967 is also when other initiatives began that have not been historicized in dialogue with IAUS. For instance, in 1967, a design methods group was established at Berkeley and began to publish a newsletter called Design Methods Group (DMG) Newsletter. Other similar groups formed shortly thereafter, including Design Research Society founded in 1966 and the Environmental Design Research Association (EDRA) formed in 1968. Looking more broadly, 1967 was significant for the number of race riots that took place, over 150 throughout the country. The media described the year 1967 as the “long hot summer” as over 11,000 people arrested and over 74 deaths. For more on the riots refer to Malcolm McLaughlin, *The Long, Hot Summer of 1967: Urban Rebellion in America*, 2014; John S. Adams, "The Geography of Riots and Civil Disorders in the 1960s," *Economic Geography* 48, no. 1 (1972): 24-42. This tension between the racialization of space and architecture’s attempts to ameliorate socio-economic problems through urban projects and their associated agendas will be discussed in detail in chapter two.

[58] Museum of Modern Art (New York, N.Y.), *New City: Architecture and Urban Renewal. An Exhibition at the Museum of Modern Art, New York, January 23-March 13, 1967* (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1967). For reviews and criticism of the exhibition, see: John Bailey, ‘‘Chicken Little, Destroy Harlem to Save the City,’’ Arts Magazine 41, no. 5 (March 1967): 199–201; Giorgio Piccinato, ‘‘I problem delle citta americane,’’ *L'architettura cronache e storia* 13 (June 1967): 120–3; and anonymous, ‘‘Quatre projects de remodelation pour Harlem, New York, commandes par le MoMA a quatre universities,’’ *L’Architecture d’Aujourd’hui* 132 (June–July 1967): 76–77; Richard Hatch, “The Museum of Modern Art Discovers Harlem,” *Architectural Forum* (March 1967): 39-47; Reyner Banham, “Vitruvius over Manhattan” *New Society,* 10. no. 271 (December 1967): 827-28; and later his inclusion of the projects, now called “academic megastructures" in: Reyner Banham, *Megastructure: Urban Futures of the Recent Past* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1976), 151–3.

[59] Institute for Architecture and Urban Studies fonds, Collection Centre Canadien d’Architecture/ Canadian Center for Architecture, Montréal, “History” in the brochure “IAUS: The Institute for Architecture and Urban Studies” (New York: IAUS, 1979), [4]. See also: “Three Institutes are Formed to Study Urban Problems,” *Architectural Record* 142, no. 6 (December 1967): 36-38.

exhibition and its criticism by both the popular press and architectural critics is crucial to situating this moment in the larger milieu and understanding how the exhibition-cum-event was used as a launching platform for future work and the founding of the institute. In a brief introductory remark included in the exhibition catalogue, a text which significantly failed to mention Harlem as the site for the work on display, curator and critic Arthur Drexler stated that:

> it would be presumptuous to suppose that problems of poverty and prejudice, and the hundred other evils that beset us, can be solved by architecture alone. Works of art are not a substitute for human decency. The arts of architecture and urban design are tools at our disposal: how we use them depends on what we want.[60]

Contrary to Drexler's goal stated elsewhere for the museum to play a more substantive role in the built environment of New York City, he claimed that "we have at best a confused notion of what architecture and urban planning can be expected to achieve."[61] Drexler's ambitions for the exhibition were clearly in the tradition of an aesthetic urbanism, one that viewed race and poverty at arm's length, if not as intractable problems best left to other experts.[62] Similarly, Reyner Banham's excoriating and occasionally ambivalent review of the exhibition declared that "architects are the last

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[60] Arthur Drexler, "Architecture and Urban Renewal," *The New City: Architecture and Urban Renewal*. (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1967): 22. He described the area by noting its precise blocks - "One area in New York City offers an ample held in which to study these and many other problems: the blocks between 96th Street at the south to 155th Street at the north, but excluding Central Park; and from the Hudson River at the west to the East River, Randalls and Wards Islands, and the southern tip of the Bronx at the east." In doing so, the identity and demographics of the community and its specificity were completely avoided.

[61] Ibid.

[62] Arindam Dutta described the situation more cynically in a 2014 interview by noting that The New City exhibit "had more to do with a cultural corporation—MoMA —acquiring a socialist cachet and exorcizing its bad conscience by dint of a sudden concern for "society." See "TASK ENVIRONMENT: An interview with Arindam Dutta - Architecture and the 'Creative Economy." *ARPA* Journal, Issue 01: Test Subjects (2014). http://www.arpajournal.net/task-environment/ Accessed 04 May 2018.

defenders of comprehensible urban form in a situation where open-ended planning, process planning, computer-simulation techniques, and cost-benefit analysis games are dissolving urban form like sugar cubes in coffee."[63] And while Banham noted that the "martyred mood" of the architects' imposition of form was both unsurprising and to be expected, he lamented that the whole endeavor had an "air of architecture-for-architecture's sake," which would have "gotten the laugh had it been shown in Europe, if not the bird."[64] Banham's review, while profoundly critical of the exhibition for a multitude of reasons, was slightly more forgiving when he discussed the founding of IAUS as one of the less direct consequences of the exhibit. Despite what he described as an "abstract artiness" as a clear indication of a certain "academic disconnection from real cities occupied by the human race," it remained possible that the institute could "tackle far more substantive problems than the museum was able to offer, and must come forward with workable solutions to them."[65] This potential for workable solutions, as we will see in the following pages, was exactly where IAUS attempted to find a new middle ground, ultimately faltered, and in the process, produced a series of experiments that have gone largely unrecognized.

By now, histories of urban renewal and its challengers have interpreted and problematized *The New City* exhibition in myriad ways–as a racially insensitive and a fundamentally flawed representation of Harlem's systemic dilemmas as they pertained to poverty, housing, and access to services, a gambit to secure patronage from

[63] Banham, ibid.

[64] Ibid.

[65] Ibid.

outsiders with little to no knowledge of the stakes “on the ground,” and an untimely argument for the potential of urban renewal at a moment when the strategy had lost its revitalizing potency. These histories of the exhibit and its blindspots take stock of how varying notions of “urban crisis” circulated in order to legitimize policy and regulatory shifts to "manage" crises.[66] The most poignant critique which was published, titled “The Museum of Modern Art Discovers Harlem,” came from Richard Hatch, an architect and executive director of Architect’s Renewal Committee on Harlem (ARCH), and was most explicit in stating:

> God knows we need to be shaken out of our apathy in the face of increasing urban decay, but the present group of projects will not do it because they do not contain the important elements of utopian plans—a strong idea about the function of a place in the total fabric and about the way men might live together—or the strength of detail required by practical proposals.[67]

Hatch did not mince words, and placed blame at the hands of Drexler, who he claimed had set out a particularly vague mandate that was ultimately concerned with the

[66] For crucial histories of urban renewal and its impact on the Lindsay administration, see: Joel Schwartz, *The New York Approach: Robert Moses, Urban Liberals, and Redevelopment of the Inner City.* (Columbus. Ohio State University Press, 1993); On movements against modernist urbanism, see Eric Mumford, *Defining Urban Design: CIAM Architects and the Formation of a Discipline, 1937–69* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009); Samuel Zipp, *Manhattan Projects: The Rise and Fall of Urban Renewal in Cold War New York* (New York: Oxford University PRess, 2010); Michael H. Carriere, “Between Being and Becoming: On Architecture, Student Protest, and the Aesthetics of Liberalism in Postwar America” (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago, 2010); and Christopher Klemek, *The Transatlantic Collapse of Urban Renewal: Postwar Urbanism from New York to Berlin* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2011). For contemporary critiques of urban renewal, see: Scott Greer, *Urban Renewal and American Cities: The Dilemma of Democratic Institutions* (Indianapolis, 1965); Jane Jacobs, *The Death and Life of Great American Cities* (New York: Vintage, 1961); Herbert J. Gans, *The Urban Villagers: Group and Class in the Life of Italian-Americans* (New York: Free Press of Glencoe, 1962); and Martin Anderson, *The Federal Bulldozer: A Critical Analysis of Urban Renewal, 1949–1962* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1964).

[67] The four projects in total were critiqued as “utopian” and out-of-touch with reality. See: C. Richard Hatch, “The Museum of Modern Art Discovers Harlem,” *Architectural Forum* 126 (March 1967): 38-47, as well as Colin Rowe, “The New City: Architecture and Urban Renewal,” *As I Was Saying: Recollections and Miscellaneous Essays*, Volume Three: Urbanistics, edited by Alexander Caragonne (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1996), 87-96.

redemption of the role of architects, as they witnessed the downgrading of their profession and a refusal of decisions made by process planning which fail to have the "power to stir men's blood."[68] However, more critical than an identification of a precise origin (the exhibition and its boardroom initiation), which would at best set up a teleological narrative of progress (the supposed success of IAUS that followed), are questions about *why* an architect would start an institute at this moment, especially one that was unclear about its relationship to the changing tides around urban design? And, furthermore, what motivated the work taken up in the early years, especially in relation to the ideologies of reform present at the outset, however compromised they may have been as filtered through the rose-colored glasses of MoMA? And more importantly, how does an exhibition, which misrepresented the constituency it claimed to address, and thereby abstracted the "actual" problems in Harlem to pursue a form of modernist urbanism, cleverly repackaged as "rational" physical planning, lead to an institute?[69] Eisenman himself has alluded to the ambiguity of the institute's role in addressing these problems during an interview with Thomas Weaver from 2017:

> *Weaver*: But even if you didn't know what kind of institution it would be, were you more sure about what this new architecture would be like?
>
> *Eisenman*: Oh, I was still a formalist, pure and simple. Don't be distracted by the name. In the social upheavals of the late-igóos I had to do certain things. That's why we put 'Urban Studies' in the title. Frankly, we knew nothing about urban

[68] Hatch, ibid. Hatch was the director of the first community design center in Harlem started in 1964; a new vehicle for citizen participation that would soon proliferate across all major American cities. See also Brian Goldstein, ""The Search for New Forms": Black Power and the Making of the Postmodern City," *Journal of American History* 103, no. 2 (September 2016): 375-399.

[69] The representation or lack thereof, of information about the residents and data on the problems in Harlem was one of the clear voids in the exhibition. IAUS would attempt to veer into a similar terrain with their project called Housing Action System, a short-lived foray into the zoning analysis and restructuring through computer analysis. Without adequate funding and requisite technical knowledge amongst the fellows, the project quickly evaporated despite its innovative impetus.

> studies. I would have preferred to call it simply the Institute for Architecture, but at that time I needed a certain amount of cover.[70]

These questions aim to complicate the supposed naturalness of an origin story that has been tacitly accepted, and propagated by the architects themselves.[71] The fact that IAUS was born after a highly visible exhibition suggests the importance of publicity of a certain caliber, and the ways in which the institute would develop through other increasingly “public” forms of outreach, events, and media broadly conceived.[72] And yet, it would take another five years for IAUS to re-engage MoMA with a follow-up exhibition despite multiple proposals along the way. This is to say that MoMA was anything but a consistent interlocutor or homebase for the efforts at IAUS, despite the rhetoric from the brochures and promotional material.

Recent histories of this period have noted that urban renewal was both ideologically and economically suspect, viewed by the public and progressive politicians as an outdated

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[70] “Peter Eisenman in conversation with Thomas Weaver,” *AA Files*, No. 74 (2017), 150-172.

[71] What is omitted here, as an apocryphal anecdote, is the fact that Eisenman had been denied tenure at Princeton in 1967 due to a conflict with Dean Robert Geddes. Eisenman’s recollection of this occurrence has become an often-repeated story in his repertoire. He explains it in the following way: “... we work on the exhibition, and as the Princeton team we produce a scheme for the Manhattan waterfront. Titled 'The New City: Architecture and Urban Renewal', the show opened at MoMA in January 1967. That same month Michael and I were both up for tenure. Because we had worked so closely together over the previous years we had submitted the same application, based largely around the Jersey Corridor project. Michael refined the drawings and I wrote the text. A week later it's announced that Michael has gotten his tenure, but my application is denied. A few days later I arranged a meeting with Drexler in New York and pitched him the idea of the Institute for Architecture and Urban Studies. He thinks it's a great idea. He then arranges another meeting with René d'Harnoncourt, the head of MoMA, who also loves the idea. They agree to sponsor it and gave me two trustees, which is where the cash came from. Drexler would be its president and I would be the director. I also brought in Bob Gutman, a sociologist from Princeton who specialized in architecture, and Colin, who in turn recommended Bob Slutzky, who he'd met in Texas and was very high on. We hit it off immediately. And that's how it all started.” Weaver, ibid.

[72] See Beatriz Colomina. *Privacy and Publicity: Modern Architecture as Mass Media*. (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1996).

and even harmful process that alienated the residents it intended to help, often displacing those minority residents that it claimed to house and in effect, kicking the can down the road under the guise of modernizing neighborhoods and fixing "blight."[73] And while the projects in the *New City* exhibition, including the Princeton team composed of assistant professors Eisenman and Michael Graves, were meant to be read as straddling a line by addressing what Drexler called "certain planning problems" that were "technically and economically feasible" and a naive utopianism, Eisenman continued forward along these same lines in his pursuit of a research project with HUD in the months after the exhibition.[74] In the months after the exhibition, Eisenman was in dialogue with both the New York City Department of Housing and the federal housing authority, HUD, about a similar site in order to procure a contract for a planning study for a site covering 110th street to 125th street "river to river." The project stalled out over conflicts between the two funders in terms of who had the ultimate authority and legal jurisdiction over the territory. Nonetheless, a process was initiated where straddling a line between working within existing problems and proposing speculative alternatives took hold.

The exhibition and subsequently, IAUS, were hardly alone in taking up problems of the "urban city," with its complex dilemmas, however coded in terms of poverty, race

[73] On the rise and fall of urban renewal and discourse of urban crisis, see Christopher Klemek, *The Transatlantic Collapse of Urban Renewal: Postwar Urbanism from New York to Berlin* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2011); Wendell Prichett, *Robert Clifton Weaver and the American City: The Life and Times of an Urban Reformer* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008).

[74] There is no further information on the project in the archive but one can speculate on how the work would translate to the realm of working with HUD. Institute for Architecture and Urban Studies fonds, Collection Centre Canadien d'Architecture/ Canadian Center for Architecture, Montréal, "Report to the Board of Trustees," ARCH-272363.

conflict, white flight, and perceptions of communal and infrastructural decay. Indeed, the investigation of urban problems by architects was a nearly ubiquitous and omnipresent concern as the profession reacted to the eventual dissolution of postwar welfare programs by the federal government, ushering in a transition to an era described by political scientist Alan Wolfe as a “franchise state” in which private agencies performed public services and privatization grew in scale and power.[75] The effects of this transition were far and wide reaching. An example of these effects can be located in the efforts of the Ford Foundation, which would later engage with IAUS on funding their urban research, and their recently started Urban Extension program, which aimed to fund similar efforts at state universities across the country. Writing in 1971, Emilio Ambasz described how these programs attempted to address urban commitments:

> In the final report, of October 1966, the Ford Foundation stated that the experiments revealed that our present universities have yet to solve a set of critical questions if they are ever to deal effectively with the problems of an urban society. To the question ‘Are universities presently structured to assume urban commitments?’ they confirmed everyone's suspicion in stating ‘that responsiveness to the urban environment calls for an across-the-board commitment. An isolated department or division devoted to urban affairs appears to have limited impact upon the problem as a whole.’[76]

As noted by Arindam Dutta, “the city became the epistemological object par excellence, at once an abstraction and a seething ‘real’ laboratory of racial tensions, economic inequality, failing infrastructure, administrative (mis)management, and political drama.”[77]

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[75] Emilio Ambasz, “I: The University of Design and Development. II: Manhattan: Capital of the Twentieth Century. III: The Designs of Freedom,” *Perspecta*, Vol. 13/14 (1971), pp. 359-365. See also Alan Wolfe, *One Nation, After All.* (New York: Viking Press, 1998).

[76] Ibid.

[77] Dutta, ibid. Dutta’s introduction to the *A Second Modernism* addresses the question of knowledge paradigms and argues that they are not essential or self-contained but emerge from “a hybridized system involving the infrastructural or regional contexts in which they are set — the availability of funds, of people, epistemic currents, disciplinary audience, and so on.” Ibid.

Precisely *how* the city became an epistemological object as such, and a site for sustained architectural research and investigation, was dependent on changing definitions around architectural research and knowledge paradigms as they shifted at this moment. To examine these paradigms, it is first necessary to understand what tools architects had at their disposal as well as the tools they usurped from other disciplines in thinking through the "problems of the city," and how these tools formed the infrastructural backbone to the methods behind the work unfolding at institutes such as IAUS, and many others like it, in New York City at this moment.

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Part I — An Armory of 'Little Tools'

In their book *Little Tools of Knowledge: Historical Essays on Academic and Bureaucratic Practices*, Peter Becker and William Clark argued that an examination of seemingly self-evident and mundane epistemic and administrative tools reveals how the modern university's claim to knowledge "came about with or even through an armory of little tools: catalogs, charts, tables (of paper), reports, questionnaires, dossiers, and so on... Such things comprise the modern, mundane, bureaucratic repertoire of paperwork."[78] Examinations within architectural scholarship of these little tools have traditionally taken a backseat to intellectual histories of the field. Recently, Sylvia Lavin's examination of little tools of knowledge has demonstrated how postmodernization in architecture "produced knowledge that was embedded in and hidden by design, where, more than a

[78] See: Peter Becker and William Clark, eds., *Little Tools of Knowledge: Historical Essays on Academic and Bureaucratic Practice*. (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2001)*;* John Guillory, "The Memo and Modernity," *Critical Inquiry*, Vol. 31, No. 1 (Autumn 2004), pp. 108-132.

corporate resource, it served as a medium for merging forms of creative production."[79] While her study of postmodernization focuses primarily on the tools of architectural historians, cultural institutions such as the Getty Foundation, and the corresponding management of bureaucratic technologies (for instance, the slide library and its corresponding organization, the ways in which data is marshaled as a creative act in and of itself, and so forth), one can productively extend the argument to the tools of institutional legitimation examined here.

Looking closely at this 'armory of little tools' with a vast empirical basis, an examination of the organizational and administrative documents of IAUS from its founding in 1967 to 1974, when its institutional focus shifted to an emphasis on a repertoire of educational programs and tuition dollars, reveals the epistemological foundations and specific character of the institute as distinct and similar to others in the same milieu, and positions it within a larger phenomenon of similar agencies, activities, and groups.[80] Archived documents — including the temporary charter issued by the University of the State of New York Education Department, non-profit tax exemption filings, internal memorandums, trustee reports, by-laws, meeting minutes, project proposals and prospectuses, letters to potential and current donors, project descriptions, director reports, budgetary documents as well as handwritten revised drafts of all of these —

[79] See Sylvia Lavin, "A Report on Little Tools of Knowledge" in: *Architecture Itself and Other Postmodernization Effects*. (Germany: Canadian Centre for Architecture, 2019), 190-230. See also Bruno Latour, "Visualization and Cognition: Thinking with Eyes and Hands," in Kuklick, Henrika, and Elizabeth Long, eds. *Knowledge and Society: Studies in the Sociology of Culture.* Vol. 6. (Greenwich, Conn: JAI Press, 1986): 1-40; and Reinhold Martin, "Introduction" in: K*nowledge Worlds: Media Materiality and the Making of the Modern University*. (New York: Columbia University Press, 2021).

[80] See Allais, ibid. This chapter proposes a different argument by placing IAUS in a larger institutional and historical context in addition to that of race and racialization, despite the clear importance of those issues.

attest to a self-aware bureaucratic and representational medium in a state of flux as Eisenman as director, the board of trustees, and other associates attempted to shift and accommodate multiple and often conflicting modes of work, funding, and directions in order to stake out a productive territory in a landscape of similar institutes competing for prestige, legitimation, attention, student participants, power, and most of all, dollars. An examination of these documents through multiple parallel trajectories that are not strictly chronological mirrors the manner in which the institute functioned, not as a cohesive entity, but as a contradictory one, as overlapping concerns struggled to find priority during the course of its brief history.

Significantly, this bureaucratic medium of documents is legible in two ways. First, as an index of how a fledgling institute defined itself through wordcraft, which I define as a manipulation of the materiality of language through a process of cutting / pasting and rhetorical flexibility to simultaneously pursue clarity *and* ambiguity – a technocratic mimicry of the language, modalities, and formats of documents found in governmental and state apparatuses they aspired to engage such as the Ford Foundation. In this mimicry, there was a mirroring of positivist terminology, vague definitions of then-current trends (many of which were short-lived), and ambitious claims to truth production that were often speculative at best and scientistic at worst.[81] And second, the bureaucratic

[81] Sociologist Robert Gutman observed this trend toward bureaucratization in his observations about the trend away from independent proprietorship and toward salaried employment in private firms, which followed "an underlying social process which accompanies the advance of industrialization known as the 'dequalification of labor.'" Gutman characterized this process as the "tendency of work to be broken down into smaller and more limited tasks requiring less sophisticated training and expertise," while "at the same time elevating the responsibility of a tiny segment of the professional labor force that has the task of coordinating and managing." Bureaucratization and more paperwork were one of the most immediate and most obvious outcomes of this dequalification. See: Robert Gutman, *Architecture from the Outside in: Selected Essays*, ed. Dana Cuff and John Wriedt. (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 2010), 38.

medium can be analyzed as a means to understand the nature of distributed authorship that was at stake under the rubric of an *institute* – a designation that was not so clearly defined – and how this grey matter of bureaucratic writing revealed intentions otherwise covered over or left unarticulated.[82] To speak of "bureaucratic" writing originating from an organization of less than twenty-five people at its apex (and far fewer at other moments) may seem to be a categorical misnomer. However, the documentation makes evident the ways in which this institute ambitiously attempted to work in a managerial mode to carefully curate how it was perceived, represented, branded, and understood by different publics "out there" in New York and beyond. This negotiation would mirror the university's own entanglements with boundaries both physical and virtual, or what Reinhold Martin has recently identified as the "recurring problem (....) of when, where, and how to draw the line separating inside from outside, a broken, twisted line that puts the university in the world–to some degree by setting it apart."[83] For IAUS, this line was consistently shifting and bifurcating according to the vagaries of their efforts to redefine their institutional identity.

Part II — Para-Institutionality

As noted by media historian Lisa Gitelman in her study of the history of documents, "documents have cultural weight mostly according to their institutional frames - the university, the corporation, and the state ... however remote the contextual framework

[82] Lisa Gitelman, "Near Print and Beyond Paper: Knowing by *.pdf," chapter 4 in: *Paper Knowledge: Toward a Media History of Documents*. (Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press, 2014): 111-135.

[83] Reinhold Martin, *Knowledge Worlds: Media, Materiality, and the Making of the Modern University*. (New York: Columbia University Press, 2020): 1.

can sometimes seem."[84] Furthermore, an analysis of paperwork and wordcraft is relevant not only to connect the material culture of these documents and the bureaucratic medium to the more intangible ambitions and stated goals of their contents, but as a way to examine the question of materiality of *language* itself. What IAUS produced the most of was, in fact, its own constantly evolving self-identity and self-fashioning as a para-institute, posing as a significant player in a crowded field.[85] A para-institute in this context can be defined as that which occupies an in-between or liminal condition, taking up a familiar form but also pushing that form beyond its definition. This relationship – described by the Greek prefix "para" (παρά) means both beside *and* beyond – signals a manner in which IAUS straddled positions between an architectural practice (that which is nominally conceived of as working on commissioned projects for private clients, something that Eisenman was continually doing on the side, a university, and a non-profit government agency operating in the service of larger political aims or bodies. In a nominal manner, this desire to operate in multiple registers was similar to the Bauhaus, one of the most significant pedagogical institutions in the twentieth century. In writing about the multiple roles that unfolded there, historian Leah Dickerman has argued that "Bauhaus was many things - publisher, advertising agency, industrial-design partner, fabricator - it was first and foremost a school, and its approach to modernism was defined pedagogically."[86] Eisenman's own interest in the early

[84] Gitelman, ibid.

[85] Ibid, 5. On self-fashioning as a process of identity formation and defining the self, see: Mark Jarzombek, "The Saturations of Self: Stern's (and Scully's) Role in (Stern's) History," *Assemblage: A Critical Journal of Architecture and Design Culture* No. 33, MIT Press, Cambridge, MA, (1997): 7-21. This tradition of self-fashioning constitutes one of the principal means by which modern architects articulate their work.

[86] Leah Dickerman, "Bauhaus Fundamentals" in: Barry Bergdoll, Leah Dickerman, David Frankel. *Bauhaus 1919-1933: Workshops for Modernity.* (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 2009).

twentieth century avant-garde showed a light on earlier twentieth century institutional models that were both pedagogical and multi-faceted, institutions that had long shadows well beyond their actual time of operation.

For IAUS, this para-institutional quality was most evident in the continual process of defining and re-defining the institutional scope of work, methods, protocols, personnel roles, and in the work of managing the institute as such. In this sense, IAUS was defined and self-regulated by this flow of documents in and out of the institution more so than by its definition of the sum of projects, tools, and individuals operating under the direction of these protocols. Working from *and* against the grain of the archive allows a number of competing voices and objects to be read as evidence, not simply the objects or texts that are thought to nominally play this role (ie. the interesting and charismatic individuals that have come to dominate histories of this period), thereby opening the material up to actors who were not necessarily authors, and to other forces such as extra-disciplinary changes in non-profit funding streams, shifts in federal housing policies, and others.

Borders, Between and Within

The archival documents, viewed through an empirical lens, pose indirect answers to how we might understand what constituted, organizationally and bureaucratically, an institute in 1967. And more importantly, the aspirational cultural and intellectual capital of an institute at this time, as distinct from its technocratic and instrumental role as a producer of research, is systematically revealed through an examination of the minutiae

of paperwork. A crucial piece of evidence is also one of the most self-consciously composed and consistently revised: the institutional mission statement and corresponding institutional identity of IAUS was subtly modified and adjusted according to the audience that was addressed, in ways that are more common in corporate marketing and branding strategies, now increasingly familiar to architecture schools and institutions today.[87] Significantly for IAUS, one small and potentially inconsequential detail - the inclusion of “The” in the name of the institute - can be taken as indicative of a desire to stand out from the multitude of institutes, agencies, and established reputations in the research economy of the late 1960s. Documents from 1967-71, use the designation ‘the Institute’ (small “t”) while after 1973 “The Institute” (large “T”) prevails. While many similar institutes and agencies competed in an already competitive field for funding, recognition, and prestige, the IAUS attempted to signal a singular presence with its name alone. In the course of tracking these modifications, however minor they might appear at first, what becomes evident is that in its constitution as an independent non-profit education corporation, several contradictions were unarticulated. These contradictions are a testament to a broader relocation of knowledge production from its typical hallowed halls of academia, to a nomadic terrain besieged by forces of

[87] For a history of a comparable pedagogical experiment that would later result in a pedagogical system, see: Irene Sunwoo, “Between the 'Well-Laid Table' and the 'Marketplace': Alvin Boyarsky's Experiments in Architectural Pedagogy,” (Ph.D. dissertation, Princeton University, 2013) which is discussed below, as well as Irene Sunwoo, “From the ‘Well-Laid Table’ to the ‘Marketplace:’ The Architectural Association Unit System.” J*ournal of Architectural Education* 65, no. 2 (2012): 24–41, and Irene Sunwoo, “Pedagogy's Progress: Alvin Boyarsky's International Institute of Design.” *Grey Room* 34 (2009): 28–57. Sunwoo tracks the ways in which Boyarsky’s pedagogical model of school as “marketplace” was the “only example of a model of architectural education that so unambiguously aligned its operations and objectives with the logic of late capitalism.” In chapter four, she writes about shifts from the arena of the competitive “market place” and onto the broader territory of an “informational economy,” in which “communication and information have come to play a newly central role in production.” The informational economy is paramount to this historical narrative as well. Ibid, Sunwoo.

neoliberal capital, which affected the very utility and orientation of knowledge as such.[88] The manner in which architecture navigated these divisions between profession and academia was not at all new, but was in fact historically configured as an integral site of contestation of boundaries that was being litigated anew in the postwar moment.

Examining the history of architecture's role in the university and the corresponding role of architectural metaphors in the constitution of the university as an institution, theorist Mark Wigley has argued that architecture as a "new discipline would graft itself onto the sciences, rationalizing building with the existing technology courses, but then importing the disciplinary 'apparatus' of the library to rationalize that which exceeds building to become fine art."[89] In particular, Wigley's essay discussed the formation of Columbia University's School of Architecture, the role of its founder William Ware, and the struggle for disciplinary independence/ dependence from both the sciences and the fine arts. More specifically, his history discussed the circumstances around Ware's dismissal from Columbia due to the fact that he published his lecture notes as textbooks for a correspondence school, a program intended to be a university "extension" course, "through which students who could never enter the physical, let alone class-specific, space of the university could, nevertheless, eventually earn one of its regular degree." This act of publishing would precipitate issues that are relevant here many decades later: the boundary between the university and its extension, the role of knowledge in

[88] Jacques Derrida; Catherine Porter; Edward P. Morris, "The Principle of Reason: The University in the Eyes of its Pupils," *Diacritics*, Vol. 13, No. 3 (Autumn 1983): 2-20.

[89] Mark Wigley, "Prosthetic Theory: The Disciplining of Architecture," *Assemblage*, No. 15 (Aug., 1991), pp. 6-29.

constructing and maintaining those boundaries, and the ways in which they are policed and controlled.

Secondarily, Wigley maintains that Ware “established the form of the modern architectural school by identifying education with publication, producing many of the standard architectural books that were used extensively both inside and outside all the universities,” which would later serve as the general principle by which IAUS would treat its publication program as it proliferated in the mid and late 1970s. As noted later by architect and educator Henry Cobb, "the truth is that owing to this condition of misfit, schools of architecture, while located at the university, can seldom be said to be in and of the university."[90] According to histories of the university like Wigley’s and others, architecture’s own academic para-institutionality dates back to the Morrill Land Use Act of 1862, which resulted in the university as constituted by a newly synthesized grouping of disciplines–liberal arts, fine arts, sciences, and professional schools–and “created a double opening for architecture: first, to join the sciences, which were added from 1847, and, second, to join the fine arts, added from 1870.”[91] Wigley’s essay makes clear that this space made for architecture in the university was not completely *inside* the university.[92] This ambiguity toward architecture’s professional and academic boundaries continued unabated to the 1960s and 70s.

[90] Henry N. Cobb, *Architecture and the University.* (Boston, MA: Harvard University, 1986).

[91] Ibid.

[92] Ibid.

Looking more closely at IAUS demonstrates these convergences and conflicts between inside and outside, between a mode of interconnectivity and autonomy. In a 1967 document, Eisenman notably described IAUS as an independent non-profit education corporation, as well as a coordinating body for research activities in which 'faculty' would lead graduate students in research projects.[93] The usage of scare quotes, along with other terminology borrowed from standard university terminology such as students, researchers, interns and collaborators, indicates a pliable set of erstwhile figures tethered to the Institute through a mutable set of roles and relationships that could adapt or evolve. Another document of transcribed meeting minutes with trustees from late October 1967 evidenced that MoMA had agreed to sign the lease on behalf of IAUS for an office space at 5 East 47th Street in Manhattan ("a rather undistinguished building" Banham noted), along with the procurement of initial funds and aid in private donations.[94] More critically, the association with MoMA gave IAUS "a special capacity for the exhibition, publication, and dissemination of information." A parallel affiliation with Cornell University's School of Architecture which was described in the generic sense simply as permitting access to the "resources of the university."[95] These connections as

[93] Institute for Architecture and Urban Studies fonds, Collection Centre Canadien d'Architecture/ Canadian Center for Architecture, Montréal, ARCH-272357: "Meeting Minutes, Board of Trustees," Oct. 1967. 'Faculty' would soon become faculty (without the quotes) after several years, and the participants at IAUS had shored up tenure at their respective institutions in which they made their permanent homes.

[94] Institute for Architecture and Urban Studies fonds, Collection Centre Canadien d'Architecture/ Canadian Center for Architecture, Montréal, ARCH-272357: "Meeting Minutes, Board of Trustees," Oct. 1967. This preordained alignment between MoMA and IAUS would lead most architectural historians to view the entire endeavor as "elitist" .... See, for example: Mary McLeod, "Architecture and Politics in the Reagan Era," *Assemblage* 8 (February 1989): 53. Also noteworthy is the fact that this document is missing several final pages which outlined a key concern brought forward by Dean Burnham Kelly of Cornell University as to "clarify the position of IAUS with respect to the granting of degrees...." The archival absences are a crucial component of the current state of the documents.

[95] The first incarnation of the Institute was as the "Manhattan Campus" for Cornell University.

well as those to public and private agencies “with their capacity for implementing and administering these solutions,” translated to a constellation of social and professional networks that would form the core of activities at IAUS in its early years and also demonstrated a simplistic understanding of the fluidity between these different modes; museum, agency, institute are each seen as points of internodal points between execution, publication, and dissemination.[96]

Furthermore, the connection to MoMA and Drexler would seem to contradict the notion of “independence” as it in fact tethered IAUS to existing power structures along with their stated or unstated ideologies. While MoMA was an obvious gatekeeper both official and otherwise, architects like Eisenman and Ambasz were looking for ways in which to bend the museum toward unlikely ends.[97] Ambasz in particular frequently cast his work at MoMA in terms of a transgressive occupation of, or resistance to, its institutional mandate, hoping that his exhibitions and projects could themselves broadcast alternative messages to that of the museum’s official voice. Within these networks, the internal mechanisms of distributing labor and responsibility described a formalized social and hierarchical order, operating under the guise of efficiency while the actual record of projects pursued to their completion tells a different story, full of starts, stops, and dead-ends. Ambasz’s contribution to the institutional framework was not immune from these ambiguities, as evidenced by a statement he prepared for an

[96] On MoMA, and the relationship between museum trustees and management of exhibitions see: Sophy Burnham, “The Manhattan Arrangement of Art and Money,” *New York Magazine*, December 8, 1969.

[97] Reflecting on MoMA and its setting as background for Emilio Ambasz’s Universitas conference, Felicity Scott has asked: “how could one possibly invent new futures, revolutionary or not, from within such an institution? How could one occupy a dominant institution “otherwise” or force it into a mode of becoming?” See: Felicity Scott, “On the “Counter-Design” of Institutions: Emilio Ambasz’s Universitas Symposium at MoMA,” *Grey Room (*2004) Vol. 14: 46–77.

early draft of a poster, which stated: “the major area of concern is with the problem of physical design as a problem solving device for structuring the urban environment understood as the active relationship between physical systems and social systems.”[98] In particular, the notion of the “man-made environment,” described by Ambasz as the “result of the processes of interaction between the physical elements he designs and society's patterns of rules and behavior,” would stake out a territory that could easily be construed as rote behaviorism, which was beset by its limits to creativity, its lack of scientific rigor, and confusion of terms. Meanwhile, in reflecting on the same terminology, media theorist Marshall McLuhan would argue that the man-made environment was the assembly of physical artifacts and expanding information networks which shifted attention to an enlarged territorial scale and a new set of conceptual tools (ie. systems theory, cybernetics, information theory, and semiotics).

A Half-way House

Key to its para-institutional status as a non-profit educational corporation positioned between the university proper and the private sector, what has been called by Eisenman a “half-way house,” was the manner in which IAUS exemplified an unhinged yet tenuously connected space of research and production, a space between academia and a professional office that borrowed from both domains as needed. If a halfway house is typically understood as a transitional living facility for those in recovery from drugs or alcohol, then the metaphorical use of the term by Eisenman could refer to the architect’s process of discarding social guilt and lingering do-gooderism that were finding

[98] Institute for Architecture and Urban Studies fonds, Collection Centre Canadien d’Architecture/ Canadian Center for Architecture, Montréal, poster, 1967.

increasingly less traction. And yet this was also a transition from the world of commercial practice to an academic retreat of a certain kind. This in-between position manipulated certain kinds of “abstract” intellectual labor through a set of erstwhile individuals who exemplified interruptions in the flow of the university, or were still finding their roles both in and out of the academia.

More importantly, the notion of being between but not *of* or intrinsic to these institutions suggests a sense that the visible connections themselves between institutions, museums, planning agencies, and practicing architects (rather than sustained relationships or active dialogue between these parties) was most vital and optimistically declared before any real ideological or research position had been fleshed out.[99] In this sense, it seems that it was more critical for MoMA to be a sponsor, or a host of some kind or another, as opposed to any real alignment of work or production between the nascent IAUS and the museum itself, the asymmetry of which between these two institutions must be noted.[100] This mode of multiple alignments recalls what Alvin Boyarksy, another individual dedicated to institution-building himself, noted in his

[99] Institute for Architecture and Urban Studies fonds, Collection Centre Canadien d’Architecture/ Canadian Center for Architecture, Montréal, “1969 Policies and Procedures.” This in-between state is also similar to what Joan Ockman has described regarding the state of CASE in 1965: “CASE wasn't totally sure what it wanted to be - was it a networking thing, a club, a debating society, etc, wanted to provide a forum as it said in 1965, to examine issues central to architecture...” MIT Conference “Revisiting CASE,” Accessed: February 10, 2020. (https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=rqIRxxHtifY&list=PLb7kpKlk9FUSkHQYT1xaTXhCDOEnyu1u8&index=4)

[100] ". . . [T]he Institute of Architecture and Urban Studies was originally meant to be a joint venture with The Museum of Modern Art. It was supposed to be part of the Museum's programs. This thing was cooked up by Peter Eisenman and Emilio Ambasz and Arthur [Drexler], at the moment of truth, pulled back and decided, no, we are not going to sponsor the Institute. That doesn't mean, however, that he wasn't incredibly interested in the Institute. But he was smart, he was smart, because if he had really gotten into bed with Peter Eisenman, it would have been a disaster. It was the best thing the Museum never did." See: Barbara Jakobson, Interview by Sharon Zane. October 29, 1997, transcript, The Museum of Modern Art Oral History Program http://www.moma.org/docs/learn/archives/transcript-jakobson.pdf (accessed September 27, 2012).

description of Eisenman, as someone “in the tradition of Sergei Diaghilev, putting together many packages involving many people in many places...” [101]

Looking at Boyarsky more closely brings up a notable comparison with his International Institute of Design (IID), which then reveals overlaps and differences between the two nascent institutional forms, both of which occupied an anti-institutional space within a broader pedagogical landscape. Writing about Boyarsky and IID, which predated his directorship of the Architectural Association from 1971-1990, Irene Sunwoo has traced a compelling institutional history that “investigates how in lieu of such conventional academic resources, lines of communication, from the telephone to postcards, supplied its institutional infrastructure.”[102] In doing so, she argued that the gathering of individuals assembled for the six-week summer sessions of IID were prefigured by the “groundwork for such a network through the dissemination of polemics and projects to an international reading audience.”[103] Beyond print media, IID was mobilized by multiple channels of communication including letters, magazines, postcards, telephones, audio recordings, video and film, creating a “by-passing ad hoc agency” which offered an “alternative ambience” imbued with ongoing ideas, dialogue, and activity.[104] Indeed, Sunwoo argues that IID recast the school of architecture as a “deviant, hybridized media technology.” The similarities to IAUS’ ambitions extend further, to a personal

[101] “Peter Eisenman In Conversation with Alvin Boyarsky, January 20, 1975. Accessed: April 9, 2021. (https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=rhQLaM0Q11g)

[102] Sunwoo, 115.

[103] Sunwoo, 115.

[104] Ibid.

accord and parallel personal histories between Boyarsky and Eisenman. As she explained:

> Between the autumn of 1969 up until the first IID Summer Session took place in July 1970, Boyarsky on various occasions consulted Eisenman. He discussed his plans for the summer school and sought advice on funding sources, organizational tactics, and ways to attract students and possible collaborators—all similar issues that his colleague had recently faced when launching the IAUS.[105]

While IID focused exclusively on a pedagogical experiment during the summer session as an "extra-institutional institution," IAUS attempted to transform this quality of "extra-institutionality" into a yearlong endeavor that could find multiple formats and audiences.

A 'Proto University Model'

How then was IAUS organized and what were its protocols? How did its participants justify its existence? The following year, in a 1968 letter to a potential donor which outlined a potential project ("Physical planning as a response to the psychological and physiological needs of the individual") and asked for further funds, Eisenman described IAUS' future pursuits in the following manner:

> The future direction of the Institute will be concerned with broadening our interests in a diverse number of subjects concerning the environment, with the hope that this experimental institutional model which we have today can grow to become a truly 'urban university,' where the process of education, the students and teachers, participates directly in the activities of the city. Therefore, while we realize that a foundation might be interested in a particular project, because of our desire and, indeed, the necessity to keep all aspects of our 'proto university model' working at the same time...[106]

[105] Ibid.

[106] Institute for Architecture and Urban Studies fonds, Collection Centre Canadien d'Architecture/ Canadian Center for Architecture, Montréal, 1968 Letter to Mrs. Douglas Auchincloss about IAUS

This definition of an 'urban university,' however vague, harkens back to the historical foundations of the university as a space defined solely by a set of institutional practices, and not a specific spatial context of the university as a group of buildings or a city or even a nation.[107] Furthermore, the notion of a university set apart from society, as a means to gain a critical distance from it, was a common refrain in the debates around the future of the university in the decade of the sixties. By 1969, after two years of seeking work and refining the institutional structure and its operational guidelines, an updated policies and procedures document (figure 1.2) demonstrated a keen interest in flexibility as a description of the general structure of the Institute:

> The Institute, as an independent educational corporation, has a flexibility of structure which allows it to develop its own faculty, students and methods for undertaking projects and research. The Institute as a central agency can call upon faculty from a number of different universities, rather than be limited by an existing faculty of a single university. This faculty can be engaged for specific periods of time for a particular project; as a project director or a consultant; they are participants in seminars related to work in progress at the Institute; or they can become resident members of the Institute's faculty.

The document went on to describe in further detail information about faculty, types of students, structure of research, methods and so forth. A section titled "Research Administration" described a surprising degree of flexibility:

> A project director need not be a permanent or full-time member of the Institute faculty. In fact, the idea of the Institute is to provide a *central mechanism* where individuals can come together on a project basis. Therefore, the Institute encourages projects to be submitted which are within the scope of the Institute's research objectives.[108]

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activities with attached project proposal, ARCH401550. This effort to form a proto-university model was part of a larger exploration of alternative education formations in this moment.

[107] Wigley, ibid.

[108] Ibid.

A few years later in 1971, the notion of a "truly 'urban university'" shifted yet again, and IAUS was now described as a "non-profit *making* institution," which contained "both graduate education, research, design and development." Regarding the impact of commercial interests, the Institute "seeks to evade the inhibitory effect of socio-economic interests."[109] This effort to evade the influence of socio-economic interests while simultaneously attempting to navigate a complex and multifaceted field of funding and grants would make for a razor thin edge on which IAUS was situated during its lifespan.

Writing in 1971, Eisenman admitted that "when the Institute was started four years ago... it did not feel the need to make such a priori judgments before beginning."[110] Another key trope, repeated in these documents is the description of the architect as "a new professional ... involved with enough theory so that he could see more clearly its opposite—the reality of his practice."[111] In these documents, we witness an attempt to frame the institute as a research practice in dialectical opposition to a commercial architectural practice, in order to " unite the theoretical realm of higher education with the pragmatic world of the planning agency."[112] The fellowship structure formed the core

[109] Institute for Architecture and Urban Studies fonds, Collection Centre Canadien d'Architecture/ Canadian Center for Architecture, Montréal, IAUS prospectus draft, 1971.

[110] Institute for Architecture and Urban Studies fonds, Collection Centre Canadien d'Architecture/ Canadian Center for Architecture, Montréal, Peter Eisenman, "The Education of Reality," MoMA Architecture Education USA. conference, 1971.

[111] Institute for Architecture and Urban Studies fonds, Collection Centre Canadien d'Architecture/ Canadian Center for Architecture, Montréal, Memo to the Board of Trustees. Re: Definition of the Institute: The Next Ten Years. 1977.

[112] See, for example, Giovanni Borasi, writing in *The Other Architect*: "IAUS attempted to integrate the intellectual architect-researcher with the architect-designer—just as it tried to integrate the practice of architecture with its urban and social context and its educational role." Giovanni Borasi, editor. *The Other Architect: Another Way of Building Architecture.* (Germany, Canadian Centre for Architecture, 2015).

of these activities, both in the sense of initiating and conducting research, and soliciting funds. It afforded IAUS a highly variable and flexible definition. Initially voted to a period of three years, "fellows" and other related positions such as visiting fellows, Graham Foundation fellows and a shifting set of other temporary titles, were part of a larger shift toward the postwar emphasis on distributed authorship as a result of collectives, collaborative groups, partnerships, fellowships, and networks.[113] Crucially the fellows were responsible not just for research efforts, but for bringing in new projects, funds, and other related work:

> N.B. the on-project work is an opportunity, but it is also a requirement since this is the principal source of funding for the Institute. Consequently, a fellow could opt to do on-project work continuously; but, under current economic circumstances, the stipulated minimum of on-project must be fulfilled.[114]

By 1973, these statements reached a new level of inflationary posturing, coincident with the diversification of educational programs that now included undergraduate architecture, undergraduate planning, undergraduate adaptive reuse, student internships, and continuing education, as well as a public seminar and lecture series: "The IAUS has no equal as an educational, research and development organization.... It is unparalleled in its integration of a humanist approach and professional practice."[115] After six years of existence, undergraduate students from liberal arts colleges both locally and regionally as well as graduate students "on loan" from home institutions were taking part in multiple kinds of programs. This process of "borrowing students," in effect

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[113] Institute for Architecture and Urban Studies fonds, Collection Centre Canadien d'Architecture/ Canadian Center for Architecture, Montréal, Discussion Notes from Board of Fellows, 1971.

[114] Ibid.

[115] Institute for Architecture and Urban Studies fonds, Collection Centre Canadien d'Architecture/ Canadian Center for Architecture, Montréal, Draft of Prospectus.

turned students into a resource, both financial and literal. Because there was no fixed curriculum and because IAUS was a non-accredited institution, it operated outside the traditional boundaries of education and associated metrics imposed by national accreditation boards such as NAAB. As a para-institution, it was able to skirt around many of the typical concerns that educational institutions were encumbered by daily, weekly, and annually.

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Part III — Vagary & Self-Definition

> *What is outdated is not asking what is true and what is just, but viewing science as positivistic, relegating it to the status of unlegitimated learning, half-knowledge, as did the German idealists. The question, "What is your argument worth, what is your proof worth?" is so much a part of the pragmatics of scientific knowledge that it is what assures the transformation of the addressee of a given argument and proof into the sender of a new argument and proof – thereby assuring the renewal of scientific discourse and the replacement of each generation of scientists. And this question, as it develops, leads to the following question, that is to say, metaquestion , the question of legitimacy : "What is your 'what is it worth ' worth"?*
> – Francois Lyotard[116]

These documents, and others like them, are evidence of a language game that focused on describing and delimiting an institution as constituted by its self-made protocols, justifications, procedures, and organizational hierarchies. Jean-François Lyotard's influential book *The Postmodern Condition: A Report on Knowledge* significantly outlined these undercurrents from a broader cultural and philosophical perspective, where he argued that knowledge acquisition was no longer about *bildung*, or the

[116] Jean-François Lyotard, *The Postmodern Condition: A Report on Knowledge*, trans. Geoff Bennington and Brian Massumi. (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1984): 54.

shaping of the mind through selfhood, but instead was increasingly dedicated to a situation in which knowledge was no longer the subject, but in the service of the subject.[117] The primary reason for these changes, according to Lyotard's argument, was that the production of knowledge by the university and its funding by the state no longer were legitimated by a search for truth but instead research was finding its own forms of legitimacy and a shift away from scientific knowledge.[118] For Lyotard, and consequently for IAUS, knowledge production was based on its "performativity" and its use as a saleable commodity. Lyotard's critique of the changes around the university make evident the effects of technocracy:

> The university today, therefore, is primarily skills-based, not ideals-based. The transmission of knowledge is no longer designed to train an elite capable of guiding the nation towards its emancipation, but to supply the system with players capable of acceptably fulfilling their roles at the pragmatic posts required by its institutions.[119]

In other words, knowledge production was understood as both constituted by and constituting multiple often contradictory forces, each with their own unique impact on how knowledge is articulated, and for whom this knowledge holds value. Therefore the production of research becomes free of the idea of justice and truth. Instead is dictated by a set of rules; once the rules of the game are set, one can produce research in the context of a self-legitimating game. This broad and influential critique of knowledge

[117] Jean-François Lyotard, *The Postmodern Condition: A Report on Knowledge*, trans. Geoff Bennington and Brian Massumi (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1984). See also Jacques Derrida: "When, however, the issue is one of creating public titles of competence, or of legitimating knowledge, or of producing the public effects of this ideal autonomy, then, at that point, the university is no longer authorized by itself. It is authorized (berechtigt) by a non-university agency — here, by the state — and according to criteria no longer necessarily or finally those of scientific competence, but those of a certain performativity." Derrida, ibid.

[118] Ibid.

[119] Lyotard, 48.

production would be elaborated by other intellectuals in the time period, specifically in the context of what Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri have called the "informational economy," in which "communication and information have come to play a newly central role in production.[120] For Lyotard, the role of information was crucial in understanding how knowledge was transformed:

> It is reasonable to suppose that the proliferation of information-processing machines is having, and will continue to have, as much of an effect on the circulation of learning as did advancements in human circulation (transportation systems) and later, in the circulation of sounds and visual images (the media).[121]

In this vein, IAUS was an institutional structure that could produce knowledge without any disciplinary boundaries per se. Thus they could declare that "there is no fixed curriculum in the traditional sense and work structures academic life rather than the other way round" became a common refrain. This was despite their self-proclaimed rigorous attempts at delimiting with a high degree of specificity and open-endedness "the notion of what constitutes design and the extent of its relation to the socio-economic environment, and second, the modes by which the designer beholds his environment and the methods by which he attempts to act upon it."[122] Furthermore, it is useful to reflect on Lyotard's justification of scientific work, which is to say "it exists not to produce an adequate model of reality or replication of some outside reality, but rather to simply produce *more* work, to generate new statements, ... to 'make it new.'"[123]

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[120] Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri, *Empire* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2000), 290.

[121] Ibid.

[122] Institute for Architecture and Urban Studies fonds, Collection Centre Canadien d'Architecture/ Canadian Center for Architecture, Montréal, Draft of Prospectus.

[123] Fredric Jameson, introduction. Jean-François Lyotard, *The Postmodern Condition: A Report on Knowledge*, trans. Geoff Bennington and Brian Massumi (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1984).

Therefore thinking about knowledge production intrinsically must include questions about power as two sides of the same coin; which is to ask “who decides what knowledge is and who knows what needs to be decided?”[124]

Knowledge Paradigms

Historians of American higher education, including Roger Geiger, Stuart Leslie, and Daniel Greenberg, have examined the American postwar period in regard to modes of research, the organization and formats of working methods, and varieties of funding sources to make crucial distinctions between centers, agencies, think tanks, and institutes, among numerous additional formations of knowledge production. These historians and others have convincingly analyzed the ways in which the triangulation between funding sources, the autonomy or dependency of knowledge, and changes in the role of research affected the “critical function of mediating between the knowledge demands of society and the knowledge-producing capabilities of university research performers.”[125] In other words, knowledge should be critically understood as a process dictated by *inputs* and *outputs* related to its technics and transmission, and less so by the particular demands of an intellectual paradigm or disciplinary schema.

Many of these organizations shared an ambiguity toward nomenclature, which is to say that the naming of organizations signaled a larger effort to shore up expertise in a moment of uncertainty about disciplinary boundaries, or what has been described as an

[124] Ibid.

[125] Roger L. Geiger, “Organized Research Units--Their Role in the Development of University Research,” *The Journal of Higher Education*, (January - February, 1990, Vol. 61, No. 1): 3.

"epistemological and disciplinary crossroad."[126] This diversity in nomenclature can also be read as an index of alternative institutional forms; terms such as "laboratory," "institute," "agency," "group," and "unit" further suggest a search for other institutional forms beyond those of a traditional architecture firm, office, or an architecture school.[127] As noted by Irene Sunwoo in her discussion of Boyarsky and IID, "the idea of an 'institution' was more flexible, and embraced as a medium for critically posing questions to the discipline at large."[128] Eisenman also sought a "group as opposed to the individual," as he explained in a letter to CASE colleague Tim Vreeland in 1968, a year after IAUS had been initiated.[129] These distinctions were more than simply a question of nomenclature however; they hinted at an effort to reground knowledge in a milieu that has been described as exceedingly elastic and interdisciplinary in the sense that many institutions at this moment were looking for a redefinition of their roles, potentials, and

[126] Mary Lou Lobsinger, "Two Cambridges: Models, Methods, Systems, and Expertise" in: Arindam Dutta, editor. A *Second Modernism: MIT, Architecture, and the 'techno-social' Moment*. Cambridge, MA: SA+Press, Department of Architecture, MIT, 2013.

[127] For example, Alvin Boyarsky also sought a name for his International Institute of Design, IID, that would "include words like institute or association or groups so that it has some of the sound of a corporate body." See Sunwoo dissertation, pg. 123, footnote 34, chapter 2; Letter from Alvin Boyarsky to Cedric Price, 30 September 1969, ABA. Giovanni Borasi has described how institutional naming and mandates at this moment reflected a radical rethinking of "architectural ambitions, a wealth of ideas, and unusual terms that define their forms, modes, and intents of exploration and design: AMO is an observation, UIG is a clinic, Art Net is a chatshop, ILAUD is a laboratory, IAUS is a halfway house, Global Tools is a crafts school, Lightweight Enclosures Unit is a bibliography, the Architecture Machine Group is an interface Forensic Architecture is an evidence agency, Take Part is a workshop, Kommunen in der Neuen Welt is a pilgrimage, the Architectural Detective Agency is an inventory, Design-A-Thon is a planning charrette, CUP is an urban educator, Corridart is a linear museum, ARAU is a resistance coalition, the Delos Symposion is a charter, AD / AA / Polyark is a bus tour, Anyone Corporation is a dialogue, Pidgeon Audio Visual is a lecture kit, and CIRCO is a thought exchange." See: Giovanni Borasi, editor. *The Other Architect: Another Way of Building Architecture.* (Germany, Canadian Centre for Architecture, 2015).

[128] Ibid.

[129] Peter Eisenman fonds, Collection Centre Canadien d'Architecture/ Canadian Center for Architecture, Montréal, Letter from Peter Eisenman to Thomas R. Vreeland Jr., January 9, 1968. AP143.S10 Series: Personal Papers. In the same letter he comments on the ineffectual nature of design education at that time, "especially the long hours of over-the-board criticism which I find to be totally exhausting and without any long term rewards for either student or teacher." Ibid.

audiences.[130] In Roger Geiger's study of organized research units (ORUs), he outlined the distinctions between "centers" which facilitated largely academic research outside of university departments; and, somewhat further removed from departments, "institutes" which accommodated research that was more strongly oriented toward the needs of funders.[131] Looking beyond the strict agenda of pedagogy as it pertained to nationally regulated systems of training or professional expertise, these roles evince a desire to situate architecture as distinct from its role as a specific commercial enterprise or business and vocational training. Additionally, the naming of these organizations indicated both a professional and academic identity that masks subjective, individual personhood legally and conceptually, and instead created an institutional presence constituted by affiliations, networks, and other intangibles.[132]

[130] Emilio Ambasz, Sound Recordings of Museum-Related Events, no. 72.2, The Museum of Modern Art Archives, New York; as quoted in: Felicity Scott, "On the "Counter-Design" of Institutions: Emilio Ambasz's Universitas Symposium at MoMA," *Grey Room (*2004) (14): 46–77. For proceedings from the Universitas symposium, see *The Universitas Project: Solutions for a Post-Technological Society*, conceived and directed by Emilio Ambasz. New York: Museum of Modern Art, 2006. A similar set of ambitions can be located today in the recently-founded "Emilio Ambasz Institute for the Joint Study of the Built and the Natural Environment at MoMA," announced in late 2020 and currently led by Carson Chan.

[131] Roger L. Geiger, "Organized Research Units: Their Role in the Development of University Research," *The Journal of Higher Education*, Vol. 61, No. 1 (Jan. - Feb., 1990), pp. 1-19. By 1950 a wholesale shift from private support to federal funding had occurred; new government patronage allowed for a vast increase in non-instructional academic research units; and these entities offered opportunities to established researchers as well as their graduate student assistants. This shift takes place along with a gradual rise of the nonprofit sector.

[132] For another perspective on this issue of naming with regard to a more contemporary concern, see Andrew Atwood, "Beyond The Problem," *ASCA: The Expanding Periphery and the Migrating Center,* 2015. As schools and other affiliated organizations compete for attention in our own contemporary media-saturated and mediatized age, most recently the School of Architecture at Taliesin (formerly known as the Frank Lloyd Wright School of Architecture) adjusted their new name to "The School of Architecture," a generic and boilerplate designation that eliminates the reference to their founder, Wright, as well as the unique setting of the Arizona desert that inspired their regionalist pedagogy and ethos.

Researching Research

These distinctions between different forms of knowledge production crucially hinged on the nebulous term ‘research,’ which had to be defined and molded into fundable projects. Research was dependent on its codification and dissemination in order to become a useful tool for others. In many of these institutes, architectural research borrowed models and methods from research in the physical sciences and social sciences, and in turn produced manifold interpretations of the notion of “research” that were as varied as their institutional counterparts. As argued by historian Avigail Sachs in her genealogy of postwar architectural knowledge production, research was a “term to distinguish architecture as environment design from the competitive, commercial reality of practice. It connected architecture with science, in a time when scientists were accorded elevated status and endowed in public opinion with moral virtues.”[133] However, as was becoming increasingly clear, the definitions and protocols of research were less than certain.[134]

Institutes like IAUS, some of which have long since disappeared, transformed, or otherwise been absorbed into larger research efforts due to changes in funding priorities and focus, represented part of a longer transition of architectural ‘research’ that had

[133] Ibid.

[134] More recently, Giovanna Borasi has described “research” in this moment in her introductory essay for *The Other Architect*: “Research is not just integral to the project; it often becomes the project, its primary and central scope of activity. Research subjects that appear to be peripheral or tangential to the discipline have the potential, in these new forms, to generate unanticipated and refreshing ideas.” See: Giovanni Borasi, editor. *The Other Architect: Another Way of Building Architecture.* (Germany, Canadian Centre for Architecture, 2015).

already been underway for several decades by the late 1960s. Beginning in the 1950s, research based in technically oriented material studies, building systems, and ergonomics shifted to an increased focus on questions related to “the city” as a complex site of socio-economic relationships, in order to tackle complex issues of race and poverty, psychological perception studies, and information systems for urban analysis.[135] This transition of research focus and methods would evince some fundamental questions at stake in this moment: was architectural research an applied or basic form of knowledge?[136] What counted as basic research in architecture, and in what sense?[137] Did architectural research create a newly grounded link to the profession and if so, did this link instrumentalize and apply this new knowledge?[138] The implication

[135] See: Thomas Bender, “Politics, Intellect, and the American University, 1945-1995,” in *American Academic Culture in Transformation, Fifty Years, Four Disciplines*, ed. Thomas Bender and Carl E. Schorske. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1997: 30. The intersections of architecture with the cultural turn are wide and varied, yet often rely on a definition of “culture” which is at best a hangover from 19th century understandings of cultural production. This will be explored in chapter 3 of the dissertation, which examines how architecture gained a cultural cache that set it apart from an earlier era.

[136] See Avigail Sachs. “On the Question of Leadership: The Postwar Department of Education and Research at the AIA”. *Enquiry The ARCC Journal for Architectural Research,* Vol. 6, no. 2, Dec. 2009; and Daniel S. Greenberg, *Science, Money, and Politics. Political Triumph and Ethical Erosion.* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001): 45-51.

[137] According to Arindam Dutta’s description of the predicament at MIT, basic science is science “without thought of practical ends,” and such catholicity is critical to create the liberal range of skills which can then be purposively harnessed to “answer a large number of important practical problems.” Mary Lou Lobsinger described a similar circumstance in her essay, “Two Cambridges: Models, Methods, Systems, and Expertise” where she described pressing questions around architectural research: “By 1962 Dean of Architecture Pietro Belluschi was confronted with increased demands for practical outcomes in architectural research. In his contribution to the President’s Report of 1963-1964, Belluschi straightforwardly states that basic research rarely occurs in architecture—that is, research with an objective basis and with measurable outcomes that contribute to an “intellectual stockpiling” and furthers the accumulation of knowledge to be built upon. Wary of producing “narrow specialists” at the expense of more theoretical approaches to architecture, Belluschi recognized the need to compete with disciplines engaged in design as environment and which appeared to offer more scientifically legitimized methodological approaches. He noted that while fields such as engineering, psychology, and urban studies were producing valuable research, the outcomes were not in a strict sense architectural.” Dutta, ibid.

[138] In addressing this divide between practice and the world of research, researchers at Cornell University commented in 1968: "It is enough to say that our recent history is littered with fruitless efforts to bring the housing industry into the 20th century." See Joseph Carreiro, “Report #8 The New Building Block A Report on Factory-Produced Dwelling Module 1968.” A Joint Project of the Department of Housing and

was that sponsored research, by the very fact of being sponsored regardless of the individual attitude of researchers, inevitably led to a compromised and trivialized limitation to an otherwise "pure" or abstract set of questions.[139] On the other hand, as *Lotus* editor Pierluigi Nicolin concluded, "architectural work done in universities appears as a particular area of design research, having established its own rules and conditioning factors, which do not correspond to those of professional practice or of work done for a purchaser or for a market."[140] Between these two poles lay an immense set of positions and ideologies.

In 1959, the AIA organized a conference with the governmental science agency through the efforts of the AIA's Committee on Research and its Department of Education and Research. The foreword declared:

> It was recognized early in the work of the Committee on Research that the fundamentals—knowledge of man, his needs, aspirations, behavior and abilities—knowledge of total environment and how best to help it—were areas outside those of the profession of architecture.[141]

As argued by Eric Mumford, basic research often was a form of inquiry that masked over inequalities and inequities. For example, in the work of the Joint Center for Urban

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Design, New York State College of Home Economics A Statutory College of the State University and the College of Architecture, Art and Planning through the Center for Housing and Environmental Studies at Cornell University. Ithaca, NY: Center for Housing and Environmental Studies at Cornell University, 1968.

[139] See: Eric Mumford, "From Master-Planning to Self Build: The MIT-Harvard Joint Center for Urban Studies, 1959-71," Dutta, ibid. Banham, in his 1967 review, described the IAUS "determination to get students out of the academic hothouse and bring them up against the facts and processes of urban reconstruction." Banham, ibid.

[140] Pierluigi Nicolin, "Architecture in the University: Europe," *Lotus*, no. 21 (December 1978): 3.

[141] Participants included Ezra Ehrenkrantz of Berkeley, Robert W. McLaughlin of Princeton, and William Ittelson of Brooklyn College. Eugene F Magenau, ed., "Research for Architecture; Proceedings; AIA-NSF Conference on Research for Architecture," Washington: American Institute of Architects, Documents Division, 1959), 3.

Studies, there is an emphasis on “physical form and abstractly understood social patterns of the postwar metropolis” as opposed to racial conflicts and serious urban conditions that were transforming cities at this time. Later, after a period of tension between direct urban activism and unwillingness to meddle in affairs of social planning, the funding to the Joint Center was cut off by Ford Foundation as they tried to give money directly to African-American community activities instead.

Significantly, the distinction between applied and pure research had for the most part already eroded by the late 1960s, according to historians like Geiger, who claimed that after the Soviet launch of Sputnik, nearly *all* research was seen to be essentially applied and not pure. However, this moment was short lived. By the early 1970s the ideology of basic science had been displaced throughout much of higher education by an ideology based on egalitarianism and social justice.[142] Such programs were incredibly widespread.[143] By the 1970s, the focus on reform, basic research, and social programs gave way to a sense of disillusionment as a result of the perceived failure of modern architecture, or pessimism about the power of architecture to address social problems writ large.[144] For example, urban questions which had previously played a crucial role in

[142] See: Roger L. Geiger, “The Dynamics of University Research in the United States: 1945-90” in T.G. Whiston and R.L. Geiger, eds., *Research and Higher Education: The United Kingdom and the United States*. Buckingham: SRHE/ Open University Press, 1992.

[143] At Harvard, for example, the Graduate School of Design began an Urban Field Service Program. A report on the program noted that “Architects and planners must become more deeply and passionately involved with the real issues that are tearing our cities and our society apart, and in order to do so they must learn first-hand what these problems are like and how to work with the people whose lives they are affecting and who should be making basic decisions about the changes that are to take place.”

[144] See: Avigail Sachs, “The Postwar Legacy of Architectural Research,” *Journal of Architectural Education* 62, no. 3 (February 2009), 53-64; Roger L. Geiger, “Beyond the Ivory Tower,” R*esearch and Relevant Knowledge: American Research Universities Since World War II.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1993.

President Johnson's "Great Society" initiatives were now viewed with skepticism as technocratic strategies associated with the continuing Vietnam War, and were perceived as entirely racist by the groups most directly affected by urban renewal. At the same time, it is also a noteworthy example of the elision between the world of architectural research and pedagogy, of technocratic and bureaucratic reports and informatic media, into a culture of exhibitions, publications, and consumption of knowledge as a commodity, which is to say an instance of the infiltration of the 'culture industry' into the realm of research.[145]

Applied versus Postulative Research

This steadfast distinction between applied/ pure or analytical/ postulative featured prominently in much of the first five years of research proposals and project statements at IAUS, where there was a repeated assertion of two kinds of work: applied research and pure research.[146] For example, the 1971 draft of an IAUS Prospectus contained descriptions of work completed and yet to be completed:

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[145] See, Stanford Anderson, "CASE and MIT: Engagement" in: A *Second Modernism: MIT, Architecture, and the 'techno-social' Moment*. United Kingdom, SA+Press, Department of Architecture, MIT, 2013: 578-651; Sylvia Lavin, Per-Johan Dahl, and Sergio Miguel Figueiredo. "IAUS: Institute for Architecture and Urban Studies." Log 13–14: *Aftershocks: Generation(s) since 1968* (Fall 2008), pp. 154-158; Belmont Freeman, ""The moment for something to happen"," *Places Journal*, January 2014. Accessed 02 Mar 2019; George Baird, "A Reflection on the End of Assemblage," *Assemblage* 41: 11; and Cesare Birignani, "Talking Heads," April 13,2011 *The Architect's Newspaper*. https://www.archpaper.com/2011/04/talking-heads/. Accessed April 22, 2019.

[146] These questions were explored in detail at the IAUS/ MoMA Education conference. Gutman argued that there was a fundamental difference between schools' concern for instruction based on applied knowledge and less so with basic research. Institute for Architecture and Urban Studies fonds, Collection Centre Canadien d'Architecture/ Canadian Center for Architecture, Montréal, Robert Gutman, "The Architectural Educator: Ostrich or Phoenix?" See also Stanford Anderson: "design as a creative process vs design as scientific process was a flawed postwar dichotomy, or at least naively deterministic ... argued instead that architectural design might be best understood as a "research program" whose inherent problem structures and methods distinguished from applied science but allowed it to be viewed as a complementary or parallel discipline." Stanford Anderson, "Social Science in the Design Process: Problems and Prospects, Man-Environment Systems 2, nos. 2 and 3. (March and May 1972): 177-178.

Applied Research
1. Independent team research into the physical and operational aspects of urbanism, particularly at the median scale of comprehensive land settlements of limited size.

2. Commissioned team research for federal, state, city or private urban development and planning agencies at the median scale of comprehensive land settlements of limited size.

3. Individually initiated research studies into built form which are intended to terminate in practical application.

Pure Research
1. Individually initiated retrospective research into the history of past or current urban developments with special emphasis on the interaction of technical change and built form and on the impact of socio-cultural and political ideas on the evolution of such form."[147]

While this history of architectural research focuses on the question of what kind of knowledge and for whom is this knowledge produced along with the relationship between funding and output, what is less often interrogated is the method of knowledge production itself, and its incremental changes related to larger forces. How does knowledge act as a commodity, and for whom, and in what ways does it do so? To understand this, we must also examine funding sources and funding processes of IAUS as a nonprofit educational corporation.

Architecture, Not for Profit

Funding made IAUS possible, and more importantly what is critical to note is that funding always comes from "particular places, organizations and individuals with distinct

[147] Institute for Architecture and Urban Studies fonds, Collection Centre Canadien d'Architecture/ Canadian Center for Architecture, Montréal, ARCH272361_004. "Draft of Prospectus," 1971.

ideologies, motivations, ethics, and morals."[148] In his examination of the changes in think tanks over the past several decades, Kent Weaver has argued that organizations were in some sense a useful cover for individuals with research projects; he noted that "many of these small organizations would not exist formally at all were it not for the preference of foundations to fund non-profit organizations rather than individual researchers."[149] It is in this sense too that IAUS should be understood as an umbrella organization for a small cadre of architects, banning together under the rubric of a nonprofit organization in this moment, in effect sublimating their own practices for the benefit of better funding from a wider variety of "particular places, organizations and individuals."

A critical examination of the sources of funding and fundraising efforts at IAUS tellingly describes how the economic model for a nonprofit educational institute shifted multiple times during the fifteen year time period, in large part as a reflection of the larger economic neoliberal trends that affected architectural production in a moment marked by dwindling of funds in the straitened American economy of the 1970s. In his essay "From Fiscal Triangle to Passing Through Rise of the Nonprofit Corporation," historian Jonathan Levy argued that nonprofits' pecuniary revenues, from such donations or from financial investments on their endowments, were not taxed because they carried out

[148] Charles Rice & Barbara Penner, "Introduction: the foundations of architectural research," *The Journal of Architecture* (2019) 24:7, 887-897.

[149] R. Kent Weaver, "The Changing World of Think Tanks," *Political Science and Politics* (Sept 1989): 563-578. Weaver defined a think tank by noting that "one recent press report suggested that a think tank might be defined as 'an arrangement by which millions of dollars are removed from the accounts of willing corporations, the government, and the eccentric wealthy and given to researchers who spend much of their time competing to get their names in print.'" Ibid.

"public "purposes," codified in Section 501(c) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954."[150] His essay traces how the definitions around state incorporation laws from the nineteenth century forward are ambiguous, allowing for a degree of contestations with regard to what counted as acting for and in the name of the public.[151] I would argue that this ambiguity was a key facet of their mission statement and funding model, which must be understood in direct contrast to the nature of architecture as a commercial practice, or a for-profit enterprise. How exactly they acted for and in the name of the public was ultimately less than clear however. While their charter claimed that IAUS would "provide continuing education to the public through seminars, lectures, publications, and exhibitions," the question of who constitutes the public for IAUS remains rather open-ended. While it is clear that many of these programs defined the public as anyone who was willing to pay and therefore participate, including groups of college students who otherwise lacked access to architecture courses, mid-career architects, or those with a casual interest in architecture, looking at how this money then re-circulated into IAUS coffers and what it was used for tells us that acting in the name of the public is different than acting "for the public." The early projects at IAUS also privileged an interest in urban form and architectural form, lending credence to the notion that the work was not commercially specific to a site, but was instead "abstract" and therefore aimed at the larger public, as opposed to a private client with a for-profit motive.

[150] Jonathan Levy, "From Fiscal Triangle to Passing Through: Rise of the Nonprofit Corporation" in: *Corporations and American Democracy*. Naomi R. Lamoreaux, William J. Novak, editors. (Boston: Harvard University Press, 2017), 213-244.

[151] William J. Novak, "The Public Utility Idea and the Origins of Modern Business Regulation," n: *Corporations and American Democracy*. Naomi R. Lamoreaux, William J. Novak, editors. (Boston: Harvard University Press, 2017), 139-176.

Returning to Allais' essay, she critically deconstructed sources of funding, and thereby charted how IAUS was largely dependent on three specific types of funds, each of which had associated methods of legitimation which in turn dictated how the money was used and what its end goals were: 1. public funding and government contracts; 2. private grants and donations; and 3. revenue from sales and tuition. Her conclusions were most aptly demonstrated in a funding bar graph chart, with data that was pieced together through an examination of financial documents which are subject to further inquiry on discrepancies between reported and actual income. These documents also revealed that the IAUS's hybridity–a condition that has been chronicled repeatedly that is worth rethinking here–"was not a static condition, but a dynamic framework for adapting to change over time."[152] In tracking these three phases of the institutional history, she argued that each cluster of activity actually corresponded to a classifiable thinktank type which tied knowledge production to a particular funding combination, from social scientific research enterprise to an emerging culture industry.[153]

Beyond the categorization of funding sources, the examination of fundraising efforts, and forms of corporate and private sponsorship poses several key questions: why were corporate architects and businessmen willing to contribute such large amounts of

[152] Ibid.

[153] Allais' text states that: "Public sources of funding include: national (HUD, NEA, NEH, NIMH) and state and local agencies (UDC, UDG, NYSCA, NYSCH). Between 1971 and 1974 this included payment for architectural services. Private sources of funding include: foundations, funds, and endowments (such as Bartoš; Van Ameringen; Graham; Sloan; Mary Biddle Duke; CBS; Noble; Pinewood; HEW; Meitzer; Stanton; Kaplan); corporate sponsors (including Con Edison; Exxon; AT&T; Atlantic Richfield); and individuals and/or their firms (including R. Meier; C. Gwathmey; C. Pelli; D. Brody; D. Banker; E. L. Barnes; G. D. Hines; IM Pei; P. Johnson; J. Gruzen; P. Kennon; P. Rudolph; P. Cohen; Roche Dinkeloo; SOM, Swanke Hayden Connell; U. Franzen; W. Chatham). "The range of funding sources Eisenman and the Institute considered is vast, and they wisely put together a mixture of private, corporate, and state donors ranging including the NIMH, HUD, Exxon, AT&T, the National Endowment for the Arts, and architecture and construction firms." Allais, ibid. Weaver, ibid.

money? What did they hope to gain and what did they actually gain? And how did knowledge function as a commodity, and for whom and in what ways did it do so and continue to do so? Archival evidence demonstrates that Eisenman and others were continually aware of the pressures of how funding limited and constrained the types of work they hoped to pursue, and how limited their funds were in terms of constraints on time and effort. At the same time, they consistently sought funding that would enable a freedom of pursuits, and a sustained ability to cover overhead costs, which were pressing, and how to use monies for resources other than what they had been explicitly given for.[154] A draft of the prospectus from 1971 outlined the ambitions for funding in the following manner:

> It is already evident that in its applied research role, the Institute has to largely depend upon funding provided by commissioning clients: usually public agencies. *However, the Institute would be severely limited in its postulative and pure research activities if it were only to undertake projects which were capable of attracting public funds, as these projects would tend to be determined by the scope of sums already appropriated, thereby severely restricting the Institute's capacity to suggest new programs for public action*. To maintain its growth in a postulative, independent research capacity, the Institute requires a source of private funding and to this end, it should strive in the future to match more equally project funds with private foundation money.[155]

What is notable is their admission that despite being a non-profit corporation, they can't rely solely on public funds because these funds are limited by nature, and "would tend to be determined by the scope of sums already appropriated." In other words, working for the public implied a process of seeking private funding that would then benefit the

[154] One of the key financial decisions was that 40% percent of all money received was put back into overhead. See interview with Andrew MacNair, in Suzanne Frank, ibid.

[155] Institute for Architecture and Urban Studies fonds, Collection Centre Canadien d'Architecture/ Canadian Center for Architecture, Montréal, IAUS prospectus draft, 1971. This is another document which is incomplete, and missing its final pages. Italics my own.

public at an unforeseen later date. By 1977, a year which marked the ten year anniversary of IAUS, in a memorandum organized in advance of a major capital funding campaign, Eisenman declared that it was no longer feasible to “continue with an ad hoc collection of programs based on fundraising which is swayed by the nature of the funds available,” and it was necessary “to give the Institute both a definition, and a limitation for the first time.”[156]

Beyond the sources of funding, it is also crucial to understand the ways in which funding and funding sources were instrumental in the definition of knowledge and legitimation in the context of a non-profit corporation such as IAUS. As noted by Lyotard, a study of legitimation entails that knowledge statements are made within a circuitry of power; which is to say that “knowledge or expertise is not the sum of unidirectional pronouncements issued from some preordained priesthood, upon the processing of whose content listeners efficiently carry out the requisite command.” Furthermore, he argued that:

> The relationship of the suppliers and users of knowledge to the knowledge they supply and use is now tending, and will increasingly tend, to assume the form already taken by the relationship of commodity producers and consumers to the commodities they produce and consume - that is, the form of value. Knowledge is and will be produced in order to be sold, it is and will be consumed in order to be valorized in a new production: in both cases, the goal is exchange. It ceases to be an end in itself, it loses its “use value.”[157]

[156] Institute for Architecture and Urban Studies fonds, Collection Centre Canadien d’Architecture/ Canadian Center for Architecture, Montréal, memorandum, 1977.

[157] Lyotard also writes that “legitimation primarily involves the question of audience: competence is staked as a territory where both sender and addressee of a message must come to some transactional import of whatever it is that is being said, as well as the manner in which it is said. The concept of legitimation rather entails that, in the context of knowledge production, all such subjective dynamics—whether person, faction or idea—in fact operate within a shared frame of competence: legitimation occurs when statements produced by a speaker receive agreement by its addressee not so much in its content as in terms of the protocol, code, or “phrase regimen” within which it is encrypted.” Ibid.

The “explicitness” spoken of above, if anything, speaks to the architects’ vulnerability within a technocratic field: knowledge as understood in relationship to the construction of facts, impacted by the financial advantages of ever-increasing equipment and its associated costs. Despite this, IAUS ran counter to the notion that financial advantages would lead the way to a definition of success. Instead, they relied on a model of flexibility located between existing paradigms of research and commercial practice.

8 West 40th Street

In part, this flexibility was due to the physical location in the city and the space in which they operated. In 1973, a shift from the first location at 5 East 47th street to 8 West 40th street by Bryant Park drastically increased the cost of rent to $ 43,015/ per year. This space at the top of a midrise building in a prominent location in midtown would drastically increase the public presence of IAUS, positioned between multiple subway hubs, and close to a helicopter landing pad at the top of the Pan-am building. At this time, internal memorandums describe the conceit to obtain a space in which multiple kinds of activities could unfold, a highly visible space in the urban imaginary of New York City. The space at 8 West 40th was what can be described as a “creative space,” defined as the nexus between a spatial configuration, a model of work, a work process, and a theory of creativity, in which institutional ambiguity and creativity is read by virtue of the mutability of architectural programs, events, and configurations that could unfold there. Practically speaking, the space could be used for a number of programs and functions: seminars, gatherings, lectures, exhibitions, debates, courses, reviews,

parties, and other small, medium, and large programs. It was a space which was both empty and full simultaneously.[158] In contrast to the first space on East 47th street, which students described as having a “quasi-office atmosphere” the 8 West 40th location was defined by its flexibility and open-endedness, and contained tables and movable partitions to facilitate this mutability. To wit, in the May 1970 memorandum titled “Minutes of the Third Regular Meeting of the Board of Trustees,” a series of circulating exhibitions—one of which was proposed first to MoMA and upon rejection, was then suggested to the IAUS—and a series of publications were proposed as possible strategies and justifications for the larger space and steep increase in rent. The conclusion was that the increase in IAUS activities that would increase their public presence was in some sense a result of financial directives, and secondarily, an idea to increase architecture’s and subsequently IAUS’ public audience.

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Conclusions: “Breathtaking Escapes,” Enterprise, and Institutionalization

In 1982, after a period of turmoil over the directorship, a job posting for the new director position indicated that the role was principally about fundraising, and what was referred to as the “institutionalization of the Institute”: “The Executive Committee of the Trustees have in their opinion concluded that the Institute is still not an institution.”[159] The conceptual divide between an institute and an institution represented a significant leap, citing the personal dependency on a single individual and noted that “without that

[158] See the photographs in the appendix of Suzanne Frank’s memoir, *IAUS: An Insider’s Memoir*.

[159] Institute for Architecture and Urban Studies fonds, Collection Centre Canadien d’Architecture/ Canadian Center for Architecture, Montréal, Directors’ Report, Trustees Meeting, January 19, 1982.

individual there is little likelihood that the Institute at present would survive."[160] This document, written by Eisenman himself, outlined a five-year and five-component plan, during which time he would gradually phase out of his role as director and assist in the transition. Moreover, the plan included fundraising for an endowment of three to five million dollars, a goal of finding a permanent headquarters (without which "there is no such thing as an institution"), the establishment of a library, an archive, a slide library, and a study center which would come together to "institutionalize" IAUS.[161] The admission of this level of dependency on Eisenman *by* Eisenman speaks to the level of self-awareness but also lack of true shared accountability in the organization. This five-year plan was not followed through upon, and instead IAUS cycled through a number of directors after Eisenman resigned from his role, the first of which included Kenneth Frampton and then later Steven Peterson, Anthony Vidler, Mario Gandelsonas, before officially closing its doors in 1985 after going bankrupt.[162]

Writing after the doors had officially shut, Michael Sorkin noted that "Eisenman had kept the IAUS going through a series of breathtaking escapes from financial disaster, purchased with withheld salaries, last minute grantsmanship, and other feats of financial legerdemain."[163] This in itself is not surprising as a facet of their existence, tethered to the whims and vagaries of funding, funders, and foundations; however this is also not to contradict the entrepreneurialism of the endeavor. Furthermore, we often reserve a

[160] Ibid.

[161] Ibid.

[162] There was also a short-lived plan to form a Philip Johnson Center for Architecture, of which IAUS was one of four component parts.

[163] Michael Sorkin, *Exquisite corpse: Writing on Buildings*. (United Kingdom: Verso, 1991), 110-113.

reading of technocratic documents such as spreadsheets as being ideologically neutral, but in fact their ideological function is to neutralize the difference between things, under the guise not of the aesthetics of the museum, but of the evenness of data information architectures. What the documents studied above make clear is how much of their time was spent on these matters. What is more surprising is the fact that this was structural to being a non-profit that was situated neither as a practice or as a school. Looking at how the notion of para-institutionality shifted over the course of its lifetime, as well as understanding the extent to which an institute was defined less so by activities and types of work and much more so by its development of its sense of “self,” modes of self-preservation and articulation of an institutional identity through formats like letterhead and graphics, wordcraft, and other strategies of legitimation which attempted to simulate the operational and bureaucratic paradigm, which was then was mirrored back to them through their own efforts.

2

Figures

The University of the State of New York
Education Department

Provisional Charter of
The Institute for Architecture and Urban Studies

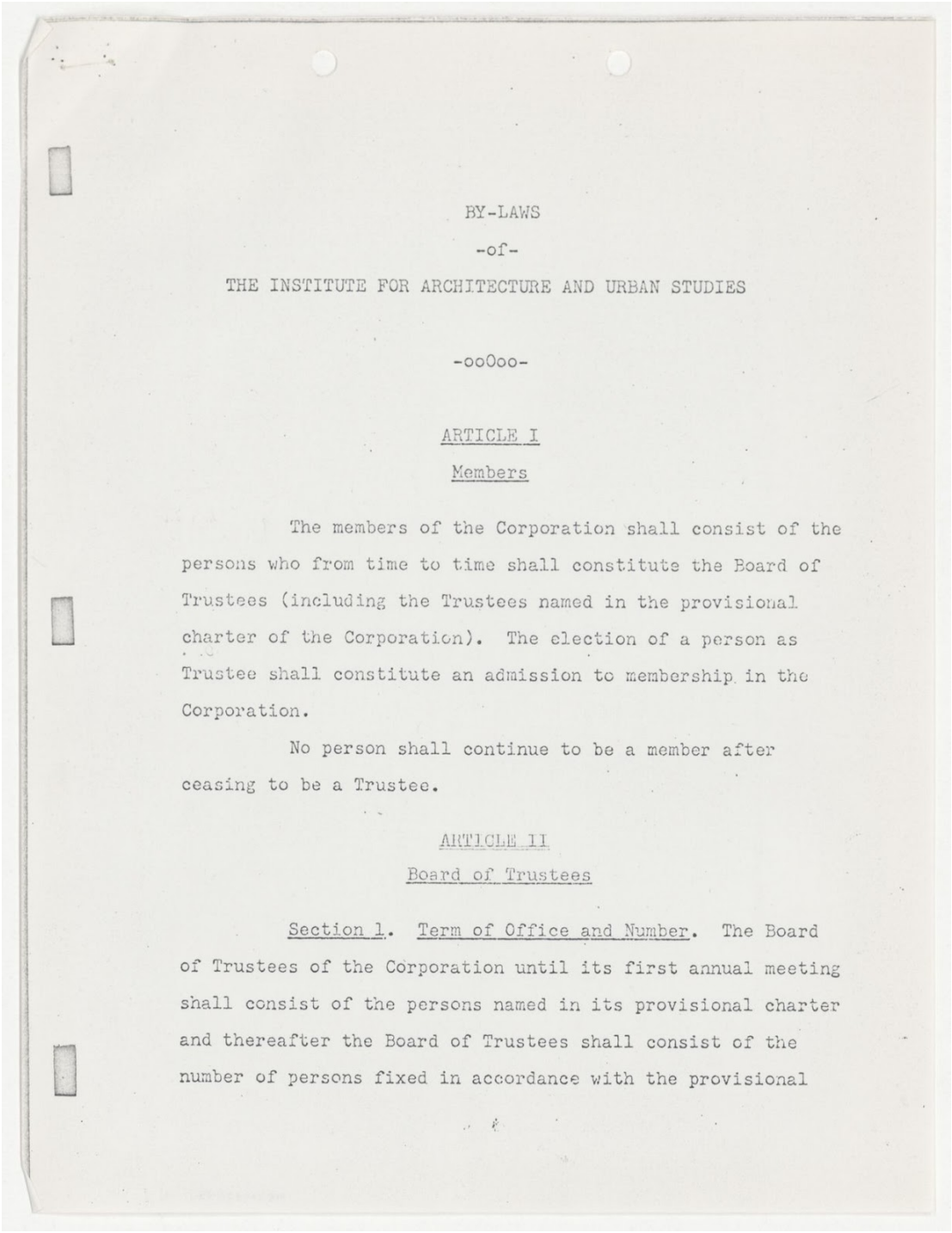
This instrument witnesseth That the Board of Regents for and on behalf of the Education Department of the State of New York has granted this provisional charter.

Granted September 29, 1967 by the Board of Regents for and on behalf of the State Education Department executed under the seal of said Department and recorded therein Number 9532

Chancellor

President of the University and Commissioner of Education

Fig. 2.01 - “Provisional Charter of the Institute of Architecture and Urban Studies,” the University of the State of New York Education Department, issued 1967. Courtesy of New York State Education Department, Office of the Board of Regents.



BY-LAWS

-of-

THE INSTITUTE FOR ARCHITECTURE AND URBAN STUDIES

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ARTICLE I

Members

The members of the Corporation shall consist of the persons who from time to time shall constitute the Board of Trustees (including the Trustees named in the provisional charter of the Corporation). The election of a person as Trustee shall constitute an admission to membership in the Corporation.

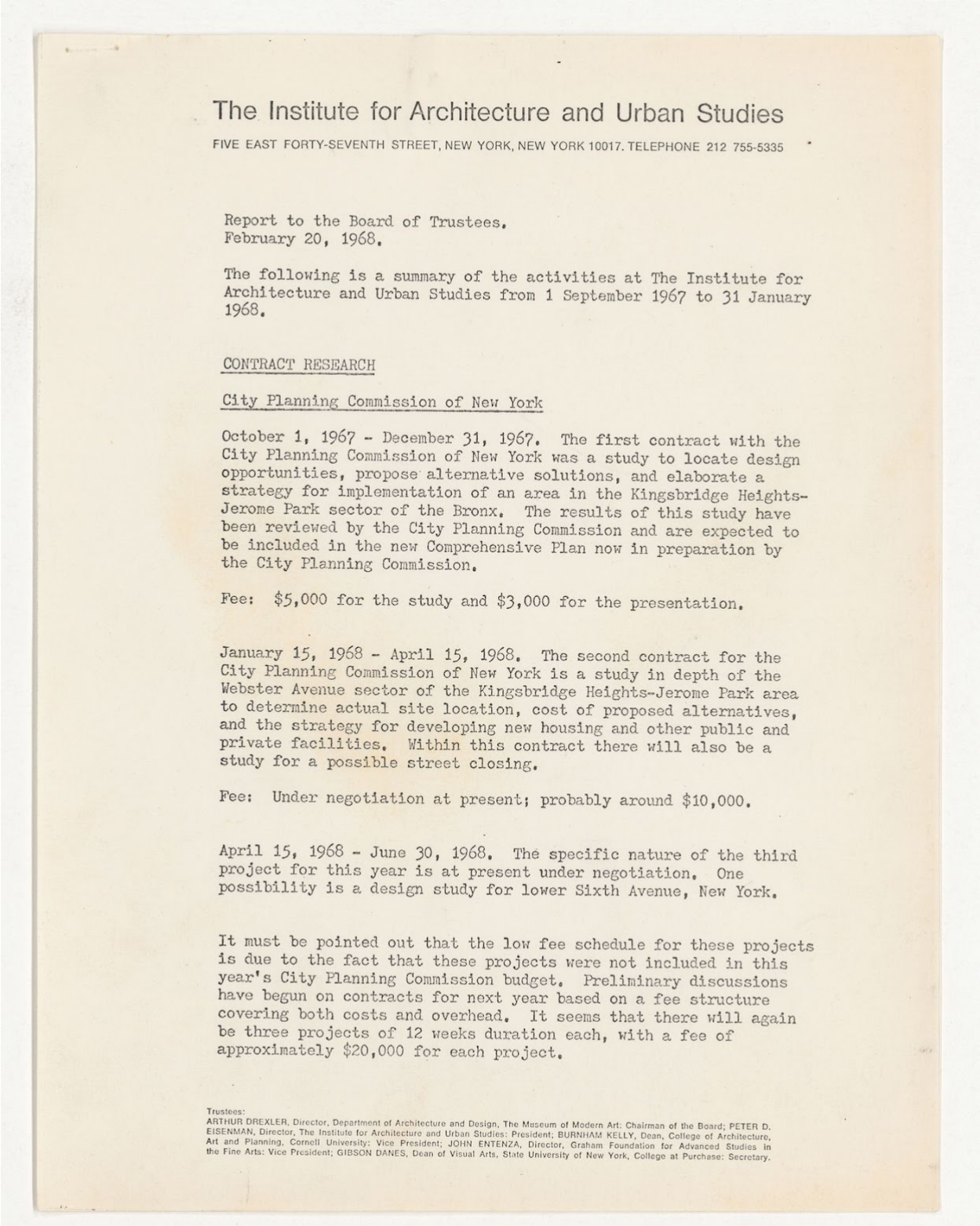
No person shall continue to be a member after ceasing to be a Trustee.

ARTICLE II

Board of Trustees

Section 1. Term of Office and Number. The Board of Trustees of the Corporation until its first annual meeting shall consist of the persons named in its provisional charter and thereafter the Board of Trustees shall consist of the number of persons fixed in accordance with the provisional

Figure 2.02 - “By-laws of the Institute of Architecture and Urban Studies,” 1971. Courtesy of Institute for Architecture and Urban Studies fonds, Collection Centre Canadien d’Architecture/ Canadian Center for Architecture, Montréal.



The Institute for Architecture and Urban Studies

FIVE EAST FORTY-SEVENTH STREET, NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10017. TELEPHONE 212 755-5335

Report to the Board of Trustees.
February 20, 1968.

The following is a summary of the activities at The Institute for Architecture and Urban Studies from 1 September 1967 to 31 January 1968.

CONTRACT RESEARCH

City Planning Commission of New York

October 1, 1967 - December 31, 1967. The first contract with the City Planning Commission of New York was a study to locate design opportunities, propose alternative solutions, and elaborate a strategy for implementation of an area in the Kingsbridge Heights-Jerome Park sector of the Bronx. The results of this study have been reviewed by the City Planning Commission and are expected to be included in the new Comprehensive Plan now in preparation by the City Planning Commission.

Fee: $5,000 for the study and $3,000 for the presentation.

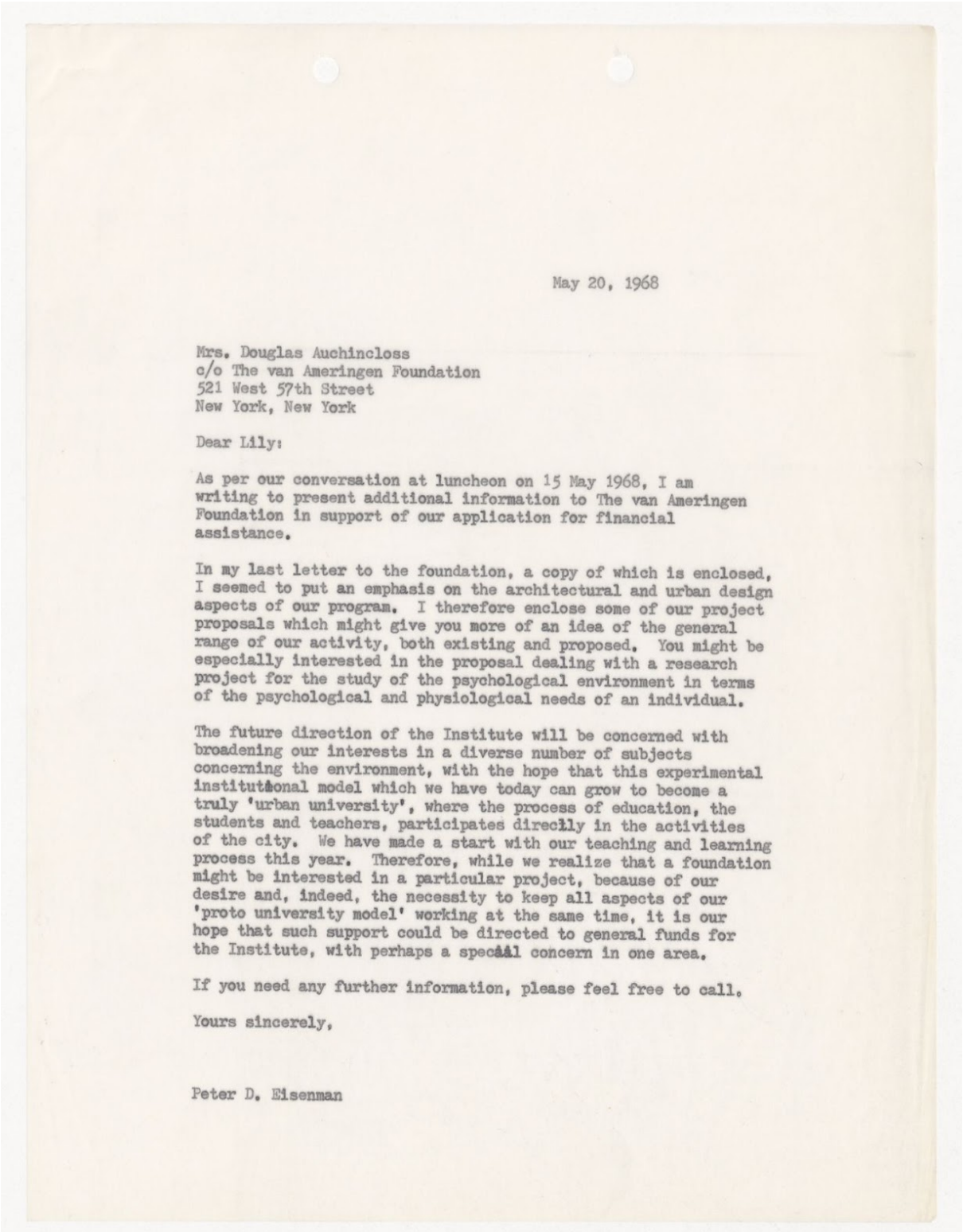
January 15, 1968 - April 15, 1968. The second contract for the City Planning Commission of New York is a study in depth of the Webster Avenue sector of the Kingsbridge Heights-Jerome Park area to determine actual site location, cost of proposed alternatives, and the strategy for developing new housing and other public and private facilities. Within this contract there will also be a study for a possible street closing.

Fee: Under negotiation at present; probably around $10,000.

April 15, 1968 - June 30, 1968. The specific nature of the third project for this year is at present under negotiation. One possibility is a design study for lower Sixth Avenue, New York.

It must be pointed out that the low fee schedule for these projects is due to the fact that these projects were not included in this year's City Planning Commission budget. Preliminary discussions have begun on contracts for next year based on a fee structure covering both costs and overhead. It seems that there will again be three projects of 12 weeks duration each, with a fee of approximately $20,000 for each project.

Figure 2.03 - “Report to the Board of Trustees,” February 1968. Courtesy Institute for Architecture and Urban Studies fonds, Collection Centre Canadien d’Architecture/ Canadian Center for Architecture, Montréal.



May 20, 1968

Mrs. Douglas Auchincloss
c/o The van Ameringen Foundation
521 West 57th Street
New York, New York

Dear Lily:

As per our conversation at luncheon on 15 May 1968, I am writing to present additional information to The van Ameringen Foundation in support of our application for financial assistance.

In my last letter to the foundation, a copy of which is enclosed, I seemed to put an emphasis on the architectural and urban design aspects of our program. I therefore enclose some of our project proposals which might give you more of an idea of the general range of our activity, both existing and proposed. You might be especially interested in the proposal dealing with a research project for the study of the psychological environment in terms of the psychological and physiological needs of an individual.

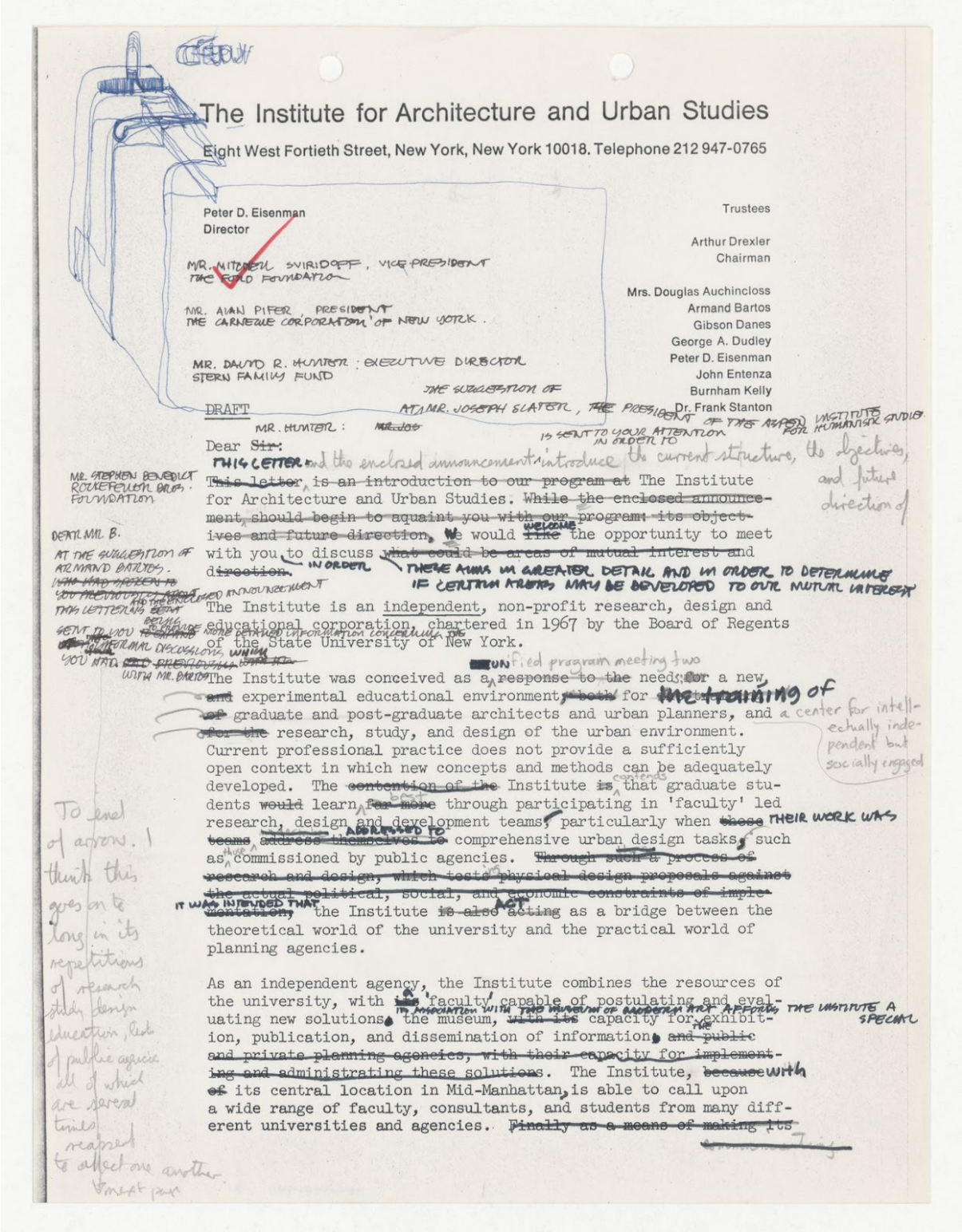
The future direction of the Institute will be concerned with broadening our interests in a diverse number of subjects concerning the environment, with the hope that this experimental institutional model which we have today can grow to become a truly 'urban university', where the process of education, the students and teachers, participates directly in the activities of the city. We have made a start with our teaching and learning process this year. Therefore, while we realize that a foundation might be interested in a particular project, because of our desire and, indeed, the necessity to keep all aspects of our 'proto university model' working at the same time, it is our hope that such support could be directed to general funds for the Institute, with perhaps a special concern in one area.

If you need any further information, please feel free to call.

Yours sincerely,

Peter D. Eisenman

Figure 2.04 - “Letter to Mrs. Douglas Auchincloss ,” May 1968. Courtesy of Institute for Architecture and Urban Studies fonds, Collection Centre Canadien d’Architecture/ Canadian Center for Architecture, Montréal.



The Institute for Architecture and Urban Studies

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THE SUGGESTION OF AT/MR. JOSEPH SLATER, THE PRESIDENT OF THE ASPEN INSTITUTE FOR HUMANISTIC STUDIES IS SENT TO YOUR ATTENTION IN ORDER TO

DRAFT

MR. HUNTER: MR. JOSEPH SLATER

Dear ~~Sir:~~

MR. STEPHEN BENEDICT ROCKEFELLER BROS. FOUNDATION

DEAR MR. B. AT THE SUGGESTION OF ARMAND BARTOS. WHO HAD SPOKEN TO YOU PREVIOUSLY ABOUT THIS LETTER IS SENT TO YOU BEFORE MORE DETAILED INFORMATION CONCERNING THE ~~FORMAL DISCUSSION~~, WHICH YOU MAY ~~WISH TO HAVE~~ WITH MR. BARTOS

THIS LETTER and the enclosed announcement introduce the current structure, the objectives, and future direction of

~~This letter is an introduction to our program at~~ The Institute for Architecture and Urban Studies. ~~While the enclosed announcement should begin to acquaint you with our program: its objectives and future direction, we would like~~ WELCOME the opportunity to meet with you to discuss ~~what could be areas of mutual interest and direction.~~ IN ORDER THESE AIMS IN GREATER DETAIL AND IN ORDER TO DETERMINE IF CERTAIN AREAS MAY BE DEVELOPED TO OUR MUTUAL INTEREST

The Institute is an independent, non-profit research, design and educational corporation, chartered in 1967 by the Board of Regents of the State University of New York.

RUN

The Institute was conceived as a ~~response to the needs for~~ a new, ~~and~~ experimental educational environment, ~~both~~ for ~~the training of~~ graduate and post-graduate architects and urban planners, and ~~for the~~ research, study, and design of the urban environment. Current professional practice does not provide a sufficiently open context in which new concepts and methods can be adequately developed. The ~~contention of the~~ Institute ~~is~~ that graduate students ~~would~~ learn ~~far more~~ through participating in 'faculty' led research, design and development teams; particularly when ~~these~~ THEIR WORK WAS ~~teams address themselves to~~ ADDRESSED TO comprehensive urban design tasks, such as commissioned by public agencies. ~~Through such a process of research and design, which tests physical design proposals against the actual political, social, and economic constraints of implementation,~~ IT WAS INTENDED THAT the Institute ~~is also~~ ACT as a bridge between the theoretical world of the university and the practical world of planning agencies.

As an independent agency, the Institute combines the resources of the university, with ~~its~~ faculty capable of postulating and evaluating new solutions, the museum, ~~with its~~ capacity for exhibition, publication, and dissemination of information, ~~and public and private planning agencies, with their capacity for implementing and administrating these solutions~~. The Institute, ~~because~~ WITH ~~of~~ its central location in Mid-Manhattan, is able to call upon a wide range of faculty, consultants, and students from many different universities and agencies. ~~Finally as a means of making its~~

IN ASSOCIATION WITH THE MUSEUM OF MODERN ART AFFORDS THE INSTITUTE A SPECIAL

To end of arrow. I think this goes on to long in its repetitions of research study design education, lists of public agencies all of which are spread times reapplied to affect one another. That part

Figure 2.05 - “Draft Letter for Requesting Donations,” 1971. Courtesy of Institute for Architecture and Urban Studies fonds, Collection Centre Canadien d’Architecture/ Canadian Center for Architecture, Montréal.

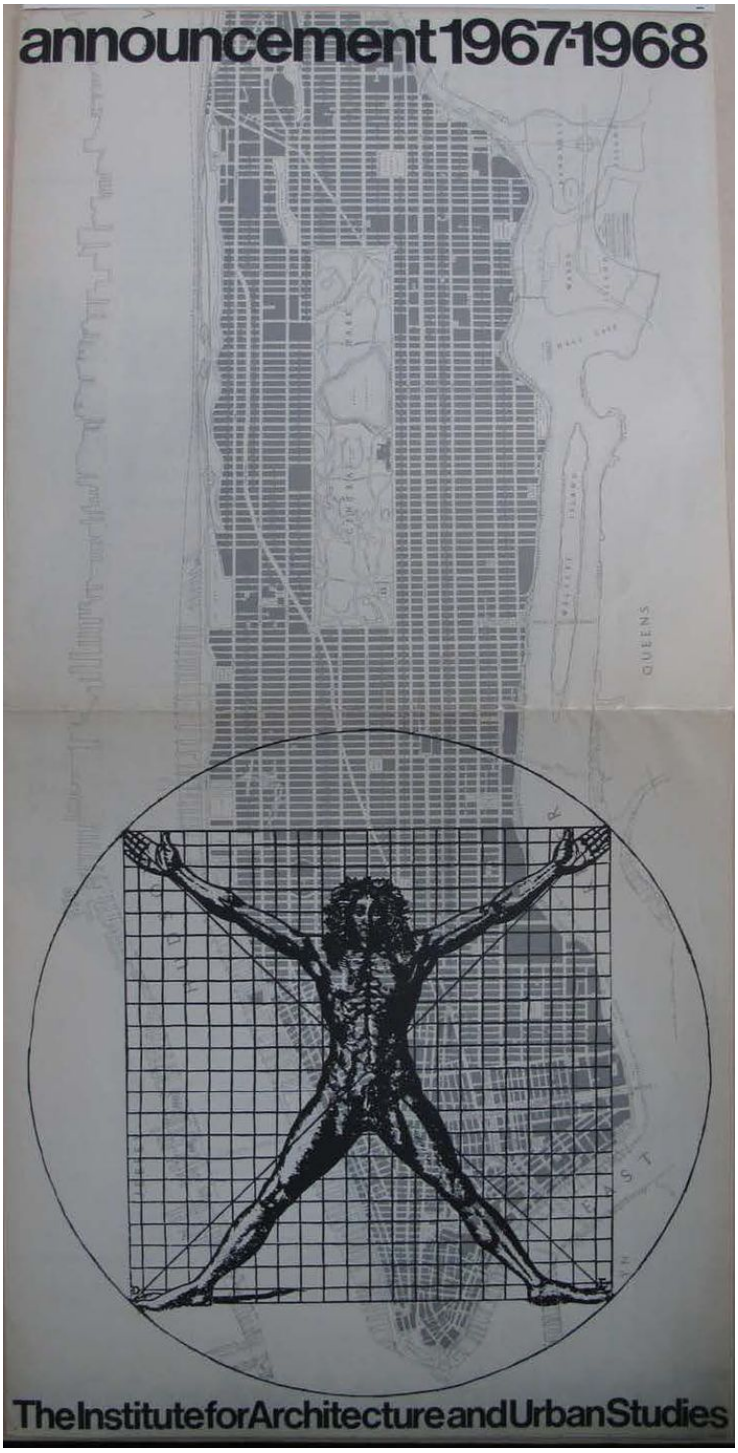

Figure 2.06 - Announcement Poster, 1967. Courtesy Canadian Center for Architecture, IAUS Archive.

3

“*Streets*”

One could list numerous reasons for the decline in the proportion of daily social life that occurs in public urban space: the automobile, television, economic imperatives that make small, personal businesses unprofitable, forcing them to give way to large, impersonal supermarkets; increased crime and violence on the street. The decline of our streets is comprehensible only in terms of the changing technological and sociopolitical configurations of our society...

- Gloria Levitas, "Anthropology and Sociology of Streets"[164]

Equally familiar are the numerous entrenched expressions where "street" bears a negative connotation: "on the street," "streetwalker," "street crime." Streets then, present problems, and "street" is used as a metaphor for what is aberrant and fearful in the light of social norms.... the actual and potential characteristics of streets are too little considered. Architects often bury themselves in individual building projects, ignoring any responsibility to the public space of the city; planners work at a scale where the street is seen only as a traffic channel or emphasize social and economic factors that cut through urban phenomena in such a way as to allow streets to remain unrecognized and lost in their negative connotations.

– Stanford Anderson, "People in the Physical Environment: The Urban Ecology of Streets"[165]

Introduction: Pedestrianization and the Plight of Streets

In 1969, architect and amateur-ethnographer Bernard Rudofsky published *Streets for People: A Primer for Americans,* a book dedicated to the "unknown pedestrian" which surveyed civilized street life across different eras of space and time with a particular eye towards street environments that spawned and encouraged what he considered to be social vitality and interaction between citizens. In contrast, Rudofsky's book depicted

[164] Gloria Levitas, "Anthropology and Sociology of Streets," *On Streets: Streets as Elements of Urban Structure* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1978): 228.

[165] Stanford Anderson, Preface, *On Streets: Streets as an Element of Urban Structure* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1978): 1.

and analyzed American streets as beset by a downtrodden quality of “pedestrian streets,” which he associated with crime, violence, and greed.[166] To be sure, the decade of the 1960s is well-known as an era marked by happenings in the street -- anti-war protests, free speech demonstrations, and urban “riots,” all of which contributed to a general sense of disorder in the public space, particularly in metropolitan hubs like New York City. Concurrently, an effort to “take back” parts of the city and pedestrianize urban spaces was unfolding in Europe, primarily in England, Sweden, France, West Germany and the Netherlands over the course of the 1960s.[167] Writing only a short five years later in 1974, we find an altogether different attitude toward street life; urbanist William H. Whyte declared New York City to have “the best street life in the world.”[168] Between these two poles over the span of roughly a decade-and-a-half, this chapter explores the *Streets* research project at IAUS. This project arguably altered the level of engagement and commitment of IAUS researchers toward urban issues, and in doing so, entangled them in a corresponding nexus of questions about the city, abstraction, and policy-making that was unfolding. Situating the work of IAUS in relationship to the city of New York, its changing municipal finances and evaporation of a stable tax base, displaces a focus on a form of historical writing that is affiliated with institutional

[166] Bernard Rudofsky, *Streets for People: A Primer for Americans* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1969), 17.

[167] A summary of European pedestrianization projects appears in *Streets for People* (Paris: Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development, 1974).

[168] Whyte saw the street as the best place to study urban man in his native habitat... as to what worked and what did not in the design of urban open space. More critically, Whyte’s emphasis on abstraction of the pedestrian would lead to a form of exclusion: “Like the flaneur long before him, the pedestrian implies a number of other invisible subjects excluded from the public life of the city. In the summa of his street life research, Whyte described him as “a social being” and a “transportation unit, and a marvelously complex and efficient one. This abstract pedestrian made claims to universality by omission of any sort of particularity of race, class, or residence. Like the flaneur long before him, the pedestrian implies a number of other invisible subjects excluded from the public life of the city.” William Hollingsworth Whyte. *The Social Life of Small Urban Spaces*. (United States, Project for Public Spaces, 2001).

biography to a mutual determination with larger municipal reforms that concern historical forces far beyond architecture's disciplinary boundaries. In this sense, this chapter argues that IAUS can no longer be read as removed from this context, as previously seen, but is in fact continuous with *and* co-determined by it. More broadly conceived, this chapter uses a specific case study in the northeast corridor, that happens to cross through IAUS more than one time, that once again situates their para-institutionality and specific methods of knowledge production at this moment.

However, unlike the neat symmetry of a typical "before and after" scenario in which a group or institution is altered by one significant and sweeping change, in this case the cliché rings hollow, and the situation is more nuanced than the narratives around this time period have led us to believe. While it is generally true that before *Streets* began IAUS was largely a fledgling operation that was inchoate and altogether unsure of a future direction; after it emerged as a significant player, and had gained substantive experience in pedagogy, interdisciplinary research, and curating exhibitions; however the transition was anything but linear. Instead we see a number of hiccups and dilemmas which co-determine the direction of work that unfolds there, as opposed to the notion that a cultural project emerged through an individual's autonomy. The project occurred at a pivotal moment in their trajectory toward legitimacy when IAUS was on the verge of closing; shortly before the project began MoMA curator and member of the board of trustees Arthur Drexler "pointed out that if the debt continues to mount, we will be out of business."[169] In fact, without this research proposal and its multiple sources of

[169] Ibid. This moment is also when IAUS staff was reduced by four full-time people, creating an institutional pressure to merge the work of research and management into one.

funding and outputs, it is altogether unclear if IAUS would have been able to continue past 1970. Moreover IAUS was at the risk of becoming a “one-project institute” meaning this project was in danger of potentially subsuming their entire research efforts, and thereby challenging some of the principles that were laid out in its founding and promotional materials.[170]

The historiography of the *Streets* work at IAUS demonstrates that historians have privileged a partial view; this is due to several overlapping, or concentric reasons: the incomplete state of the project archives which make a total picture difficult to articulate and the varying completeness of the archival materials which are still existent, and the multiple and even conflicting ideas in the project which spanned nearly ten years.[171] In a similar manner, Rudofsky, describing the tendency to view urban phenomena, noted that “art historians and sociologists look the other way.”[172] Simplifying the project to a singular coordinator or director, while helpful for a historical point, also reduces the number of voices and ideas that the project attempted to put into dialogue, as well as the multifarious efforts of the endeavor which were ultimately significantly more complex and messy. Moreover, the project was also less than clear or ambivalent about its attitude toward empiricism, given that parts of the book were highly empirical and

[170] Institute for Architecture and Urban Studies fonds, Collection Centre Canadien d’Architecture/ Canadian Center for Architecture, Montréal, Meeting minutes with annotations by Peter D. Eisenman, ARCH401120. “The problem seems to have been that the Institute has been a one-project institute since it began.” Weaver described this problem in similar terms: “Nevertheless, there is a fundamental, inevitable tension within the contract research organization model between the norm of objectivity and the organization's financial dependence on one or a few agencies.” Weaver, ibid.

[171] Ibid.

[172] Rudofsky, 16.

data-driven while also exploring a level of critical doubt towards their own methods and techniques. Other historians such as Joy Knoblauch have tended to focus on the link between social science research, and the built housing complex of Marcus Garvey or the more theoretical-oriented work of the Generative Design project, bypassing *Streets* work for other aspects of production at IAUS.[173]

Part I — "The Street" as Research Program

In 1970, following three uneven years of starts and stops comprised primarily of urban planning projects and applied research for such city and state agencies – including the New York City Planning Commission, New York State Urban Development Corporation and others – IAUS fellows Stanford Anderson and William Ellis assembled a research proposal which established a more secure foothold in the social science research economy. This short-lived period, from roughly 1967 to 1973, centered on work that emerged from the pursuit of large scale, state-sponsored commissions toward research and teaching, and ultimately led to the founding, in 1973, of the journal *Oppositions*. However, before 1973 the direction of IAUS was altogether different from what followed and what is often viewed as crucial to its history. This difference hinged on what developed in and through "Streets."

The 1970 proposal, "The Street as a Component of the Urban Environment," was focused on the idea of developing "a rational approach to urban design through the

[173] This will be discussed in chapter 3 below.

study of the street."[174] This proposal was in fact the third proposal in a span of three years that addressed the topic of streets research and redesign. The effort to understand, analyze, and ultimately "redesign" urban streets took place through multiple overlapping IAUS projects, beginning in 1968-1969 with a project entitled "The Development of a Formal Typology of Streets and a Zoning Case Study," by Peter Eisenman and William Ellis; a project funded by a National Endowment for the Arts grant that focused on urban block formations and added to ongoing efforts at IAUS to rethink zoning from an architectural perspective.[175] Other projects, such as the "High-Density Street: Prototypical Studies + A Case Study of 110th Street," jointly sponsored by HUD and NYC Planning Commission also focused on the street as a site to be redesigned and rearticulated from the ground up, although largely from an urban design perspective that prioritized a top-down macroscale view of form at the level of figure/ground and other such abstractions that were largely inherited from Rowe's

[174] As articulated in a project statement for the 1967 urban design project for Kingsbridge Heights, Peter Eisenman wrote: "While our primary interest is with the relationship of urban studies and urban problems, our second and more specific goal is how this method and form of education can be related directly to the problem of physical planning." Other projects at this time included "High-Density Street: Prototypical Studies + A Case Study of 110th Street, jointly sponsored by HUD and NYC Planning Commission;" "Newburgh Urban Design and Development Project, to be jointly sponsored by City of Newburgh and the Mid-Hudson Pattern for Progress;" "Baltimore West Model Cities Design and Development Project, sponsored by the Baltimore Multipurpose Council" as well as three other similar projects.

[175] This project was in many ways a translation of the then-current ideas of Colin Rowe's urbanism, which were largely formally and representationally exploratory. Cf. Colin Rowe, "The New City: Architecture and Urban Renewal," *As I Was Saying: Recollections and Miscellaneous Essays* (3 vols., Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 1996), III: 87-96. On the influence of Colin Rowe on twentieth century urban design problems, see: Joan Ockman. "Form without Utopia: Contextualizing Colin Rowe," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*. Volume 57 Number 4, Dec. 1998; Stan Allen. "Addenda and Errata." *Architecture New York: ANY* 7/8: Form Work: Colin Rowe. September 1994; George Baird, "Oppositions in the Thought of Colin Rowe." *Assemblage*, No. 33. (Aug., 1997), pp. 22-35; Anthony Vidler, Anthony. *Histories of the Immediate Present: Inventing Architectural Modernism,* Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2008. For primary material that is related, see: Wayne Copper, "The Figure/Grounds," *Cornell Journal of Architecture*, Vol. 2, (1983); William Ellis, "Type and Context in Urbanism: Colin Rowe's Contextualism," *Oppositions* 18, Fall 1979; Steven Hurtt, "Conjectures on Urban Form: The Cornell Urban Design Studio 1963-1982," *Cornell Journal of Architecture*, Vol. 2, (1983).

influence.[176] What is notable in these early IAUS projects is that nearly all of early work and research statements in the first four years were based exclusively on problems found in urban planning and analysis, urban design, or what was alternatively referred to as “physical planning,” “aggregate built form,” or “the man-made environment.” The term “architecture” was absent if not considered taboo due to its connotations of top-down control and form-making that was a remnant of a heroic phase of modernism now increasingly seen as suspect.

This research report was followed by and merged with a subsequent project initiated by William Ellis, Stanford Anderson, and Joseph Rykwert (project directors for Phase I) called “The Street as a Component of the Urban Environment” in 1970-72, followed by Phase II (led by Peter Wolf and Peter Eisenman), culminating in 1978, when the omnibus volume *On Streets: Streets as an Element of Urban Structure* was published by MIT Press, at a point when the other phases had wrapped up nearly a half decade prior.[177] The project was ultimately to be divided into three sequential phases: phase I of the project was a “general analytical and postulative report on the development of socially feasible alternative design solutions, in response to analyzing the physical and social problems of urban streets,” while Phase II was intended to be a “in-depth case

[176] Eric Mumford gives a substantial account of modernist urban design in the United States in *Defining Design: CIAM Architects and the Formation of a Discipline, 1937-69* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009).

[177] Institute for Architecture and Urban Studies fonds, Collection Centre Canadien d’Architecture/ Canadian Center for Architecture, Montréal, Box D4-1. “The Development of a Formal Typology and a Zoning Case Study” and “The Street as a Component of the Urban Environment” for HUD and the Sloan Foundation. Prospectus Draft, 1971. A research proposal to develop a rational approach to urban design through the study of the street.

study of several specific street conditions, new models of community environments."[178] A third phase, Phase III, which came several years later, was based on an extended case study project in Binghamton, New York, completed in collaboration with the local HUD office and other bureaucratic and municipal agencies. Understanding these phases and their respective tasks also is crucial to situating the specific kinds of technocratic and discursive labor that the project entailed and the conflicts each phase brought to the foreground.

A close examination of the original proposal, followed by a number of successive archival documents from the project ranging from 1970 to 1978 are necessary to understand how the goals and ideas originated, snowballed in scope and ambition, and ultimately transformed over the course of nearly a decade. Moreover, reading this proposal and the subsequent documents to understand and unpack its unstated assumptions and biases is crucial to situate the work that followed, and to locate the blindspots and inevitable gaps in what was and was not possible in the research based on its specific ideological and conceptual framework. To do so requires a close attention to aspects of research proposals and corresponding documents which are what media scholar Lisa Gitelman has called "grey matter" – not necessarily primary documents per se, ie. the final report or outputs for grant-administering agencies, but pieces of evidence on the fringe that may be thrust into an evidentiary role for reasons other than their content, but for their unstated or unarticulated attributes or knowledge-making methods.[179]

[178] Ibid.

[179] Gitelman, ibid.

Grey Matter — Objectives and Methods

The initial twelve-page research proposal outlined three objectives in the project statement which explained the scope of the research (figure 2.01):

> 1. as a model for the development of rational criteria and methods for the objective determination and evaluation of physical and social design proposals;
>
> 2. as a prototypical component of a physical environment;
>
> 3. as a case study involving an interdisciplinary team.[180]

This three-pronged objective, moving from an analytic to postulative mode, demonstrated a positivist faith in the linearity of an empirical research process which aimed to identify criteria and evaluation which then could be used to develop a "prototype," and then further actualized in a case study project with a specific scope. The linearity of this process, described in more detail in the following pages of the research proposal, is then amended and expanded in contradistinction to the discipline of planning, which was also included as part of the interdisciplinary scope of the effort. Defining streets research in contrast to planning, the report claimed that planning, as a discipline, was not "defined with sufficient precision and rationality to enable any interdisciplinary criticism and research to take place."[181] "Rationality," a term not quite defined but alluded to throughout the entire document, was the crucial leverage point around which the research hinged.[182] Moreover, the repeated use of the term "rational"

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[180] See Figure 2.01.

[181] Ibid.

[182] An earlier project from 1968, the Kingsbridge Heights study, also hinged on the question of "rationality": "It is through the process of teaching, research and actual commissioned studies by public and private agencies that we hope to understand the process of physical design and how it relates to the total planning process; how the process of physical design receives, translates, and evaluates information from other disciplines; how the physical environment affects the operation of a city and the life of an individual;

in the proposal asked the reader to implicitly reconsider the specific meaning of the term at this juncture: “rational” according to whom? Based on what cognitive framework could this be judged? What methods of rationality could be imputed in the context of complex urban issues in this “post-1968” moment?

Unlike the specific description of the “rationalization of “thinking patterns” which was typically dependent on newly developed computer tools and software design to analyze complex data in urban sites, found, for instance, in contemporaneous work at advanced research institutes like MIT’s Urban Systems Laboratory (USL), in this context the notional use of “rational” implied that it was entirely up to the architect’s own self-guided analytic and synthetic capabilities to make sense of the complexities of the city in order to move away from the intuitive gestures of urban design and pure speculation.[183] However this was beset by contradictions both large and small. This mandate towards "rationality" arguably haunted the entirety of the proposal, in fact, without a clear resolution at this phase of the work, but would continue to be a critical question over the decade-long period of the project’s lifespan.[184] Additionally, an emphasis on “action” in the form of a case study can be read as critically paramount to the project’s success as

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and how this physical environment can be more rationally produced so that it can become more intelligible and understandable to the individual, and ultimately so that it can be implemented within the existing limitation of the economic, political and social structure. … “In other words, we are concerned with developing a theory of urban form which would have a direct influence on and, in fact, evolve from practical constraints in the actual planning process. This secondary objective is of necessity didactic in that there has been little study of the physical environment as a rationally conceived entity capable of being analyzed and evaluated.”

[183] Felicity Scott, “Discourse, Seek, Interact - Urban Systems at MIT,” in: *A Second Modernism, A Second Modernism: MIT, Architecture, and the "Techno-Social" Moment*. (United Kingdom: MIT Press, 2013): 225.

[184] Chapter 3 will discuss “rationality” through another lens - the linguistic metaphors which abounded at this time period. For example, in Noam Chomsky’s work, the rational ability to recursiveness as a creative means was how the subject as speaker was defined.

the third and final objective, the culmination of the effort in the traditional sense of a built project as tangible evidence. It is in this sense that one can understand the proposal to be not just “another white paper sitting on a desk somewhere” but instead as a project which aimed to find a form of resolution beyond the mode of research itself; which is to say legitimation ultimately was located in the realm of the built environment. This larger goal of building and conceptualizing architecture through a non-traditional route, an architectural practice as a para-institutional formation without profit as the primary objective, has been understudied in the history of IAUS. In looking backwards to this period and more specifically to the low-rise high density program which would start soon after “Streets” research began, team member and sociologist Robert Gutman remarked, not without a glint of sentimental nostalgia, that “in the early days we spent much time trying to figure out how to get real building jobs.”[185] This emphasis on “action” was, in fact, an increasingly common sentiment to be found in research institutes and centers at the time. In a similar vein, as noted by USL director Charles Miller, "we are not to be simply another center studying the city, but a group of people that are trying to do *something* about the problems."[186] This sentiment, this notion of "trying to do something," was part of a larger concern for concrete impact that affected nearly all research which straddled the academic-industrial boundary.

[185] Robert Gutman, quoted in: Kim Förster, “The Housing Prototype of The Institute for Architecture and Urban Studies,” *Candide,* no. 5 (2012): 58-92.

[186] Alis D. Runge, “In search of urban expertise,” *Progressive Architecture*, September 1969: 125. There she writes ... “to understand the Ford Foundation’s interest in funding the lab, we need to ask just what types of technology and scientific research were to be put to work in the city and of course for whom, and to what ends” - the USL as an outlet for students who are particularly anxious about how to relate their academic studies to real problems and issues.”

The proposal outlined a systematic problem statement, research method, and correlating physical design tasks in order to tackle the study of streets with respect to their social, economic, and functional contexts, albeit with nominal mention of transportation or infrastructure as a critical component of these contexts or how they might be understood. Instead, the contexts that were identified operated a level of remove from the reality or specificity of similar transportation studies that focused on pedestrianization or urban revitalization at the time, many of which were gaining traction at precisely this moment as architects and urbanists wrestled with changes to the urban core, white flight, gentrification, and other related demographic and racial shifts.[187] The focus on what has been called basic research, which sought to explain "variously abstractly defined urban and metropolitan conditions" and suggest how they could be rethought was typical for the kinds of research that preceded the "Streets" project: large-scale urban planning projects which were focused on municipal change and bureaucratic restructuring.[188] In the subsequent pages of the proposal, under the heading designated "Problem," which further expounded on the situation facing the planning of the urban environment, the proposal claimed that:

> There are no prototypical modern streets. In fact, much of the polemic of modern planning has been anti-street, the street being seen as a dark corridor in an urban grid, not allowing for light, air, and recreation. Housing projects with their "towers in the park" concept have all but denied the existence of the street as anything but an artery. The street has become a gap, a space left over, a divider rather than an organizer of the diverse activities within a community. It has

[187] See Bernard Rudofsky, *Streets for People: A Primer for Americans* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1969); Vincent Scully, "The Death of the Street," Perspecta 8 (1963); as well as the annotated bibliography in the *On Streets* book compiled by Stanford Anderson.

[188] Eric Mumford "From Master-Planning to Self Build: The MIT-Harvard Joint Center for Urban Studies, 1959-71," in: Arindam Dutta, Irina Chernyakova, Jennifer Yeesue Chuong, Michael Kubo, Stephanie Tuerk, editors. *A Second Modernism: MIT, Architecture, and the "Techno-Social" Moment.* (United Kingdom, MIT Press, 2013).

> become merely a circulation system for the distribution of people, goods, vehicles, a connector of one place to another, without any examination of the potential or the need for the street to become a place in itself. Thus activity on streets has grown without any critical look at what a street could contribute to the vitality and stability of a community.[189]

According to this statement, the status and condition of "the street"–identified as a common noun or an abstraction which belonged to a universal condition of modernity in decline–is defined by a similar narrative of decline in the service of mere efficiency of ruthless capitalist forces, a simplified definition of infrastructure. As a means for distribution of "people, goods, vehicles," the street had lost the “social and cultural” vitality that authors and critics such as Bernard Rudofsky, Jane Jacobs, Jan Gehl and countless others had explored in key writings of this time period, in a moment defined after 1968 where urban renewal had been vilified, and in its place, urban design discourse and projects of openness, advocacy, community engagement, and small scale planning came to the fore.[190] This emphasis also recalls a longer debate about the street as a form of public space viewed through the nostalgic lens of the traditional European city, or erased (with bad conscience) from the glossary of publicness by those who believe it has been definitively corrupted by the presence of the automobile.

The above problem statement also can be read through the rhetoric of the manifesto; a style of writing that is less often associated with the research proposal. The rhetorical

[189] Ibid.

[190] On the concept of openness, see Kevin Lynch, “The Openness of Open Space,” in Arts of the Environment, ed. Gyorgy Kepes (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1972), 108. Later, he would write that “openness” implies accessibility, decentralized decision making, flexibility, and relative equality. In urban design, the ascendancy of open space pointed to a new primacy for interstitial spaces grounded in particular neighborhoods and heterogeneous publics, rather than the production of grand civic spaces and monuments for a unitary public. Cf. Kevin Lynch, “Grounds for Utopia,” in *City Sense and City Design: Writings and Projects of Kevin Lynch,* eds. Tridib Banerjee and Michael Southworth (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1990). See also: Jean Gottmann, *Megalopolis: The Urbanized Northeastern Seaboard of the United States* (New York: Twentieth Century Fund, 1961); Jane Jacobs, *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*. (Netherlands, Vintage Books, 1992).

gusto of the statement – "the street has become a gap" – can be read as opportunistically creating a space of action that is both open-ended and undetermined to what followed or could follow.[191] As a “gap, a space left over, a divider,” the negative valence of the street is undeniably constructed in terms that are visceral yet abstract. The final passage–"a street could contribute to the vitality and stability of a community"–reveals what the street *could* be, or perhaps *should* be: a return to a mode of urbanism in which the “being together of strangers” is prioritized and “community” is the the goal without a clarification of what “community” means in the context of a postwar urban sprawl landscape.[192] The larger question of community was in fact central to this decade. As noted by Daniel Moynihan, who served as the Assistant to the President for Domestic Policy under President Nixon in 1969, “the sense of general community is eroding, and with it the authority of existing relationships, while simultaneously a powerful quest for specific community is emerging in the form of ever more intensive assertions of racial and ethnic identities.”[193]

Additionally, the invocation of “community” in the paragraph above begs the question: in the abstraction of the definition of street as such, defined according to a universalist framework, precisely to whom is the "community" that was addressed?[194] Writing about

[191] On the manifesto, see; Craig Buckley, *After the Manifesto* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2016).

[192] Iris Marion Young, *Justice and the Politics of Difference* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990), 226.

[193] Daniel Moynihan, “Toward a National Urban Policy,” *The Engineer and the City: A Symposium Sponsored by the National Academy of Engineering at Its Fifth Autumn Meeting*, October 22-23, 1969 (Washington, D.C.: National Academy of Engineering, 1969), pg. 15.

[194] On the genealogy of the term “community”, see: Kenny Cupers, “Mapping and Making Community in the Postwar European City,” *Journal of Urban History* Vol. 42, No. 6 (2016): 1009–1028; John F.C. Turner, “Housing: Its Part in Another Development,” in *Housing: Process and Physical Form*, ed. Linda

a contemporaneous project, Twin Parks in the Bronx, sponsored by HUD's Model Cities program and designed by architect Giovanni Pasanella, Susanne Schindler has commented on the use of the word "community" in the discourse around public housing and urban renewal in the early 1970s by noting that "might we need to challenge the notion of ‘community’ itself? Rather than invoking “community” as an unquestionably positive goal, might we rather need to ask, more precisely, as to who constitutes ‘the community,’ and, thereby, who has the right to speak for whom?"[195] Answers to some of these open-ended questions are put forward later in the proposal in a discussion around the potentials of the street:

> What is the potential of the street? Can it provide an environment for people and an integration of the community? A street must be for people going places, doing things, looking at one another. The status of the street is, therefore, once again a critical issue and it is reasonable to assume that the design of the street as physical and social entity will, in the not too distant future, increasingly command attention. Therefore it is time for an analysis of the street as a physical element; as a spatial component capable of sustaining rational analysis and ultimately as a potential center of a community; as a connector, integrator, and place.[196]

This description of the street in this manner makes clear that “the street” is, in fact, a terrain understood through the messy overlap of multiple roles, regulations, and determinants. In fact, this multiplicity became both a central problematic in the first two phases of the project and also a crucial element of how the project gradually escalated

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Safran (Philadelphia: Aga Khan Award, 1980): 8–19, as well as Vincent Scully, Jr., *The Architecture of Community* (Ann Arbor, Mich.: University of Michigan College of Architecture + Urban Planning, 1996.)

[195] Susanne Schindler, "Institutions Must be Designed Before the Buildings," *Perspecta* 53 (2020), 110-134. She noted that 'community’ is generally used to invoke the participation of residents in planning decisions, ... the opposite to the ‘bureaucratic state.’ Looking at ‘context’ and ‘community’ reveals that the neoliberal turn in US housing policy emerged precisely in conjunction with – and not in opposition to – experiments in small-scale housing design and more user participation as early as the mid-1960s, and that the two notions were often connected, even then, and have remained so to this day.”

[196] Institute for Architecture and Urban Studies fonds, Collection Centre Canadien d’Architecture/ Canadian Center for Architecture, Montréal, “The Street as a Component of the Urban Environment,” research proposal, 1970.

in complexity and scale to a breaking point where coherence–intellectual or otherwise–was no longer possible and direct action was no longer tenable.

The subsequent components of the research proposal elucidate a more refined sense of the aims and goals of the project, yet contradictions and frictions abound there as well. Under the heading “Relative Urgency and Importance of the Problem,” Anderson and Ellis noted that:

> At present, there is increasing dissatisfaction with the difficulty in communication among disciplines concerned with planning the urban environment... It is first necessary to develop and elaborate concepts concerning the interaction of physical and social design, to clarify vocabulary and to propose methods in the hope that an effective framework can be established for the use of quantifiable information. This is especially true in the case of the street, where adequate sources of empirical data exist. Yet, if present tendencies in rebuilding and urban renewal are to continue unexamined, *a final disintegration of the street as we have known it can be anticipated.* While some years back this was a condition which many architects and urban planners might have welcomed, it is doubtful whether today the disappearance of the street would be received with any such widespread enthusiasm. In fact, the city as a streetless aggregation of housing projects is now too imminent a possibility to any longer exert the force of a utopian ideal.[197]

The concerns put forward are arguably ambitious while the methods for tackling these concerns are less than clear. More importantly, the stakes of the research proposal are laid bare: “the final disintegration of the street.” In defining the stakes in this manner, IAUS researchers implicitly but not directly invoked the social unrest of the time period. This moment, described later in 1981 by landscape architect Grady Clay, was caught between, as he described “an expanding literature of political action revolving around a new focus on the street as residential turf. It includes a literature of sociological radicalism, opposed to official and “a widespread "run on the street," a gradual

[197] Ibid.

withdrawal of trust in the American urban street as a safe investment for one's time, money and person."[198]

In laying out the terms of the research, the proposal sketched a broad terrain of possibilities of prototypical proposals and design studies:

> (a) the street as a linking element; as a promenade or park;
> (b) the street as a center;
> (c) the decking of the street to provide pedestrian connection where there are changes in grade;
> (d) the penetration from street to the interior of the block to provide further connection and variety to public open space;
> (e) the vertical edge, ie. the facade, of the street under the design control of the city, in exchange for private development of additional space over the sidewalk. The attempt would be to provide a unified design for the many disparate elements of the street without losing the vitality and incident necessary to any design;
> (f) the street as a repository for the creative arts.[199]

These possibilities demonstrate the degree to which a multitude of urban and formal changes to the typical street condition were to be considered. The connection between these prototypical proposals and the empirical data which "existed" was not yet spelled out however. Moreover, the structure of this document as a series of sequential linear components–"statement of project" / "problem" / "relative urgency and importance of the problem" / "method" / "budget" – was the very same structure used for many if not all of the IAUS research efforts at this moment.[200] This formulaic mode of staging research

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[198] Grady Clay, "Shakeout: notes on the post-street generation," *Landscape Architecture Magazine*, July 1981, Vol. 71, No. 4, pg. 500-504.

[199] Ibid, Institute for Architecture and Urban Studies fonds, Collection Centre Canadien d'Architecture/ Canadian Center for Architecture, Montréal, "The Street as a Component of the Urban Environment," research proposal.

[200] Other project proposals that follow this same format include: "Harlem model block study" (1968); "New Urban Settlements, Analytical Phase" (1968-1970); "Preliminary Research Proposal for the Generative and Comprehensive Evaluation of Alternative Low Rise High Density Land Settlement Patterns in

questions and corresponding reports seemed to be equally applicable to a range of concerns and topics: Harlem and the Street Academies in the earlier “Harlem Plan” project, new urban settlements and planning in the “New Towns,” and an investigation of the social potential of the street as discussed here. While IAUS researchers worked on the “Streets” research, CASE meetings continued sporadically over the first decade of the IAUS timeline.[201] Eisenman, Ellis, and others participated in these meetings which would lead to the publication of the now well-known *Five Architects* book.[202] This is of importance here not because of the content of these discussions or the manner in which they propagated the neo-modernism of the five architects, each of which was determined to transform a fledgling residential practice into something more, but instead due to the radically disparate agenda and focus of these conversations from that which was unfolding in the “Streets” work, which could be said to demonstrate not an ideological lack of commitment but instead an ideology of eclectic concerns and interests at this moment. To look further at their efforts, we must first situate the research project in terms of the larger municipal and policy changes that unfolded in

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Relation to a New University Community” (1970); “Project proposal for a study on problem of new city development” (1969); and countless others from 1967-1974.

[201] On CASE through the lens of the retrospective memoir, see: Stanford Anderson, “CASE and MIT: Engagement” in: *A Second Modernism: MIT, Architecture, and the 'techno-social' Moment*. United Kingdom, SA+Press, Department of Architecture, MIT, 2013: 578-651. The ambitions behind CASE, an acronym of Conference of Architects for the Study of the Environment, were to discuss issues regarding the role of architecture as a practice to define the physical form of the built environment in relation to planning processes; its theoretical formulation, and its political function in tackling the problems of the contemporary American city, in those years particularly pressing because of both the unchecked suburban sprawl and the social tensions present in the often degraded urban centers; a review of pedagogical models together with a redefinition of the relationships between architectural culture and professional practice, while dealing with questions of perception and the psychology of form. Documentation from a 2015 conference at MIT which revisited CASE is available here: https://architecture.mit.edu/history-theory-and-criticism/event/revisiting-case

[202] *Five Architects: Eisenman, Graves, Gwathmey, Hejduk, Meier.* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1975); “Five on Five,” *Architectural Forum* (May 1973), 46-57.

New York City and the state of New York in the late 1960s and early 1970s, in terms of Mayor Lindsay's administration and the uneven impact of HUD's Model Cities program.

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Managerialism in Urban Governance & the Evolution of Urban Design

In the late 1960s, New York City experienced a significant shift toward privatization that rendered the city's bureaucratic and governmental organizations newly hospitable for the types of collaboration and research that institutes like IAUS sought, and indeed needed to survive.[203] This period in New York City's history has not only been well-documented but also has been fodder for numerous connection points between municipal and regional changes, and corresponding architectural change in the late-modern histories.[204] Despite this being the case, histories of IAUS and other such

[203] In particular, private sector participation by city and state governments concentrated in the funding, management, and provision of public services (fire stations, schools) and public goods (parks, plazas and housing). On New York City under the Lindsay administration, see: Mariana Mogilevich, "Designing the Urban: Space and Politics in Lindsay's New York," (PhD diss., Harvard University, 2012). On the nature of urban crisis, see Wendall Pritchett, "Which Urban Crisis? Regionalism, Race, and Urban Policy, 1960-1974," *Journal of Urban History*, Vol. 34 No. 2, January 2008: 266-286; Irving Kristof, "It's not a Bad Crisis to Live In," *New York Times Magazine*, January 22, 1967; Alice O'Connor, "The Privatized City: The Manhattan Institute, the Urban Crisis, and the Conservative Counterrevolution in New York," *Journal of Urban History* 34, no. 2 (2008): 333-53; David R. Jones, "Urban Crisis and the Federal Government's Retreat: Catalyzing Public Policy Choices to Save Our Cities," *Fordham Urb*. LJ 19 (1991): 665. Barry Gottehrer, "Urban Conditions: New York City," *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 371 (1967): 141-58.

[204] 1967 was also the year Mayor Lindsay initiated discretionary zoning, which helped to usher in an era of urban design and rehabilitation, and also triggered processes of privatization in urban development, that worked through bureaucracies and regulatory systems in coordination with developers and financiers. As corollary to this effort, the Urban Design Group (UDG) was founded in 1967, a group of architects and planners who worked out of a central office within the NYC Planning Commission and functioned much like an architectural partnership with operational independence. They developed and commissioned concept designs for area development and renewal in the city, worked closely with other city agencies, and most importantly remained the central figures who "bargained in the field for quality design" on behalf of the city. Jacquelin Robertson pointed out that he and his colleagues could assist Lindsay in his run for office by providing useful information about the physical attributes of each borough of New York City, ''we'll be able to scout a neighborhood physically and tell you everything about it: the condition of the buildings, the streets ... we can give you literal maps and we will help you develop urban policy maps.'' As quoted in Suzanne Frank, "Harlem and the 1967 ''New City'' Exhibition," *Journal of Planning History* (11) 3, 210-225, footnote 18. The implementation of discretionary zoning was crucial to the increasing

para-institutional formations have often neglected this larger context and instead placed undue focus exclusively on what starts to be considered “architectural discourse,” with less attention paid to determinants from legal and political changes that affect zoning, real estate, and other aspects of urban design. What is critical to the framework of this chapter is the larger relationship between the city of New York, financial changes related to white flight and privatization which reveals how para-institutional formations were in lockstep and formed through a kind of mutual determination with neoliberal municipal reforms.

As has been noted by scholars and historians of this time period, New York City was in the throes of an “urban crisis,” a term which itself was subject to a high degree of interpretation as the city placed renewed emphasis on its image, its symbolic economy, and its status as an international metropolitan center, all of which led to a renewed emphasis on the question of management.[205] In this milieu, the question of manageability figured as a central anxiety that shaped much of the Lindsay administration’s rhetoric, ideology, and policies. The rise of a new managerial elite in urban governance in the 1960s was based on the transference of organizational solutions from corporate environments into governments with the ideological confidence

financialization of property and land values as New York City attempted to find a way out of its financial troubles that cast a heavy shadow over the city. And while discretionary zoning is typically discussed in terms of specific buildings that were made possible via exceptions to zoning regulations and limits of building envelope, such as John Portman’s late-modernist hotel the Marriott Marquis in Times Square and the newly-planned Special Theater District, it also influenced a more sustained debate between the city planning commission and associated architects regarding the reimagination of zoning as a potentially transformative design tool, as well as an investigation and analysis of the “physical and social problems of urban streets” and “new models of community environments.”

[205] New York (N.Y.)., Mayor's Task Force on Urban Design., and William S. Paley. *The Threatened City: A Report on the Design of the City of New York*. [New York]: [publisher not identified], 1967.

that the performance of all organizations, including city government, could be optimized by the application of management skills and theory. City and state governments formulated new roles that could arbitrate between the government, business community, and general public. The Lindsay administration collaborated on research with universities and think tanks, appointed project management teams from consulting firms such as McKinsey and Company, and deployed research from the New York City-Rand Institute as part of a broader management ethos to control and manage the major problems of urban life.[206] A major component of this managerial effort was centered on what the Lindsay administration identified as a link between the urban crisis and the city's "visual anarchy," and hoped that improving the city's physical presence would in turn improve the ways in which the average New Yorker reacted to urban problems.[207] Mayor Lindsay propagated the idea of New York City as an “open city.” The open city privileged face-to-face relations and sought a civilization of strangers while increasingly aware of the need to control “difference” and maintain order.”[208] Therefore the role of the

[206] Regarding Rand, its partnership with New York City metropolitan governance, the New York City-Rand Institute which began in 1969, is significant as a merging of government and research forces: it was a nonprofit corporation that was under the oversight of a board of trustees set up jointly by the City and Rand. The Institute conducted research on city government policy and operations. On histories of Rand Institute, see: Fred Kaplan, *The Wizards of Armageddon* (Palo Alto: Stanford University Press, 1991); Alex Abella, *Soldiers of Reason: The Rand Corporation and the Rise of the American Empire*. United States: Mariner Books, 2009; the corporation's own history, *The Rand Corporation: The First Fifteen Years* (Santa Monica, Calif.: The Rand Corporation, 1963); Peter L. Szanton, "Analysis and Urban Government: Experience of the New York City-Rand Institute," *Policy Sciences* 3, no. 2 (1972): 153-61. For more recent analyses of think tanks from the perspective of public policy more generally, see Andrew Rich, *Think Tanks, Public Policy and the Politics of Expertise.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004, as well as Pamela M. Lee, *Think Tank Aesthetics: Midcentury Modernism, the Cold War, and the Neoliberal Present*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2020.

[207] Art historian Rosalyn Deutsche articulated that portraying a city’s urban problems as primarily aesthetic in nature is a strategy that allows governments to introduce the intentions of redevelopment as responses to the city’s needs. Rosalyn Deutsche, *Evictions: Art and Spatial Politics*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1996: 55-57.

[208] Ibid.

street was paramount, as the site of renewed focus of civilized urban life and pedestrianization efforts during the 1970s. At this moment, pedestrianization was seen as the essential tool to revitalize street life in the concept of the "open city."[209]

In order to understand how this context impacted the evolution of questions around the agency and disempowerment of architects, we must trace the means through which government, research agendas and projects, and architects intersected, producing a technocratic hybrid figure, the architect-urban designer – one among other professional figures related to these changes – in a time of disciplinary uncertainty.[210] The so-called "urban designer" in city government was one such role that staked claims to bridge the political and technical divide, between mayoral politics, urban policies, regulatory stipulations, contract documents, and citizen demands.[211]

More broadly considered, the general demise and critique of modernist ideology led to pressing questions that were exacerbated in the aftermath of 1968: what was the agency of the architect? Could they actually be involved with planning and urban renewal in a meaningful way? What is the definition of the "urban" that takes place in

[209] Ulrich Franzen, "Street," in Peter M. Wolf, *The Evolving City: Urban Design Proposals by Ulrich Franzen and Paul Rudolph* (New York: The American Federation of Arts, 1974), 14.

[210] The general sense of discipline's ineffectiveness - "profound dislocations and adjustments" of society at large had affected the ability of both architecture and planning to accumulate accurate knowledge of social needs or predict future programs, troubling by extension the disciplines' sense of assurance of their professional roles, which he described as "giving order to environmental and social change" - Lawrence B. Anderson, "School of Architecture and Planning" in "Report of the President, 1968," MIT Bulletin 104, no 3. (December 1968), 29. - Lawrence B. Anderson, "School of Architecture and Planning" in "Report of the President, 1968," *MIT Bulletin* 104, no 3. (December 1968), 29.

[211] Deepa Ramaswamy, "The Laws of Persuasion" in: *Neoliberalism on the Ground: Architecture and Transformation from the 1960s to the Present*, edited by Catherina Gabrielsson, Helena Mattson and Kenny Cupers, (Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2020). See also Donald Elliott, "The role of design in the governmental process," *Architectural Record,* January 1968: 141-143.

the late 60s such that technocratic architects begin to ask new questions? This framework looks to address shifting definitions of the urban domain or what was called "physical planning" at this moment, which undergirds nearly all of the early projects, commissioned city planning reports, and the larger research agenda, seminars, and explorations at IAUS from 1967 to 1971. At this moment a number of institutions were being redesigned as attempts at municipal decentralization and demands for greater community control—from community planning boards to Model Cities and the threat of protest by irate citizens—changed the frameworks for planning and design.[212] In urban design, the ascendancy of open space pointed to a new primacy for interstitial spaces grounded in particular neighborhoods and heterogeneous publics, rather than the production of grand civic spaces and monuments for a unitary public. An early project proposal at IAUS declared that urban design requires "not only structures and new images, but also new procedures ... within a total planning process."[213] However, these "new procedures" were yet to be specified while the list of physical problems to be considered for any urban design was legion, and steadily multiplying.

HUD's Urban Renewal Demonstration Grants and the Model Cities Program

A critical component of the historical context involves a consideration of the broader role that HUD's Demonstration Cities and Metropolitan Development Act (later to be renamed Model Cities) played in urban debates, and the evolution of this federal

[212] Norman Fainstein and Susan Fainstein, "Governing Regimes and the Political Economy of Development in New York City, 1946-1984," in *Power, Culture and Place,* ed. John Mollenkopf (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1988).

[213] Institute for Architecture and Urban Studies fonds, Collection Centre Canadien d'Architecture/ Canadian Center for Architecture, Montréal, "Urban Design Plank."

program over the course of its brief history beginning in 1966 and ending in 1974 when President Nixon terminated the program as well as the Neighborhood Development Program. In brief, the Model Cities program was designed to enable “maximum feasible participation of the poor” and "widespread citizen participation."[214] To this end, Model Cities was designed to mitigate the tension between local community-based action and paternalistic top-down social engineering efforts of the Great Society during the administration of President Johnson, in a moment defined largely by a shift away from master planning toward small-scale local interventions and projects that were unfolding at the beginning of the 1970s.[215] The original vision of combining physical and social planning had largely vanished in the Nixon-era reaction against the Great Society and what came to be called “the long 1960s”. In contrast to federal urban renewal programs of the past, which drew criticism from across the political spectrum, a critical component of the Model Cities mission was its emphasis on combining and emphasizing a “social and psychological” approach with an emphasis on the improvement of schools and health facilities, neighborhood recreation centers, citizen participation and other locally-based decision making efforts which aimed to increase morale in poor districts, with concrete physical changes in the urban environment through innovative architectural thinking and projects.[216] Model Cities enabled over 100 cities across the

[214] On Model Cities, see: Susanne Schindler, "Making Sense of Model Cities," The Architectural League's Urban Omnibus, November 1, 2016. Also refer to, Bernard J. Frieden and Marshall Kaplan, *The Politics of Neglect: Urban Aid from Model Cities to Revenue Sharing* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1977).; and Charles M. Haar, *Between the Idea and the Reality: A Study in the Origin, Fate, and Legacy of the Model Cities Program* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1975); as well as Edward Banfield, "Making a New Federal Program: Model Cities, 1964-68," in *Politics and Policy in America: Six Case Studies*, ed. Allen P. Sindler (Boston, 1973).

[215] For additional historical context, see also Nixon’s Law Enforcement Assistance Act of 1965 and Safe Streets Act of 1968.

[216] Martin Anderson, *The Federal Bulldozer; a Critical Analysis of Urban Renewal, 1949-1962.* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1964).

country to develop experimental programs to address urban inequality. Funds were to be distributed as “non-categorical” grants to municipalities where officials and residents, involved through “widespread citizen participation,” would decide on how to spend it. This became a point of tension in Model Cities efforts. As noted by Susanne Schindler, two key attributes of the program were its:

> comprehensive’ and ‘coordinated’ were, at the time, the program’s key conceptual terms. They implied that change needed to address all aspects of residents’ lives—employment, health, education, political empowerment, and more—and not just the physical aspects of their living condition.... But we could also understand Model Cities to have been highly productive, precisely due to the instabilities it triggered in aiming for all-encompassing change.[217]

Schindler has argued that, in fact, this method of distributing funds was one of the crucial downfalls to the program, and caused as “much instability as it sought to remedy” and “prompted conflict among the multiple constituencies that made up any one Model Cities Neighborhood.”[218] Other histories of Model Cities have elucidated how these conflicts in the program’s constitution also led to other instabilities which were intractable almost from its origins. Writing a few decades later, political scientist Edward Banfield noted that rational planning and citizen participation were not often compatible:

> local political arrangements in the United States preclude anything remotely resembling “comprehensive or rational planning. Inventing social reforms that are likely to work and that voters are willing to have tried is very difficult to do anywhere (and almost impossible to do in an American city where “veto groups” abound)... As for citizen participation, very judgment or experience was needed to see that this would be costly in terms of other goals–planning, coordination, and innovation.[219]

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[217] Susanne Schindler, “Model Conflicts,” *E-Flux*. Accessed 4 March 2022, https://www.e-flux.com/architecture/structural-instability/208704/model-conflicts/

[218] Ibid.

[219] Banfield, 215.

A second key criteria in the awarding of these funds was the rather vague notion of "innovation." A detailed guide that was sent out to cities hoping to apply noted that "cities should look upon this program as an opportunity to experiment, to become laboratories for testing and refining new and better methods for improving the quality of urban living."[220] This emphasis on innovation was closely tied to the idea that Model Cities aimed to restitch links between what was broadly conceived of as the "physical and the social."[221] This link between the physical and social dimensions of urban renewal was also an inflection point in figures as diverse as Kevin Lynch and Jane Jacobs, who each attempted to articulate a series of connection points between the ways in which the space of the street was a vital link between the physical and social domains of city life. Writing later in 1978, Stanford Anderson argued that the position of the architect was stuck between two poles in a lose-lose scenario: "architects are alternatively chasisted for falsely holding that physical design could have any effect on human thought and action, and then damned for the social irresponsibility of creating the conditions which have led to a worsened urban life."[222] Toward this end, the Streets project aimed not to find a middle ground but to understand how this came to be, to diagnose the terms under which the architects' toolkit might be reimagined, and to speculate on how a new attitude toward streets might come into being.

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[220] Ibid, 202. The "innovation" component of many of the submissions was noted by Taylor, HUD administrator, as severely lacking.

[221] The phrasing here is reminiscent of the first poster conceived for IAUS by Emilio Ambasz which stated that: "the major area of concern is with the problem of physical design as a problem solving device for structuring the urban environment understood as the active relationship between physical systems and social systems." Institute for Architecture and Urban Studies fonds, Collection Centre Canadien d'Architecture/ Canadian Center for Architecture, Montréal, IAUS poster.

[222] Stanford Anderson, preface, *On Streets: Streets as Elements of Urban Structure.* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1978).

Funding and Contracts

While Model Cities was in effect, on January 30th, 1970 IAUS researchers received an Urban Renewal Demonstrations grant of $330,325 over a two-year time period with an additional $29,824 to be supplied by the Sloan Foundation to cover overhead and other related costs (figure 2.10).[223] The vast majority of this amount, $238,535, was earmarked for administrative costs and specifically staff salaries and benefits; which is to say that knowledge production, research and analysis was prioritized as opposed to outputs such as reports or other visually-based materials. Simply put, this amount of funding was significantly larger than what IAUS had received in total up to this point, and would later serve as demonstration that other large grants similar to this one could materialize from unlikely sources.[224] Looking further, if we examine one of the many budgetary documents from this time period, we see that 60 percent of the total operating budget of IAUS came from HUD.[225] One of the secondary effects of these changes were the eddies and offshoots of funds that institutes like IAUS attempted to tap into and use to jumpstart their commissioned projects, similar to the manner in which the passing of the Housing and Urban Development Act of 1968 directly supplied funds and fostered the advocacy movement among architects and planners. The relationship between “Streets” and the Model Cities program was indirect but still

[223] At this time, it is not quite clear how this number of $330,325 was determined but something to be explored further. Further budgetary documents do not provide more information on how the money was actually spent or used over the two-year time period.

[224] Before this point, IAUS had received a staffing grant for $12,500 for "research on urban street systems" from the Sloan Foundation in 1969, and were looking for a second grant in 1970 and a third in 1972.

[225] See Richard Plunz, “Comments on Academic Research in Architecture in the United States,” *Journal of Architectural Education*, vol. 40, no. 2, 1987, pp. 62-64. See also correspondence from Charles E. Hewitt to Peter Eisenman, October 24, 1969, Institute for Architecture and Urban Studies fonds, Collection Centre Canadien d’Architecture/ Canadian Center for Architecture, Montréal, Folder A3-3.

important in terms of understanding the larger research economy at this moment.[226]

Other aspects of the budget are revealing in terms of what did and did *not* occur with the funds that were given from HUD. According to meeting minutes from a 1970 meeting with Arthur Drexler, the *Streets* project was intended to culminate in an exhibition at MoMA, which ultimately did not materialize due to budget problems at the museum and disagreements with over the content and visuality of the exhibition materials.[227] While it is unclear how far the exhibition planning proceeded, a document from 1972 identified three parts to the exhibition which demonstrated the possibilities of what could have been:

History:
1. What is a Street
2. Changing Conceptions of Street in history
3. The Street today
4. Definition of the problem

Theory:
1. Street Typology - by use and building size
2. Conceptual Space
3. Transactional Space
4. Public-private boundary

Demonstration of Theory in Binghamton
1. Site Analysis
2. The Streets Game - what people want
3. Arbitration in Favor of Streets - the new role for design
4. Application on three sites
5. New Parceling Concepts
6. What happens next?[228]

[226] Scholars who have previously examined IAUS streets research have incorrectly noted that the project's HUD funds were tied to Model Cities directly. They were not, as far as the archival documentation demonstrates. While seemingly a minor point, crucial conclusions can be drawn from this misallocation, as well as a demonstration of how the *Streets* project has been overlooked.

[227] Ibid.

[228] Institute for Architecture and Urban Studies fonds, Collection Centre Canadien d'Architecture/ Canadian Center for Architecture, Montréal, "Exhibition Structure."

The tripartite structure of the exhibition, in its planning phase, indicated the foundational role that architectural history played in the conceptualization of their research.

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Part II — Streets as *Project*

> *(Streets) invite a creative activity on the part of the wayfarer in reading and maneuvering along their half-formed routes. We sense that in its essence, the street preserves something of a mythic quality which transcends any narrow exploitive use. It forms a spatio-temporal passage pregnant with mysteries, dangers, precipices, shocks, puzzles, dramas and events, an unfolding epic which can be inexhaustively acted upon and released by the walker, a realm of uncertainty and possibility where life is perpetually tested, transcended, and born anew.*
>
> – Henry Plummer, book review[229]

> *In the next forty years, we must rebuild the entire urban United State*s.
>
> - President Lyndon B. Johnson, Commencement Address at the University of Michigan[230]

To situate the work of IAUS researchers, one must look beyond the historical circumstances of their milieu to understand how streets have been problematized, debated, and discussed as an urban element broadly conceived as a public-private interface over the longer duration of the 20th century. What is critical to note is that despite the voluminous discourse on this topic in city and urban planning, legal studies, and other fields that investigate the city as a sociological and spatial phenomenon, the

[229] Henry Plummer, “Strata Via: The Street as a Mode of Existence,” *Journal of Architectural Education*, Summer, 1988, Vol. 41, No. 4, pp. 58-64.

[230] As quoted in Bernard Rudofsky, *Streets for People*, 123.

intersections with architectural discourse and projects are more discrete. Significantly, discourses on the street in the 20th century have often produced a confusion between the juridical, infrastructural, and representational aspects due to the manner in which the street has been understood as having multiple roles, allegiances, and stakeholders. Previous thinking on the history of streets as public space has been largely composed of heterogeneous collections of essays which avoid the establishment of rigid frameworks or historical models to understand streets and their evolution.[231] It has been said that the architecture of the street "hardly ever tends to solve traffic problems, connect places, link different environments: on the contrary it is a specific project targeted at the construction of conscious, aesthetically consistent microcosms."[232] As a construction in its own right, the street has been understood by urbanists, critics, and architects alike as rife with ideology, but in the sense that "ideology is always present in plans for streets, but authority is often forced to compromise because of the multiplicity of actors in the urban process."[233] Therefore the street has often been understood as a site *par excellence* of negotiation, compromise, and failed promises toward urban reform.

More immediate to the concerns of this chapter, the investigation of the latent potential of the street as something which could be rethought was not in any sense new. In fact,

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[231] Zeynep Çelik, Diane Favro, Richard Ingersoll (eds.). *Streets: Critical Perspectives on Public Space* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994); and Nicholas R. Fyfe (ed.). *Images of the Street: Planning. Identity and Control in Public Space* (London: Routledge, 1998).

[232] As noted by Maria Giudici, there have been several main positions which emerge from debates on streets: "those who read the street as pure space of connection, those who want to bring it back as space of contact, and those who think it has never ceased being a mixture of the two, but it just changed in scale and morphology." Giudici, ibid.

[233] Ibid.

the street had been a critical site of contestation since the postwar period when Le Corbusier had declared “we must kill the corridor street!”[234] [235] It is in this sense that the street has represented a larger urban attitude toward the conflicts that emerge between the street as a means of circulation, flow, and efficiency, and the street as a form of sociality and communalism.

Twenty-One Miles: the Jersey Corridor Project

The “Streets” work continued a sublimated thread of urban speculative projects that dated back to the Jersey Corridor Project that Eisenman, Anthony Eardley, and Michael Graves designed in collaboration in 1963, later to be published in a special issue of *LIFE Magazine* in December 1965 (figure 2.10), and was uncredited.[236] While somewhat novel in an American context at an elite university such as Princeton, the project was in no way fundamentally new: projects by Harvey Wiley Corbett designed split-level

[234] Le Corbusier, *Précisions sur un état présent de l’architecture et de l’urbanisme* (Paris; Crès, 1930). 168. Also reprinted in Jean-Louis Cohen, *Le Corbusier: The Lyricism of Architecture in the Machine Age* (Cologne: Taschen, 2004), 10.

[235] The literature on this topic is quite vast. For a broad overview of this terrain, see chapter 1 in Maria Giudici, “The Street as a Project: The Space of the City and the Construction of the Modern Subject,” (PhD diss., Technical University Delft, 2014). See also the analysis of this genealogy of texts and projects developed by John R. Gold in "The Death of the Boulevard," in: *Images of The Street: Planning, Identity and Control of Public Space*, edited by Nicholas R. Fyfe (London: Routledge, 1998), 44-57. See also the analysis of the street as a living structure in Edmond Bacon's study of the street's overall mobile form, and modeling of the vast interlocked dynamic energies of entire urban quarters. Cf. Edmund Bacon, *Design of Cities*. (United Kingdom: Thames And Hudson, 1992); Colin Buchanan, *Traffic in Towns: A Study of the Long Term Problems of Traffic in Urban Areas*. (United Kingdom: Taylor & Francis, 2015).

[236] For the Jersey Corridor project, see P. V. Aureli, M. Biraghi, F. Purini: Peter Eisenman. *Tutte le Opere*, (Electa, 2007), pp. 56 – 57; and Anthony Eardley, Peter D. Eisenman, and Michael Graves, "Jersey Corridor Project, 1965," in Robert A.M. Stern, *40 under 40: An Exhibition of Young Talent in Architecture* (New York: The Architectural League of New York, 1966), p.7. Retrospectively, Eisenman discussed this project in an interview with Thomas Weaver in 2017 where he noted: “After receiving a $100,000 grant from a foundation to pursue our linear city project, Michael and I camped out in Princeton with a team of young architects, as if we were a second school. One day in the fall of 1966, Arthur Drexler, then-director of the Department of Architecture and Design, saw our project. He was quite excited, as he did not know young people were doing large-scale urban projects.” in: Peter Eisenman, “The Agency Interview: The Institute for Architecture and Urban Studies (IAUS),” *Perspecta*, Vol. 45, AGENCY (2012), pp. 59-66. See also: “Peter Eisenman in conversation with Thomas Weaver,” *AA Files*, No. 74 (2017), pp. 150-172.

circulation studies in the 1910s and 20s, and Edgar Chambless' Roadtown, a continuous structure which contained housing and services within a single linear building topped by a highway, predated the project by several decades.[237] The Jersey Corridor project, a 21-mile linear city proposal stretching from New York to Philadelphia, proposed two parallel structures punctuated by small cross-rung buildings. The accompanying text in *LIFE Magazine* described the urban life of the building by noting that people would walk no more than a mile to get to work, and small electric vehicles "summoned by a button" whisked residents along the length of the structure. Combining both local and regional scales in the same structure, the design purported to contain all of the necessary urban components in a single aggregate megastructure made up of multi-deck buildings with work and living on two opposite sides of the parallel structure.

The Jersey Corridor project gained currency in part due to its dialogue with then-contemporary discourse on urbanism, in particular questions of rapidly increasing urban density posed by *LIFE* writer Warren R. Young such as "where will all the masses reside?" and "why not simply design new buildings big enough to qualify as self-contained cities?"[238] The arguments for megastructures broadly and for the Jersey Corridor specifically hinged on the ability to transform "mechanical technologies" and transportation infrastructure into something that was both futuristic and "could conduct most urban activities within distances a man enjoys to walk."[239] Notably, urbanist Jean Gottman argued that old ideas of "the city" had to be abandoned in acceptance of the

[237] Edgar Chambless, *Roadtown* (New York: Roadtown Press, 1910).

[238] Ibid, 147.

[239] Ibid.

actual conditions of the regional “neighborhood” of the nebulous Megalopolis.[240] In many ways the design was a recapitulation of Team X and modernist infrastructural ideas that sought to extend architecture into the scale of urban planning. The Jersey Corridor project evidences the way in which transportation, infrastructure, and urban planning are literally merged into a singular formal and urban gesture that integrates movement and stasis, and attempts to address a tidal wave of changes to the city proper in a period of rapid urbanization. This project sought to reshape the city through radical means, and forms an unlikely vantage point through which to view the origins of and to connect to “Streets” research nearly a decade later. In fact, a prospectus draft document from 1973 mentioned that this effort was still ongoing; one of the examples of postulative research cited was Eisenman’s work on the application of linear city concepts to existing urban areas. However, there was no evidence that the Jersey Corridor project continued beyond its initial form.

Mutable and Shifting Definitions of “The Street”

> *Examine them, sort them out properly, understand their uses, study alternate configurations and loadings, design them— this is what city architecture, now called urban designs, must be concerned with, the fashioning of public rights-of-way.*[241]
>
> - Jacquelin Robertson, “Rediscovering the Street”

In Phase I of the project, a wide-ranging analytic study of the street abounds (figure 2.2X). This phase of work included methods of historical, visual, and spatial analysis, as

[240] Architectural League of New York and Robert A. M Stern, *40 Under 40; an Exhibition of Young Talent in Architecture.* (New York, 1966), 7.

[241] Jacquelin Robertson, “Rediscovering the Street,” *Architectural Forum,* November 173 (Volume 140/ Issue 4): 24-31.

well as a litany of other analytic and synthetic observations, along with a weekly seminar led by visitor Joseph Rykwert which studied the anthropological and sociological dimensions of streets that engaged students, researchers, and guests at IAUS in an open forum. The agenda of the project during this phase (and beyond) was complicated by shifting definitions and multiple elusive scales of the street, as well as its manifold ways of interpretation–as a social space, as an urban typology, as a community connector, as a historical phenomenon, as a public-private boundary, as a regulatory nexus to mention just a few–and would serve as a sustained and non-exhaustive subject for the decade-long endeavor. In fact, the definition of "streets" was, in and of itself, a crucial component of the early effort of the research, and was a constantly shifting target in documents that consistently strived to define the street through its uses through time, its symbolic dimension, its role as a public-private interface, physical properties, modes of change, and countless other analytic categories (figure 2.21). In framing their research, the IAUS team moved toward a superdisciplinary position where streets came to be defined by a complex nexus of disciplinary overlaps: part circulation, part infrastructure, part urbanism, part symbolic systems. Toward this end, the research proposal prescribed an interdisciplinary approach by claiming that "members of the team will work together in the same office" (sic).[242]

Broadly conceived, research into streets during this decade fell into two opposing but not mutually exclusive camps: urbanists that propagated a discourse of street life and the street as a *place* rather than a connector, and architects that wished to re-articulate

[242] Ibid.

the qualities of understanding the street as viewed from and influenced by the automobile. At stake for the IAUS research team was something more discursive: their efforts are aimed at broadening the terms of the debate on streets toward a more complex, fulsome picture that was not dedicated only to a project of re-imagination of pedestrian behavior and urban pedestrianization, but could be understood as a broader critique of the architectural mindset and the limits to determinism therein. The most obvious question - what is the street and what has it been historically? - was posed and redefined continually. In their research efforts, we find that it was not the literal materiality of streets, ie. the concrete pavement, asphalt, dimensions, sidewalk widths, pedestrian counting techniques, etc. but instead was the regulatory nexus that they found themselves in. To this end, the report declared that:

> we do not mean the cosmetic treatments of decorative planting, cobblestones, and bollards inspired by rhetorical and nostalgic. On the contrary, we have conceived of the street as a vital part of both the socio-physical structure of cities and the planning process. In our study, we have attempted to define how one might plan to use the street, the primary source of public urban space, as an operative element. .... while much thought is given to traffic studies, to street closings, and to street amenities (signs, benches, lighting, and so forth), ... these phenomena can be seen as the interface between the public and private domain and can be described physically, symbolically, socially, economically, and politically.[243]

Instead of nostalgia, what was most critical in their approach was in fact the regional appropriation of funds, their regulation of legal and illegal, what is possible and not possible in terms of public land. Secondly, their approach attempted to understand the connections between the physical realm and the corresponding sociological and social domain. More fundamentally, at stake in this body of research was a rearticulation of the

[243] Ibid.

potential of the street as a social connector and the street as a vital urban realm beyond its presence for circulation and infrastructure.[244] As noted by Rykwert in his contribution to the *On Streets* book, his essay “The Street: The Use of its History” recounted the etymology of the term “street” and hinted at the difficulty in each definition and the prehistoric nature of the term with its implied social dimension.[245] In this anthropologically oriented essay Rykwert parsed the nuances of histories and etymologies of road, street, and passage as terms which must be differentiated. There he wrote that the “street is human movement institutionalized... the road and street are social institutions, and it is their acceptance by the community that gives them the name and function.”[246] Stanford Anderson articulated these approach coherently when he wrote:

> the problem of physical planning in general and the design of streets in particular, is to recognize the nature and limits of the interaction of people with their environment - not the polar conditions of presumed total irrelevance or absolute physical determinism. The physical environment must be seen as both a cultural system entailing the scope and qualifications of our aspirations and our resignation and a support system for our literal needs and actions - even if the interaction among these factors can only be partially distinguished for analytic purposes.[247]

For Anderson and his fellow researchers, the effort to clarify factors that can only be

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[244] As noted later by Thomas Schumacher, “we are interested in getting people out into the street, or, alternatively, out into some equivalent of the traditional street.” Thomas Schumacher, “Buildings and Streets - Notes on Configuration and Use,” *On Streets:* ed. Stanford Anderson (Cambridge, MA.: MIT Press, 1978): 133.

[245] Giudici, ibid.

[246] Joseph Rykwert, “The Street: The Use of its History,” 15. See also Chester H. Liebs, *Main Street to Miracle Mile: American Roadside Architecture* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1995), 7-37.

[247] Stanford Anderson, preface, *On Streets: Streets as Elements Structure. ed.* Stanford Anderson (Cambridge, MA.: MIT Press, 1978), 13.

“partially distinguished” arguably led to a series of technocratic conflicts between understanding the street as a cultural system, a physical environment, and a support system.[248]

Facticity and Bad Abstraction

As succinctly stated by scholar of bureaucracy Ben Kafka in his discussion of the paperwork and materiality of bureaucratic documents, “matter matters.”[249] With this in mind and a microhistorical attention to matter, a closer view of reports and documents from the project serves to illuminate and clarify the ambitions and entanglements of their research efforts during the lifespan of the project. More specifically, in a wide-ranging report titled “Streets ——— Phases I and II: Analysis / Postulations” – a document which is notably incomplete and fragmented due to a series of missing pages and omissions, as seen by handwritten marginalia – can be analyzed not only for its content but also its formal and stylistic organization. In the report, we find a mode of working that is equal parts technocratic (in its effort to define every potential mode of analysis, data collection method, and associated positivist technique for surveying streets) and critical of this technocratic mode. The report is structured as a group of chapters, each of which

[248] Alongside these competing definitions of the urban domain discussed above was the persistent appearance of the term “environment” and its corollary “environmental design,” both of which were part of a larger shift and challenge to the discipline of architecture as such, and even disciplinarity itself. Environmental design’s aim was not to produce a final image or determinate form but an interdisciplinary framework facilitating a continual renegotiation that would remain open to contestation and adjustment. Ultimately, environmental design was understood as an effort to avoid the production of a final image or determinate form but instead sought an interdisciplinary framework facilitating a continual renegotiation that would remain open to contestation and adjustment. However, this was not without its own conflicts and dilemmas. The young field was described as plagued with methodological and epistemological problems, among which was the very definition of the field itself, much less what was meant by "environment."

[249] Ben Kafka, “From the Desk of Roland Barthes: Putting Mater (and Pater) Back,” *West 86th: A Journal of Decorative Arts, Design History, and Material Culture*, Vol. 18, No. 2 (Fall-Winter 2011), pp. 208-213.

contains headings, subheadings, and sub-subheadings that concentrically define the object of study, methods, and techniques of analysis of streets. These sub-subheadings become increasingly specific and nuanced; sub-subheadings will occasionally contain their own micro-analyses to which one will find, for example, " 4.4.4.5, section A, II which outlines "Principles and Form Proposals Addressed to the Problem of Under-Differentiation of Districts (Streets as a Source of Differentiation Between Districts)."[250] This form of analysis-within-analysis produced a mode of self-reflexivity and self-recursiveness to the process of observation, and also included a continual discussion of doubts, revisions, and even mistakes discovered along the way.

As a rhetorical mode of writing, the research report as a format finds itself adjacent to other modes of grey literature, such as the modern memorandum, which, according to John Guillory "gives directions, makes recommendations, but, above all, it is a means of transmitting information within the large bureaucratic structures."[251] The report "Streets ——— Phases I and II" was a repository of interviews, data collection, charts, miscellaneous notes, explanatory passages, and other such memorandums internal to the research team. As such, the report has multiple and even contradictory goals and ambitions, most of which fall under the rubric of locating "a methodology and a graphic notation for analyzing the impact of the entire urban structure on streets (physical and social considerations) and their "existing or proposed street forms and the implications of their systemic use."[252] However the authors are careful to note that the report is "not a

[250] Ibid.

[251] John Guillory, "The Memo and Modernity" *Critical Inquiry*, Vol. 31, No. 1 (Autumn 2004), pp. 108-132.

[252] Ibid.

handbook," but instead has been assembled as a "framework and guide" for those who "must finally take actions too complicated to predict."[253] Much of the report is replete with sections that are definitions of terms, qualifiers to their research efforts and strategies, and clarifications of the exact methods and processes of the workflow in order to lay out the terrain of their investigation. In this sense, the extent of the efforts to lay out the terrain can be said to dominate the report, as opposed to conclusions or interventions in the built environment. Arguably the attempt to understand the institutional, political, social, economic ramifications of street analysis led to a persistent if not undetected evasion of the specific opportunities that might be provided through an examination of the particularities of power structures that are existent.

A key concern throughout the report was the definition of what counted as a *fact*, how such facts were obtained and measured in their urban environments, and the value of *facticity* outside of the context of a specific instance from which it was gathered.[254] Facts gathered include quantifiable data as well as subjective responses to interview questions, impromptu surveys, and other forms of social conversations in neighborhoods in and around New York City. While interviews and data were the predominant modes of information gathering, the researchers noted that "more adequate sociological methods that would yield information pertinent to the design of streets" and that in many cases the data, soon after it was gathered, quickly became obsolete.[255] To truly understand the link between behavior and environment required

[253] 4.2.4., Ibid.

[254] Mary Poovey, *A History of the Modern Fact: Problems of Knowledge in the Sciences of Wealth and Society.* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998).

[255] Ibid.

more advanced tools, techniques, and methods, which extended beyond “populist” methods such as interviews. To this end, the authors explain:

> Much of our research appears to indicate that the impact of economic, legal, and political forces far outweighs the influence of "populist" sociology in determining the general parameters of the physical environment and that what is really needed is a behavior study which would determine by accurate observation (through the use of video recording, etc.) the more concrete points of friction between the user and the micro-environment.

The suggested use of video recording, which was not taken up to remedy the problems of the behavioral study, may have been prohibited due to financial costs and technical limitations. More questions may have been opened up by pursuing this path than answers.[256] Furthermore, the link between the culling of facts and the equipment used to that end is paramount. To this end, Arindum Dutta has argued that “no ‘facts’ can be established in science without the appropriate equipment by which these facts can be measured; consequently those with the best equipment tend to have the best chance to be right.”[257]

A parallel approach to the definition of facts claimed that objective data was less critical than the “underlying structure” in an environment:

> In any physical environment there exists an underlying structure that has the

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[256] Meanwhile it was the innovative deployment of exactly these kinds of media tools, particularly the camcorder and cassette tape recorder, used in studios at Yale University taught by Denise Scott Brown and Robert Venturi in order to challenge the prevailing paradigm of static and conventional representations of sites and site visits, and their associated drawing methods. See: Martino Stierli, *Las Vegas in the Rearview Mirror: The City in Theory, Photography, and Film.* (Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2013).

[257] Arindum Dutta, “Linguistics, Not Grammatology: Architecture’s A Prioris and Architecture’s Priorities,” in: ed. Arindam Dutta, with Stephanie Marie Tuerk, Michael Kubo, Jennifer Yeesue Chuong, Irina Chernyakova, *A Second Modernism: MIT, ARCHITECTURE, and the ‘Techno-Social’ Moment* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2013), 62.

> capacity for manipulation and design in conjunction with the more commonly recognized functional, social, or behavioral considerations. This structure could be the subject of rational analysis and logical discourse, often to a greater degree than some of the supposedly quantifiable information that is presented as "fact" during the course of any planning process.[258]

The “existence” of this underlying structure hinged on the notion of what and how changes occur and are made in the physical environment, and what the mechanisms to achieve change were, at the levels of socio-political, legal, institutional, and economic procedures and methods were in place. To this end, a chart in chapter five labeled as “Areas for the Development of Procedural and Methodological Techniques for Implementation of Urban Streets Programs and Projects” (figure 2.23) defined the scope of these needs in order to clarify what lay ahead. However, despite any clarity that may have been potentially gained, the ever-expanding scope of the project also became increasingly evident in the ambitions of what was laid out in the chart. In particular, the researchers call for the establishment of a quasi-public development corporation with “authority similar to that of the New York State Urban Development Corporation” in order to adapt, invent, and modify the legal methods needed for urban street development projects, as well as the development of “new legal techniques for urban street development” to formulate a "’street’ oriented zoning code which would more precisely establish the nature of the public-private interface within the context of the entire street.”[259]

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[258] Institute for Architecture and Urban Studies fonds, Collection Centre Canadien d’Architecture/ Canadian Center for Architecture, Montréal, “Streets ——— Phases I and II: Analysis / Postulations,” 8.

[259] Ibid.

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Part III — Urban Development Policy Recommendations

'*With a high degree of confidence we can say that the intuitive solution to the problems of complex social systems will be wrong most of the time*.

- Jay Forrester[260]

Frequently (one is tempted to say normally!), the political appointees and career executives concerned do not see themselves as involved with, much less responsible for, the urban consequences of their programs and policies. They are, to their minds, simply building highways, guaranteeing mortgages, advancing agriculture, or whatever. No one has made clear to them that they are simultaneously redistributing employment opportunities, segregating neighborhoods, or desegregating them, depopulating the countryside and filling up the slums, etc. All these things are second- and third-order consequences of nominally unrelated programs.

- Daniel Moynihan, "Toward a National Urban Policy"[261]

Arguably, one of the most critical components of the *Streets* work was a document called "Recommendations for urban development policies" by land-use expert, urban planner, and attorney Peter Wolf.[262] There Wolf laid out the stakes for these recommendations in no uncertain terms: "in order to halt the continuous economic deterioration of urban America, new vitality and a new interest in living in cities must be

[260] Daniel Moynihan, "Toward a National Urban Policy," *The Engineer and the City: A Symposium Sponsored by the National Academy of Engineering at Its Fifth Autumn Meeting*, October 22-23, 1969, Washington, D.C.: National Academy of Engineering, 1969), 12.

[261] Ibid.

[262] Wolf had been working for a transportation consultant after completing a dissertation on Eugene Henard when he was unexpectedly visited one day by Peter Eisenman, who asked him to join IAUS in a full-time capacity. We could surmise that Wolf accepting this offer required a significant leap of faith. Wolf's impact on IAUS was wide reaching and substantial; he later served as chairman of the board of fellows. Conversation with Peter Wolf, February 22, 2022. See also: Peter M. Wolf, *Eugène Hénard and the Beginning of Urbanism in Paris, 1900-1914*. (Netherlands, International Federation for Housing and Planning, 1968).

generated."[263] A close reading of this document indicates the extent to which Wolf advocated for and postulated an interdisciplinary approach to street redesign that ultimately exceeded the agenda of the project at large as it was shaped by demands of visual outputs and a forthcoming museum exhibition at MoMA.[264] The radical nature of Wolf's document is not in its speculative propositions *per se*, but in its concrete grounding in the realities of finance, tax laws, policy and municipal reforms that such ideas could actually be realized if the political will, unity of thought, and conceptual rigor was correctly identified, located, and acted upon accordingly. In this way, Wolf's contribution to the larger project and research team pushed the *Streets* work into an uncomfortable terrain that exceeded the architectural and formal domain by a long shot, and instead was located in the knotty entanglements of urban planning, law, and urban policy.

Wolf's recommendations extended far beyond the analysis of streets that we might find in a volume like *Streets: Critical Perspectives on Urban Space,* where the editors noted that "the design of most streets is determined by a series of negotiations involving patrons, technical experts, and governmental agents."[265] Wolf's document exceeds "negotiations" and proposed a myriad of tactics, financial tools, legal revisions, zoning updates, and urban concepts to rethink the fundamental assumptions behind who owns the street, the communities and constituencies it serves and addresses, how it is

[263] Institute for Architecture and Urban Studies fonds, Collection Centre Canadien d'Architecture/ Canadian Center for Architecture, Montréal, Peter Wolf, "Recommendations for Urban Development Policies," 1972, ARCH-401246.

[264] The exhibition did not materialize for unknown reasons, as mentioned above. This is also something to be explored further.

[265] Ibid, 5.

regulated, and its larger civic or semi-public presence in an urban realm. A focus on "streets" did not imply moving closer to the "nitty gritty" of pavement maintenance or upgrading street furniture or the scale of the detail, but instead involved the revision and wholesale critique of municipal agencies and what they could and could not control; which is to say the reimagining of possibilities at the scale of the municipal region and urban policy.

The scope of this document is both vast and unparalleled in other components of the overall research project. Wolf's document of recommendations was broken down into four principal categories: New Federal Policies; New Local Policies for the Public and Private Sectors Acting Both Separately and Jointly; Future Research; Implementation of the Demonstration Study in Binghamton.[266] As mentioned in the report discussed above, various recommendations are broken down into administrative, legislative, and economic sections, each tied to specific policy changes or modifications of existing legislation. For example, Wolf proposed that the National Housing and Community Development Act be amended and a new title added to provide a specific grant program for urban street planning and development. His vision of this renewed street and the "urban street structuring problem" also extended to the idea of establishing a "quasi-public development corporation with authority similar to that of the New York State Urban Development Corporation."[267] Crucial to these suggestions was Wolf's definition of streets through an economic and financial lens: "in an economic context to

[266] Ibid.

[267] Ibid.

non-tax generating public rights-of-way and the access influence zone in a three-dimensional field to which it is linked."[268] This is to say that the street, considered anew in an economic context, as a non-tax generating public entity, was now both a formal, three-dimensional space charged with connecting a physical milieu to an economic one.

Transactional Space

Writing in 1972, Wolf defined a concept of public-private interface that he called "transactional space," which he loosely defined as the "'reclamation' of space within the city that should be considered in the public domain to general public purposes."[269] This ambiguous concept permeated the "Recommendations" document as a revisionist category of municipal space which might be understood through numerous reconsiderations of spaces that were often less-than-considered or ignored, particularly through an architectural lens. This included spaces and interstitial zones such as residential front yards and backyards, façades, downtown office atriums, private alleyways, lobbies, and other relevant space within the private or semi-private domain. Wolf examined these spaces and argued that they should be up for redefinition in order to be legally "reclaimed," and paid for with a combination of Federal grants allocated for land assembly and/or a capital grants program.[270] In doing so, these spaces were then to be made available as semi-public space, and then leveraged to change ownership in

[268] Peter Wolf, "Rethinking the Urban Street: Its Economic Context," *On Streets*, 377- 383. Fn. 1.

[269] Ibid.

[270] Compare with the discussion of the history of arcades in Anthony Vidler, "The Scenes of the Street: Transformations in Ideal and Reality, 1750-1871," *On Streets: Streets as Urban Structure* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1978), 28-51.

order to make a “new street” possible. Writing about the potential of rethinking the typical suburban front yard, Wolf explained:

> ... the unused front yards in residential districts, which at present give little benefit to their owners in terms of use, yet cost them additional tax money, also provide little benefit to the public in general. Furthermore, relative to the city's economy, these areas generate little tax revenue, even though they are in private hands. If such areas were "reclaimed" according to determination set by the requirements of a new public-private boundary for a particular street and through a modest reduction in assessment and some capital investment, it is quite likely that these areas adjacent to the street could be acquired. From the owner's point of view, some maintenance and tax cost is eliminated. From the public point of view, new land, usable for recreation, public open space, and other public use becomes available at a modest cost and could produce a more viable street environment.[271]

Therefore Wolf argued that the front yard could become a space that is no longer tied to the domestic realm per se but could occupy an ambiguous zone between private ownership and a unified public realm that could pay dividends in terms of multiple uses, such as recreation, small scale urban agriculture, and undefined open space. This idea of “transactional space” was not without its own dilemmas, both legally and conceptually, despite the level of rigor that can be found in Wolf’s document. While he noted that homeowners, in the general sense, would be motivated to offload maintenance and tax costs, at the same time he skillfully avoided a detailed consideration of how this process of participation and unification might exactly work “in reality,” to use a phrase that was casually deployed quite frequently. For instance, which homeowners would agree to participate, and why or why not would they do so? How would they be contacted to participate and made aware of the program? What kind of boundaries, such as fences, low walls, or hedges, would stand in the way of this participation or in the unification of these spaces as newly-public? What about potential

[271] Ibid.

conflicts between those who wanted to participate and those that did not, in terms of their adjaciences and intersections? What were the legal difficulties involved in this, in terms of current property boundaries and property taxes? Arguably these and other questions like them quickly begin to pile up when taking the proposal seriously.

In an effort to universalize this research into transactional space beyond the particularities of a given or definitive site, Wolf also suggested an expanded agenda for the proposal, to explain how transactional space might be tested and shaped by a process of research, analysis, and comparison:

> Interdisciplinary research involving social scientists and designers examining normative individual and communal needs and goals in their interrelationships with normative physical forms and transactional space uses at both metropolitan and local street scale. This would include the location, definition, and description of these aspects for several streets within each generic street type. A comparative analysis, perhaps utilizing computerized techniques, would then be made to produce the "standard" goals, context environments, and normative physical forms and transactional spaces. The analysis would also provide appropriate ranges of "deviation" from the standard before the street could be said to "fail" as a representative of that generic type. A composite "model" street for each type and new street forms could then be generated, embracing and illustrating both qualitative and quantitative performance principles.[272]

The notion of a “standard” and “deviation,” which could benefit from “perhaps utilizing computerized techniques,” speaks to a larger turn toward data, datafication, and quantification in this time period.[273] This move towards quantification was part of a larger

[272] Ibid.

[273] For a different perspective on the use of data as a tool of abstraction, particularly as it is interpreted through early computer programming, see Dutta, ibid. “However, making the problem pertinent to the academic context of the university entailed a particular framing of the problem—distinct from, say, how the legislature or the census would address these issues—since the problem-setting of “design” must also be shown to have pedagogical value. It was felt necessary, therefore, borrowing the social/architectonic frame of the “laboratory” as used by the engineering departments of the Institute, to set up an “Urban Data Laboratory,” where narratives of poverty could be processed into analyzable fields of quanta. As data began to be compiled, the pressing task that emerged concerned “developing the use of the

shift in the mid-seventies toward a general systems paradigm and an associated military-industrial-academic complex, which prioritized heavily-funded research projects that were tied to the application of computers and scientific knowledge. In these projects, the computer was regarded not simply as a technological tool, but as an epistemological shift which offered a potential to move beyond subjective and aesthetic questions. In doing so, the computer provided tools with which one could organize complex data and allowed architects to gain a "wider statement of the total problem and generate a richer choice of solutions" toward a rationalization of "thinking patterns."[274] As argued by historian Felicity Scott, in her discussion of MIT's Urban Systems Lab (USL):

> as architecture and the city came to be replaced by notions of environmental systems, we find that data on social organization and its physical matrix came to be understood simply as computational parameters with quantitative (rather than historical or political) values, insurrection a momentary instability before a feedback-based stabilization of those "urban dynamics" might be put to work.[275]

Unlike the work at USL, the propositions put forward by Wolf and others on the IAUS research team hinted toward a potential for computerization which, in fact, does not eventually manifest. However, it is relevant here to understand the shadow of computerization and its effect on projects that pointed to its use, in order to understand that its mention was worth doing even without clear access to computers or the necessary funding.

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computer," since more important than the gathering of data, in itself mute, was the development of a specialized language to decipher it."

[274] Ibid.

[275] Ibid.

Another component of Wolf's document addressed the ownership of building façades as a public/ private boundary in order to suggest that they might be "defined in the public domain as belonging to the municipality ... a reversal of the functionalist dictum that the outside of a building reflects its inner truth."[276] A similar ambiguity can be found in this instance, in terms of Wolf's effort to rethink the role of the façade from the point of view of the street, both in terms of how this process might be regulated and set into motion. To this end, Wolf explained that the traditional public/ private boundary in the urban realm no longer provided a clear sense of spatial division that could be reliably understood by the average pedestrian:

> When the physical structure does not provide any form of notation in terms of what is public and what is private, it tends to create a psychic dislocation —— a situation where the individual does not clearly conceptualize his environment and thus does not understand the physical signs present in that environment. He might feel alienated from what is supposed to serve as public space. However, the conception of zoning that exists does not have the capacity to make such physical signs available to him through the control of the interface between public and private spaces.[277]

The fact that Wolf's idea was generated in a midtown Manhattan office on the top floor of a midrise building next to the New York Public Library, far away from sites of suburban development is also worth considering in terms of making sense of his proposals. By articulating the idea of "transactional space" firmly in the abstract domain,

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[276] Ibid.

[277] "Demonstration Project: Streets in the Central Area of a Small American City," *On Street*s, 364. Wolf wrote that "few economic devices for coordinated treatment of large areas under multiple ownership or within the public domain of the street" ... no device exists for horizontal financing that would make it possible in terms of the urban street to consider the multicontiguous building lot that might incorporate the street. Economically, streets are afforded the status of residual urban artifacts - not that of a major resource... in the use and new definition of horizontal space along the public and semi-public space that parallels the street's right-of-way. This horizontal space, which has never been susceptible to continuous planning because of the individual ownership of properties, could be coherently developed. A combination of innovative condemnation legislation and use of the economic leverage implied in public-private cooperation would make it possible to create a new structure for the public domain." Ibid.

it remained, for better or worse, as a tentatively-grounded yet speculative proposal. This was not lost on Wolf at all. He himself admitted that “the most imaginative proposals are destined to be lost and forgotten unless accompanied by workable implementative devices.”[278] To this end, Wolf’s proposal attempted to describe the necessary implementative devices without fully making clear the problems that were latent or how these devices would be applied to the messy realities that they would be intended for or interface with.[279] Nonetheless, his ideas opened up an array of possibilities that would continue in IAUS’ research for a short period of time only to then disappear.[280]

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Game Theory — The Streets Game: What the People Want

A crucial component of IAUS’ involvement with the city of Binghamton, New York was the development of a board game called *The Streets Game: What the People Want*. The game consisted of a street map of the central downtown business district of Binghamton, and two sets of round chips to be played. One set of chips was coded to represent a range of possible issues and goals involving streets, and another set

[278] Wolf, 377.

[279] A difficult component of Wolf’s ideas had to do with the interconnectivity of these agencies. To this end, he explained: “This agency must necessarily combine land, social, and transportation planning. It must contain people concerned with the practical development, coordination, and implementation of innovative economic, legal, administrative, political, and social issues which cut across existing program boundaries and existing departmental responsibilities. This group should include a component of socially-oriented planners, economists, lawyers, and physical planners.”

[280] Another reading of Wolf’s conception of transactional space that is worth considering is to return to Lisle Avenue’s role as a shopping thoroughfare, a space defined urbanistically by its association with commercial zoning and parking, or what Tafuri referred to as “the ideology of consumption.” See: Manfredo Tafuri, *Architecture and Utopia: Design and Capitalist Development* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1976), 84. On the bias for white middle class shoppers by Lindsay administration planners at Brooklyn’s Fulton Mall, see Rosten Woo and Meredith TenHoor, *Street Value: Shopping, Planning, and Politics at Fulton Mall* (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 2010).

represented a range of possible interventions on streets.[281] These interventions included, among many others, changes such as addition, removal, widening of streets and public right-of-way, increase of pedestrian capacity, of public open space off street, of pedestrian weather protection, of public-community land uses, and many others. Each intervention was graphically coded through a designated hatch pattern which was overlaid on the map to indicate potential changes to the urban structure and street pattern, as well as its social ramifications.[282] "Players," or in other words community interest group members that had agreed to participate in the exercise of playing the game, were asked to place the chips according to their specific desires based on a list of questions formatted like a multiple-choice quiz. The resulting game board was then photographed, data was collected and analyzed, and the proposed interventions discussed to make sense of the newly articulated urban conditions.[283] In general, the game's structure or gameplay was relatively unstructured in this regard; no additional rules, procedures, team structures, scoring schemes, and winners or losers were part of

[281] For more details on the game, see: "Streets Game Rules," and IAUS Project Team: Peter Eisenman, Vincent Moore, Peter Wolf, Vincent Caliandro, Thomas Schumacher, Judith Magel, "Streets in the Central Area of a Small American City," *On Streets: Streets as Elements of Urban Structure* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1978): 345. Attempts to rethink the street remain in circulation and have renewed urgency in today's moment of debates on cities. See, for example, an initiative called "Streets Ahead" at the Urban Design Forum in New York City, which aims to "convene working groups to advance ideas and proposals to envision a more vibrant, equitable streetscape." Accessed April 2, 2022; https://urbandesignforum.org/initiative/streets-ahead/

[282] For another perspective on the use of maps as a tool which collapsed the speculative and the real, see: Sylvia Lavin, *Architecture Itself and Other Postmodernization Effects.* (Germany: Canadian Centre for Architecture, 2019).

[283] Citizens were identified through local citizen group meetings. Further investigation is merited to understand who came forward to participate, their demographic profiles, and their motives in interfacing with and creating dialogue with IAUS researchers, who were perceived as outsiders. However, none of the photographs of gameplay are included in the CCA archive. One is left to speculate as to the relative impact of the game on other parts of the project, and on citizen participation in the project in a larger sense. A black-and-white poster from 1972 featuring an aerial map of Binghamton was used as a means to stir up interest in the community and listed two meeting dates at the Model Cities Agency.

the gameplay, which resulted in a soft cooperation between the players to work together to adjust, modify, change the urban fabric of downtown Binghamton in front of them on the map. Instead of attempting to “win,” the game was instead a mechanism to solicit data and citizen’s opinions and ideas, or what could be called hard and soft facts resulting from looking at the urban fabric anew.

Reflecting on the meager success of the game after it was first developed, a letter from Michael Murphy in Binghamton’s Model Cities Agency is telling. There he noted that, in its initial incarnation, “people were talking about a dozen different issues at one time, and tended to complicate rather than simplify participation in the discussion by laymen not in the field of urban design.”[284] Additionally, the game was accompanied by two surveys which gathered physical characteristics; these were defined as data on the “nature of intersections, traffic flow, and density” and a canvassing of individual residents' conceptions of their neighborhood and “how they operated within it.” This included questions posed to the residents such as: “What do you conceive of as your physical neighborhood? What do you consider downtown? Where do your children play? Do you shop downton?”[285] The sum total of this gathered information from interviews can be understood as both soft and hard data: a collection of opinions, subjective perceptions, and other quasi-objective facts that were then extensively used in collaboration with HUD’s Binghamton office on the analysis and demonstration project, to be discussed below. As such, the collection process of this data from

[284] Institute for Architecture and Urban Studies fonds, Collection Centre Canadien d’Architecture/ Canadian Center for Architecture, Montréal, letter from Michael M. Murphy to Peter Eisenman.

[285] Ibid, 364.

interviews turned citizen opinions into facts through a process of transmission from canvassing to recording to data, a conversion of heterogeneous events into a logic of facticity. The gameboard-map functioned in a similar capacity in *The Streets Game*, as the underlying reference point for interventions in situating the potential changes in a real neighborhood represented through the aerial view of the city.

The Streets Game was also developed in conjunction with a what was called a design process model, a flow chart of the planning process along with major data-gathering collection techniques, of which the game was considered the "most innovative," although here it must be noted that games in urban planning departments had by this point already become a stable fixture of pedagogy.[286] The design process model attempted to make evident how street interventions had to interpolate between different agencies, including the Model Cities Agency, Urban Renewal Agency, the Binghamton Mayor's office, the Broome County Planning Office, the Merchants Association, the Model Cities community, each with their own set of concerns relative to not only jurisdiction but municipal regulations. As such, the flow chart outlined a series of inputs ranging from the game itself, interviews, meetings, and general data on Binghamton, into a "plan" that would interface with what was called a "conflict drawing" as an intermediary point between these agencies. By planning for conflict, the game

[286] On the history of architectural and urban planning games, see: Elizabeth Keslacy, "Fun and Games: The Suppression of Architectural Authoriality and the Rise of the Reader," *Footprint* (Autumn / Winter 2015), pg. 101–124; Richard D. Duke, "Operational Gaming in Urban Planning," in *Selected Papers on Operational Gaming*, ed. Allan G. Feldt (Division of Urban Studies, Center for Housing and Environmental Studies, Cornell University, 1966). For a brief and enlightening history of military gaming, see Roger Smith, 'The Long History of Gaming in Military Training', Simulation & Gaming 41, no. 1 (2010). For scholarship that links military game history with contemporary developments, see Dr. Sheila Seitz and Courtney Uram, 'Gaming and Simulation', in *Instructional Design: Concepts, Methodologies, Tools and Applications* (Hershey, PA: Information Science Reference, 2011).

attempted to internalize and normalize differences between these different parties in order to stage their resolution ahead of time.

Broadly understood, the game was an attempt on the part of IAUS to engage in citizen participation and advocacy, that aimed to “give the people what they want” as the game’s subtitle claimed. However, the subtitle in the game’s name is arguably misleading because the questions which accompanied the street interventions, which then determined placement of chips and data gathered, eluded to the interdependency of actions and reactions that changes to one street would have to others and vice versa, a logic of interconnectivity and networked relations. Unlike other architectural games, which were organized toward teaching-oriented operational themes to demonstrate the authorial collaboration necessary to be an architect, in which learning happened through the participants’ engagement in the decision-making process, in this case *The Streets Game* was more akin to urban planning and land use games, such as Richard Duke’s METROPOLIS or Allan Feldt’s CLUG.[287] Other games by architect- educators such as Juan Bonta and Henry Sanoff attempted to challenge to the authority of the architect by putting students into planning simulations which were designed to reveal the complex web of people, interests, and relationships that were necessary to produce and realise an architectural design, thereby exposing the agency and authority of the architect to be provisional, limited, and modulated by others, such as the client, the city, neighborhood groups, and regulatory agencies. This effort to directly engage citizens was also defined by HUD’s Model Cities protocols, which worked towards a “decision-making process

[287] CLUG was an acronym for “Community Land Use Game.”

where citizen representatives and local government planners worked together to quantify and rate area problems and priorities and compare the likely effects of alternative policy choices."[288] However this was not without its own conflicts. Sociologist Robert Gutman's role on the IAUS team was to add a certain amount of methodological self-awareness and to declare their understandings of the faults of their study, sample bias, what the utility of each question was, and how the "experiment" could be improved.

Looking further at the development of the game, why did it become a logical evolution of the project, steeped as it was in technocratic methods and sociological feedback? The reasons IAUS arrived at the game were overdetermined, and therefore it is worth examining the motivations and benefits for IAUS researchers. Understood as one component of a larger data-gathering and analysis effort, the game exemplified a tension between direct urban activism (defined by working with citizen-residents) and an unwillingness to meddle in affairs of social planning. Other archival documents testify to the ambivalence around the success of the game as a tool for participation. In this moment, participation was commonly understood both as a palliative measure to address the growing civil unrest and as a means to give agency to the individual to make choices that normally would be supra-individual. It is this sense that participation had been argued to lead to, among other results, a stalemate. In discussing the development of HUD's objectives and the role of citizen involvement, Moynihan noted that: "it may be we have not been entirely candid with ourselves in this area. Citizen

[288] Jennifer Light, "Taking Games Seriously," *Technology and Culture*, Vol. 49, No. 2 (Apr., 2008), pp. 347-375.

participation ... is in practice a ‘bureaucratic ideology,’ a device whereby public officials induce nonpublic individuals to act in a way the officials desire.”[289]

Looking closer at the game, it was not a quite a “game” per se, but more of a spatialized spreadsheet that attempted to behave as a real-time live feed, in which data was gathered and reconfigured according to multiple actors or players and accordingly put into “play” in order to reshape the city blocks and corresponding urban forms under consideration. Rather than “game play” that allowed for improvisational change, here it was the data that pushed the figures around, not the strategy of the players, who seemed to lack autonomous agency themselves as they were dependent on the setup and interventions available to them. The game then was a feedback loop between data, citizen, and city-represented -as-map, or input-and-output.

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Part IV — Binghamton Demonstration Project: Lisle Avenue Housing

> *It has been said of urban planners that they have been traumatized by the realization that everything relates to everything. But if this is so, the perception of it can provide a powerful analytic tool.*
>
> - Daniel Moynihan[290]

The HUD-funded Demonstration Project, which took place in Phase III of the *Streets* project and was later published in the omnibus volume *On Streets* in 1978, was a

[289] Moynihan, ibid, 12.

[290] Ibid.

bookend to their efforts, as its position as the final chapter of the book testified.[291] HUD had specified the modification of a single street as part of the grant stipulation, and in 1972 Binghamton became eligible for an additional $1,000,000 of funding as part of the Neighborhood Development Program.[292] While this funding was not ultimately granted, the demonstration project, which was intended to be executed, was meant to serve as an alternative to the production of what had been described as not simply "another report." Research reports of this variety had been criticized throughout the process for their lack of ambition and clarity about their audience. Instead, the demonstration project claimed to transform ideas into a particular project, site, and ambition, while also falling back into a mode of design production and execution that was comfortably situated as a typological investigation of housing.[293]

Toward this goal of developing an executable project, the team experienced several moments of indecision. In a January 1972 memorandum titled "Alternative Implementation design/ plan for Binghamton Model City area, IAUS 'Streets as

[291] The original name for Model Cities was "Demonstration Cities and Metropolitan Development Act." Susanne Schindler - Given the double meaning of the term "demonstration"—an experimental project on the one hand, and urban conflict on the other—by the time the program was passed into law in November of 1966, its name had been changed to the more benign "Model Cities." But the confusion between the two terms would continue to shape the perception of the program. On the one hand, there is the normative sense of "model," as producing ideal outcomes to be emulated by others, and inevitably associated with the moral sense of the term, as in "model citizens." On the other hand, there is the more open-ended meaning of "demonstration," as testing a hypothesis through an experimental process. As late as 1972, an official found it necessary to clarify that Model Cities was not about producing "shiny new cities," but rather to show that "conditions … could be significantly improved."

[292] "Letter to the Honorable George Romney, Secretary of HUD," from Arthur Drexler, 1972. Binghamton was chosen for several reasons after other New York cities failed to work. For more on this, "In addition, as no existing city planning agency exists, Binghamton is viewed as a promising location for the initiation of a new administrative structure for planning which would have as one of its principal concepts the definition and development of the street's transactional space as a means of acceptable community plans as well as a focus for a coherent overall city plan. Consequently, this work could establish a new, prototypical city or community planning agency that would be applicable throughout the country.

[293] The project turned into a low-rise, medium density housing project, discussed below in chapter 3.

Components of the Urban Environment' N.Y. D-13," two student researchers/ interns penned a sarcastic report on the state of the project and sent it to the entire project team. This memorandum was organized into three sections, each of which attempted to understand and explain the motivations for the ongoing efforts. These sections were labeled as a series of rhetorical questions, and laid out the nature of their skepticism in no uncertain terms:

> I. Why the area was deserving of Model Cities status, a radical Streets project, and the Infinite Wisdom (sic) of a collected conglomerate of various high-class architects and planners, OR
> Why is the prestigious Institute for Architecture and Urban Studies spending so much time, concern, worry about a hick town like Binghamton, OR
> Why is the sedate town of Binghamton spending so much time, concern, and worry with a bunch of intellectual effete city slickers from New York?
>
> II. The bureaucratic distribution of HUD funds, OR
> Who knows where the money goes???
>
> III. Alternative organizational/ operational conceptualizations/ procedures for Binghamton streets, OR
> "Ideas from the Other Side of the Generation Gap," OR
> POWER TO THE PEOPLE [294]

While this memo was ostensibly written in a sarcastic mode to subtly criticize the intentions and motivations of the work, the authors also revealed the bureaucratic hurdles and political fodder involved in the process of working in Binghamton and the correlated class-conflicts between IAUS researchers, citizens of downtown, and HUD government officials. In contrast, an organizational structure diagram for Phase III of the project mapped seven of the public participating agencies along with three private

[294] Institute for Architecture and Urban Studies fonds, Collection Centre Canadien d'Architecture/ Canadian Center for Architecture, Montréal, IAUS Memorandum: To: Peter Eisenman et al. From Sarah Rubin and Steven Goldstein RE: Alternative implementation design/plan for Binghamton Model City area, IAUS, "Streets as Components of the Urban Environment," N.Y. D-13. (January 26, 1972), Folder B3-4. Additionally, the fact that the memo was saved and archived is also an intriguing aspect to consider, especially given how the project archive is incomplete overall.

participating agencies, as well as a physical design team, a social planning team, and an economics/ transportation/ legal/ administrative planning team, not to mention multiple other actors at the city and regional levels. In short, this diagram, created to demonstrate the interdependency and relationships between governmental and municipal groups, also can be read as an index of the complexity of the demonstration project of Phase III.

Conclusions: Steps & Stoops

The project that developed, called “Streets in the Central Area of a Small City, centered on several sites in downtown Binghamton, in particular Lisle Avenue with the goal of transforming it from a residential-light industrial use to what was called a “park-street.” In fact, Lisle Avenue’s location was significant in and of itself for the potential visibility of the project, as it is two blocks away from Binghamton City Hall and the Planning Housing office as well as adjacent to several public housing projects, rendering it highly symbolic of larger potential changes. By choosing Lisle Avenue, where the preexisting concern was rather prosaic -- to “promote the use of off-street parking for its commercial community while at the same time preserving the integrity of its residential community - at the same time it may not have been the best case study to test the model because the real-world concerns were limited.

The proposed project was to consider housing and street as an integral unit, as opposed to two separate entities. To address this potential integrated unity, IAUS proposed housing types that would cover both sides of the street, instead of working

only on the public areas. These two housing types, Type A and Type B, were designed to foreground the relationship of house to street in order to address the concern that public space has gradually become anonymous and unsafe. Both housing types proposed for Lisle Avenue aimed to form a consistent vertical facade plane on both north and south sides, where the facade was a containing envelope that defined the public/private boundary. These two types were described as:

> *Type A:*
> ... zones of space developed at the facade, designed as the extension of private space into the street and simultaneously the extension of public space into the private realm, provide an ambiguity of territorial ownership, and aid in the promotion of incidental activities.
>
> *Type B:*
> ... the intrusion of private into public and of public into private... a setback from the plane the defines the public/ private boundary helps to reinforce the ambiguity of spaces at the facades of the houses.[295]

The definition of a “vertical plane” and other similar points of description harkened back to a conventional formal mode of understanding, where the boundary between public and private space was manifest through the literal surfaces themselves. In this sense, the project retreated into a formalist mode and would ultimately result in such ambiguous declarations, such as “design is seen as primarily concerned with the vertical and horizontal surfaces that define the street volume.”[296] These statements suggested subtly that contextual affiliations between site lines and geometries, such as the “inclusion of a literal porch (balcony) on the uppermost level and an unproject

[295] Ibid.

[296] Ibid.

balcony at the entry level of the units further relate the units to the street" were the best one could hope for to understand the complex issue of propriety and publicness.[297]

Another similar statement declared that the "upper level facade follows the site line at a diagonal, while the other facade elements follow an orthogonal relationship, thus maintaining a distinction between those elements which belong to the street and those that belong to the building."[298] These statements attempted to connect the definition of territorial ownership to building form, but also failed to fully acknowledge the social component of the street as such. However, the banality of the case study and its lack of innovation was remarked upon by critics who reviewed the book. For instance, critic Henry Plummer noted that:

> ... many such functionally exhaustive and non-idling streets are the innocent subjects of this book, and one could add, somewhat naughtily, that the demonstration design project at the book's end is, apart from some stylistic touches, almost the epitome of an austere, serial, disciplinary street, a barren street for Foucault's "docile body," an ideal street for reinforcing submissive and habitual efficiencies of movement... By looking at the street as a frozen object, and reducing it to objective data, this dishuman method can only analyze those aspects of the street which exist in our absence. Such an approach is anything but "intersubjective," and it is a little disquieting for an essay aimed at human ecology to begin by eliminating the live interrelated presence of both "street" and "person." By excluding all "qualities" from their dematerialized patterns, the drawings tell us nothing of those tangible phenomena which would be of overriding concern to the thoughts, feelings, hopes, initiatives, and deeds of a person in the street, in other words, which might engage the miraculous activity of human consciousness.[299]

As an ideal street for "reinforcing submissive and habitual efficiencies of movement"

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[297] Ibid.

[298] Ibid.

[299] Henry Pummer, "Book Review: *Strata Via: The Street as a Mode of Existence* & *On Streets* by Stanford Anderson," *Journal of Architectural Education*, Vol. 41, No. 4 (Summer, 1988), pp. 58-64.

Pummer's critique makes clear how the struggle toward an architectural demonstration arguably led to an elimination of qualities, in the service of quantities and "objective" description. Other reviews of *On Streets* noted a similar tendency to reduce the street "down to interchangeable types of boundary shapes, channels, and diagrammatic networks" produced a kind of bad abstraction; in other words, abstract analyses of the street which then tended toward what architect Aldo van Eyck called "outlines of emptiness."[300] The richness of previous chapters was now reduced to "objective data," and in turn demonstrated the difficulty in translating the socio-cultural vitality found in the analysis and sociological studies. Anderson's essay had attempted to mitigate against this possibility of reduction in writing about the "ecological wholeness" of streets:

> The studies in this book do not take the course of reducing the street to an object that can be submitted to uniquely economic, social, physical, or cultural analysis. The ambition is rather to accept our sense of the ecological wholeness of streets - the spatial and temporal contexts within which complex events occur. An examination of this system may then contribute to a similar understanding of the city.[301]

What this amounted to was not so much a theory of urbanism or an urban policy per se, but a study of architecture's role in manifesting power relationships that were encoded in residential zoning such as setbacks and buildings heights, which predate and in some sense overdetermine any decision process considered by the research team. According to Foucault's well known study of biopolitics and the corresponding power of aesthetics as a tool of persuasion, these formal attempts to manufacture calculated relationships between site lines, property boundaries such as sidewalk edges, and precise

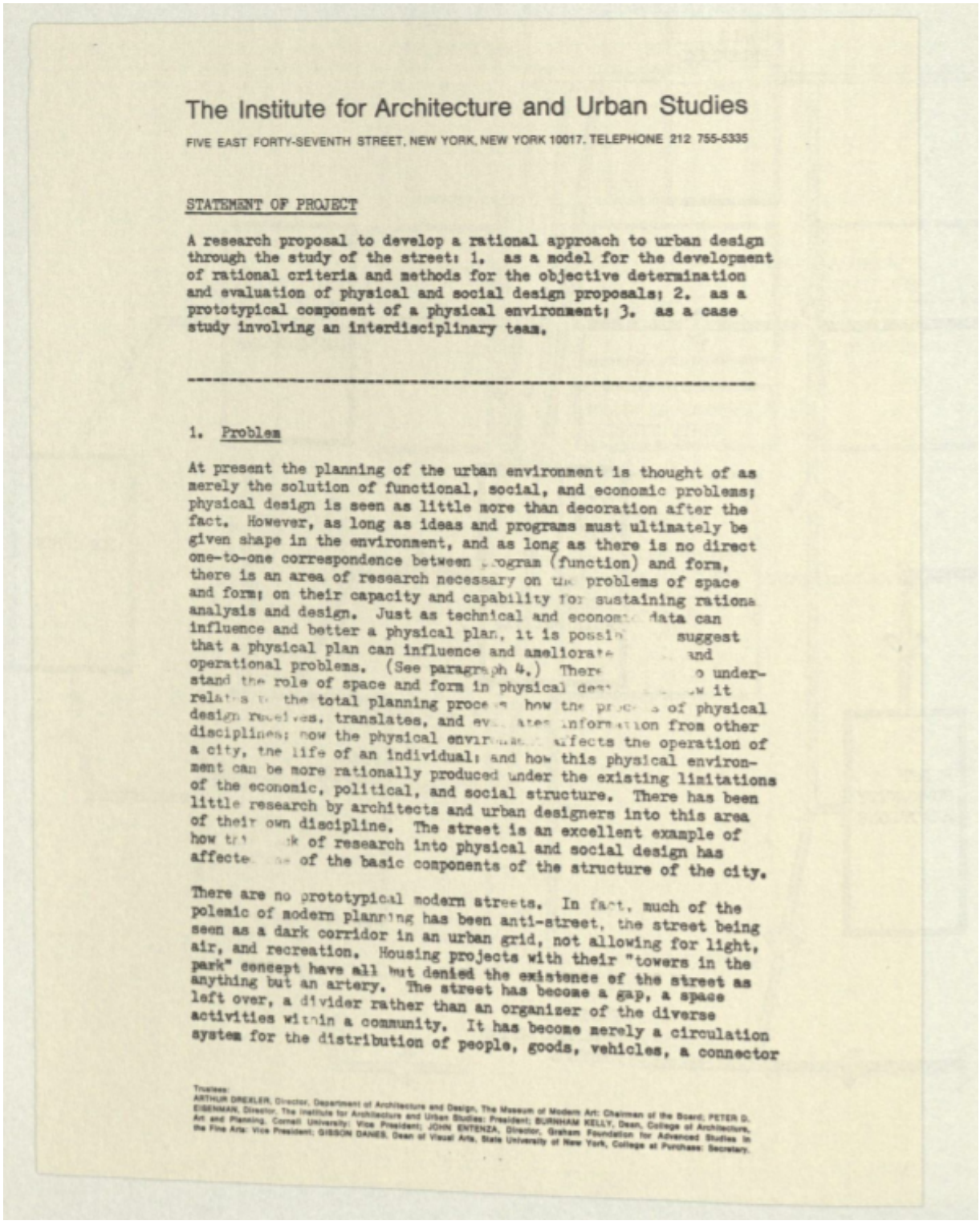
[300] Henry Pummer, "Book Review: *Strata Via: The Street as a Mode of Existence* & *On Streets* by Stanford Anderson," *Journal of Architectural Education* (1984-) , Summer, 1988, Vol. 41, No. 4 (Summer, 1988), pp. 58-64.

[301] Stanford Anderson, "People in the Physical Environment - The Urban Ecology of Streets," ibid.

geometries was in danger of slipping into the realm of architectural determinism, or a method of subtly exerting the power of the street as boundary, limit, and control over the domain of the architectural. This is to say that at the moment that IAUS attempted to move closer to the realm of design and built work, their attention to the regulatory nexus is subordinated to a form of compliance and subservience.

3

Figures



The Institute for Architecture and Urban Studies

FIVE EAST FORTY-SEVENTH STREET, NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10017. TELEPHONE 212 755-5335

STATEMENT OF PROJECT

A research proposal to develop a rational approach to urban design through the study of the street: 1. as a model for the development of rational criteria and methods for the objective determination and evaluation of physical and social design proposals; 2. as a prototypical component of a physical environment; 3. as a case study involving an interdisciplinary team.

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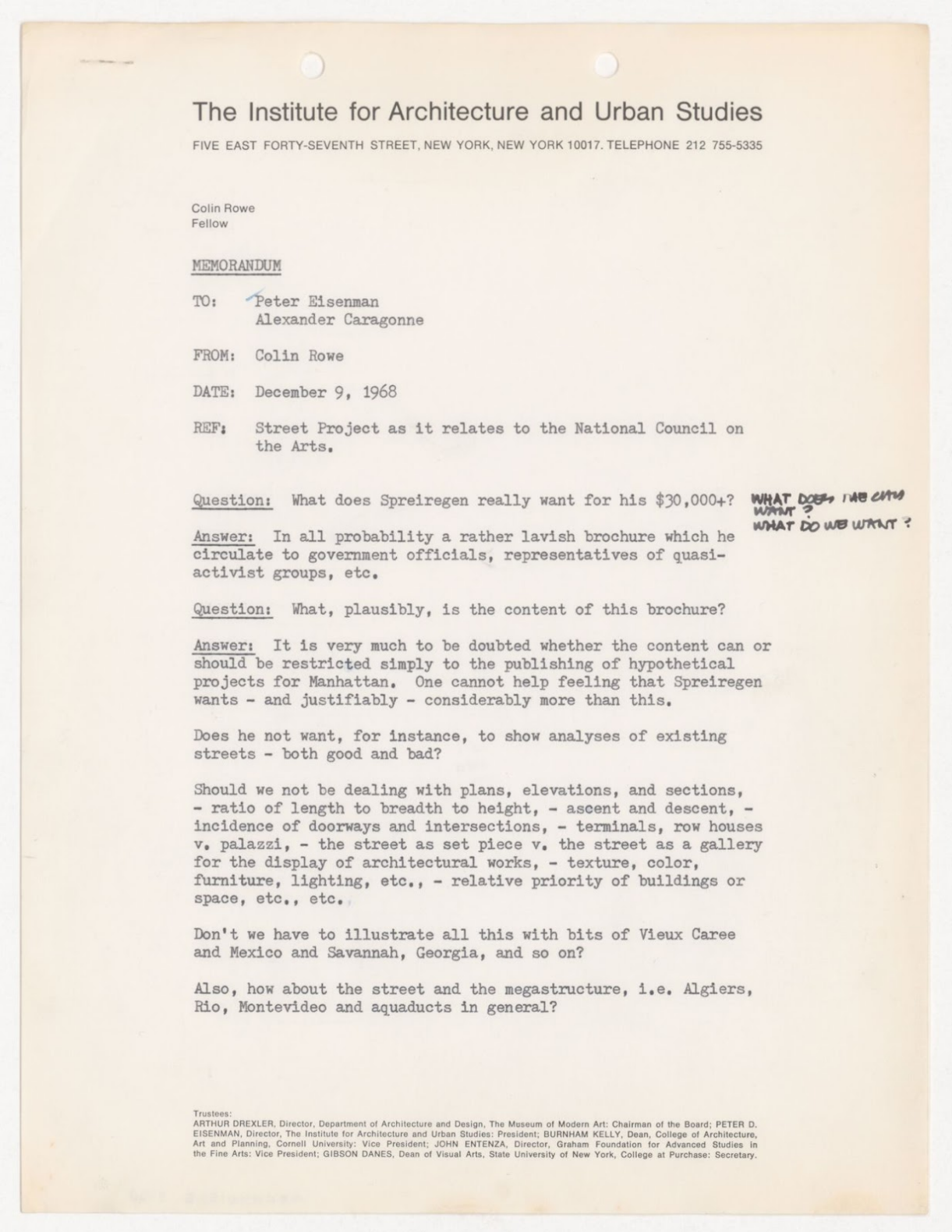
1. Problem

At present the planning of the urban environment is thought of as merely the solution of functional, social, and economic problems; physical design is seen as little more than decoration after the fact. However, as long as ideas and programs must ultimately be given shape in the environment, and as long as there is no direct one-to-one correspondence between program (function) and form, there is an area of research necessary on the problems of space and form; on their capacity and capability for sustaining rational analysis and design. Just as technical and economic data can influence and better a physical plan, it is possible to suggest that a physical plan can influence and ameliorate social and operational problems. (See paragraph 4.) There is no understand the role of space and form in physical design, how it relates to the total planning process, how the process of physical design receives, translates, and evaluates information from other disciplines; how the physical environment affects the operation of a city, the life of an individual; and how this physical environment can be more rationally produced under the existing limitations of the economic, political, and social structure. There has been little research by architects and urban designers into this area of their own discipline. The street is an excellent example of how this lack of research into physical and social design has affected one of the basic components of the structure of the city.

There are no prototypical modern streets. In fact, much of the polemic of modern planning has been anti-street, the street being seen as a dark corridor in an urban grid, not allowing for light, air, and recreation. Housing projects with their "towers in the park" concept have all but denied the existence of the street as anything but an artery. The street has become a gap, a space left over, a divider rather than an organizer of the diverse activities within a community. It has become merely a circulation system for the distribution of people, goods, vehicles, a connector

Figure 3.01 - Research Proposal, “The Street as a Component of the Urban Environment,” 1970, courtesy of Institute for Architecture and Urban Studies fonds, Collection Centre Canadien d’Architecture/ Canadian Center for Architecture, Montréal.



The Institute for Architecture and Urban Studies

FIVE EAST FORTY-SEVENTH STREET, NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10017. TELEPHONE 212 755-5335

Colin Rowe
Fellow

MEMORANDUM

TO: Peter Eisenman
Alexander Caragonne

FROM: Colin Rowe

DATE: December 9, 1968

REF: Street Project as it relates to the National Council on the Arts.

Question: What does Spreiregen really want for his $30,000+?

WHAT DOES THE CITY WANT ?
WHAT DO WE WANT ?

Answer: In all probability a rather lavish brochure which he circulate to government officials, representatives of quasi-activist groups, etc.

Question: What, plausibly, is the content of this brochure?

Answer: It is very much to be doubted whether the content can or should be restricted simply to the publishing of hypothetical projects for Manhattan. One cannot help feeling that Spreiregen wants - and justifiably - considerably more than this.

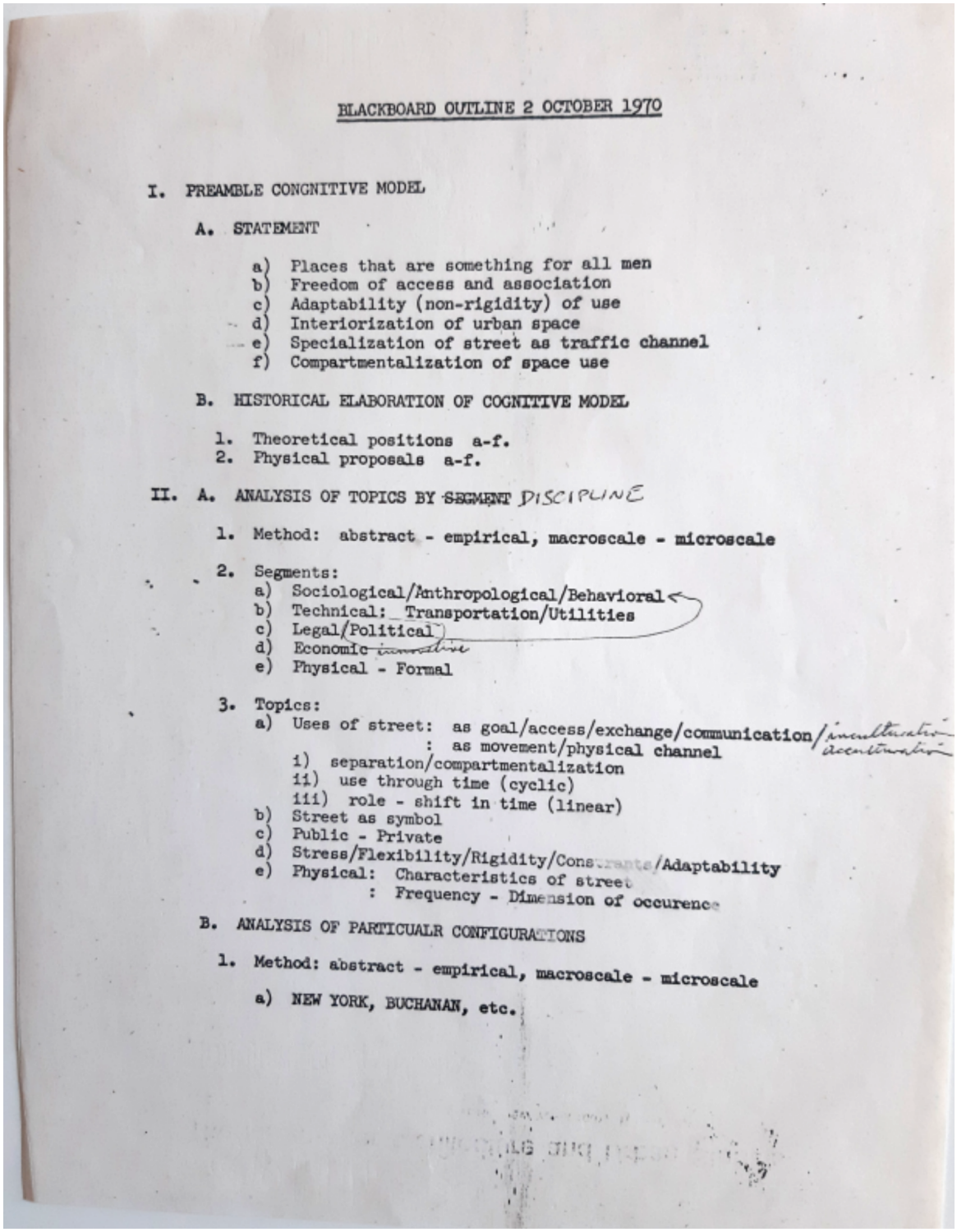
Does he not want, for instance, to show analyses of existing streets - both good and bad?

Should we not be dealing with plans, elevations, and sections, - ratio of length to breadth to height, - ascent and descent, - incidence of doorways and intersections, - terminals, row houses v. palazzi, - the street as set piece v. the street as a gallery for the display of architectural works, - texture, color, furniture, lighting, etc., - relative priority of buildings or space, etc., etc.

Don't we have to illustrate all this with bits of Vieux Caree and Mexico and Savannah, Georgia, and so on?

Also, how about the street and the megastructure, i.e. Algiers, Rio, Montevideo and aquaducts in general?

Figure 3.02 - Memorandum from Colin Rowe regarding Street Project, courtesy of Institute for Architecture and Urban Studies fonds, Collection Centre Canadien d'Architecture/ Canadian Center for Architecture, Montréal.



BLACKBOARD OUTLINE 2 OCTOBER 1970

I. PREAMBLE CONGNITIVE MODEL

A. STATEMENT

a) Places that are something for all men
b) Freedom of access and association
c) Adaptability (non-rigidity) of use
d) Interiorization of urban space
e) Specialization of street as traffic channel
f) Compartmentalization of space use

B. HISTORICAL ELABORATION OF COGNITIVE MODEL

1. Theoretical positions a-f.
2. Physical proposals a-f.

II. A. ANALYSIS OF TOPICS BY ~~SEGMENT~~ DISCIPLINE

1. Method: abstract - empirical, macroscale - microscale

2. Segments:
a) Sociological/Anthropological/Behavioral
b) Technical: Transportation/Utilities
c) Legal/Political
d) Economic ~~innovative~~
e) Physical - Formal

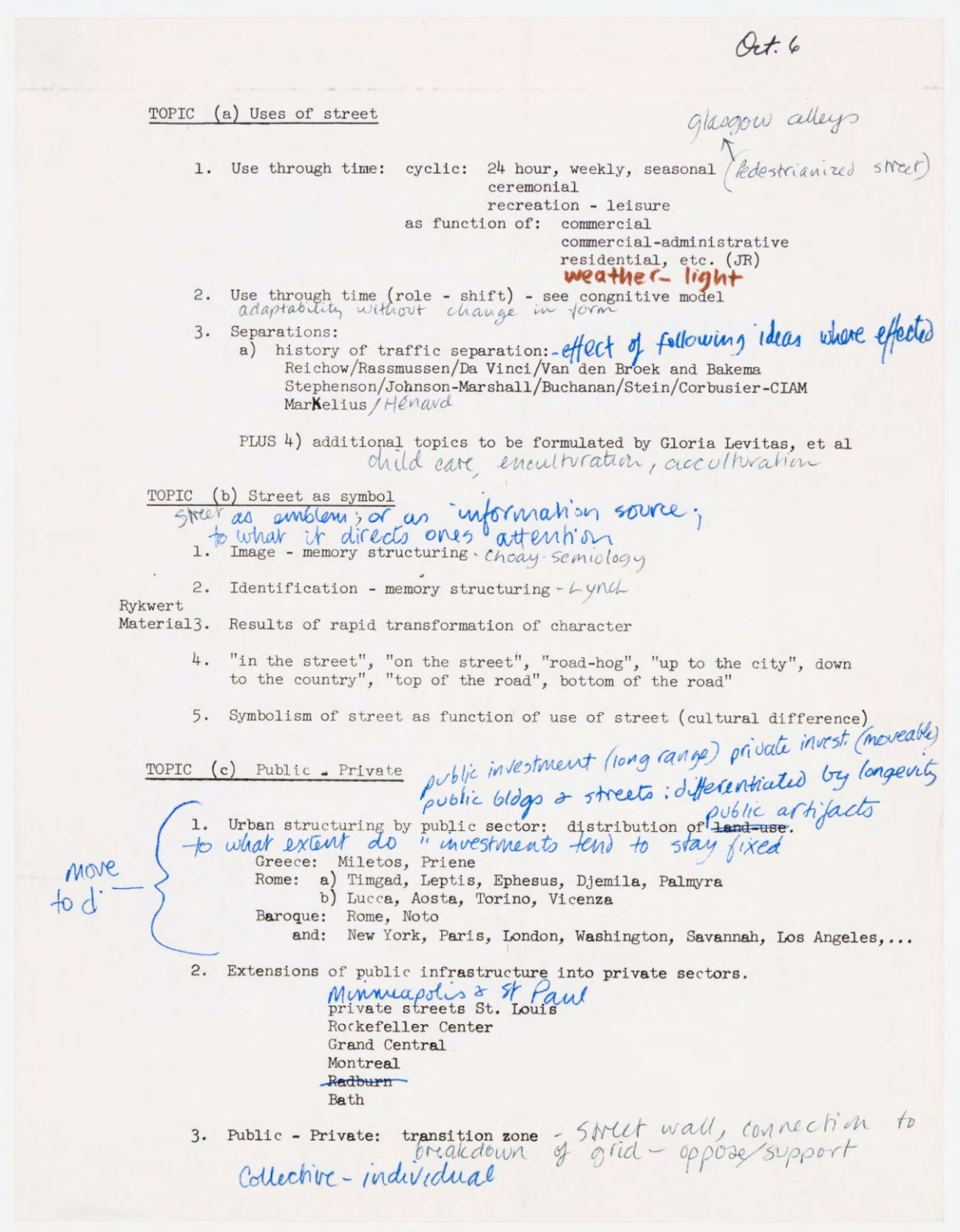
3. Topics:
a) Uses of street: as goal/access/exchange/communication/inculturation
: as movement/physical channel
i) separation/compartmentalization
ii) use through time (cyclic)
iii) role - shift in time (linear)
b) Street as symbol
c) Public - Private
d) Stress/Flexibility/Rigidity/Constraints/Adaptability
e) Physical: Characteristics of street
: Frequency - Dimension of occurence

B. ANALYSIS OF PARTICUALR CONFIGURATIONS

1. Method: abstract - empirical, macroscale - microscale

a) NEW YORK, BUCHANAN, etc.

Figure 3.03 - HUD Team Reports, courtesy of Institute for Architecture and Urban Studies fonds, Collection Centre Canadien d'Architecture/ Canadian Center for Architecture, Montréal.



Oct. 6

TOPIC (a) Uses of street

glasgow alleys (pedestrianized street)

1. Use through time: cyclic: 24 hour, weekly, seasonal
   ceremonial
   recreation - leisure
   as function of: commercial
   commercial-administrative
   residential, etc. (JR)
   weather - light
2. Use through time (role - shift) - see congnitive model
   adaptability without change in form
3. Separations:
   a) history of traffic separation: - effect of following ideas where effected
   Reichow/Rassmussen/Da Vinci/Van den Broek and Bakema
   Stephenson/Johnson-Marshall/Buchanan/Stein/Corbusier-CIAM
   MarKelius / Hénard

PLUS 4) additional topics to be formulated by Gloria Levitas, et al
child care, enculturation, acculturation

TOPIC (b) Street as symbol
street as emblem; or as information source;
to what it directs ones attention
1. Image - memory structuring - choay - semiology
2. Identification - memory structuring - Lynch
Rykwert
Material3. Results of rapid transformation of character
4. "in the street", "on the street", "road-hog", "up to the city", down to the country", "top of the road", bottom of the road"
5. Symbolism of street as function of use of street (cultural difference)

TOPIC (c) Public - Private
public investment (long range) private invest. (moveable)
public bldgs & streets: differentiated by longevity
public artifacts
1. Urban structuring by public sector: distribution of ~~land-use~~.
to what extent do " investments tend to stay fixed
move to d
   Greece: Miletos, Priene
   Rome: a) Timgad, Leptis, Ephesus, Djemila, Palmyra
   b) Lucca, Aosta, Torino, Vicenza
   Baroque: Rome, Noto
   and: New York, Paris, London, Washington, Savannah, Los Angeles,...
2. Extensions of public infrastructure into private sectors.
   Minneapolis & St Paul
   private streets St. Louis
   Rockefeller Center
   Grand Central
   Montreal
   ~~Radburn~~
   Bath
3. Public - Private: transition zone - street wall, connection to breakdown of grid - oppose/support
Collective - individual

Figure 3.04 - “Topic: Uses of A Street,” courtesy of Institute for Architecture and Urban Studies fonds, Collection Centre Canadien d’Architecture/ Canadian Center for Architecture, Montréal.

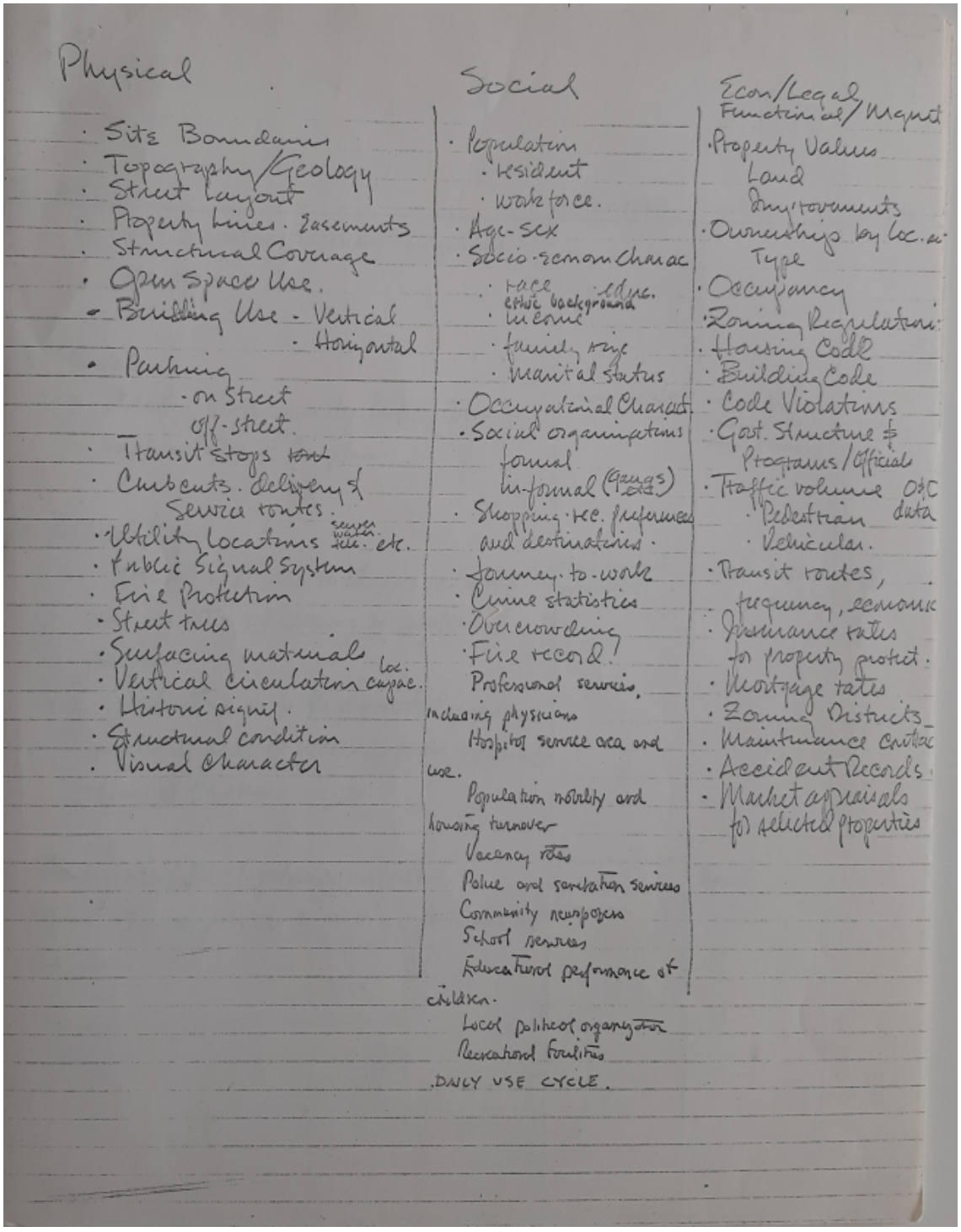
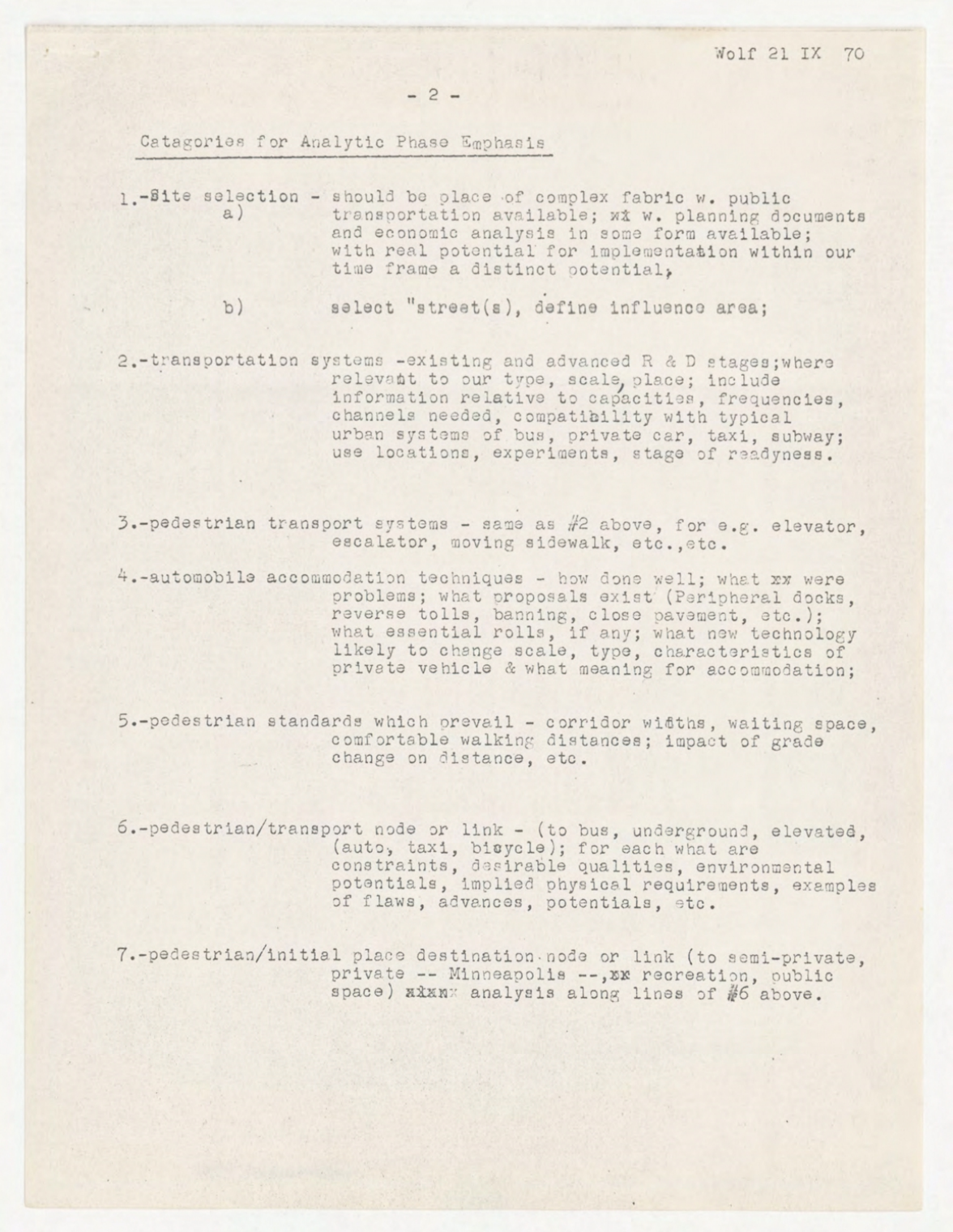


Figure 3.05 - Stanford Anderson, “Physical/ Social/ Economic Legal Aspects of Streets,” courtesy of Institute for Architecture and Urban Studies fonds, Collection Centre Canadien d’Architecture/ Canadian Center for Architecture, Montréal.



Wolf 21 IX 70

- 2 -

Catagories for Analytic Phase Emphasis

1.-Site selection - a) should be place of complex fabric w. public transportation available; xx w. planning documents and economic analysis in some form available; with real potential for implementation within our time frame a distinct potential,

b) select "street(s), define influence area;

2.-transportation systems -existing and advanced R & D stages;where relevant to our type, scale, place; include information relative to capacities, frequencies, channels needed, compatibility with typical urban systems of bus, private car, taxi, subway; use locations, experiments, stage of readyness.

3.-pedestrian transport systems - same as #2 above, for e.g. elevator, escalator, moving sidewalk, etc.,etc.

4.-automobile accommodation techniques - how done well; what xx were problems; what proposals exist (Peripheral docks, reverse tolls, banning, close pavement, etc.); what essential rolls, if any; what new technology likely to change scale, type, characteristics of private vehicle & what meaning for accommodation;

5.-pedestrian standards which prevail - corridor widths, waiting space, comfortable walking distances; impact of grade change on distance, etc.

6.-pedestrian/transport node or link - (to bus, underground, elevated, (auto, taxi, bicycle); for each what are constraints, desirable qualities, environmental potentials, implied physical requirements, examples of flaws, advances, potentials, etc.

7.-pedestrian/initial place destination node or link (to semi-private, private -- Minneapolis --,xx recreation, public space) xxxxx analysis along lines of #6 above.

Figure 3.06 - Peter Wolf, Memorandum, “Re: Analytic Phase,” courtesy of Institute for Architecture and Urban Studies fonds, Collection Centre Canadien d’Architecture/ Canadian Center for Architecture, Montréal.

HUD NEWS

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HOUSING AND URBAN DEVELOPMENT
WASHINGTON D.C. 20410

HUD No. 70-55
Phone (202) 755-7327

FOR RELEASE:
Friday
January 30, 1970

HUD FUNDS DEMONSTRATION GRANT
FOR BETTER STREET DESIGN

The U. S. Department of Housing and Urban Development today announced a demonstration grant to find ways to make city streets serve their communities more significantly than just as roadways.

HUD said an Urban Renewal Demonstration grant of $300,411 would be given The Institute for Architecture and Urban Studies of New York City, to make the study. Additional estimated costs of $29,824 are expected to be contributed largely by the Alfred P. Sloan Foundation.

The study will examine the potential of street design as a means of improving the urban environment. It will analyze the physical and social problems of urban streets in areas of residential, commercial, and mixed land development. This will be done through the detailed analysis of various street types in several urban contexts, and the development of socially feasible, alternate design solutions. This study of streets may lead to the development of alternative models for new community environments, officials said.

The Institute is an independent, non-profit educational corporation chartered in 1967 by the Board of Regents of the State University of New York. It was founded through the joint efforts of several institutions including the Museum of Modern Art. As an independent agency, the Institute combines the resources of various universities, the Museum, and public and private planning agencies, to provide a new educational and research environment, both for the training of post-graduate architects and urban planners, and for conducting studies of the design of the physical environment. The Institute thus acts as a bridge between the theoretical work of a university, the public communication activities of a museum, and the practical solution of significant community development problems.

The Urban Renewal Demonstration Grant Program, authorized by Section 314 of the Housing Act of 1954, as amended, provides Federal grants of up to 90 percent of the cost of demonstrations to improve urban renewal methods and techniques, plus the entire cost of writing and publishing a project report.

- more -

Figure 3.07 - HUD Press Release, January 1970," courtesy of Institute for Architecture and Urban Studies fonds, Collection Centre Canadien d'Architecture/ Canadian Center for Architecture, Montréal.

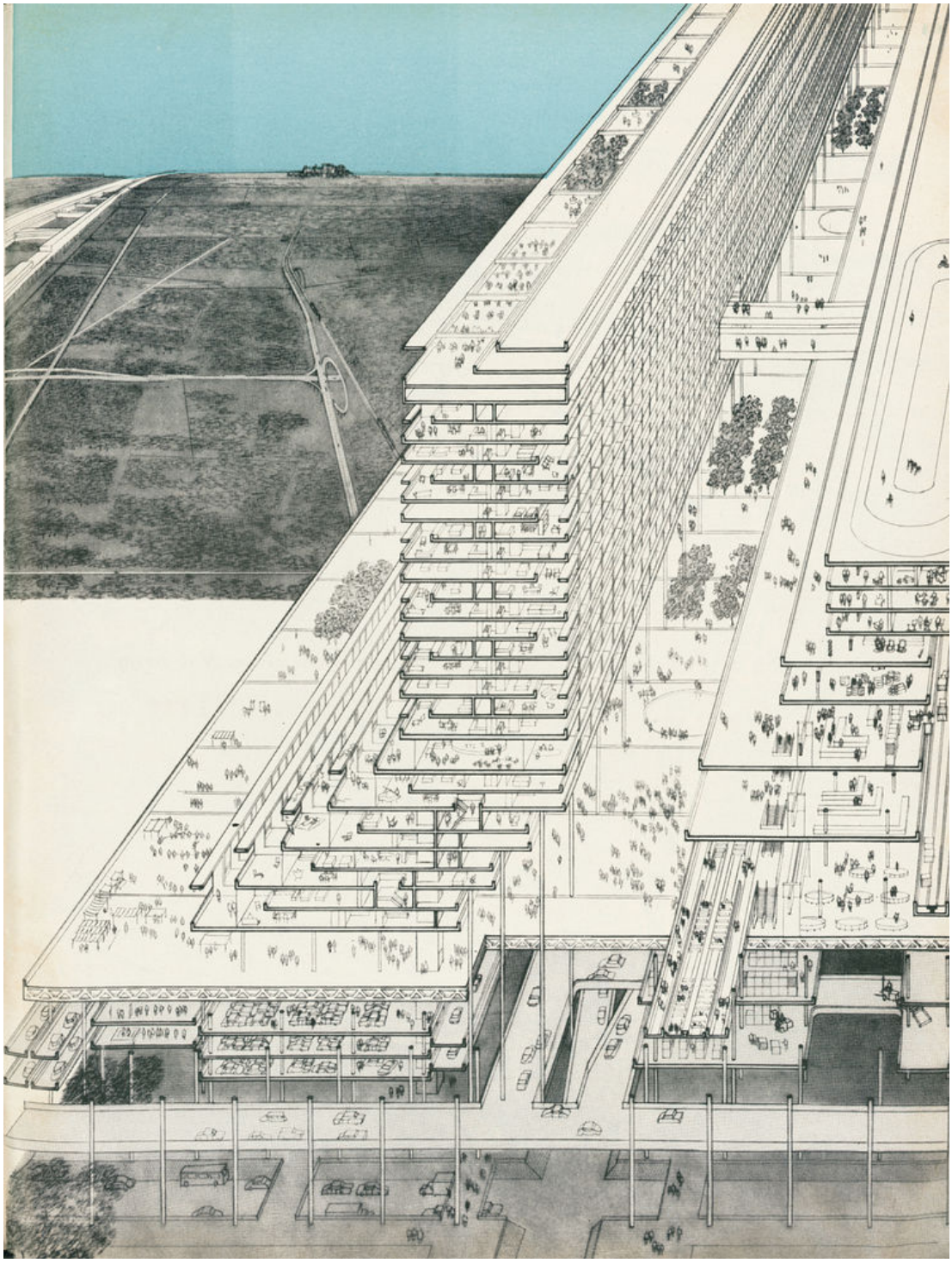
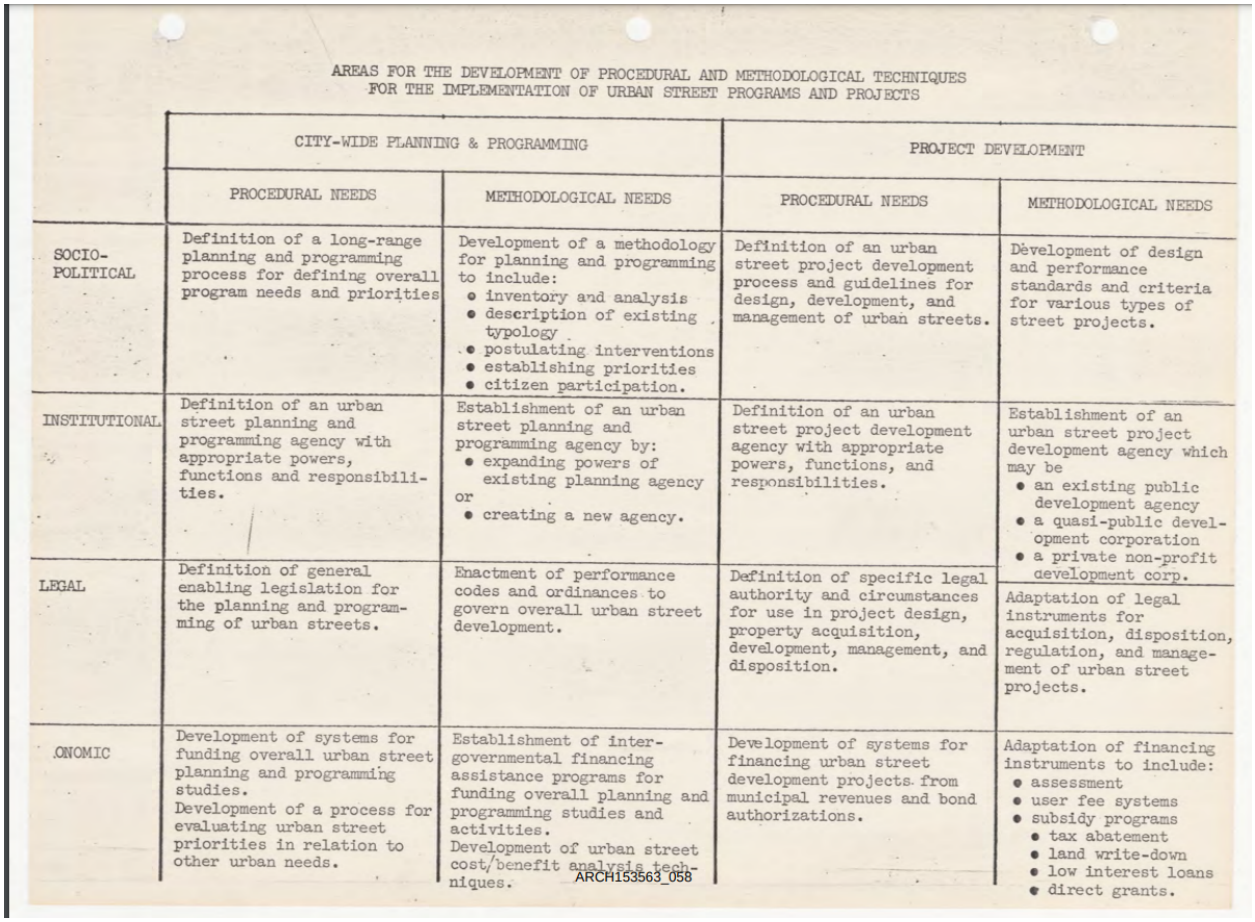


Figure 3.08 - Peter Eisenman and Michael Graves, “Linear City,” perspective section drawing, published in *Life Magazine*, 1965.



AREAS FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF PROCEDURAL AND METHODOLOGICAL TECHNIQUES
FOR THE IMPLEMENTATION OF URBAN STREET PROGRAMS AND PROJECTS

	CITY-WIDE PLANNING & PROGRAMMING		PROJECT DEVELOPMENT	
	PROCEDURAL NEEDS	METHODOLOGICAL NEEDS	PROCEDURAL NEEDS	METHODOLOGICAL NEEDS
SOCIO-POLITICAL	Definition of a long-range planning and programming process for defining overall program needs and priorities	Development of a methodology for planning and programming to include: • inventory and analysis • description of existing typology • postulating interventions • establishing priorities • citizen participation.	Definition of an urban street project development process and guidelines for design, development, and management of urban streets.	Development of design and performance standards and criteria for various types of street projects.
INSTITUTIONAL	Definition of an urban street planning and programming agency with appropriate powers, functions and responsibilities.	Establishment of an urban street planning and programming agency by: • expanding powers of existing planning agency or • creating a new agency.	Definition of an urban street project development agency with appropriate powers, functions, and responsibilities.	Establishment of an urban street project development agency which may be • an existing public development agency • a quasi-public development corporation • a private non-profit development corp.
LEGAL	Definition of general enabling legislation for the planning and programming of urban streets.	Enactment of performance codes and ordinances to govern overall urban street development.	Definition of specific legal authority and circumstances for use in project design, property acquisition, development, management, and disposition.	Adaptation of legal instruments for acquisition, disposition, regulation, and management of urban street projects.
ONOMIC	Development of systems for funding overall urban street planning and programming studies. Development of a process for evaluating urban street priorities in relation to other urban needs.	Establishment of intergovernmental financing assistance programs for funding overall planning and programming studies and activities. Development of urban street cost/benefit analysis techniques.	Development of systems for financing urban street development projects from municipal revenues and bond authorizations.	Adaptation of financing instruments to include: • assessment • user fee systems • subsidy programs • tax abatement • land write-down • low interest loans • direct grants.

ARCH153563_058

Figure 3.09 - “Areas for the Development of Procedural and Methodological Techniques for the Implementation of Urban Street Programs and Projects,” courtesy of Institute for Architecture and Urban Studies fonds, Collection Centre Canadien d’Architecture/ Canadian Center for Architecture, Montréal.

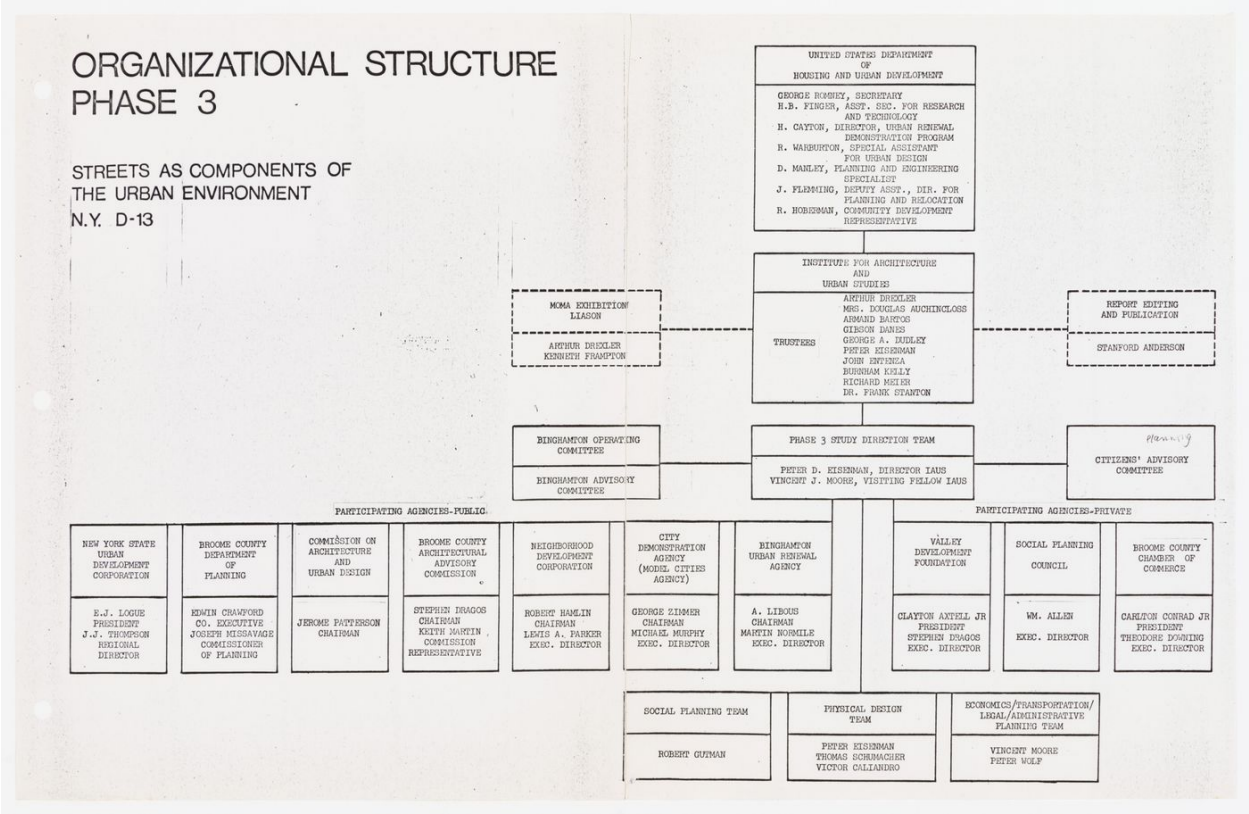


Figure 3.10 - Streets, “Organizational Structure, Phase 3,” courtesy of Institute for Architecture and Urban Studies fonds, Collection Centre Canadien d’Architecture/ Canadian Center for Architecture, Montréal.

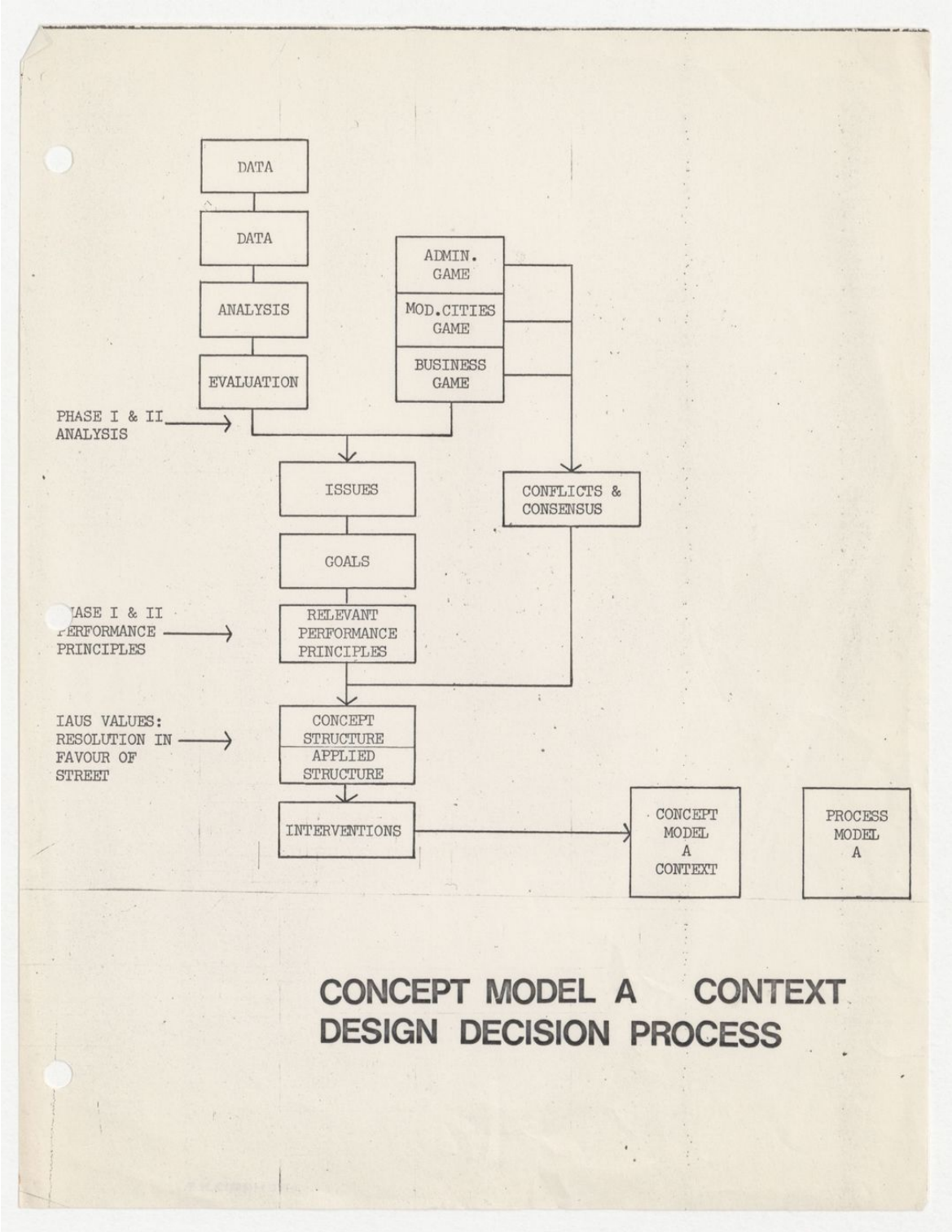
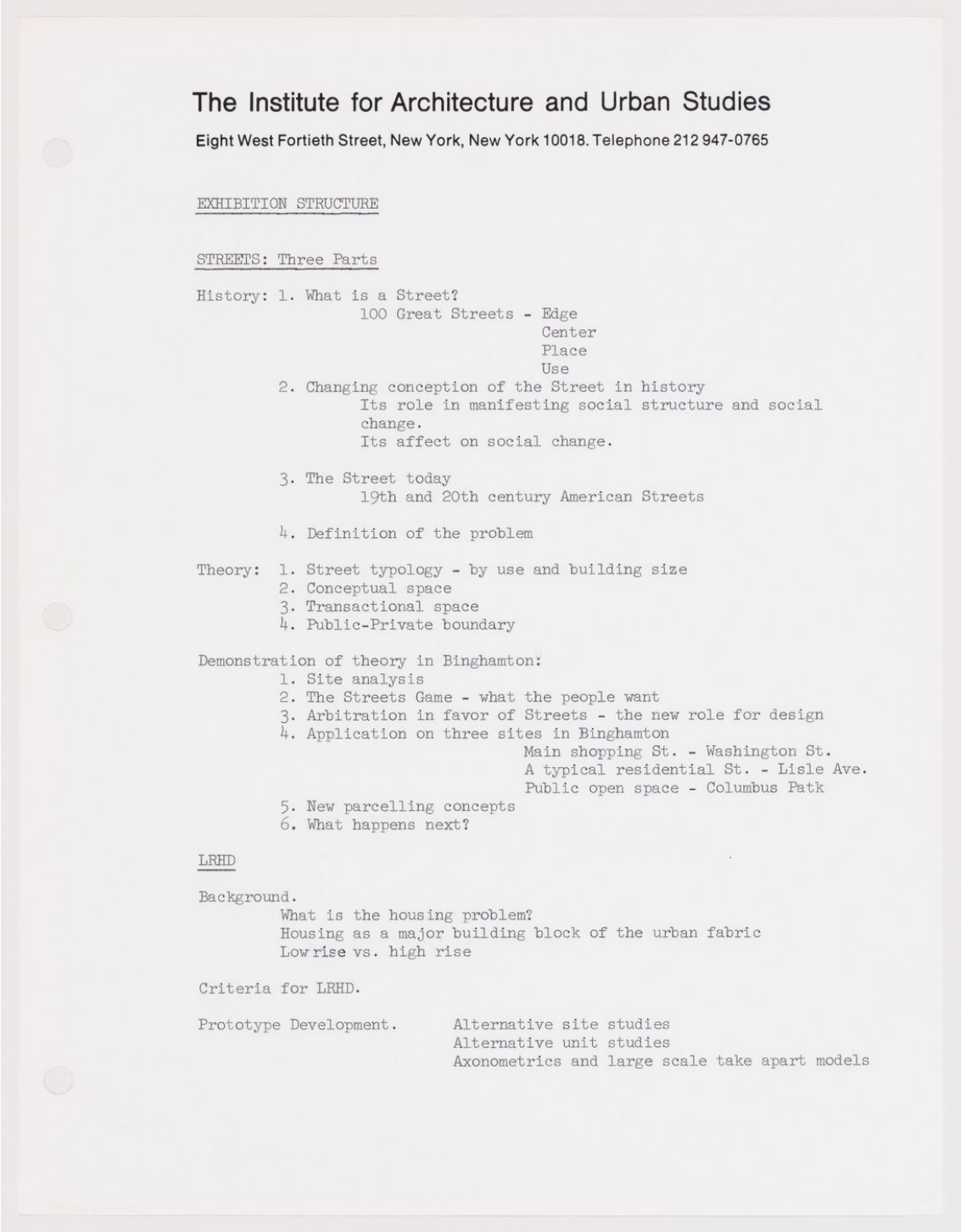


Figure 3.11 - Streets, “Concept Model - A Context Design Decision Process,” courtesy of Institute for Architecture and Urban Studies fonds, Collection Centre Canadien d’Architecture/ Canadian Center for Architecture, Montréal.



The Institute for Architecture and Urban Studies

Eight West Fortieth Street, New York, New York 10018. Telephone 212 947-0765

EXHIBITION STRUCTURE

STREETS: Three Parts

History: 1. What is a Street?
100 Great Streets - Edge
Center
Place
Use

2. Changing conception of the Street in history
Its role in manifesting social structure and social change.
Its affect on social change.

3. The Street today
19th and 20th century American Streets

4. Definition of the problem

Theory: 1. Street typology - by use and building size
2. Conceptual space
3. Transactional space
4. Public-Private boundary

Demonstration of theory in Binghamton:
1. Site analysis
2. The Streets Game - what the people want
3. Arbitration in favor of Streets - the new role for design
4. Application on three sites in Binghamton
Main shopping St. - Washington St.
A typical residential St. - Lisle Ave.
Public open space - Columbus Patk
5. New parcelling concepts
6. What happens next?

LRHD

Background.
What is the housing problem?
Housing as a major building block of the urban fabric
Low rise vs. high rise

Criteria for LRHD.

Prototype Development. Alternative site studies
Alternative unit studies
Axonometrics and large scale take apart models

Figure 3.12 - Streets, “Proposed Exhibition Structure,” courtesy of Institute for Architecture and Urban Studies fonds, Collection Centre Canadien d’Architecture/ Canadian Center for Architecture, Montréal.

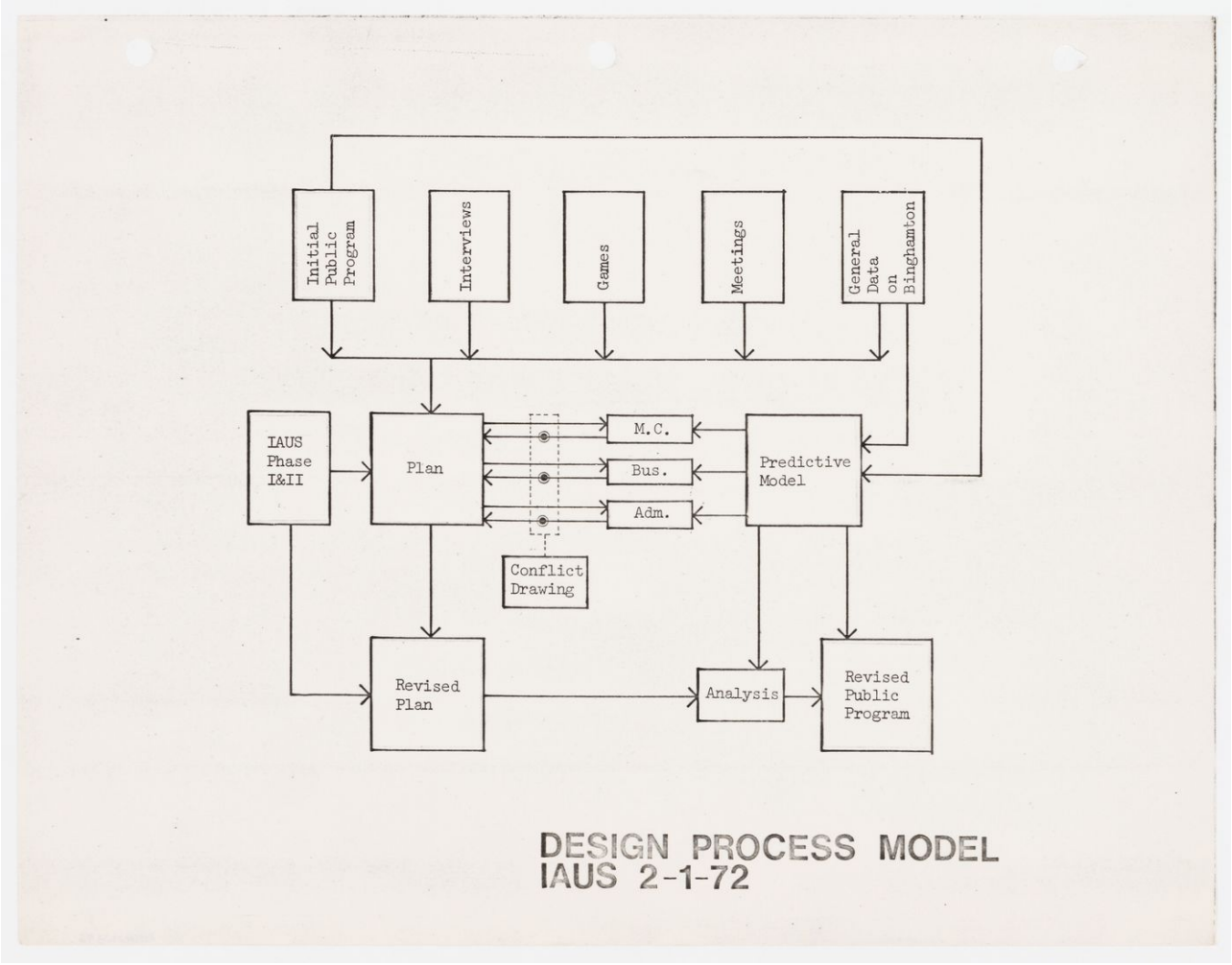
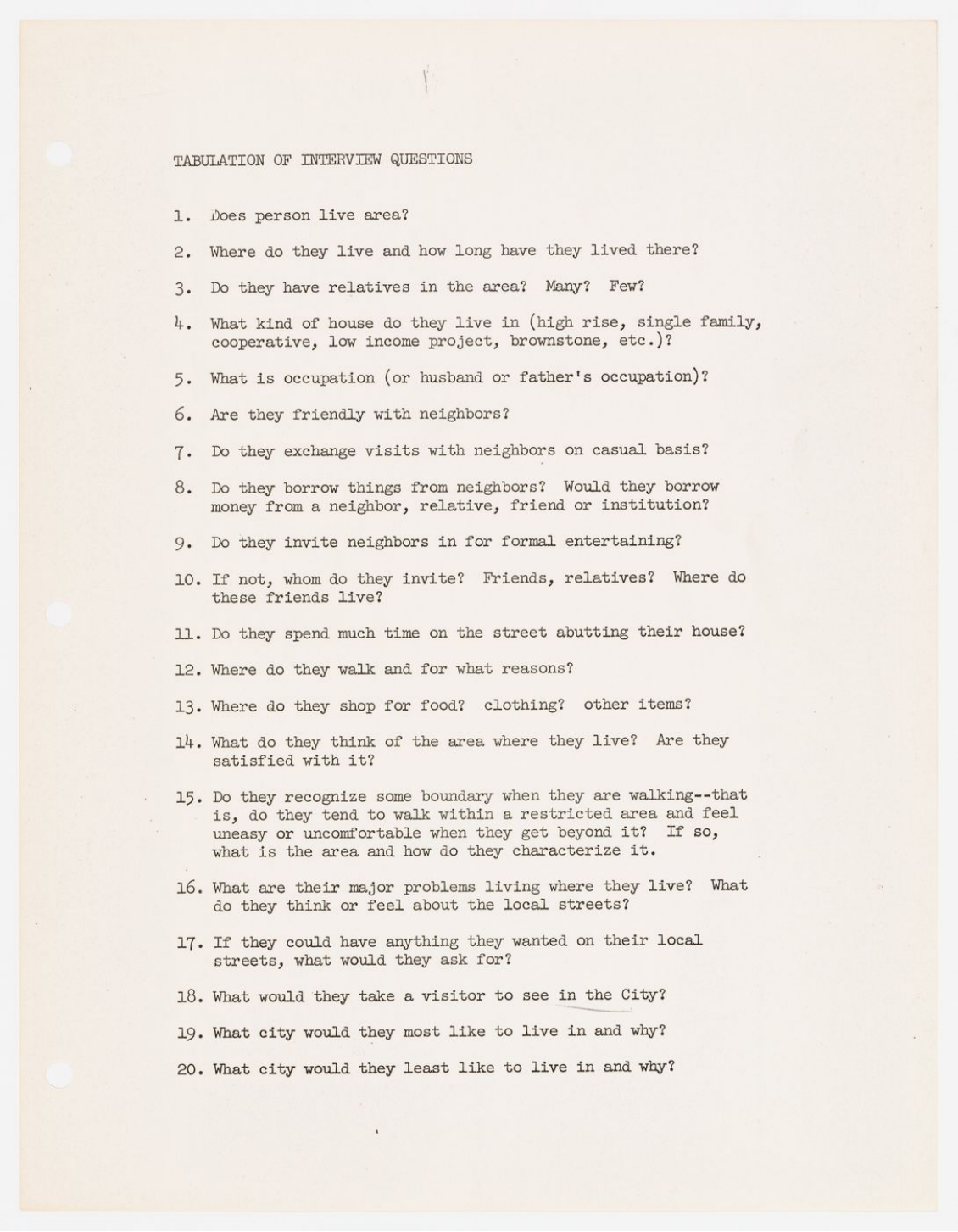


Figure 3.13 - Streets, “Design Process Model,” courtesy of Institute for Architecture and Urban Studies fonds, Collection Centre Canadien d’Architecture/ Canadian Center for Architecture, Montréal.



TABULATION OF INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

1. Does person live area?
2. Where do they live and how long have they lived there?
3. Do they have relatives in the area? Many? Few?
4. What kind of house do they live in (high rise, single family, cooperative, low income project, brownstone, etc.)?
5. What is occupation (or husband or father's occupation)?
6. Are they friendly with neighbors?
7. Do they exchange visits with neighbors on casual basis?
8. Do they borrow things from neighbors? Would they borrow money from a neighbor, relative, friend or institution?
9. Do they invite neighbors in for formal entertaining?
10. If not, whom do they invite? Friends, relatives? Where do these friends live?
11. Do they spend much time on the street abutting their house?
12. Where do they walk and for what reasons?
13. Where do they shop for food? clothing? other items?
14. What do they think of the area where they live? Are they satisfied with it?
15. Do they recognize some boundary when they are walking--that is, do they tend to walk within a restricted area and feel uneasy or uncomfortable when they get beyond it? If so, what is the area and how do they characterize it.
16. What are their major problems living where they live? What do they think or feel about the local streets?
17. If they could have anything they wanted on their local streets, what would they ask for?
18. What would they take a visitor to see in the City?
19. What city would they most like to live in and why?
20. What city would they least like to live in and why?

Figure 3.14 - Streets, “Tabulation of interview questions,” courtesy of Institute for Architecture and Urban Studies fonds, Collection Centre Canadien d’Architecture/ Canadian Center for Architecture, Montréal.

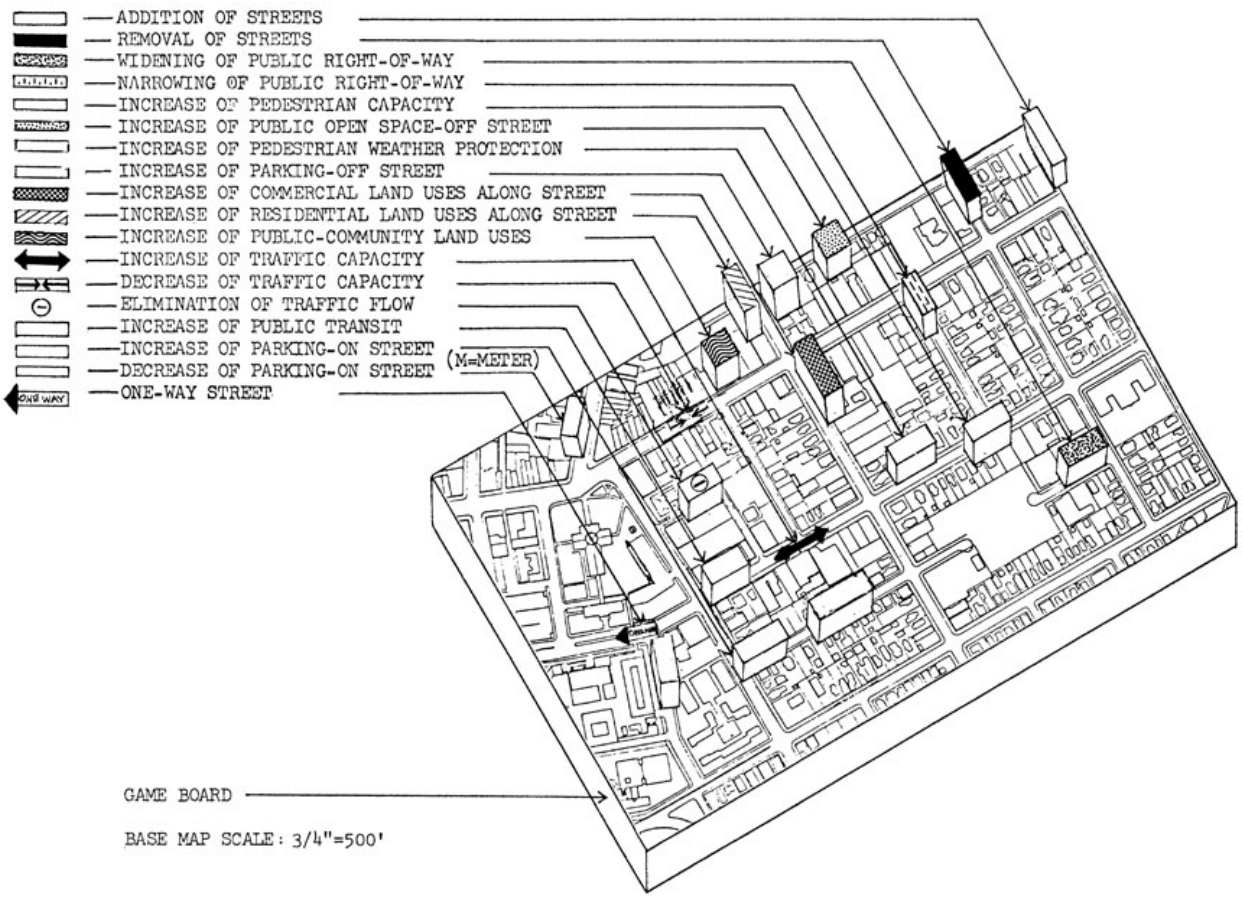


Figure 3.15 - Streets Game Board, courtesy of Institute for Architecture and Urban Studies fonds, Collection Centre Canadien d'Architecture/ Canadian Center for Architecture, Montréal.

APPENDIX

STREETS ~~INTERVENTION~~ GAME RULES

The following is the rule system for the streets intervention game. Below is an explanation of each chip, how it is used, and a series of questions relating to your reasons for placing the chips in certain places. All chips, except 2d, "Increase of public open space (off street)" and 2e, "Increase of vehicular storage (off street)" are strip chips to be used in and for the street about which you are making decisions. If you begin by placing a brown chip in a street, for example, and want to add a red one, you can simply place it next to the brown one and allow it to cover some of the buildings. Multiple questions for a street can be made in this way by simply placing as many chips as you wish to use side by side, centered on the street in question.

Interventions and Reasons

1. Street System

a. Addition of streets to system.

Q. Do you think any streets should be added to the existing pattern? Where? (Place the chips.) Why?

____ a. To improve circulation.
____ b. To increase available building surface.
____ c. To match the urban scale of one area with that of another.
____ d. To improve deliveries.
____ e. Other explanation: _____.

b. Removal of streets from system. (This is to be distinguished from elimination of traffic flow--removed streets can be considered as potential building sites or as public open space.)

Q. Do you think any existing streets should be removed from the pattern? Which? (Place the chips.) Why?

____ a. To improve circulation.
____ b. To increase available building surface.
____ c. To match the urban scale of one area to that of another.
____ d. To improve deliveries.
____ e. Other explanation: _____.

Figure 3.16 - Appendix, Streets Game Rules, courtesy of Institute for Architecture and Urban Studies fonds, Collection Centre Canadien d'Architecture/ Canadian Center for Architecture, Montréal.

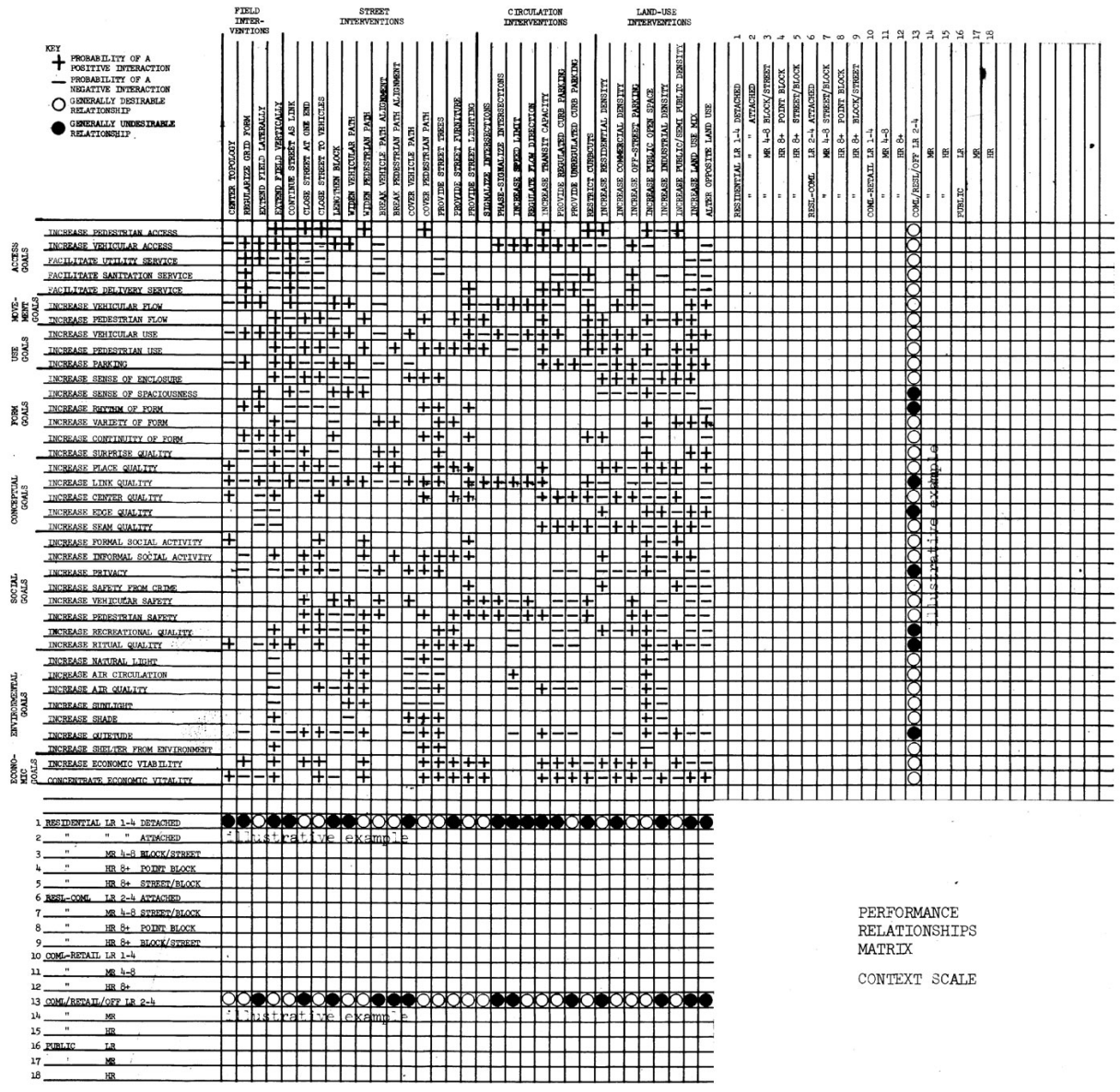


Figure 3.17 - “Performance Relationships Matrix, Context Scale,” Binghamton, New York, courtesy of Institute for Architecture and Urban Studies fonds, Collection Centre Canadien d’Architecture/ Canadian Center for Architecture, Montréal.

4

Language Games

The language of architecture is formed, defined and left behind in history, together with the very idea of architecture. In this sense the establishment of a "general grammar" of architecture is a utopia.

- Manfredo Tafuri[302]

To speak is to fight, in the sense of playing, and speech acts fall within the domain of a general agonistics.

- Jean-François Lyotard[303]

Introduction: Public Housing and Linguistics

In the 1960s and 70s, two significant shifts occurred that affected urban studies, research, and production at IAUS and other para-institutes in its vicinity. Firstly, in the broader sphere, architectural research shifted from studies of building technology, building products, and ergonomics to urban research and studies of the internal psyche of occupants and psychological responses to form. And secondly, as declared most poignantly by Marxist historian Manfredo Tafuri (and then repeated in subsequent writings since), the perceived loss of public meaning in modern architecture and its failure in linguistic communication, heightened by the emergence of a need to control the underlying meanings of the radical transformations in the physical and man-made environment.[304] This loss, both perceived and real, led to a number of systematic theories that pointed to a return to “meaning,” and accompanying theories of communication. These theories were replete with new technical vocabularies, and were

[302] Manfredo Tafuri, *Theories and History of Architecture*, (New York: Harper and Row, 1980), 228.

[303] Jean-François Lyotard, *The Postmodern Condition: A Report on Knowledge*, trans. Geoff Bennington and Brian Massumi. (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1984): 54.

[304] Tafuri, ibid.

concerned with how buildings communicate and how the architectural object was perceived by different groups of people.[305] The theories were initially offered as guides that were meant to fix modernity's most disruptive effects and produce a return to order through universal communication but ultimately were revealed to be trojan horses for other, less-than-clear agendas linked to the production of images and capital. More specifically, the debates around "meaning" represented an effort to conceal the collective failure of architects to substantially alter patterns of capitalist development at the urban scale, most fervently proclaimed by Tafuri's writing during this decade. This is what Tafuri identified as the boudoir – the space in which architecture believes itself to have found a haven, but in fact doesn't realize that this boudoir is no longer separated from the world, and instead operates as an intensified world. Tafuri described this attitude as symptomatic of a "widespread attitude intent on repossessing the unique character of the object by removing it from its economic and functional context and placing it in parentheses within the flux of objects generated by the production system."[306]

By now, Tafuri's reflections on the "return to language" (or what he also called "false paths laid out by the enemy that lead to the desert") have become substantial historical

[305] Vocabularies such as code, message, stimulus and response, sender and receiver, signifier and signified, sign, symbol, emblem, icon and index, syntax and semantics, langue and parole, synchronic, diachronic, metaphor and metonymy, paradigm and syntagm, connotation and denotation, arbitrary and motivated. See Joseph Bedford, "Notes on the Meaning Moment: Architectural Discourse before the Ideology Wars," in: Roberto Damiani, *The Architect and the Public: On George Baird's Contribution to Architecture*. (Macerata: Quodlibet; 2020), 87-108.

[306] Manfredo Tafuri, "L'Architecture dans le Boudoir: The Language of Criticism and the Criticism of Language", trans. Victor Caliandro, *Oppositions* 3 (May 1974), pg. 53. See also Manfredo Tafuri, "'European Graffiti' Five x Five = Twenty-five", trans. Victor Caliandro, *Oppositions* 5 (1976), pp 35-73.

documents in their own right, as his position would calcify into one of the dominant, if not often misunderstood, theoretical voices that framed multiple directions over the course of the 1970s. Indeed, his position would become a stultified set of cliches about the lack of salvation that was possible, in a sense an explanation for how the project of autonomy would take hold in the North American context.[307] Writing two decades later, in the aftermath of Tafuri, historian Diane Ghirardo described his body of theory as a "pile of discarded garments, especially when he called for architecture to be politically engaged" as she explored his impact and resonances over the last several decades.[308] For Ghirardo, rearticulating Tafuri's argument, to insist on architecture's connection with coherent political reforms, as opposed to the assumption that architecture's capitaluation to late capitalism was a dead-end "nor did this mean architecture should retreat into contemplative games," was to ask "what possibilities are open to a discipline that as yet is incapable of posing to itself the problem of its own place in the political arena?"[309] Later, Reinhold Martin's analysis of postmodern architecture in *Utopia's Ghost* would also pick up on this thread, in his study of the intersections of postmodern architecture, with its attention to discursivity and its own disciplinary history, as well as

[307] Tafuri, ibid.

[308] Diane Ghirardo, "Manfredo Tafuri and Architecture Theory in the US," *Perspecta* 33: Mining Autonomy (2002), 45. Ghirardo describes how both K. Michael Hays and Frederic Jameson misread Tafuri for their own ends, and result in a pessimistic understanding of his ideas. For further thoughts on the reception of Tafuri in the United States, see Joan Ockman, "Venice and New York," *Casabella* 619-620 (January-February 1995), pg. 57-71. It is also worth considering how Tafuri's influence could have potentially been more impactful on the direction of urban research at IAUS, given how closely alignments between his writing and the early work that unfolded there are. Mark Wigley has written on the lack of sustained dialogue generated by Tafuri's work, noting that his writing "has been subdivided into little tasteless pieces for consumption by the Anglo Saxons. Little has been added ... beyond a series of useful footnotes." See: Mark Wigley, "Post-Operative History," *ANY* 25-26, (2000), 50. Quoted in Ghirardo, "Manfredo Tafuri and Architecture Theory in the US," pg. 46.

[309] Ghirardo, ibid.

its intersections of post-fordist economic regimes and its attendant forms of labor and exchange.[310]

Methodologically, this chapter focuses on two interrelated processes of knowledge production as demonstrated through grants and grant applications at IAUS. The chapter connects two investigative modes, one of which looks inward toward linguistics as a model, and the other that looks outward, toward housing policy and regulations in public housing projects. The first of these was an National Institute of Mental Health grant on architecture, language, and mental health, and produced a language game around architecture's failure to control the underlying meanings of the transformations in the physical and man-made environment. The second of these methods of knowledge production unfolded concurrently with the longer-term work on *Streets* discussed in the previous chapter, in which IAUS researchers pursued multiple projects through grant proposals in fields outside of and adjacent to urban planning and urban design domain, more specifically linguistics and semiotics. Whereas the urban projects were consistently based in questions that subsumed architecture, IAUS had successfully managed to find a foothold in building public housing projects through their collaboration with Urban Development Corporation (UDC) in 1972 in the design and construction of a low-rise high-density housing proposal at Marcus Garvey park in Brooklyn. However, the built project is better understood as one component among a research ecology that included studies of land banking, assessment of property values, settlement densities, and other concerns related to "sub-urban" (sic) changes. Rather than viewing the

[310] Reinhold Martin, *Utopia's Ghost: Architecture and Postmodernism, Again*. (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2010).

low-rise high density housing project as a moment of success (or failure), this chapter argues that it is more critical to understand this venture as a closure of a research orientation that had previously been expansive and interdisciplinary. The act of 'building public housing' resituated IAUS architects into a position which their own research had attempted to move away from, toward a definition of architecture that was entirely contingent upon actualization and verifiability.[311] Although here it should be noted that as early as 1968, research proposals and letters to funders consistently mentioned the notion that these hypotheses should be tested in "an actual design project," without any clear pathway to make this goal achievable. In this chapter, the various incompatibilities that arose in grants and public housing proposals can be read through the management of the materiality of language and text; both trafficked in a language of verifiability and legitimation.

This chapter looks at these two disparate and perhaps incompatible domains – semiotics and public housing – each of which is ideologically and conceptually distinct from the other, and therefore asks several questions about how these two bodies of research each manipulated language, wordcraft, and editing as a tool and material for the production of a foothold in architectural thinking. In doing so, the chapter attempts to connect these two domains in order to see what one reveals about the other and vice versa. Looking back at the study of semiotics found in the *Streets* project, the call for a "new attitudinal perspective of the street as open institutions and communications

[311] See for instance, Institute for Architecture and Urban Studies fonds, Collection Centre Canadien d'Architecture/ Canadian Center for Architecture, Montréal, "Letter to Mrs. Douglas Auchincloss about IAUS activities with attached project proposal," 1968.

artifacts" can be read as an unlikely lever point to create this link.[312] Towards this end, Jennifer Light has productively argued that "systems thinking created a new framework for understanding 'the city,' redefining cities as communication and information systems, city problems as problems of communication and information flow, and, by extension, city planning as a science of communication, information, and control."[313]

Part I — Languages Games: "Program in Generative Design"

The relationship between architecture and language has had a long and significant history, dating back to the eighteenth century, if not earlier, according to some scholars and historians.[314] In the postwar period, an interest in semiotics, linguistics, and linguistic analogies was particularly reanimated at this time; however these multifarious analogies between architectural thought and language have also been problematized as an ill-fitting concept that served more as mythology than as a critical method or

[312] Institute for Architecture and Urban Studies fonds, Collection Centre Canadien d'Architecture/ Canadian Center for Architecture, Montréal, ARCH-153563, "Streets --- Phases I and II: Analysis / Postulations," chapter 5.0, pg. 56. The report in the archival holdings starts with section 4.2.1 and is unpaginated. Therefore one can only speculate on the first four chapters of the document.

[313] Ibid, 351.

[314] Viewing architecture as language was not a new phenomenon: it had never been entirely absent in architectural thought. This is particularly true for the tradition of classical architecture, which tended to conceive of architecture as an autonomous visual language determined by an underlying system of rules. For books which situate the relationship between architecture and language, see: Adrian Forty, *Words and Buildings: A Vocabulary of Modern Architecture* (London UK: Thames and Hudson, 2000); Sylvia Lavin, *Quatremère de Quincy and the Invention of a Modern Language of Architecture* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1992); Thomas A. Markus and Deborah Cameron, *The Words Between the Spaces: Buildings and Language* (London UK: Routledge, 2002); Pablo Bonta's *Architecture and its Interpretation*; Donald Preziosi's *Architecture, Language and Meaning* and *The Semiotics of the Built Environment*; Martin Krampen's *Meaning in the Urban Environment*; the companion anthologies *Signs, Symbols and Architecture* and *Meaning and Behaviour in the Built Environment*. Looking earlier, language metaphors abound in the pre-war and interwar period as well. For instance, one example was Kandinsky's instruction to his students to find the forces or tensions in objects which he believed would develop a "language." See: Wassily Kandinsky, *Point and Line to Plane. Contribution to the Analysis of the Pictorial Elements*, ed. Hilla Rebay (New York: Solomon R. Guggenheim Foundation for the Museum of Non-Objective Painting, 1947).

analytical device. These overlaps with semiotics have been described as “a dense forest of symbols,” characterized by controversial issues, fascinating crossovers, and meandering paradigms.[315] In 1988, Paul Walker’s study of these entanglements between architecture and language argued that semiotics has been engaged in architectural discourse “because of a widely perceived inadequacy in functionalism; that semiotics can enter architectural discourse because architecture and semiotics have an analogous epistemological structure; that semiotics operates within architecture both to frustrate and to foster theoretical inquiry into the status of architecture as discourse.”[316] Walker’s dissertation traced these entanglements at the level of intellectual history, carefully explaining how semiotics entered into architectural thought, through which thinkers and which essays and publications, and in doing so, problematized the notion of an “analogous epistemological structure.” His study pointed to the transfers between “the application of incompletely understood semiotic notions to an incompletely grasped object of study, architecture,” which then “only serves to block analysis and therefore to perpetuate the ideology current architecture supports.”[317] In a similar manner, Jacques Guillerme, writing in *Oppositions*, argued that the analogy between architecture and language:

> was employed for no other purpose than to *validate* competing morphological choices by grafting them onto the prestige of literary creation. It was concerned simply with making explicit the process of combination, the constituent of every architectural project, by relating it to a fundamental and commonly held knowledge of grammar. This mode of didactic commentary thus corresponded, to

[315] André Loeckx and Hilde Heynen, “Meaning and Effect: Revisiting Semiotics in Architecture,” *The Figure of Knowledge: Conditioning Architectural Theory, 1960s - 1990s* (Belgium, Leuven University Press, 2020), 31-62.

[316] Paul Walker, “Semiotics and the Discourse of Architecture,” (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Auckland, 1987), v.

[317] Walker, 158.

> some degree, to the desire of architects to legitimize the poetics of their architectural composition.[318]

More recently, a number of historians have charted the appeals, misfits, and incongruencies between architecture and a range of linguistic metaphors and analogies, and in so doing, have expounded on the difficulty of this recurring thematic.[319] Dutta's previously mentioned introductory text to *A Second Modernism: the Techno-Social Moment* listed seven reasons that accounted for the '"structural" influence of linguistics," all of which sought to explain exactly why "linguistics would become ... an imperial science, pertaining to every realm of phenomena."[320] As he noted,

> in the postwar emphasis on interdisciplinarity and "creative" translational between disciplinary models—Lyotard would call this paralogy—linguistics would be as if both methodological exemplar and investigative object par excellence, the very materiel on which these paralogies could be transported from one realm to the other.[321]

The interest in linguistics would build upon an earlier focus on "a semantic study of environment," in which architects looked to demonstrate how buildings communicate and how the architectural object was perceived by different groups of people.[322]

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[318] Jacques Guillerme, "The Idea of Architectural Language: A Critical Inquiry," *Oppositions* 3 (1975): 21-25.

[319] On the long history of architecture's affiliation with language as metaphor, analogy, concept, and otherwise, see Adrian Forty, *Words and Buildings: A Vocabulary of Modern Architecture*. (United Kingdom, Thames & Hudson, 2004); Alan Colquhoun, Colquhoun, "Historicism and the Limits of Semiology," *Oppositions;* Manfredo Tafuri, "L'architecture dans Le Boudoir," *Oppositions* 3, May 1974. Also the influence of Alan Colquhoun "Typology and design method" in 1969 was a key moment when the introduction of structuralism had a discursive ripple effect on readers in England and North America.

[320] Dutta, op cit.

[321] Ibid.

[322] Joseph Rykwert, "Meaning and Building," *Zodiac* 6 (May 1960), 193–96. Reprinted in Joseph Rykwert, *The Necessity of Artifice* (London: Academy Press, 1982), 9.

Understanding these shifts in the context of a social-science and technocratic research economy during the cold war era is critical to framing IAUS' grant-writing and research efforts around linguistics, particularly after the arrival of Mario Gandelsonas and Diana Agrest from Paris in 1972. Gandelsonas was a Graham Foundation Visiting Fellow for 1971-1972, and accepted a short-term position at IAUS as he intended to work on an "anthology of new semiological studies for the Museum-Institute Series, 'Prospectives of Design.'"[323] After their arrival, a team of researchers including Gandelsonas, Agrest, Eisenman, and Duarte de Mello worked on several grant proposals in collaboration, the most developed of which was "Generative Design Program: An Analysis of Problems of Communication and Meaning in Architecture," submitted to the National Institute of Mental Health (hereafter abbreviated as NIMH).[324] In terms of funding and interdisciplinary research, "Program for Generative Design" can be taken as a moment of success and legitimation in the sense that not only did the large sum allow researchers to work full-time for two full years but it ushered in a transition from applied to basic research, research that was not directly tied to a particular urban concern such as social housing but instead focused on the comprehension and production of "the

[323] For Agrest and Gandelsonas's other writing and work on semiotics, see Mario Gandelsonas, "On Reading Architecture," *Progressive Architecture* 53 (March, 1972): 68–88; Diana Agrest and Mario Gandelsonas, "Critical Remarks on Semiology and Architecture," *Semiotica* 9, no. 3 (1973): 255–81; Mario Gandelsonas, "Linguistics in Architecture," *Casabella* 37, 374 (February, 1973): 17–31; Mario Gandelsonas, "Linguistic and Semiotic Models in Architecture," in *Basic Questions of Design Theory*, ed. William Spillers, (Amsterdam: North-Holland Publishing Company, 1974), 39–54; Diana Agrest and Mario Gandelsonas, "Semiotics and the Limits of Architecture," in *A Perfusion of Signs*, ed. Thomas A. Sebeok (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1977), 90–120; and Mario Gandelsonas, "From Structure to Subject: The Formation of Architectural Language," *Oppositions* 17 (Summer 1979): 6–29.

[324] See also: Diana Agrest, "Toward a Theory of Production of Sense in the Built Environment," *On Streets*, op cit. Here she argued that "signification depends on our paying attention to the messages and codes that are beyond communication." Other research and development projects around this time included "Regenerative Components, The Adaptive Redevelopment of Old Industrial Structures" by William Ellis for the New York State Council of the Arts, and "Union Square Redevelopment Project," by Peter Wolf for Community Board 5.

"potentially meaningful environment" and the "acquisition of meaning by architectural form."[325]

The grant application was broken into four subcomponents, each of which was written by a different researcher. Eisenman's subcomponent, a twenty-page excursus on theories of form in historical, stylistic, programmatic contexts as well as theories of form considered in terms of formal problems, meaning, charted how theories of form can situate one's understanding of the environment, ultimately asked "how people can understand them in a more precise way, and therefore can operate in them in a more humane fashion."[326] The proposal wavers on how exactly linguistics and Noam Chomsky's linguistic model considered creativity, competency, and rigor. This process of defining definitions, drawing comparisons, constructing analogies to models and Chomsky's work was a self-conscious maneuver, to find a discursive home base that also was defamiliarizing. The subcomponent makes clear that "Chomsky's model is being taken merely as a "model" for our model, and thus it cannot be applied directly as the model, but must be modified to apply to our problem":

> However, if Chomsky's classifications are not directly analogous, it is primarily because they are not being addressed to a similar problem, even though Chomsky himself suggests his classification would be potentially useful for the study of three-dimensional environments. ... The model that will be developed in this research is similar to the Chomskian model of a deep structure in that it should have a set of symbols as well as a set of rules. These symbols will be called syntactic integers; they are described by a set of irreducible formal oppositions manifest in deep structural description via a sort of formational rules. It is important to keep in mind that Chomsky's model is being taken merely as a

[325] Joy Knoblauch has also argued that the funds helped to launch Oppositions around this same time.

[326] Institute for Architecture and Urban Studies fonds, Collection Centre Canadien d'Architecture/ Canadian Center for Architecture, Montréal, Generative Design proposal, Peter Eisenman, subcomponent one.

> "model" for our model, and thus it cannot be applied directly as the model, but must be modified to apply to our problem. The valuable idea in the conception of Chomsky's deep structure, as put forward here, is that it is merely an instrument to understand certain conditions and qualities of architectural space, and that these conditions and qualities are determined by formational rules; they are not, therefore, elements in themselves, but rather processes and relationships.[327]

The main objective was to close the gap between the study of the environment and the study of behavior by looking at the "syntax" of the environment. The proposal read as follows: "architects design and construct things which have meaning, and that in order to have meaning the "messages" which are created must conform to some normative system of signs."[328] "The main thesis of the proposal is that architects design and construct things which have meaning, and that in order to have meaning the "messages" which are created must conform to some normative system of signs.

What does a stalled grant application written at IAUS from the early 1970s tell us about the para-institutionality of what went on there? Why was IAUS concerned with an analogy with language at this moment? Why do they shift away from urban studies toward mental health?[329] What unfolds as the research takes course is the gradual dissolution of the initial premise, the methodology, and the scientific rationale behind the process itself. While the grant tries to fit architecture into a model of linguistics which has clearly different rules, it results both in a failure to communicate to other disciplines, to the NIMH, and to an audience outside of itself.

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[327] Ibid.

[328] Institute for Architecture and Urban Studies fonds, Collection Centre Canadien d'Architecture/ Canadian Center for Architecture, Montréal, Folder B6-2.

[329] The archival meeting notes from 1970-72 would suggest this to be the case, in some sense.

Syntax and Syntactics

The interest in syntax was in fact not new to architecture, or to Eisenman's work specifically. And for Tafuri, syntax as an isolated phenomenon also brought with it an "involuntary semantic."[330] Writing half a century earlier, Saussure had explored how classical architectural elements could be syntagmatically strung together; for example, he described how a column is "syntagmatically" connected with other component parts, and the means by which a column itself is selected from a paradigmatic series of Doric, Ionic, or Corinthian versions.[331] More broadly conceived, the grant can be read as part of a larger semiotic impulse to see all things as sign-images, which is to say things were detached all signifiers from material signifieds within an importation of the "politics in language" from French theory.[332]

The growth of semiotics 'coincides with the new impulse given to the study of highly formalized languages, such as the languages of simulation and programming

[330] Manfredo Tafuri, "European Graffiti: Five by Five= Twenty-Five," *Oppositions* 5, Summer 1976.

[331] Ferdinand de Saussure. Translated by Wade Baskin. Edited by Perry Meisel and Haun Saussy. *Course in General Linguistics*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 2011), 230-32; see also Umberto Eco, "A Componential Analysis of the Architectural Sign /Column/," in *Signs, Symbols and Architecture*, eds. Geoffrey Broadbent, Richard Bunt, and Charles Jencks (New York: Wiley, 1980), 213-32. See: Peggy Deamer, "Structuring Surfaces: The Legacy of the Whites," Perspecta 32 (January 1, 2001): 90-99; Thomas Patin, "From Deep Structure to an Architecture in Suspense: Peter Eisenman, Structuralism, and Deconstruction," Journal of Architectural Education (1984-) 47, no. 2 (November 1, 1993): 88-100. Also, see Christopher Wood's writing on Otto Pacht and the New Vienna School, an unlikely resonance of similar concepts around structure and syntax. Wood writes: "The leading concept in Pacht is the design principles (gestaltungsprinzipien), the hidden logic that governs the structure of a picture or a building. The design principle is not merely visible form but something more fundamental, a system of differential relations that organizes the work: figure-ground relationships, framing devices, tensions between horizontal and vertical elements."

[332] "In short, what French Theory brought to America was a politics in language, famously borrowed from Bakhtin and so many others. Politics in language means the scuttling of any discursive mode that refuses to account for its "implicit presuppositions," its despotic significations turning language into a command system that keeps saving representation despite the latter's ceaseless dissolution—books, newspapers, radio, TV, Internet: each plays the role of simplifying." See: Sylvere Lotringer and Sande Cohen, *French Theory in America* (London: Routledge, 2001), 5.

languages; the becoming semiotic of architectural thinking and architecture as a language system was independent of what it signified or how it was used. Here we are in the midst of another language game *a la* Lyotard - one that might more accurately be called a language game *within* a language game.[333] What unfolds as the research takes course is the gradual dissolution of the initial premise, the methodology, and the scientific rationale behind the process itself. Language, and linguistics prove to be not quite the right model, but was more of an analog or an analogy. Ultimately the grant fails to clarify what is being "communicated" and to whom and how. Instead the grant demonstrates a subtler shift from studying the urban environment itself to studying abstractions of the environment. A later report describes the failure to translate linguistic terms into architectural terms.[334] While the grant tries to fit architecture into a model of linguistics which has clearly different rules, it results both in a failure to communicate to other disciplines, to the NIMH, and to an audience outside of itself. Later, Eisenman quickly admitted to be little concerned about the correctness of his interpretation of Chomsky; linguistic theory was only being used as a stepping stone to architectural design, and it was in this field, not in linguistics, where Eisenman wanted to be judged."[335] The grant represented a key moment of legitimation despite this failure; it is

[333] Eisenman's description of where his own work was headed in 1974 was described in the following manner: "how to produce an un-iconic structure of relationships which has a capacity to be understood and this understanding will produce a conceptual framework that will allow for a somatic experience in space which does not come directly from an individual's experience of the physical geometry of that space but also in fact modifies that experience? this is where I am at in my work ..."; presentation transcript from a 1974 presentation at UCLA, as quoted in Louis Martin, "The Search for a Theory in Architecture: Anglo-American Debates 1957-1976," (Ph.D. dissertation, Princeton University, 2002).

[334] Critique by NIMH:

1. Overreliance on linguistic terminology
2. No explicit methodology
3. No model which was directly related to architecture
4. A lack of definition of data.

[335] Juan Paul Bonta on Eisenman at Castelldefels, as quoted by Paul Walker, dissertation, pg. 123.

evidence that IAUS pursued not only funds but also the forms and procedures of scientific methods and bureaucratic protocols from other institutes. The flow down is cash, and the flow up is knowledge. Lyotard described this process as “performative linguistics,” in other words, “the justification of scientific work is not to produce an adequate model of reality or replication of some outside reality, but rather to simply produce more work, to generate new statements, ... to ‘make it new.’”[336]

This research project was therefore purportedly situated as a cross between language and mental health, with an aim to follow Chomskyian linguistics to find the deep structure of form, to better be able to predict user reaction to it. Linguistics here purportedly operated as a crucial link between aesthetics and behavior, in the sense of offering a level of verifiability and falsifiability without falling into the trap of behaviorism. We can understand that the linguistic model was largely being used provisionally to study the gap between architect and occupant, hoping to answer urgent questions such as: in what ways was the architect’s message coming across and where were the failures that were causing such rejections of the modern project? Gandelsonas’ conclusion in his essay “On Reading Architecture II: Linguistics, Social Sciences and Architecture” evaluated the merits of Eisenman's Chomskyian project and concludes that its primary use is for rejuvenating the field by allowing certain formal studies.[337]

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[336] Lyotard, ibid, 6.

[337] Mario Gandelsonas, "On Reading Architecture II. Linguistics, Social Sciences and Architecture", July 1972, 1, CCA/IAUS Archives, Folder B6-1.

Part II — Language Games of Mass Housing

Histories of housing in the postwar period have often described the manner in which the subject of housing has been inflected and determined not only by modes of technological change, such as innovations in construction techniques and industrial production, but more fundamentally should be understood as a history of processes of interchange between these technical domains and housing as a form of social reproduction which addresses inequality and inequity at the societal and structural level. This is to say that writing housing histories is a process of understanding several interrelated concerns: the articulation of typological change especially as it pertains to the relationship between the individual building or complex and the urban fabric at large, and on the other hand, the social, societal, and economic processes that determine housing and its role in the city. Examining the modernist historiography of housing one finds a balancing act between understanding the effects of immaterial and material forces; these histories are determined by, on the one hand, an grappling with the influence of policy, governance, tax code, or a set of shifting, determining factors which are political, ideological and administrative, and on the other, an analysis of forms and typologies found in housing projects as built artifacts as visible manifestations of particular ideologies. More importantly, the task of writing histories of housing is to understand the relationship of architects to existing political and financial hegemonies: was their role as active collaborators and shapers of policy? Or, were they by-and-large unquestioning service providers, fulfilling a role that was dedicated to the provision of cladding and appearances for increasingly normalized and generic configurations of

building mass and unit aggregations?[338]

In the American postwar context, the reaction against urban renewal and specifically high-rise public housing must be read within the political climate at the end of the 1960s, a decade which “did not end on time,” and which was marked by the vestiges of utopianism that this time period wrought. The impact of the Kerner Commission Report (initially known as *The Report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders*) and the impact of the psychology of racism in all of its forms of manifest segregation on the built environment was substantial and multifaceted. In brief, the report criticized the "towers in the park" model of urban renewal that relied heavily on state funds. In its place, the federal government advocated for mixed-income smaller-scale housing that private entities could build and manage in return for governmental subsidies and tax benefits.[339] In New York City, the construction of public housing projects was complicated by numerous delays and other complications, which were described by The New York Times as a “housing paralysis.” In 1969, it took an average of thirteen years to complete an urban renewal project in New York, and new housing starts were not keeping up with rising residential abandonment.[340]

[338] A contemporary case study that would be useful to test these questions against is the recent public housing project by MOS, built in Washington, D.C. in 2022.

[339] For a perspective on the psychology of race in the Kerner Report, see Ellen Herman, "Chapter 8: The Kerner Commission and the Experts," *The Romance of American Psychology: Political Culture in the Age of Experts* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995).

[340] Samuel Kaplan, “Bridging the Gap from Rhetoric to Reality: The New York State Urban Development Corporation,” *Architectural Forum* (November 1969), 70.

The reaction to the decline of urban housing models, specifically high-rise towers surrounded by bleak landscapes of grass, was not limited to the American context. British critic, educator, and architect Martin Pawley, writing on the state of postwar housing in the UK, noted that public opinion was catalyzed by the collapse in 1968 of Ronan Point, due to its high unexpected cost, and in particular, its partial collapse due to a gas explosion, which cast serious doubt on the success of concrete industrialized construction methods and their standards of livability that had upheld prior.[341] Pawley critically argued that the evolution of a functionalist ethos as found in newly forged links between behavior, psychology, and environment had been too tacitly accepted by architects of his generation, and created what he cynically referred to as the "architectural belief system": the notion that architecture's behaviorist mode and the belief in its role as prophylactic had led to a profound alienation that failed to recognize that questions of design were of very little importance when compared to economic and social factors.[342] While not seen as a solution to the question of mass housing, Pawley pointed to the slow evolution of low-rise high density housing, which came to represent not simply a more human alternative to the "housing question," but also a chance to reconsider architecture's role in the problem of understanding the nuance of user experiences. In short, Pawley's book posed the question of architecture versus housing: is housing a form of high architecture or a biopolitical mechanism that aimed to monitor

[341] Martin Pawley, *Architecture versus Housing: A Modern Dilemma* (New York: Prager, 1971), 85. Pawley's broader formulation of "architecture versus housing" to connect issues of real estate, finance, politics, and design as they relate to housing. For American critiques of this time period related to the demise of modernist housing projects and their corresponding ideals, see: Katharine Bristol, "The Pruitt-Igoe Myth," *Journal of Architectural Education* 44, no. 3 (May 1991), 167.

[342] John Noble, "Appraisal of User Requirements in Mass Housing," *Architects' Journal* (1966), August 24, 479-486.

and ultimately control its population? And what was at stake for IAUS researchers and architects in pursuing this question?[343] How did it align with their institutional goals put into place at the outset? Their work at IAUS up until this point had been limited to the proposal of a new university community of housing, called New Urban Settlements, but had remained in the schematic planning phase.[344] This is to say that housing had existed primarily as a set of abstract questions, used to generate conversations with funders and to speculate on design opportunities by meditating on the failures of late modern planning to develop a coherent ecological settlement pattern.[345]

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UDC and Low-Rise, High Density, Low-cost Housing

One of the principal municipal agencies that IAUS engaged with, and indeed substantiated many of their efforts, was the Urban Development Corporation. UDC was a short-lived public benefit corporation which was financed through tax-exempt bonds, and was able to operate through a combination of gamesmanship, shrewd intervention, and multiple in-house architects, bureaucrats, planners, and other professionals working in unison.[346] It identified projects and potential associates such as private developers, development authorities, housing agencies, civic associations and community groups. It

[343] The critique that has been typically voiced was about the shrewd opportunism of architects to choose to engage in socially-motivated work when the money is there and projects are available.

[344] This project, New Urban Settlements, engaged with several clients including the Metropolitan Transit Authority, Office of Planning Coordination, Pure Waters Authority, Urban Development Corp, University Construction Fund, aimed to study of the city as a complex adaptive system.

[345] Author conversation with Kenneth Frampton, March 13, 2022.

[346] For more details on the founding and formation of UDC, see: New York State Urban Development Corporation, *Annual Report* (New York: New York State Urban Development Corporation, 1969).

then brought the interested entities together to sign an agreement, form a community advisory committee and share responsibilities and costs; it acquired land through purchase, condemnation or transfer from municipalities or urban renewal agencies. In short, UDC was able to work with private developers to provide equity funds, oversee construction, and participate in the ownership and management of projects. In return, UDC arranged for subsidies from federal and state programs for the developers and charged a fee for costs and risks in the development of the project.[347] UDC was able to block local building codes, override local exclusionary zoning, had eminent domain to capture sites as needed, and had a litany of other means to get things built. Led by Ed Logue, UDC reflected a "collision of idealistic optimism of government technocrats and the cynicism of a federal system no longer committed to provide funding and moral support to address endemic urban decay." This collision is what Reinhold Martin has referred to as the "housing question," following Engel's essay of the same name, wherein public housing is emblematic of an allegedly failed modernist utopia.

Current historiography on UDC has focused on the innovative legal and financial mechanisms that allowed the agency to achieve a great deal in a short time frame in between federal and local levels, while also narrating the complex entanglements between the political forces for and against their projects, and the factors involved in what did and did not succeed. Writing on the state of American housing production in 1974, architect Werner Seligman, who worked with UDC on a project just outside of

[347] For recent scholarship on the UDC, see Eric Peterson, "The Urban Development Corporation's 'Imaginative Use of Credit': Creating Capital for Affordable Housing," *Journal of Urban History*, September 2018, and Lizabeth Cohen, *Saving America's Cities: Ed Logue and the Struggle to Renew Urban America in the Suburban Age*, (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2019).

Ithaca, NY, noted that “less than ten years ago most schools of architecture considered the topic of housing hardly worth investigating” and acknowledged that “this has not been a bed of roses for either UDC or the architects.” While not an ideal setup, he concluded that the “results speak for themselves: each project addresses a particular set of issues, and collectively they produce a backlog of solutions and models to build on.”[348] Within this ecology of architects working with or affiliated with UDC, IAUS was no doubt a minor player both in terms of stature and duration of engagement. This notwithstanding, and despite their lack of connection to conventional modes of professional practice, IAUS’ interest and proven track record in research set them apart from others of their ilk, which is to say architects that were more pragmatically oriented toward implementation, construction, and project management, or had previous working experience with NYCHA or public housing broadly. More importantly, for IAUS their connection to MoMA and curator Arthur Drexler was imperative for generating the visibility and publicity that Logue and his associates at UDC wanted and needed to add value to their efforts.[349]

[348] As quoted in Lizbeth Cohen, pg. fn 151. Seligman was the architect of Elm Street Housing is a low-rise, high-density development sited on a steeply sloping hillside in Ithaca, New York. However despite the idea that results speak for themselves, what was clear was that working with UDC in this time period was a key indicator of whether one was considered high or low, in the sense of being tapped as a design-savvy architect that could infuse public housing with something that it currently lacked, the nebulous category of visionary design ambition or what might generously be called “form.”

[349] An examination of previous UDC newsletters would be useful to situate their publicity prior to this point. This merits further investigation. See: Kim Förster, “The Housing Prototype of The Institute for Architecture and Urban Studies. Negotiating Housing and the Social Responsibility of Architects within Cultural Production,” *Candide* 5 (March 2012), 57–92. In the oral history conducted by Forster, Frampton described the situation in more blunt terms: “Arthur Drexler, who as co-founder and chairman was representing the Institute, promised Edward Logue an exhibition in the Museum of Modern Art. And on the basis of this the Institute got involved in the research and design of a low-rise, high-density prototype. Without the liaison to MoMA, the Institute would have never been involved. The only reason why the Institute was commissioned by the UDC, in the end, was that we offered the opportunity of an exhibition at MoMA.” Ibid, Forster.

An examination of one of the earlier UDC projects that has received recent attention in the historiography of housing in New York, Twin Parks Northeast, reveals the complexity involved in the negotiation of issues of design, management, and planning.[350] One resident noted that:

> The mere fact that you build a place like this or put up a development anywhere for the purpose of erasing urban blight—it doesn't mean that it's going to change the community… and if something isn't done to the community on the outside to protect what you've put up then you find that your community problems creep right into your existing buildings.[351]

Along the same lines, in his essay "Twin Parks as Typology," a review of the four UDC buildings, and the incidents of occasional violence that had occurred at Meier's complex in an open plaza that framed the project, Kenneth Frampton concluded that the architects had not provided the "*semantically* relevant physical forms for appropriate social relations."[352] While Frampton does not specify exactly what "semantically

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[350] The four buildings were designed by Richard Meier, James Polshek, Giovanni Pasanella, Prentice, Chan and Olsen, and developed with Starrett Brothers and Eken Development Corporation. On Twin Parks, see: See Myles Weintraub and Marco Zicarelli, "The Tale of Twin Parks," *Architectural Forum* (June 1973): 52-55. It is crucial to take into account that the buildings were planned and developed by the UDC, a public agency, and then they were managed and owned by private organizations, which created fiscal uncertainty.

[351] Directed by Michel Régnier, "New York - Twin Parks Project - TV Channel 13," documentary Film, 1974.

[352] Emphasis is my own. Kenneth Frampton, "Twin Parks as Typology," *Architectural Forum*, June 1973, pp. 56-61. Writing years later, Suzanne Schindler replied to Frampton and argued that: "Frampton posited the relationship of architecture to society as one in which architecture needed to be designed in a way for it to be "understood"—not unlike Venturi and Scott Brown's arguments at this time—and that architects must thus create formal arrangements that responded to a changing society, which he equated with a "living body." Ultimately, however, Frampton let the architects off the hook for not designing buildings that served residents' and neighbors' needs by simply blaming larger forces: "The fault, in the last analysis, [lies] not with architecture, but the structure of the society." This was another way to state what Kaplan had argued, that "design will not solve society's ills, but Frampton resorted to blaming an abstract system which ultimately made no-one accountable and gave agency neither to policy makers, developers, architects, or residents." Ibid. Paul Goldberger's review in the New York Times described the situation in the following manner: "the social aspects of the Twin Parks buildings have had somewhat mixed results. The Richard Meier buildings are situated, by unfortunate chance, at the boundary between black and Italian sections of the neighborhood, and as a result the generous open space became the setting for gang disputes. Yet the open space frequently is used as well as a meeting place for neighbors with

relevant" would mean or translate to in the context of Twin Peaks, what can be interpolated here is that issues of security, territoriality, and boundary were considered not only issues of physical space but also linguistic problems to be addressed, and solved.[353]

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The low-rise high-density research at IAUS was initially part of a larger and much broader research effort called "Research Proposal for the Postulation and Evaluation of Land Settlement Patterns of Low Rise/ High Density Suburban Land Settlements," led by Kenneth Frampton and Robert O'Block.[354] Following a strikingly similar research

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friendly intentions, and it has functioned well as a children's playground." Paul Goldberger, "Twin Parks, an Effort to Alter the Pattern of Public Housing," The New York Times, Dec. 27, 1973.

[353] As a result of these early experiences, Logue devised a list of criteria:

1. That everybody should come directly into their own front door from the street.
2. That there should be no shared space within a building with another tenant.
3. That there be private yards in the back for each housing unit.
4. That there be parking in front of the buildings that was visible from the building.
5. That there be no space that was unassigned.
6. That everything had to be under the eye of one or another householder who might be a tenant or homeowner.
7. There was to be no public space.

See: "Ed Logue's List of Enlightened Housing," in Steven Borns, dir., Making Place: Joseph Wasserman on Urban Design (2006), DVD, 90 min. Joseph Wasserman Collection, Special Collections, Frances Loeb Library, Harvard University Graduate School of Design.

[354] Institute for Architecture and Urban Studies fonds, Collection Centre Canadien d'Architecture/ Canadian Center for Architecture, Montréal, "Research Proposal for the Postulation and Evaluation of Land Settlement Patterns of Low Rise/ High Density Suburban Land Settlements, ARCH401823. At the time, Frampton was an associate professor of architecture at Columbia University, and simultaneously a fellow at IAUS; he divided his time by spending two days a week at IAUS, and eventually would increase to three days a week. O'Block was an urban economist and an associate at McKinsey Company in the Urban Affairs Group, and a research assistant at Harvard. Other staff listed was a computer programmer, and miscellaneous consultants in ecology, transportation, and sociology. Previously, in 1970 an earlier version of this research, called "Preliminary Research Proposal for the Generative and Comprehensive Evaluation of Alternative Low Rise High Density Land Settlement Patterns in Relation to a New University Community," was put forward, which stated: "This proposal assumes that any land settlement in relation to a new university community must take the present patterns of land settlement as its point of departure, particularly in respect of their capacity to support the essentials of a certain lifestyle. This proposal is contingent upon taking into consideration the overall long term economics and social functional benefits

logic and set of protocols as discussed above in the *Streets* project, the low-rise high-density (hereafter abbreviated as LRHD) research proposal consisted of three phases of work, each with their set of research tasks, procedures, goals, and anticipated outcomes. The first phase, the "Analytical Phase," enumerated six research objectives ranging from a "comprehensive analysis of our current patterns and processes of suburbanization" to "postulate alternative patterns, unit types, and processes for the generation of suburban land settlements, over a wide income range, including within these design postulations physical, social, political, legal, economic, fiscal, ecological aspects."[355] Abstract mathematical models which showed the interrelationship of land, construction, mortgage structures, density, taxes and other factors were put forward as a research method in order to account for financial considerations of the postulative phase. The analytic phase of the project aimed to produce a synthetic understanding of the intersections of these divergent factors in order to understand the underlying forces behind the production and legislation of housing from a macro and micro point of view.

Significantly, Framtpon and others claimed that "prototypical research" was already in their domain, due to their experience with the ongoing *Streets* project for HUD, which was still underway at the time.[356] The original proposal made to the Ford Foundation also included several subsections of research, one of which in particular extended to the

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accruing to the acquisition of an integrated land bank under public control that is capable of accomodating the joint needs of both university and the community." See: IAUS Prospectus Draft, 1971.

[355] Ibid.

[356] Institute for Architecture and Urban Studies fonds, Collection Centre Canadien d'Architecture/ Canadian Center for Architecture, Montréal, "IAUS/ Original Application for LRHD Study as made to Ford Foundation," pg. 5, AP197.S1.SS3.026.

speculative design of the residential unit, and its interface with the public zone of the street as an updated version of the nineteenth century residential stoop.[357] The degree to which these projects served as models or as one-off solutions which could not be replicated or learned from was in fact one of the crucial points that Frampton and Wolf had argued for in the development of their prototype, both in their 1970 application to the Ford Foundation, and subsequent proposals which followed. Critically, the Ford Foundation proposal also claimed that IAUS "has greatly expanded its publishing capacity. One of its primary intentions of this research is to publish a book under the auspices of HUD. This publication would analyze the state of art of housing and postulate a set of urban prototypes for future development."[358] The proposed idea was to publish a book containing a set of urban housing prototypes ultimately did not materialize however.

Additionally the report expressed an interest in an examination of a flexible module or unit type, and its potential variations to accommodate thick walls (to hold straight stairs, kitchens, ventilation systems, etc.), ways that the outside envelope could be altered (not dissimilar to Nicholas Habraken's work in the book *Supports*), the provision of otherwise undesignated public space with regard to the sociability of the scheme, and the "adequate provision or otherwise mutual surveillance and spontaneous child supervision."[359] The final section of their proposal outlined what was identified as

[357] The reasons for this were probably budgetary. The stoop, something that was common in 19th century row houses, was here recreated as a floating signifier that could be reanimated to give the sidewalk a new vitality.

[358] Ibid.

[359] Ibid. On Habraken, see John Habraken, *Supports: An Alternative to Mass Housing* (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1972). Similar to the IAUS report, which notably lacked illustrations or images, Habraken

“Critical questions to be taken into Consideration in Design of an Urban Quarter”:

> 1. To what extent is it possible to light, semi-skilled industry into the provisions of housing? From an architectural point of view, how should this industry be related to housing?
>
> 2. To what extent is it possible to integrate either regional commercial or extensive horticulture into housing stock? From an architectural point of view, how should these provisions be related to housing?
>
> 3. To what extent is it feasible to make rationalized production of housing stock with semi-skilled labor the basis of a limited local industry? How should such a productive unit be integrated into housing?

Arguably the questions posed at the end of the research proposal point to a larger set of agendas that aimed to situate housing in an economic and ecological feedback loop within the discourses of policy, governance, and finance.

Land Settlement & Land Banks

The proposal authored by Frampton and Peter Wolf was preceded by several others that had explored the problem of housing in relation to land settlement patterns; these included “A General Program for Research into Suburbanized Land Settlement,” “Preliminary Research Proposal for the Generation and Comprehensive Evaluation of Alternative Low Rise High Density Land Settlement Patterns in Relation to a New University Community Development,” both of which proposed to tackle broad questions

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openly refused to illustrate his ideas with a single drawing (or image or floor plan) that might provide further clarity or concretize what his alternative vision of mass housing might look like. In this regard, Habraken explained that: “the description of supports in the fourth chapter is more justified than ever, as what it was intended to be: a suggestion for one possibility among many. This description of a possible form was intended to provoke the reader into proffering his own suggestions for the design and construction of support structures. For this reason, no illustrations or drawings were given in the original edition; nor are they given here. I felt that they would only subtract from the basic object of the argument: that the introduction of the dweller into the housing process should dictate decisions into design and organization. Reader reaction has strengthened my conviction that variation in possible form and technique is apparently limitless and that design proposals can be judged only within a given social, economic, and technical situation.” For more on Habraken, see: *Supports*, vii- viii.

of suburban settlement in order to reconstitute their possibilities beyond a strictly architectural or even urban planning framework.[360] What these proposals made evident is an explicit argument against calcified and simplified modernist myths of industrialization (the assumed value and cost-benefits of prefabrication, for instance) and mass production (understood as an expedient solution or mode of problem-solving to the increased need for urban housing and community facilities). More critically, these documents put forward a broad interrogation into architecture's diminished capacity to understand the necessary frameworks of mass housing. Each proposal attempted to sketch interrelated problems involved in reconceptualizing housing anew from the vantage point of settlement patterns writ large. For instance, in the research proposal "A General Program General Program for Research into Suburbanized Land Settlement" Frampton cited at length attorney and real estate developer Bernard Weissbourd in order to situate the problems of the then-targeted goal of replacing six million sub-standard homes over the course of the decade:

> these units must be built in the outlying areas of metropolitan regions as the Kerner Commission Report notes. First because there is no longer any land available in the cities except by building high-rise buildings at exorbitant costs; second, because in the United States it is necessary to provide housing in outlying areas for Negroes, to halt the enlargement of the ghetto so that our cities do not become all Negro while our suburbs become all white; and third, only by building on inexpensive land can a truly low-cost program be developed. Only a low-cost program, in turn, will create a market large enough for the industrialization of the building process.[361]

[360] The Ford Foundation responded to this later proposal by saying that they would be interested only if the subject shifted to lower income population groups. Another project from this time frame is "New Land Settlement Studies for Israel: A Proposal for Combining Land Settlement Studies with a Program for Environmental Design Education," to be investigated further.

[361] Kenneth Frampton fonds, Collection Centre Canadien d'Architecture/ Canadian Center for Architecture, Montréal, "A General Program for Research into Suburbanized Land Settlement."

In what followed, Frampton would then turn the notion of impending “ghetto-ization” on its head, claiming that the stage was set for the “gradual ghetto-ization” of the suburb, not just the inner city, as suburban development was increasingly reserved for the rich and white middle classes, leaving a gap for those in lower income classes pushed to the exurban fringe.[362] To address these urban dilemmas, the proposal claimed that IAUS was “convinced that suburban land settlement should form a major part of its research activities in the future. <u>These studies should devote themselves to the study of rapid and efficient means for large scale sub-urban residential settlement; open to a much wider range of the population, ... , than that which is currently provided by suburban housing on the free market.”</u>[363] To this end, the proposal outlined a means to investigate the “generation and evaluation of alternative patterns of low-rise/ high density suburban land settlements”: “user criteria, alternative patterns, unit types and processes”; “to invent new patterns and processes, both fiscal, political and technical for the acquisition, development and settlement of land”; and to analyze mortgage structures, zoning codes, ordinances and so forth. Once again, we see that a research phase was to be followed by a postulative phase, in which research tasks included such items as: “postulate a strategy for transportation and distribution ... to provide access to work, shopping, recreational and health facilities,” “postulate alternative methods of financing of suburban housing.”[364] The methods for pursuing this analytic and postulative work would become slightly more clear in the next iteration in the proposal of a mathematical

[362] On the rise of suburban housing, see Kenneth Jackson, *Crabgrass Frontier: The Suburbanization of the United States.* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985).

[363] Ibid. Underlining in the original document.

[364] Ibid.

model which could show the interrelation of:

a) basic land price
b) development charges
c) construction costs
d) density
e) mortgage structure
f) utility costs
g) taxes
h) final unit cost[365]

How exactly this mathematical model was to be developed and ultimately made manifest was left for future resolution; the list of interrelated factors suggested a self-evidence that such a mathematical model could be in fact adequately and accurately calculated, or, *designed* as such.

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The mode of knowledge production embodied in these research proposals hinge on several key features found in this particular rhetorical form of writing: in each we find a formula that narrativized the flow of ideas from a broad introductory statement of problems ("the broad aims and problems of this research"), specific historical and intellectual context of the research work as outlined through a list of key components or factors, *another* list which states research objectives, methods, tasks and phases, each complete with their own sub-lists and/or subheadings as well, and finally lists of project budgets and operating costs, schedules, staff, and biographies. This format, understood as a designed framework for knowledge production yet to arrive, is both a promissory

[365] Institute for Architecture and Urban Studies fonds, Collection Centre Canadien d'Architecture/ Canadian Center for Architecture, Montréal, "A RESEARCH PROGRAM FOR THE POSTULATION AND EVALUATION OF ALTERNATIVE LOW RISE HIGH DENSITY SUBURBAN SETTLEMENT SYSTEMS," pg. 6.

note of what might be and an aspiration towards future work. It can also simply be understood as a list of items, some of which are clearly actionable, others of which are reflective. In thinking about the list as an epistemological tool, Sylvia Lavin has recently explored the postmodernization of knowledge in the context of the collapse of the distance between knowledge work and creative work. One of the features of this collapse is the identification of specific little tools of knowledge, such as the list, to describe how "tools like lists which were themselves designed and had aesthetic as well as informational qualities, entered the design process, inevitably shaping the results of its aesthetic."[366] What we see here in the research proposal is a form of list-making as research strategy, equal parts rigorous and speculative. What do we make of the inflated stakes of these proposals, and their attempts to grapple with such large concerns, through and with the medium of research into mass housing? It is critical to note that many if not all of these numerous research proposals failed to continue beyond their proposal phase, and did not earn funding, or were not pursued further for reasons we can only speculate on. They served a purpose as attempts to frame knowledge production, or lay out a pathway for work, despite the fact that they ultimately did not materialize.

Allais has argued that one way to view the grant-writing and research proposals was as a "main theoretical activity ... a crucial medium through which Eisenman and his colleagues tentatively worked out theoretical positions that were later posited as

[366] Sylvia Lavin, *Architecture Itself and Other Postmodernization Effects* (Spector Books, 2020): 229; and Sylvia Lavin, "Double Or Nothing: Architecture Not in Evidence," *Perspecta* 49 (2016): 38-52.

authoritative programs in the pages of the architectural press."[367] However, another position from which to view them is a language game, replete with overlaps, edits on top of edits, in which we see a process of institutional wordcraft, a process of managing the materiality of language and text to locate and position an architectural research project relative to a set of demands that were potentially in conflict: public housing policy, standards of living, critiques of suburbia, community participation, and so forth. In articulating their subject through the materiality of wordcraft found in research proposals, these documents are one step removed from policy and white papers.

The low-rise high density research efforts also critically set into motion the opportunity to rethink and further redefine the institutional identity and institutional goals of IAUS at a moment of public demonstration of their expertise. After approximately six years of stop-and-go work which was always under the continual threat of funding shortages, a MoMA exhibition provided a public forum to state a clear if not polemical position on exactly what kind of institution this was and could be in the near future. In a 1973 press release, labeled as an excerpt from the forthcoming catalogue – a portion of text which was later edited and removed altogether – they described their "public role" as "one in which its energies should be directed toward arbitrating between conflicting interests."[368] Towards that end, the text described their primary task as "that of helping to reconcile

[367] Allais, 35. Critical to note here that while the work at IAUS on semiotics and sign-systems did appear in various forms in *Oppositions*, mass housing was a topic that did not often find a place among the journal's pages.

[368] "No. 47F," 1973 MoMA press release, From the forthcoming catalog, Another Chance for Housing: Low-Rise Alternatives. The Museum of Modern Art June 12 - August 19, 1973. Accessed online here: https://www.moma.org/momaorg/shared/pdfs/docs/press_archives/5002/releases/MOMA_1973_0073_47F.pdf

and to formally synthesize the often opposed interests of many different constituencies from the large public agency to the individual client, from the sometimes stereotyped solipsism of a professional attitude to the highly pragmatic concerns of the contractor or developer."[369] While once again not entirely clear on the methods to achieve these goals, later in the press release the text explicitly called for the creation of "new mediatory institutions" which should be capable of being both innovative and conservative at the same:

> Innovative in the sense that a strong and sensitive ingenuity is required to meet the demands of a situation in which the environment is ever subject to the erosive pressure of industrialization; an ingenuity that should be capable of answering such pressure with new models for development. Conservative in the sense that it seems increasingly necessary to acknowledge that past patterns of settlement, such as the contained street, present experiential evidence of a significant human space which needs to be preserved not only as a fact, but also as an idea.[370]

This balancing act between innovation and conservatism indicated a desire on the part of IAUS to serve as a mediation role in order to find and indeed create common ground between otherwise disparate entities.

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Urban Enclaves: Marcus Garvey Park Village, Brownsville, Brooklyn

> *... we were aiming at offering this housing solution to families with an above average number of children, and therefore the final determination was what might be called a 'low rise-lots of children' solution.*[371]
>
> - Ed Logue

[369] Ibid.

[370] Ibid.

[371] Logue, 5.

As the only project of IAUS which was in fact executed, Marcus Garvey Park Village, designed jointly by Kenneth Frampton and Arthur Baker of IAUS, and Tony Pangaro, Ted Liebman, and Michael Kirkland of UDC, might be said to occupy a unique role in this institutional history. Arguably the case can be made that the history around this project is overdetermined by the context of what went on at IAUS, and underdetermined by the history of UDC, and the public-private interchanges around finance and politics. The historiography of Marcus Garvey Park Village has centered on the efficacy of the project as it relates to translation or mistranslation of "defensible space" as it arose from the influence of and direct conversations with Oscar Newman, as well as how the project came into being, and its shortcomings.[372] Less attention has been paid to the relationship between Marcus Garvey (hereafter abbreviated as MGPV) and the extended research effort at IAUS mentioned above, or the manner in which the project intersected with other kinds of work which took place there, like the work on linguistics explored in the earlier portion of the chapter. Other questions arise when one considers the friction that took place when the prototype was applied to a specific site. Given that architecture is always site specific, the terms of the translation proved to be an exercise in simplification and radical reduction. How the project failed, according to the terms set forth by Frampton's "post-mortem," in which he described the manner in which "the cost dramatically increased due to arbitrary bureaucratic intervention" is also a key factor in understanding this translation from prototype to built work.[373] One could also ask about

[372] Marcus Garvey Park Village contains 625 units over 12 acres of land in Brownsville, Brooklyn.

[373] Frampton also discussed the details of the cheapness and particularities of its construction: "One of the big failures between the application and the prototype is that garden walls were not built because the

failure through the terms set by public housing experts and urbanists. Needless to say, the then-contemporary coverage of MGPV was largely lukewarm, most commentators evaluating the project in its context of an exhibition moreso than a real project.[374]

In order to unpack the project, an examination of the site strategy, its fit into the low-rise scale of the context, and the corresponding manipulation of the prototype are crucial concerns. Once again we find an emphasis placed on recreating the “street” space throughout urban fabric, while affording a semi-public area within the interior of the court. This was to amount to a delicate balancing act between individual concerns with privacy and security over social heterogeneity and spaces for public interaction on a neighborhood scale.[375] Urbanist Jane Jacobs had called this an “intricate sidewalk ballet” of healthy neighborhoods and highlighted how the stoop and its informal culture of gathering again was a critical urban quality. Indeed, in the 1970s, a nascent historic preservation movement in New York City placed renewed value on the stoop. Here, however the modernist stoops at MGPV were rotated and turned perpendicular to the sidewalk due to their impingement on the sidewalk, creating a level of deference to the pathway as a line of uninterrupted travel.[376] As an urban enclave, the interior spaces of

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prototype had visaged these walls enclosing each unit with its own backyard, which would have ensured acoustical, visual and other kinds of privacy between the units set side by side. In the event we ended up with chain link fences, out of cheapness, which was another kind of failure.”

[374] “The shift from ideal to real proved bumpy,” wrote Suzanne Stephens in “Compromised Ideal,” *Progressive Architecture* (October 1979): 50-53; “MOMA on Housing: Nothing New,” *Architecture Plus* (August 1973): 15; Joseph Fried, “Low-Rise Development Project Begun in Brownsville by UDC,” *New York Times*, June 12, 1973.

[375] “The prototype diagrams, with their miniature house symbols and literal “eyes” on the street, provide a clear picture of the aspirations for the settlement as a site of privacy and surveillance.”

[376] Carter B. Horsley, “Stoops in Style Again as Neighborliness Revives,” *New York Times*, May 7, 1978.

MGV not only protected children in play spaces, but also enabled a host of other illicit, criminal, and solicitous activities to take place. Other evaluations of the project which followed decades later confirmed that the ideas behind the construction of the community were idealistic at best, and negligent to the possibility of crime at worst.[377]

After MGPV was complete, Frampton would write a post-mortem text that expounded on the architectural problems encountered while working with UDC on the realization of the project which were numerous: an excessive number of stairs, the fixity of living and dining spaces, various noise issues due to the elevated subway cutting through the site, and others. More critically, he lamented that the prototype "will never become the subject of further refinement, feedback and development is absolutely symptomatic of this situation, as is the subsequent disbandment of the government agency that originally commissioned it."[378] The prototype then had failed in his mind, and furthermore, "any subsequent reworking ... would necessarily involve a total reassessment of the design from the point of view of production."[379] A following proposal entitled "A Draft Proposal For an Evaluative Research Program to Be Carried out in Relation to the UDC Marcus Garvey Park Village Low Rise Housing, Brownsville, New York," envisioned the establishment of an action-based framework for obtaining viable feedback after the design and construction of Marcus Garvey Village was completed in

[377] "Making housing home: Marcus Garvey Village, Brownsville, Brooklyn and Urban Horizons, The Bronx," *Places* 19 (2007), 72-79; See also: Columbia University Urban Design Research Group; principal investigator, Richard Plunz; co-investigators, Ronald Clarke ... (et al.) ; project director, Michael Sheridan; NYCHA project manager, Michael Conard, *Defensible space evaluated: Research Topics in Public Housing.* (New York: New York City Housing Authority, 1997).

[378] Kenneth Frampton fonds, Collection Centre Canadien d'Architecture/ Canadian Center for Architecture, Montréal, P197.S1.SS3.020, "A Critical Postmortem on LRHD Housing."

[379] Ibid.

order to properly understand its shortcomings and successes at the level of community building and propriety. Towards that end, Frampton and Wolf described the current situation as one of “blindness” in noting that “it is almost as though we prefer to work blind, so to speak, rather than reveal the non-correspondence between hypothetical and actual performance in the process of design.”[380] In order to counter this tendency in the design and evaluation of public housing, the draft proposal for an evaluation research program outlined several methods to test their conclusions, each of which was to be then checked against presumptions made during the design phase of the project. To this end, Frampton explained:

> One way or another despite the achievements of user need research and the now far from inconsiderable amount of literature which is available on the 'use and abuse' of built form, we have still done little in respect of assessing the way in which predetermined user needs, as integrated into the design, have or have not been met by the environment placed at the occupant's disposal. We have done even less in documenting the way in which such needs are or are not adequately incorporated into the decision making design process, or how this process in itself may more readily respond to such overriding pressures as economic stricture or arbitrary legal determination, both of which may well be in open contradiction with the rational integration of user requirements into a design.[381]

To examine one of these methods, Frampton proposed that time-lapse photography, particularly monitoring the open space in the project, could and should be used to observe and map behavior.[382] Notwithstanding the latent panopticism of this proposed

[380] Kenneth Frampton fonds, Collection Centre Canadien d’Architecture/ Canadian Center for Architecture, Montréal, “A Draft Proposal For an Evaluative Research Program to Be Carried out in Relation to the UIC Marcus Garvey Park Village Low Rise Housing, Brownsville, New York,”

[381] Ibid.

[382] Ibid. A MoMA press release that accompanied the exhibition also explained that evaluation was integral to the project in the following manner: “It is our intention to carry this research and design process a stage further, in which it will be possible to monitor the performance of the prototype as built, not only from the point of view of needs - actual user needs, but also with respect to the inherent capacity of the aggregate form to define spontaneously the natural hierarchy of public, semi-public and private space. It is hoped that the initiation of such feedback research will lead to the evolution of a more critical attitude

observational technique (which is by now commonplace in many privately-open public spaces and public housing projects), these research objectives point to a feedback loop between UDC, its internal housing standards and guidelines, and IAUS' capacity as a research entity which could alter the process of standards from a strictly quantitative approach, based on distances, measurements, and spatial standards, to one which was based in photography and recorded video.

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"Ghetto-ization & The Suburb" — Fox Hills, Staten Island, New York

> *Since a large part of an individual's capacity to function and sustain himself in any situation depends on his spontaneous comprehension of the environment, this design is concerned with forming settlement patterns whose structure, function and meaning are readily understandable and of direct significance to the resident.*[383]
> - Catalogue essay

Fox Hills, Staten Island, designed by Peter Eisenman and Arthur Baker, was the second companion site that IAUS collaborated on with UDC, and has received notably less historical attention, most likely because it did not advance past a schematic phase of design. However, despite this fact the project was more in dialogue with the research proposals examined above. Fox Hills, as a suburban public housing project, offered a mechanism to test out the possibility of "postulating a new configuration and structure for suburban living," based on an interrogation of "settlement patterns whose structure, function and meaning are readily understandable and of direct significance to the

towards public policy and eventually to the cyclical refinement of housing and planning policies to meet more specific needs." Ibid.

[383] *Another Chance for Housing: Low-rise Alternatives*, 29.

resident."[384] What does it mean to design a *suburban* public housing project that was readily understandable? Why did Fox Hills fail to advance past a schematic point of design? How did the project deploy high modernist idioms as an architectural language that were recapitulated, under the rubric of Fredric Jameson's postmodernism, in which we find a return to a modernist idiom which then results in a "high modernist" postmodernism in which modernism is itself the object of the postmodernist pastiche?[385] What would it mean to take seriously the design of a public housing project that existed primarily in an exhibition?[386] Why is it that many of the architects affiliated with UDC would later go on to leave the domain of public housing towards "cultural" projects? These questions also point to intersections and divergences with the history of Marcus Garvey described above, that make clear the ways in which the projects, while thought of as a pair, are in fact two sides of the same coin: both attempted to resuscitate modernist housing typologies in foreign settings to "resemanticize," as Tafuri would say, an architectural idiom or language in a foreign setting where it's critical potential was either denuded or nullified by larger context and societal expectations despite best intentions on the part of the architects and municipal agencies involved.

As a suburban project in rapidly urbanizing Fox Hills, an area of Staten Island in which

[384] Ibid.

[385] Fredric Jameson, *Postmodernism, Or, The Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism*. (United Kingdom, Duke University Press, 1991). Hal Foster described this as a form of cultural politics which involved condemning modernism through its reduction to an abstraction (ie. international style) and then to condemn it as a historical mistake. See also: Hal Foster, "(Post) Modern Polemics," *Perspecta*, Vol. 21 (1984), 144-153.

[386] Gutman described the situation by noting that the "problem was that Eisenman could not talk about architecture in terms that were meaningful to a developer, or a typical American client. So nothing ever happened. That would be something to investigate with regard to the Institute, the conflict of wanting to build and not building." As quoted in Forster, ibid.

public space was increasingly becoming crowded and overburdened, the project impetus offered a chance to transform the abstract research questions — such as how to “facilitate the future provision of an inherently less wasteful form of suburban settlement available to a wider income range than that currently served by the free market” — into a realistic project with a specific client, to address a constituency’s pressing needs, while also navigating existing zoning, building codes, and programmatic specificity. This produced a limit condition to the work behind Fox Hills, in opposition to the open-ended inquiry described in their aspirational research proposals above. While most of the earlier public housing projects pursued by UDC in New York City had been resolutely urban in their siting, composition, and program, these projects were usually functionally and financially similar to projects constructed by city housing authorities. In contrast, the UDC was the nation's only major public developer of affordable housing in the suburbs between 1969 and 1973.[387] This moment in the early 1970s was significantly marked by the gradual erosion of New York City’s municipal tax base as white populations moved to where the jobs were: in suburbia.[388] If suburbia was the site of most new jobs, then housing policies also needed to address other areas beyond the urban densities that had dominated housing discourse in the 1960s. Advocacy planner Paul Davidoff argued that the suburbs were the “New America of the

[387] For a history of UDC’s “entrepreneurial” role as a municipal housing developer that was able to locate a middle ground between the lack of will towards change at the federal level, and local government that was confined to city limits, see: Lawrence Vale and Yonah Freemark, "From Public Housing to Public-Private Housing," *Journal of the American Planning Association* Vol. 78, No. 4 (2012): 379–402 as well as Yonah Freemark,"The Entrepreneurial State: New York's Urban Development Corporation, an Experiment to Take Charge of Affordable Housing Production, 1968-1975" (Masters Thesis, Department of Urban Studies and Planning, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 2013). See also Anthony Downs, *Opening Up the Suburbs: An Urban Strategy for America* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1973).

[388] See “Inequality in Mass Suburbia” in Lizabeth Cohen, *A Consumers’ Republic: The Politics of Mass Consumption in Postwar America* (New York: Vintage Books, 2004).

twentieth century: the growth area of private economy, the locus of the nations' new jobs, housing, and population," as well as provided the most vacant land for development.[389] Given the overwhelming trend toward decentralization of American life, Davidoff argued that planners needed to advocate to "expand the role of suburbs in developing solutions to problems of race and poverty."[390]

Fox Hills aimed to address these issues of suburban decentralization, and was formally organized around a series of "open clusters" which were described in the following manner:

> The open cluster is a concept which is intended to replace, as a primary structuring device, the street and square of the traditional city. It is not merely the shape which imparts meaning and utility to the open cluster, but rather how this shape relates to other modifications and changes in the context as a whole. A series of 'urban squares' or 'clusters' in a suburban situation can only evoke a semblance of urbanity, where clustering is used merely to engender superficial formal associations that have little to do with the essential nature of suburban order. An urban square is essentially contingent upon the existence of a street grid and in the absence of a grid it merely becomes a nostalgic allusion. Equally, the urban street depends for its articulation and inflection upon the square. Lacking the possibility of such reciprocal relationships in a suburban context, the traditional street is no longer able to provide a sense of place.[391]

Arguably, as a replacement of the suburban grid, the cluster or "urban square" organized principally as an urban void was more dictated by the importance of parking, and the automobile, where the primary organizing principle was the relationship of the

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[389] Paul and Linda Davidoff and Neil Newton Gold, "Suburban Action: Advocate Planning for an Open Society," *American Institute of Planning Journal* (January 1970), 13.

[390] Ibid. Davidoff and his associates founded the Suburban Action Institute to work towards these goals, and to tackle exclusionary zoning practices and policies in the suburbs. In 1969, the Suburban Action Institute sued several municipalities challenging the constitutionality of zoning laws that made new construction for families of low and moderate incomes there impossible.

[391] *Another Chance for Housing*, ibid.

dwelling unit to parking. Discussions at IAUS on Fox Hills oscillated wildly between opposing ideological registers - from pin-ups with interns that focused on distinctions of foreground/ background and issues of layering in the facades, to the vestigial remnant of the question of Oscar Newman's "defensible space" thesis and the legacy of arcadia in suburbia.[392] After the exhibition, according to Peter Wolf, "everything fell apart" due to site and political agreements in Staten Island.[393] "[394]

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Part III — The Function of the Museum: *Another Chance for Cardboard Models of Housing*

The exhibition *Another Chance for Housing: Low-Rise Alternatives* opened at MoMA on June 12th and ran until August 19th, in the summer of 1973.[395] This was to be the last exhibition that IAUS collaborated on with MoMA in fact. Significantly, and by now a well -known historical tidbit, the exhibition opened the same day as construction began in Brownsville, signaling an overt link between the "air-conditioned space of MoMA" and the reality of the built environment "out there" as ceremoniously linked. However, exactly

[392] Author conversation with Peggy Deamer (who was an IAUS intern in 1972), April 18, 2021.

[393] Ibid, Forster.

[394] At the same time, Eisenman was continuing to develop his private practice as an architect, and parlayed further publications and lectures on his work into more opportunities to explicate his linguistic theories on architecture. At a conference presentation at UCLA in 1975, he described his current state of ideas: "how to produce an un-iconic structure of relationships which has a capacity to be understood and this understanding will produce a conceptual framework that will allow for a somatic experience in space which does not come directly from an individual's experience of the physical geometry of that space but also in fact modifies that experience? this is where I am at in my work ... Peter Eisenman, UCLA lecture presentation, 1975.

[395] A previous exhibition of UDC work, called "Another Chance for Cities," was staged in 1970 at the Whitney Museum of Art. The exhibition was on view from September 15 to October 4, 1970. Whitney Museum of Art, *Another Chance for Cities*, 1970. Catalogue texts by Peter Wolf, exhibition organized by Robert A.M. Stern and John S. Hagman.

how this connection between opening day and the initiation of construction was conveyed to visitors at MoMA in the exhibition itself was unclear. In making the choice to commemorate the *start* of construction, before any residents had arrived or settled into their new homes, as opposed to commemorating the completion of construction, or the day that residents took ownership of the new housing units, the exhibit at the outset determined that the project should be understood according to the sheer fact of its construction, and eventual completion to be assumed but given less thought. In highlighting the link between construction and exhibition, the project of *verifiability* and falsifiability was arguably most present.[396]

The exhibition, designed by Frampton, was divided into five sections: a section for UDC, which featured eleven previous or in-progress housing projects from the larger New York state area; a history section which outlined housing models from perimeter block, zeilenbau, low-rise examples; a section on the prototype, and two sections each devoted to Marcus Garvey and Fox Hills, the two projects designed by IAUS teams.[397] The two last sections of the exhibit featured typical architectural representations, significantly rendered without any depiction of the future or intended user groups,

[396] The Museum of Modern Art, ed., *Another Chance for Housing, Low-Rise Alternatives*, Exhibition Catalogue (New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 1973); Another chance for housing: low-rise alternatives; Brownsville, Brooklyn, Fox Hills, Staten Island : [Catalogue of] an exhibition at the Museum of Modern Art, June 12-August 19, 1973. Designed by the Institute for Architecture and Urban Studies for the New York State Urban Development Corporation. See also: Suzanne Stephens, 'It's all in the Family', *Architectural Forum* 139 (July – August 1973), 25 - 27; David Morton, "Low-rise, High-density. UDC/IAUS Publicly Assisted Housing," *Progressive Architecture* 54 (December 1973), 56–63; Suzanne Stephens, "Compromised Ideal: Marcus Garvey Park Village, Brooklyn, NY," *Progressive Architecture* 160 (October 1979), 50–53.

[397] The display of previous UDC projects featured a number of photographs and perspective drawings of these eleven projects, by architects including Richard Meier, Max Bond, Paul Rudolph, Werner Seligman, and several others. See: Museum of Modern Art, Master checklist, 1973. Accessed March 15, 2021: https://www.moma.org/documents/moma_master-checklist_326848.pdf.

neighborhood demographics, or nuanced particularities of the future residents: unit plans, perspective drawings, elevations/ sections, site plan, aerial photos, and day care center (for Marcus Garvey only), as well as a free-standing basswood and chipboard models.[398] In these representations, what can be identified is the cropped frame for viewing architectural work: in each case, the overall urban or suburban context was cropped, removed, or substituted for an attention to the building as aestheticized object, able to viewed in the round, thus prioritizing the realm of the visual over the social dimension of the projects. In contrast, a comparison to a July 1966 exhibition, which focused on a depiction of public housing projects illustrated in an essay by Mildred Schmertz titled “Shaping the Community in an Era of Dynamic Social Change," was accompanied by photographs of people in conversation, children running and playing together, and other forms of sociality that communicated the life of the buildings.

The prototypical unit models were displayed on the walls of the gallery at eye level perpendicular to the museum viewer, so that their side elevation-profile was highlighted, a profile of the party wall that would otherwise be subsumed in their aggregation on site. The subtle offsets and shifts in the massing clearly registered from this view, and indicated the different manner in which each unit was a deviation of a typical stacked or repeated section profile. The prototypical site plan model was displayed top-down in

[398] The museum models were constructed by IAUS interns, some of whom were students “on loan” from Cooper Union and Princeton. One of these students was Mark Markiewicz who was brought in from Princeton to work on the final drawings. He described how first-year graduate students were brought in by Tom Schumacher and other professors to contribute to the project at the end of their spring term, in exchange for a fewer set of deliverables in their own studio work, and were in some sense attracted to the project due its forthcoming exhibition at MoMA. This tacit exchange speaks to the level of networking and student labor involved in the production of projects at IAUS, which is something to be explored further. Author conversation with Mark Markiewicz, July 10, 2022.

what could be considered an aerial view, so that the viewer was effectively looking down upon them, and therefore was able to view and understand the overall manner in which the site resulted from an additive process of repetition and subtle, if not contextual, variation of the unit module as it pertained to the specific conditions of neighborhood and zoning codes. Examining these models prompts several questions: what was the nature of an exhibition-quality model of a housing project when its future residents are white-washed out of the picture? How did the chipboard model participate in staging the un-real? How does the construction of chipboard models–made primarily by interns and other individuals who were not actors–take center stage in the exhibition to showcase display architecture, as opposed to “real” architecture? What about the erasure of the human subject from the perspective renderings drawn by Craig Hodgetts, despite the discussion of keywords such as “community” and “neighborhood” in their research proposals? This was not simply “fashionable in architectural representations at the time,” as claimed by Kim Forster, but was part of a sustained effort to create an architectural illusion about the autonomy of the housing type now disconnected from ideological registers.

More specifically, it is clear that the presentation models were constructed to standards that were nominally understood as “museum-quality,” which arguably served to focused the viewer’s attention on the massing, layering, and other compositional and formal aspects of the design of the projects while less attention was paid to materiality, details, tectonics, and other concerns of the designs. Looking at how these models are displayed, their pedestals, their wall attachments, the lighting in the space as well

overall arrangement in the space, and their framing mechanisms (relative to site and other contextual information) reveals an attention toward how chipboard models can both stand in for the real while simultaneously pointing toward a space of abstraction that removes a connection to the real.[399] This is to say these models participated in the construction of a certain version of reality through their very abstraction - erasing any sign of the tectonic in order to foreground the exhibition value of the model as object for aesthetic contemplation in the reified space of the museum. Arguably the mode of abstraction that these models privilege recalled the implication of a universal subject to which became its own propaganda, not simply the erasure of values.

In thinking about how the museum affected the viewer's understanding of this exhibition and the project of resemanticization, it is useful to recall Daniel Buren's essay "Function of the Museum," which offered another mode to pose questions about the institutional framework between an exhibition, its contents, display mechanisms, and the divergent or overlapping ambitions of building for both IAUS and UDC. According to Buren's analysis of the "triple role" that the museum plays, it confers "aesthetic, economic, and mystical" value onto what it exhibits, producing in effect cultural and financial value. The museum, according to Buren's analysis, "makes its 'mark,' imposes its 'frame' (physical and moral) on everything that is exhibited in it, in a deep indelible way ... *everything the*

[399] This was also an important component of Eisenman's own practice and theories around "cardboard architecture." The longer history of this notion recalls an epithet applied to Le Corbusier's work from the 1920s which characterized his buildings with smooth white surfaces and flush detailing as cardboard models inflated to full scale. In a similar manner, Sibyl Moholy Nagy, writing in her essay "Anonymous Architecture as Counter-Image," wrote "these cardboard models, which retain their cutout two-dimensionality even when they have been built." See: Sibyl Moholy Nagy, *Progressive Architecture,* April 1966, 234.

Museum shows is only considered and produced in view of being set in it."[400] The museum then can be understood as a "refuge, isolating work and placing it into an illusionistic and illusory removal from actual political and economic conditions."[401] How did the exhibition present the financial component of these projects? *"The impossibility of controlling economic aspects, such as credit and cost materials, effectively neutralized its results. So, while the production of housing progressed significantly in intellectual and architectural terms, its actual limits were set out by the underlying ideology."*

Conclusions — Autonomy after the Fiscal Crisis of 1975

Several changes in the municipal and financial situation in New York City contributed to what has been called the "de-municipalization" of the public sector.[402] In 1973, the Lindsay administration, in sync with the change of direction at Logue's UDC, also abdicated its allegiance to high-rise construction. At the time the UDC ceased the production of housing in 1975, Liebman had assigned seven young firms to further develop the low-rise, high-density housing model on sites across New York State. But without government funding, the focused study never came to fruition. The fiscal crisis of 1975 as it came to be called, was the sum product of many factors, including an accumulated debt from the earlier decade, shrinking tax base, growing demands for municipal services, onset of a recession, oil crisis of 1973, stock market crash of

[400] Daniel Buren, "Function of the Museum." This short text was first published by the Museum of Modern Art, Oxford, England for Buren's show, March 31–April 15, 1973. (italics in the original).

[401] Ibid.

[402] Marie-Christine Gangneux, "Behind the Looking Glass," *L'Architecture d'Aujourd'Hui*, Paris, n. 186, p. XXXVII-XXXVIII; 15-19, 1976.

1973-74, that each exacerbated the situation. Nixon's decision to end the 221(d)(3) program signaled what Stanford Anderson called the "beginning of the end of HUD as a productive government institution." After Nixon, housing fell off the table as something that was state sponsored.[403] The sum total of these changes affected the shifting definition of architectural autonomy, no now longer understood as the self-conscious motivation or an architect's choice made at the drawing board or even something that was fought for on an intellectual basis, but instead was a consequence of the withdrawal of the state, creating a cascade of other effects and language games in arenas far afield from the site of public housing itself.

[403] Ibid.

4

Figures

SECTION 1

DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE
PUBLIC HEALTH SERVICE

RESEARCH OBJECTIVES

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PROJECT NUMBER

NAME AND ADDRESS OF APPLICANT ORGANIZATION

NAME, SOCIAL SECURITY NUMBER, OFFICIAL TITLE, AND DEPARTMENT OF ALL PROFESSIONAL PERSONNEL ENGAGED ON PROJECT, BEGINNING WITH PRINCIPAL INVESTIGATOR

TITLE OF PROJECT

USE THIS SPACE TO ABSTRACT YOUR PROPOSED RESEARCH. OUTLINE OBJECTIVES AND METHODS. UNDERSCORE THE KEY WORDS (NOT TO EXCEED 10) IN YOUR ABSTRACT.

Traditionally, the built environment and its various components - the buildings, streets, parks, etc. - are understood to be the product of a design process resolving social requirements established by human behavior. The part the built environment plays in determining this human behavior has remained unexamined. Our research is based on the view that the shapes in the built environment act as systems of signs that transmit meaning to the individual, whether this information is consciously or sub-consciously received. Our objectives are to analyze (1) the nature or underlying structure of these shapes, (2) how this structure produces information, and (3) how this information affects behavior. We do this in order to be able to produce more precise shapes from a more systematic process of design which more effectively produces information which ultimately will permit a greater understanding of our built environment and thus become a more humane container for human action. Such work will close the gap between the study of man and his environment and the study of the environment itself. We therefore, in a sense, parallel but also go beyond the functionalist or behaviorist approach in resolving the problem of appropriate environment for human needs. We will determine how shapes acquire meaning in the process of their design and in their interpretation, and how they consequently act as signs to convey information in other than functional, aesthetic, and traditional iconographic terms. We will construct four parallel theoretical models for use in a more rational and systematic process of generation (Design) and interpretation (Analysis) of different aspects of the physical environments. Each model will develop a two-level structure allowing for understanding of the built environments which will then permit a new approach to the design of more humane environments.

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Figure 4.01 - IAUS, Grant Application and Abstract, “Program for Generative Design,” courtesy of Institute for Architecture and Urban Studies fonds, Collection Centre Canadien d’Architecture/ Canadian Center for Architecture, Montréal.

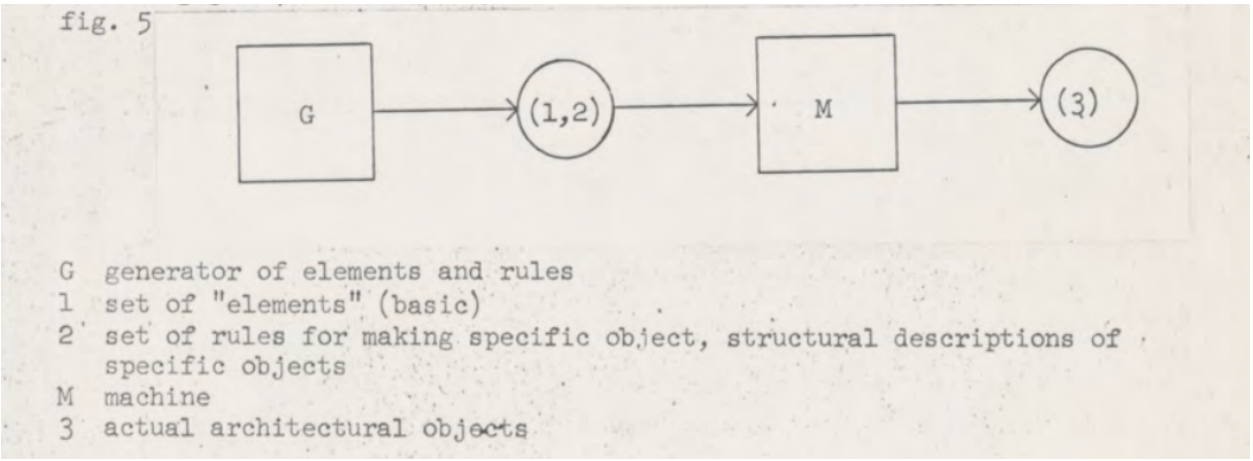


Figure 4.02 - IAUS, Grant Application and Abstract, “Program for Generative Design,” courtesy of Institute for Architecture and Urban Studies fonds, Collection Centre Canadien d’Architecture/ Canadian Center for Architecture, Montréal.

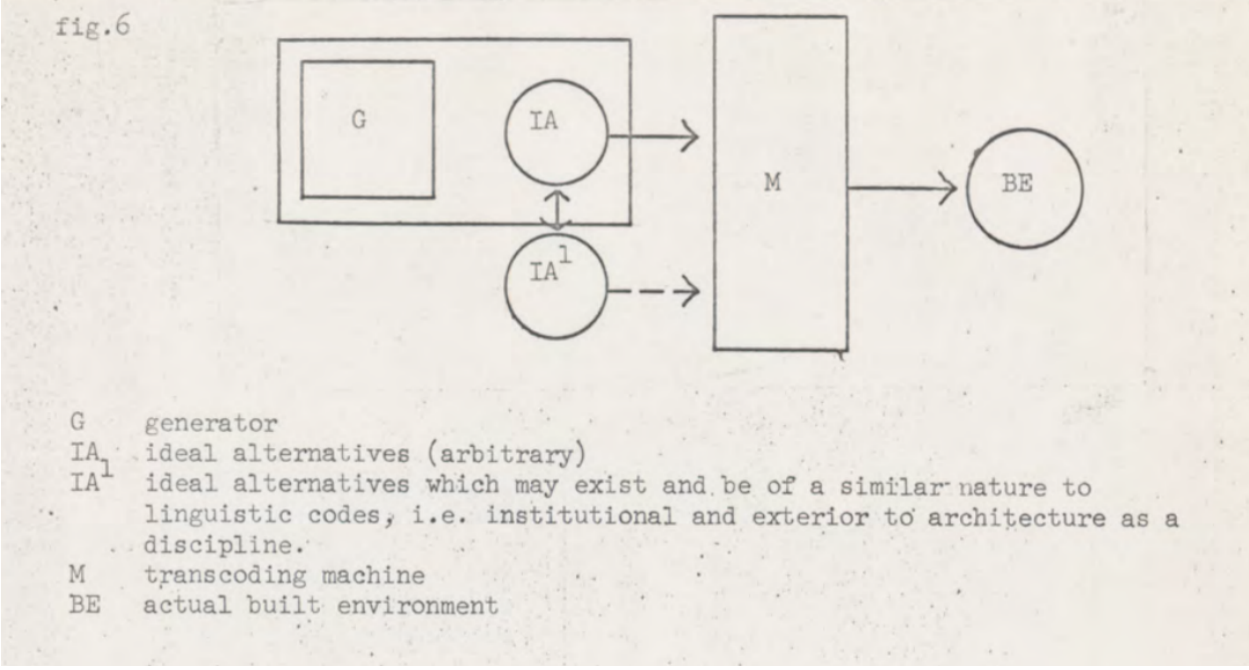


Figure 4.03 - IAUS, Grant Application and Abstract, “Program for Generative Design,” courtesy of Institute for Architecture and Urban Studies fonds, Collection Centre Canadien d’Architecture/ Canadian Center for Architecture, Montréal.

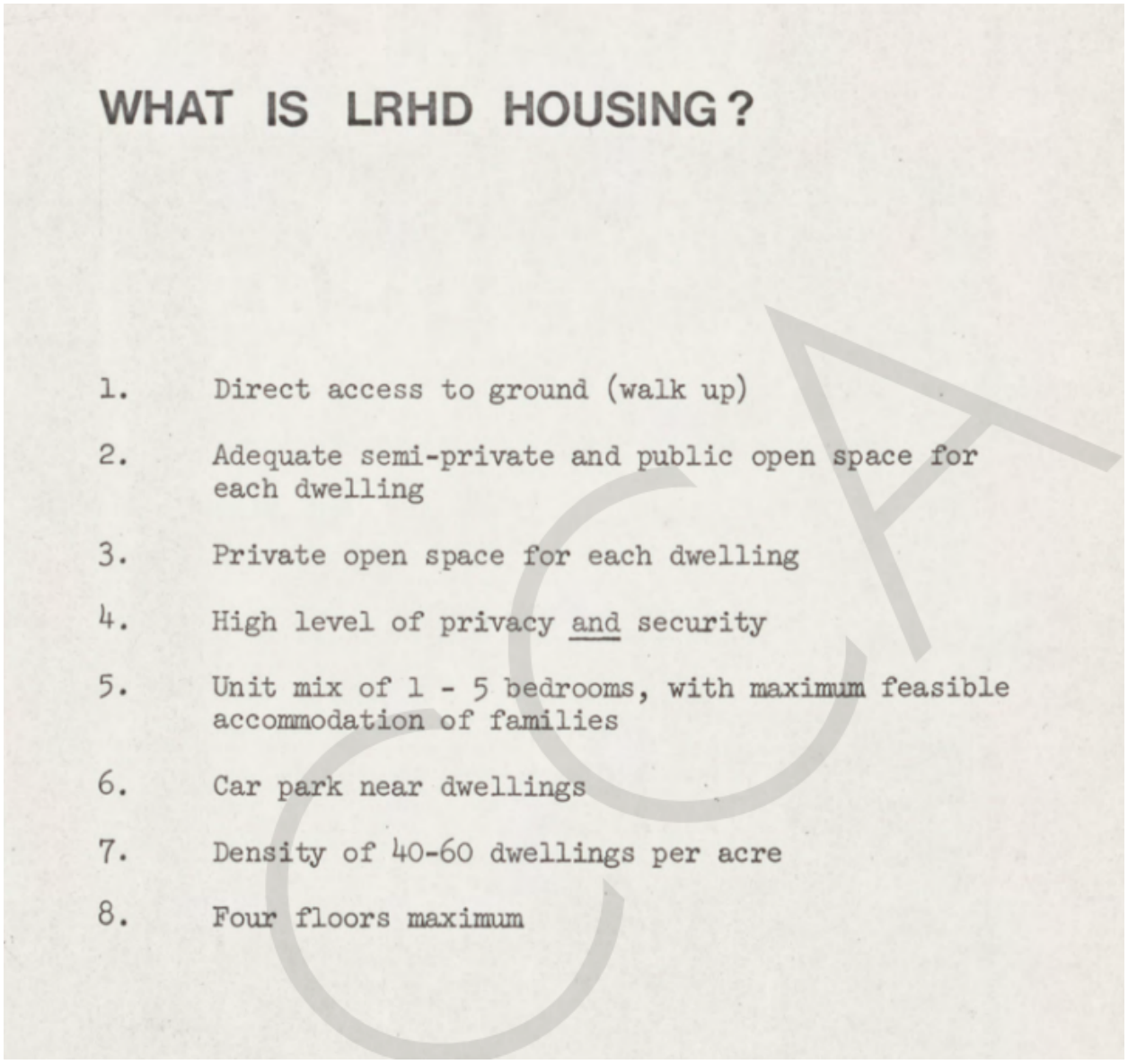


Figure 4.04 - Research report excerpt, “What is LRHD Housing?” courtesy of Institute for Architecture and Urban Studies fonds, Collection Centre Canadien d’Architecture/ Canadian Center for Architecture, Montréal.

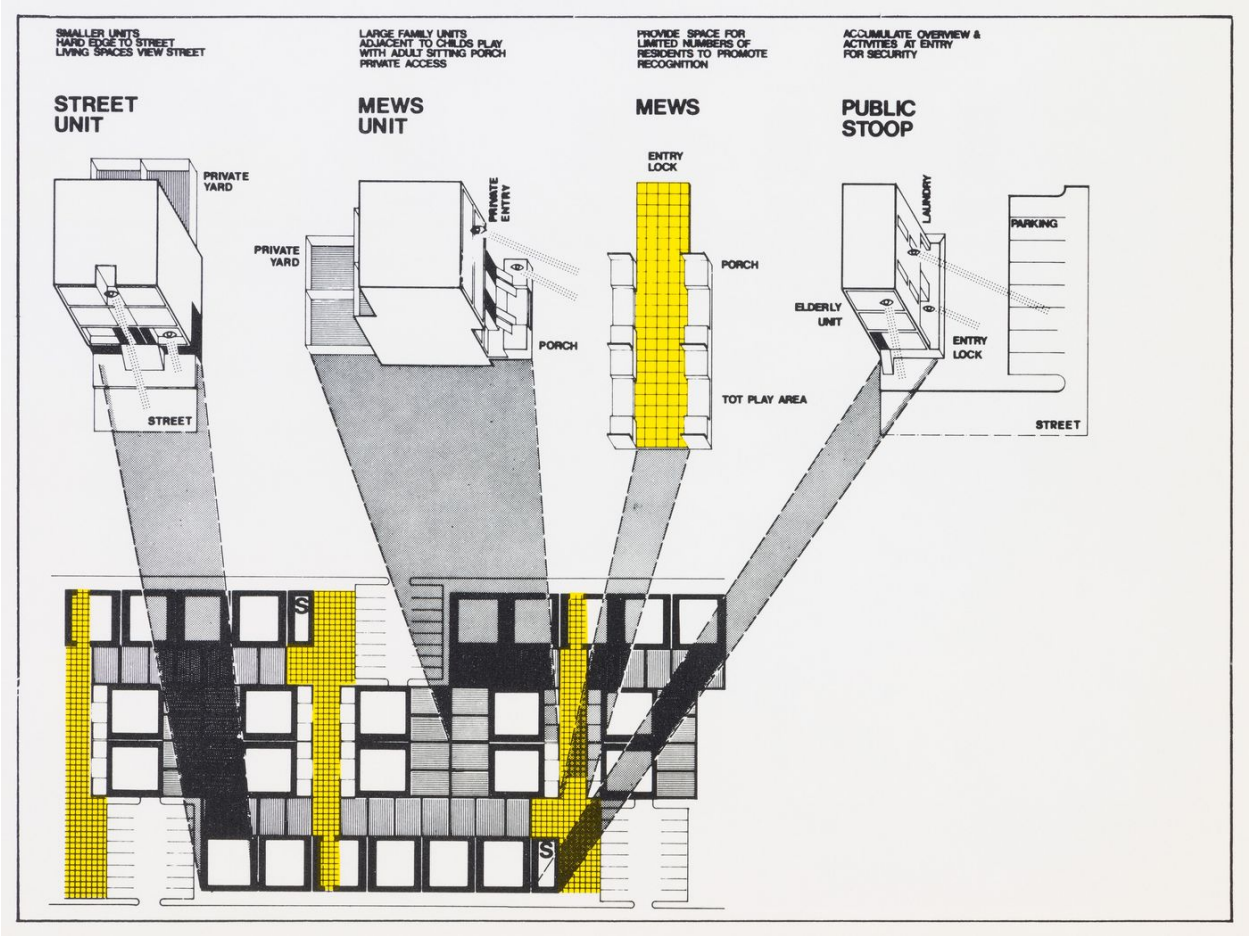


Figure 4.05 - Marcus Garvey Park Village, diagram of view and surveillance, *Another Chance for Housing: low-rise Alternatives*.

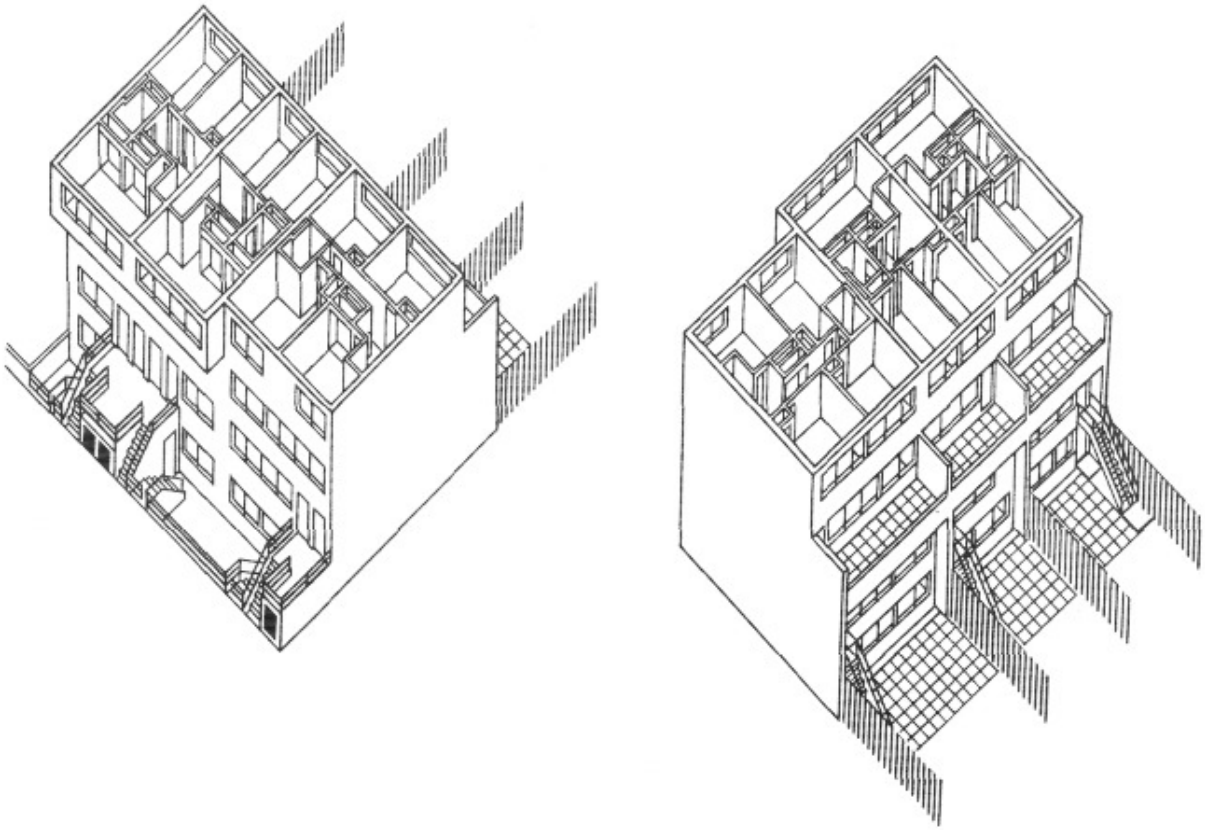
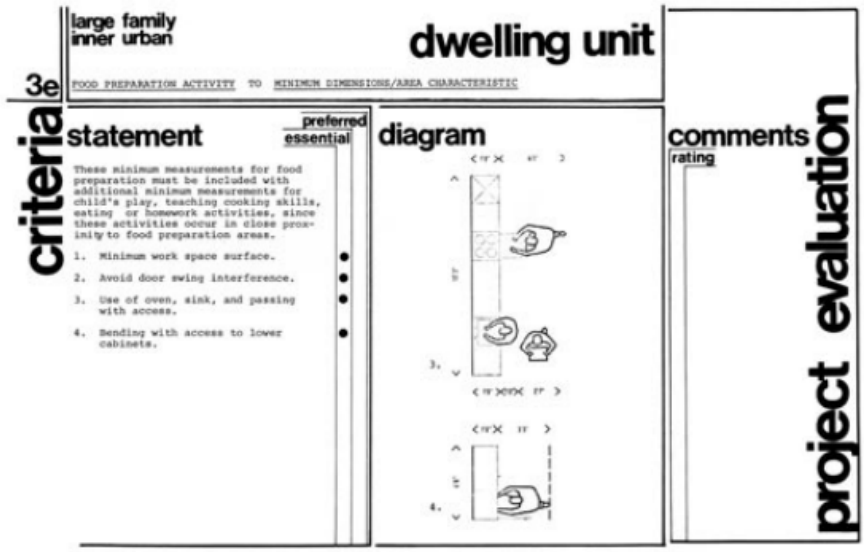


Figure 4.06 - Marcus Garvey Park Village, axonometric drawing of prototypical unit, *Another Chance for Housing: low-rise Alternatives*.



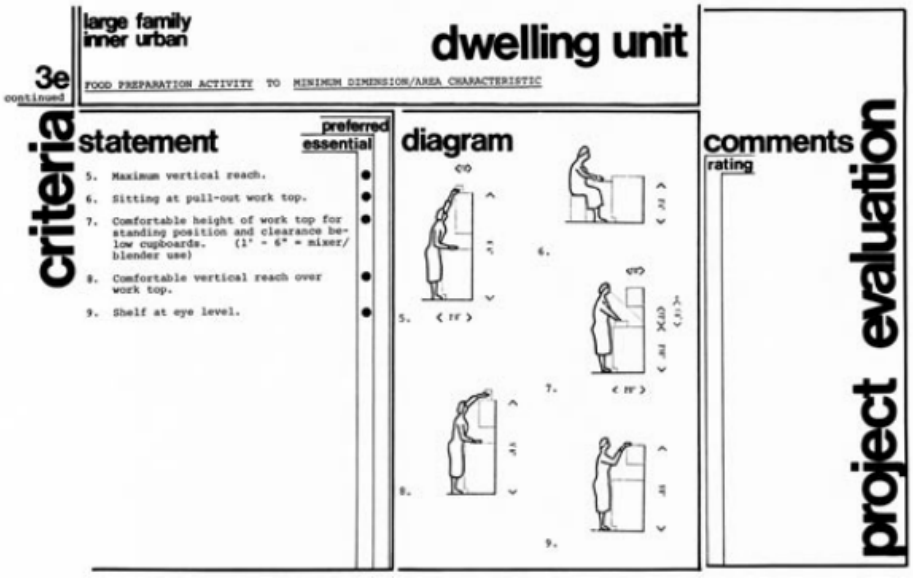


Figure 4.07 - UDC project evaluation criteria, UDC standards manual.

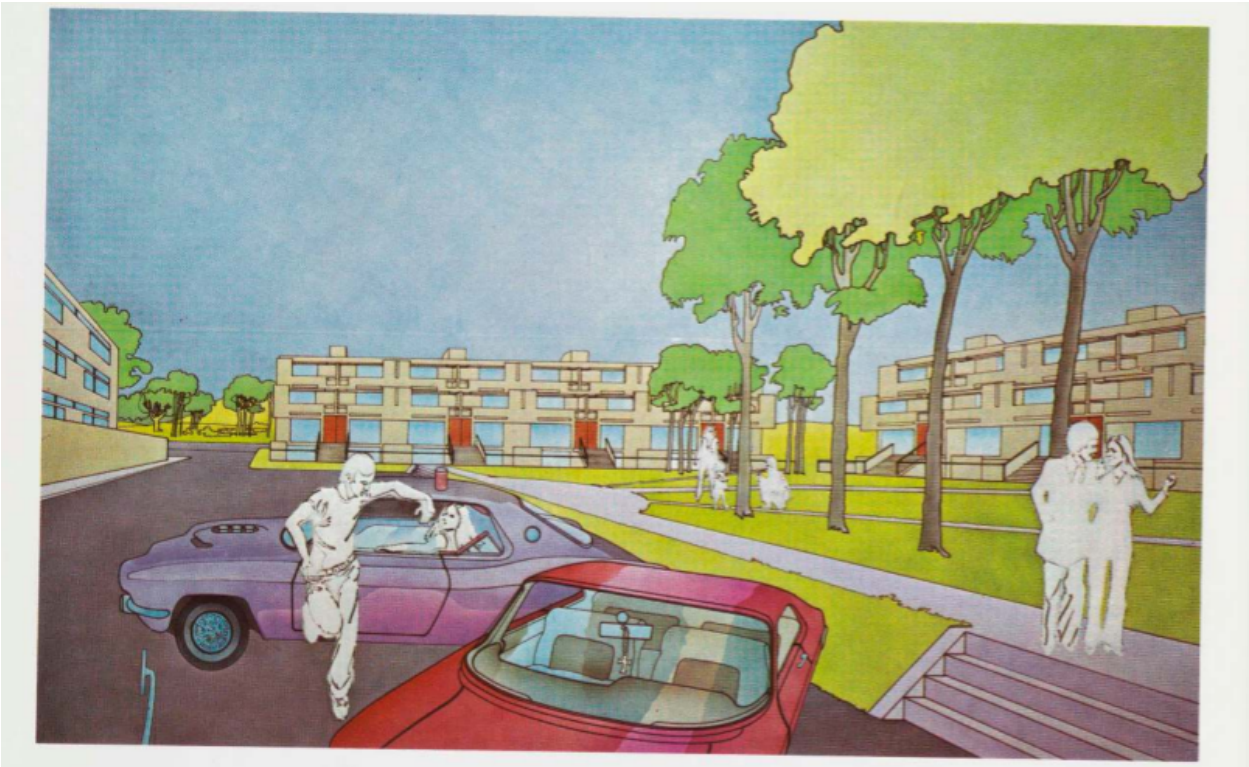


Figure 4.08 - Fox Hills Staten Island, perspective rendering by Craig Hodgetts, *Another Chance for Housing: low-rise Alternatives*.

Figure 4.09 - Marcus Garvey Park Village, perspective rendering by Craig Hodgetts, *Another Chance for Housing: low-rise Alternatives*.

5

Conclusion

(Late modernism) also fostered an "institutional theory" of art — namely, that art is what institutional authority (e.g., the museum) says it is. This theory pushed art into a paradoxical position: for if it was true that much art could be seen as art only within the museum, it was also true that much art (often the same) was critical of the museum — specifically, of the way the museum defined art in terms of an autonomous history and contained it within a museological space. But this impasse was only apparent; and art continued to be made both against the institutional theory and in its name.

- Hal Foster, *Recodings*[404]

With the student revolt, education has returned to the city and to the streets and has, thus, found a field of rich and diversified experience which is much more formative than that offered by the old school system. Perhaps we are headed toward an era in which education and total experience will again coincide, in which the school as an established and codified institution no longer has any reason for existence.

- Giancarlo De Carlo, “Why/How to Build School Buildings”

After six years, IAUS pivoted away from the research efforts described above, and instigated a range of educational opportunities including an undergraduate architecture program for third-year students from a consortium of liberal arts colleges called a work/study program, an undergraduate program in planning and adaptive reuse, an internship program for recent college graduates, an advanced design workshop in “Architecture and Urban Form” for professional and graduate students, and a part-time high school program, and a lecture series for other subsets of the architectural public in New York.[405] The array of these programs demonstrate that pedagogical and public programs at IAUS were not monolithic nor were they consistent, but they did produce a

[404] Hal Foster, *Recodings: Art, Spectacle, Cultural Politics*. (Seattle: Bay Press, 1985).

[405] The schools included were Sarah Lawrence, Amherst, Wesleyan, Oberlin, and Smith Colleges. For contemporary coverage see: Paul Goldberger, Paul. “Midtown Architecture Institute Flowering as a Students' Mecca.” *The New York Times*, October 30, 1975.

level of financial stability in the later half of the decade through tuition dollars that bolstered the institute's standing during the Nixon presidency and beyond.[406] At the same time, these programs would afford IAUS a visible position as a veritable crossroads and way-station for visitors, students, and the lay public, giving renewed credence to the idea of New York City as a reanimated center of the architecture world. This diversification of pedagogy and cultural programs, including lectures and seminars, was more than an embrace of pluralism–which it certainly was, along the lines of providing choice in the "free market"–it also was a reproduction of existing models of architectural enculturation found at nearby institutions, particularly Cooper Union, based in a modality of design studio with its attendant components of reviews, juries, and other conventional modes of display, scaled down to a smaller size and varied according to the level of the intended audience or student-consumer.

This shift at IAUS toward pedagogy took place against the background of professional debate as to how architecture could survive within a changing economic and cultural milieu, largely due to the decline of great social welfare programs. At the same time, many academic institutions in and around New York witnessed the gradual fading of the radical energy of the 1960s or the absorption of these energies into the consumer market as forms of branding and commerce. At other institutions around IAUS, student dissatisfaction which had been foregrounded around 1968 due to conflicts with local communities or frustrations with out-of-date teaching had by that point reached a level

[406] The notion that institutions were up for redefinition was a common refrain at the time. Emilio Ambasz described it as a commonplace - "the fact that "many institutions are looking today for a redefinition of their roles" - See: Sound Recordings of Museum-Related Events, no. 72.2, The Museum of Modern Art Archives, New York.

of complacency, as many of the original student protesters graduated and curricular changes were short lived. At Columbia University, students focused on contradictions between the profession and the university as well as how the pedagogy walked a fine line between positioning oneself in service of the welfare of society versus survival within the American economic system.[407] Other changes impacted architectural pedagogy in this decade too, in particular the growth of the women's movement and the rapid growth of Marxist scholarship, which underscored the economic and ideological relationships in the built environment.[408]

More importantly, the educational offerings at IAUS hinged on a renewed notion of architectural humanism, defined by Eisenman in his essay “The Teaching of Architecture as a Humanist Discipline” as the “necessary relationship between individual to his/her society, a relationship that is embodied, in a microcosm, in the single building within the context of the city.”[409] Humanism, then, instigated what Eisenman identified as a “process of reconciliation of the cultural pluralism and a technological revolution with a former belief in the capacity of a building to “represent cultural and social facts and values; their forms and styles could be readily understood as directly expressive of

[407] Marta Gutman, “Anatomy of an Insurrection,” in: *The Making of an Architect, 1881-1981: Columbia University in the City of New York*, Richard Oliver, ed. (New York: Rizzoli, 1981), 183-210.

[408] Tony Schuman, “Form and Counterform: Architecture in a Non-Heroic Age,” *Journal of Architectural Education*, (Autumn 1981), Vol. 35, No. 1, With People in Mind: The Architect-Teacher at Work (Autumn, 1981), pp. 2-4.

[409] Institute for Architecture and Urban Studies fonds, Collection Centre Canadien d’Architecture/ Canadian Center for Architecture, Montréal, “The Teaching of Architecture as a Humanist Discipline,” 1974. Note that page 5 of this 9 page document is missing. Eisenman also mentions the rapid increase of the number of undergraduate students who wish to study architecture.

these values."[410] It was exactly this notion of "humanism" that had been under attack as systems theory, cybernetics, and technologists of various ilks attempted to shift architectural discourse to more relevant terrains, each of which was concerned with the selection, storage, transmission and processing of information in a rapidly changing postindustrial society.[411] In much the same way that Tafuri had articulated how American architecture symbolized "the American longing for something other than itself, in terms of reference for a society continually terrified by the processes it has itself set in motion and indeed considers irreversible," humanism came to stand for a missing core value that was displaced, and now longed for.[412] In his essay and other pedagogical writings at this moment, Eisenman claimed that architecture "shelters, mirrors, explains, and embodies the significance of the entire spectrum of activities of a culture." This argument devised a definition of architecture that retreated to a modernist belief in the transparency of intentions and meaningful forms that he had previously found suspect and no longer viable, both in his work and writing, and in criticism of the influence of Team X. Nonetheless, this pedagogical project put forward by IAUS in the middle of the decade went a considerable way toward carving out an institutional space between professional schools and existing liberal arts colleges, each of which was unable for

[410] Manfredo Tafuri, Architecture and Utopia: Design and Capitalist Development, (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1979), 36. Ibid.

[411] Dutta, ibid.

[412] The ways in which humanism impacted the teaching at IAUS as well as its connection to other pedagogical models, such as that developed by Colin Rowe, merits further investigation. The humanism of education as proposed at this time was in direct contrast to the critique of humanism developed in Eisenman's own design work, which had been ongoing as well as his theoretical writing on posthumanism, which was critical of the experiential and phenomenological reading of an architectural project. The connection to humanist learning as a project of 'bilding' or the shaping of the attentive self also merits further investigation. See: Zeynip Çelik Alexander, *Kinaesthetic Knowing: Aesthetics, Epistemology, Modern Design*. (United Kingdom, University of Chicago Press, 2017); Kenneth Clark, "Humanism and Architecture." *Architectural Review* 107 (February 1951): 65-69.

reasons of cost and structural inflexibilty to offer a humanist architectural educational experience that could meaningful address the space beyond professional and vocational training.

While the history explored here in the dissertation is not a complete institutional picture of IAUS (assuming such a history was indeed possible or desirable), what is revealed instead are the circuitous pathways that constitute the conflicting and expansive directions, affiliations, and networks that unfolded at 8 west 40th street over a fifteen year timespan.[413] As evidenced by the three chapters, many of these pathways intersected around the effects that institutionality had in determining that architectural production was both expanding beyond modes of both commercial practice and academic research, but also self-determined according to what the "institution said it was," to reappropriate Foster's claim about art in the postmodern period.[414] While Foster's reading of how museological space and institutional authority attempted to frame art practices that were both legible within and against that same framing, here at IAUS we find a slightly different valence of the impact of institutional authority as a legitimizing frame. This is to say that architecture complicates the directness of his claim, as there is not one direct parallel to the space of the museum that foregrounds architecture as a referential frame for meaning and interpretation. Instead, the range of activities, tools, teaching, personnel, and research at IAUS came into focus through

[413] One component of this that I plan to continue working on is how the question of institutional graphics and the work of Massimo Vignelli, which was donated as a personal gift to Eisenman, was influential in creating a corporate identity through such things as letterheads, logos, and other materials. This is in part a question of how a transfer of graphic idioms from one knowledge domain to another impacted the institutionality of IAUS.

[414] Foster, ibid.

competing modes of mediation and multiple settings, each subtly shifting into and out of alignment according to the vagaries of the moment. Instead, IAUS' critique of architecture's professional status as a for-profit commercial venture located its efficacy elsewhere (and this included the museological space of MoMA, which was another like-minded institution, as well as its own ad hoc gallery space which featured thirty-two total exhibitions in all). Through paperwork, games, language, documents and other little tools of knowledge, IAUS was able to capitalize on a moment in which institutional authority, institutional reinvention, and institutional ambiguity aligned for a brief period in order to reinscribe and delimit a disciplinary platform for architecture between cultural, pedagogical, and technocratic realms.

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