MODULUS 21

Politics and Architecture

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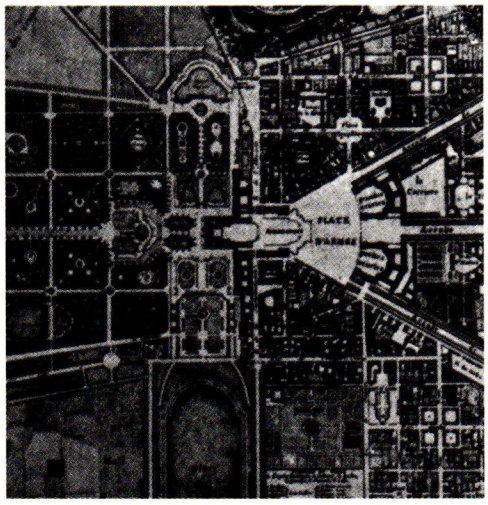
PLACE
D'ARMES

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Introduction

Adrienne Lakadat

Politics and architecture are inextricably linked. A general reluctance to address the political impact of our work makes this statement seem polemical. Architecture, however, depends on patronage, and its evocative potential has in all times been commandeered by those in power. Because it serves as a lasting symbol of the hopes and dreams of the society which constructs it, architecture finds itself allied with politics.

Avoiding this reality, we become stylists and artisans. For behind the word professional lies an assumption of general involvement in our society as politic.

Revolutionary ideas have spawned architectural symbols of their projected societies. Nazi Germany and revolutionary Russia each produced symbols of their future world, meant to show both their power and their intent. These architectural visions of a brave new world give us insight into the ideas and values behind them.

But what are our values and what future are we building? Our built environment reflects our assumptions and aspirations as a society. Our goals, then must necessarily encompass those things most important to us, beauty, justice, society. As professionals, we find ourselves in the thick of a political question. Architects are not given free reign in deciding what or how to build and yet their actions, in aggregate, have tremendous effect.

Here, then, are collected ideas and prescriptions from a wide range of professionals, on just how architects can think about their work and how they might take steps to act as politicized citizens.


ДА ЗДРАВСТВУЕТ
III-й ИНТЕРНАЦИОНАЛ

From Reality to Myth

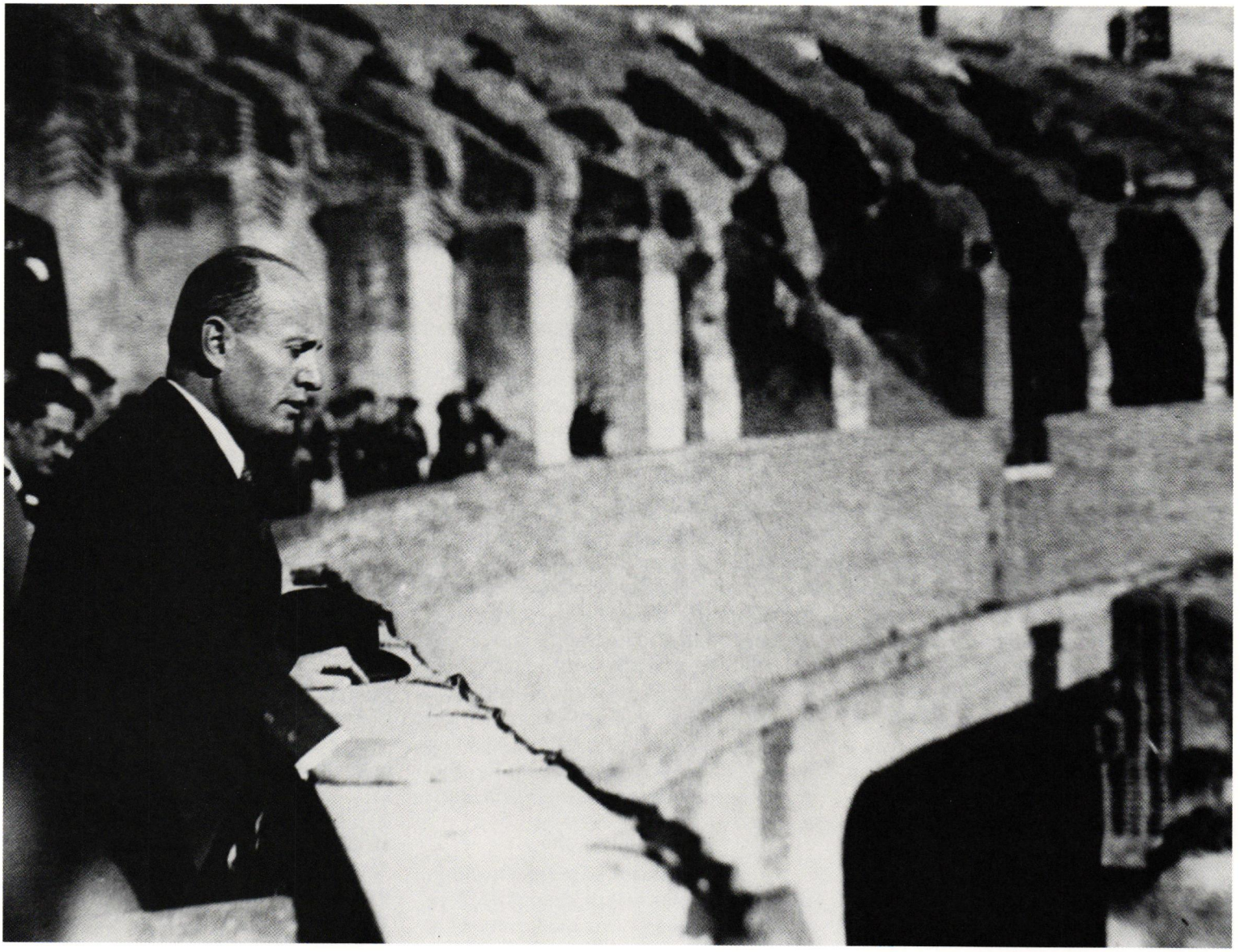
Italian Fascist Architecture in Rome

Diane Ghirardo

In 1860, as part of a grand tour of the centers of European culture, Henry Adams visited Rome. And "Rome before 1870," Adams later wrote, "was seductive beyond resistance...the lights and shadows were still medieval, and medieval Rome was still alive...No sand-blast of science had yet skinned off the epidermis of history, thought and feeling. The pictures were uncleaned, the churches unrestored, the ruins unexcavated."[1] For Adams, Rome and its ruins vividly testified to what he had begun to recognize as the anarchy of events; Rome's monuments and ruins flatly contradicted the nineteenth century gospel of progress as much as they gave the lie to the religious doctrines promulgated there for the preceding millennium.[2]

When Adams visited Rome, it still functioned much as it had since the Middle Ages, with merchants and artisans living and working in the small urban core in the ancient Campo Marzio and across the Tiber in Trastevere. Peasants sold fresh fruit, vegetables and meats from the Agro Romano, the rolling hills and fields that encircled the city. Traversed by unpaved country roads, the ochre and Pompeiian red villas and gardens of the Roman nobility — the Ludovisi, the Medici, the Borghese — still covered much of the area within the Aurelian walls. Fifteen hundred years of plunder had shorn Rome of much of its antique splendor, and what remained lay neglected beneath centuries of rubble. Only the monuments of Christian Rome still in use for religious ceremonies received any maintenance, their travertine facades towering in splendid isolation over the tiled roofs and dusky stuccos of the Roman urban fabric.

Adams's visit preceded Gar-



Frontispiece: Mussolini speaking to Blackshirts in the Colosseum

ibaldi's assault on the city in 1870 and its subsequent elevation to the capital of the new Italian nation. The peaceful evenings Adams spent on the steps of the Aracoeli soon collapsed in the dirt and noise of demolition and construction which transformed the city more profoundly in one hundred years than had the preceding millennium.

By 1991, most buildings in the heart of medieval and Renaissance Rome had been gutted and transformed into offices for banks and insurance companies or apartments. A dense tissue of buildings crowded most of the area within the walls. Renaissance palazzi, which traditionally housed ecclesiastical bureaucracies and Roman Catholic prelates, had given way to ministries, public offices, and halls of records for new civil bureaucracies. The ruins of Roman antiquity had re-emerged into the light after being zealously unearthed by archaeologists indifferent to the layered history and even the needs of those who lived atop them.[3] Several kilometers of gently rolling farmlands in the Roman countryside had disappeared forever beneath asphalt and concrete in a 120-year orgy of speculation and profiteering.

Of those twelve decades, the Fascist state controlled only two, and yet the prevailing impression in most histories is that Mussolini oversaw uniquely negative architectural and urban transformations unusually responsible for the degradation of the twentieth century city. I want to contest that view. The political dimension of the building activities throughout the last 120 years has been distorted by the equally political agenda of post-World War II historiography, as I will show in an outline of the Fascist building program for Metropolitan Rome and a comparison with pre-and post-Fascist programs.[4] Specifically, the attempt to isolate the two decades of Fascist rule as an aberration in Italian political life succeeds not in expunging Fascism, but in fact in enabling its legacy to function in post-war Italy because the underlying forces remain unexamined.

One of the most persistent enterprises of post-War historiography has been to establish degrees of modernity with northern European modernism as the yardstick; the farther south you travel, the fewer the examples of acceptably modern, or Rationalist-inspired architecture.[5] The currents of northern European rationalism influenced Roman architects less directly than they did northern Italian architects, and therefore a modernist canon ineffectively measures the capital's architecture.

By virtue of its historical legacy as well as new national role, Rome after 1870 boasted a representational and symbolic significance not enjoyed by other Italian cities. Not surprisingly, architects and patrons took their cues from local and ancient traditions as they sought an appropriate style for the new state, so the currents of Art Nouveau and the Viennese Secession that reached Rome in the early twentieth century failed to make a lasting impact on the major public building projects. A resolute neoclassicism held firm sway until the Fascists came to power in 1922, when ancient Roman models blended with a toned-down *barocchetto* (little baroque style) and other sources. Rationalist architects from northern Italy disdained reliance on such sources and styles as evidence of Roman backwardness.[6] For subsequent historians, virtu-

ally anything that failed to correspond closely to northern European modernism evidenced conservatism and the infiltration of wrong-headed aesthetic politics into the design process.[7] Such interpretations implicitly dismiss as irrelevant a large body of work, cast little light on the politics of architecture under Fascism, and also fundamentally distort the architectural politics of preceding and subsequent eras.

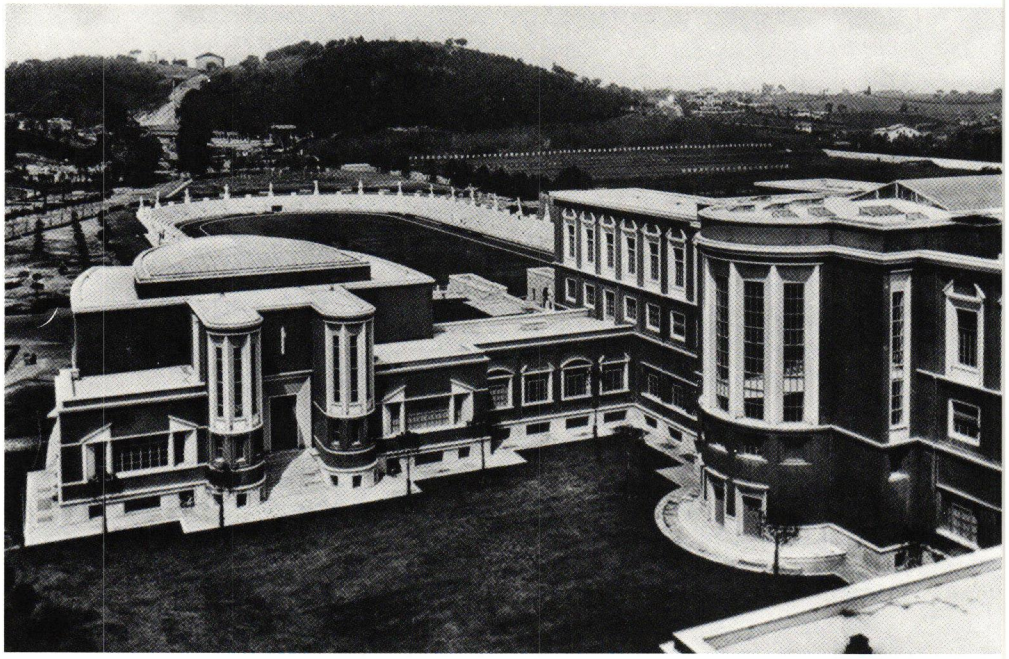
Throughout the peninsula, the appropriate representation of Fascism remained the primary concern in designs for public buildings, although architects fractured into multiple splinter groups over the question of which style best symbolized Fascism's modernity. The debate turned on the question of how to define "modern."[8] Definitions proliferated, transformed over time in response to changing conditions, and differed depending on location, materials and even the nature of the project. Justifications for particular versions of modernism also underwent modifications as participants jockeyed for commissions and status. Both building designs and polemics, in other words, coalesced and realigned into different positions for most architects throughout the Fascist period, so it is impossible to freeze one moment among the many as representative of a Fascist style. In the ever shifting world of Italian modernism, designers drew inspiration from multiple sources—including northern European architecture—in search of an Italian modernism appropriately expressive of Fascism. They disputed others' solutions even as they modified their own positions. In short, no analysis which limits modernism to precursors of or variations on the theme of a canonical northern European modernism can capture the rich variety of architectural design produced in Italy between 1922 and 1943.

Not surprisingly, the most difficult transformation for post-War historians to swallow turned out to be the version of modernism inspired in part by the work of Albert Speer for Hitler in Nazi Germany.[9] Discredited though this association is today, in the mid-1930s, Germany seemed to be in the political vanguard, and since much of the architectural game played out on behalf of rival styles involved attaining a vanguard position, the monumental and classicizing aspects of official German design—also not uncommon in America—could easily be seen as complementing Italian traditions. But architects believed that the architecture produced for E'42 in Rome (Esposizione Universale di Roma, or EUR) and other public projects, typically defined by historians as having been influenced by German monumentality, drew instead primarily on what their designers viewed as Italian traditions. In the Rationalists' early struggles for legitimacy and commissions, they insisted that modern architecture—including Le Corbusier's modernism—found its roots not in northern Europe but directly in Italy's own Mediterranean architecture. By the same logic, Italian traditions inspired Hitler's architects. Such simplistic historical pedigrees collapse into historical liquefaction today, but they held sway in all of the celebrated style wars of the 1930s, Nazi Germany being only the last of many architectures brought in to attest to the superior quality of Italian design throughout the ages.[10] In this interpretation, Hitler's Germany drew on the same sources, which only affirmed the power of the original—and Italian—model. The story of the politics of architectural design in Italy is infinitely complex; let us turn to the building of Rome under Fascism for a more detailed analysis.

The twenty-one years of Fascist rule saw major building programs in everything from highways to public buildings. Fascist authorities continued the slow moving, fifty-year-old practice of enhancing the city's image by outfitting Rome with appropriately functional and symbolic public buildings and new roads to serve them. From the outset, the city's needs and financial resources conflicted with those of the state, and limited finances hamstrung many ambitious plans.[11] Rome contained an abundance of monumental structures, but they inconveniently testified to ecclesiastical rather than secular prestige, and the transfer of government to the city mandated massive infrastructural work and many more office buildings. High priority went to representational buildings such as ministries for education, justice, finance, defense, and the navy.[12] An early decision to restrict Rome to an administrative, political, cultural and intellectual center, and specifically curtailing industrial development, magnified the significance of such buildings.[13] As the nation's representative and symbolic center, conservative government officials argued, Rome should be spared the ugliness, dirt and potentially radical working classes that accompanied industrial development.

Each ministry building intruded massively into the area inside the Aurelian walls, but perhaps the crowning and indisputably most massive disruption into the urban fabric was the monument commemorating the Savoy king Vittorio Emanuele II. A Franciscan monastery and a small medieval and Renaissance quarter

at the base of the Capitoline hill disappeared in order to accommodate this vast pile of white Brescian limestone looming over the city. Inaugurated in 1911, the cold, white, ornament-encrusted monument could hardly have been more alien to Rome's warm travertine, russet, orange and yellow hues. Nothing produced under Mussolini even approached the intrusiveness of this structure, and yet it has largely escaped the harsh invective historians have heaped on far more modest Fascist enterprises. Disparaged and dismissed, its significance as a symbol of Italian unity under the Savoy kings has been ignored, but it has not been the subject of angry books and articles by post-War historians.



Ill. 1 Foro Mussolini and Stadio dei Marmi in 1931, Enrico Del Debbio, architect.

By the time Mussolini ascended to power in late 1922, the ministry building program had been completed, freeing the Partito Nazionale Fascista (PNF) and the city administration of Rome to develop programs of their own. The centerpiece of the program for the capital was the construction of three forums on the city's periphery: a sports and physical education forum at the foot of Monte Mario to the north, the Foro Mussolini (1928-1936, now Foro Italico); a higher education forum to the west near the ancient Castro Pretorio, the Citta Universitaria (1934); and a new governmental and cultural center to the south along the road leading to the sea, the Esposizione Universale di Roma (1937-1943).[14] The first two originally figured in programs proposed by earlier administrations, but Mussolini's government finally pushed them through, designed and built them. While the ministries had been inserted within the Aurelian Walls, Mussolini's program sensibly drew development away from the historic center. At the same time, the construction of new arteries and enlargement of others encouraged exactly the opposite response.

Even the selection of the name forum for the Foro Mussolini signaled the affiliation of this modern building enterprise with those of antiquity, when Roman emperors marked their imperial rule in the old forum by adding temples and basilicas to the city's patrimony. In another parallel, the new sports complex was to be linked first to piazza Venezia, where Mussolini kept his offices, and then to EUR by a projected but never completed road, via Imperiale, much as the papacy had linked the papal residence at the Quirinale with the Vatican by what became the Corso V. Emanuele.

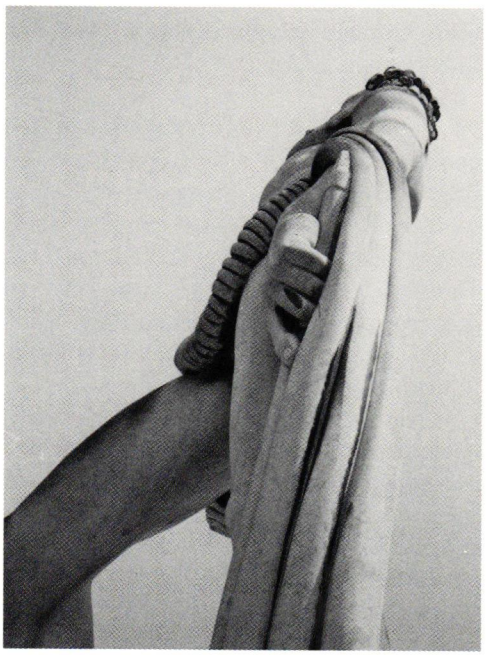
Enrico Del Debbio revised his original project several times (1928-1935), and after 1936, Luigi Moretti took over the planning. Two administrative and education buildings flanked a broad central axis extending from a monumental obelisk dedicated to Mussolini to a circular piazzale giving off to the Stadio dei Marmi and Stadio dei Cipressi.[15] Del Debbio's two buildings differed markedly in footprint but bore identical dusky red stucco walls, string courses, chamfered windows framed by broken tympana and grand marble niches for statues—in other words, a modified version of the *barocchetto romano*, or little Roman baroque style. The partially sunken Stadio dei Marmi, with rows of travertine seating topped by statues of sixty male athletes representing Italian provinces, served as the main facility for parades and spectacles, while the Stadio dei Cipressi by Luigi Moretti and Angelo Frisa accommodated larger sporting events.

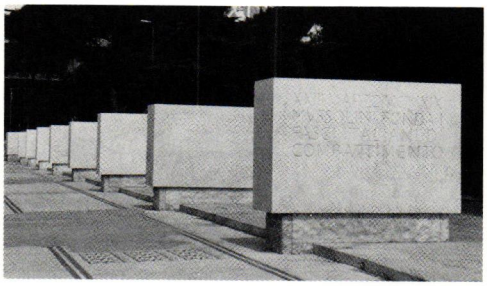
The Foro complex was organized as a dynamic stereometric sequence of

positive and negative spaces, opening and framing lateral vistas through the strategic development of building mass and vegetation. Several additional facilities, including youth hostels, tennis courts, outdoor pool and indoor courts, rounded out the complex and served as the basis for post-War additions and modifications. Throughout the 1930s the Foro hosted sporting events and training for fascist youth organizations, as well as parades for Mussolini and other dignitaries and state visitors. Following the invasion and annexation of Ethiopia in 1935, Futurist Gino Severini and other artists carpeted the approach from the Duca d'Aosta bridge with mosaics depicting the *fascio* (the chief symbol of the PNF), the letter M for Mussolini, athletic events and, most remarkably, plans of two areas in Rome—the ancient complex surrounding the Theater of Marcellus and the Foro Mussolini itself.[16] As the spectator entered, in other words, a schematic plan of the entire complex fabricated in black and white *tessere* served both to orient and to telescope the distance between this complex and the precinct of the ancient Roman theaters—between one hallowed arena of public spectacle and another.

The decorative mosaics point to the Foro's symbolic program and its specific connections to Roman antiquity, and Moretti was uniquely qualified to oversee this, having spent several years studying and practicing archaeology in Rome. By the mid-thirties, Mussolini had begun to stress the bond between his own regime and that of Caesar Augustus in antiquity. Among the Augustan monuments under study on behalf of the major celebration planned in honor of Augustus for 1937 were the Mausoleum Augusti and the obelisk of the Solarium Augusti. The former was undergoing restoration and renovation from 1934 onward, precisely when this section of the Foro was being planned. In the scheme devised by Luigi Moretti, Mussolini inscribed his *res gestae* on the marble monoliths deployed laterally along the monumental axis, much like those of Augustus inscribed on bronze pillars at the entrance to his Mausoleum. The obelisk at the Foro entrance (with Mussolini's name carved in the stone) and the spherical fountain by Mario Paniconi and Giulio Pediconi at the opposite end completed the appeals to Augustan traditions. Mussolini's decision to place the Fascist party headquarters adjacent to the foro complex heightened its importance and drew yet another parallel with Augustus, who placed his Mausoleum, the Ara Pacis and the Solarium near the via Flaminia at what were then the northernmost boundaries of Rome.[17]

Moretti's Accademia di Scherma dates from about the same time as the futurist mosaics for the monumental mosaic walkway, both of which coincided with the dramatic heightening of the cult of the Duce. In the years following 1932, Mussolini shed his statesmanlike civilian gear and donned military uniforms; in 1935 he invaded Ethiopia. By this time, image had assumed ever greater importance: with his positions as leader of the country and as European statesman consolidated, it remained only to remind Italians and other Europeans of his personal stature and of the stature and modernity of Fascism. No wonder that precisely in those years, at the height of Rationalist fervor, the state swung so much of its support to this revolutionary architectural movement. But Fascist patronage was always catholic, never exclusive, and a modern building satisfactorily conveyed both excellence and modernity, much as Terragni's Casa del Fascio in Como (1936) did, in languages rooted as much in Ital-



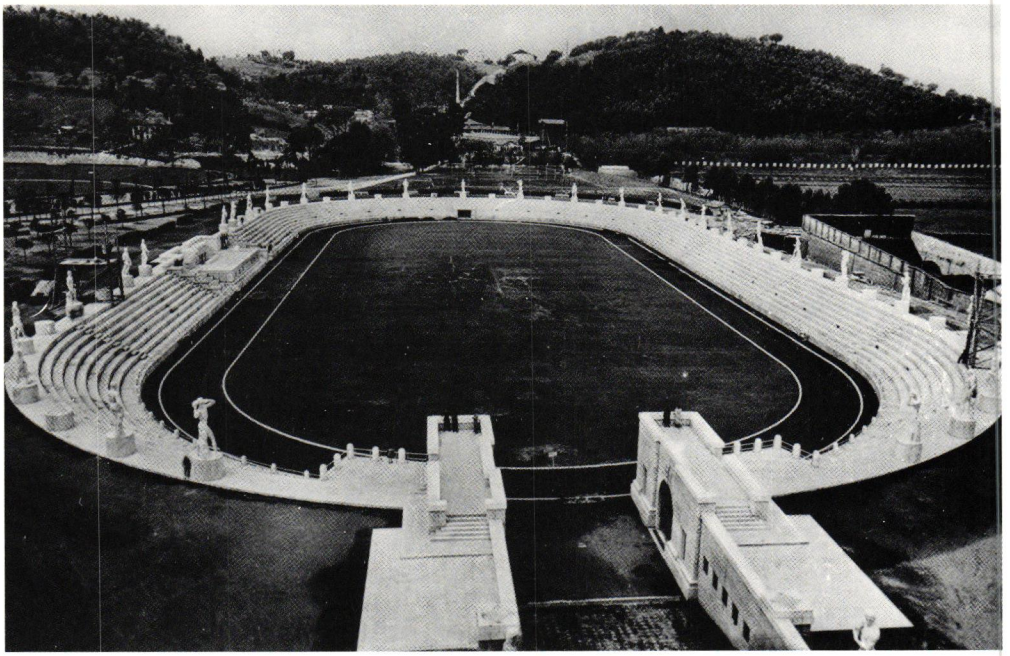


Ill. 2 Foro Mussolini, statue in the Stadio dei Marmi

Ill. 3 Foro Mussolini. Marble blocks with inscriptions celebrating Fascism's great moments. Note the repetition of "Duce" ("leader") in the mosaic, and the recent additions to the Stadio dei Cipressi beyond. This piazzale was built under the supervision of Luigi Moretti.

ian tradition as in any contemporary modernist one.

Moretti's chief contribution, the Accademia di Scherma, fused the essential and traditional aspects of the warrior —vigorous body and mind, action and reflection—in his design for a fencing academy and library. Here a reference to ancient Roman multi-purpose baths is apparent, but Moretti shied away from labored reformulations, choosing instead to develop a typology appropriate to modern exigencies.[18] Flat roofs were possible, as were louvered windows, so Moretti's massing exploited those possibilities. Typically Roman imperial baths had clerestory lighting and vaulted ceilings, so Moretti also separated and overlapped the shallow vaulted ceiling to allow for diffused illumination at the clerestory level. Perpendicular wings connected by a covered passageway rotated out from a circular tower, and crisp bands of glazing in the simple rectangular blocks of the two story pavilions open out to the Foro, while austere marble revetment faces the city. Sumptuous interiors and lavish use of marble provided the perfect setting for young men to get into shape. With the student hotel (also by Moretti), the Accademia di Scherma (1936) opened up a second, more austere entrance to the south of the tennis courts. Historians enthusiastically endorse this as a supremely modern building but tend to dismiss as a youthful exercise Moretti's less adventurously modern GIL (Gioventu Italiano del Littorio) in Travestere, a design equally influenced by the Roman modernism of Del Debbio and Pietro Aschieri. In fact, the Accademia di Scherma, with its luxurious fittings and gleaming marbles, bears only casual resemblance to northern Modernist designs. In his pre-war work Moretti sought a balance between a modernist and classical sensibility, always with considerable imagination and originality but certainly with some diffidence about northern European models.



Ill. 4 Foro Mussolini, Stadio dei Marmi. Enrico Del Debbio, architect.

The Foro itself provided a much needed setting for sporting events and physical education, linchpins of Fascist social policy as much as of social policies in America and Germany at the same time. The Fascists opened the Foro only to members of the Party or its youth groups, so the spaces here were not truly public. Political allegiance has not often been a litmus test for use of public space in capitalist countries: class, race or ethnic differences have instead typically barred all but selected constituencies from "public" spaces. But since party membership was potentially open to all, the Foro's many facilities and unpretentious appearance were used to entice non-members to join the PNF or one of its youth organizations. Although burdened by celebratory invocations to Mussolini, this complex on the fringe of the city nonetheless pales beside the rhetorical fluorishes of the monument to Vittorio Emmanuelle, the Vittoriano, in the heart of the historic center.

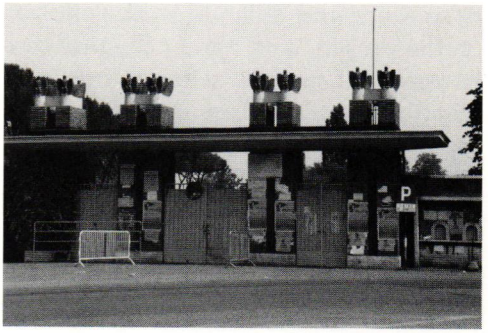
It is worth pausing for a moment to put this into perspective. From the time of the Caesars, a virtually unbroken string of secular and religious rulers made it their business to leave their mark on Rome's urban fabric. Whether in the form of roads, monumental buildings from the Quirinale to the Campidoglio, or the installation of such monuments as fountains or obelisks, few resisted the temptation to intervene. The Savoy monarchy equalled its illustrious predecessors, not only with the addition of ministries and

the Vittoriano, but also with family palaces, roads and other interventions. The monarchy accomplished its most symbolically charged gesture with the decision to inter Savoy kings in the Pantheon, where several important Renaissance artists and architects were buried (including Raphael, Baldessare Peruzzi, Taddeo Zuccari) but the entombment of the Piedmontese monarchs, beginning with Umberto I in 1890, in the best preserved, most magnificent extant Roman structure, places them squarely in the heart of imperial Rome. Mussolini's additions, even with their celebratory efflorescences (not unlike the many papal coats of arms and inscriptions on the city's buildings), simply fell into that age-old tradition. The Fascist programs also significantly added to the city's patrimony of usable public facilities and spaces rather than to the supply of vast family palaces or empty monuments. Moreover, the Foro, modest in scale and graceful in its massing, is alive and vital yet today.

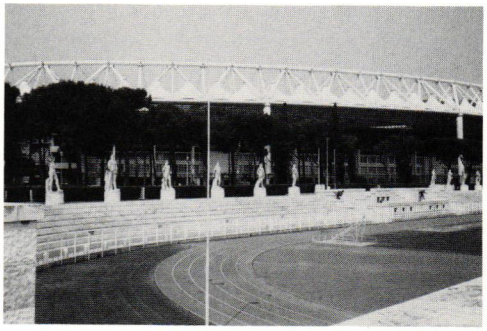
In addition to the Foro, another less ostentatious sports facility was erected near the mineral springs at Acqua Acetosa for soccer, rugby, hockey, tennis, track and swimming. The pre-War government had produced nothing remotely comparable to these sports centers (its pressing demands were such that leisure facilities ranked low on the list), and even more striking, post-War governments have an almost equally dismal record of failing to augment the city's public athletic facilities with new ones. Instead, post-War governments expanded existing facilities in frenzied and hasty last minute efforts to accommodate the 1960 Olympics, endowing the Foro with a new stadium, an enlarged Stadio dei Cipressi, and two covered sports facilities. At the same time, they drove a road (the Olimpico) through Villa Doria Pamphili; its eastern segment was concluded in 1990—thirty years later —as part of another, even hastier enlargment of the Stadio dei Cipressi, this time on behalf of the 1990 World Soccer Cup. This design dealt a final, devastating blow to the graceful stereometry and harmony of the old Foro (including the careless destruction of many of the mosaics). In both cases, the projects were aimed more for the television-enhanced consumption of the eager eyes of the world than for the pragmatic use of the Roman public for regular sports events.

With the participation of several architects before the war, Foro Mussolini reflected changes in aesthetics over a twelve-year period from 1928 to 1940. The Citta Universitaria, on the other hand, consisted of a comprehensive scheme by Marcello Piacentini which incorporated buildings designed and completed between 1932 and 1935 by a heterogeneous group of architects.[19] Although the University's site had been set aside in 1907, Piacentini was responsible for lining up the central axis and administration building with Santa Maria Maggiore and beyond to Piazza Venezia — in other words, to the heart of the Fascist government. The axis terminated at the *Rettorato* (administration building), bisected the site and gave off to cross axes flanked by buildings for the various schools. The plan incorporated ample and broad streets, lush landscaping, and buildings tailored to the specific needs of different schools. Only when the University shed its elitist pretensions after 1968 did the physical plant prove inadequate for the enormously enlarged student body. Piacentini shrewdly selected a diverse group of largely young and modernist designers

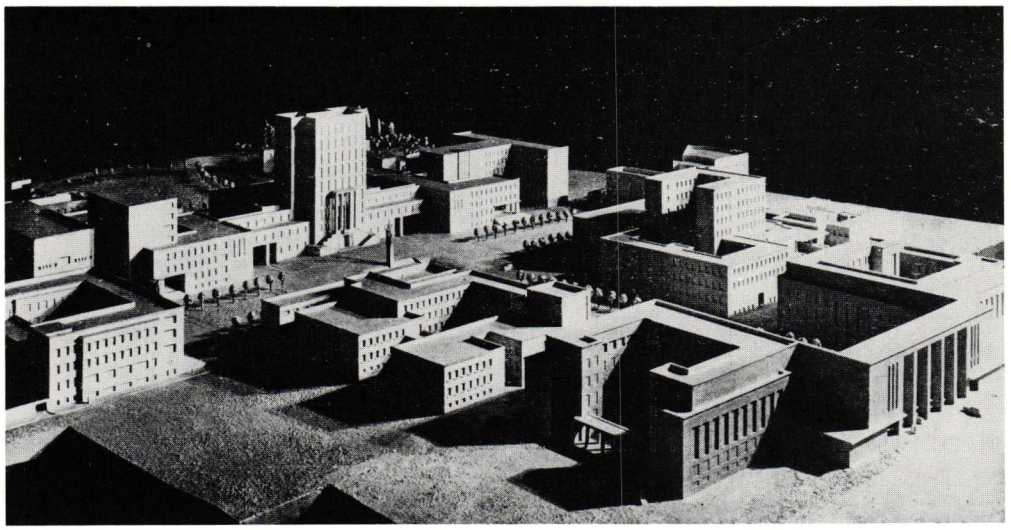
Ill. 5 Foro Mussolini, monumental axis leading toward the two stadiums. The inscriptions read, "Molti nemici molto onore" *("Many enemies, much honor"). Among the artists who worked on the mosaic walkway was Futurist Gino Severini, who also executed mosaics at EUR.*



Ill. 6 Acqua Acetosa, entrance to track



Ill. 7 Foro Mussolini, Stadio dei Marmi with newly enlarged Olympic Stadium



Ill. 8 Citta Universitaria, model

from Rome and Milan to work with him on the project, with a view to creating a harmonious campus without enforcing bland uniformity. Since all were eager to build for the Fascist state, he certainly did not co-opt them; they were willing participants in what they anticipated would be a truly national university. Piacentini's decision to engage these architects was a bold one: the University would long be a highly visible testament to the Regime. To his credit, given the significance of the project, he chose several architects whose talents had yet to be confirmed: Giuseppe Pagano, Gio Ponti, Pietro Aschieri, Gaetano Minnucci, Giuseppe Capponi and Giovanni Michelucci. The buildings share materials (travertine, brick and stucco) and relatively low-rise profiles, but individual architects experimented with courtyards, portals, porticoes and massing and, in the case of Capponi's Botany School, extensive glazing, or broad curved surfaces as in Ponti's Mathematics School.

Despite considerable variety, none of the buildings came close to a Corbusian or Miesian expression, which accounts for the disdain with which scholars regarded them for several decades after the war. Only the architects believed to have been inspired by Rationalism—Ponti, Capponi and Pagano—earned praise, but without much detailed discussion of their designs. Yet all of the buildings owed their architectural form to particular visions of modernity as well as an austere Roman classicism. Modernity here was not conceived as imported from northern Europe or elsewhere, but rather an aesthetic discovered and nurtured on home territory. From this perspective, tradition opened more possibilities than it closed, and indeed, all of the aesthetic factions operating in Italy during the 1930s steadfastly asserted that Italian traditions inspired their designs. *Which* traditions and *how* they were interpreted lay at the center of the disputes. The debates were too passionately argued to have been merely cases of strategic positioning or shrewd manipulation.[20] Why, after all, should Roman architects have yielded to a modernism borrowed from the north? As they saw it, with Fascist Italy advancing as a new world power, no better source of legitimation could be found outside Rome. Fascists understood their new, dynamic political system in similar fashion — linked to continental politics, but fundamentally based on Italian exigencies and founded in Italian traditions.[21]

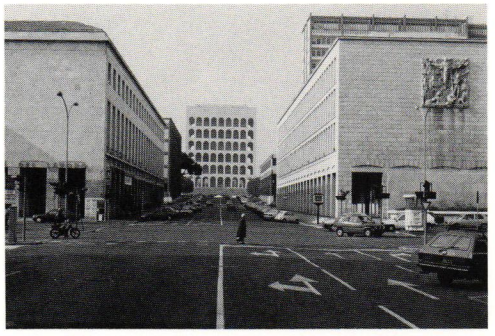
In 1937 Piacentini assembled a team of designers for the third forum, E'42 or EUR. Although soon riddled by dissension (Pagano eventually resigned because of aesthetic disagreements), once again Piacentini elected to bring together a diverse team of designers, thereby insuring variety rather than insisting on the uniformity of a single style. As at the University, Piacentini set out the basic plan guided both by the interests of the exposition and by the desire to create a permanent new center for museums, public buildings and private office buildings. EUR was not to be dismantled at the exposition's conclusion. Instead, it was to remain as a new civic center along the road to the sea, the via del Mare, with the ceremonial terminus to be framed by an enormous semicircular, steel and aluminum arch designed by Adalberto Libera. The via del Mare bisected the site, with cross axes originally scheduled to terminate at major representative buildings. The war interrupted much of the construction (and the exhibit itself was never held), but several major buildings had been completed before Mussolini fell in 1943.

From the outset, EUR was governed by a private corporation independent of the rest of the city, and it also stood outside the limits of the 1931 Master Plan. This situation led to cozy relationships between Ente EUR and developers and

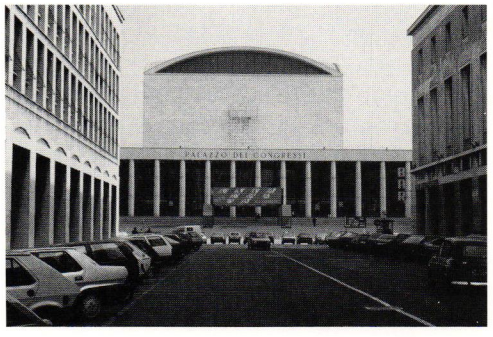
frustration on the part of city administrators at their lack of control. The same corporation established under Mussolini and headed by Virgilio Testa continued uninterrupted long after the war until Testa's death.

Not surprisingly for a complex destined to host an international exhibition, the final master plan emphasized scenographic views and perspectives, within the framework of celebrating Italy, Italian history and traditions, fascism and Mussolini. Although heavily criticized then and later, much of EUR's appeal today derives from the plan drawn up by Piacentini and Gaetano Minnucci, which envisioned generous green space and parks, an artificial lake, wide roads, and extensive residential construction in addition to the public buildings. The original version, with 35-story steel and glass skyscrapers, though approved by Mussolini, could not be built under the limitations imposed by autarky.[22] A series of hemicycles, cross streets and piazzas frame the via Cristoforo Colombo, opening and closing lateral vistas in rhythmic sequences much like those of Del Debbio at the Foro. The first major transverse axis, viale della Civilta Italiana (now Civilta del Lavoro), terminates at the Palazzo della Civilta Italiana, popularly known to Romans as the "Colosseo Quadrato" (squared colosseum) at one end, and at the other with Adalberto Libera's Palazzo dei Congressi. This axis is one of only two completed as originally planned; the other extends from the Church of Sts. Peter and Paul to the Central State Archives. Most of the post-War additions severely disrupted this simple but effective urban scheme. In architectural tradition, axiality expresses authority and power, and EUR's planning proves no exception to the rule. The earliest version of the plan produced with the participation of Pagano also relied on axiality as a central informing motif.

Competition rules for the buildings called upon architects to draw from traditional Roman architectural sources in their designs, and the juries—which also included modernist aficionados—duly selected designs not primarily inspired by the Modern Movement. In some cases, the sponsor saw to selecting, commissioning and supervising the architects; FIAT retained such control over the Museo di Roma.[23] Much of the criticism leveled at EUR focuses upon the colonnades, the monumentality, the extensive use of travertine, and the resistance to Modern Movement planning schemes. But again, this assumes the Modern Movement to be the ultimate standard for design and planning, and ignores the impact of autarky. Despite the scale, the urban design, with its controlled vistas and focus on major monuments, is impressive yet conceptually clear — and this was an urban center designed to be comprehensible for foreign visitors who would travel both in automobiles and on foot, and indeed, specifically to accommodate automobiles. A number of the buildings and ensembles are extremely successful formally and urbanistically, including Libera's Palazzo dei Congressi, the Palazzo della Civilta del Lavoro, Minnacci's Ente EUR building, and the Museo di Roma, funded by FIAT.[24] Unfortunately, Giovanni Michelucci's outdoor amphitheater, although nearly completed, was torn down after the war. Perhaps more significantly, postwar Italian and city governments have consistently failed to produce anything like the public spaces realized under Fascism. EUR not only constitutes a new business, residential and government



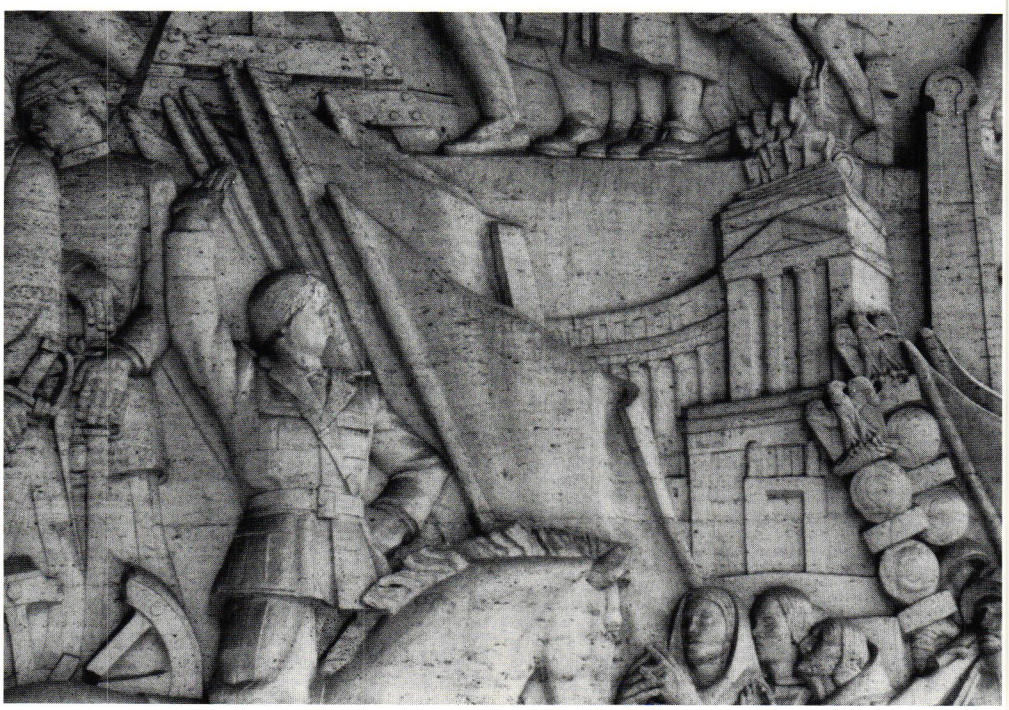
Ill. 9 EUR, Palazzo della Civilta Italiana (now Civilta del Lavoro). Giovanni Guerrini, Bruno La Padula, Mario Romano, architects, 1938. View along the viale Civilta del Lavoro. The building is raised on a high podium with statuary groups at each corner. Originally each arch was to contain a statue.



Ill. 10 EUR, Palazzo dei Congressi. Adalberto Libera, architect, 1938. View from viale della Civilta del Lavoro. The giant portico screens a vast glass wall articulated by reticulated vertical mullions. The central cube is topped by a cross vault with glazed lunettes.

center, but it is also an ideal site for Rome's numerous outdoor summer concerts—with the exception of the sports stadiums and potentially the ancient Circus Maximus, only EUR adequately accommodates these events (many of which now take place on the podium and steps of the "colosseo quadrato").

These major building complexes undertaken between 1928 and 1943, each larger and more complex than the last, constituted only part of the public building program in Rome.[25] A major competition for new post offices in 1932, with Pagano and Del Debbio among the jurors, saw three of the four important new buildings go to young, modernist architects, none of whom attempted to ape northern European modernism. Instead, the four designs by Libera and Mario de Renzi, Mario Ridolfi, Giuseppe Samona and Armando Titta, are almost idiosyncratic; no single idiom unites them, for they were not simple monumental gestures but settings for important social and functional operations in the growing metropolis. Italian post offices also handle utility bill payments, savings accounts, pension payments, telegrams and telephone calls. Ridolfi chose a single, sinously curved form, while Samona developed an austere, rectilinear volume from an awkward site, with a travertine-faced rectangle atop a glazed ground base. Libera's U-shaped structure, also revetted with travertine, is particularly notable for the curved glass block cylinder in the center section and the diagonal elements emphasizing the stair ramps in the lateral wings. Few governments in the 1930s were willing to



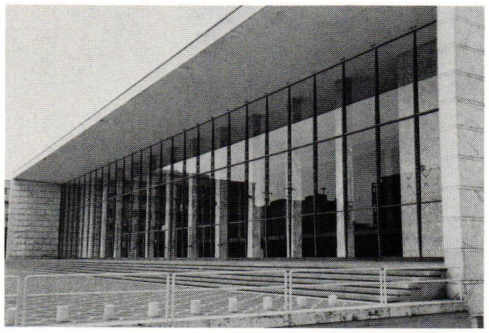
Ill. 11 EUR, Palazzo Ente EUR. Gaetano Minucci, architect, 1937. Detail of travertine relief by Publio Morbiducci depicting the building of Rome. The equestrian figure with the disfigured face is Mussolini.

entrust the design of such important public buildings to the whimsies of open competitions. In the United States, for example, post office designs remained securely uniform in the hands of Treasury Department architects. Roman modernists seem to have placed little value on such uniformity throughout the Fascist period, for diversity was acceptable as long as it remained within the confines of Fascism.[26]

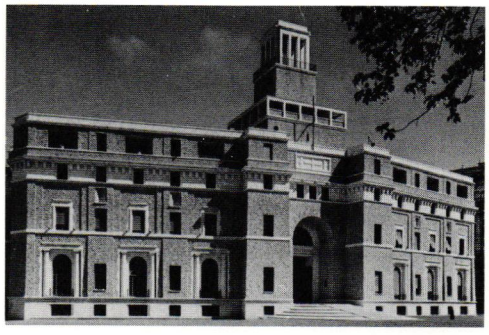
In the public buildings noted above, I have argued that the architects sought a language which both expressed modernity and paid homage to Roman traditions, not through empty reiterations of past styles, but by more subtle transformations. Roman architects proved ingenious in striking this balance. In his Foro Mussolini buildings, Del Debbio meshed a flowing, asymmetrical ground plan comparable to those found in northern Europe, with facades and surface treatments that remained well within the linguistic practices of the Roman barocchetto. Pietro Aschieri accomplished much the same fortuitous combination in his Casa di Lavoro per i Ciechi di Guerra (Work Center for Blind Veterans). For the Palazzo dei Congressi, Libera developed a symmetrical , rigidly geometrical plan, which he then developed into a dynamic section and front elevation with a Latinate colonnaded portico screening a fully glazed entrance—all surmounted by an enormous cross-vaulted cube and lunettes. The diagonal patterns and polychrome marble revetment of the staircases in the rear and the lattice-like treatment of the tapered metal mullions constitute not only examples of Libera's persistent linguistic explorations but also of attempts to develop a modern language from traditional roots. Similar marriages of languages, forms and traditional materials abound throughout the 1930s in Rome. The flat, dark brown brick adopted in countless publicly funded buildings and restoration projects derived directly from examples in Roman ruins, and in his Istituto di Botanica, Capponi treated the ribbon windows in a distinctly Roman manner, with extruded travertine frames. I want to emphasize that these are not instances of linguistic confusion, but of explorations which attempted to engage past and present solutions in order to develop a new synthesis appropriate to Fascism.

There is no question that these buildings fulfilled the objective of celebrating Fascism's power and control as

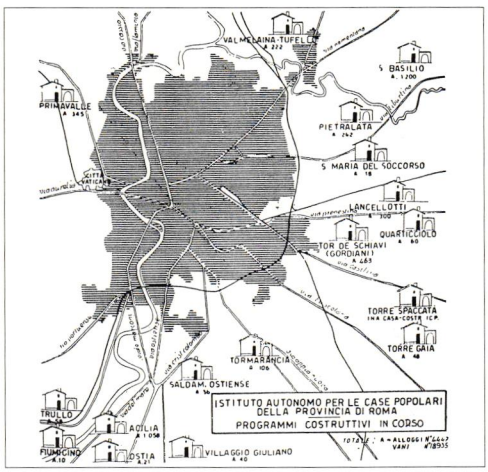
Ill. 12 Post Office, Adalberto Libera, 1934



Ill. 13 EUR, Palazzo dei Congressi. Adalberto Libera, 1938



Ill. 14 Casa Madre dei Mutilati. Marcello Piacentini, architect, 1928



Ill. 15 Istituto per le Case Popolari, low-income projects under construction or built as of 1940

Ill. 16 Testaccio, low-income housing

the PNF also staked out its institutional claims by inserting party branch offices as well as buildings for youth groups throughout the city. Italy offers centuries of evidence that rulers—secular and religious—did precisely the same thing, nowhere more consistently than in Rome. At the same time, the willingness to explore diverse interpretations of modernism reveals the strong identity the Fascist state perceived with vanguard expressions in artistic circles—more precisely, with whatever seemed the most up-to-date. Affiliation with one or another architectural language did not constitute a more or less moral position: nothing guarantees an intrinsic morality to one language while denying it to another.[27] Instead, the shifting emphases and endorsements of architectural styles reveal a profession and a patron constantly poised to claim the cutting edge, affiliated with an avant-garde, yet still rooted in Italian traditions, and in the end, willing to instrumentalize any style for political purposes—hardly a strategy newly hatched by the Fascist state or Italian architects under Fascism.

Despite the avowedly political intention of the architecture, the government bestowed an impressive array of institutions on the city: schools, athletic facilities, hospitals, clinics, airports, leisure facilities, subway system and railroad stations, and of course the inevitable public buildings for the bureaucracy. They constituted the institutional armature within which to secure the developing Fascist political program; they were local beachheads for subsequent fascistization programs, comparable to the Roman Catholic Church's centuries-old program of erecting similar facilities for similar cult reasons. To these governments, and indeed, to those of most western democracies during the 1930s, opting for non-monumental major public facilities was simply unthinkable. Nor indeed, was it a viable option for the Rationalists, who themselves designed monumental buildings but objected to monumentality expressed in non-Rational languages.

Housing Speculation

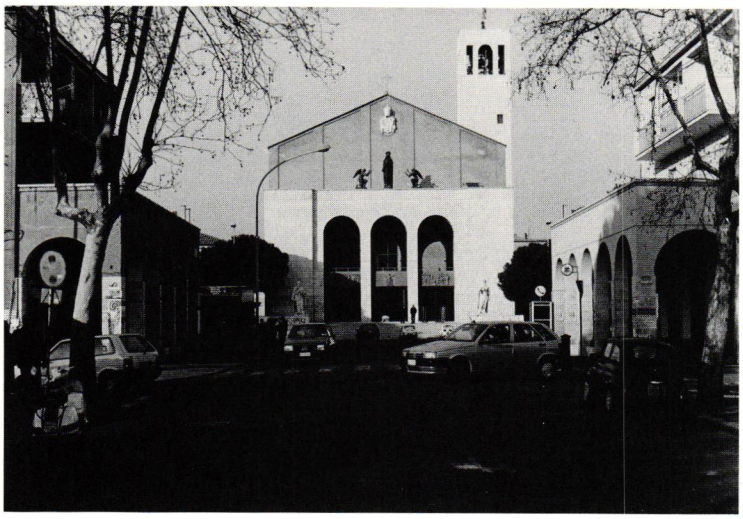
These government building programs represented but a small fraction of

the enormous building activity in Rome during the twenty years of Fascist rule. Becoming the national capital transformed Rome into a busy administrative center which lacked not only office space but housing. The reality of living conditions for industrial workers and the poor in late nineteenth and early twentieth century cities was grim by any standard. To some, it seemed obvious that "the poor were poorer in the city than...elsewhere."[28] Health hazards and crime offered the disturbing potential of becoming breeding grounds for political radicalism. Statesmen and architects concurred that burgeoning social unrest derived from overcrowded cities and poor housing conditions, but for Rome they proposed the novel solution of keeping the city free of industrialization. During the 1870s, Italian Finance Minister Quintino Sella lobbied to limit the working classes in Rome precisely because in his view they posed a serious threat to social and political stability.[29] Improving the lot of Italians seems not to have occurred to him. Nonetheless, in Italy as in other industrializing nations, people continued to abandon the countryside for the uncertain promise of urban life. New government offices and bureaucracies held out promise of work not only for clerks, but also for janitors, ushers, domestics and others in low-paying jobs.

Unlike the United States, where profound opposition to government intervention in housing subsidies for the poor hamstrung virtually anything but mortgage assistance housing programs, Italy enjoyed a long tradition of ecclesiastical and community support for social services for the poor.[30] Low-cost housing enterprises never received the amount of government aid granted to moderate and middle-income housing in Italy, but neither did they inspire heated resistance similar to that found in the United States during the 1930s. While the demand for urban low-cost housing in Italy conflicted with party goals of decentralization and ruralization, the presence of shantytowns clearly represented an embarrassing blemish on Fascism's public face and, with an average immigration of 25,000 people per year, the housing problem could not be ignored.[31]

Rome's bureaucracy also needed housing: ministerial employees, railroad engineers, tram operators and other employees in the public and private sectors could hardly live in shacks. These workers fared better than most newcomers, however, for by the 1920s banks, state and para-state agencies were subsidizing moderately priced cooperatives, condominiums and rental housing. In everything from size to quality, these units were far superior to anything available to the lowest socio-economic groups.

The first initiatives in low-cost housing in Rome followed closely upon unification, but the building of Testaccio, a working class district that attempted to relieve the chronic housing shortage by crowding between 2.4 and 4.8 people into a room, began only in 1883 and remained unfinished in 1907-32.[32] Since low-income housing still lacked firm typological definition, designers Giulio Magni and Quadrio Pirani "reverted to the example of upper class housing, outfitting the building blocks with egg and dart moldings, elaborate baroque windows," and grand entrance portals.[33] Positioning the district well south of the city, administrators and state officials eagerly distanced Testaccio and its residents far from the center; they



Ill. 17 Primavalle, Giorgio Guidi, architect, 1937

Ill. 18 Primavalle, post-war housing and rubbish

even dumped the slaughterhouse next to the elegantly outfitted facades. The government chose low-cost land on the city's periphery, much as subsequent governments would do, and even as the new housing went up, efforts were underway to tear down the shanty-towns Testaccio was designed to replace. Throughout the twentieth century, so-called "spontaneous *borgate*," or shantytowns, have remained a persistent and nettlesome problem for city administrations: as fast as they came down in one place, they sprouted up in another. Hygiene, public order and the well-being of the residents served as the pretexts for government action which, in the end, largely benefitted the construction industry and speculators as the city's boundaries — and illegal building — expanded at an alarmingly rapid rate.[34]

After World War I and the enactment of new, more restrictive immigration laws by the United States, the flood of rural Italians into Rome became a torrent. The only opposition to low-income housing either before or during the Fascist period came from landlords who feared the loss of future rental revenues. Another concern that surfaced following unification and into the Fascist period was that ruralites would contaminate what officials hoped would be a new and more cosmopolitan Rome.[35]

All of the policies promoted by Fascism—building low-cost housing, blocking rents, subsidizing middle-income housing and condominiums—had been tested before Mussolini came to power, and none provided simple answers to the complex problems of housing.[36] The Fascist government continued the policy of juggling these strategies but also added others (such as trying to control immigration to the cities and building new rural communities) with shifting emphases throughout the twenty-one-year period. Nonetheless, the tempo of low-income building in Rome picked up under Fascism: where from 1903 to the end of 1921 the Istituto per le Case Popolari (ICP, a public agency for low-cost housing) had erected 4,820 apartments, from 1922 to 1930 alone some 8,072 apartments were added to the city's patrimony.[37] The buildings ranged from two to five stories, with individual units of two to four rooms. Though construction continued uninterrupted, the total of 12,892 units in 1930 fell woefully short of demand, and private housing only helped address the needs of those able to purchase housing or pay higher rents.

The ICP widened the scope of its activities by erecting public dormitories and suburban hotels in the 1930s, expanding the garden cities initiated in the immediate post-World War I period, and building twelve *borgate* primarily on behalf of those displaced by archaeological excavations in the city. Hotels and dormitories never satisfactorily resolved the housing problem, since they typically offered shelter for only one night and lacked cooking facilities. Although roundly condemned by post-War writers as one of the worst inventions of Fascism, these facilities were nonetheless considered by post-War gov-

ernments to be convenient, since most continued in full operation through the 1970s. The Italian government continued to operate other barrack-type temporary housing until recently. Much has been written about these buildings, in particular about the absence of sanitary facilities, roads and infrastructural connections with the city.[38] But illegal houses and shanties fabricated by immigrants typically suffered the same shortcomings, and only slowly has the generally abysmally low standard of living for the poorest groups been improved. A detailed study by D. Orano in 1912 of the living conditions in Testaccio—newly built by the ICP—revealed unexpected misery quite at odds with the elegant upper class pretensions of the architectural facades. Overcrowding, low pay, non-existent sanitary facilities, poor lighting and ventilation made for what he viewed as an explosive situation.[39] The conditions especially favored the growth of anarchism, which he described as deeply rooted in most working class districts. Small wonder that these areas came under special control under Fascism, but more significantly, the same kinds of conditions obtain in more recent public housing complexes such as Tor Bella Monaca.

The Savoy monarchy and later the Fascists both displayed contempt for the new urban poor, energetically controlling rural immigrants through well-policed housing complexes, hotels and public dormitories. By comparison, a high concentration of African immigrants, vagrants, drug addicts and homeless prostitutes in Rome today live in a former bakery (Pantanella) or, until the summer of 1990, in the former Centrale del Latte (Central Milk plant). Any uninhabited or unused structure is soon occupied by those desperate for shelter. Little has changed for those at the bottom of the economic heap. Longstanding racism in northern Italy against African and Middle Eastern immigrants as well as against southern Italians has recently taken political, institutional form in nativist parties such as the Lega Lombarda (Lombard League), which enjoy considerable success in local and regional elections with platforms calling for an end to immigration, a return to local dialects, and severing ties with southern Italy—including Rome. The Savoy monarchy and fascism aimed to consolidate Italy politically and culturally, while the goal of these regional leagues is fragmentation and autonomy. It is no small irony that twentieth-century Rome, fundamentally colonized and despoiled by northern Italian aristocrats, industrialists, financiers and politicians, is now spurned by their descendents. In any event, the poorest social and economic groups under Fascism certainly fared no worse than similar groups do now at the hands of the current government.

During the post-World War I period, the Socialist party was particularly active in San Lorenzo, Testaccio and other working class areas of the city, mixing cultural, educational, social and political activities. The Fascist party took its cue from these strategies and focused on the same mix of party-sponsored activities in working class districts.[40] The best opportunities for controlling the cultural and social lives of residents came in the twelve *borgate* established on the remote periphery of the city.[41] Primavalle, for example, stands six kilometers to the northwest of the city, and since bus connections only slowly linked the inhabitants back to the city, the Fascist party and the Catholic Church were the only games in town. Separated both from the city where most residents worked and from other *borgate*, the *borgate* also lay in close proximity to police or militia outposts. Although a Master Plan for Rome was promulgated in 1931, all of the *borgate* were built on land destined for agriculture also outside the Plan's limits, thereby setting a precedent for private developers to ignore the Plan and build at will. As shanties on the periphery were torn down and the residents were transferred to the new *borgate*, prime land which now sat at the inhabited edge of the city was freed up for real estate schemes by private developers and landowners. Rampant speculation underlay all of the city's growth following unification, and the Fascist period proved no exception to this rule.[42]

Although the *borgate* were planned both for the lowest-income groups, as well as for the politically suspect, they stand out from all of the pre- and post-Fascist low-income housing. As in Primavalle, the apartment buildings formed an urban core with a central axis joining in two squares framed by retail and religious structures. Ranging from two to four stories in height and with considerable diversity in mass, orientation and elevation, the buildings enclosed spacious courtyards which served as playgrounds, places to hang laundry, and gardens. This *borgata* and the others were planned as small suburban centers, almost as self-sufficient communities, even though most residents were expected to work in Rome. Construction began on Primavalle in 1937, and the intervention of the war halted the completion of Giorgio Guidi's plan: most of the public buildings such as additional schools, post office, police station, cinema, covered market and athletic field, appeared only long

after the end of World War II, if at all.

Most striking, however, is the contrast between the modest, moderately spacious units of the earliest low-income units at Primavalle with those built there in the post-War period. These densely packed high-rise public housing towers in a sea of parking, however attractive on the drawing board, lack gardens, playgrounds, or any open space easily accessible from all units. At the same time, private builders freely exploited the land in the area throughout the post-War era, with the result that the small streets lack parking as well as the minimal social and cultural services planned by the Fascists. The story of Primavalle is the story of the other fascist *borgate*, from Trullo to Tibertino, where the axis of growth shifted from small suburban village to endless, dense urban sprawl abandoned to unscrupulous speculators who, aided and abetted by city officials, were all too often criminally neglectful of basic sanitary, tranportation andcultural infrastructures.

Public/Private Cooperation

The story of municipal cooperation in private speculation dates back to the first years of the Republic. In the aftermath of Rome's designation as the national capital, the most extensive instance of speculation transformed the fields adjacent to the Vatican into a densely packed, largely residential quarter called Prati. An international consortium of financiers, including several from northern Italy, acquired the land at low agricultural prices and then reaped vast profits with the help of a compliant city government. For the next fifty years, northern financiers, the Roman aristocracy and ecclesiastical real estate and development firms such as the *Societa Generale Immobiliare* engaged in the unbridled exploitation of the lands inside and outside of Rome's Aurelian walls. Municipal authorities not only acquiesced, they actively collaborated with private speculators from the outset.

The chief of the city's technical office, engineer Alessandro Viviani, enthusiastically developed a first Master Plan in 1873 which foresaw massive development but anticipated only fifty percent of Rome's growth over the next decades. Among other things, Viviani's plan envisioned two urban projects subsequently undertaken by the Fascists: via dei Fori Imperiali (formerly via dell'Impero) from the Colosseum to Piazza Venezia, and the demolitions in the Borgo leading to the Vatican. Critics consistently cite these two projects as the worst of Fascist urbanism even though they long predated Fascism.[43] Viviani also proposed enormous demolition projects in the heart of ancient Rome to clear out the areas around the Trevi fountain and the Pantheon — fortunately never realized.

But destruction proceeded in any case. The mayor of Rome, Duke Leopoldo Torlonia (a scion of old Roman nobility) approved the destruction of one of the city's most magnificent villas and its gardens, the Villa Boncompagni-Ludovisi, in 1886. Here too, real estate speculation was prodded by the *Societa Generale Immobiliare*. This was but one of the many villas and gardens destroyed in the post-unification building boom; little guided the

Ill. 19 Aqua Felice Aqueduct, Rome. Squatter settlements along the ruins of the ancient aqueduct.

city's urban development except the dictates of immediate financial gain. The speculative bubble burst by 1888, leaving hundreds of developers and banks bankrupt, but as is often the case, many of the residents in the new buildings and districts may well have suffered the most, often living for decades in partially completed houses without sanitation or transportation facilities, schools or shops.[44]

Within the city itself, most of the redevelopment involved clearing out the poorest residents and replacing them with the upper bourgeoisie. Hovels and shanties first appeared on the edge of the city in the early 1870s, and they continued to multiply virtually uninterrupted over the next century. No city or national government ever proved able to alleviate the housing problem for the poorest groups, for inadequate housing in Rome has always coincided with uncertain or underpaid employment or, as is the case today, with illegal immigration.

Long after the fall of Fascism, the great aristocratic landholders and various religious organizations were still joining forces in the relentless development of ever greater swathes of the *Agro Romano* (Roman countryside). Princess Pallavicini and a religious missionary society, with their real estate firm *Nuova Immobiliare Romana* (NIR), developed Mostacciano in the early 1960s, while the Torlonia family was still proposing development schemes with the *Societa Generale Immobiliare*, always with the blessing of the city's Christian Democratic administrations. These alliances, forged centuries ago, were essentially undisturbed by Fascism and have been far more potent agents of Rome's transformation since unification. The overwhelming majority of developments on the city's expanding periphery, ill-served by schools, streets, services and shops, was the fruit of these collaborations, not of Fascism. The relatively isolated cases of Fascist suburban residential centers (in particular, the *borgate*) turn out to be superior in most respects to what followed them.[45]

This is not to deny the objectives of social control that underlay these and other Fascist building programs. The *borgate*, invariably located adjacent to police or militia barracks, were situated and developed in such a way as to maximize control, and the use of sports facilities was likewise contingent on party membership. For residents of the *borgate*, food was scarce, and only participation in Fascist organizations provided any relief. But for many in the *borgate*, relief came not after 1945, but more than thirty years later. From their regular inclusion in enactments of Fascist rituals during the 1930s, residents virtually disappeared into invisibil-

ity after the war, for all intents and purposes ignored by the government and without any improvements in general services or personal economic circumstances. The government's presence only began to be felt again in the 1970s, in a time of great political and social unrest. The threat of communist victories in elections brought forth an era of black, or right-wing, terrorism often sponsored by Italian secret services, the extent of which is only gradually coming to light and which is as sinister as anything Mussolini ever cooked up.[46]

The Politics of History

Most post-war historiography has been mired in the unsuccessful attempt to extricate Rationalism from Fascism and, in the case of Rome, to confirm Fascism as the source of the greatest evils inflicted on the city's urban fabric. None of the many versions of modernism which surfaced in Italy between the wars can be separated from Fascism, including Rationalism, and Rome, as we have seen, suffered equal if not greater abuses at the hands of the governments which preceded and followed Fascism. The decision to focus on the Fascist period entails ignoring far vaster campaigns of destruction before 1922, and the empty post-War exercises in speculation that the city's expanded urban periphery represents. But with Fascism safely singled out as the villain, no others need be sought, nor is it necessary

Ill 20 Mostra della Revoluzione Fascista, Adalberto Libera and Mario De Renzi, 1932-3.

to explore continuities in the post-war era. The importance of history as an ideological tool is not lost on contemporary architectural historians, any more than it was on the Fascists.

Perhaps the most telling image Fascism gave of itself comes to us from the exhibition designated to tell its story and to place it securely in history: the 1932 Mostra della Revoluzione Fascista. This exhibit celebrated the tenth anniversary of Fascism's rise to power in October 1922 following a march on Rome by Mussolini's blackshirts. Pio Piacentini's umbertine Palazzo dell'Esposizione was transformed by Adalberto Libera and Mario De Renzi into what the catalog of the exhibit described as innovative and revolutionary, "new and original, deliberately differentiated from preceding styles and tendencies."[47] The old Palazzo was "violated" by an explosive work of modern architecture, the "sole example of the most up-to-date art and aesthetic which responds to our breathless, dynamic, free-floating and feverish epoch."[48]

De Renzi and Libera masked the old facade with a massive red cubic block, in front of which rose to a height of twenty-five meters, four stylized fasces of burnished and oxidized copper sheets, riveted together and erected on a steel scaffolding. But despite the revolutionary character of the facade, the Pompeiian red of the huge cube that sheathed the old museum appealed directly to one of the city's most ancient, most traditional colors. This concession to local traditions on the facade reappears in the very structure of the interior rooms, where walls burst with some of the most audaciously avant-garde designs, arranged to document Fascism's history in huge, abstract and evocative images designed by Esodo Pratelli, Marcello Nizzoli, Mario Sironi and Giuseppe Terragni. These enormous designs in turn surmount banal glass museum display cases, organized by historians, which also recount the history of Fascism's march to power, but in the most tediously documentary fashion, with the meticulous arrangement of newspaper articles, letters, photographs and other memorabilia. That history, of course, underwent sufficient modification to cast every Fascist endeavor in the best light and every opponent in the worst.

Both the striking images and the carefully structured narrative displays convey the same history, but the artists' walls present it as audacious, revolutionary, avant-garde—literally larger than life. The display cases, on the other hand, present Fascism's past as the continuation of everyday life, but with a bit more struggle, blood, uncertainty and pain, and curiously detached from the titanic but ultimately victorious struggle depicted on the walls above them.

Perhaps nowhere else did Fascism present such a revealing self-portrait as in this exhibition. Although designed to celebrate Fascism, the exhibit did so largely by exposing its greatest ambivalence: the desire both to revolutionize society and culture and to remain deeply embedded in traditional cultural and social patterns. The double displays convey this as effectively as the powerful, modern facade with its apparently solid but actually ephemeral riveted metal panels. Roman architects also expressed these apparently conflicting aspirations, often with masterful virtuosity, in the corpus of buildings produced under fascism, where modern and classical traditions did not mask contradictions but were merged into a distinctly Roman aesthetic.

In contemporary Rome, few buildings demonstrate more succinctly the relationship between architecture and politics than Moretti's Accademia di Scherma. From luxurious fencing academy and library, by the 1970s it had become an armed camp, bristling with barbed wire, manned observation posts, and forbidding new perimeter walls. In response to the terrorist activities of the 1970s—Red Brigades, mafia, and other right wing terrorists—the Accademia di Scherma became the site of *maxi-processi*, huge judicial proceedings in which the potential threats to the state were foregrounded by the highly visible security measures. As with all publicly funded buildings, the impingement of politics on the architecture persists as well as the potential for the militarization of public space, even though the particular tone and color of the political system changes.

The city whose aura of antiquity had seduced Henry Adams, gave evidence instead to Fascists of medieval social and political arrangements in need of transformation. By the time Fascism fell in 1943, they had indeed been transformed, but by forces set in motion not in 1922 but in 1870, or earlier, and which ceased not in 1943 but proceed uninterrupted today. Were Adams to visit Rome in 1991, its ruins and its new and extended urban sprawl would surely confirm his suspicions about the anarchy of events giving the lie to optimism about the benefits of progress.

Notes

1. Henry Adams, *The Education of Henry Adams*, edited by Ernest Samuels (Boston: Houghton Mifflin 1973), p. 89-90.

2. Adams, *Education*, p. 91.

3. Spiro Kostof, *The Third Rome: Traffic and Glory* (Berkeley: UC Berkeley Art Museum 1973); Kostof, "The Emperor and the Duce: The Planning of Piazzale Augusto Imperatore in Rome," in H. Millon and L. Nochlin, eds. *Art and Architecture in the Service of Politics* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press 1978), p. 270-325. If building a new modern Rome was an imperative of both pre-Fascist and Fascist governments, so too was uncovering the ancient splendors of imperial Rome. The desire to liberate important Roman monuments from the accretion of houses over the centuries long preceded the advent of Fascism. Giuseppe Valadier launched a proposal to liberate the Mausoleum of Augustus in 1814, followed by another one in the 1909 Master Plan (Kostof, "The Emperor," p. 271). Bernini proposed demolishing the *Borgo* and opening a wide avenue into piazza San Pietro in the seventeenth century, followed by similar proposals in the eighteenth, nineteenth, and twentieth centuries (Kostof, *The Third Rome*, p. 70). Excavations in the Imperial forum dated from the early nineteenth century, as did proposals to improve traffic in the area by slicing out a new street. In each case, the Fascist government expanded the enormous sums of money necessary to realize the projects, largely based on a rhetoric associating the new Italian state with the ancient Roman empire that had also been the stock in trade of the Risorgimento. But the historic patrimony of Rome had undergone at least as much destruction and demolition in the half century of the republican monarchy, as I discuss later in this paper. A good account of Rome's first master plan under the monarchy can be found in Spiro Kostof, "The Drafting of a Master Plan for Roma Capitale: An Exordium," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 3, XXXIII (October 1973), p. 239-250. For an account of the archeological program, see William L. MacDonald, "Excavation, Restoration and Italian Architecture of the 1930s," in H. Searing, ed. *In Search of Modern Architecture* (New York: Architectural History Foundation, 1982), p. 298-320.

4. Examples of this historiographic treatment are Bruno Archi, "Appunti sull'architettura moderna in Italia," Quaderni Italiani II (August 1942), p. 145-50; Giorgio Ciucci, *Gli architetti e il fascismo* (Turin: Giulio Einaudi 1989), p. 77-92, 177-196; Dennis Doordan, *Building Modern Italy. Italian Architecture 1914-1936* (New York: Princeton Architectural Press 1989); Walter Vannelli, *Economia dell'architettura nella Roma fascista* (Rome: Edizioni Kappa 1981); Maria Italia Zacheo, *L'architettura del Ventennio a Roma* (Rome: Fratelli Palombi Editori 1990); Bruno Zevi, *Storia dell'architettura moderna*, 2nd ed. (Turin: Giulio Einaudi 1975). A more balanced account appears in Italo Insolera, *Roma moderna. Un secolo di storia urbanistica* (Turin: Giulio Einaudi 1976). I have earlier disputed most of these arguments in Ghirardo, "Italian Architects and Fascist Politics: the Rationalist's Role in Regime Building," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* XXXIX, 2 (May 1980), p. 109-127.

5. Bruno Archi, in "Appunti," argues that only the work of Luigi Figini, Adalberto Libera, Gino Pollini, and Mario Ridolfi counted as modern, but even so, Italy's production of modern architecture remained inferior to that of Germany and Holland. See also Ciucci, "Gli architetti italiani tra razionalismo e classicismo 1926-1942," in Giulio Ernesti, ed. *La costruzione dell'utopia. Architetti urbanisti nell'Italia fascista* (Rome: Edizioni del Lavoro 1988), p. 23-30, esp. p. 27; Ciucci, *Gli architetti*, p. 76; Doordan calls the work of the northern Italians in the MIAR exhibit the "freshest," in Doordan, *Building Modern Italy*, p. 68; he also calls the Romans "conservative" by contrast with northern "radicals" and discusses the "problematic" nature of Roman architecture, p. 81 and p. 125.

6. Giuseppe Pagano, *Architettura e citta durante il fascismo*, Cesare De Seta, ed. (Bari-Rome: Laterza 1976), p. 86-90, 104, 163; see also Pagano's letter to C.L. Ragghianti, p. 441-5.

7. Vittorio Gregotti, "Milano e la cultura architettonica tra le due guerre," in Silvia Danesi e Luciano Patetta, *Il Razionalismo e l'architettura in Italia durante il fascismo* (Venice: Edizioni La

Biennale di Venezia 1976), p. 16-21; in the same volume see "Roma negli anni del regime," p. 174-188; Zacheo, *L'architettura*, p. 27-41; Giulia Veronesi, *Difficolta politiche dell'architettura in Italia 1920-1940* (Milan: Tamburini 1953).

8. Cesare De Seta, "Cultura e architettura in Italia tra le due guerre: continuita e discontinuita," in Danesi and Patetta, *Il Razionalismo*, p. 7-12, for an outline of the problems associated with defining modern movement architecture; see also Pagano, "La cronaca contro la storia," (1937), in De Seta, *Architettura e citta*, p. 71-75; Doordan, *Building Modern Italy*, p. 1-5.

9. Carlo Fabrizio Carli, *Architettura e fascismo* (Rome: Giovanni Volpe 1980), p. 48-54. See also the special issue of *Architettura* (August 1939) dedicated to the new German state architecture. For a discussion of this issue, see Ghirardo, "Italian Architects and Fascist Politics."

10. De Seta, "Cultura," 11; see also the Gruppo Sette manifestoes of 1926-27 in Enrico Mantero, *Giuseppe Terragni e la citta del razionalismo italiana* (Rome: Officina 1969), p. 57-88; Pagano, "L'architettura moderna di venti secoli fa," *La Casa Bella III*, 1931, p. 332; also Ghirardo, "Italian Architects," p. 114-116.

11. In 1870 Italy was unified in a parliamentary monarchy with the Savoy King Umberto and a predominantly Christian Democrat parliament. The papacy had a long legacy of monumental buildings which constituted the major part of Rome's urban fabric, and it was this legacy which the new republic wanted to put in the shadow.

12. Eberhard Schroeter, "Rome's First National State Architecture. The Palazzo delle Finanze," in Millon and Nochlin, eds. *Art and Architecture*, p. 128-149; also Archivio Centrale dello Stato, *I Ministeri di Roma Capitale* (Venezia: Cataloghi Marsilio 1985).

13. Schroeter, p. 130.

14. On the Foro Mussolini, see Enrico Valeriani, *Del Debbio* (Rome: Editalia 1976); Zacheo, *L'architettura*, p. 30-31; Piero Ostilio Rossi, *Roma. Guida all'architettura moderna 1909-1984* (Rome-Bari: Laterza 1984), p. 42-46; Mimmo Caporilli and Franco Simeoni, eds. *Il Foro Italico e lo Stadio Olimpico* (Rome: Tomo Edizioni 1991); Antonella Greco and Salvatore Santuccio, *Foro Italico* (Rome: Multigrafica 1991). On the University, see Enrico Guidoni, Bruno Regni and Marina Sennato, eds. *1935-1985. La Sapienza nella Citta Universitaria* (Rome: Opera Universitaria di Roma 1985); special issue of *Architettura* XIV, 1935, dedicated to the new university; and Gianfranco Caniggia, "Il clima architettonico romano e la citta universitaria," *La Casa* 6 (1959), p. 272-99. On EUR see E. Guidoni, M. Calvesi, S. Lux, *E42. Utopia e scenario del regime*, 2 vols (Venice: Marsilio 1987); Italo Insolera and Luigi Di Majo, *L'EUR e Roma dagli anni trenta al Duemila* (Rome-Bari: Laterza 1986).

15. The entire project has undergone repeated modifications. In 1953, the Stadio dei Cipressi was enlarged for the 1960 Olympics, and in 1990 again for the 1990 World Soccer Cup Games. See Caporilli and Simeoni, *Il Foro Italico*.

16. The mosaics have been badly treated in the post-war era; even between 1986 and 1990, several of the most interesting ones were destroyed during the preparations for the World Soccer Cup.

17. John Pollini examines the Augustan monumental complexes, including the Mausoleum and the Solarium, in "The Rhetoric and Poetry of Visual Imagery and the Creation of Dynastic Narratives," Chapter VII of his forthcoming book, *The Image of Augustus: Art and Ideology*.

18. Marida Talamona has recently noted that more than any other Roman architect at the time, Moretti sought to grasp the purity of classical architecture. Marida Talamona, *Casa Malaparte* (Milano: CLUP 1990), p. 39. See also Salvatore Santuccio, ed. *Luigi Moretti* (Bologna: Zanichelli 1986).

19. Piacentini, editor and founder of *Architettura ed arti decorative* (subsequently *Architettura*, official organ of the Fascist union of architects), powerfully influenced most major competitions and commissions throughout the Fascist era and after the war until his death in 1961. He was open to many architectural

languages, recognizing perhaps that not all excellence was expressed in the same language. This attitude and his undisputed power for decades have earned him the opprobrium of subsequent historians, even though his intervention ensured many young Rationalists of major commissions. He was himself a talented architect. See the special issue on Marcello Piacentini, *Storia dell'Urbanistica* III, 5 (December 1983).

20. See Silvia Danesi, "Aporie dell'architettura italiana nel periodo fascista - mediterraneita e purismo," in Danesi and Patetta, eds. *Il Razionalismo*, p. 21-28. Debates raged in daily newspapers in journals and magazines. This same volume, *Il Razionalismo*, offers a comprehensive bibliography of articles from between the wars. p. 191-201.

21. Even architects more directly indebted to northern European models adapted their designs to local traditions. Giuseppe Terragni transformed the northern Italian town hall type for his Casa del Fascio in Como. Diane Ghirardo, "Politics of a Masterpiece: The Vicenda of the Decoration of the Facade of the Casa del Fascio in Como, 1936-1939," *The Art Bulletin* 62 (September 1980), p. 466-478.

22. The first project, with the powerful renderings by Luigi Vietti, was approved on 7 May 1937. ACS EUR Segretaria Generale, fascicolo 81, "Riunione Palazzo Venezia."

23. Construction of the Museo, interrupted by the war, was concluded in 1952. ACS, EUR, Servizio Architettura Parchi Giardini, fascicolo O/5 FIAT (Romanita).

24. On the Palazzo dei Congressi, see ACS, EUR, SAPG, fascicolo M/4, "Palazzo dei Ricevimenti e Congressi;" for Minnucci's Ente EUR building, see ACS, EUR, Segreteria Generale, fascicolo 23.2, "Concorso Palazzo Uffici: Commissione," and ACS, EUR, SAPG fascicolo M/2, "Palazzo Uffici;" for the Palazzo della Civilta del Lavoro (formerly Civilta Italiana) see ACS, EUR, Segreteria Generale, fascicolo 23.7, "Concorso Palazzo Civilta Italiana."

25. On PNF buildings in Rome see ACS, PNF Federazioni Provinciali "Rome Urbe" (the cataloguing of these files has been reorganized recently, so the file numbers are new).

26. See the exhibition catalog, *Adalberto Libera. Opera Completa* (Milan: Electa 1989); Zacheo, *L'architettura*, p. 31-32; Rossi, Roma, p. 79-83; Ciucci, *Gli architetti*, p. 137-139.

27. Underlying much of Giulia Veronesi's discussion was the notion that somehow the Modern Movement was moral, and other styles were Fascist, and not moral. Since she had just emerged from the trauma of World War II, and Italy's alliance with Nazi Germany, this view is comprehensible, but as an undercurrent in most post-war scholarship it is unacceptable, for it fails to come to terms with the profoundly Fascist beliefs of Terragni, Pagano, Libera, Luigi Moretti, and others. If indeed it is possible to build for the same patron in one style and be "moral," yet not in another, no one has yet to demonstrate how.

28. National Resources Planning Board, "Rural and Urban Ways of Life," unpublished manuscript (1938), p. 104. National Resources Planning Board (NRPB), National Archives, Record Group 187, Reports.

29. Cited in Schroeter, "Rome's First National State Architecture," p. 130.

30. Diane Ghirardo, *Building New Communities. Fascist Italy and New Deal America* (Princeton NJ: Princeton University Press, 1989).

31. Istituto Nazionale di Statistica (ISTAT), Annuario Statistico Italiano Anno 1935 - XIII, Series IV, Vol. II (Rome, 1935), p. 12ft, 20.

32. For Testaccio's story, see Italo Insolera, *Roma moderna: un secolo di storia urbanistica 1870-1970* (Turin: Einaudi 1976), p. 67; Cristina Coccioni and Mario De Grassi, *La Casa Popolare a Roma: Trent'anni di attivita dell'ICP* (Rome: Edizioni Kappa 1984), p. 24-39.

33. The quotation is from Ferruccio Trabalzi, "Low-cost housing in Rome," in Diane Ghirardo, ed. *Out of Site: A Social Criticism of Architecture* (Seattle: Bay Press 1991), p. 128. See also Vanna Fraticelli, *Roma 1914-1929. La citta e gli architetti tra guerra e fascismo* (Rome: Officina 1982).

34. Lando Bortolotti, *Storia della politica edilizia in Italia* (Rome: Editori Riuniti 1978); see also Vannelli, *Economia*..

35. Bortolotti, p. 17-40.

36. Bortolotti, p. 41-84.

37. Coccioni and De Grassi, *La Casa Popolare*, p. 14 and p. 44.

38. Insolera, Roma moderna, p. 128-143.

39. D. Orano, *Come vive il popolo a Roma. Saggio demografico sul quartiere Testaccio* (Pescara: Croce).

40. Lidia Piccioni, *San Lorenzo: un quartiere romano durante il fascismo* (Rome: Istituto Studi Roamani 1984).

41. Ferruccio Trabalzi, "Primavalle: Urban Reservation in Rome," *Journal of Architectural Education* 42/3 (Spring 1989), p. 38-46. See also Trabalzi, "Low-cost housing in Rome," p. 128-133.

42. Giovanni Berlinguer and Piero Della Seta, *Borgate di Roma* (Rome: Editoria Riuniti, 1976); Franco Ferrarotti, *Roma da capitale a periferia* (Rome-Bari: Laterza, 1970); Piero Della Seta and Roberto Della Seta, *I suoli di Roma* (Rome: Editori Riuniti 1988); Insolera, *Roma moderna*.

43. Even the project in the Borgo, which dates back to Bernini, was not completed until the post-World War II period.

44. Insolera, *Roma moderna*, p. 72.

45. Trabalzi, "Low-cost housing in Rome," p. 124-143.

46. See Ferrarotti, *Roma da capitale*, in general on life in the *borgate*. The nation has been electrified by the explosive disclosure in the fall of 1990 of a secret wing of the state secret police run in part by the CIA and a secret Masonic lodge, P2, and charged with halting the growing power of the Communist political party during the 1960s and 1970s. Known as "Gladio," it reached into the very heart of the Republic and the Christian Democratic Party.

47. *Partito Nazionale Fascista, Mostra della Rivoluzione Fascista*, compiled by Dino Alfieri and Luigi Freddi (Rome: Partito Nazionale Fascista 1933), 64.

48. *Partito Nazionale Fascista, Mostra*, 193l. Also, Libero Andreotti, "Political Art in Fascist Italy: the Exhibition of the Fascist Revolution," PhD. Dissertation, Cambridge, MA 1989.

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8. *Architettura*, 1934

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13-14. Author

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16-18. Author

19. Ferruccio Trabalzi

20. Author

Ulterior Motives

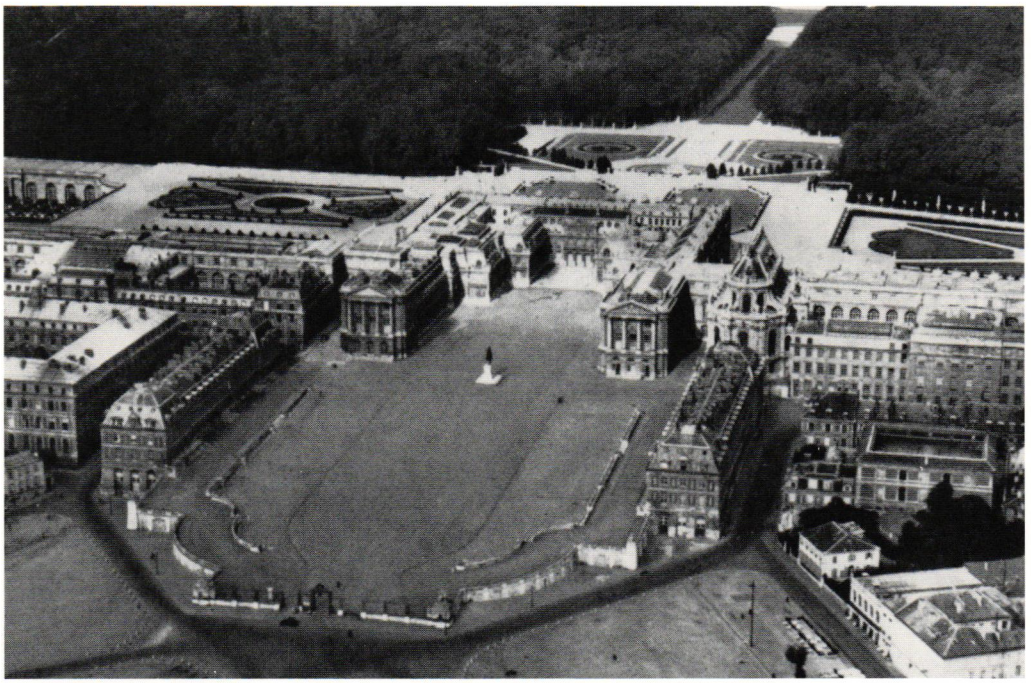
The Possibility of a Second Agenda in Architecture

Jon Michael Schwarting

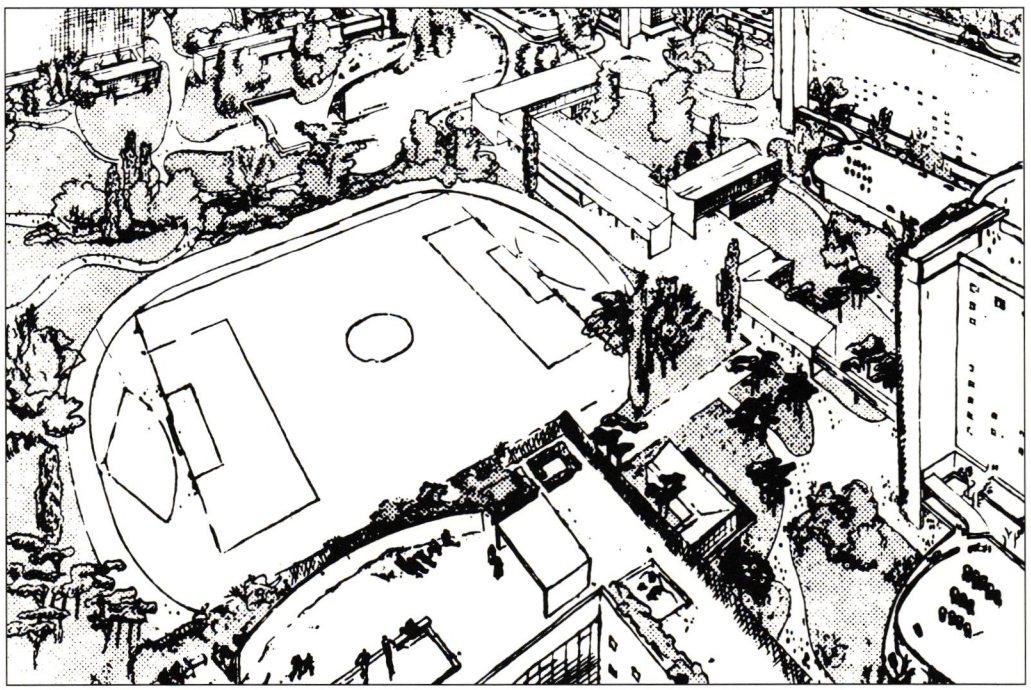
Architects, trained as both artists and professionals, tend to be more liberal than their peers. Having been taught to design beautiful buildings for the benefit of society, many young architects are confronted by dilemma or disillusionment when they enter the profession. Upon graduating, they find little opportunity to do the work that they have learned is most important, and they do not know how to create such opportunities. Quickly dispelled is any vestige of idealism.

Architects interested in ideas of social change often have a difficult time resolving these ideas with a desire to build. Architecture depends on patronage. Finding that issues of aesthetics are principally driven by economic concerns, and that patrons who can afford careful design are often more concerned with image than with care, perfection, or profundity, architects do not know what other avenues are available and often find themselves working "efficiently" rather than thoughtfully. Architects are thrown into a political arena for which they are generally not prepared.[1]

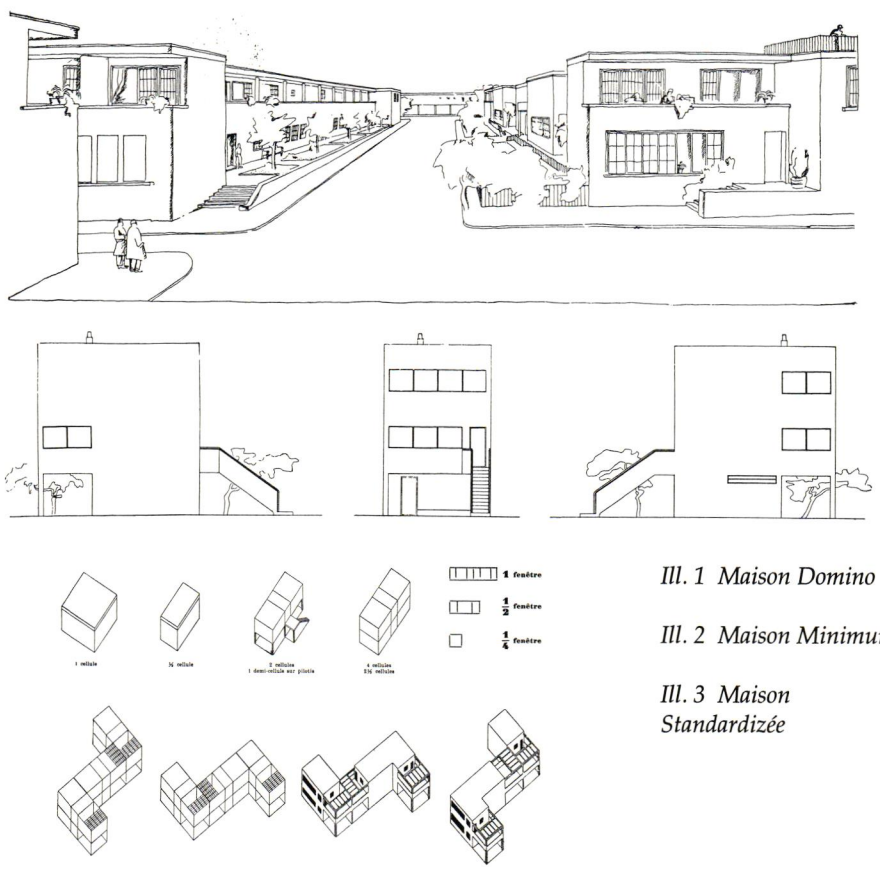
Within architecture and the fine arts, however, there exists a history of work which attacks or at least confronts the status quo and supports political struggles for change. Though architecture more often gives physical embodiment to established social institutions, it can, like the other arts, ally itself with marginal or counter-culture movements, with those groups which Fredric Jameson calls "enclaves" of alternative positions.[2] However, both art and architecture that question or attack the status quo are usually relegated to the "provinces," as it were, of culture, penetrating mainstream consciousness only when they enter and become co-opted by popular culture. Thus for the architect who would like to both work toward a better society and to be successful in the present one, a contra-



Chateau at Versailles



The Radiant City, Le Corbusier



Ill. 1 Maison Domino

Ill. 2 Maison Minimum

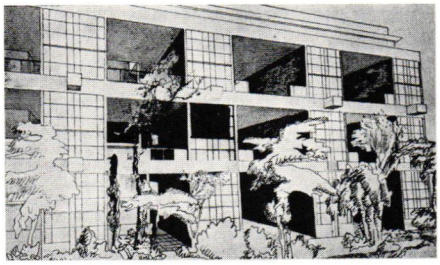
Ill. 3 Maison Standardizée

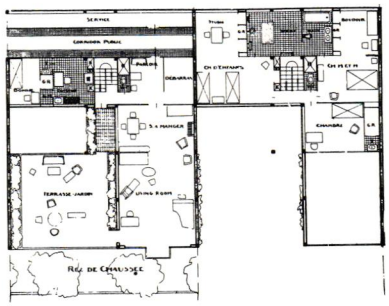
diction surfaces for which it is difficult to find examples of a satisfactory resolution.

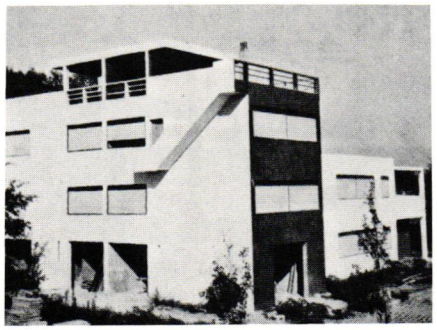
The choices offered are often nihilistic or escapist. Manfredo Tafuri advocates abandoning architecture in favor of more obvious revolutionary action, and Robert Venturi implies that one should abandon political motivations, exemplified by notions that today's main street and Co-op city are "almost all right." But in the margins of the history of art and architecture we can find other alternatives.[3] There exists the concept of a double agenda, hidden agenda, or subversive agenda, each term suggesting a different degree of the basic idea, an ulterior motive.

There is no better model and illustration of this position in architecture than Le Corbusier. Le Corbusier's work is complex and subject to many interpretations, but among them is one that clearly articulates the idea of the multiple agenda. The Maison Cook, the Villa Meyer, the Villa Stein, and the Villa Savoye remain canonical examples of modern houses and modern architecture, but they are often studied independently of Le Corbusier's other work and of an understanding of his method of developing his own ideas. The Esprit Nouveau Pavilion, the Maison Citrohan housing proposals or the City for 2,000,000 are occasionally discussed, but it is Le Corbusier's upper-middle-class houses which are seen as providing the fertile ground which permitted him to develop the modern idiom. But it is also possible to see Le Corbusier as using these commissions to further other investigations.

In 1915, Le Corbusier designed a suburban plan of mass produced houses in reinforced concrete, connected like dominos. The frame of column with slab established the "free plan" which became the method of construction for most of his buildings thereafter. Besides its structural possibilities, it also permitted a compositional strategy of modern space expressing free walls and facades against a cartesian grid of columns and allowing for an open flow of spatial layers both horizontally and vertically. Not only was this an overlap of form and space similar to experiments in modern painting, particularly cubism and collage, but also an







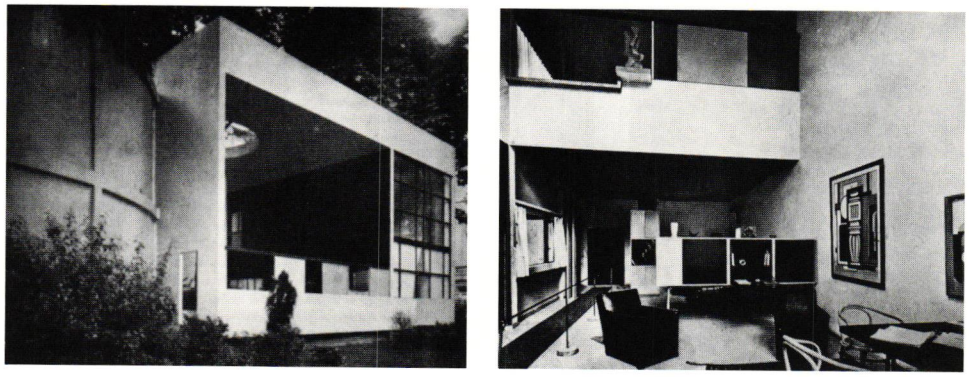
Ill. 4, 5 Immeubles Villas 1922 and 1925

Ill. 6 Quartier Fruges 1924-26

overlap of use. The overlap of entry, living, dining, and even bedroom spaces permitted a condensation of the dwelling unit through the "simultaneity" of both space and use. Le Corbusier utilized these concepts to address his concern for the *maison minimum* or *maison standardizée* that preoccupied most of the best known modern architects in Europe after WWI.

In the late 19th and early 20th centuries the industrial revolution had produced a mass migration from the farm-country to the factory-city, causing housing shortages, crowding, and unhealthy conditions. In tune with socialist political movements that fought for better conditions for the working class, architects in Weimar Germany, Fabian England, Sindicate France, along with similar movements in Holland, Austria, and ultimately in Russia after the 1917 revolution, directed their attention to the housing problem created by this migration, making it for the first time a significant architectural problem. Le Corbusier, while not well known for taking political positions, clearly expressed his concern for these issues in his 1928 publication *Une Maison - un Palais*. Here he argues for palace-like courtyard buildings and *redent* or bent buildings that look like the Louvre or Versailles and that could house the common man in the 20th century like the aristocracy had been before. In Le Corbusier's 1927 *Vers une Architecture*, the next to last chapter is the only place his own work is displayed. Entitled "Mass Production Houses," this chapter states, "The problem of the house is the problem of the epoch, the equilibrium of society depends on it," and illustrates it with his work on housing projects, not his well known single family houses.

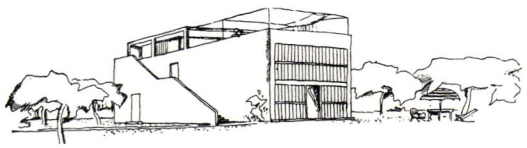
The first volume of Le Corbusier's 1910-29 *Oeuvre Complète* is interesting in that its contents are not what one generally recalls. Of the approximately 200 pages, 44% are devoted to 24 housing projects, 30% cover 17 individual houses, and the remainder is devoted to large public projects and text. His preoccupation with housing is illustrated by the projects evolving from the Domino suburban row house of 1914 to the Immeubles Villas of 1922 and 1925, and the *maison minimum* or *standardizée* types culminating in the Fruges complex in Pessac in 1924-6.

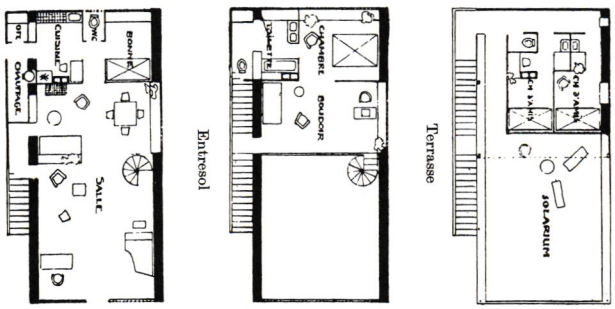


Ill. 7, 8 Esprit Nouveau Pavilion 1925

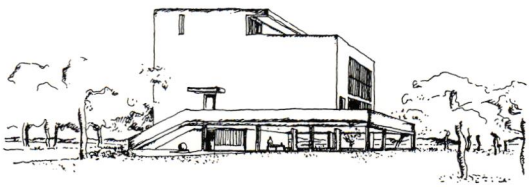
The Immeubles Villas is given more attention than any other project, with the 1925 scheme being the housing type for the city of tomorrow, and ultimately being realized in the Esprit Nouveau Pavilion. It can be seen as an evolution of the Maison Citrohan, whose versions include a variation of the Mediterranean farm house in 1920 and 1922, the Maison Guiette in Antwerp of 1926, and his single family house at the Weissenhof Siedlung in 1927. These are geometrically double cube volumes in which the double square plan is overlaid by divisions of a golden rectangle within. The structure modulates the space with a division into five bays in the long direction, and a large bay for usable space and a small bay for circulation in the short direction. The section creates a large double height public space along with more intimate and private single height spaces adjacent to it. A cascading stair provides a dynamic spatial diagonal through the volume.

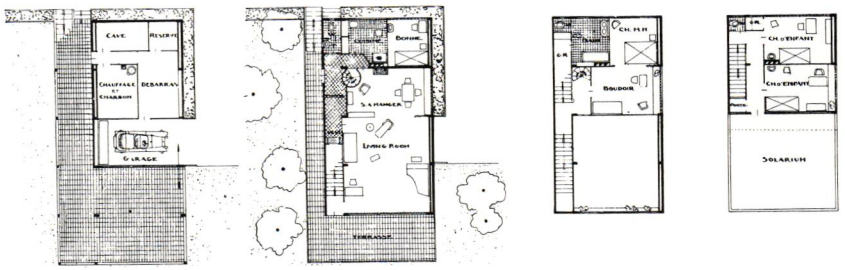
The Immeubles Villas represents an elaboration of these ideas, expanding the plan into a larger square divided in the main direction into two large bays flanking a small center bay and an equal division of five bays in the perpendicular direction. This grid produces modules proportionate to the whole. The seeming overlap of two Citrohan grids provides a small shared bay zone of circulation between a Citrohan-like duplex/mezzanine level on one side and an outdoor space and service zone on the other. Le Corbusier stated that if a house had to be off the ground, the ground should come with it. The Citrohan as a suburban *maison standardizée* single family row house and



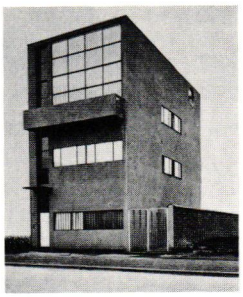


Ill. 9, 10 Maison Citrohan 1920

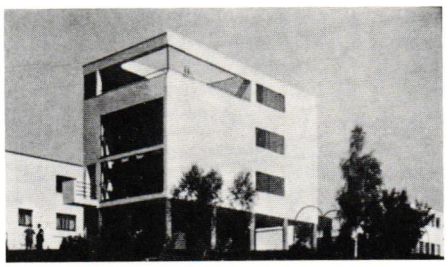




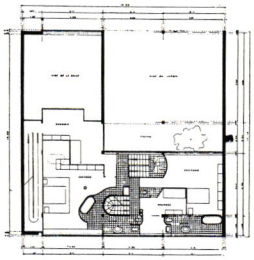
Ill. 11, 12 Maison Citrohan 1922

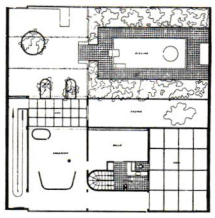


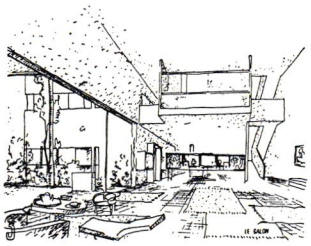
Ill. 13 Maison Guiette 1926



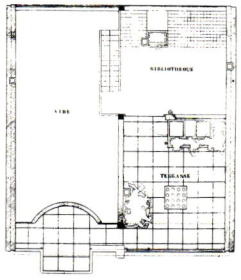
Ill. 14 Weissenhof Seidlung 1927

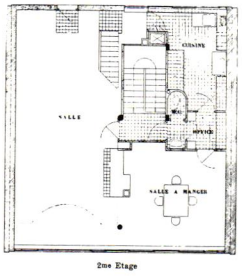


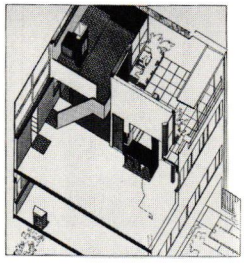




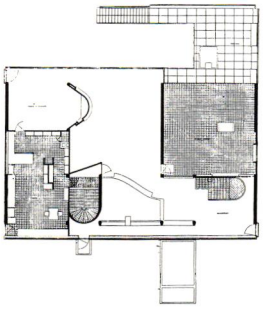
Ill. 15, 16 Villa Meyer 1925

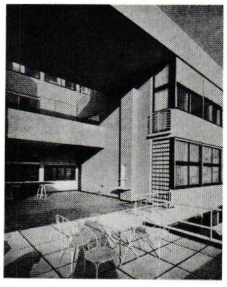




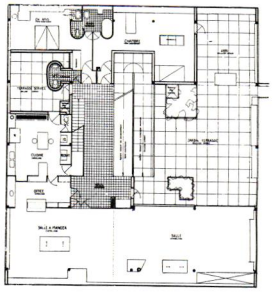


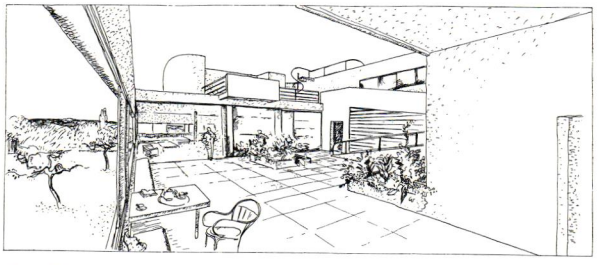
Ill. 17, 18 Villa Cook 1926





Ill. 19, 20 Villa Stein at Garches 1927





Ill. 21, 22 Maison Savoye at Poissy 1928-30

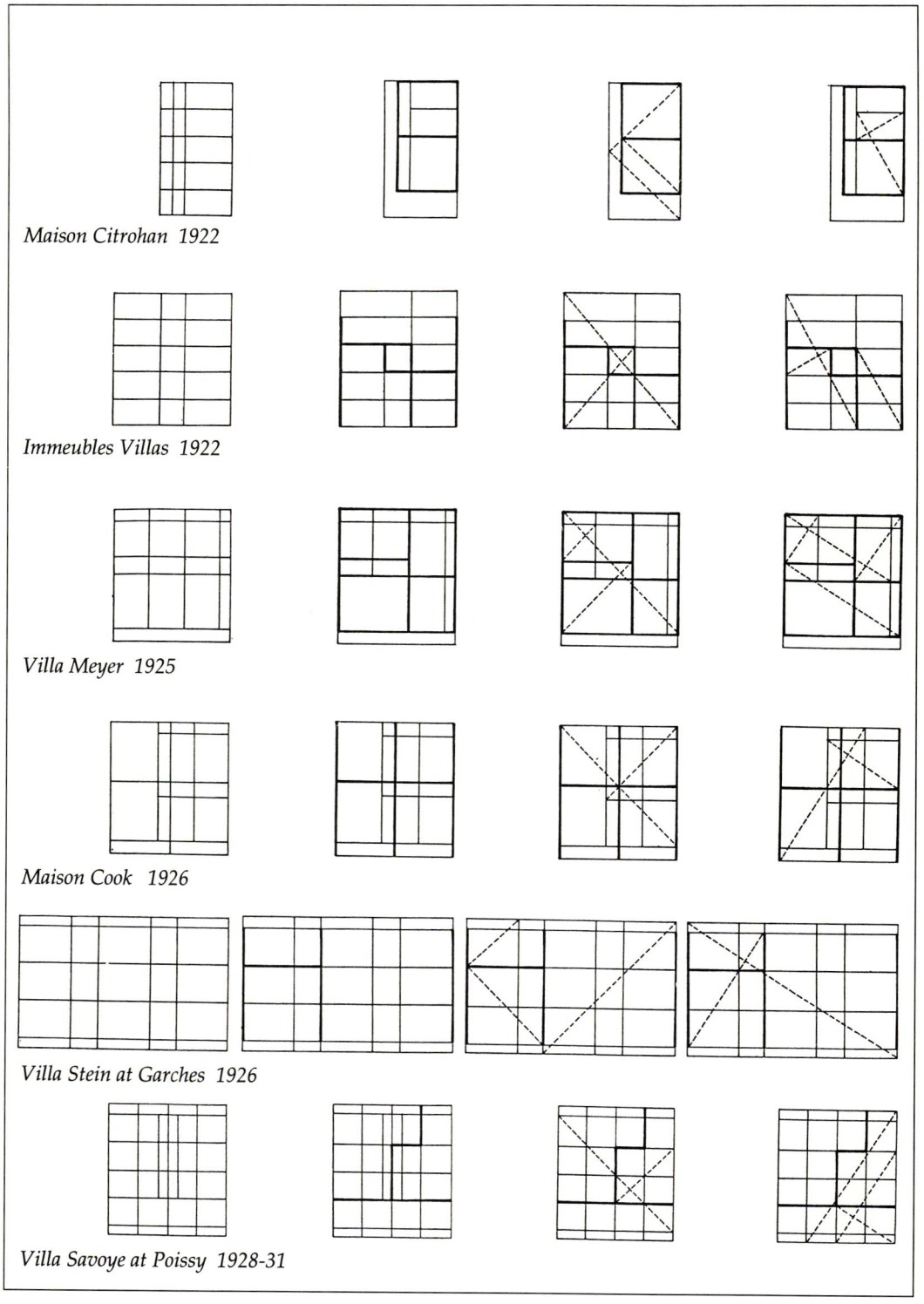
the Immeubles Villa as an urban stackable multistory solution can be seen as fundamental spatial and geometric strategies that recur in Le Corbusier's work.

The presence of these spatial ideas is most obvious in the upper- middle class houses executed between 1910 and 1929. The Villa Meyer of 1925 comes closest to the model. Although it has a swimming pool on the roof and a continuous ramp through four levels, it is a party wall building with a quadranted plan in which one quadrant is an outdoor terrace. The geometric and structural grid system is similar to the Immeubles Villas, with the section through the living room, library, and upper boudoir and bedroom being almost identical.

The 1926 Villa Cook of Boulogne-Sur-Seine just below the Bois de Boulogne of Paris also resembles the Immeubles Villa Scheme. It is a more simply divided party wall structure, with the square plan bisected and quadranted. The stair, in an off-center zone, creates a dynamic spatial movement in plan and section, as well as an acknowledgment by size and hierarchical position of public and private ac-

tivities in the surrounding spaces. Here again the double-height living space and exterior terrace quadrant refers to the Immeubles/Citrohan strategy, and the overt exposure of the three column center structural grid expresses the free plan concept first diagrammed in the Maison Domino housing proposals.

The 1927 Villa Stein at Garches has in some ways a more enigmatic relationship to the Immeubles Villa scheme in that it seems to deny some of the realistic contextual conditions in favor of a polemical statement. The house is a party wall *parti* on a site where nothing would be built to its sides. It has large front and back yards yet a quadrant of the piano nobile is devoted to a terrace that has the exact configuration of the Immeubles Villa, including the open slot of the roof to obtain light through the stacked units that would hypothetically be built on top. The plan is not a square but rather a golden rectangle with the square embedded in it. Its ABAB structural rhythm is like an expanded repetition of the Immeubles Villa and Citrohan. At Garches, the frontal movement on the ground floor is transformed into lateral movement on the pi-



Maison Citrohan 1922

Immeubles Villas 1922

Villa Meyer 1925

Maison Cook 1926

Villa Stein at Garches 1926

Villa Savoye at Poissy 1928-31

ano nobile, thus involving a more complex notion of rotation than Cook derived from the revolving stair.

Finally, in the Maison Savoye at Poissy from 1928-30, the spatial organization of the Immeubles Villa is again explored. The circulation ramp is in a center zone creating a tartan of the regular grid, as well as an essential dynamic to the spatial sequence in plan and section. The square volume is eroded in both plan and section, and a major exterior space is created for outdoor living as well as to provide a spatial expansion of the indoor volume. As at Garches, this seems to contradict the fact of the house being on a large site.

The coincidence of geometry, spatial duplexing, and party walls with the development of the free plan that permits overlapping space and use, suggests a fundamental interrelationship between Le Corbusier's ideas on the problems of mass housing and his early single-family houses. Their fundamental condition refers too much to the Maison Citrohan and the Immeubles Villas to see them as autonomous works. In fact, one could go so far, with the evidence demonstrated, as to suggest that they could not have been what they are had not their author continued an investigation of normative issues of housing while solving the more idiosyncratic programs of the clients that gave him the means to conduct these experiments. This analysis, then, supports speculation that there was a second agenda in many of the houses that we have come to admire on their own.

If this analysis is correct, it lends evidence to an argument for the role of multiple agendas in architecture. It demonstrates that there is a position that need not be marginal, but instead points to the possibility of maintaining a search for the interrelationships between form and meaning, between beauty and a belief in a better world. The idea of a multiple agenda, which rests on the belief that the problem given is not necessarily the same as the problem posed, is in fact not an extreme position. Instead it is one which provides the opportunity to bring an elaborate richness to a problem that it might otherwise be lacking.

Notes

1. Michael Schwarting, "Morality and Reality: In Search of the Better Argument", *VIA 10: Ethics and Architecture* (Rizzoli, 1990), p. 65-66.

2. Frederic Jameson, "Architecture and the Critique of Ideology", *Architecture, Criticism, Ideology* (Princeton Architectural Press, 1985), p. 70.

3. Jameson, op. cit., p. 64.

Illustration Credits

Frontispiece: Top. Courtesy Hunting Aerofilms, Ltd.

23. Author

All others: Courtesy Foundation Le Corbusier

Two Projects

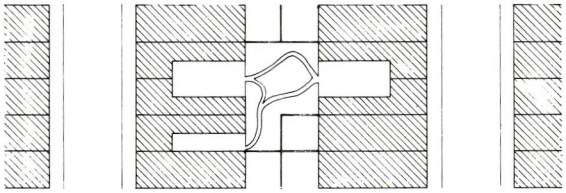
I have been involved in both teaching and practice for the past nineteen years. The practice can be called "marginal" in that it is at the *edge* of the typical commercial practice in this country. As such, it can, with its potential interrelationship with teaching, be a commentary from the margins on what is seen to be in the center.

Our work has taken on two investigations. One is about space. In a recognition that over time many interesting spatial inventions have resulted from the fact that architects have had to design with less and less, I have been interested in trying to go beyond the "free plan" that was the great invention of modern architecture. Our experiments have been trying to develop a "virtual" space, a space which can exist in the mind but which differentiates itself from real space. It is possible for "virtual" space, space which seems to exist without physically being so, to be stronger than the actual space. Through use of color, texture, and materials, we have been interested in creating spatial sequences and divisions which counteract actual physical delineations.

The second investigation has been about public architecture. The last five years of practice have involved work for the city of New York, from subway stations to urban renewal projects. Along with this has been a continuing study of housing through competitions and similar means.

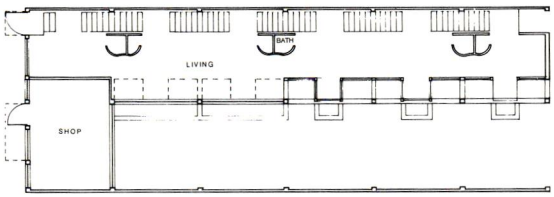
The following projects have served as testing grounds on which we have continued these investigations while at the same time meeting the needs of more overt agendas.

SINGLE ROOM OCCUPANCY
Spending the night in a 6 x 6 (as 12 x 24 as 24 x 72)

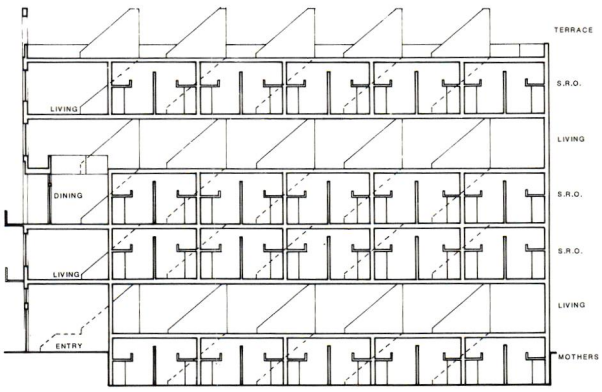


Site Plan

Upper Floor Private Room Level



Ground Floor Communal Level

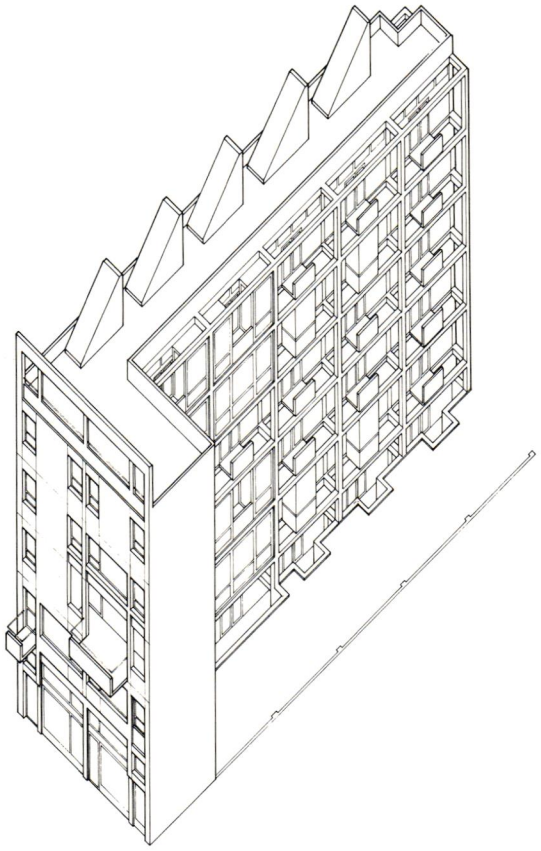


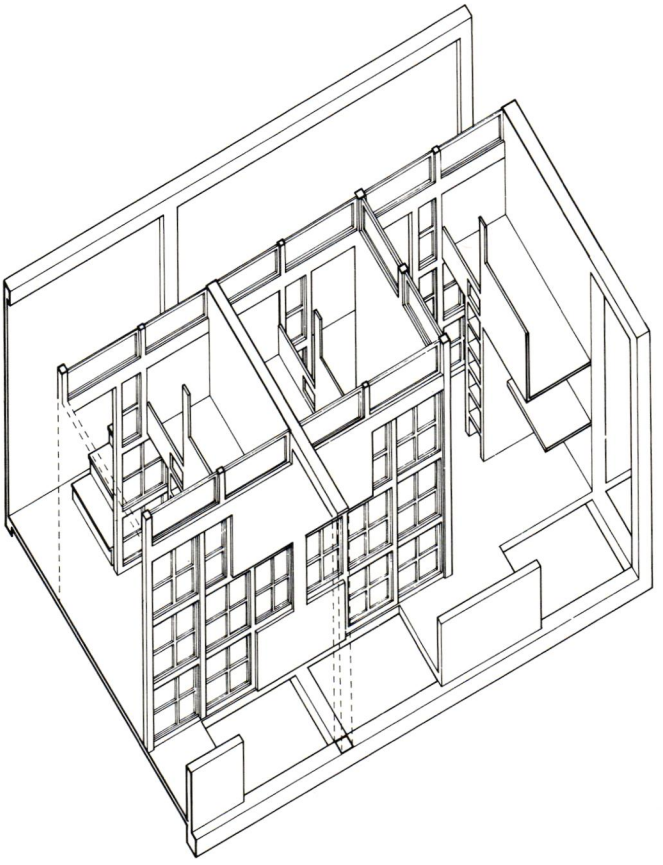
Section

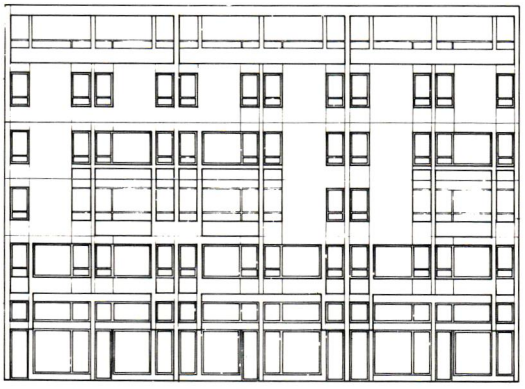
This project represents an objection to the concept of "creating a shelter to spend the night in the public space of the city."

That concept negates the distinction, the dichotomy, and the dialectic of the public and the private. "Spending the night," in every conceivable sense of the term is a private act and therefore should not transpire in the public realm.

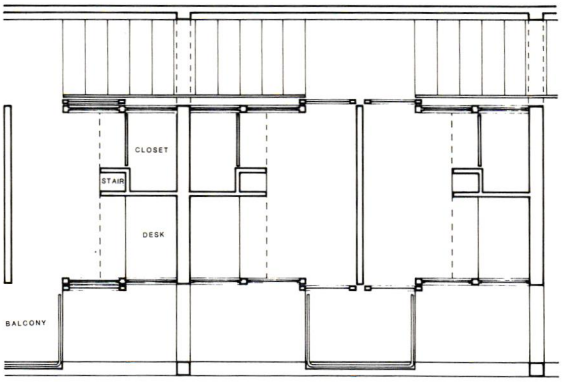
The principle analogue of this project, both socially and formally, is the communal house experiments made in Russia in the 1920's. The concepts of community have been utilized for this S.R.O. project to develop its sense of public space and at the same time provide individual privacy. The other theme of the project is to provide a spatial "transparency" or ambiguity that would permit the inherently small spaces to be defined within implicit larger readings. This spatial concept is intended to assist the notion of communal sharing by the overlap of space. These two concepts were developed in the form of the typical American townhouse site. The intention is to assume an integration rather than a differentiation of people who live in single rooms regardless of their economic situation. This proposal is a "party wall" house with 30 private bedrooms, one living room, one dining room, one TV/game room, one court and one yard.







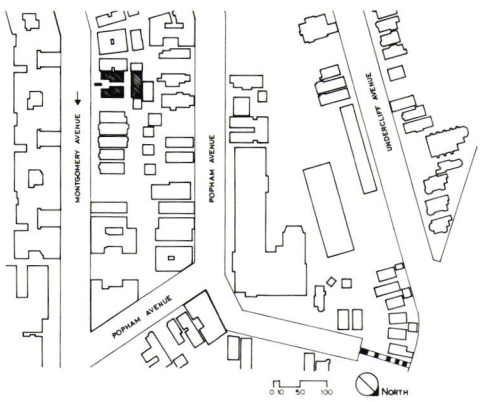
Elevation



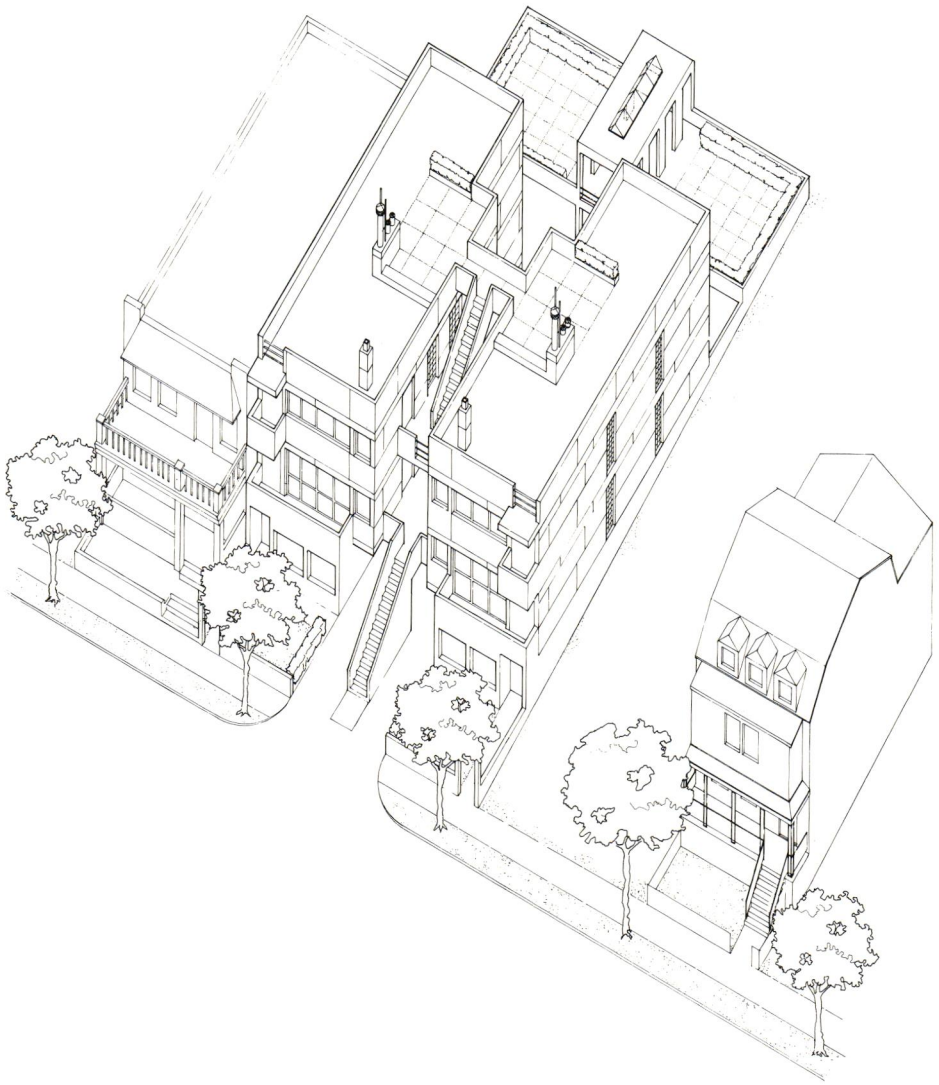
Room Plan

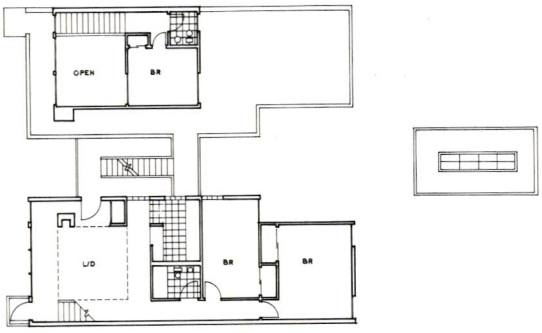
PROTOTYPE HOUSING
Morris Heights, Bronx

This project attempts to analyze the existing housing typologies of the Bronx and to develop a prototype that would give a greater identity to the whole while occupying only a part. Thus the axial driveway and exterior public circulation amplify each other and maintain a strong relation of things typically relegated to the periphery: to the exterior space and the street. The figure of exterior space mirrors and interlocks with the interior volumes to create a larger sense of the whole in the sense that the "other" is necessary to complete it. The units themselves are subdivided into spatial figures that also mirror the overall unit figure. *(Karahan/Schwarting Architecture Company)*

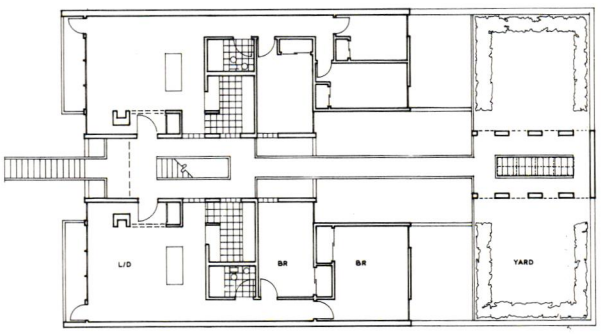


Site Plan

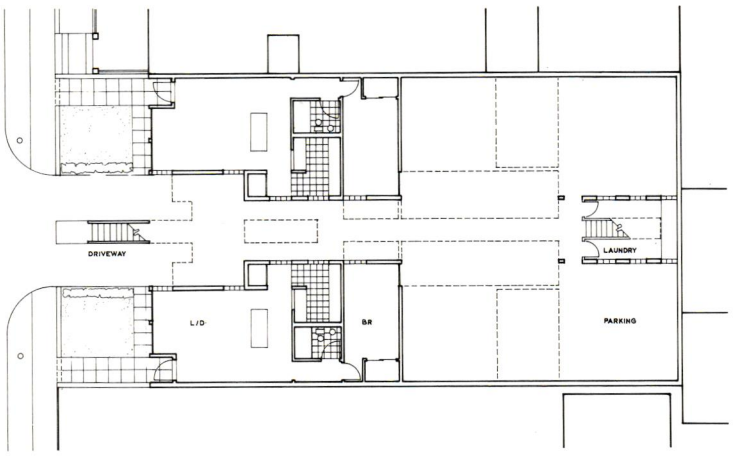




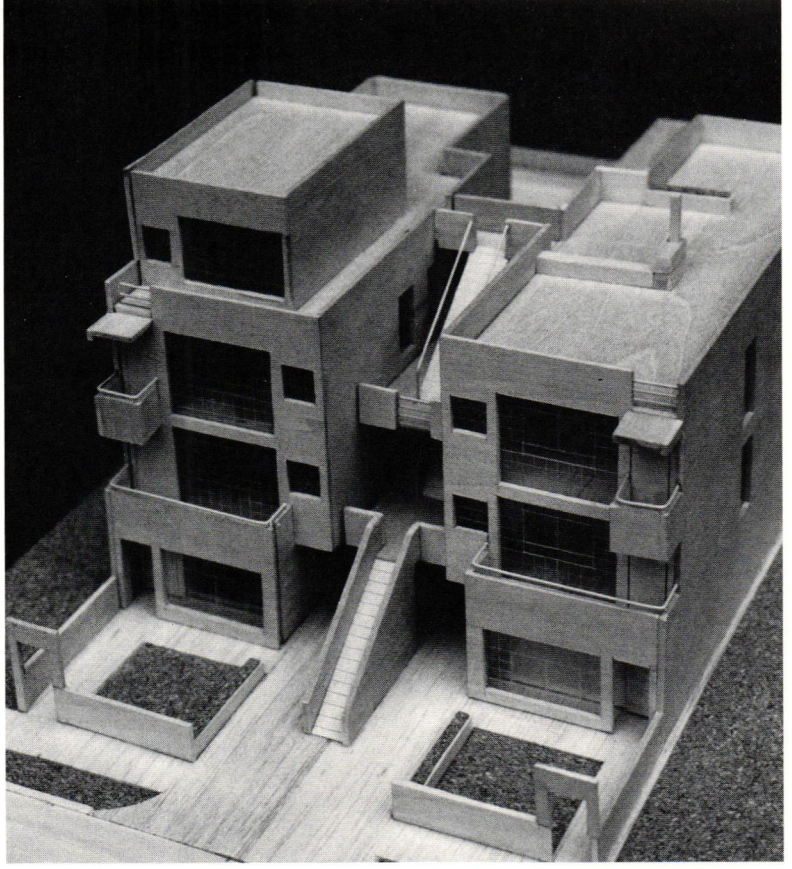
Second floor plan: three (or four) bedroom units

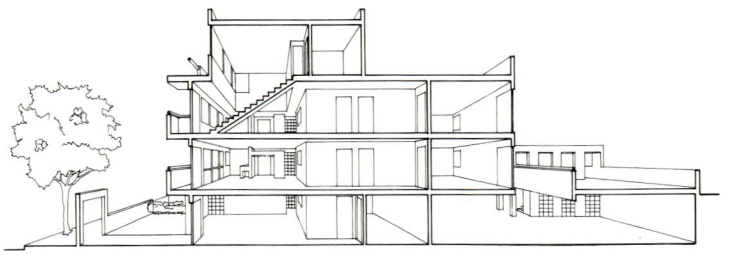


First floor plan: two (or three) bedroom units

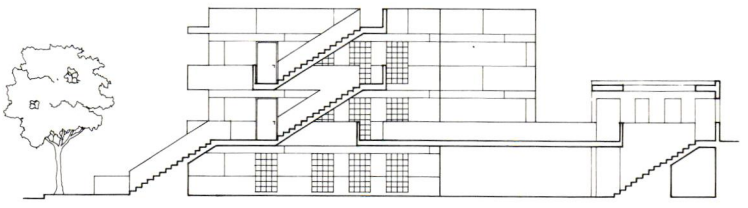


Ground floor plan: one bedroom elderly units





Section through the units



Section through the entry court

Good Government and the Love of Beauty

Politeia and Philokalia

Renato Rizzi

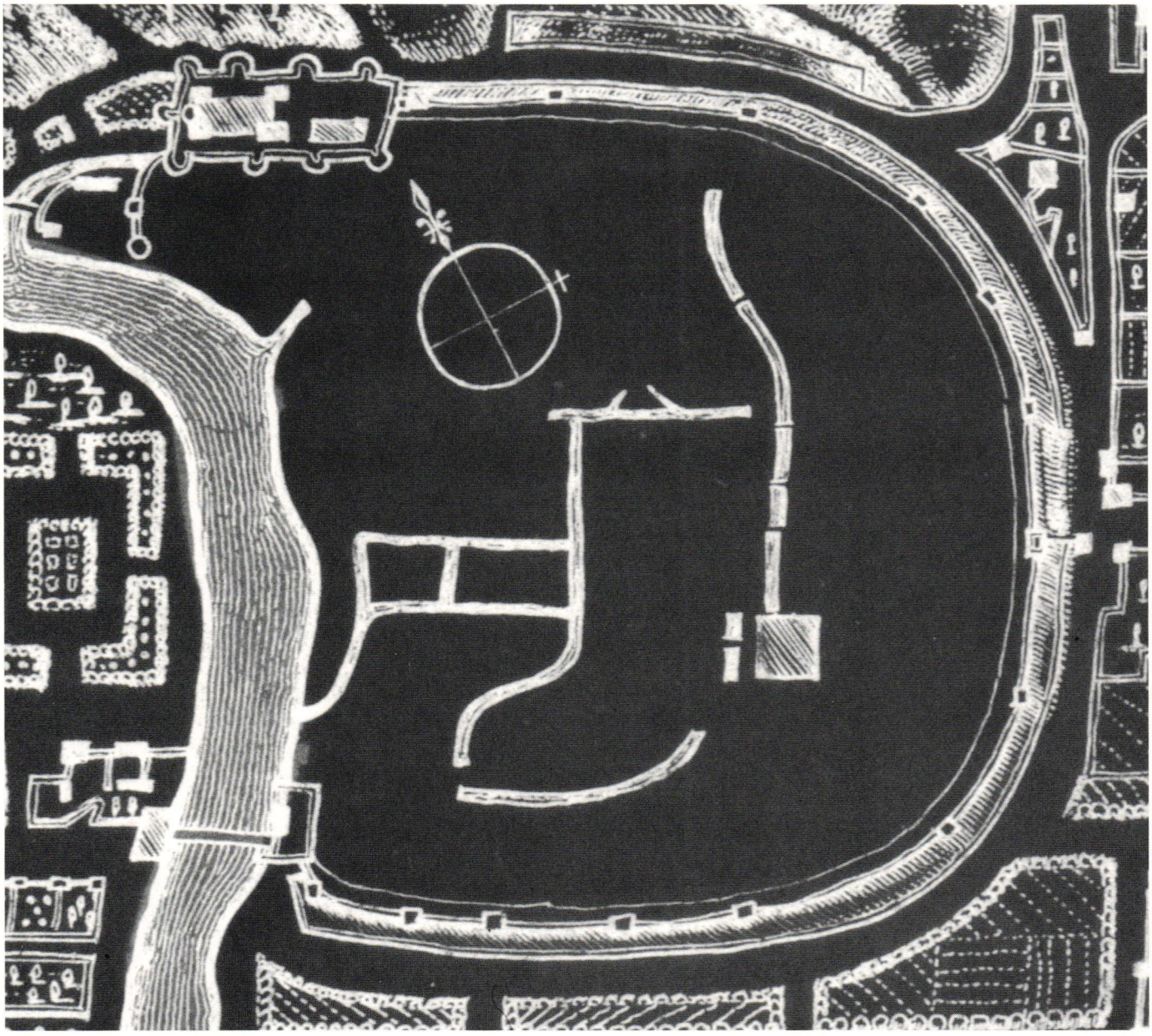
The true state of our time is profoundly different from that of the grand expectations which marked the end of the 1960's. General relaxation and lack of focus have already replaced the ideological aspirations of those years, which were sustained by a political belief founded on the reformation of the entire social spectrum—the working world, the educational sphere, the home, and the world of commerce.

In the ensuing years, much transformation has occurred, but within narrow confines which exclude real investigation of values and beauty. A growing discontent and waning enthusiasm have spurred a demand for more qualitative change. The actual nature and complexity of the problems have become more apparent as the most egregious problems have been addressed. This emerging need for quality, which concerns all fields—from production to teaching, from the art world to general mores—makes it more difficult to reconcile general objectives with individual desires. Meeting the most basic demands is no longer sufficient.

Translated from the Italian by Eleanor D'Aponte.

Architecture has participated in and contributed to this development. Forced to reconsider its role with respect to demands which are, on the one hand, less focused and less schematic ideologically, and on the other more precise, more recognizable and differentiated in their contents, architecture has had to overcome a number of problems encountered in the application of theory to actuality.

The old ideology, committed more to social progress than to design, is losing force under the discipline's scrutiny. The discipline had forgotten, for too



Iconography of Trento, 17th century

long, aesthetic traditions and concerns in favor of sociopolitical change. It had too easily abandoned the knowledge and application of disciplinary tools such as historiographic diagrams in favor of reductive oral abstractions. It had given too much trust and importance to the lofty ideologies (above all political) diminishing the value of their constructive and symbolic contents. It had invested almost unequivocally in the grand theme of Modernism: the metaphor of the machine, the paradigm of the technical-scientific age. It had given too much importance to the functional-utilitarian objective, the product of an efficiency-minded pragmatism, which in effect simplifies the complexity and variety of the programmatic requirements until they are reduced to rigid and lifeless figures. It had suffered too much from self-justifying intellectualism, sinking into the aridity of semiological analysis and thus distancing itself from its own *telos*, from the core of its own purpose: that of re-establishing a connection with reality through the solidity of building. It had lost the great symbolic and metaphysical frontiers, obscured by a long nihilistic tradition, because of a lowering of standards to the quotidian nature of building. It then formed itself around the culture of fragments, its vision focused on the details in the absence of a general reflection.

It recognized that the political responsibility of architecture is not obtained by invading the political, sociological, or, more recently, the ecological fields, but is achieved rather by way of increasing the value of its own means, the design, in the attempt to restore beauty as a sensibility and as a lost aesthetic capacity. It recognized that the complexity of actual practice requires a broadened outlook capable of interpreting the diverse, the plural, and the contradictory.

It seems, by now, that a real upheaval fuels the current state of confusion. In this difficult and intricate forking of languages, it becomes ever more difficult to recognize the quality and relevance of architecture in the absence of broader horizons of meaning.

To what end, for example, referring to contemporary criticism, would one legitimize the Deconstructivist movement by attributing its cultural heritage to Constructivism? It is precisely the historical, political, and social ideas informing Constructivism and affecting not only Russia but the entire European continent in the beginning of the 1900's which are so radically different from the historical, political and social ideas informing Deconstructivism.

Why not interpret it instead, without wishing to reduce its importance, as the realization of a baroque mannerism, where the aesthetic dimension contains within its pure formal game the meaning of its own existence. Is it not this idea of humor (a fitting manifestation of modernity), of the world as a game, which is its more accurate representation?

Nevertheless, this idea serves to feed the dismemberment, the dissolution, the laceration of reality (nostalgia for chaos?), increasing the fragmentation and the dissemination of the aesthetic of fragmentation. The role of architecture today seems to be the construction of a *kosmos* of unrelated images.

The necessity then emerges for a general reconsideration, capable of a comprehensive vision, rather than a focus on the particular and the individual. This means to recall and give space to a humanistic sensibility staying within the positivistic tradition of technological and industrial efficiency.

An aesthetic program which fosters an idea of beauty seems to be the only possible response: A beauty understood as knowledge, as consciousness which is made by bringing the plurality of the world to its mature representation.

This new attitude naturally implies an adjustment with respect to our way of thinking and evaluating. It implies elevating the issue of aesthetics to the same level of dignity as other fields: science, technology, economics and politics. In this way they can be dealt with as equals. Here beauty moves away from historical tradition, which since Kant has understood aesthetics as the study of perception of beauty, as something which is not essential.

And instead it is understood as a cognitive experience through the image, a primitive relationship to the object. It is the surface appearance of depth. This was the Greek understanding of form. They conceived of art as the *mimesis* (imitation) of nature, and thus according to nature, *kata phisin*, while technology, *techne*, was considered to be against nature, *para phisin*. Today, instead, in a complete overturning of meaning, it is technology—possesor of the world, but also the savior of humanity— which attributes itself to nature, and art which is against nature.

But we are also aware of what technology causes if left to its own devices. Without beauty as a guide, it produces paradoxes. And, as observed by Rella, the ethical and political duty is to complete nature through art. This means to reconnect technology with art (just think about what the "precision and perfection"

of technology as art was in Greek architecture), in an attempt to re-create an original rapport with a world which is still unknown to us.

The aspiration toward quality is an aesthetic need, and it is at this point a necessity recognized by many. The ugliness of the disorder and formal confusion of the city and the squalor of the periphery increasingly occupy more and more *apeiron*. This then becomes the crucial place for reflection on design, of the critical obligation of the design disciplines. The territory understood as natural landscape, agricultural, urban, industrial must no longer set itself up as a testing ground for urbanistic abstractions, but rather as a stage for a great performance.

We dispose too easily of an important historical tradition that from the Renaissance onward has given us an innumerable series of examples of the landscape as a work of art. Beauty and utility go hand in hand. It is sufficient to remember the improvements by Le Notre for the park at Versailles, or the Caroline aqueduct by Vanvitelli for the waterfalls of the palace at Caserta. We can definitely not forget this enormous and splendid figurative baggage, even if those aesthetic models and their compositional syntactics are not applicable today.

Modern aesthetic experience has produced, through painting, literature, poetry, music, cinema, advertising, and television, in union with the whole body of sciences and technology, a continuous stream of images which are then abandoned like a mass of debris. But a new and precious iconographic patrimony has also been established, which remains in another respect frozen: the beauty of the territory and the city.

It is necessary to develop a new kind of attention toward the approach to and knowledge of global problems, recalling the Aeschylean saying about wisdom through pathos, or Plato's equally forgotten *telos ton rotikon*, the loving quest for the beautiful. More than philosophers (lovers of knowledge) we should transform ourselves into *philokali* (lovers of beauty), contributing to the growth of an aesthetic sensibility that seduces through the fascination and wonder of the work of art.

For example, ecologists and environmentalists should reflect carefully on the reductionism inherent in much of their thinking. We have no need for unconnected "green space," mortifying orthopedics offered to a natural world ever more mutilated, but rather for the development of great images of landscape and territorial unity, where the splendor of beauty accounts for the diverse, the plural, making the representations of the technological and the political converge in a grand design.

It is necessary to return to the city and to the territory their magnificence, rendering visible the civic values of beauty, dispersed and ignored by irrational "reason." Critical philosophical and scientific thought have taught us slowly to understand Modernity. One sees, for example, how the modern idea of the linear and progressive time of the arrow in flight, has been definitively broken and how technology, by unbending the power of its apparatus, has radically transformed the world of things, rendering them all but unrecognizable.

Our age is situated on the threshold of these profound changes, a place of confluence where all our experience and thus all of our history is poised for a new beginning. We stand prepared to uncover the beauty hidden by "cloth warm and gray [that of habits and traditions], covered on the inside by a silk lining of dazzling colors." Are we prepared "with a mere gesture to overturn the lining of time"?[1]

Beauty, therefore, is conferring ethical and aesthetic sense and direction on the pluralities of our doings.

Notes

Politeia and Philokalia
Politeia: "good government of the people" For Aristotle, democracy, as the equivalent of oligarchy and tyranny, is the worst form of power, to which the corresponding positive is *politeia*.
Philokalia: from *philo-kalos*, "love of beauty"

1. Walter Benjamin, *Parigi Capitale del XX Secolo*, (Edizioni Einaudi), 1985.

Ghiaie Sports Center

Principles of Design in a Suburban Environment

It has become increasingly understood in recent times that it is no longer sufficient to offer simple, functional solutions to the requirements of a program. Indeed, the attitude of many municipal administrations today is to invest their political prestige in the term "quality." While the "functional" program is concerned with all aspects of a technical, organizational, distributive and quantitative nature, the "figurative" program deals with the character of the place and its specific attributes, its relation to the constructed city, and its reverberations with the natural system. In the architectural environment, a new difficulty and complexity results from this weaving together of the "functional" program and the "figurative" program.

The adoption of this attitude becomes most important when one considers that large interventions—like a sports arena—are planned in vast suburban areas, which are normally degraded by a paucity of public services. These places have an enormous representative potential. The intervention has the capacity to affect qualitatively the organization of the area, and lend to it meaning. This project is a canonic example of that attempt.

The site is an island with respect to the urban surroundings, an area of waste and isolation. It is positioned marginally—close to the city, but cut off, separated from it—enclosed on all sides by the railroad, the riverbanks, and the ring-roads.

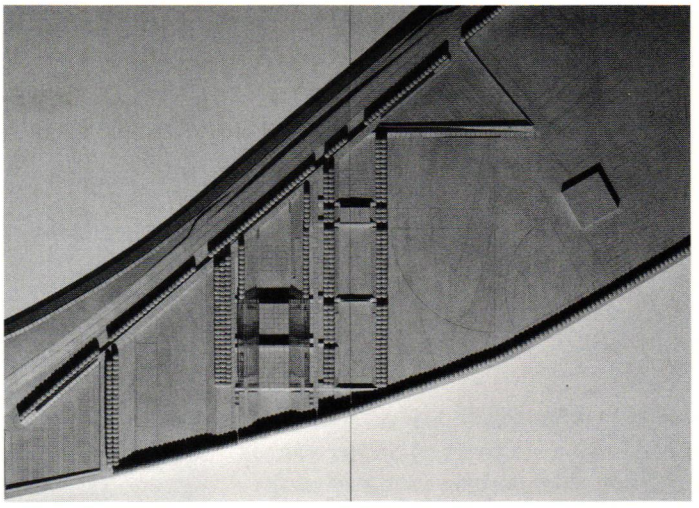
However, the project ambitiously foresees a richly articulated center of athletic activity and aspires to elevate the area to a principle of organization for the whole outskirts. In this way the figurative objective of the project is to define the place as a meeting space between the artificialness of the city and the naturalness of the country within a system of discontinuity—a middle space, an infra-world, between the urban model and the natural model, which has to renounce smooth flowing continuities with the constructed cities.

The place, then, becomes a fundamental text to be interpreted. In it, it is possible to retrace the rules and the principles of structure which then help the arrangement of the figures extracted from the city and the natural landscape.

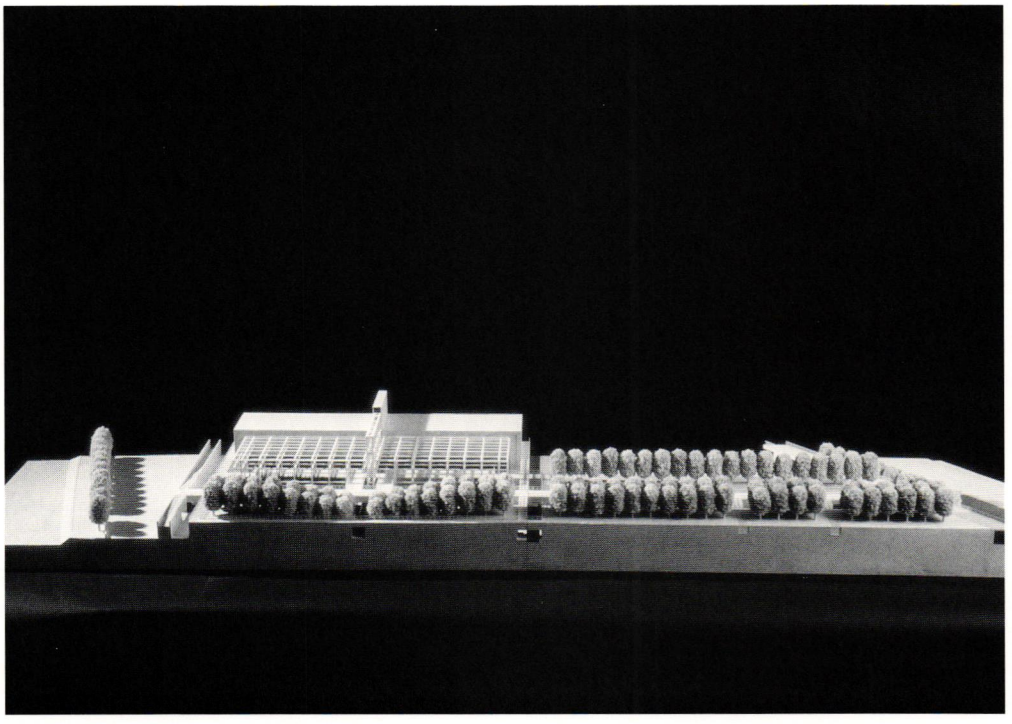
If the morphological character of the place becomes defined by: (a) its own edges which contain it; (b) by the level of the ground, the natural soil of the country and the artificial one obtained with a 4-5 meter layer of fill; and, (c) the regulating markers, of agricultural roads with east-west orientation, these principles become completely transfigured in the plotted support of the entire projected program.

The edge, then, becomes a visual element that strengthens the boundaries of the site, and organizes the exterior border upon which the system of pedestrian traffic, the points of threshold, and the disposition of public services are developed. It is no longer understood as

Plan of Trento, showing relationship between the historic center and the sports arena.



Aerial view



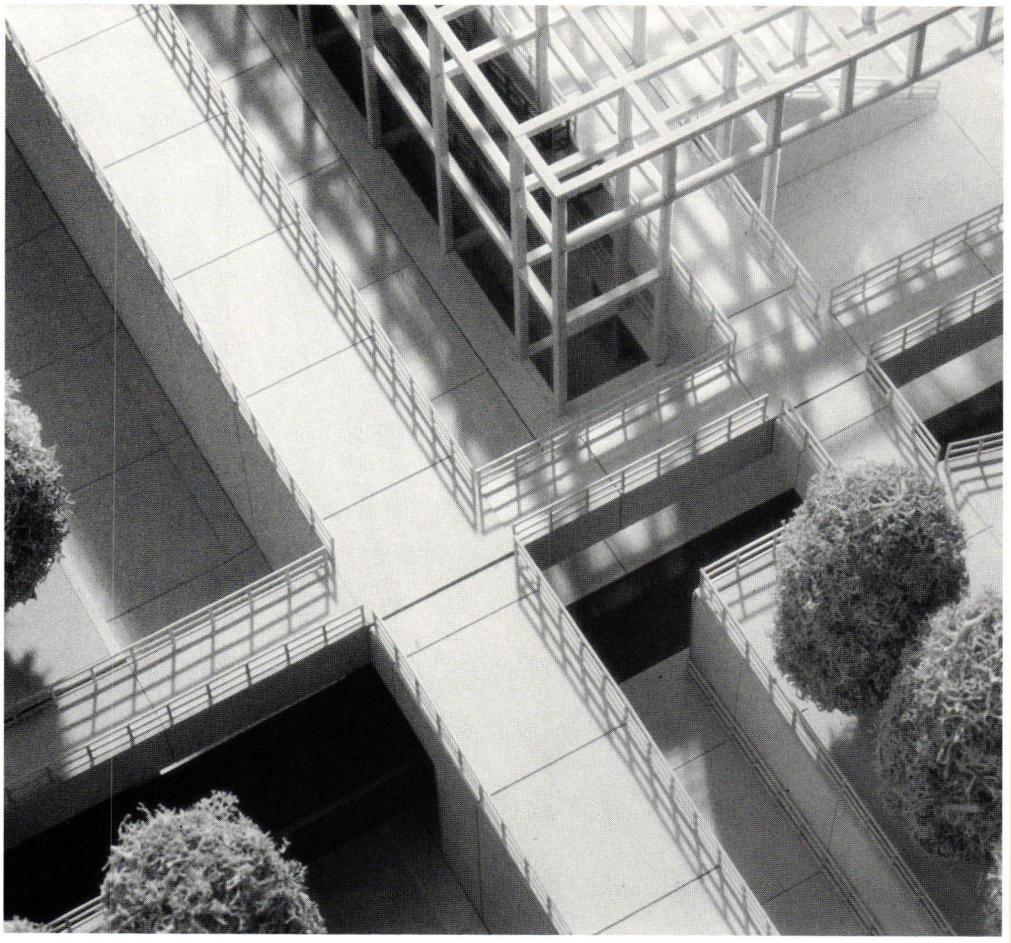
View of the Sports Arena

an element which excludes and separates, but rather as an element of connection, of familiarity, of experience and exchange.

The soil level articulates three altimetric levels which correspond to different functional elements: (a) the highest for public walkways; (b) the intermediate one for service and open air sports; (c) the lowest for covered athletic activities. This layout favors the separation of pedestrian from vehicular traffic.

The regulating markers, finally, generate a band-like organization of the internal areas, arranging them in an east-west direction. The three principle bands or "valleys" (since they in fact are excavated) correspond to specific functional categories.

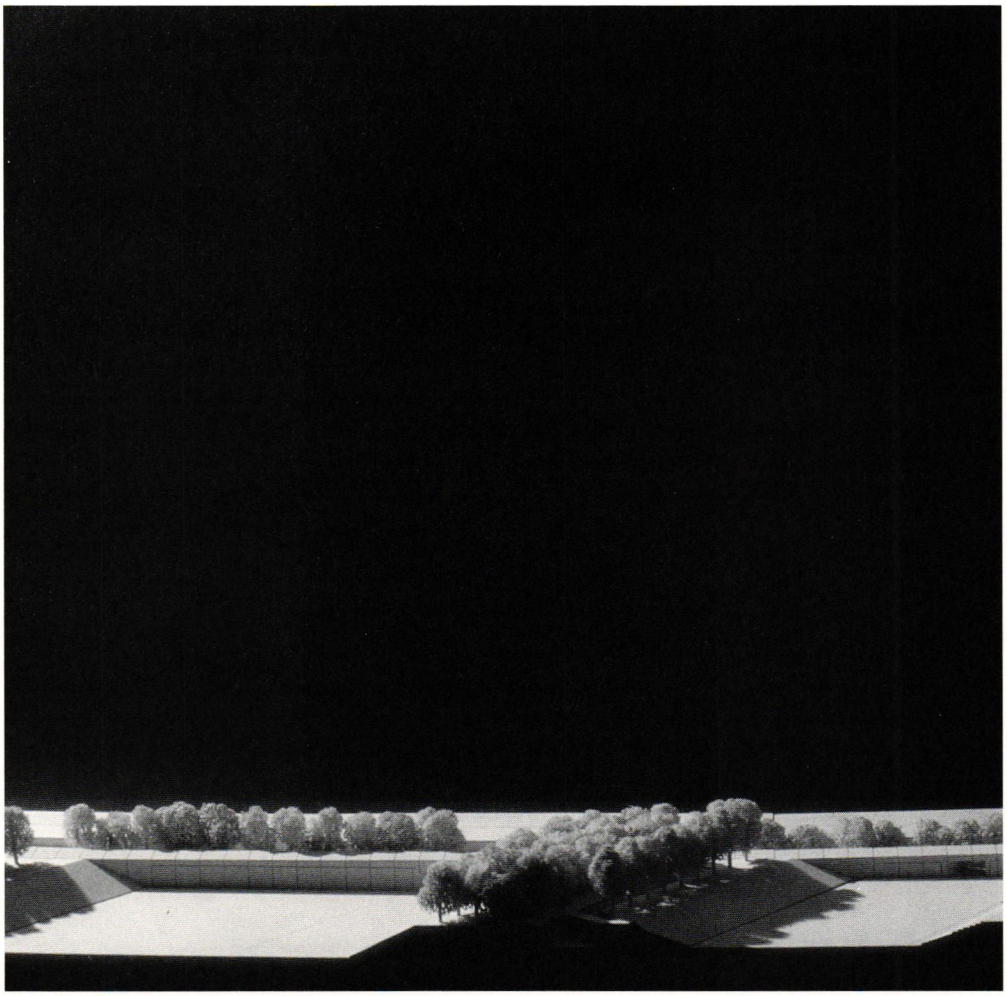
Beginning with the structural plan of the project, the process of configuration is activated in a subtle game of exchanging parts, as urban elements (ramps, steps, curbs, bridges, streets, dikes, walls, etc.) collide with natural elements (rows of trees, pergolas, gardens, valleys, orchards, embankments, etc.).



The area becomes formed and organized like a great building, and the building, in its turn, like the area.

We come in this way to constitute a foundation which is rooted as gently as it is firmly to the soil, with a landscape that unveils a heterogeneous succession of escarpments, landslips, plateaus, inclinations, diluted in the matrix of the ordering geometry of the different bands and different levels. The "valleys," bordered by herbaceous embankments and rows of trees, are cut transversally by "dikes" that are nothing other than crossings pronounced by the distributive screen.

The project does not represent a commonplace architecture, consisting of easily individuated buildings, by founda-



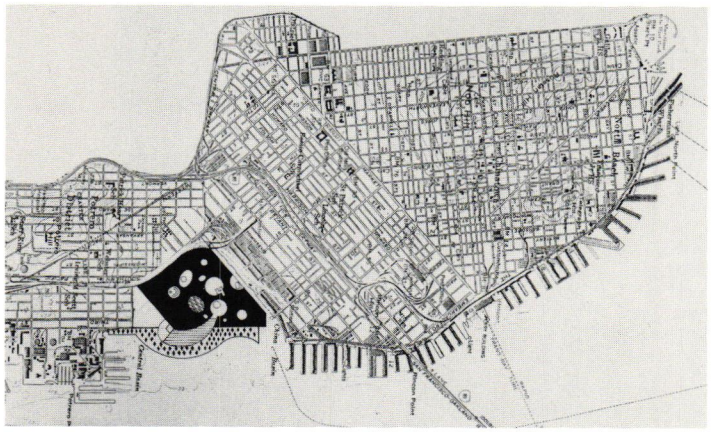
A horizontal architecture, like a great form generated from the earth and placed almost as if to dam the continuous and shapeless flood of the periphery

tions or caps, but an incessant permutation of features which tie the place to the ancient memory of demarcations. From the pedestrian level, one can observe, both the grand exterior landscape— the river, the hill, the country, and also the surfacing of the monuments of the historic center—and the internal view, consisting of different environmental rooms for sports.

Similarly, the sports palace becomes destructured, involved with and assimilated into the general morphology of the settlement. The opaque and transparent treatment of the shell, in relation to the game zone and the zone of the steps, accentuates and heightens the connection of the building to the characteristics of the land, proposing at a different scale the insertive system used for the general complex. Paradoxically, one could say that there does not exist a single sports complex, but rather many, of which one is covered and the others are open.

The sports area, therefore, is no longer understood as a specialized place to engage in different athletic disciplines, but becomes a place of integration for other uses and other meanings, a place of representation, where the aesthetic dimension unveils a new landscape, rich in events and full of images. The organizing logic of urban place is sustained by the natural elements.

The project aspires to highlight the theme of the great landscape of valleys destroyed by the city, demonstrating the possibility of transforming the defects, the joints, the obstacles of the place in a figurative sense, in order to elevate them to their aesthetic and representational worth.



A Symbolic Dissent

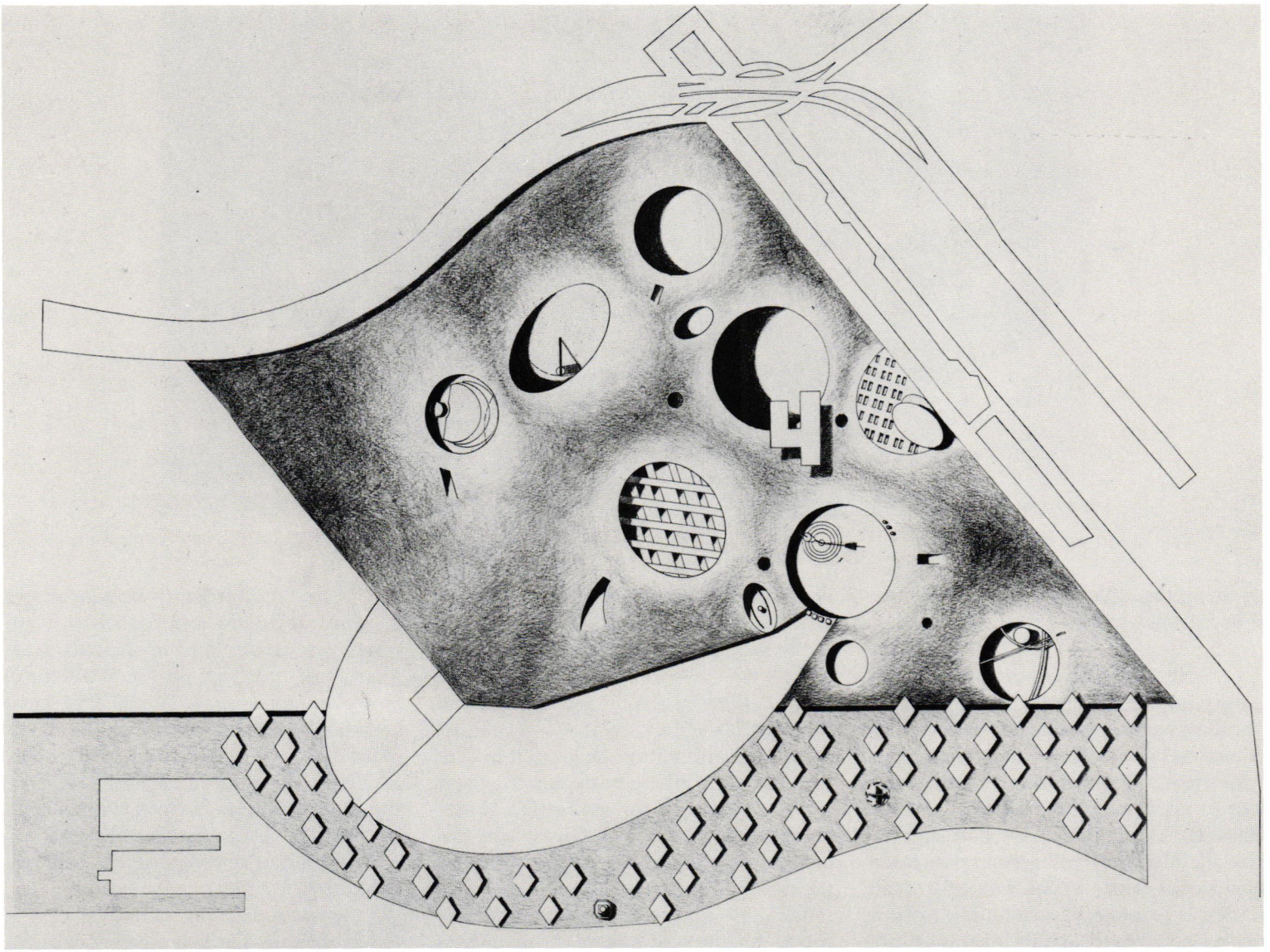
A Project for China Basin, San Francisco

Diana Agrest

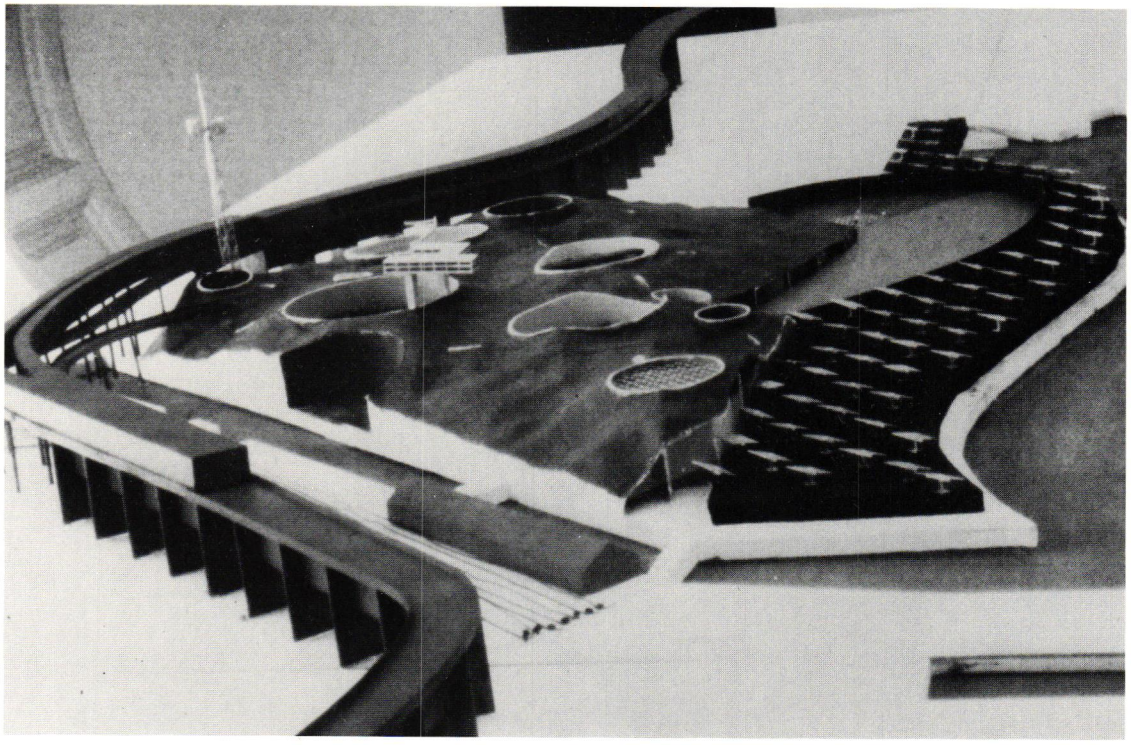
The China Basin project addresses the problematic nature of the formal, social and economic aspects of the modern American city. The most obvious mode of urban growth has been and continues to be the construction of large, high-rise structures, in such a manner that modern cities in the industrialized world have generated conditions of habitation that deny basic human needs, particularly those needs related to nature. The twentieth century approach to urban form, which established the building as a free standing object, has both social and political implications among which are the erasure of fabric, the denial of the street and the concomitant deterioration of modern urban life. Public space is no longer the most important locus for cultural exchange in the city.

Modern large-scale buildings generally represent private interests and are either elements of economic exchange themselves or symbols of corporate power. Our dedication to consumption allows speculative enterprise to produce urban towers so gigantic and densely packed as to make unlivable whatever streets and sidewalks remain. Since freestanding object-buildings are easier to identify and to consume, they become society's ultimate fetish. At the same time, the abandonment of downtowns is accompanied by the expansion of suburbs and office parks, increasing pollution due to commuting while eliminating the unique places of social and cultural exchange the city offers and ending by alienating the individual.

In contrast to these developments, the programs in this project address and encourage active production rather than passive consumption, and in



Ground level plan



Site model

so doing they likewise redefine the creation of public space.

In the history of architecture, nature and culture have been opposites, parallelling other classic oppositions such as art/technique, form/function, body/soul. In this project, however, nature and culture are presented in a dialectical relationship. Although here we de-emphasize the historical and formal notions of object and fabric which we have dealt with in other projects, we continue to focus on the modern city and its inherent stratification. In China Basin, the smooth fabric of nature replaces the striated fabric of the city, which in turn is buried under the site in the form of various street grids.

Throughout the development of the American city, machine (as a product of culture) and nature have been in conflict with each other. By expressing these two terms, normally in opposition, simultaneously within the site, we make this conflict explicit. Discussion of nature and the machine (city and country) has been remarkably absent from urbanistic discourse for the past four decades, and its reintroduction is especially critical now.

In "Urbanism," Le Corbusier specifies an urban approach that proposes vast amounts of open space with green, sun and clean air (or "exact air"). However, the extrapolations that have been made from his work with the aim of developing the modern city are pathetic. While the proposal of high rise and free standing building typologies has been adopted, the other part of the equation, the question of open space, has been ignored.

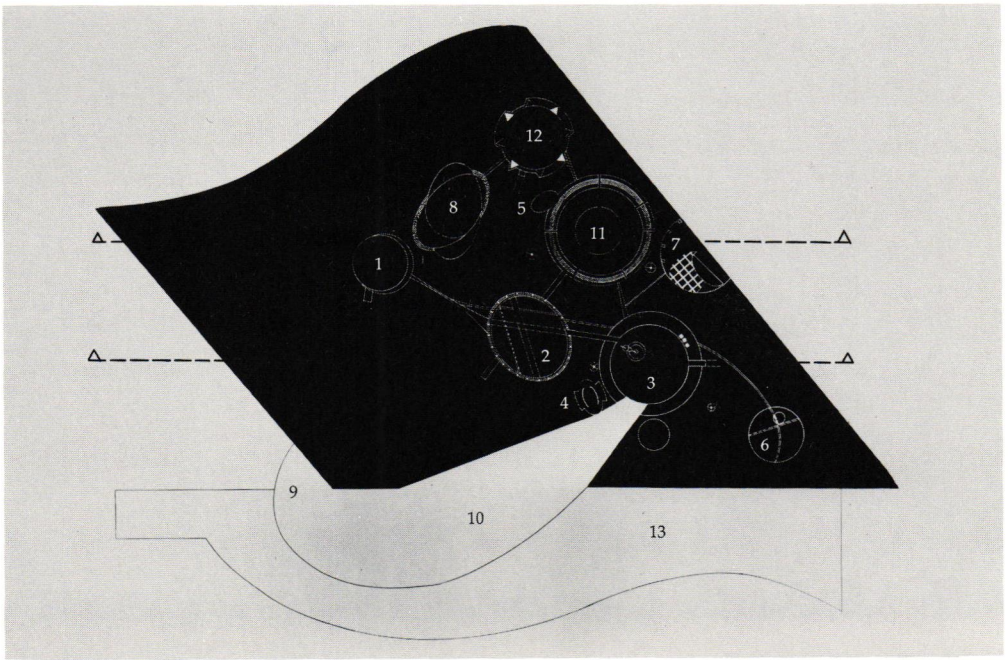
Nature has to be seen now as the city's environment. Because of the irrevo-

cable damage inflicted upon the relationship between city and country by the irrationality of a consumption-oriented society, we as architects can no longer ignore environmental issues.

The China Basin project is not intended as a global resolution for future cities, for we do not believe in an all-encompassing urbanism but rather in partial interventions. The project serves as a unique opportunity to examine and ask some pressing questions concerning the place, role and form of urban development at this moment in time.

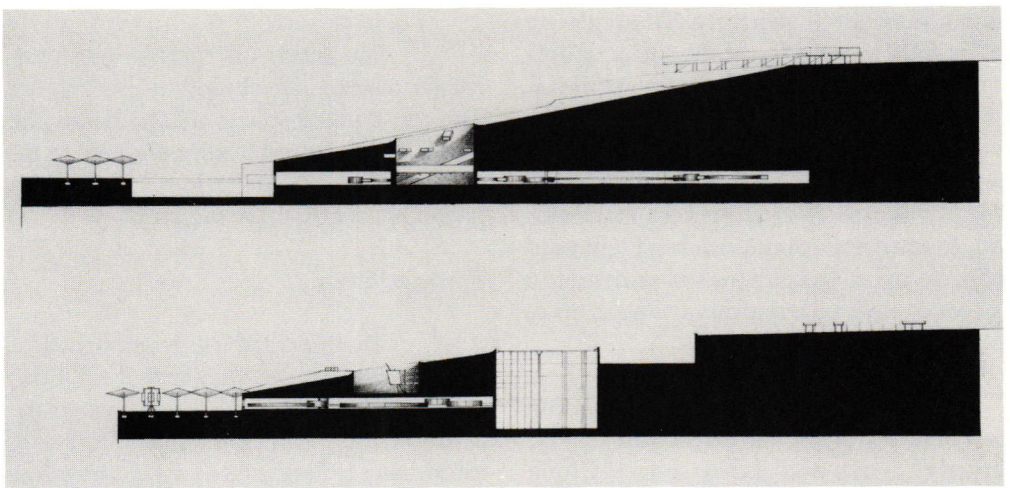
Zones of programmatic superimposition or interrelation are created and the apparent centers of each program are thus defined. The boundaries defining various social functions are left in suspense, creating areas of programmatic instability where one program becomes another, dissolving the barriers of institutionalized practice. Similarly, in a traditional urban environment, what is at one time a certain neighborhood with its characteristic activities may be "invaded" by another and transform or even disappear.

The organization of the China Basin site and the arrangement and design of the functioning spaces refer to the formal qualities of fabric as social knitted space. By creating programmatic juxtapositions within a physically interactive environment, the project encourages social contact and cultural exchange. China Basin is our reaction to modern urbanism's failure to provide an adequate place for the individual as a productive member of society.

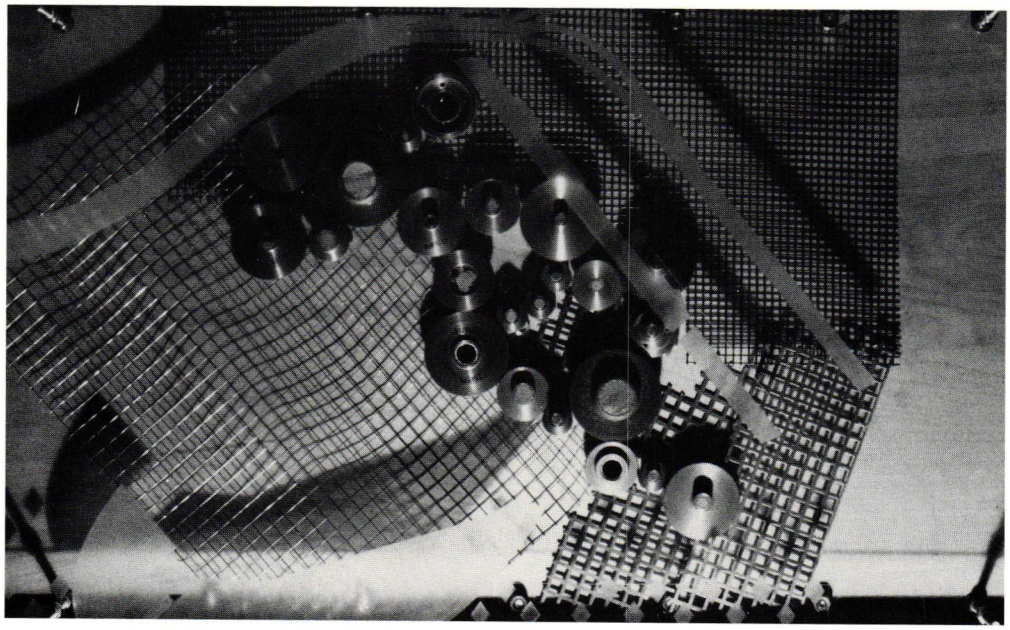


Site Plan

1. Amphitheater
2. Olympic Training Center
3. Market Place
4. Screening Studio
5. Radio Tower
6. Baths
7. Aquarium and Oceanographic Research Center
8. Genetic Research
9. Baseball Diamond
10. Agricultural Fields
11. Workshops
12. Museum of the 20th Century
13.Solar Fields



Section through Olympic Training Center
Section through Market Place and Aquarium & Oceanographic Research Center



Model of transportation level

The China Basin site slopes down from the freeway towards the water. The scheme assumes the creation of a new natural datum plane related to that of the existing Embarcadero Freeway, which in turn is rendered obsolete and transformed into a residential structure. The Freeway both defines one edge of the site and indicates the highest point above sea level. The China Basin canal bounds the northwestern edge of the site. San Francisco Bay and the field of thirty solar panels supplying power to China Basin facilities lies to the east. An undulating blanket of nature covers the site and is punctuated by curvilinear courtyards varying in function and depth.

In contrast to the common practice of introducing nature into the city by utilizing parks and public spaces, China Basin is an effort to introduce the city (i.e. production practices and technology) into nature with the goal of examining and revising the relationship of the individual to the community. Through the design we continually examine the unconscious, conscious and physical relationships between body (nature) and machine.

The option of creating freestanding structures is excluded in this project. The constructed spaces that lie below the blanket of cultured nature are able to assume different definitions depending partially on how they interact.

Transportation

An intermediate level provides most of the transportation routes. Horizontal movement is modelled on an intricate gearing system in which rotating, interlocking platforms allow pedestrians to walk from one to another. At four locations vertical motion is permitted by a worm gear mechanism which periodically elevates and lowers a platform. At other levels, more traditional transportation passages are present.

Historically, cities have been organized both physically and socially by the street. In establishing a new notion of transportation, one that denies any internal stratification, this level of China Basin symbolically and physically unifies the site and requires a constant interaction between individuals of diverse social and cultural backgrounds.

The huge transportation machine, used by everyone, serves as a continual reminder of the presence and significance of mechanization in daily life.

In the Olympic Training Center, the machines for exercising the body further elaborate the relationship between body and machine, while in the Genetic Research Center, the body as machine is scrutinized on the most scientific and analytical level.

Market Place

We conceived of the market place as a "mega automat," where a structure rotates within a series of walkways, the largest of which is one hundred feet in diameter. The structure itself is composed of four levels where the exchange of merchandise may occur. The consumer travels exclusively along the peripheral walkways, never entering the central structure which rotates around its own axis. Access to the merchandise on various levels is governed by the diameter of the respective level. A larger diameter corresponds to a higher period of rotation; the most frequently purchased items would there-

fore be located on the lowest level and be the most accessible to the consumer.

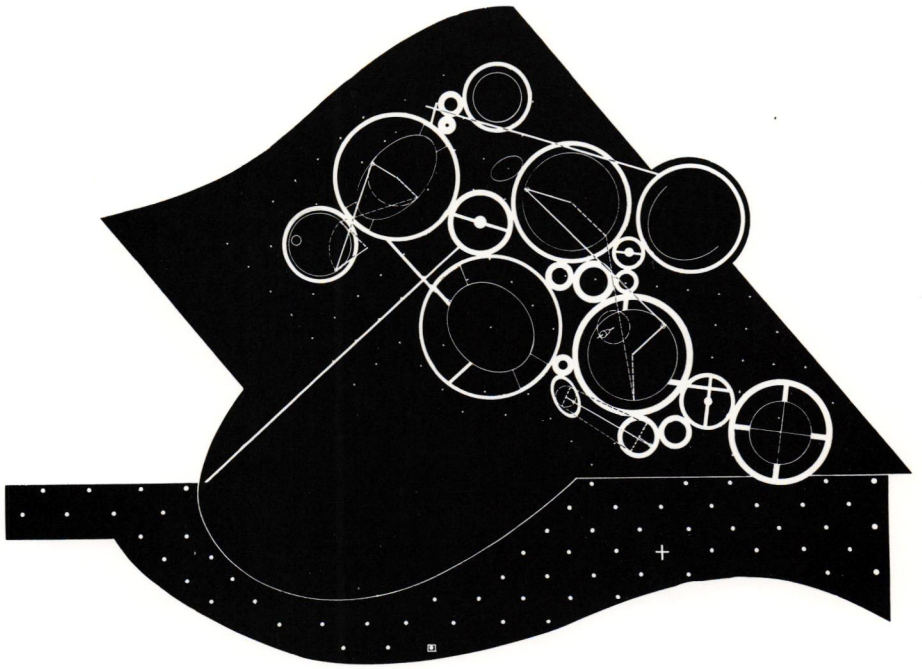
This structure inverts the traditional physical relationship between consumer and salesman. Rather than milling through an agora, a variety of goods are brought to the shopper. Adjacent to the market place are the agricultural fields and workshops where items are collected and produced for sale. Only those items produced on the China Basin site would be sold at the market place.

Screening Studio

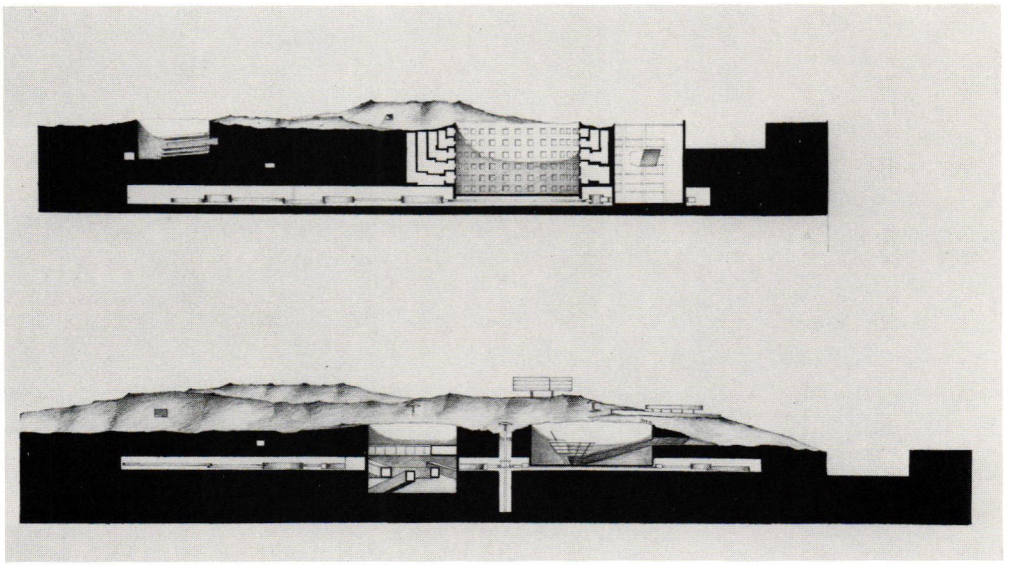
The screening studio is a dual film theater with screens oriented back to back. It is an open air theater, but the occupants are protected from the elements. Earphones are provided at each seat. The studio is intended to present sporting events and those films not shown in the popular commercial cinema, including student films, documentaries, foreign films and low budget films. A nominal fee would be charged, the proceeds of which would fund and maintain the grounds.

Baths

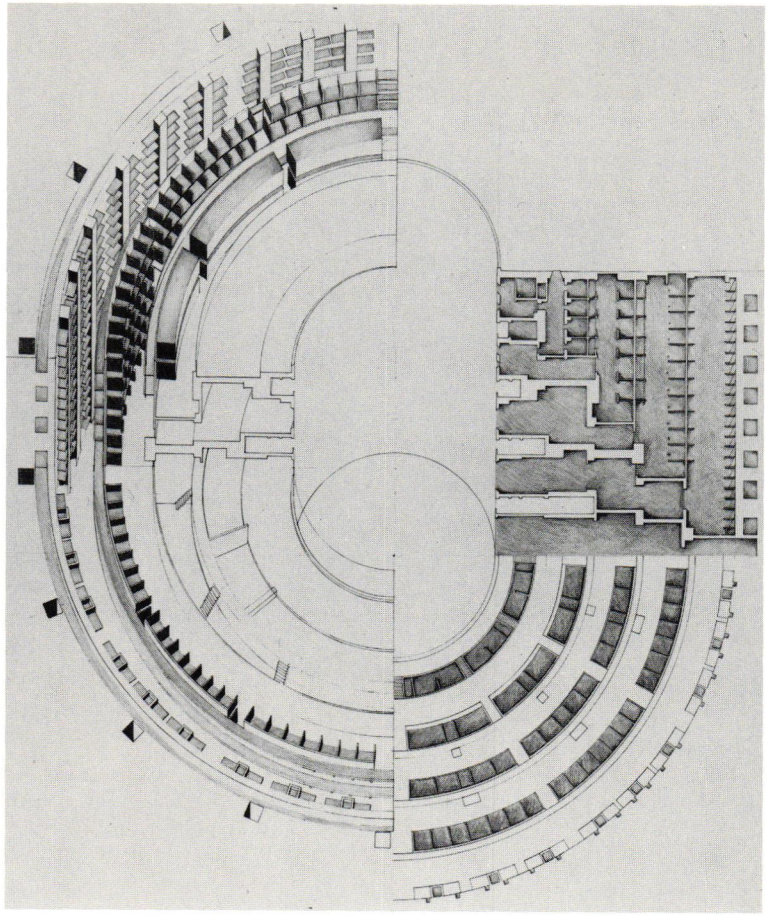
The Baths symbolize the intentions of the project as a whole. In this natural forum for the discussion of the human body, the public is encouraged to develop a new vision for the twenty-first century which eliminates the notion of the nude human body as pornographic image. By removing from the body all material possessions, thus eliminating the objects that fabricate one's social persona, individuals using the baths are reduced to a social common denominator.



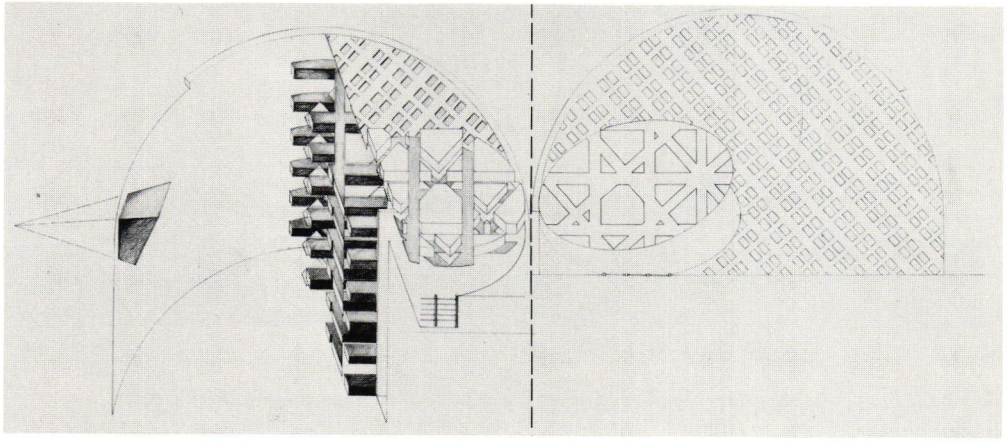
Transportation level plan



Section through Amphitheater, Workshops, Aquarium, and Oceanographic Research Center
Section through Olympic Training Center and Market Place, Elevation of Administrative Center and Elevated Aquarium Tank



Workshops



Aquarium and Oceanographic Research Center

Workshops

The workshops are a center for production. Space is available for individual or group work in disciplines ranging from the fine arts and literature to computer animation. Spaces are oriented radially, with the most concrete or physical activities, those requiring the most space, occurring closest to the center. Moving outward, the space becomes more limited and the activities more abstract and conceptual. Sectionally, each discipline occupies an "L" shaped space. The individual spaces are stacked vertically while the horizontal space is maintained as a communal area for the exchange of ideas within a discipline. Acting as a two way panoptic device, the workshops accommodate visual interaction between different disciplines, creating an atmosphere comparable to that of the corridors of a learning or research center, where emotions and ideas can be freely related.

Aquarium and Oceanographic Research Center

A semicircular wall with a diameter of 500 feet defines the entire site of the aquarium and oceanographic research center, which is composed of three major elements: a primary research tank which is openly connected to the China Basin canal, an elevated aquarium tank, and adjacent to the primary tank, a three-dimensional grid of pathways giving access to research floor space.

The primary tank is elliptical in plan with a major axis and a depth of 200 feet. The canal which defines one boundary of the site intersects the tank edge where a gate permits the free flow of water while preventing fish from passing

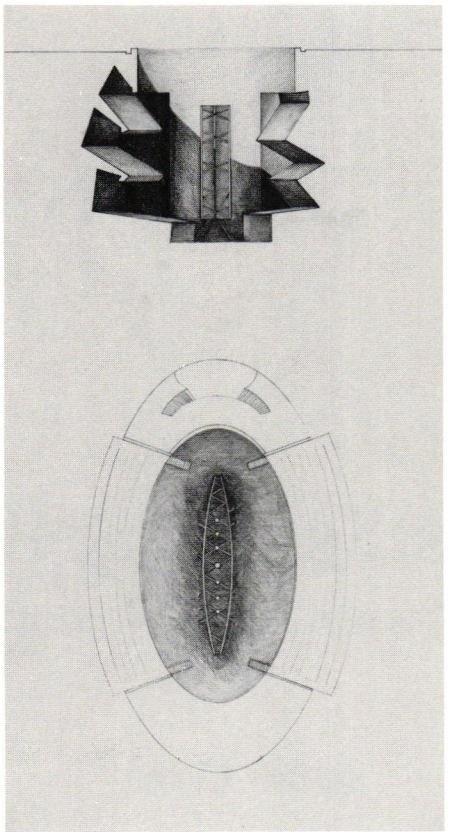
through. The extraordinary depth of the tank allows for the study of a variety of underwater ecosystems.

A ten foot deep elevated glass tank of the same elliptical shape rests on stilts ten feet above the primary tank. Two grids whose direction follows the street grids of downtown San Francisco and the Mission District fragment the elevated tank into smaller sections and define the space where walkways are hung for people to circulate between the two bodies of water.

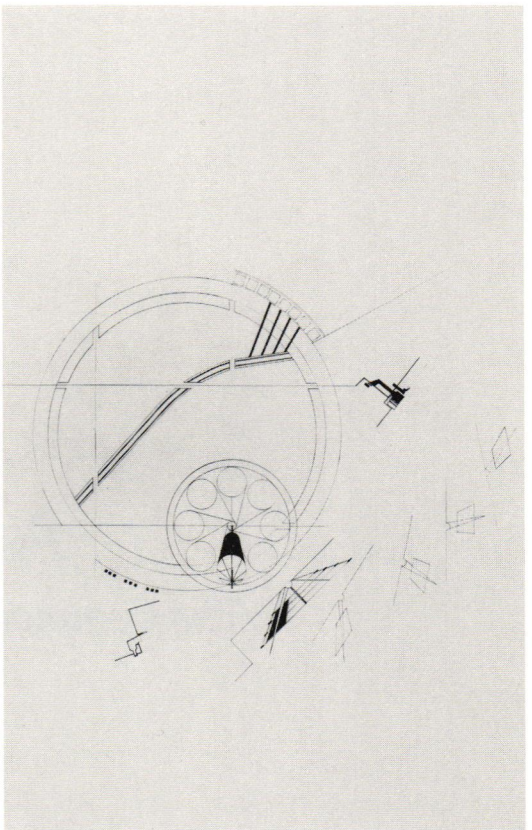
One of these two grids governs the position of the three-dimensional grid of hallways between the primary research tank and the perimeter wall. Also supported by the vertical segments of the hallways are seven stories of platforms whose orientation is similarly ruled by the street grid of downtown San Francisco. Those floors that abut the primary tank permit access to the variety of ecosystems contained therein. Puncturing the defining wall is a volume containing theater/ lecture hall and classroom space.

More than any other program in China Basin, the oceanographic research center architecturally behaves as a link to the existing city of San Francisco by extrapolating from the current street layout. Due to the nature of the design for China Basin, it is also logical that the aquarium should act as a symbolic gateway by establishing the edge where the city and water meet.

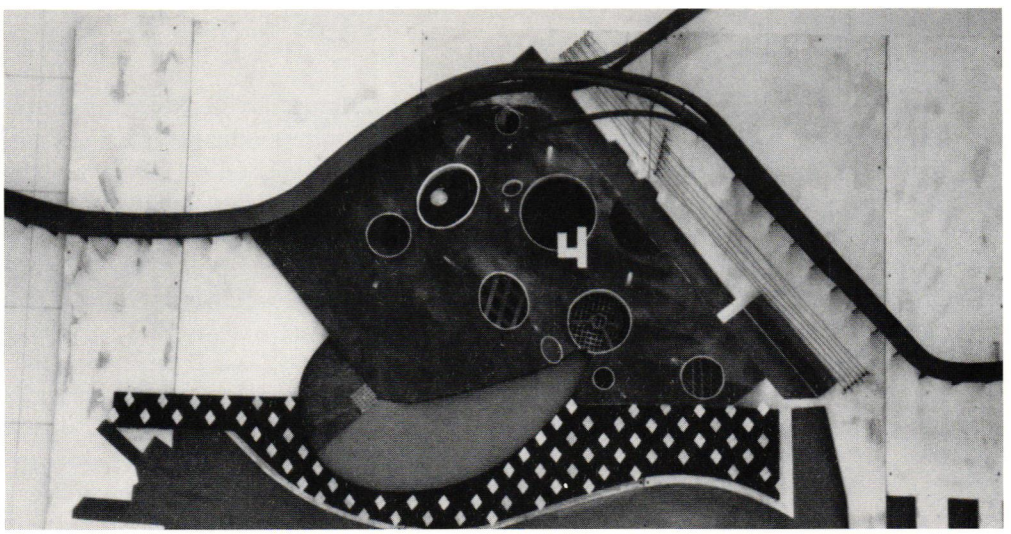
Project Team:
First phase: Diana Agrest, Mario Gandelsonas, Claire Weisz, Li Wen, Maurice Harwell, Beth McLendon, Chris Otterbine, Mark Yoes
Second phase: Diana Agrest, Karen Frome, David Ruff



Screening Studio



Market Place



Plan view of model

Aesthetic Capital

The Commodification of Architectural Production

James Mayo

The aesthetic character of the city is intrinsically related to the people who design it, whether artisans who design artifacts or financiers who choose to fund one building project over another.[1] Amidst this multitude, casts of architects initiate and develop aesthetic ideas for buildings. The architectural firm is the organizational setting, or aesthetic processor, which incrementally prepares buildings on a physical plane somewhat akin to a smorgasbord.

Although architectural firms typically work independently from one another, they are related by the systematic production of aesthetics. Overwhelmingly incorporated, these partnerships operate like commercial enterprises that produce goods. They have well-trained labor forces that must work constantly to provide both funds for wages and profits for their owners. Each firm is an organizational cog of the development machine that manufactures the city. A firm's work, or aesthetic input, has production value.

If the firm's work is an input, the buildings it produces are aesthetic outputs which have consumptive value. Business interests depend upon the aesthetic appeal of their development projects to solicit high rents and attract consumers. The effect on the city is uneven development. Some urban areas are aesthetically more pleasing than others, a condition which is not merely aesthetic but also economic: Aesthetics have become part of the pricing system of the built environment.

Frontispiece: AT&T Building, New York, NY, Philip Johnson, 1982

The interrelationships between a firm's inputs for aesthetic production and the resulting economic value of its consumptive outputs are complex and not well understood. Yet these relationships are essential to a capitalist political economy. As David Harvey notes:

> ...cultural production and the formation of aesthetic judgments through an organized system of production and consumption [are] mediated by sophisticated divisions of labour, promotional exercises, and marketing arrangements... The one thing that cannot be said of it is that the circulation of capital is absent, and the practitioners and agents at work within it are unaware of the laws and rules of capital accumulation. And it is certainly not democratically controlled and organized, even though consumers are highly dispersed and have more than a little to say in what is produced and what aesthetic values shall be conveyed.[2]

The popular appeal of so-called Postmodern design has spurred new and unfamiliar organizational pressures and transformations in the architectural firm. Architects are often unaware of the systematic forces that lead to aesthetic production, but they are unable to ignore how the aesthetic appeal of their projects has become a critical means for developers to market real estate and increase commercial activity. Postmodernism is as much a part of an economic force as it is an architectural style.

To better understand these current dilemmas surrounding aesthetic production, the aim here is to analyze: 1) how the political economy impacts the built environment; 2) how structural changes in the political economy have redirected capitalist demands for aesthetic capital under Postmodernism; and 3) how the architectural firm has reformed itself in this revised production process. As money is redirected in the capitalist system under Postmodernism, so too can the political consequences of aesthetic production.

The Built Environment as Capital

The built environment is integrally related to the circulation of capital and its resulting effects of class formation in the firm. Investors seek out building projects as a means to make use of money capital. When there is an overaccumulation of funds in the finance circuit of capital, profits decrease, because there is a greater supply than demand for investments such as stocks, mutual funds, and non-property loans. In the urban arena, investors often shift their money to building development and keep these fixed-capital investments for as long as they sustain desirable rates of return. Thus, architecture is physically fixed but economically fluid. Part of a building's worth is determined by how its physical dimensions meet the needs of ongoing enterprises that rent commercial space. At the same time, aesthetic appeal is part of the pricing system; it helps create the impression that one building is more attractive than another and deserves a higher rent. An investor's movement of money in the fixed-capital circuit is aimed not only at

preparing the production of physical space but also at the marketing of that space through aesthetic appeal.

Aesthetics must be rationalized to have economic value. Although it is impossible to be absolute about the economic worth of aesthetics, there are certain socio-political forces that help to define its value. History and philosophical analysis have shown that aesthetic value is relative versus absolute, but relative to what?[3] Aesthetics can be divided into rationalized value and subjective value. Rationalized aesthetic value is related to class formation and identity. Class is determined not only by income but also socially and politically by what people consume. The upper classes use cultural capital to augment their social differentiation from the lower classes. Cultural capital is the institutionalized use and consumption of attitudes, preferences, formal knowledge, behaviors, goods (including architecture), and credentials for social and cultural exclusion–a critical political element in the reproduction of social class.[4] For this reason, the upper classes attend to the articulation and maintenance of cultural capital. Architecture is cultural capital in an aesthetic form; it provides potential class value that enables the upper classes to segregate themselves politically and socially from the lower classes. As such, rationalized aesthetic value inevitably reflects the educated tastes of the upper classes which they politically and economically support. Under these circumstances, aesthetic value becomes exchange value, a commodification of taste which is converted into dollars. Subjective aesthetic value, in contrast, is based upon use value, the practical sentiment and social worth that people gain from aesthetics without regard to money or cultural capital. All aesthetic judgments, rationalized or based on sentiment, are subjective, but this subjectivity can be manipulated through rational means to create cultural capital. The use value of subjective aesthetic value is strategically subjugated to the exchange value, money, embodied in rationalized aesthetic value.[5] Architectural firms are paid by business interests to produce architectural designs that meet and help create upper-class standards of aesthetics. The upper classes benefit as a result by consuming these environments which then help reinforce their class status.[6] In the end, the production of aesthetic capital is necessary for the formation of class differentiation through consumption.

Capitalism has historically affected the production of aesthetic capital, but a structural shift in the political economy has changed the conditions for that production. The U.S. has moved from a producer-oriented society to a consumer-oriented society, and this shift has created new environmental demands. As an industrial society, the nation's economic structure was based upon production, but our recent economic age is increasingly based upon a service economy driven by consumption rather than production. To maximize production meant to optimize efficiency in buildings, but to maximize consumption, entrepreneurs must maximize aesthetic appeal. Buildings are part of the visual appeal to attract consumption, and business clients need architectural firms to produce aesthetic appeal in their building investments to maximize fixed-capital profits. How did these conditions for producing aesthetic capital develop?

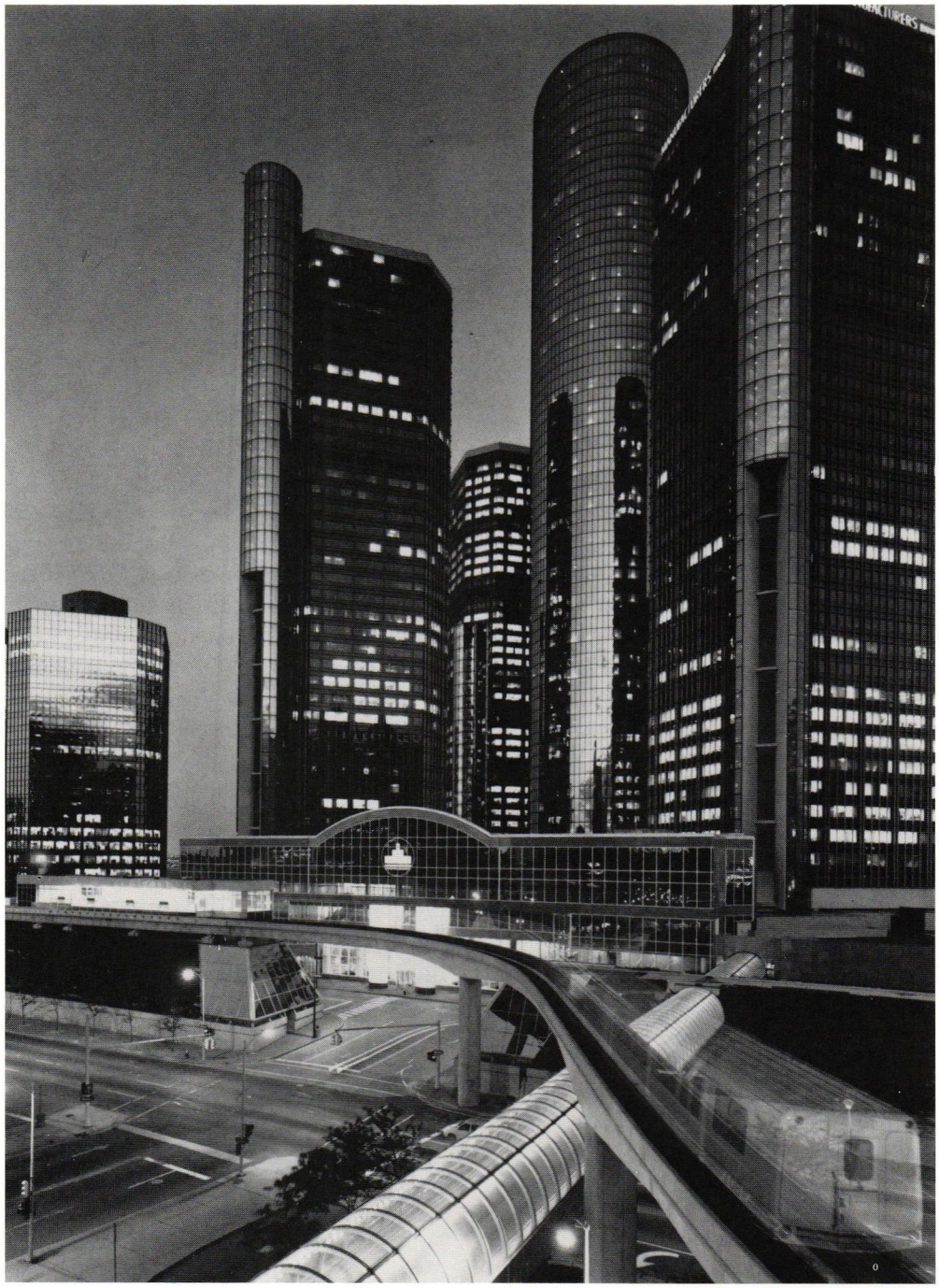
Structural Change in the Political Economy

Capitalism was transformed in the American economy as business interests strove to dominate economic conditions and respond to contradictions which they helped create. Initially capitalists were interested in profits gained solely from production. But to dominate capital, they soon realized that they needed to control the wages of their workers which were spent upon consumption. As a result, Fordism emerged, an effort to secure workers' compliance within production and allow them sufficient income and leisure to consume mass-produced products. Under Fordism, corporate capitalists attempt to control the capital for both production and consumption. Fordism failed in the 1930s, when the private sector was unable to revive the world economy. To encourage the private sector to re-enter production, governments introduced Keynsian economics, and the state began to finance the economic gap. But this economic arrangement began to fail as well. Production-oriented corporations were unable to sustain their dominance over other economic sectors in the world. Increasingly, American corporations divested themselves of their factory plants and built new plants in developing countries. The over-riding reason was simple: these countries had cheap unionized labor forces, and corporate profits were greatly enhanced by shifting their fixed-capital investments into these countries. As a result the American economy increasingly relied upon service jobs highly focused on consumption. The end result is a political economy driven more by consumption than by production.

The shift to a consumer society led to an uneven corporate structure in the national economy. Traditionally, the evolution of the American corporation was towards vertical integration. Businesses entered production, then marketing, and their final step, known as backward integration, was to take command over the raw resources for production. Corporations then increasingly invested in corporate management and staff who administered over (vertically) these three functions. Command over production and raw resources were shifted to other countries, but corporations retained the marketing function and focused upon it to increase economic demand within the U.S. Many American corporations which were production oriented now hold companies which direct their monetary profits to a diverse set of investments. Although such corporations sought out financial diversity, their investments were increasingly constrained in developed countries, such as the U.S., to enterprises which were largely service oriented. The uneven circulation of capital created by the abandonment of vertical integration within the nation's boundaries led business interests to invest in an unbalanced American economy largely based upon consumerism.

The constraints of an uneven economy stressing consumerism led financial investors and government to be more concerned about marketing itself. American business interests began to focus upon how to package their goods and services in the American economy as they relied on foreign business interests to handle production and provide raw resources. This shift from production to consumption has been conceptually identified by David Harvey as flexible accumulation: Business interests needed to be

flexible with labor processes, labor markets, products, and patterns of consumption to sustain the accumulation of capital and political power relations.[7] This redirection toward economic flexibility and consumerism by capitalists began to influence their relationships with local governments and building development. As local governments realized that factory production was becoming a less attractive alternative, they sought new ways to sustain economic development. Together, local governments and corporate investors began to redevelop their cities for consumption. It is no accident that the City of Detroit and the General Motors Corporation were jointly involved in the development of the Renaissance Center (Ill. 1). General Motors was able to make some modest profit while avoiding their workers' outcry that GM had divested itself from Detroit when some factories were shut down.[8] At the same time, local governments paid attention to marketing and provided tax incentives for local development. With cities shifting from a production-oriented economy to one of consumption, all financial investors were forced, not just encouraged, to articulate how their investments were marketed.



Ill. 1 Renaissance Center, Detroit, MI , John Portman & Associates, 1977; redesigned Jefferson Avenue entrance, 1988

The increased focus on marketing led to a greater attention on the packaging of building-development investments. With cities attempting to revitalize their downtowns through tourism and retailing, aesthetic appeal became more important than ever before as a key to economic survival. As corporate investors realized that architectural firms played a critical role in the production of profitable aesthetic capital, they increasingly demanded architectural firms to design buildings as an aesthetic package to attract consumers. Ron Drucker, a developer, put it most bluntly:

> My buildings are a product. . . The packaging of that product is the first thing that people see. . . I am selling space and renting space and it has to be in a package that is attractive enough to be financially successful.[9]

Business interests increasingly see architecture as a marketing tool, and increasing aesthetic appeal ultimately results in package styling to maximize profits. Changes in the structure of the American political economy have placed greater pressure upon architects to produce aesthetic capital. This demand by business interests encouraged architects to redirect their styling for consumerism. The shift in the production of aesthetic capital from Modernism to Postmodernism was an important step towards advancing the market appeal of architecture.

The Shift of Aesthetic Production under Postmodernism

The demise of Modernism and the rise of Postmodernism is directly related to a consumption-oriented economy. The Modernist means for American architectural firms to produce aesthetic capital was aligned with the political economy of Fordism to sustain production. Under these economic conditions, efficient production in design was the designer's psychological template, and much of the architecture within the Modern movement reflected this attitude. Over time Modernism served the U.S. economy quite well. Architectural design was increasingly used to improve the conditions of the workplace. Modernism played a large role in factory design to implement Taylorism, i.e., to maximize production through scientific management.

Just as important was the emphasis upon designing an efficient, high-rise office building (Ill.2). Employees were arranged to work more efficiently although the assembly line produced paperwork rather than goods. Even suburban housing was streamlined with the introduction of new materials, efficient layout systems, and mechanical systems.[10] All of these Modernist improvements were aimed at efficient work and living; for workers to accept the conditions of a production-oriented economy, they wanted to consume the benefits from it. As a result, a worker who lived well was likely to work well. Fordism modified by Keynesian economics was a political base upon which Modernism played in the formation of aesthetic capital. As the economy shifted from production to consumption, the demand for design changed. Business interests placed less emphasis on design as a means to create production efficiency and more emphasis on designs that met their marketing requirements for building investments, such as retail shopping

centers, increasingly emphasizing consumption. A major problem with Modernism, however, was its lack of market diversity.[11] Architects had formalized their Modernist design kit, and from a marketing standpoint new differentiation in style became increasingly limited. The rise of Postmodernism created a new aesthetic market that had been previously monopolized by Modernist tastes. It furthered the accumulation process by creating a new market demand for architectural aesthetics through a shift to under-utilized style resources, i.e., historic design motifs. The introduction of commercial Postmodernism in the late 1970s and its development in the 1980s was the same as the creation of a new product line. The new style was the package, and the package was a product integrally related the circulation and the accumulation of capital. As Diane Ghirardo aptly notes:

> Stylistic postmodernism. . . retreats to the security of the premodern, pre-formulated elements of the architectural language, taking a secure place as a consumer oriented enterprise in the cycle of consumption and production.[12]

Ill. 2 Union Carbide Building, New York , NY, Skidmore, Owings & Merrill, 1960

Another form of Postmodernism that has emerged is deconstruction. In its simplest notion, architectural deconstruction is the disassembly of symmetrical Modernist forms which are asymmetrically juxtaposed through collage. The origins of this Postmodernism are far more theoretical than stylistic. The theory behind it parallels Jean-Francois Lyotard's notions of language games. In Postmodernist philosophy, deconstruction is aimed at the dismantling of grand narratives which are rationally comprehensive, such as Jurgen Habermas's theory of communicative action.[13] As a political agenda, the philosophical critique of deconstruction can be seen as an attempt to displace bourgeois forms of language that have taken command over the day-to-day construction of our social lifeworlds. But many critics, such as Habermas, have questioned: "Deconstruct from modernism and then to what?" Many critical theorists argue that deconstruction is a delightful form of aesthetic play which is void of political content, because there is no firm rational foundation to provide a political critique. This lack of a critique becomes neoconservative as the manipulation of form takes precedence over political

content.[14] This lack has been embodied within architecture, because deconstruction has become an aesthetic rhetoric in which the architect's socio-political aims are unclear or nonexistent.[15] What is apparent, however, is the development of new architectural forms. Just as with the historic roots of Postmodernism, architectural firms are using deconstruction as a design approach to market their buildings. Business interests have thus appropriated deconstruction for aesthetic capital as they have with other approaches to style.

Postmodernism became a marketing response to historic conditions in the capitalist political economy. The economic structure which bolstered Modernism was a precondition to a new political economic structure that fostered Postmodernism. This transition in the political economy is a key to understanding how the shift from Modernism to Postmodernism changed the value emphasis upon aesthetic capital.

Architectural firms have historically sustained a duality between the use value and exchange value which they created in the production of aesthetic capital, but the shift from Modernism to Postmodernism has led to an imbalance in this duality. In general, Modernism sought to improve the lives of working people, just as the Bauhaus often claimed. At the same time, Modernist approaches were appropriated by capitalists to suit their own economic ends. People received use value through Modernist improvements which sometimes raised their work and living standards. At the same time, capitalists acquired exchange value through design efficiency and aesthetics that maximized the value of their fixed-capital investments. This duality between use value and exchange value was an economic contradiction which firms helped produce but could not avoid. Yet this dualism has changed: under Postmodernism, the package is the product, and design emphasizes the exchange value of aesthetic capital, de-emphasizing the use value. The duality between exchange value and use value still exists, but Postmodernism has forced a greater imbalance between these two forms of value.

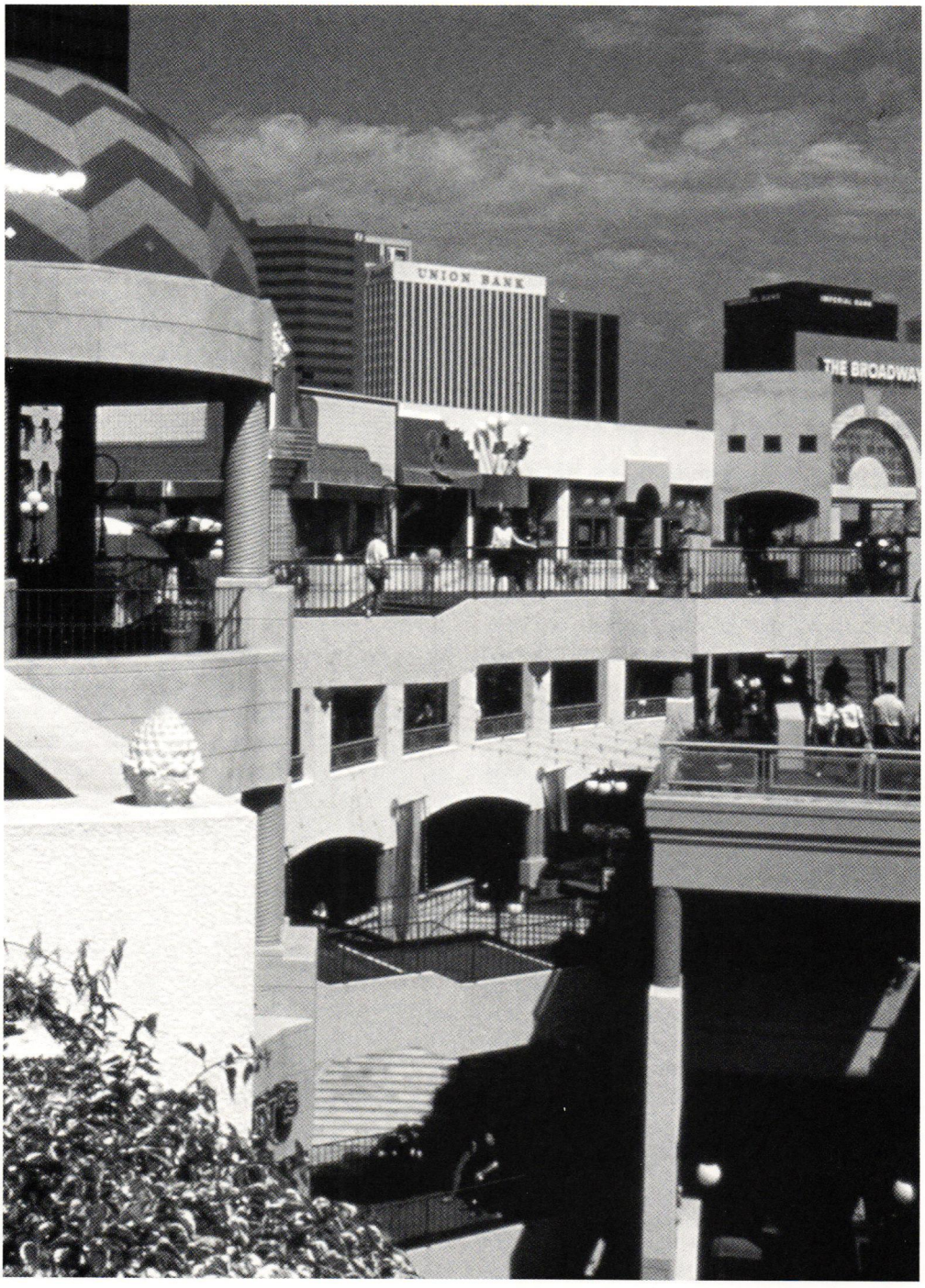
Postmodernism provided a new approach to architectural packaging that capitalized upon a market of aesthetic capital already saturated with numerous Modernist commercial buildings. The new look of Postmodernism enabled building investors to sustain a temporary monopoly over other styles. Though not immediately accepted by the public, the consumer-oriented projects were sufficiently few in number to attract, if not monopolize, public attention.

The aesthetic capital of Postmodernism became a means to expand building markets. Initially Postmodernism was associated with downtown improvement projects, such as Horton Plaza in San Diego (Ill. 3), but developers spread Postmodernism to suburbia. Neo-traditional site planning and housing became a new means to profit from the production of aesthetic capital. Seaside, designed by Andres Duany and Elizabeth Plater-Zyberk, is an example of neo-traditional planning for suburban living. Ironically these architects designed Seaside as a demonstration of Leon Krier's Marxist argument that architects must return to pre-capitalist means of town design to escape the debilitative Modernist techniques that furthered capitalism in the twentieth

century.[16] Yet, their neo-traditional idealism was quickly appropriated by capitalists who have seized upon Postmodernism as a means to produce aesthetic capital to further their capital investments. In the end, Postmodernism became a marketing technique to accumulate profits in a consumption-oriented society.

Transformations in the Architectural Firm

The movement to a consumer-oriented society has influenced the structure of work in the architectural firm. In the twentieth century, architectural services have resulted in three types of firms. First, business clients hire strong-delivery firms which provide a highly efficient, cost-effective buildings. These firms' architects are the pragmatists: they give clients what they want. Such firms often produce speculative buildings that are not as devoted to the great design idea. Second, there are strong-service firms which deliver experience and the ability to handle complex projects. Some business clients wish to work with the architect versus being delivered a star's performance or a



Ill. 3 Horton Plaza, San Diego, CA, The Jerde Partnership, 1986

Production Conditions	**Fordist Economy**	**Flexible Accumulation Economy**
Firm Type	Strong Delivery Strong Service	Strong Idea Strong Service
Work Inputs for Aesthetic Capital	Teams for Mass Production Specialized Workplace	Small-Batch Production Multiple-Skilled Workforce
Aesthetic Capital Outcomes	Rational Design for Efficiency	Spectacle, Package Design for Market Appeal

pragmatist's unquestioning product. These firms work as facilitators.[17] Third, business clients hire strong-idea firms, such as Duany and Plater-Zyberk, Richard Meier, and Robert A. M. Stern, because they deliver innovation and aesthetic appeal to building designs. These firms emphasize the star architect. Other firms attempt to mix these types. This diversity of structuring has emerged more significantly as architectural firms become larger in order to survive in a consumption-oriented economy.

The dynamics of these firm strategies for production are directly related to the structure of late capitalism. The chart above illustrates the interrelationships between the forces of capitalism and firm production. Strong-delivery firms embody the traditional elements of Fordism in the architectural production of aesthetic capital. Such firms crank out speculative low-cost buildings at a high volume pace, just as the Ford Motor Company produces its assembly line automobiles. Production teams formulate designs and produce them under a highly rationalized set of constraints for mass consumption. Many strong-delivery firms have depended upon quickly producing speculative office buildings to sustain their economic well-being. Strong-service firms, which are typically large in size, use the same Fordist means to aid their clients.[18] Firms such as Skidmore, Owings and Merrill exemplify this type. With in-house technical specialists, their production line is far more sophisticated than that of the strong-delivery firm. At the same time, the strong-service firm can embody flexible accumulation, because such firms have hired star architects on a temporary basis in order to pose themselves as a strong-idea firm.[19] In contrast to these production-line firms, the strong-idea firm is small. The architects in its work force have multiple skills and are devoted to small-batch production of quality projects. With the strong-idea firm's emphasis upon design, architectural projects are theoretical and devoted to being an aesthetic spectacle. As capitalism has necessarily become dynamic, so too has the structure of design firms.

These structural conditions for firms existed before flexible accumulation and Postmodernism, but the economic emphasis upon these firm structures has shifted. Just as the American political economy has shifted to flexible accumulation, there is an increasing emphasis for firms to be a strong-idea firm so that they can produce marketing appeal in their buildings. Such firms are the best distillers of aesthetic capital. But architectural firms plagiarize and routinize design ideas for their own ends. Although Postmodernism initially came from strong-idea firms, the other firm types have adapted this stylistic movement, and to the best of their abilities often systematically design postmodern buildings under a Fordist means of production. The market demand for aesthetic capital increasingly forces architectural firms either to reject Fordist means of design or to embody both Fordism and flexible accumulation work conditions within the firm.

Class relations are created within and between architectural firms with the combined dynamics of Fordism and flexible accumulation. Within firms that attempt to be both strong-idea oriented and strong-delivery oriented, the class structure of architects is based upon the employee's ability to produce aesthetic capital. The star architects become firm elites

when compared to the lower-status pragmatist architects who must produce the profitable speculative building designs. Class division is elevated to the firm level as firm partners embark upon or are forced to become strong-idea, strong-service, or strong-delivery. The strong-idea firms are the elite, as business interests stress aesthetic capital. The strong-service firms are in the middle class because they are less innovation-oriented, although their employees use technical expertise to improve building design. The strong-delivery firms are the worker firms which stress neither innovation nor special expertise, but they prove to be cost efficient to clients who seek a firm to mass produce design outputs. As design is required by capitalists to produce aesthetic capital, these class divisions within and between firms increase.

Although it has a middle class status, the strong-service firm is most amenable to the shifts between Fordism and flexible accumulation. As facilitators, these firms can attempt to meet both the client demands for aesthetic capital and mass building production. These firms are large enough to handle production-line work in their offices, and they often hire star designers on a temporary basis for elite projects. Such firms are unlikely to maximize both design functions. Nevertheless, corporate clients have demonstrated a preference for large firms with this flexibility, because they facilitate corporate economic aims more easily than firms which are devoted to the strong idea or strong delivery.[20] As corporations make economic shifts between Fordism and flexible accumulation, the strong-service firm is the most adaptable firm type to accommodate corporate investments in the built environment and to conform to structural shifts in the political economy.

Although there are class differences between firms, all firm types are capable of producing aesthetic capital. The decision by business interests to choose one firm type versus another can depend upon how critical aesthetic capital is to the economic success of a development project.

Style Production in the Political Economy

Capitalism moves between Fordism and flexible accumulation to maximize the accumulative process between and within the circuits of capital. David Harvey has emphasized that capitalists seek this movement to insure that their accumulated surplus value reproduces a class structure of power. Shifts between the circuits of money capital, fixed capital, and technology and science capital enable capitalists to locate their investments so that profits are maximized.[21] At the same time, I have argued that there are investment shifts of aesthetic capital within the fixed-capital circuit that encompass the built environment.[22] Stylistic shifts from Modernism to Postmodernism, and now to deconstruction, constitute attempts by architectural firms to sustain their profitability in the production of aesthetic capital. These stylistic shifts are increasingly driven by the economic demands of capitalists which diversify their investments between the dynamics of Fordism and flexible accumulation.

The supply and character of aesthetic capital fluctuates with the demands of the accumulation process under capitalism. Architectural firms can be innovative in design, but capitalists learn quickly how to appropriate such innovation for their profitable ends. What becomes clear is that shifts in architectural style are not exclusive actions by architects. Capitalists have increasingly recognized that they can make profits from the aesthetic appeal of their building developments. The stylistic shifts from Modernism to various forms of Postmodernism are market driven. Postmodernism is not the cause for the demand of aesthetic capital and its profitability; rather, it is an effect driven by the political-economic conditions of consumerism. If the American economy shifts back to a Fordist economy, the demand by capitalists for rational building designs that emphasize production is easily foreseeable. Architectural firms are like sailboats in a sea of capitalism. They cannot escape the sea's currents and winds, and no matter how accomplished their sailors, their course is mediated by the sea's conditions. Architects may empower themselves under capitalism, but they are not free of its political-economic forces.

Notes

1. The author wishes to thank Tom Dutton and Harris Stone for their helpful comments on early drafts of this paper.

2. David Harvey, *The Condition of Postmodernity: An Enquiry into the Origins of Cultural Change* (Cambridge: Basil Blackwell, 1989), p. 346-47.

3. Lionello Venturi, *History of Art Criticism*, trans. by Charles Marriott (New York: Dutton, 1964), p. 190-91. Venturi argues: "Taste, which judges whether a work is beautiful or not, has the pretention that its judgment is universal, without being able to furnish the rational demonstration of the rightness of its judgment. For this reason one cannot give any objective rule of taste. Every judgment derived from this source is aesthetic: in other words, its determining cause is the feeling of the subject, not a concept of the object. The search for a principle of taste, which shall be the universal standard of beauty by means of determined concepts, is a vain fatigue, because that which is sought is impossible and contradictory in itself. There is not a science of beauty but only a criticism of it."

4. Michael Lamont and Annette Lareau. "Cultural Capital: Allusions, Gaps and Glissandos in Recent Theoretical Development," *Sociological Theory* 6 (1988): p. 153-168.

5. W. F. Haug, *Critique of Commodity Aesthetics* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1986), p. 15. Haug notes: "From the point of view of exchange value, each commodity, regardless of its particular form, matters only as an exchange value which still needs to be realized as money: its form as use-value is merely a transitory phase and a prison."

6. James M. Mayo, "Urban Design as Uneven Development," *Environment and Behavior* 20 (5,1988): p. 63.

7. Harvey, *The Condition of Postmodernity*, p. 147.

8. Ruth Knack, "Repent, Ye Sinners, Repent," *Planning* 55 (8,1989): p. 5-6.

9. Mildred F. Schmertz, "Preservation and Postmodernism," *Architectural Record* 175 (7, June, 1987): p. 9.

10. Harvey, *The Condition of Postmodernity*, p. 70.

11. Harvey, *The Condition of Postmodernity*, p. 139.

12. Diane Ghirardo, "Past or Post Modern in Architectural Fashion," *Journal of Architectural Education* 39 (4,1986): p. 2.

13. Jean-Francois Lyotard, *The Postmodern Condition* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota, 1984), p. 3-11.

14. Jurgen Habermas, *The Philosophical Discourse of Modernity* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1987), p. 3-5.

15. Mary McLeod, "Architecture and Politics within the Reagan Era: From Postmodernism to Deconstructivism," *Assemblage* 8 (1989): p. 23-61.

16. Richard C. Hill, "Crisis in the Motor City:

The Politics of Economic Development in Detroit," in Susan S. Fainstein et al. (eds.) *Restructuring the City* (New York: Longman, 1983), p. 80-125.

17. Weld Coxe, *Marketing Architectural and Engineering Services*, 2nd Ed. (New York: Van Nostrand, 1982), p. 52-53; and James M. Mayo, "Political Avoidance in Architecture," *Journal of Architectural Education* 38 (2,1985), p. 18-25. Coxe identifies the types of firms while Mayo defines the role types associated with these firms.

18. Robert Gutman, *Architectural Practice: A Critical View* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton Architectural Press, 1988), p. 84, 106.

19. Gutman, *Architectural Practice*, p. 55-56.

20. Blau, *Architects and Firms*, (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1984), p. 125-27. Blau notes that the large firm with expertise is most likely to have corporate clients. But such firms do this at a risk. As these firms become more corporate and bureaucratic in structure, they undermine their ability to be innovative.

21. David Harvey, *The Urbanization of Capital* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1985), p. 1-13.

22. Mayo, *"Urban Design as Uneven Development,"* p. 644.

Illustration Credits

Frontispiece: Photograph by Richard Payne

1. Courtesy Renaissance Center Venture

2. Photograph by Ezra Stoller, courtesy Erica Stoller, ESTO.

3. Courtesy Ellen Dunham-Jones

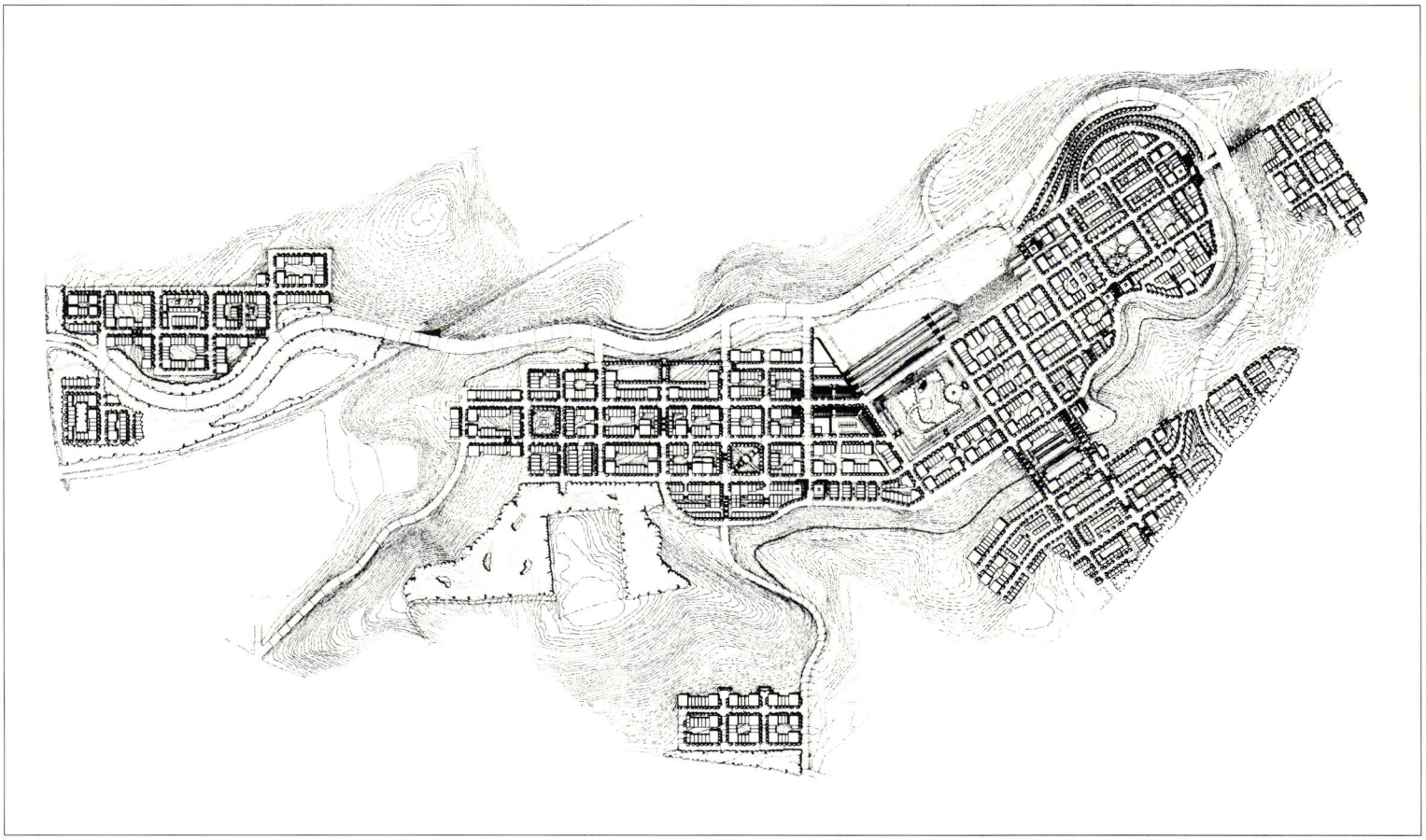
Communications Hill

Daniel Solomon

George Shirikawa, newly elected San Jose City Council Member from the 7th District, is the chairman of the Communications Hill Specific Plan Citizens Task Force. George represents the 70,000 people of the 7th District, approximately 80% of whom live in houses built since 1960. The 7th District is all flat land with the exception of Communications Hill, which is actually three hills rising four hundred feet from the floor of the Santa Clara Valley or Silicon Valley as it is now known. On the top of one hill there is a little tower with satellite dishes on it for AT&T and on another hill is the County Emergency Communications Tower. On the sides of the hills are grasslands, a gravel quarry and the remnants of a dairy farm. At the bottom of the hill a huge freeway with a tram line in the middle is under construction. Spreading around these hills for miles is the residue of the post 1960 explosion of Silicon Valley, six and eight lane arterials, strip centers, residential PD's, and the light manufacturing and small electronics plants that at this point are the heart of the American economy. It's smoggy, hot, congested and, to anyone used to a modicum of urban grace, it's like the end of the world. Robert Venturi and Denise Scott Brown used to play a game they called "I Can Like Something Uglier Than You Can Like." They would like District 7 a lot.

Rising up out of the sprawl not far to the north of Communications Hill is something extraordinary—a mostly brand new, gleaming urban downtown—with trains and high rise buildings, some old buildings and at times even a sprinkling of people on the streets, walking. The new downtown is the accomplishment of over a decade of a small group of people who believed that the great explosion of sprawl

Aerial photo of Communications Hill

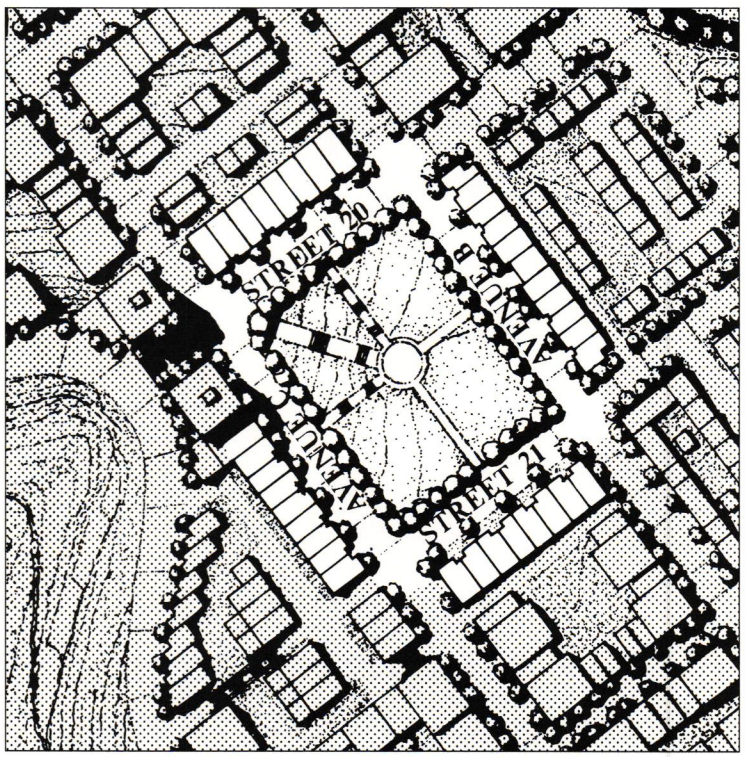


Site plan

and de-urbanization was not irreversible. They believed that people who lived in sprawl would like city life if they once experienced it and had it close at hand. Some of these same people were determined that Communications Hill not be mowed down by the cats and loaders like so many other hills in California and turned into a tilted version of flat land sprawl. We were hired to do the plan.

At the first meeting of the Citizen Task Force, we showed maps and sections and hundreds of slides of places on hillsides—Nob Hill, Telegraph Hill, Russian Hill in San Francisco; Rose Walk in Berkeley; Sausalito; the beautiful town of Crocket built by the C&H Sugar Company. We showed the wonderful analytical drawings of San Francisco by French architect Florence Lipsky.

They didn't get it. Grids? Stairs? Density? Walking? Alleys? The people were very nice, not hostile at all. They just had absolutely no idea what we were talking about. George Shirikawa had a suggestion. Since the things we were showing were all pretty close—we could just get a big bus and take everybody and go look. It is about 56 miles from District 7 in San Jose to Telegraph Hill in San Francisco. It was amazing how exotic the walk on Telegraph Hill was to the people of District 7. It could have been Marrakesh. Sprawl people, even very smart ones, forget about cities, forget how much they enjoy them, have no idea why they are denied the pleasure, at home, of walking on a pretty street or up a flight of stairs through a garden with cottages. Since that trip there have been three more—with planners, traffic engineers, public works engineers, fire chiefs, land owners. Now they all seem to like our plan.



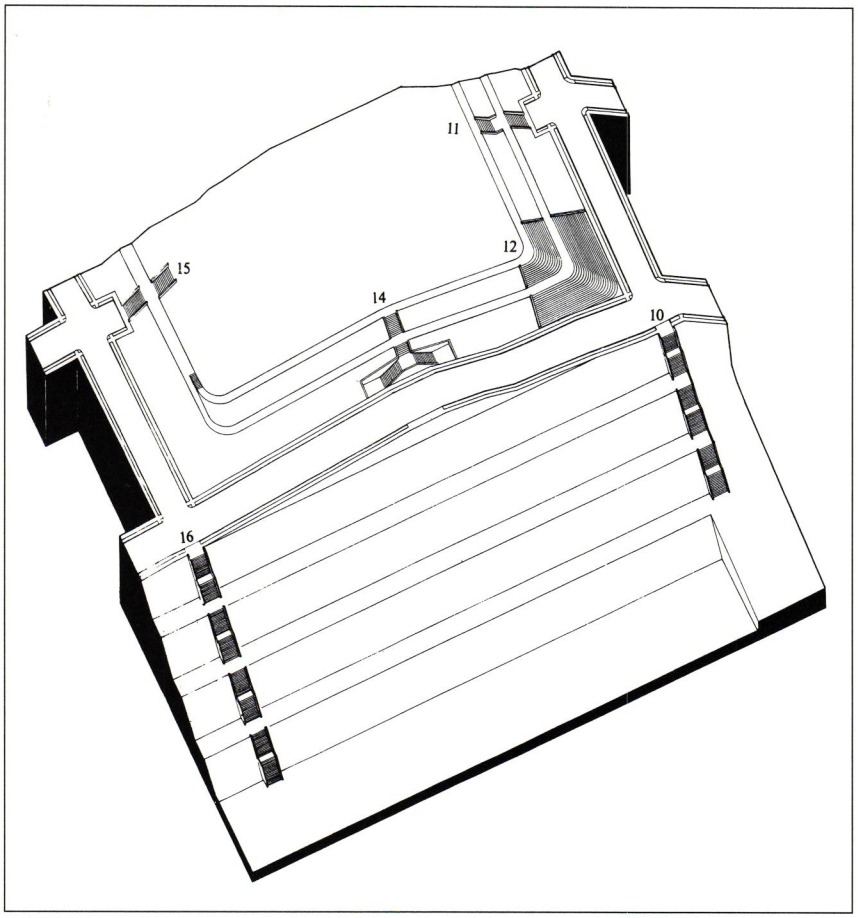
Plan detail of AT&T Park, playfields and terraces

Plan detail of Southern Rectangle

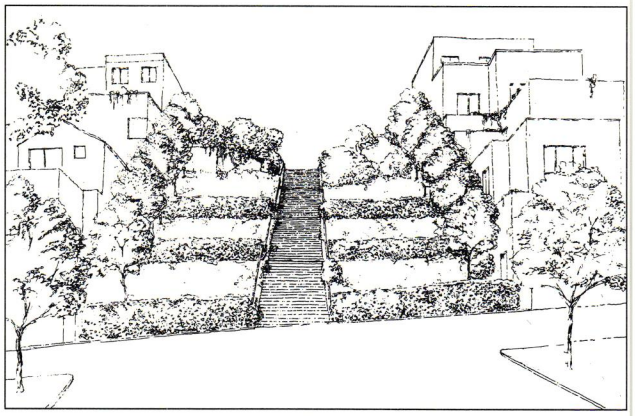
Our Communications Hill Plan places 4000 units of new high density housing, neighborhood retail, parks, schools and civic buildings on 400 acres of vacant hilly land one mile from downtown San Jose. The plan follows the same principals as the plans of San Francisco and Seattle—a grid of narrow and sometimes steep streets laid over irregular topography with a minimum of grading. Unlike 19th century plans this one accomodates large numbers of cars, big developers and the desires of home buyers for security. The plan entailed a thorough review and redrafting of the city's public works standards which were conceived for flatland suburban development.

A large arterial carrying through traffic is separated from the neighborhood grid. A village center for retail and services is within the grid and not on the arterial. Along the eastern edge of the neighborhood the plan integrates a massive quarry reclamation which creates large sculpted earthworks along the arterial and neighborhood parks. The largest park at the top of the hill is modeled on San Francisco's beautiful Alta Plaza which is also a quarry reclamation. This park contains the AT&T Communications Tower and a 2.2 million gallon water tower as a landmark at the highest point. Within the grid there are three residential squares around block sized parks.

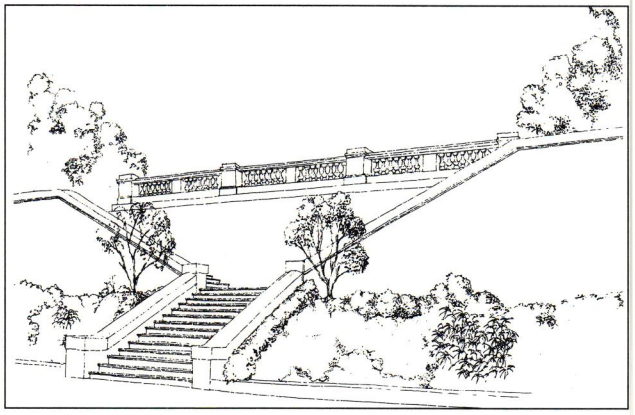
As in San Francisco, topography frequently causes deformations and discontinuities in the grid. In twenty eight places street rights of way become public stairs, passing through public gardens. Communications Hill will be San Jose's densest, most urban and most pedestrian oriented neighborhood.



Axonometric of Stairs at AT&T Park and Terraces



Rendering of Mid-block Stair

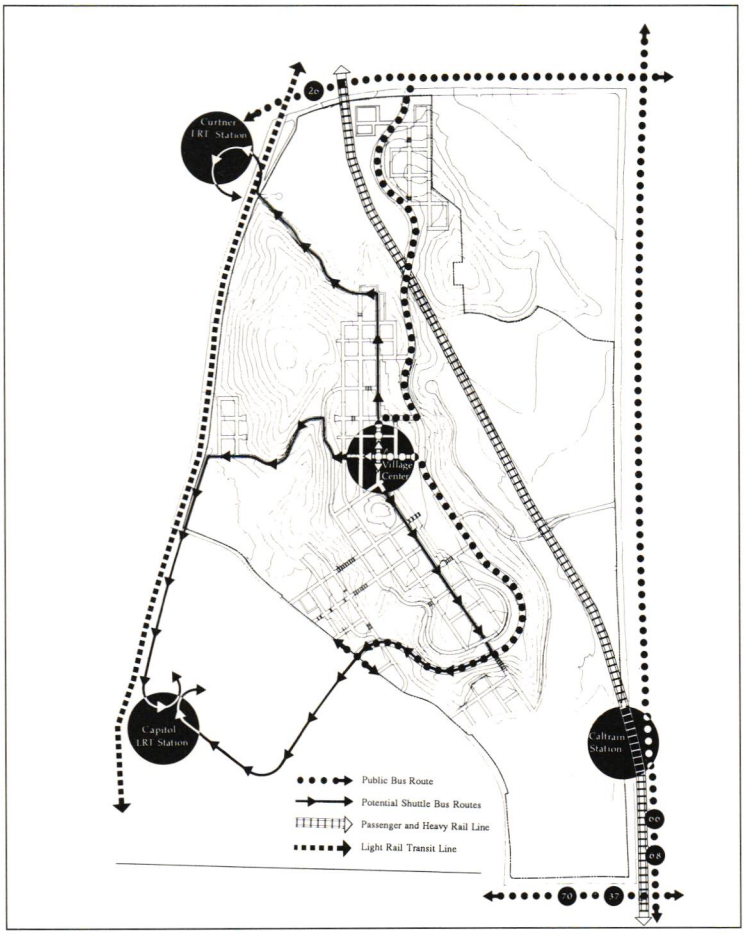


Rendering of Bifurcated Stair

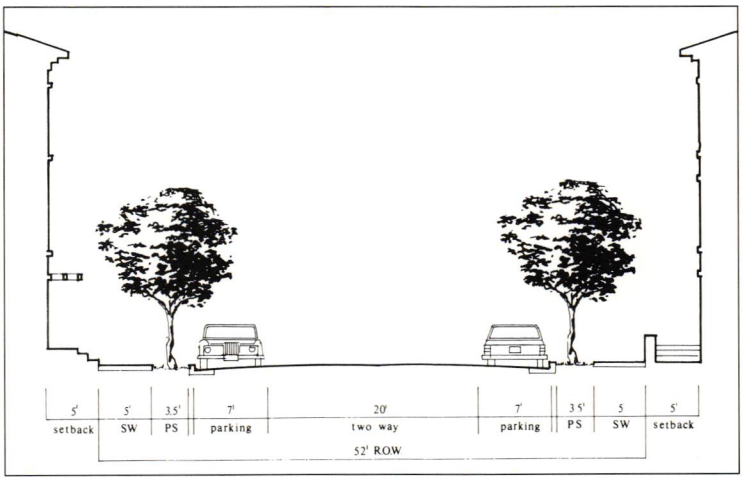
The planning of post- 1965 suburbia is deeply intertwined with the ways in which it is financed, and with codified standards of all sorts, particularly civil engineering. Communications Hill would remain just another unrealized and unrealizable hypothesis about urbanized suburbia if it were not accompanied by a systematic restructuring of financing mechanisms and engineering standards. Work on this plan has made it clear that however entrenched normal conventions may be they are not the product of unalterable historical process. Financing procedures in particular are as much a response to physical planning as they are its shaper.

A conventional post- 1965 master plan consists of three categories of things: first, a rudimentary public infrastructure consisting of arterials, perhaps freeways, mass grading and utilities; second, public facilities such as schools and fire stations; finally, private development tracts or "super pads" for housing, shopping centers, and offices or industry.

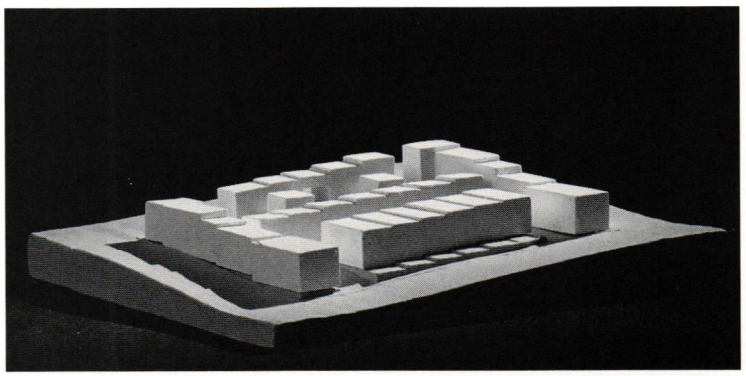
Infrastructure and public facilities are usually financed by a combination of public bond offerings and "off-site" contributions by tract developers. Developers' infrastructure costs are a combination of these "off-site" contributions and "in-tract" costs for streets, utilities and the like. Since plans are segregated by the infrastructure into autonomous enclaves there is no difficulty in determining what costs belong in what category. Bond underwriters and lenders know when a plan "pencils" and when it doesn't. Acceptable ratios of "off site" and "in-tract" costs are well established.



Map of Transit Routes and Connections



Section of Common Residential Street



Typical Block Massing

If, however, ones makes a plan like Communications Hill where the public infrastructure is interspersed through the private development and links it together into a continuous urban fabric instead of seperate enclaves, the normal rules-of-thumb no longer apply. What is "off-site" and what is "in-tract," what is publicly financed and what is privately financed, and how infrastructure is phased vis-a-vis development becomes much more complex. However, as the plan evolved, it became apparent that the impediments to the public financing of infrastructure for a plan with no "super pads" are impediments of habit and nomenclature, not of substance.

The realization of a physical plan like Communications Hill depends not only on the physical plan itself but upon a painstaking reordering of all the encrusted layers of policy that have grown like barnacles around the American suburb for three decades.

The Communications Hill Plan was prepared by Daniel Solomon and Kathryn Clarke. The plan and text are excerpts from Mr. Solomons' book *(Re)Building* to be published by Princeton Architectural Press in Spring 1992.

Aerial Photo Courtesy of Air Flight Services, Santa Clara, CA

Public Space and Public Life

Designing a Public Life

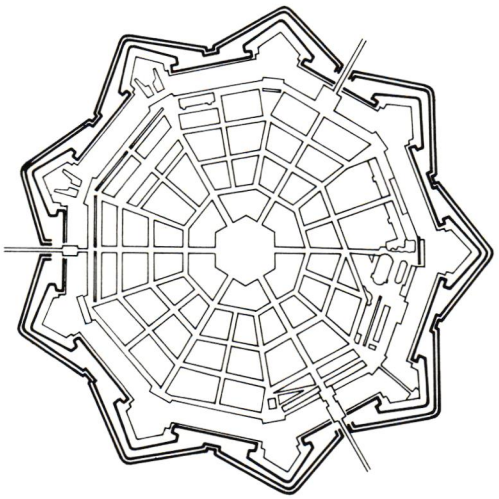
Diana Balmori

This essay, intended to outline a new kind of public space design, begins with a commonplace: the street. The word "commonplace" signifies two things, both mundaneness and community; both commonness and a place common to all. The street is the most common and least glorified of public spaces and yet also that which connects us, that which forms the basis for public life. Historically the street has been the most democratic and egalitarian of urban forms, promising open and unrestrained passage to all. Where access has been restricted, the restriction has had to be justified, for our belief in the public purpose of the street is deeply held.

Today, the condition of our city streets tells us much about the frailty of contemporary public life. Ill-maintained, unsafe, public streets have become the final refuge of the homeless, barred from public libraries, park benches, train stations and shopping centers. To look at our streets is, disturbingly, to see our failure to maintain a viable public life.

And yet the street is the starting point for a new public space design, one that challenges the privatized values and policies of recent urban development with a new civic-mindedness. With its values of utility and access, the model of the street offers an alternative to public spaces conceived as monumental plazas, massive civic centers or Olmstedian parks. Today's municipalities, financially strapped and facing urgent social and economic inequities, can ill-afford the grandiose public spaces that too often have become barren expanses. Their failure often has been a lack of connection with their setting: with other public spaces, surrounding neighborhoods and, above all else, with surrounding streets. The task of a new public space design is to create those kinds of connections by following the model of the street. There is a second task as well: to find a way to

Embroidered scene of the three most important public spaces in Mexico City: Zocalo, La Alameda and Xochimilco.
Embroidered shawl, Santa Maria del Rio, 1790



Ill. 1 Palmanova, 1593

Ill. 2 Mexicatitlán, Northwest Mexico

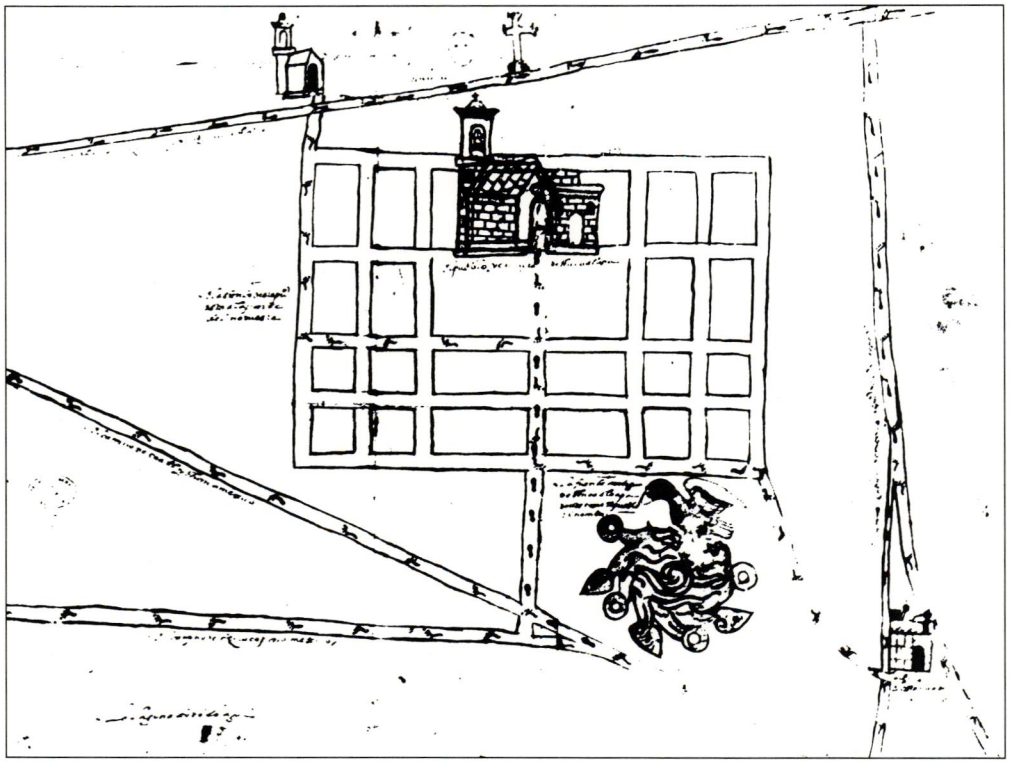
involve users in designing, maintaining and paying for public spaces.

Several historical conceptions of the street as public space identify their underlying values. The purpose of this essay is to pose these historical conceptualizations against our modern treatment of streets in order to identify several alternatives. Of particular concern is how the value of free access has been articulated and threatened at various points in the evolution of street design.

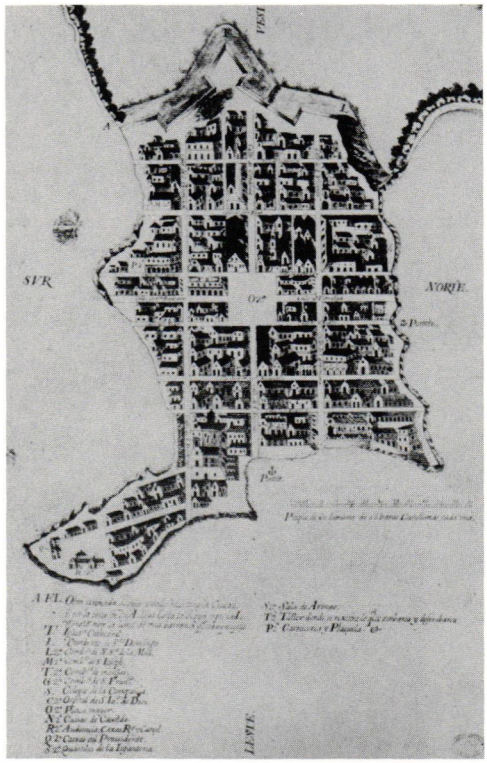
The most important role of the street has been its provision of open and unrestrained access. Not only should this concept of free access be counterposed against a recent history of the privatization of streets; it should also suggest that the street should be taken more broadly as a model for public space design.

This possibility exists in the context of the emergence of a new form of public space, the greenway. Greenways, often former railroad lines or canals, have been seen primarily as recreational corridors for biking, hiking and horse riding. Instead, they should be treated as streets, distinctive to the local communities through which they pass and yet joining them, giving citizens both individual freedom and a shared experience. Greenways, on this model, can foster the kind of public realm described by Hannah Arendt, one which "gathers us together and yet prevents our falling over each other."[1]

The first historical conception of the street comes from the city design developed during the Spanish conquest of America. Between 1572 and 1750, hundreds of cities were built on the basis of an extraordinary document called the Law of the Indies, a set of royal Spanish laws drafted in 1572 to guide the construction of cities in the newly discovered American continent.[2] The laws were fashioned after Renaissance ideas about the design of 15th century Italian city-states. But Italian theoreticians' ideas could be used mainly to modify already existing cities. Save for a few cities that were built from scratch (notably the fortress city of Palmanova outside Venice), there was simply not the opportunity to develop the Renaissance design principles through the



Ill. 3 Chicoaloapa, Mexico, 1572



Ill. 4 Panama, 1673

creation of new cities. The Spaniards, faced with a vast and unchartered continent, had such an opportunity (Ill. 1, 2). It is thus a Spanish legacy that remains in the street layouts of cities throughout Central and South America, as well as in southern and southwestern cities of the United States such as St. Augustine and New Orleans (Ill. 3, 4).

The Renaissance idea that informed this new design was a posited opposition—and hierarchy—of city and countryside. The city was the place of civilized life and action for the public good. What made action public was not necessarily its intention, but its visibility (public in the sense of publicity), its unfolding before the eyes of the citizenry. The countryside, by contrast, was the place of personal reflection and contemplation. It was a private world in which thought, not action, took place.

One of the chief functions of urban public spaces, then, was to encourage public action through the representation and celebration of civic deeds: in festivals and ceremonies which commemorated great deeds by citizens and in paintings and sculptures depicting those deeds. The point was to move citizens to similar action through the representational and performative functions of the public space. Public spaces were planned to foster public life and action for the public good.[3]

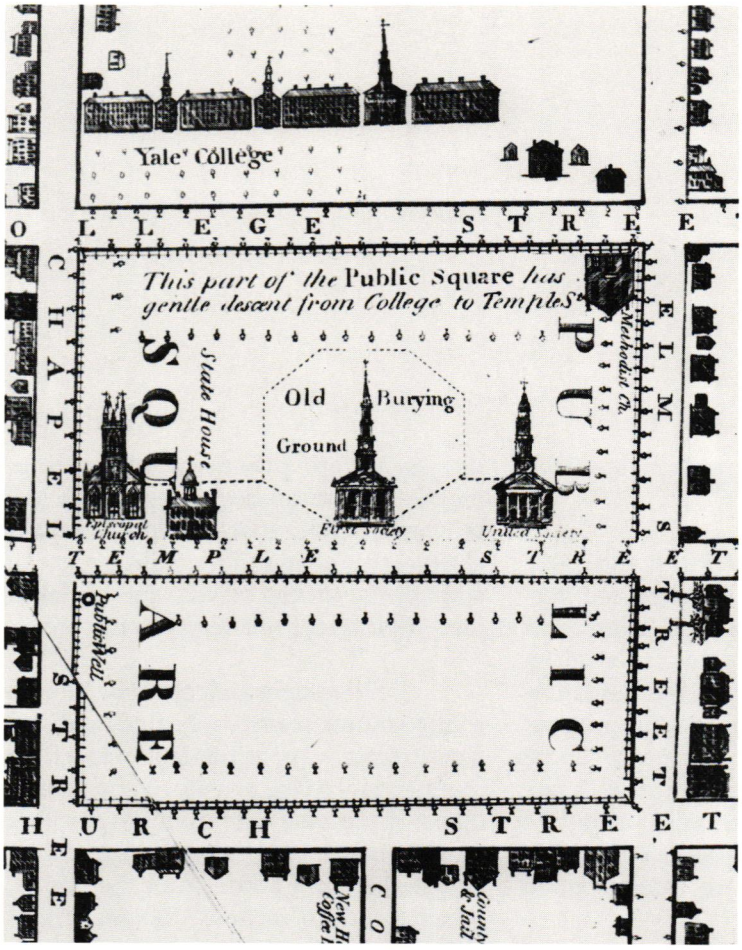
This helps to explain the care that went into the placement of public spaces as well as into the design of the streets that led to them. For the street itself was part of public rituals. Although the final ceremony of a religious festival usually ended in a cathedral or parish church or main square, equally important to the ceremony was the preceding processional that wound through the city streets and in which all residents participated. The procession and parade were rituals given form by the street; they continue to be an important part of public life in Spanish cities today (Ill. 5).

But the Renaissance city did have restricted use at times for streets: streets made private for the use of privileged groups. The Spanish conception of public

Ill. 5 Procession, Feast of the Assumption of the Virgin (August 15), sawdust patterns on street leading to the cathedral, Huamantla, Mexico

space also contained limits on access, for the privileging of city over countryside had another, much less appealing side. A hierarchy was set up between the Spanish cities and the native Indian hinterland—between the enfranchised urban dweller and the disenfranchised rural one—a segregation that continues today. But *within* the city, the street remained a democratic, unhierarchical element, allowing passage to all. It opened the city to a floating population of rural migrants who made their living as tradesmen, street vendors and beggars. They were attracted to the city by the possibility of escaping the destiny of rural life; and they still are, for the phenomenon has grown to colossal proportions in Latin American cities today.

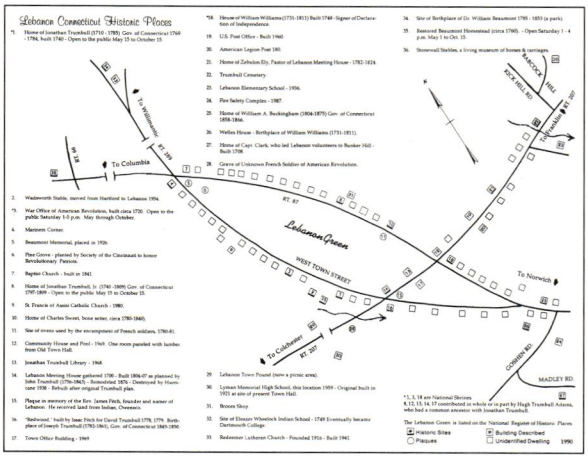
The second conception of the street to be considered in this essay is one version of the American Main Street. New England Town Greens, or Commons as they were originally called, began as areas around the town meeting house and the street that led to it. The area was densely occupied by nooning tents, taverns, hitching posts; it was here that the practice of governance took place. The spaces were gradually enlarged and demarcated. In some cases, the relationship between common and street was a formally planned one, as in New Haven, Connecticut (Ill. 6,7). In other places it began and remained a public space at the intersection of two main arteries, as in Lebanon, Connecticut (Ill. 8). In all cases, however, what was distinctive about the space was the close connection it permitted between political, cultural and commercial activities (from trade to blacksmithing to rope-making to hay-making—hay which was then sold on the green, with the profits going into the town coffers), commerce

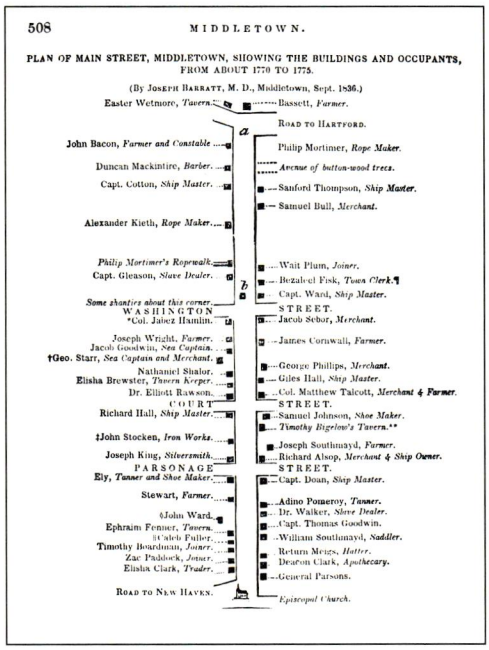


Ill. 6 New Haven Green, Doolittle Map, 1824

Ill. 7 New Haven Green, New Haven CT

Ill. 8 Lebanon Green, Lebanon CT




508 MIDDLETOWN.

PLAN OF MAIN STREET, MIDDLETOWN, SHOWING THE BUILDINGS AND OCCUPANTS, FROM ABOUT 1770 TO 1775.

(By Joseph Barratt, M. D., Middletown, Sept. 1836.)

Easter Wetmore, *Tavern.* — Bassett, *Farmer.*

Road to Hartford.

John Bacon, *Farmer and Constable*
Duncan Mackintire, *Barber.*
Capt. Cotton, *Ship Master.*
Alexander Kieth, *Rope Maker.*
Philip Mortimer's Ropewalk.
Capt. Gleason, *Slave Dealer.*
Some shanties about this corner.

Philip Mortimer, *Rope Maker.*
Avenue of button-wood trees.
Sanford Thompson, *Ship Master.*
Samuel Bull, *Merchant.*
Wait Plum, *Joiner.*
Bezaleel Fisk, *Town Clerk.*¶
Capt. Ward, *Ship Master.*

WASHINGTON STREET.

*Col. Jabez Hamlin.
Joseph Wright, *Farmer.*
Jacob Goodwin, *Sea Captain.*
†Geo. Starr, *Sea Captain and Merchant.*
Nathaniel Shalor.
Elisha Brewster, *Tavern Keeper.*
Dr. Elliott Rawson.

Jacob Sebor, *Merchant.*
James Cornwall, *Farmer.*
George Phillips, *Merchant.*
Giles Hall, *Ship Master.*
Col. Matthew Talcott, *Merchant & Farmer.*

COURT STREET.

Richard Hall, *Ship Master.*
‡John Stocken, *Iron Works.*
Joseph King, *Silversmith.*

Samuel Johnson, *Shoe Maker.*
*Timothy Bigelow's Tavern.***
Joseph Southmayd, *Farmer.*
Richard Alsop, *Merchant & Ship Owner.*

PARSONAGE STREET.

Ely, *Tanner and Shoe Maker.*
Stewart, *Farmer.*
§John Ward.
Ephraim Fenner, *Tavern.*
§Caleb Fuller.
Timothy Boardman, *Joiner.*
Zac Paddock, *Joiner.*
Elisha Clark, *Trader.*

Capt. Doan, *Ship Master.*
Adino Pomeroy, *Tanner.*
Dr. Walker, *Slave Dealer.*
Capt. Thomas Goodwin.
William Southmayd, *Saddler.*
Return Meigs, *Hatter.*
Deacon Clark, *Apothecary.*
General Parsons.

Road to New Haven.

Episcopal Church.

Ill. 9 Main Street, Middletown, Connecticut, c.1770

made possible by its transaction on the main street (Ill. 9).

In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, a standardized version of the main street became common to small and medium sized towns across the country, with commercial buildings lining the street for one or two blocks and, when people began to own cars, 45° angle parking in front of them. Farmers' markets, commercial fairs, parades and public celebrations periodically transformed this part of the thoroughfare into a public space.

The development of suburban shopping malls in the 1950s killed these main streets. A more recent trend has begun to place malls in downtowns (for example in Worcester, Massachusetts). But these downtown malls are inimical to downtown streets, often blocking the street or presenting solid, impenetrable facades without entries or windows.

The negation of the public function of the street by the downtown mall is paralleled by new residential communities' attempts to sever themselves from public thoroughfares. Public streets now disappear into private-gated developments—"communities" they are called, but communities that are closed and exclusive, that abandon the public sense of community for the private and enclosed one. The street itself becomes private.

The trend is welcomed by impoverished municipalities who find in privatized streets a way to shift the costs for their maintenance to the private sector. Developers of the new communities put little design effort into the street, since it is the private lots and houses, not the streets, which produce income. So the public character of the street is stripped along with its public function and public funding.

Private interests have taken a decisive role also in the creation of public spaces. Most new public spaces are built as part of private development arrangements, a deal struck between private developer and city whereby additional square feet of building are permitted in exchange for the developer's construction of a ground level public plaza. Not only does this result in haphazardly placed public spaces, but public spaces whose relation is to the private buildings of which

they are an extension, rather than to the street. What is missing is a clear relation to the street, which is what makes a space truly public.

This suggests that because streets are our most fundamental of public forms, public design must make an effort to connect and pay deference to the street. A design that fails to do that—that severs the ostensibly "public" realm from the commercial, cultural and political life of the street—will undermine the most public-intentioned of public spaces.

Of course, the counter to this argument is that public streets today are dangerous. It is people's very real fear of public streets that has drawn them to closed and privatized community spaces, streets and entire towns. Yet we must recognize that to allow these new towns—the galactic cities, urban villages and edge cities—to function as fortresses, separating one group from the "other" (the poor, the homeless, those of another race) makes any kind of public life within them a fraud. It is an abdication of our responsibility to build a viable public life.

To create functioning, accessible public streets will not erase the ills of our society, will not eliminate crime, or drugs or poverty. But we do know that what makes people feel safe in a public space is its very publicness, in the sense, once again, of public visibility. So to enable access and movement and use is also to provide a sense of safety.

Finally, the street is the only element that we have which can join the fortress-like communities that are emerging across the country. Until we can come to a consensus on what a shared public life is, the street—badly maintained, sometimes ugly, often unsafe—is all that we have in common. It is our only basis for public life.

There is a direct connection between free access and public life. The connection is suggested in new forms of public transportation like light rail systems. Quiet, non-polluting, and making frequent stops, as old streetcars did, light rail systems add to the publicness of the streets on which they run. Their placement at street level may help to alleviate the fears attached to subways, underground and out of the public eye.

An urban development that has even greater potential to realize the public function of the street is the appearance of the greenway. Around the country, private citizen groups have formed to convert thousands of miles of abandoned railways and canal lines into recreational corridors for biking, hiking, horse riding and skiing. Rather than treating greenways exclusively as recreational and ecological corridors, they should be treated as streets in the broad sense that I have used the term, providing access to an entire region and combining commercial, cultural and civic functions.

One of the most important features of greenways is that, because they are sited on former lines of transportation, they occupy a central place in existing communities. They can get us from one place to another. If they can be made to resume that role as passage through and unifier of communities, they can become both the center of individual neighborhoods and the central artery of whole regions. They can reconnect isolated parts of cities, create links between city and country and between city and suburb, and permit travel between work and home by foot, bike or tram. Greenways can

provide access to cultural institutions: museums, historic sites, art exhibits (Ill. 10, 11).

What is distinctive about these examples is that the greenway becomes less a purely recreational space and more a kind of linear civic center—in the old sense of the town green, or the Latin American public street—a site of multiple activities providing access for all citizens to all parts of the city. This use articulates what is most important in a public space: that it be an attraction in itself, a site of activity, a public realm and, at the same time, that it function as a means of access and movement.

The connection between streets and greenways works in two directions. As the first form of public space, streets can provide a model for creating greenways that are truly public—that provide free access and a stage for public life. And greenways suggest a new conception of public thoroughfares, one that combines recreational, cultural and commercial activities, that reconciles human use with ecological sustainability. 2,300 years after the formal invention of the street that gave access to all parts of the city (if we take Priene, the Greek city designed on a grid by Hippodamus, as that), we may have a new model for the street.

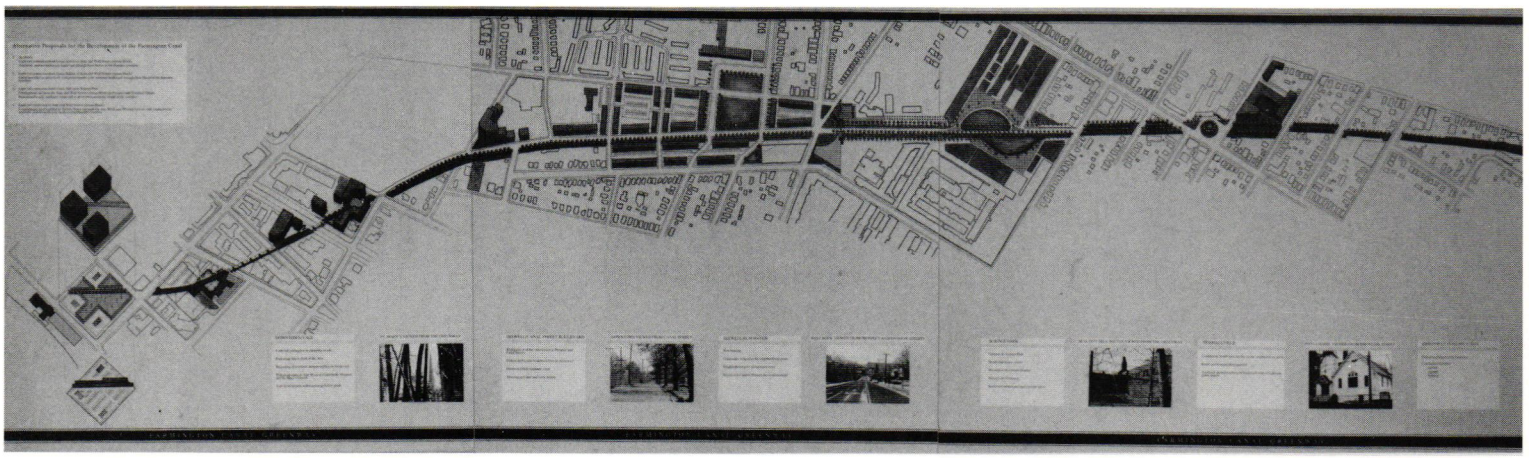
Greenways are thus a fundamentally new kind of public space. They suggest new functions of public spaces and suggest a new kind of public space design. Two other features of the greenway design process also have relevance for public space design more broadly conceived.

The driving force behind the creation of greenways, as well as some other public spaces like community gardens and public markets—all enjoying remarkable popularity—is usually not municipal government, but groups of local citizens who have organized themselves as non-profits. They then go to work with municipal, state and federal governmental agencies, as well as with private companies, foundations and volunteer groups. Throughout the process, though, it is the local group that negotiates land acquisition, hires the designer, raises funds, proposes management strategies, mediates between the different groups and mobilizes public support and action.

The local and citizen-initiated character of such public space development represents an important shift in the development of public spaces, although it does recall two earlier movements. In the 1830's to 1860's, Village Improvement Societies, led by the one in Stockbridge, Massachusetts, championed the American tree-lined street.[4] Similar organizations promoted the Olmstedian park; both became classics of American landscape design.

The process of community building behind a greenway is a complex process, particularly in a continuing climate of financial stringency. Despite the complexity and hard work required by greenway development, however, the vision of public space on which it is based has awakened a great many Americans to community action. Putting a greenway together is not just building a space, but building a social structure, indeed a kind of social sculpture. This is both its requirement and its appeal. To design successful public spaces, we may also need to create this social sculpture.

It would be arrogant to claim that

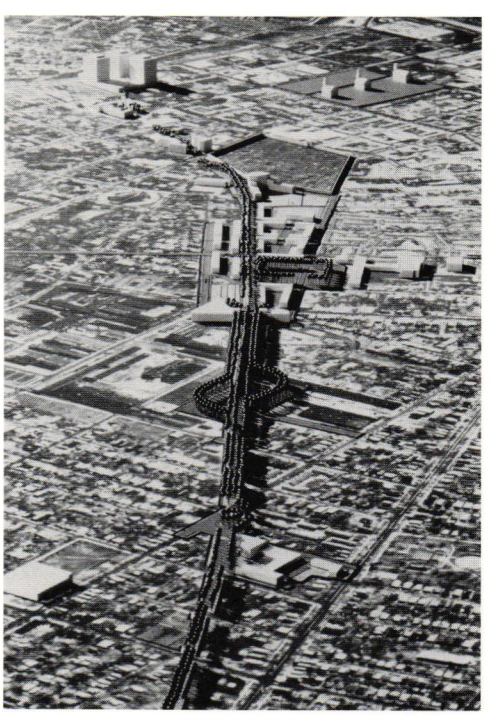


Ill. 10 Farmington Canal Greenway, New Haven, Connecticut, Conceptual Plan, Balmori Associates

design by itself can create a public life. But it can create the kind of space that fosters public life if, and this is the important point, it engages the public in its very creation. This means more than asking for community input and approval via a public design charrette. It means setting up a participatory process from the very beginning, and a design plan that is initiated, criticized, revised, fully worked over *with* community members. This produces a program, one which extends from the conceptualizing of the space right into its operation and management. This does not mean that the public itself designs. Design is, like any other profession, a rule governed practice that requires extensive training and specialized knowledge. But design as a practice, and designers as a profession, should be much better informed about people's needs. The issue is one of the openness of the discipline to all individuals and groups who use or are affected by the creation of a public space.

The emergence of greenways raises another important issue for design: the need to bring together the now estranged disciplines of landscape design, architecture, sculpture, urban design and ecology. Indeed, we might attribute part of the failure of contemporary public space design to the specialization and fragmentation of the design disciplines. Public space now consists of the separate contributions of each: a building, a landscape design, a sculpture. It misses the fact that public space is a totality and must be hewn as a whole.

But bringing the disciplines "together" to create public spaces is a deceptively simple proposition. There is no single aesthetic capable of subordinating all the disciplines to its guiding vision. "Collaboration" is the contemporary solution to the problem of integrating disciplines, but it is problematic. For in most cases, collaboration means bringing to-



Ill. 11 Farmington Canal Greenway, Conceptual Model, Balmori Associates

Ill.12 Embroidered shawl, Santa Maria del Rio, 1790

gether professionals from the different fields to work on separate parts of a project. The problem is that by the time individuals have become professionals they are so steeped, not only in particular methods, but also in a conceptual language, that any kind of dialogue is near impossible. The push for collaboration usually comes too late in the game.

Instead, the different disciplines involved in public space design—architecture, landscape design, sculpture, urban design and ecology—should be brought together earlier, as part of the formal training in each field. The goal should be to give practitioners in each discipline the tools to think in the terms of the other disciplines. For example, architects should think conceptually about the horizontal plane and landscape designers about the vertical plane from the very beginning of their training.

What this requires of all the disciplines is an effort to discover substantive issues of designthat all are concerned with, and the conceptual bridges that can reconcile divergent perspectives and methods.

The growing ecological movement can provide a spur to the kind of enterprise I'm proposing, for our recognition of the fragility of ecological systems has made the reconciliation of design and ecology not just an aesthetic desideratum, but an imperative. We can no longer neglect issues of ecological sustainability, no longer design the Victorian parks that were created by the hundreds in the nineteenth century and that are, for the most part, biologically sterile. But we must also see that ecology cannot take the place of design in creating successful public spaces, spaces that are sustainable but also used, enjoyed and admired.

The practical experience of designing public spaces like greenways and streets is a starting point for building a design approach that integrates aesthetic objectives with ecological ones. To move further, we need to trace the history of design in order to identify the points at which the disciplines of art, architecture, landscape and urban design diverged, and to recover potentially usable forms and strategies for reconciling them.

Our success in the task will be measured by our ability to create public spaces that are used, enjoyed and remembered for generations, long after their original uses have been transformed. And on that standard, the most public spaces have been streets, or spaces like streets. A Mexican embroidery made in 1780 depicts the three most important public spaces in Mexico City (Ill. 12). It shows the Zocalo (main square) and the four streets that define it; the Alameda, a treed street for promenading that was later made into a park; and Xochimilco, a lake outside the city, a popular outing on the weekend (with canoes with musicians and food giving rides on the lake among flower-planted islands). Although these three spaces are being shown as the most popular public spaces in 1780, they are the most popular in Mexico to this day, which attests to their perdurability through time.

Notes

1. Hannah Arendt in Nathan Glazer and Mark Lilla, eds. *Public Face of Architecture* (Free Press, 1987), p. 7.

2. See Dora P. Couch, Daniel J. Garr and Axel I. Mundigo, *Spanish City Planning in North America* (Boston, MIT Press, 1982), p. 1-19, for a recent English translation of the "City Planning Ordinance of the Laws of the Indies."

3. See Carroll William Westfall, *This Most Perfect Paradise: Alberti, Nicholas V, and The Invention of Conscious Urban Planning in Rome, 1447-55* (The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1974), Ch. 3, and Leon Battista Alberti, *The Art of Building in Ten Books* (Boston: MIT Press, 1988), transl. Joseph Rykwert, Neil Leach and Robert Taxernor.

4. Parris T. Farwell, *Village Improvement* (New York, 1913).

Illustration Credits

Frontispiece/Ill. 12: The Collection at Parham Park, Sussex, England

2. By Wilbur E. Garrett, © National Geographic Society

3, 4. From *Planos de Ciudades Iberoamericanas y Filipinas existentes en el Archivo de Indias*, Instituto de Administracion Local Seminario de Urbanismo

5. Photo by Kent Bloomer

6. Courtesy New Haven Colony Historical Society

7. Photo by author

8. Courtesy Lebanon Historical society, Inc.

9. Courtesy The Connecticut Historical Society, Hartford, Connecticut

10, 11. Balmori Associates

Hedged Bets

Practical and Theoretical Equivocation During the Reagan Years

Michael Stanton

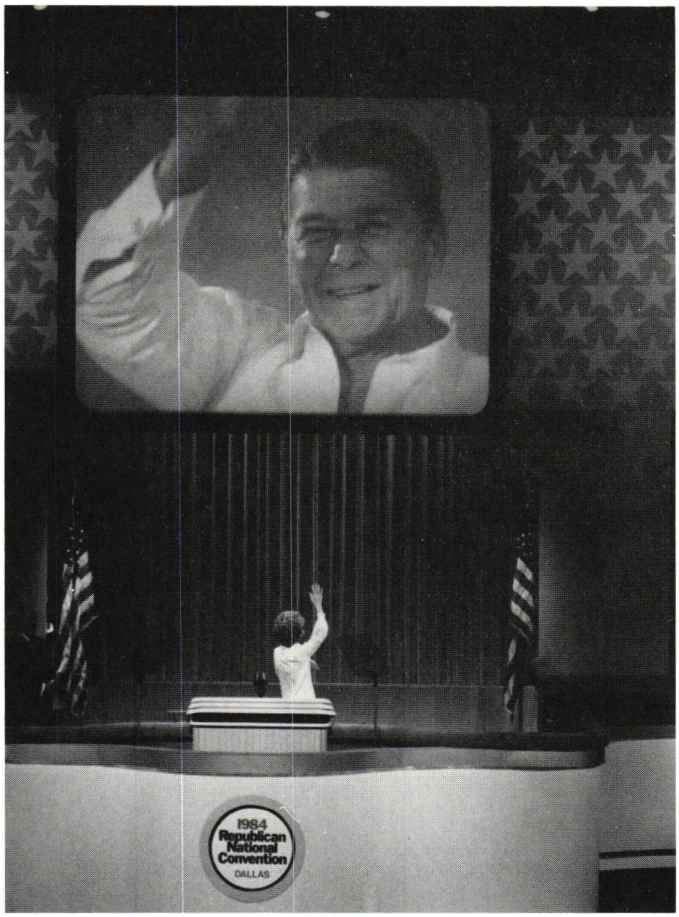
I am first of all an urbanist. But the relation to the city, for me, is immediately a relation to politics. Furthermore, urbanist and politician, etymologically speaking, are the same thing.
Paul Virilio, *Pure War*[1]

American architecture is troubled. With diminishing authority it struggles to remain afloat at a moment of extreme economic and technological change, and amidst a media deluge. This essay will argue that, rather than confronting these conditions, architectural practice has acquiesced eagerly and self-destructively, urged on by the lush irrelevancies of much of theory and criticism.

Before the convenient diversion of the Gulf War, Americans had begun to face the debacle of the 1980s. Continuing revelations of vast governmental corruption in defense appropriations, environmental controls, programs for housing and the poor, the White House, all cast doubt on glorious claims made regarding the last decade, a time more likely to be historically understood as prelude to disaster. A great production of ephemera and slogans, ersatz wars and crass hypocrisy masked a decade-long orgy of neglect, greed and white-collar crime fueled by unprecedented deficit borrowing. Architecture was integrally involved.

This essay will argue that there is an inevitable connection between politics and architecture. Politics are defined broadly. They are not just votes, laws, governing bodies—though these do have profound effect on architecture. Politics here encompass urbanism and its individual element, the work of architecture. The Greek *polis* identified both citizens and

Frontispiece Le Camere di San Ignazio, *anamorphosis by Fr. Andrea Pozzo, Il Gesù, Rome, 1680*



Ill. 1 Nancy Reagan salutes the Chief, Dallas 1984

city: they were inextricable. From this word comes *politics*: cultural values in interaction with the rules and individuals that enact those values.

Politics are the institutions and rituals that both make and are made by those values, and that find physical embodiment as buildings and cities. Thus, to the extent that architecture is so defined, it is enclosed within politics, while politics are contained and represented by architecture. But the Reagan era seems to have forced architecture outside of active participation in this equation—or, at least, to have welcomed its willing departure. I will explore why this may have happened and how this was passively sanctioned by much of the theoretical establishment.[2]

Without question, architecture served power during the 1980s. But again, this has been the traditional role of architecture—to monumentalize the realm of monarch, church, aristocracy, bourgeoisie or worker's state. An expensive and compromised art, architecture is always prey to the whims of power, as it is its form-giver. Thus it is not surprising that, while obliging the cut-throat economics of the Reagan years, architects often found themselves in the position of decorating —to the latest fashion—the speculative projects of venture capital. Certainly this was not new in the 1980s but it reached a fever-pitch then.

Typical architectural patrons are now developers, manipulating building futures in a lucrative and ruthless market, wielding enormous influence over governments, running cities with cavalier disregard, altering the landscape with equal nonchalance. They are real estate's arbitrageurs, and were perfectly suited to the deficit-bubble of the Reagan years.

Developers are quite different from clients who build structures that will in fact house their firms, institutions or families. A major epistemological shift has occurred, in fact. The services architecture has traditionally offered have indulged the client's desire that a building immortalize or embody values associated with him or her. Quality, and a symbology resistant to fashion, were therefore undeniable attributes. For developers, on the other hand, buildings are a means to

an end, that end being immediate profit; and with Reagan's unprecented borrowing, the profits were immediate and copious. Rather than serving as monuments to institution or life-style, for developers buildings are pure commodities to produce revenue and then discard. They are often bought and sold several times during design and construction.

Several serious problems distinguish the present situation. Buildings take a long time to build. Given the febrile nature of contemporary architectural style, buildings which are fashionable when designed, will be decidedly unfashionable by the time they are complete. The speed of information transfer and the media's close affiliation with fashion put into question the efficacy, in this sphere, of the cumbersome semantics of architecture. This might concern a client who has to occupy and thus be permanently identified with a particular edifice. It does not especially concern developers whose involvement is short-lived. Thus architecture, which should, due to the inevitable concept-to-construction time-lag, be exempt from the most crass marketing ploys, finds itself instead at their fore.

A developer's team will include an architect, an economist versed in the hypothetical formulae that make profit without production, and several lawyers (real estate, tax, zoning, historic preservation) to advise on how to violate the spirit of laws without breaking their letter. The role of architect is relegated to creating for the commodity the latest profit-producing image — current, marketable, expendable. Not surprisingly, the influence of architects is steadily diminishing as their predicament is ever more desperate.

More subtly, the difficulties and contradictions of the current situation have also encouraged a disengaged argument that architecture is abstract—that it produces pure forms: pristine and irresponsible. Any such myth of abstraction avoids the ingrained complexities and problems of a more involved view of the interaction of society and buildings. No communicative system as culturally compromised as the language of architecture can remain free of significance, since buildings are objects produced for, and expressive of, culture.

Meaning exists (to paraphrase

Objects are caught in the fundamental compromise of having to signify, that is of having to confer social meaning and prestige in the mode of otium *and the game (an aristocratic and archaic mode with which the hedonist ideology of consumption tries to reestablish ties) and of having incidentally to submit to the powerful consensus of the democratic morality of effort, of doing and of merit.*

Jean Baudrillard, *For a Critique of the Political Economy of the Sign*[3]

As meaning is lost, the materiality of words becomes obsessive, as is the case when children repeat a word over and over again until its sense is lost and it becomes a incomprehensible incantation. A signifier that has lost its signified has thereby been transformed into an image.
Fredric Jameson, "Postmodernism and Consumer Society"[4]

Everything is held forth, meant for immediate consumption, and words, silences and their common mobility are launched towards a meaning superseded: it is a transfer leaving no trace and brooking no delay.
Roland Barthes, *Writing Degree Zero* [5]

Pirouetting on only one foot, the Post Modern tight-rope walkers endeavor to play their game with a history whose meaning and limits they skillfully keep hidden from themselves.
Manfredo Tafuri, *The Sphere and the Labyrinth*[9]

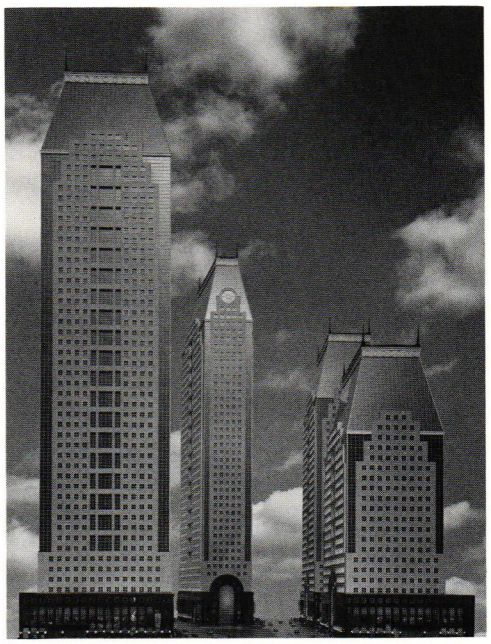
The Goddess is in a quarter of an hour mediatized, actualizing through this exorcism the very essence of petit bourgeois advancement.
Roland Barthes "The New Citröen"[12]

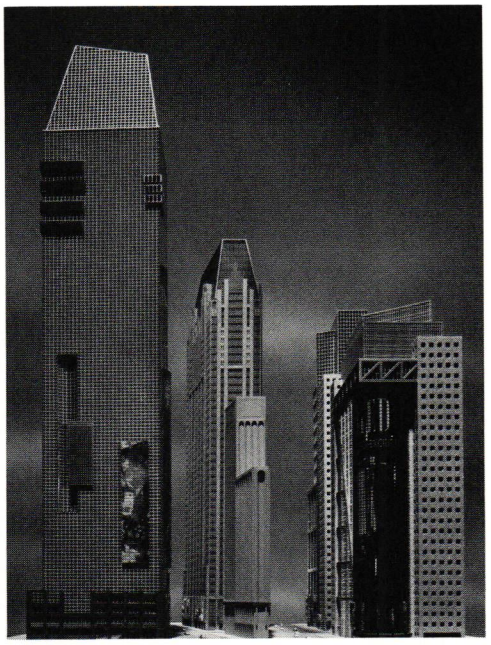
Gramsci) for those who want it and for those who do not, those who know it and those who profess not to, those who are active and those who are indifferent. This is both simple and infinitely complex. For, while meaning is inevitable, it is also elusive and destructible, as it is determined by individuals and the collective in a constantly changing societal matrix. Semantic stability is under constant assault in the current epoch. All cultural objects and rituals are pushed toward pure image, an image then available for the almost instantaneous attachment of new meanings. In the hype-er charged galaxy of contemporary marketing, the problem is too much meaning, too many gimmicks and slogans. Images simultaneously inflate and resist signification. They approach incomprehensibility. Architects, by nature of their profession and its societal position, must work under this pressure.

The political climate of the 1980s merely seems to have exacerbated an historic American tendency to commandeer all ritual as marketing device. This is, after all, the culture that has standardized the substitution of media-driven mythology and slogans for any substantive tradition. In this "dictatorship of the motor functions," information, in the speed of its transfer and the repetition of its shrinking "bites," becomes simultaneously more pervasive and more limited.[6] Saturation has produced a simulacrum of data. As the pace of information exchange and marketing become more frantic, architecture becomes ever more desperate in its futile struggle to keep up and its innate inability to do so. As their role becomes more superficial, architects' choices become increasingly limited.

Americans' increasing alienation is also a problem.[7] They are removed by the nature of their lives and the novelty and confused heterogeneity of their culture from implicit communal contact. American architects are therefore neither automatically assimilated into society nor analytic of it, and yet are asked to produce its artifacts. Reduced to a confused search for images, they occasionally invent or, more typically, rummage through the storehouses of history and the bargain bins of current taste.

The practice of architecture in the United States has exhibited a calculated inattention to its own contradictions. It





Ill. 2, 3 First and second projects for Times Square, John Burgee Architects with Philip Johnson

offers itself to the highest bidder. This is certainly not new. Strickland or Mills, and later Burnham or McKim and White appropriated architectural language in the service of state and industry. This language was highly semantic and thus carefully tuned to convey the correct messages of authority and enlightenment. A more syntactic position was employed in 1932 as Modern architecture was stripped of its messy European social connotations by Johnson and Hitchcock in the "International Style" show at the fledgling MoMA. Their arguments for its acceptance by a reluctant America were mostly formal, as was their redefinition of *style*. The burden of received meanings was removed. Modernism was made empty and available as a perfect cipher for the robust and progressive energy of American capital, buoyed by the conflations of the New Deal. This formula continued and strengthened after the war, geared up by years of military production. Corporate Modernism evolved into the pure empty visibility of Late Modernism and its scaleless prisms. These embodied the mistakes of a tired functionalism, the misdirection of systems analysis and determinism, and the glitter of a decorative technology.[8]

Postmodernism proposed a necessary reappraisal of the void of Late Modernism, but, when realized, PoMo embraced the same ideology it condemned and resorted to the same flaccid and formalist exercises. The simplistic rejection of all Modernism for the sins of its most decadent extremes also placed PoMo in an untenable critical position.[10] Despite an unconvincing argument that, through the pastiche and manipulation of historical forms, a rediscovery of "meaning" had occurred, the distortion and caprice of this "recovery" left meaning to be applied later as advertising device. Postmodernism and related gyrations of the Cornell School followed the same basic recipe of formalist manipulation and appropriation that has characterized American cultural production, but with a vastly increased speed of obsolescence.[11] The current unfashionableness of this work is indicative of its vulnerability to the exigencies of fashion—and possibly its hunger for them.

Philip Johnson once again tried to steer consumer taste to another "style" with his "Deconstructivist Architecture" show of 1988. With startling rapidity, the lexicon of disparate forms grouped under this title, ranging from banal to brilliant in their conception, was reduced to cliché and market device. Already hackneyed, DeCon takes its place beside LateMo and PoMo on the discount racks of style.

Of the other arts, architecture is closest to film. It is popular and appreciated by a public in a state of distraction, and it is expensive. It is produced by a large collective of technicians, artists and business people. It is a sequential and narrative art employing many of film's

[For Tafuri,] *the increasing closure of late capitalism (beginning in 1931, and intensifying dialectically after World War II), by systematically shutting off one aesthetic possibility after another, ends up conveying a paralyzing and asphyxiating sense of the futility of any architectural or urbanistic innovation on this side of that equally inconceivable watershed, a total social revolution.*
Fredric Jameson, "Architecture and the Critique of Ideology"[14]

The critic as flâneur *or* bricoleur, *rambling and idling among diverse social landscapes where he is everywhere at home, is still the critic as judge; but such judgment should not be mistaken for the censorious verdict of an Olympian authority. . . How can the ineluctably negative movement of criticism celebrate an ideological compact with the object of its disapprobation? The very business of criticism, with its minatory overtones of conflict and dissension, offers to disrupt the consensualism of the public sphere; and the critic himself, who stands at the nub of that sphere's great circuits of exchange, disseminating, gathering in and recirculating its discourse, represents a potentially fractious element within it.*
Terry Eagleton, *The Function of Criticism*[15]

devices: montage, mise-en-scène, etc. And, in the last decade, it also became prey to the same reductions that film has. Architecture, like Hollywood, increasingly opted for the safe, the sequel, the purely entertaining, the superficial and the easy cliché.

As can be imagined, the compromised situation in which architecture found itself in the Reagan years did not produce an abundance of good buildings, though it did bring limited affluence to many practitioners—and to some critics. Much was built, but, seen with the distance of a new decade and a sobering economic reality, little of quality. There is a notable vacation house here, a restaurant there, perhaps the odd office-block out of the thousands spawned during this prolific period.

While I cannot concur with Tafuri's most dire judgments regarding the impossibility of architecture, I believe that the formula of uncritical commercial embellishment prohibits either strong or profound design. To have flourished in the 1980s, architecture would have had to have either systematically resisted or radically adjusted to the political-cultural tendencies that now seem to render its very existence precarious. It did neither, opting instead for short-term profit at the expense of a viable future. This in fact has been characteristic of much larger segments of society. America remains notoriously short-sighted.

Meanwhile most critics avoid the issue. They play on as the ship founders.

Much commentary remains blithely formalist, either by simply limiting the discussion to matters of syntax, or, more insidiously, by entering into broader deliberation from such a detached position as to reduce issues to rhetorical tropes. In the former case, analysis discovers geometries and composition. It is a grammar of shifts and shear, rotation and juxtaposition. In the latter case, discourses on style, in the sense encouraged by Johnson and Hitchcock, obsessive categorization, and the peripheral discussion of intellectual and formal reference through ever more abstruse comparison are the methods of a criticism that deftly sidesteps many of the tougher issues it faces. From Jencks to the later work of Rowe,

many critiques remain more dexterous and formally focused than significant. In this they mirror the new architecture they comment upon.

However, this essay will not focus on the problems of a criticism driven primarily by formal or stylistic issues. Nor can it discuss in depth what lamentably passes for commentary in the newspapers and many of the journals.[16] Instead the discussion here will concentrate on several current critical positions that, while promising an exciting and synthetic interpretation of popular intellectual approaches of the recent past, arrived at a position equally as formalist and compromised as those already discussed.

Being ambiguous in its own aims and criteria, and addressing a discipline that is far from autonomous, architectural theory has always borrowed, with degrees of misinterpretation, from other disciplines—from philosophy, science, aesthetics, political and theological thought and, more recently, from sociology, cybernetics, mathematics, psychology, linguistics, and literary criticism, among others. Rather than transposing theoretical systems in a rigorous manner, architectural thinking seems to absorb, almost osmotically, the polyvalent intellectual atmosphere in which it finds itself. Defying the tidy theses of scholars, such influence seems more nebulous than direct—a haze of misinterpretation and cross-reference. We sniff the prevailing cultural winds, often quite superficially. From this amalgam of scents we get ideas. Treatises have tended to chronicle these inhalings rather than being themselves seminal documents.

Two heady literary philosophies have especially influenced the thinking and doctrine of architectural theorists of the last decade. They are phenomenology and post-structuralist literary criticism, in particular deconstruction. In the course of their transfer to architecture, strange tacks have indeed been taken. This has been repeatedly pointed out and has constituted much of the censure of these positions—that they are simply inaccurately interpreted. I cannot, as has been done, arbitrarily condemn because the transliterations made by architectural theorists have been amateurish or not true to the spirit of these theories in their original forms. This is indeed the case, but it does not warrant an *a priori* dismissal, for it is necessary that metamorphosis occur when dealing with a language as different from that which is written or spoken, a language as physical and normative as that of architecture.[17] It is in misreading, in "misprision," that creative conjecture is possible.[18]

What is alarming is not the bizarre spin that architectural theorists have put on these extremely complicated intellectual currents. It is the fact that theorists have, either with or without intention, spun the discussion away from issues and questions that might have confronted the problems of architecture in the Reagan years: problems which are, in fact, quite vulnerable to these critical models. Instead, the orgy of architectural consumerism was encouraged by the peripheral meanderings of many theorists—the same avoidances and marginal discussions as those that preoccupied practice. If Modernist polemics suffered from social-realist reduction and were too simplistic, too propagandistic, in short, too easy, then the arguments of the 1980s were non-polemics: deliriously over-inflated, often ir-

relevant, equally superficial. A general theoretical cop-out avoided rocking the Reagan gravy-boat.

The nature of this equivocation took different forms. Though both Heidegger and Derrida have their roots in the bellicose brilliance of Nietzsche, the philosophies these two epitomize have diverged so far as to be seen as nearly antithetical in their contemporary architectural translation. Similar now only in that they both avoid encountering substantive architectural issues, the two theories warrant separate discussions.

Phenomenology resists lucidity. Tafuri flatly rejects a direct connection between Heidegger's speculations and architectural culture.[19] And Husserl's plea for a phenomenological reduction seems to need serious readjustment when applied to the tacitly symbolic forms of architecture. Nonetheless, readings of the portentous ephemera of phenomenology have produced several interrelated and pervasive architectural arguments. All, to some extent, avoid confrontation with the ruder aspects of architectural culture.

The first argument is a quasi-spiritual evocation of the essence and stuff of buildings. In this redolent equation, buildings relate to our bodies and souls in primal, inexplicable ways. Light and space meet materials to form works of architecture that are described as "poetic." This is a formula for truly inspired work or utter banality and, uncritically endorsed, it seems more likely to produce the latter. It is true that architecture is composed of simple, primal forms (walls, stairs, doors, windows, etc.) to which we react in an infinitely complex counterpoint of visceral, psychological and ritual responses. Phenomenology undoubtedly offers insight into the nature of this interaction, and therefore into the roots of aesthetics. It invites a sensual and vital reading that resists fashion and foolishness. But it also resists rigor and all but the most superficial discussion. In its purest forms, phenomenology sanctions a dependence on intuition and encourages a self-righteous ignorance as it rejects rational argument. It denies the myriad cultural forces that simultaneously enrich architecture and make it a particularly difficult and catholic art.

Tangential to phenomenology is a fixation with detail and building materials. The "exquisite marginality" of Carlo Scarpa receives reverent attention.[21] Here is the love of the joint and the reveal, the cult of the fragment and faith in a craftsmanship next to extinct in the modern United States. Theory and its problems are eluded. Whole journals are devoted to "detail." Student theses based solely on "an interest in materials" are lauded. Unfortunately, this view is extraordinarily vulnerable to fads as it uncritically tends towards fetishism and finishes, towards things over ideas. While again emphasizing a necessary aspect of the making of buildings, this fine focus avoids the strident demands of a broader view.

A confused populism arguing finally for the hegemony of common taste also shelters under the vague mantle of phenomenology, along with ill-defined pleas for regionalism and the spirit of place-ness. All are potent concepts but seem to usually lack the ideological connective tissue that would make them design tools. Attitudes as diverse as those of certain naive elements of the left and the equally confused populist right, as epitomized by the Prince of Wales, find support in easy readings of phenomenology. An often muddled mixture of eulo-

gies to the vernacular, familiar and dubious calls for "truth in materials and construction," and a simplistic anti-Modernism follow also. The same contradictions and romances that have plagued the persistent school of Rousseau present themselves here.[22]

Many of these "phenomenological" views of architecture mask an alarming anti-intellectualism and a numbingly conservative retrenchment, both of which suit the politics of the Reagan-Bush era. It is not particularly surprising that Heidegger was able to come to terms with the National Socialists and that his ideas were so readily distorted as propaganda.

Another theoretical vogue in the 1980s was that for post-structuralist architectural commentary which, while indulging in macro-intellectualism and avant-garde airs, results in a detachment similar to that of phenomenological interpretations.

As language has become the epistemological datum of this century, replacing undermined truth systems, language theory (including semiotics and post-structuralism, as well as language-driven philosophy) has provided universal critical models. Today, many intellectual and creative disciplines determine their criteria by comparison with or application of these theoretical models. If not since the Enlightenment, then from Loos on, this has been true of architecture, with quickening pulse in the last few decades. To lump all of the divergent phenomena, texts and theories that cluster around post-structuralism and its sub-set, deconstruction, into one neat entity would be impossible. On the other hand, any discussion of theory and its traps must confront this slippery coalition, for undeniably these philosophical-linguistic attitudes have affixed themselves to architecture.

The potent post-structuralist critiques, formulated in Europe a generation ago, continuously scrutinized culture. They were political, engaged, extremely confrontational. These qualities were a presumed component. The contributions of Foucault, Barthes, Derrida, et al. are immeasurable in their influence upon a European reassessment of architecture as cultural expression. This critique, however, always returned to the *polis*.

As transported here, applied to

It [the aesthetic] *is thus the first stirrings of a primitive materialism—of the body's long inarticulate rebellion against the tyranny of the theoretical . . . Could it be that this realm is impenetrably opaque to reason, eluding its categories as surely as the smell of thyme or the taste of potatoes? Must the life of the body be given up on, as the sheer unthinkable other of thought?"*
Terry Eagleton, *The Ideology of the Aesthetic*[20]

If the war is over, it is good to remember that it was merely a war of words in confrontation with other words, a struggle of restricted languages for an impossible rule over that which possesses other *languages. For them* [critics], *the only preoccupation is to remain on the stage agitating themselves in an ever more grotesque manner—in an effort to entertain an audience in the pit both bored and in need of sedatives.*
Manfredo Tafuri, *The Sphere and the Labyrinth*[23]

Writing turns on itself in a profound act of narcissism.
Terry Eagleton, *Literary Theory*[26]

The drive-in movie. Coming attractions. "You can't miss it."

> *For the beginning is assuredly the end — since we know nothing, pure and simple, beyond our own complexities.*
> *William Carlos Williams*

Architecture—Euclidean architecture —is then a system of self-defining limits: the surface of order constructed *in SPACE, a measuring (geometry) and a marking (geography) of the world. Carnivals. K-Mart. The Magic Maze. U.S. 1. The Strip(e), the trajectory and the itinerary, is also the hallowed edge,* La Maison Daedalus. [sic]
Robert Segrest, "The Perimeter Projects: Notes for Design"[27]

So an endless play of readings: "find out house," "fine doubt house," "find either or," "end of where," "end of covering," (in the wealth of reading possibilities, two of an "inside" nature that have recently arisen might be interesting to indicate. "Fin d'Ou T" can also suggest the French fin d'aout, *the end of August, the period, in fact, when the work of the project was completed. In addition, an English reader affecting French might well mispronounce the same fragment as "fondu," a Swiss cooking technique (from the French* fondu for *melted, also a ballet term for bending at the knee) alluding to the presence of a Swiss-trained architect, Pieter Versteegh, as a principal design assistant!) etc.*
Jeffery Kipnis, "Architecture Unbound, Consequences of the Recent Work of Peter Eisenman," in *Fin d'Ou T Hou S* as quoted by Jacques Derrida in "Why Peter Eisenman Writes Such Good Books"[28]

architecture,[24] passed from one salon to the next, eventually these theories underwent the same process of pasteurization described earlier as typically American. They became politically neutral, blissfully withdrawn. We embraced a lexicon of ideologically unrelated but relatively *au courant* forms.[25] In the theory boutiques today the applause remains deafening as the display of the Emperor's new clothes becomes ever more elaborate, verging on the silly and the purely self-indulgent. Implications of brilliance substitute for seriousness, but are rarely confirmed. Critics protect and promote each other urging greater excesses of cleverness and arcana, dismissing all doubters as philistine. The reasons for this and the devices by which it was effected are several.

The work of the seminal post-structuralists seemed to imply that the act of writing and the act of criticism were one and the same, that the latter was an act of creation itself. From the pen of Barthes this has credence. Such a task demands exteme erudition, skill and responsibility, qualities not typical of most architectural writers. They lack the breadth of knowledge and the synthetic skill that characterizes the greatest literary critics. Also, Barthes was a critic of words, albeit an extraordinary synthetic one. Thus his brilliant ramblings remained within his field of written and spoken language. There was an intrinsic datum. When architectural critics, on the other hand, begin to take an arbitrary and expansive view of their subject and talents, inevitable contradictions arise. Just as architects are not painters, not scientists, not poets, not sculptors, not spiritual masters. . . so architectural theorists are not philosophers, not prose artists, not cultural historians... When either practitioners or thinkers step too far out of their field, then they ask to be judged by the criteria of another discipline and this is almost always an embarrassment.

We stand embarrassed, for in order to evade dangerous issues, much of our critical establishment has detached and is floating. With the sophomore's pleasure in his own cleverness, theorists indulge in delicious word-games and abstruse reference—easy, safe, fun . . . "an endless play of readings." Architecture, unsightly in its struggle to survive, has been euphorically disregarded. This is a

If we take a practice like architecture, we can see that, as in the case of language, history is present not as a process in which each phase negates a previous one, but as a series of traces that survive in current ways of looking at the world.
Alan Colquhoun, *Modernity and the Classical Tradition*[29]

Critical theory is always threatened by the temptation to puff itself up into a kind of gigantic version of the sign replete with its strategy of abstraction and reduction.
Charles Levin, introduction to Baudrillard, *For a Critique of the Political Economy of the Sign*[30]

The genuine art of a bourgeois society can only be antibourgeois.
Renato Poggioli, *The Theory of the Avant-Garde*[31]

The neoconservative "return" to the subject, to representation, to history may be revealed—historically, dialectically —to be one with the post-structuralist "critique" of the same. In short, pastiche and textuality may be symptoms of the same "schizophrenic" collapse of the subject and of historical narrativity—as signs of the same process of reification and fragmentation under late capitalism.
Hal Foster, *Recodings*[32]

case of arrested critical development—and evasion.

The argument is offered that we live in a state of cultural amnesia induced by exegetic relativity and global violence, that we have made a total break with history and any sort of architectural continuum. While handy, such "parlor despair" is also ridiculous. In no way does the uncertainty of the modern era imply total disjuncture, nor does it license intellectual onanism. There is a tendency for each era to imagine itself to be a finality, as apocalypse or utopia, to reject history and particularly the Freudian closeness of the immediately preceding generation. This constitutes a form of dangerous historical egoism. It also invites uncritical maintenance of convention. While culture is malleable and its symbols are constantly transforming, it is also necessarily continuous. It is a received yet evolving structure interpreted by a collective sensibility—a difficult but undeniable reality. Architecture, linked as it is to the facts of buildings, to craft and sign, is a product of both continuity and change.

From all this marginalia and misdirection, is value alchemically derived? In fact, the discussion of architecture seems to have become at most a launching point, and no return to that discussion after flights of fancy is now seen as imperative. Such superficial scrapings at the more readily available strata of literary criticism and philosophy maintain a halcyon detachment from the discussion of architecture or society. What then is the point, assuming these are not serious meditations within other disciplines?

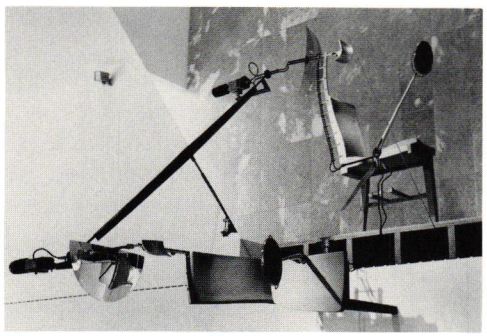
Is it the responsibility of critics—of all self-proclaimed intellectuals—to monitor society and its expressions, to call culture's bluff and expose its sublimations? It is true that during the Reagan era powerful incentives existed, financial and directly intimidating, not to do so. And the delirious warping of theory and the excesses of PoMo and DeCon provided every opportunity to passively embrace the forces of retrenchment while appearing to do the opposite.

The tendency of current criticism to acknowledge the impossibility of closure and to reveal incongruities and dif-

It is essential; well-fed, sleek, expansive, garrulous, it invents itself ceaselessly.
Roland Barthes, in "Myth Today" or "Myth on the Right" [34]

The new players seated around the green table laboriously won for themselves, linger at a game of poker whose stake is simply survival."
Manfredo Tafuri, *The Sphere and the Labyrinth*[36]

[Lacan's]*new approach to ideology, allowing us to grasp contemporary ideological phenomena (cynicism, "totalitarianism," the fragile status of democracy) without falling prey to any kind of "post-modernist " traps (such as the illusion that we live in a "post-ideological" condition).*
Slavoj Zizek, *The Sublime Object of Ideology*[37]

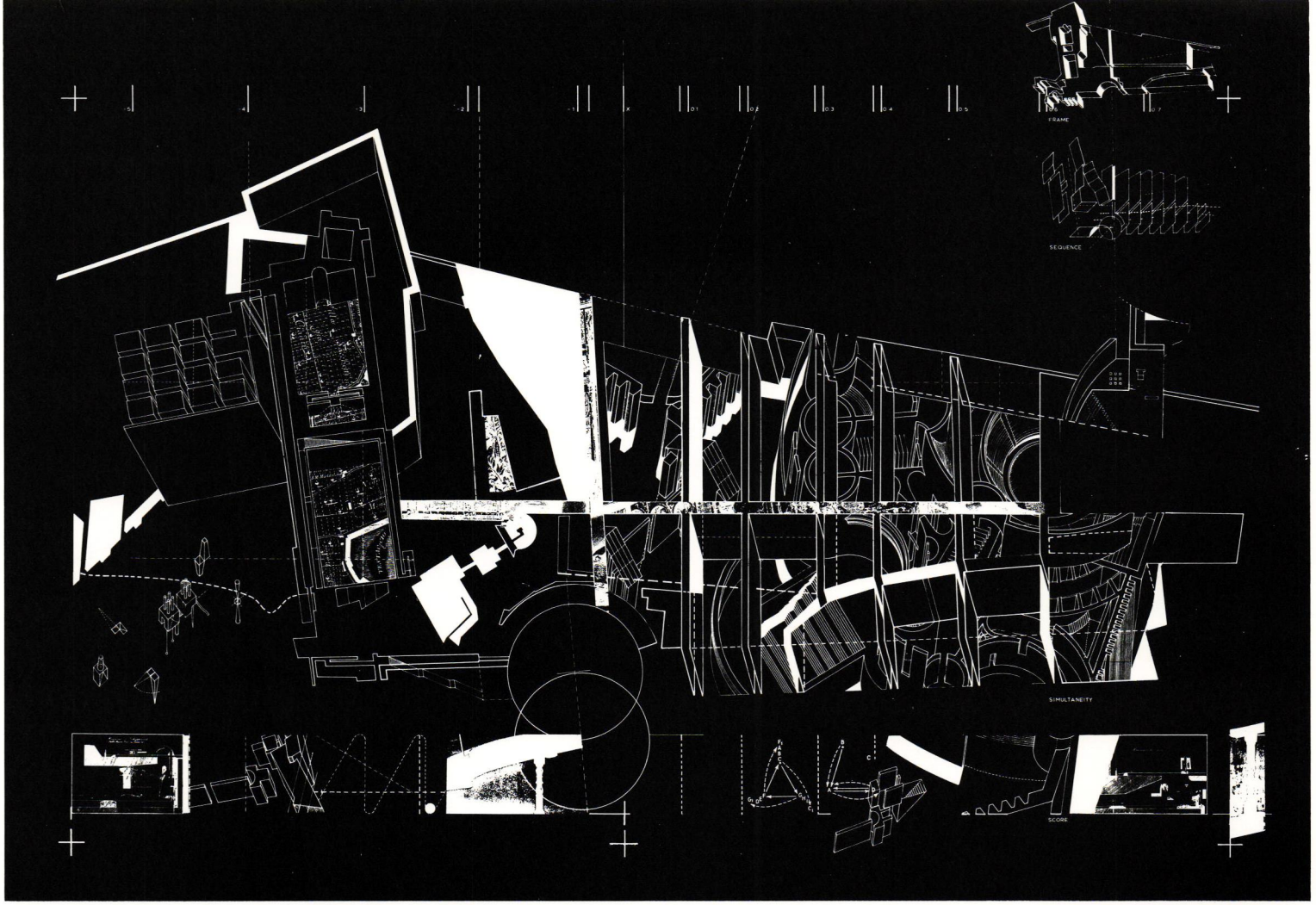


Ill. 4 Para-Site 1989, *Diller + Scofidio. "We are interested in the parabola/parable of site and parasite Quoting Michel Serres' book* The Parasite, *the parasite pays in parables. The word is made flesh.(sic.)"*

ference rather than certainties, should enrich architectural dialogue. It seems to have instead licensed a general obscurity hinting at profundity which, in turn, masks a distinctly conservative political stance. The exotica cultured in the hot-houses of theory are not harmless, for they encourage extraordinary self-indulgence as they avoid confrontation, not only in the ranks of critics, but also among students and practitioners. Seemingly inoffensive, in reality they support the status-quo. Hal Foster finds both Peter Eisenman and the neo-historicists he criticizes to in fact be identically compromised by conventional culture. And Habermas warns of the difficulties inherent in the clever tropes of the godfather of deconstruction, Derrida.[33] As became obvious with PoMo and continues with DeCon, Reaganism covers itself with the worn mantle of the avant-garde—a common phenomenon. Like the current art scene or pop music, a sheep hides in wolf's clothing.[35]

It is important to reiterate that the point here is not that particular philosophical and word-oriented theories are considered irrelevant to architecture, nor do I think it is a problem that misreadings have resulted during the transfer of these theories to our language. It is a problem of use, not substance. It lies in the fact that theory aided and abetted, through the particular nature of its misreadings, the predicament in which architectural culture now finds itself in relation to society—highly compromised, nearly powerless, incapable of serious or profound action.

Phenomenology and post-structuralism ought to provide rich and forceful positions for the discussion of an engaged and vital architecture.[38] But, during the Reagan years, it has not generally been the case that they were applied with the rigor or commitment to do more than confuse. These philosophical-literary studies do offer powerful ammunition for what seems to be a necessary assault on complacency and superficial readings. In the interpretation of these theories lies the possibility of a continuous critique without closure. By avoiding this threatening strategy, and in reaction to its sentimental avant-gardism, cultural criticism has been refrained from during the 1980s and, whether intentionally or not, there has occurred a concomitant embracing of totalities.



Ill. 5 Piranesi's Campo Marzio. Sequential Montage of Program Elements, *Stanley Allen. Form and theory similarly disengaged. Allen's project extrudes Piranesi, making visually beguiling forms, as the accompanying text strips Tafuri's extraordinary syntheses of their critical charge.*

This essay ends with an appeal for political criticism—not for a criticism stemming from a particular position right or left, but for one facing the problems of an art that is inherently cultural.

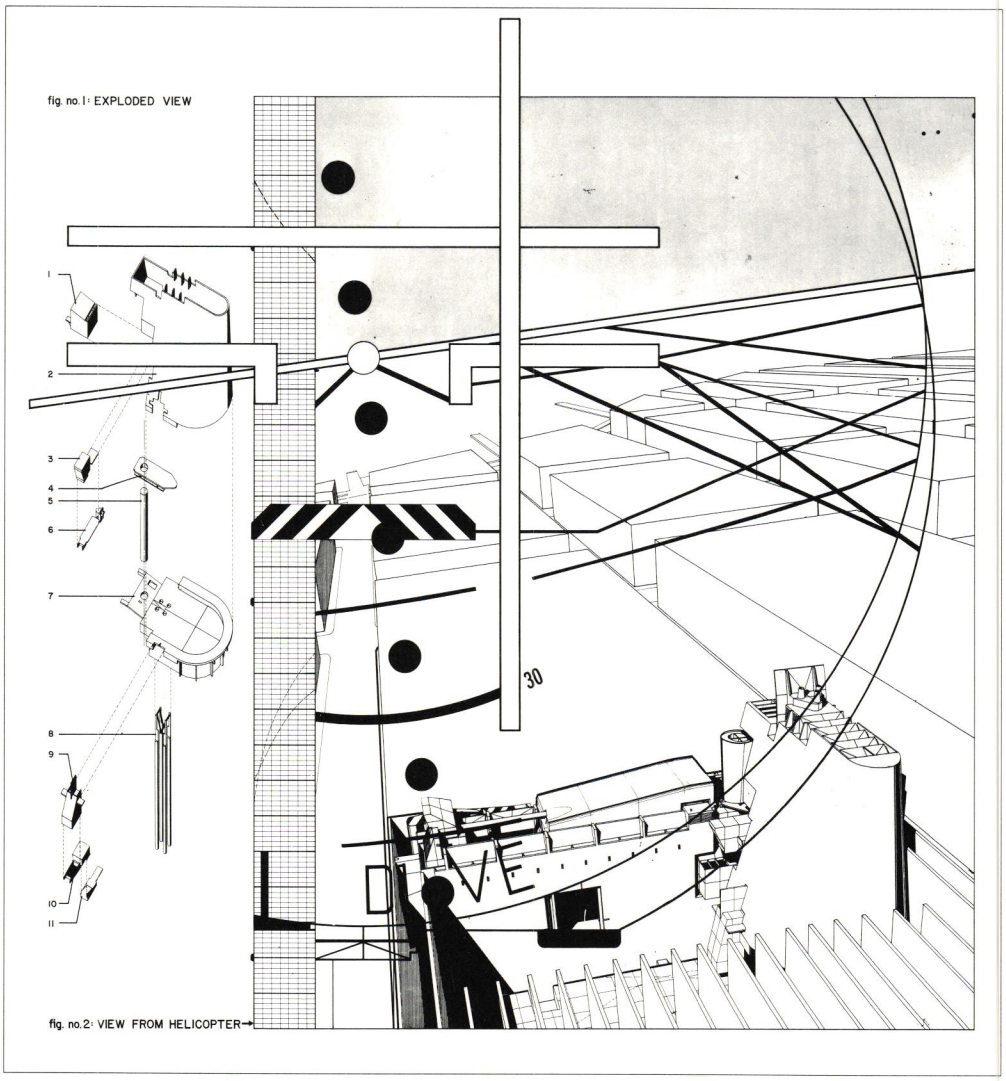
In a period without finite truth systems, the commitment to strong yet flexible positions seems doubly essential, both for critic and designer. Dare we speak of ideals, of systems of aspiration? In fact, such positions seem exceptionally necessary now, in an era of uncertainty and without absolutes. It is true that phenomenology and post-structuralism have revealed this to be a complicated and paradoxical endeavor, but, beyond the reveries of the lotus-eaters of the 1980s, they also provide it potent tools to forge "allusions to the conceivable."

This is emphatically not a plea for a view of architecture that is driven primarily by sociology or economics, but rather for a multivalent and highly critical discussion of buildings as expression and of the roles of economics, technology, imagery, within this formula—a *new realism* able to oblige the practical and the extraordinary (in the great tradition of post-structuralism).

Political situations may be confronted by strategies of adjustment and resistance. However, this demands a sober look at the contemporary culture we are asked to address with our buildings—and for extreme proposals. Criticism is an active facet of design. By technological means and through a reappraisal of the very elements that constitute its palate, architecture may adjust to the constric-

The ninteenth and twentieth centuries have given us as much terror as we can take. We have paid a high enough price for the nostalgia of the whole and the one, for the reconciliation of the concept and the sensible, of the transparent and the communicable experience. It must be clear that [it] is our business not to supply reality but to invent allusions to the conceivable which cannot be presented.
Jean-Francois Lyotard, *The Postmodern Condition*[39]

The problem is not to use technology but to realize that one is used by it.
Paul Virilio, *Pure War*[41]



Ill. 6 Monastery—New York City No.8305, *Neil Denari*

tions of modern economics and to the metamorphoses of the information age: building becoming armature or screen, capable of instant transformation. But there are problems inherent in this approach and adjustment must be radical and scientific.[40] The neo-machine aesthetic of Pfau-Jones or Denari and the tired "lyrical-mechanism" of the Architectural Association are plagued by nostalgia and the contradictions of the picturesque.[42]

Resistance seems a preferable strategy for change and survival in a troubled America. Through a rigorous and analytical critique of the institutions that architecture inevitably represents, an appraisal without easy resolution, and through the attempt to effect that critique

as design—in short, through resistance—adjustment may also be possible. Yet, in America, a taboo blocks this tactic that has, in fact, determined the direction and strengths of European work for the last forty years.[43]

Architecture is intrinsically more than image or "moves." It is always a vehicle for shifting cultural associations and it is a rich expression of our history and collective sensibility. All architecture takes a stand. It is manifesto as it manifests. It is referential both within the boundaries of its own vocabulary and beyond. History and culture are a continuous system of transformations, and architecture follows their model. Individual buildings are integral with and critical of not only their specific setting but of architecture and urban culture in general. Design is a process informed simultaneously by rational analysis and by the "forgetting" of that rationale in an act expressive and personal. Knowledge and rigor are crucial. In the design process, properties of thought and feeling, of realism and abstraction, of pragmatism and idealism, of the ordinary and the surreal, of hard materiality and lyric aspiration should struggle for an impossible synthesis.

In response to an interview with Venturi and Scott-Brown entitled *Laughing not to Cry*, Tafuri asks, "Why does the alternative to laughing or crying never get listed?"[44]

The American Academy in Rome, Winter 1991.

Notes

1. Paul Virilio and Sylvère Lotringer, *Pure War*, trans. Mark Polizzotti (New York: Semiotext(e), 1983), p. 2.

2. Often problems that seem to be independent (the environment, homelessness, sexism, AIDS) in fact turn out to suffer from the same basic political conditions. The argument for their autonomy is a form of political sublimation. The internecine and consuming politics of the profession and schools, though increasingly determining the fabric of both, will not be separately discussed. This is not because that discussion is unnecessary, but because these problems stem from the same pervasive conditions investigated here. Internal machinations are political in a larger sense. They are symptoms of the general predicament of the last decade and of the concerted architectural evasions that characterized it.

3. Jean Baudrillard, *For a Critique of the Political Economy of the Sign*, trans. Charles Levin (St. Louis: Telos Press, 1981), p. 33.

4. Frederic Jameson, "Postmodernism and Consumer Society," in *The Anti-Aesthetic*, ed. Hal Foster (Port Townsend, WA: Bay Press, 1983), p. 120.

5. Roland Barthes, *Writing Degree Zero*, trans. Annette Lavers and Colin Smith (New York: Hill and Wang, 1953-67) p. 11.

6. Paul Virilio, *Speed and Politics*, trans. Mark Polizzotti (New York: Semiotext(e), 1977-86), p. 31.

7. Americans now move, from the workplace dominated by the computer screen to home dominated by the television, in automobiles from which they view the world through a screen above a bank of controls. This dislocation within identical and controlled environments is almost total.

Dominant genres of popular music and dance in the 1980s were "scratch" and "break." Both thrived on dislocated sounds and movements, strongly associational but moved to the limits of abstraction by their isolation. Dancers looked on amazed as their own limbs independently twitched or undulated. Musically, screams, grunts, sounds of violence or pleasure, collided with the alarming repetition of scratched records and urban din.

8. Reyner Banham referred to Hightech as "Highshine."

9. Manfredo Tafuri, *The Sphere and the Labyrinth*, trans. Pellegrino d'Ancierno and Robert Connoly (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1987), p. 301.

10. The Freudian drive to reject totally the immediate past in order to legitimize a creative act, to relieve the "anxiety of influence," is powerful and problematic.

11. In the vocabulary of "moves" and "pieces," architecture is reduced to a formal game, a manipulation of emptied shapes (classical or modernist) on a figure-ground board aspiring to a Rome that may only have existed in Nolli's projections.

12. Roland Barthes, "The New Citröen," in *Mythologies*, trans. Annette Lavers (New York: Hill and Wang, 1957-72), p. 90.

13. This point evolves from Walter Benjamin, "The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction," in *Illuminations* (New York: Schoken, 1955-68), p. 217 ff.

14. Frederic Jameson, "Architecture and the Critique of Ideology," in *Architecture, Criticism, Ideology*, ed. Joan Ockman (Princeton: Princeton Architectural Press, 1985), p. 58. The helplessness implicit in Jameson's appraisal must ultimately breed acquiescence.

15. Terry Eagleton, *The Function of Criticism* (London and New York: Verso, 1984), p. 20-21.

16. Paul Goldberger's article in *The New York Times Magazine* (16 March 1986, p. 48 ff.) praising the image-mill Kohn, Pederson, Fox is titled "Architecture that Pays Off Handsomely." Was it finally the ability to thrive under Reaganomics that determined an architect's worth?

17. See Alan Colquhoun, "Historicism and the Limits of Semiology," in *Essays in Architectural Criticism* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1981) p. 130 ff.

18. "*Clinamen* . . . is poetic misreading or misprision proper; I take the word from Lucretius, where it means a swerve of the atoms so as to make change possible in the universe." Harold Bloom, *The Anxiety of Influence* (London, Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1973) p. 14.

19. "Heidegger, whose metaphysical language is not 'translatable' into that of architectural culture . . ." Manfredo Tafuri, *The History of Italian Architecture, 1944-1985*, trans. Jessica Levine (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1989), p. 200.

20. Terry Eagleton, *The Ideology of the Aesthetic* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1990), p. 14.

21. Francesco Garofalo so described Scarpa's work in discussion with the author.

22. As often happens, strong original ideas are subsequently weakened or turned to serve other purposes. Rousseau's doctrine continues in evocations of a "Golden Age," spurious dichotomies separating man and nature, naive pastoralism and notions of the nobility of the primitive, blind rejection of progress and technology, and abdication of responsibility—to naive intelligence—by the trained.

23. Tafuri, *Sphere*, p. 301.

24. As literary-analytic models these theories reached fruition more than twenty years ago in Europe. At that time, they were imported to America by young architects who had studied with the authorities in Paris. In the United States they were promulgated by the Institute for Architecture and Urban Studies in New York, and by its journal, *Oppositions*. The linguistic analogy was presented by this critically acute community as defense for neo-rationalist positions but was soon diluted and turned to other ends.

25. Because post-structuralist theories have become so intermeshed with a particular formal vocabulary, that relation warrants some comment. The link is, indeed, somewhat arbitrary. It would seem that a generation of architectural critics, excited by European intellectual trends and their flimsy American interpretations, found an architectural style to which to attach them, having abandoned the unfashionable carcass of Postmodernism. This is inevitable, as the relationship of words and things remains symbiotic. It is crucial for the survival of theory that some affiliation be maintained between it and forms, and it is also true that art is ever more dependent of theoretical justifications. See, for instance, the dependence of the New York School and Greenberg et al., or Jencks and Postmodernism, or current Italian artists and their critics.

As well, in recent centuries, both architectural forms and ideas have followed developments in

the visual arts and, in this case, the neo-expressionist artistic fervor of the 1970s and early 1980s has had great, if belated, influence. Proponents of Deconstruction adopted a group of appropriate shapes (ranging from the surreal rigor of Rem Koolhaas to aimless disco-constructivism). The resulting Deconstructivism is extraordinarily complicated and seemingly impossible to construct—a criticism that was also leveled at Postmodernism. But, at least during the lucrative Reagan years, PoMo proved quite buildable after being made formulaic and reduced to kitsch. The same is already proving true of DeCon.

It is no coincidence that the last decade, both in the schools and out, was characterized by dazzling drawings and models, and little interesting design. Mirroring the self-indulgent critical climate of this era, pyrotechnic but empty capriccios were, and still are, typical. Often this work, in its abstruse or vague complexities, only seemed possible as representation—architecture removed from commitment to its own actualization. And again the hoary argument seems to be offered that architectural object is merely form, disengaged and uncommitted—as far from the original spirit of Constructivism or Elementarism as is possible. In fact, such formal meditations must be critical not to verge on uselessness or pure decorativeness, and not to become as empty as any glass tower or PoMo shopping mall.

26. Terry Eagleton, *Literary Theory* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1983), p. 140.

27. Robert Segrest, "The Perimeter Projects: Notes for Design," in *Assemblage 1*, ed. K. Michael Hays (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1986), p. 33.

28. J. Kipnis in Jacques Derrida, "Why Peter Eisenman Writes Such Good Books," in *Restructuring Architectural Theory*, ed. Marco Diani and Catherine Ingraham (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press, 1988), p. 105.

29. Alan Colquhoun, "Postmodernism and Structuralism: A Retrospective Glance," in *Modernity and the Classical Tradition* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1989), p. 247.

30. Charles Levin in Baudrillard, *Critique*, 26.

31. Renato Poggioli, *The Theory of the Avant-Garde* (Cambridge: Belknap-Harvard, 1968), p. 120.

32. Hal Foster, *Recodings* (Port Townsend, WA: Bay Press, 1985), p. 132.

33. "The 'young conservatives' . . . claim as their own the revelations of decentered subjectivity, emancipated from the imperatives of work and usefulness, and with this experience they step outside the modern world. On the basis of modernistic attitudes they justify an irreconcilable antimodernism. They remove into the sphere of the far-away and the archaic the spontaneous powers of imagination, self-experience and emotion." Jurgen Habermas, "Modernity—An Incomplete Project," in *The Anti-Aesthetic*, p. 14.

34. Barthes, "Myth on the Right," in *Mythologies*, p. 148.

35. Artists and rock musicians are now often as market-conscious and manipulative as any banker. The gap between Wall Street and West Broadway is a matter of style only.

36. Tafuri, *Sphere*, p. 293.

37. Slavoj Zizek, *The Sublime Object of Ideology* (London and New York: Verso, 1989), p. 7.

38. Merleau-Ponty and the "world as perceived," Iser and reception theory, Foucault and his extraordinary analyses of civilization and its doubles, Lacanian categories, gender and feminist critiques and their challenge to the primal underpinnings of power and society: all these pertain to architecture, both to strategies of adjustment and of resistance.

39. Jean-François Lyotard, *The Postmodern Condition: A Report on Knowledge*, trans. Geoff Bennington and Brian Massumi (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota, 1979-84) p. 81-82.

40. The *Progressive Architecture* Awards Issue (always a style barometer) a few years ago featured winners almost all of whom had attached screens to their relatively conventional buildings—as if the sign were enough.

41. Virilio, *Pure War*, p. 78.

42. This sort of work has been in question at least since Reyner Banham's critique of Modern ideology in the early 1960s.

43. Kenneth Frampton's much-read article "Critical Regionalism: Six Points Towards an Architecture of Resistance" makes a clear argument for a recognition of regional difference while seeming to contradict itself when it attempts to define a "resistant" architecture. It argues for the same questionable values of Modern architecture that are condemned as universalist in the Paul Ricoeur quote that opens Frampton's article. In dismissing the "scenographic" in favor of the tectonic, Frampton eliminates an important tool, for any call for the critical must presume architecture to be cultural expression and thus, to some extent, scenography. For an architecture of resistance, European models exist—in Foucault's discussion of heterotopia, in the seminal works of Grassi and Rossi, in Tafuri's and Koolhaas' look at America, and elsewhere. Some American texts—Banham, Venturi and Scott-Brown—make suggestions as well.

44. Tafuri, *Sphere*, p. 302.

Illustration Credits

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1. Photograph by Paul Hosefros, courtesy the New York Times.

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4. Installation view from "Projects: Elizabeth Diller/Ricardo Scofidio," The Museum of Modern Art, New York, courtesy Diller + Scofidio.

5. Courtesy Stanley Allen.

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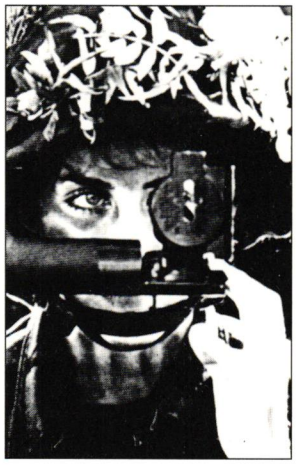
7. *La Trahison des Images (Ceci n'est pas un pipe)*, René Magritte. Courtesy the Los Angeles County Museum of Art, purchased with funds provided by the Mr. and Mrs. William Preston Harrison Collection.

Note: This essay develops and shares some material with the author's "Critical Practice" in *Urbis 6* 1989.

Thanks to Albert Cook, Bruce Goodwin, Allan Jacobs, Jane Shumate, Richard Talbert, and the Staff of the American Academy in Rome.



Two Projects

A Memorial for Women in the Military and a Bridge for Charlottesville

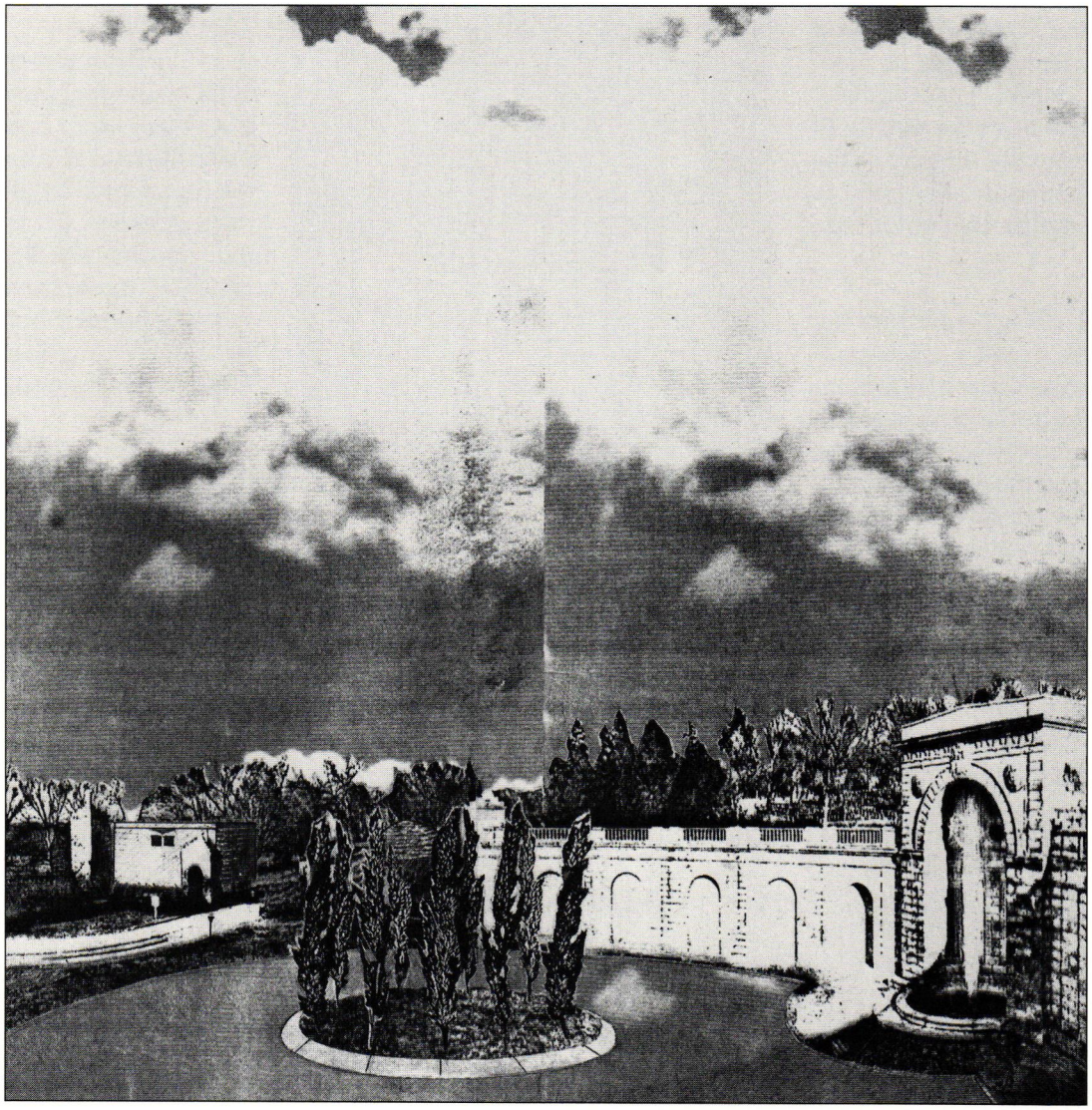
Ellen Dunham-Jones and W. Jude LeBlanc

Memorial to Women in Military Service for America

National Competition June 1989
Honorable Mention

The great seal of the United States depicts an American Eagle holding olive branches in one talon and arrows in the other. The evocative duality and coupling in this image of war and peace suggests not only the necessity of force and strength to protect growth and prosperity, but also the reciprocal relationships of death and life, male and female. These dualities are conditions of human existence in general and military service in particular. It is appropriate that they be embodied in the design of the Women in Military Service Memorial Center.

The eagle's equivocal proposition, a peace offering coupled with the threat of force, suggests another theme pertinent to the design of the project and the history of women in the military: the idea of camouflage, a representation which screens or reconfigures reality, as the olive branch and arrows reconfigure each other's meaning. Women in the military have traditionally worked behind the scenes, either in the sense of being behind the front lines in support positions or in the literal sense of being veiled behind a disguise. From "George Baker" (the woman who disguised herself as a man) to todays pilots of AWACS surveillance planes, women have long played a vital yet largely unrecognized role in the military. Whether masked themselves or operating machines which translate reality to two-dimensional representations, women in the military reverse common societal stereotypes. Rather than being viewed objects, women in the military become viewing objects.

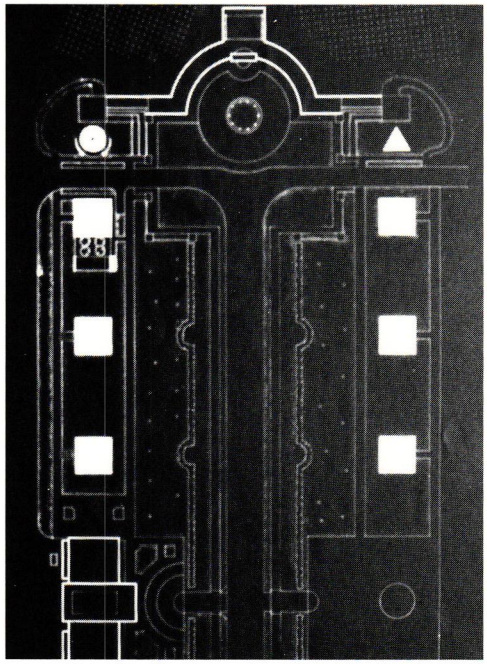


View of proposed reflecting pool at existing McKim, Meade and White hemicycle

The project is divided into two distinct parts, a memorial and a visitor's center, which develop the issues of camouflage, surveillance, actual and virtual reality, representation and reproduction. The Visitor's Center presents the experience of women in the military through a series of events and interactive displays. A timeline display in the connecting passageway serves as a transition from the activity of the Visitor's Center to the serenity of the Memorial. The Memorial is designed as an intimate and somber chapel for contemplation.

Memorial Bridge and McKim, Meade and White's grand marble hemicycle extend the urban order of Washington to the gateways of the cemetery and also dramatize the threshold between the cities of the living and the dead. Reinforcing the hemicycle's connection to the city, a reflecting pool and center island of cypress trees refer to urban circles while at the same time introducing an appropriately funerary image.

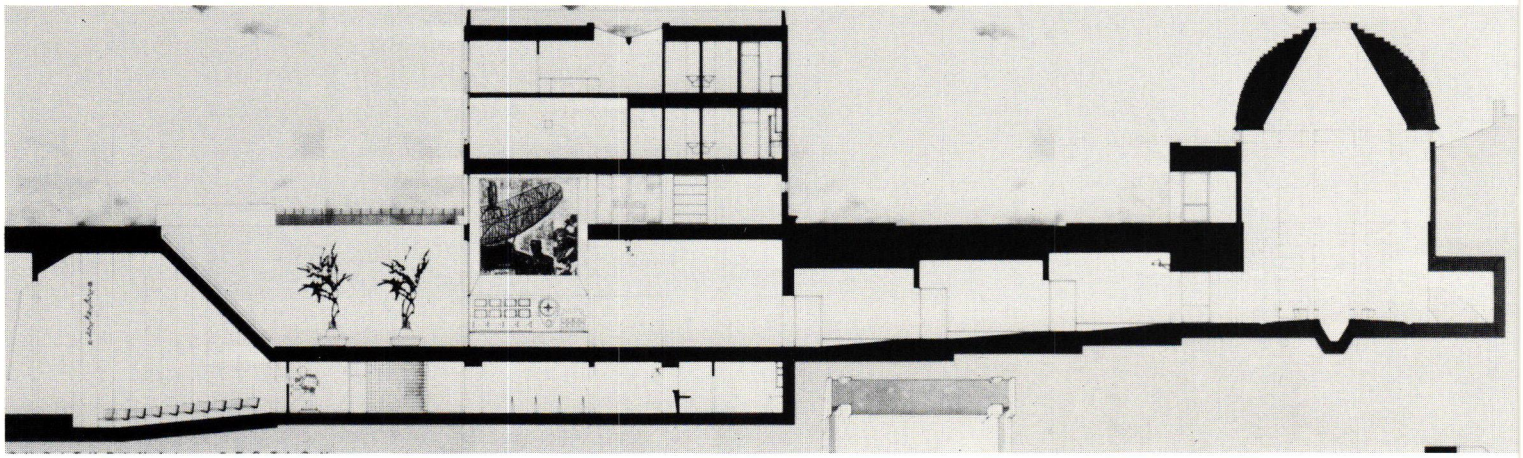
The Visitor's Center aligns with the more urban nucleus formed by the existing visitor and administration buildings, while the Memorial allies with the graves and monuments in the "garden." The Master Plan proposes specific locations for future memorials. The model for its organization is Thomas Jefferson's design for the University of Virginia, where individualized pavilions within an overall plan exemplify Jefferson's democratic ideals of diversity within unity, a concept especially pertinent to women in the military. The geometric layout, the reflecting pool and McKim, Meade and White's hemicycle provide unifying order and meaning.



Master Plan

In contrast to the specific nature of the individual memorials, the pool and island use water and mounded earth to pair universal ideas of burial and rebirth. An illuminated jet of water in the central niche connects the pool with the eternal flame at the John F. Kennedy Memorial which is on the same axis. Above, the relative intimacy of the fountain is contrasted with the infinite view from the upper terrace back to Washington.

The project presents dualities through spatial, formal and iconic juxtapositions meant to clarify and enrich the program. In section, the vertical axis of the Memorial is contrasted to the horizontal extension of the Visitor's Center into the Olive Court and the Timeline. The sacred axis of the Memorial with its transcendent light from above establishes a connection between heaven and earth, marking and sanctifying a burial ground.



Section through Visitor's Center and Chapel

By contrast, the horizontality of the Visitor's Center sequence emphasizes its more secular quality.

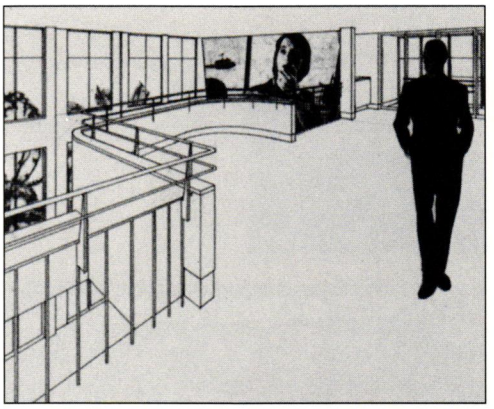
The direct sunlight through the Memorial contrasts with both the reflected light on the canted solar collector wall and the projected light on the screen in the theater. If light is understood as a metaphor for knowledge, as in Plato's simile of the cave, its technological mediation affects our understanding of reality.

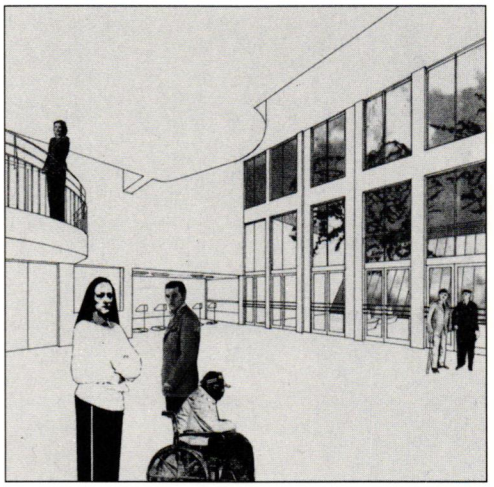
Plato's simile of the cave and the idea that things are not always as they first appear recalls the theme of camouflage. It is made manifest in the project's duality between above-ground appearance and sectional reality. From the outside, the Memorial appears to be rough, low, and buried into the hill; in fact, when viewed from inside, it is insistently vertical, with polished stone walls and a white crystalline colonnade and conical ceiling. The visitor's center also conceals its true character. Behind a static, centered, symmetrical facade the building reveals itself to have multiple, shifting centers encouraging movement and discovery.

Camouflage is understood not only as a means of deception but also as a means of revealing complexity and layers of representation. Ultimately, the contrasting of opposing elements points out not conflict but reciprocity, not war but coexistence, and once again, the coexistence of the olive branch and the arrows.

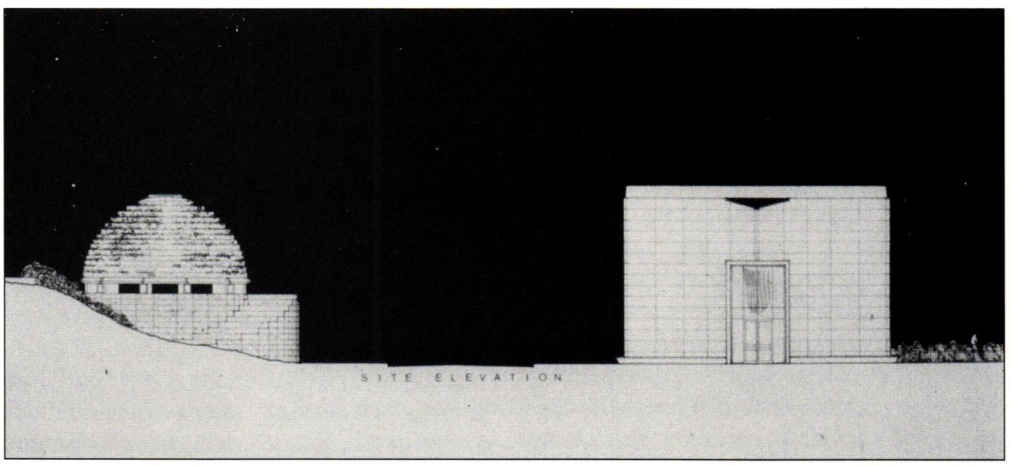
Project Team: Ellen Dunham-Jones, W. Jude LeBlanc, Michael Borg, Chris Britten, Laurie Davie, Francisco Gomes, Bill Hansell, Tyler Horsley, Paul Thompson, Victor Valle

Ground floor plan

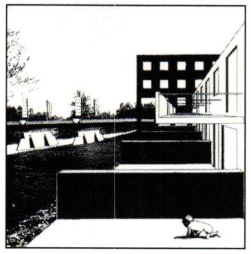


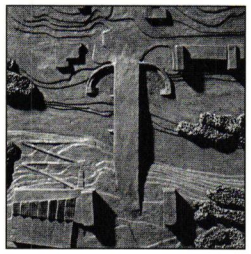


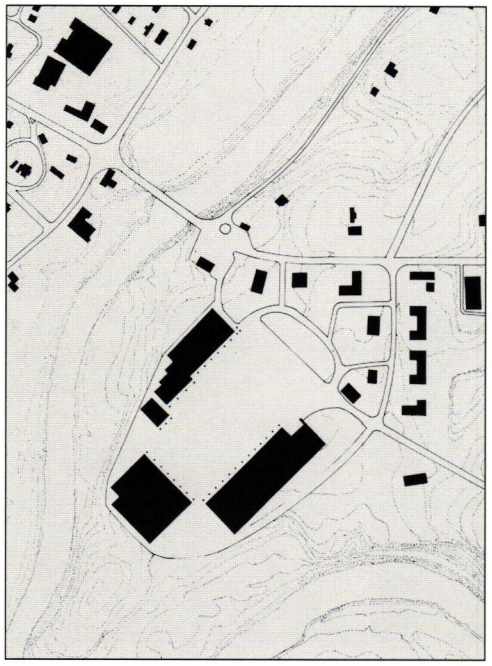
Upper and lower lobby of Visitor's Center

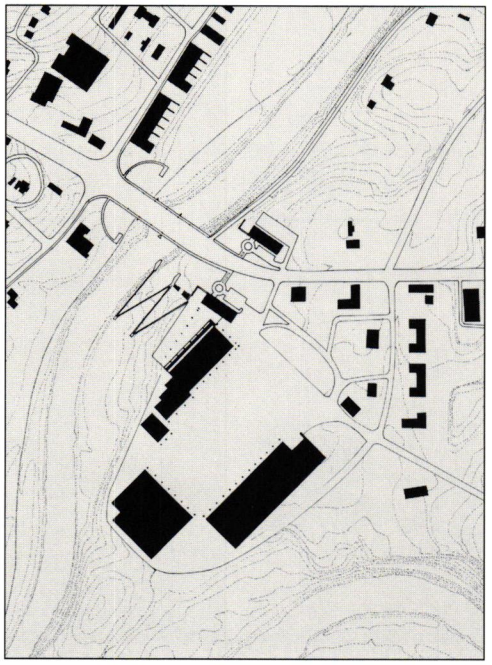


Elevation of Chapel and Visitor's Center

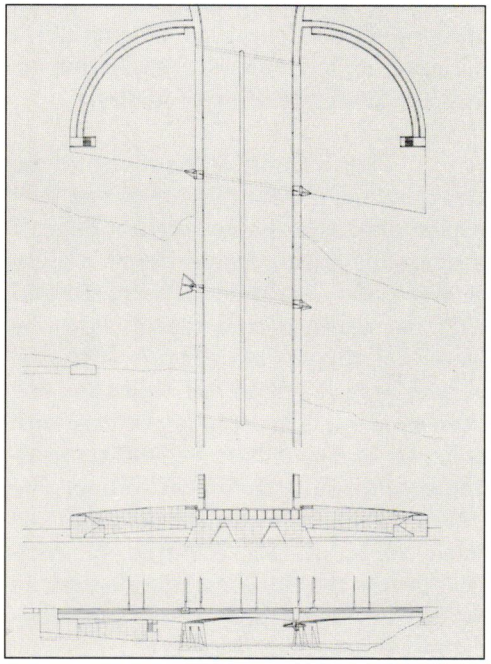








Existing and Proposed figure ground

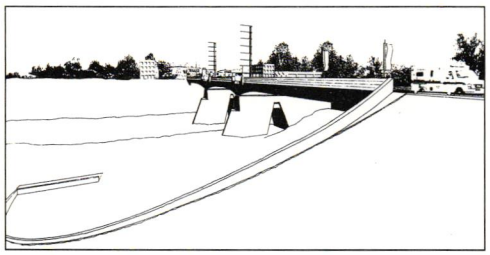


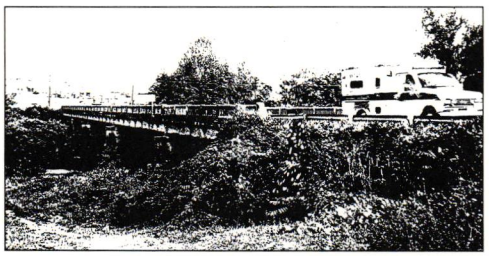
Site plan and elevation

Free Bridge and the Rivanna River Waterfront

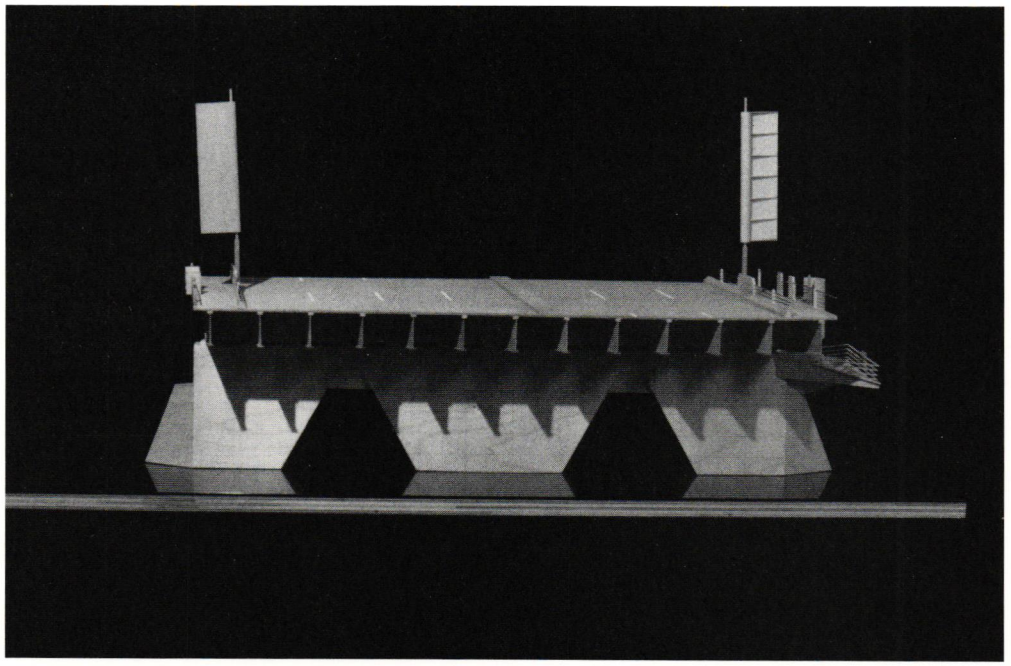
In the 1920's the City Beautiful movement was largely eclipsed by the "city functional" movement.[1] Gradually, the science of urban planning replaced the art of urban design. The monumental approach to civic art advocated by Hegemann and Peets had imposed design unity on large groupings of buildings, subordinating the parts to the whole.[2] Functional planning as promoted by CIAM inverted this hierarchy, treating design as merely the end result of solving the problems of the parts. After designers suggested that urban form should result from objective scientific techniques, managers took over the designers' role of coordinating the individual solutions proposed by the various specialists. In the case of bridge design, the traditional role of the architect-master builder was usurped by the urban planner, the parks and recreation commissioner and the traffic, civil, and hydrology engineers. As a consequence, architects in this country have been excluded from the process and the parameters of contemporary bridge design, and recent bridges are rarely conceived beyond immediate functional needs.

When the state of Virginia announced its plans to rebuild Free Bridge as part of a general widening of Route 250 into Charlottesville, we saw an opportunity to return bridge design to a larger discussion of urban form. Our proposal seeks to enhance the identity of Charlottesville and its river site as distinct places by establishing the bridge as a significant gateway into the city and increasing awareness, access, and protection of the river.

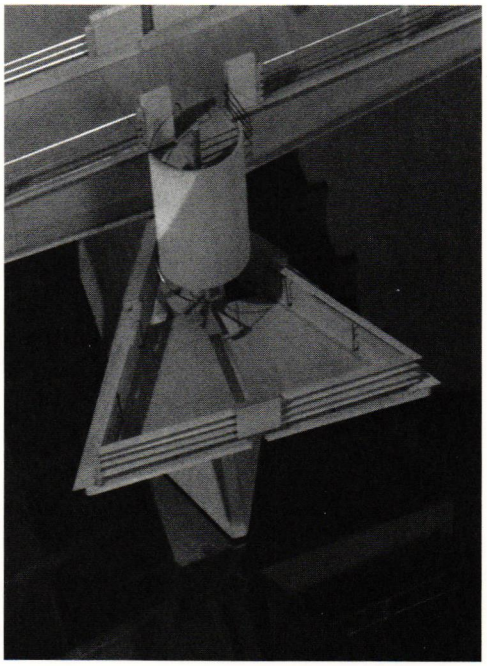




L to R:
Extension of existing shopping center facade to address the river; Proposed rowhouses to be interspersed with existing commercial buildings; Site model; Existing conditions; Proposed ramp to provide river access



Section model

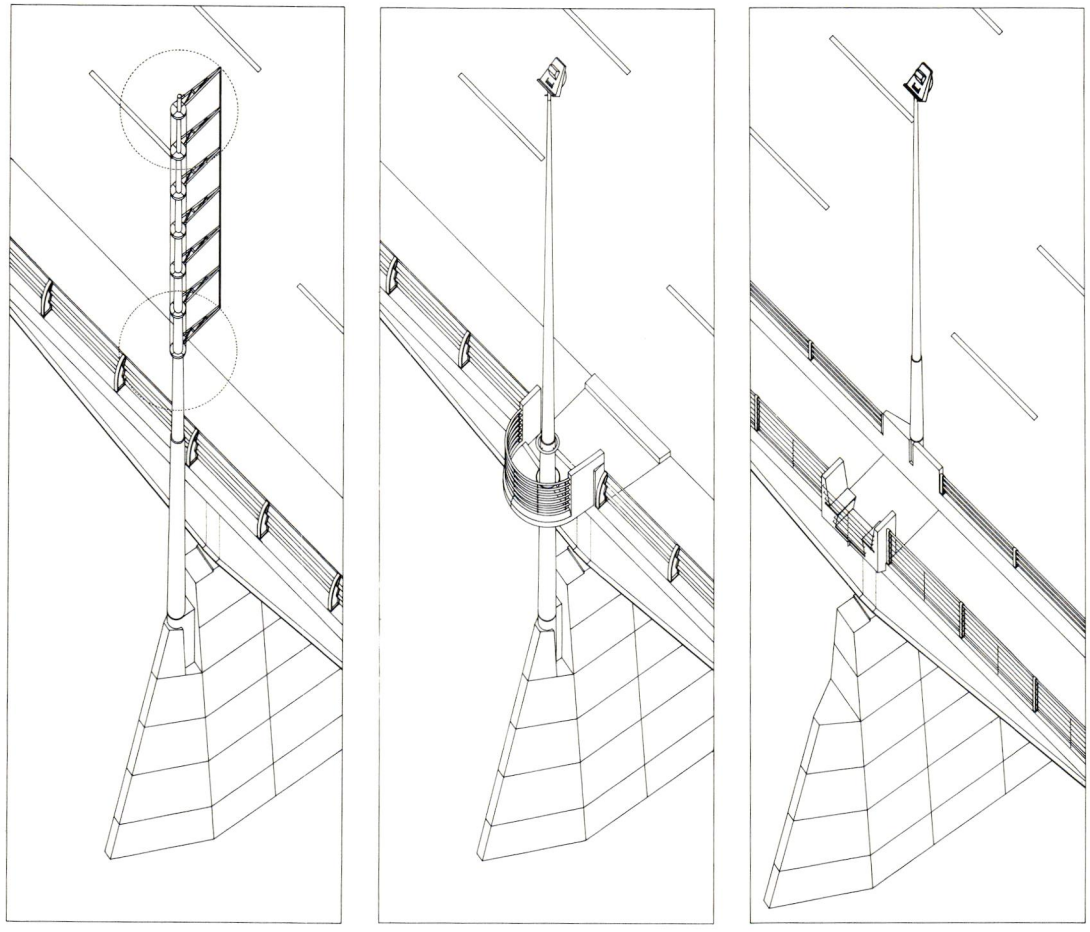


Detail of fishing platform

Ironically, given the current bureaucratic structure, as architects, we could only practice in the public realm by volunteering our design services to the city *pro bono*. Although we are aware of the damage done to the profession by *pro bono* work in the private sector, we are proud to donate our services to the public sector, especially as a means of revealing the value of the profession in an area of design no longer influenced by architects. And, with the help of William Zuk as a liason with the state's engineers and the input of the city's Mayor and Urban Design Council, we were able to design both the bridge and an accompanying proposal for the Rivanna River waterfront, synthesizing tectonic, urban and ecological concerns.

The bridge sits at the eastern entrance into Charlottesville. At present, the waterfront is overgrown. Light industry is scattered along the banks and a shopping mall backs up to the river next to the bridge. Few travelers notice the river let alone its status as a political boundary or its recreational and aesthetic potential.

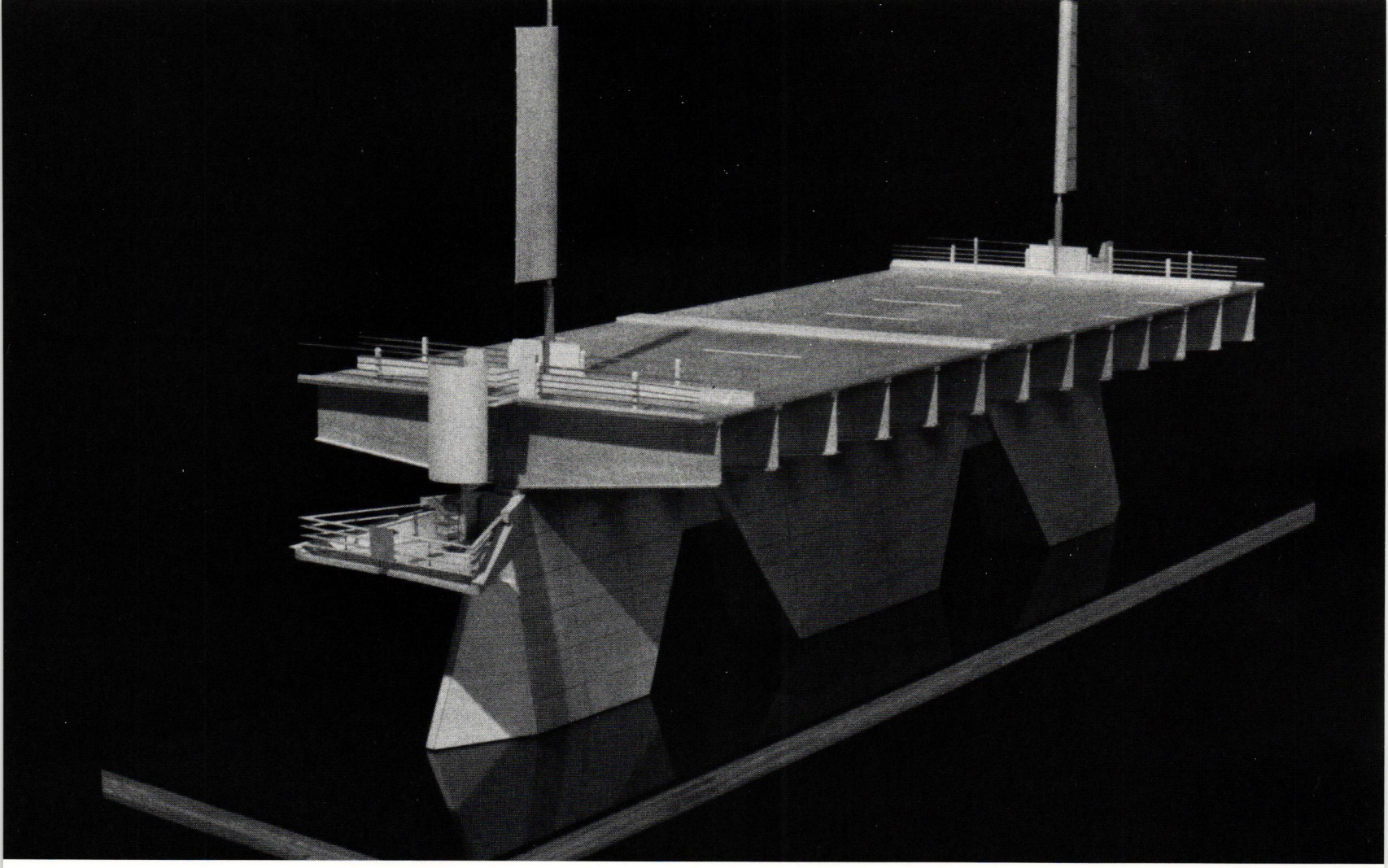
We call for intense development of the waterfront in the immediate proximity of the bridge. New buildings are proposed *facing* the water around the bridge and a grand outdoor room is carved out of the verdant riverbanks to urbanize the immediate water's edge. This *development* is to be matched by equally intense *conservation* of the rest of the Rivanna River corridor through Charlottesville. As in most contemporary American cities, the river is no longer used by industry for boat traffic or water power and the waterfront's industrial zoning is anachronistic. We call for re-zoning the river for residential and recreational use. Jogging trails along the water's edge will link three ex-



isting parks and encourage use and appreciation of the river as a natural resource. The bridge design promotes pedestrian traffic through generous sidewalks, benches, a fishing platform, and ramps down to jogging trails.

The piers of the bridge are reinforced concrete—beveled, tapered, and punctured so as to deflect water pressure and floating debris. The geometry of the cantilevered concrete fishing platform also responds to hydrological concerns. A concrete and aluminum crash barrier is proposed between the sidewalks and the road, allowing for an open aluminum pedestrian handrail facing the water. Concrete benches with local alberene bluestone seats and paving are provided above each of the ends of the piers. Standard aluminum highway light poles are sheathed in perforated stainless steel enclosures. Vertical fluorescent lights within the enclosures glow and provide vertical shafts of light. Throughout the design of the bridge, the materials and their forms were chosen to specifically express the elements acting upon them: the weight of traffic, the force of rushing water and wind, and the reflection of sunlight. In this way the articulation of the bridge deliberately mediates between earth and sky.

Bridges offer a moment's pause and consideration of the natural setting before entering the city. They are a place to recognize one's a specific location in time and space. Traditionally this unique status has leant bridges great urban significance. As gateways with unique silhouettes they have become symbols of their cities; decorated, festooned, and celebrated. Free Bridge is established as a gateway through the elaboration of a series of thresholds. A proposed pair of



commercial buildings on the county side, the banner poles over the piers, and the embracing ramps establish serial gates marking one's entry into the city.

This elaborated gateway is not an ornamental garnish for the city. It invokes civic identity by better defining the city as a physical entity in a particular place. The responsibilities and rewards of citizenship require a bond to place, a stake in the place's future well-being. Modern production, communication, and development benefit the economy but evaporate the boundaries upon which a sense of place depends. In the face of modernism's limitlessness, the establishment of bounded places is a political act. Both the citizen and the place are given a particular identity which protects them from being swept up into the sea of sameness which mutes identity, responsibility, and political power. As gateways, bridges traditionally demarcated the man-made polis as distinct from the uncivilized, a-political wilderness. Now that the distinction between inside and outside, here vs. there is so diminished, the need for gateways and boundaries which emphasize the particular identities of places is even greater.

Project Team: Ellen Dunham-Jones, W. Jude LeBlanc, John Hong, James Rounsevell

NOTES

1. Alan J. Plattus, "The American Vitruvius and the American Tradition of Civic Art", in *The American Vitruvius: An Architects' Handbook of Civic Art*, Werner Hegemann and Elbert Peets, (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 1988), p.vii.

2. Hegemann and Peets, p. 1.

Two Projects: Two contexts

A New Town at Haymount
Andres Duany and Elizabeth Plater-Zyberk

An Inner City Redevelopment Plan for Trenton, New Jersey
Liebman Melting Partnership and Andres Duany and Elizabeth Plater-Zyberk

The Capital City Rennaissance Plan: Trenton, New Jersey

An inner city redevelopment plan

This revitalization plan for the Capital District of Trenton, New Jersey, is the result of a joint venture between the Liebman-Melting Partnership and Duany and Plater-Zyberk. The plan was developed in public in two sequential design charrettes which reviewed the city's history, the needs of its citizens, and the possibilities for its future growth.

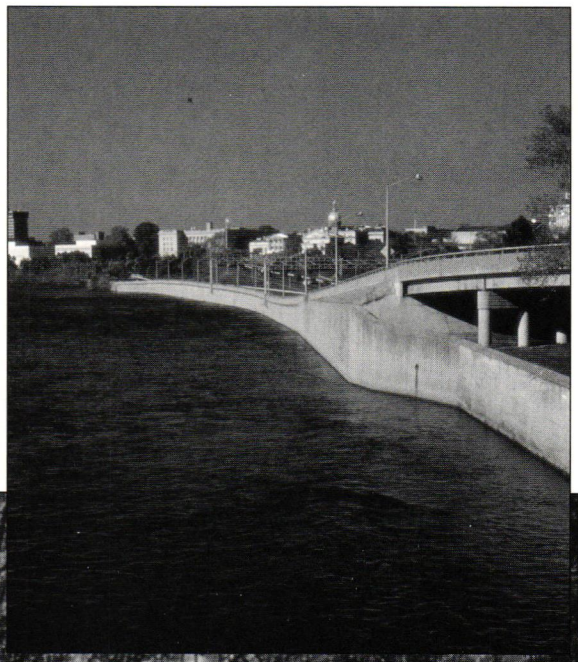
The plan proposes several major interventions. It reconstructs a street network in areas demolished for parking during the 1960's. It creates a continuous sidewalk-based pedestrian network with primary retail streets and secondary service streets. It limits building volume to distribute density and land value equitably and predictably. And it reclaims the Delaware River embankment as an integral part of the city's public realm, replacing the unnecessary expressway with a boulevard and riverfront park.

Relevant pre-existing proposals by different local groups were incorporated in the plan: canal and creek front improvements, and the reopening of the pedestrian mall to vehicular use. Existing plans for additions to the State Capitol are to be revised to include structured parking, which will support the restoration of the riverfront park.

An expanded Capitol Building complex at the river's edge in Trenton

The Capital city renaissance plan envisions urban continuity, pedestrian connections and new public parks and open spaces.

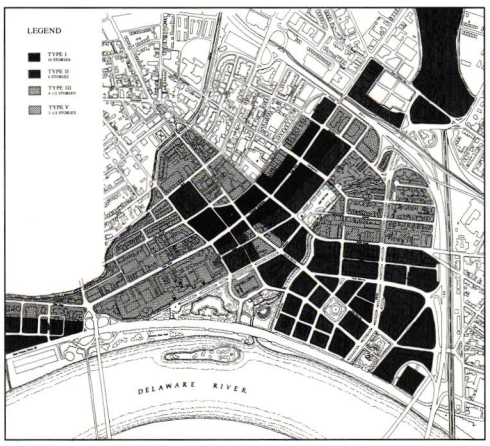
Downtown Trenton suffers from large empty areas and high-speed interchanges which cut off downtown areas from each other and from the river.



The Trenton riverfront is presently surrounded by highway interchanges.

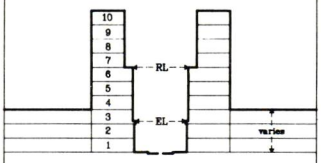
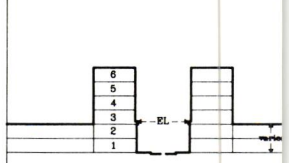
Plans for Trenton include exchanging the highway for a boulevard and creating pedestrian links to the river.

A one-page code regulates urban space and building type by prescribing height, setbacks, and ground floor use, as well as basic architectural standards such as the proportioning of wall surfaces. The plan and code are guiding new building in the capital district today.



Proposed Building Height zones

CAPITAL CITY RE

	TYPE I (HIGH–RISE)	TYPE II (MID–RISE)
BUILDING HEIGHT	 10 Story Maximum. Building height shall be a maximum of 10 Stories. Stories at sidewalk level shall be no less than 12 ft. in height from finished floor to finished ceiling.	 6 Story Maximum. Building height shall be a maximum of 6 Stories. Stories at sidewalk level shall be no less than 12 ft. in h from finished floor to finished ceiling.
BUILDING PLACEMENT		Facades shall be built on the Frontages along 80% of Length without any Setback to a minimum height o Stories.
BUILDING USE	Commercial or Residential Uses are required to a minimum depth from the Frontage of not less than 15 ft. The remaining depth may also be used for Parking. The only parking exposure allowed on a Frontage is an entrance or an exit not greater than 30 ft. in width across the Frontage.	On Pedestrian Continuity Frontages, 70% of the Front the sidewalk level must be permanently assigned to Cor cial Use to a minimum depth of not less than 15 ft. All Stories may be used for Commercial and/or Resid Use.
PARKING	Parking is not required for Independent Buildings with less than 5,000 sq. ft. of Gross Floor Area.	Buildings with 5,000 sq.ft. or more of Gross Floor Area provide a minimum of one parking space for each 500 s Commercial Use, and one parking space for each Resid Unit. These parking requirements shall be calculated fro first square foot.
ARCHITECTURAL STANDARDS	For Type I, Type II and Type III buildings, the exterior finish materials on all Facades shall be limited to brick, stone, terra cotta, cast stone, and clear or lightly tinted glass. For Type IV buildings, stucco may be added as an exterior finish materials on all Facades.	For Type V buildings, wooden clapboards and/or w shingles may be added as an exterior finish materials Facades.

DEFINITIONS

Commercial Use: Premises used primarily for the conduct of retail trade and general business.

Expression Line (EL): A horizontal line the full width of a Facade expressed by a change of material or by a continuous Setback to a depth of 3 ft., or by a continuous projection no less than 9" and no more than 3 ft.

Facade: The vertical surface of a building along a Frontage.

Frontage: The property line or lines of a lot which coincide with a street right-of-way, a park boundary line.

Independent Building: A building having no interior pa to an adjacent building.

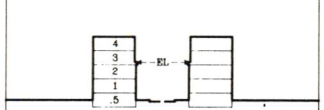
Gross Floor Area: The enclosed area of a building excl unglazed porches, arcades and balconies.

Pedestrian Continuity (PC) Frontage: Special Fron designated in the Capital District Renaissance Plan, whi subject to the requirements of this Code.

EXHIBIT A

ISSANCE PLAN URBAN CODE

ENTON, NEW JERSEY

TYPE III (PARKING GARAGE)	TYPE IV (LOW-RISE)	TYPE V (TOWNHOUSE)	GENERAL
			No building shall be less than two Stories in height, or 16 ft. at the top of the parapet. The height limit shall not apply to a church spire, radio mast, belfrey, clock tower, chimney flue, water tank, elevator bulkhead, stage tower, scenery loft or similar structure. For Type I, the building height limitations shall be suspended for two years from the date of adoption of the Capital City Renaissance Plan for any building for which final site plan approval has been obtained from the Trenton Planning Board prior to the adoption of the Renaissance Plan. For Type I, a building may be built to the height of an existing building provided both buildings are integrated and all Facades are complete.
6 Story Maximum ght shall be a maximum of 6 Stories, including a t.	4 1/2 Story Maximum Building height shall be a maximum of 4 1/2 Stories, including a half basement.	3 1/2 Story Maximum Building height shall be a maximum of 3 1/2 Stories, including a half basement.	
	Facades shall be built on the Frontages along 80% of their length without any Setback. Alternately, the Facades may Setback exactly 8 ft. from the Frontage to provide a front Yard.		In the event of pre-existing Setbacks, special adjustments may be allowed/required. All buildings shall have the main entrance on a Frontage. Lots without buildings shall have a Streetwall along 80% of their Frontage.
ay be used for Parking, which may be exposed s. On Pedestrian Continuity Frontages, 70% of at the sidewalk level must be permanently as-nmercial Use to a minimum depth of not less than	On Pedestrian Continuity Frontages, 70% of the Frontage at the sidewalk level must be permanently assigned to Commercial Use to a minimum depth of not less than 15 ft. All Stories may be used for Commercial and/or Residential Use.	All Stories shall be used for Residential Use. On Pedestrian Continuity Frontages, 70% of the Frontage at the sidewalk level must be permanently assigned to Commercial Use to a minimum depth of not less than 15 ft. At lots with Frontage on Front Street, the Story at sidewalk level may be used for Commercial Use.	
quired Parking Spaces are provided within 1,000 they serve, adequate shuttle service must be	Surface parking lots shall have a Streetwall on all Frontages. Surface parking lots shall not be permitted on corner lots or along Pedestrian Continuity Frontages.	All pedestrian entrances to all parking structures shall be directly from a Frontage and not from a building. Loading docks are not permitted on Pedestrian Continuity Frontages.	
ea and all other openings of a Facade shall not f the total area of such Facade, with each Facade ed independently.	For Type I and Type II buildings with Frontage on Pedestrian Continuity Frontages, the Facade of the Story at Sidewalk Level shall not be less than 70% glazed.	For Glazed Areas, and all other openings of a Facade, height must be equal to or greater than the length. External signs shall be frontlit only. Signs on the inside of glazed openings may be backlit or neon.	

MISCELLANEOUS

Use: Premises used primarily for habitation. (RL): A horizontal line the full width of a Facade the Facade sets back a minimum of 8 ft. from the y. e mandatory distance between a Frontage and a ide.	**Story**: The habitable level of a building no more than 14 ft. in height from finished floor to finished ceiling. **Streetwall**: A 50% opaque wall 6 ft. high, made of vertical metal posts with a base no higher than 2 ft. and piers made of brick or stucco, or a wall 4 ft. high made of brick, cast stone, stone or terra cotta. **Yard**: An area left free of structures which are greater than 3 ft. except Streetwalls.	The provisions of the New Jersey Building Code, where in conflict, shall take precedence over the provisions of this Code. The provision of this Code, where in conflict, shall take precedence over the Trenton Zoning and Land Development Ordinance.

Haymount
Caroline County, Virginia
A River Town

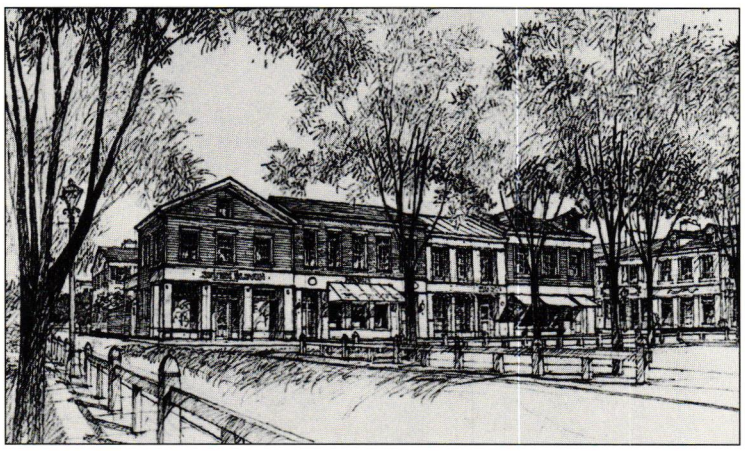
The site of Haymount lies along the Rappahannock river in northern Virginia. Hilly terrain and wetlands outline the buildable areas and organize the plan into neighborhoods surrounded by parks.

The principal neighborhood, which attaches to the river, has a grid based on that of Leesburg, Virginia. Four square blocks straddle the main streets, and linear blocks provide the rest of the urban fabric. The square blocks are able to enclose the common parking which is required by the higher density buildings of the main street. The linear blocks, which make up the outlying areas, easily accomodate the individual houses with their individual parking. The grid distorts to accomodate natural conditions.

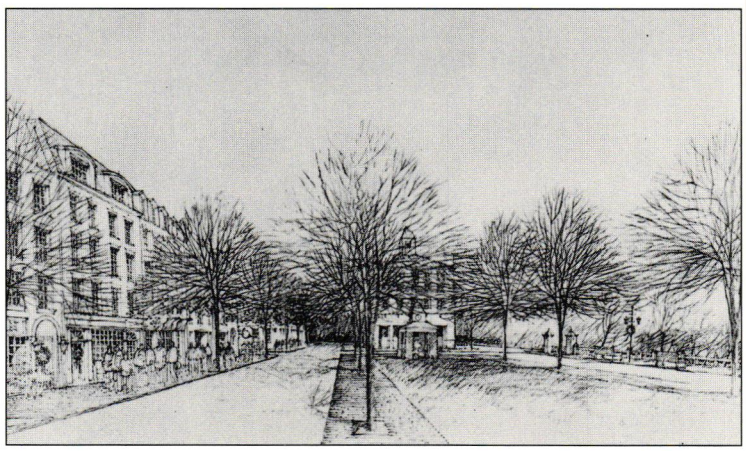
A landing defined by commercial buildings joins the town to the river. Additional squares are provided for civic buildings with at least one for each neighborhood.

The street system is designed to connect in the future to several outparcels which are within the plan's general outline.

Haymount's landscape design grades from the most formal and manicured at the town squares, to a ring of controlled nature, to nature left savage at the periphery. Lots at the edge of the neighborhoods have special landscaping requirements to blend seamlessly with the adjacent natural condition.



The river park



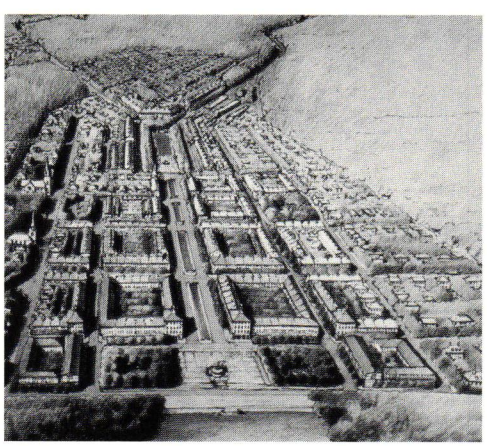
A neighborhood square

A public square

Haymount Limited Partnership, owner
Robertson and Clark, Developers

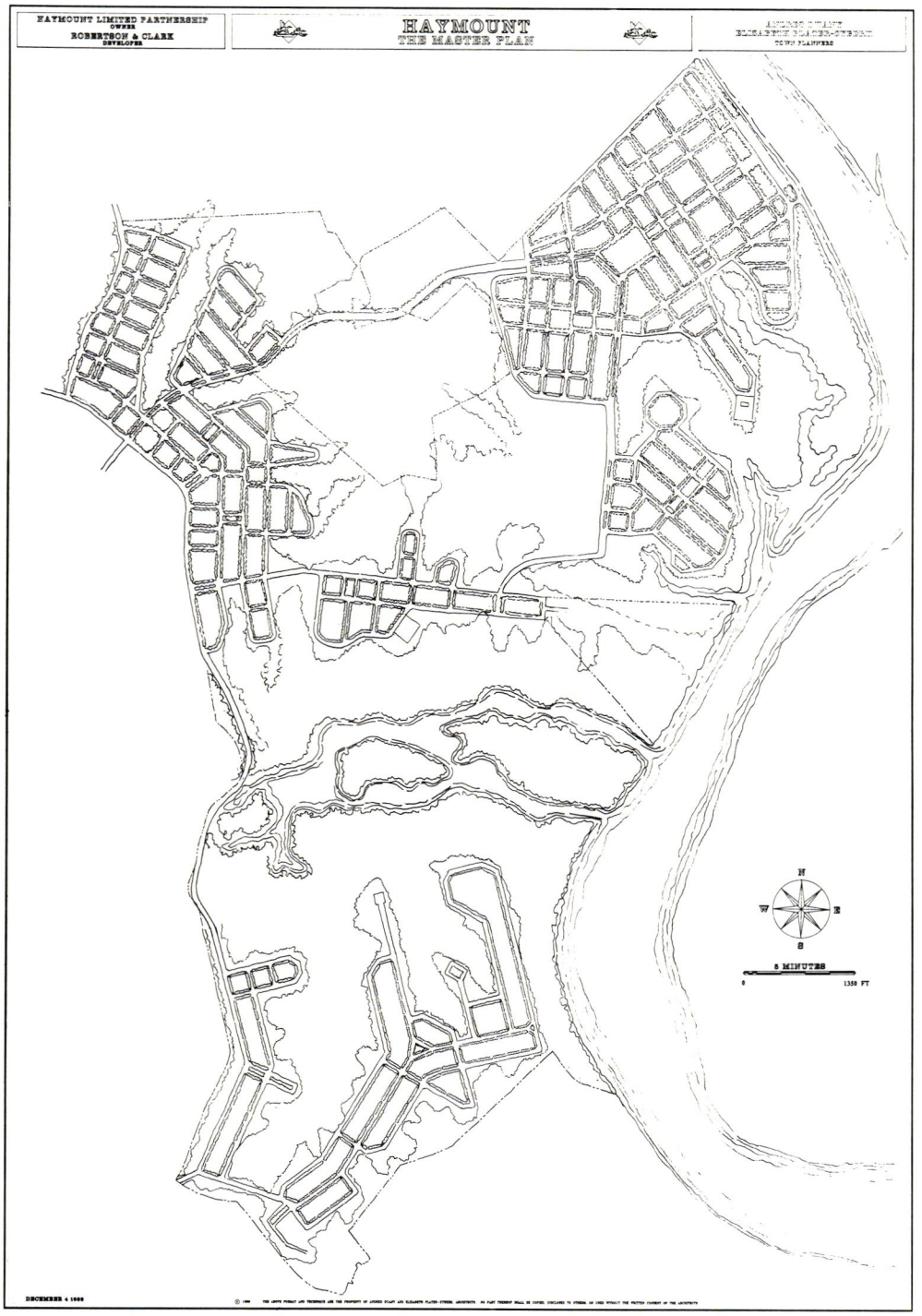
582 acres
4,000+ dwelling units
50,000 sf office
250,000 sf commercial
twelve places of worship
one elementary school
one high school

Designed December 1989
Permit Pending

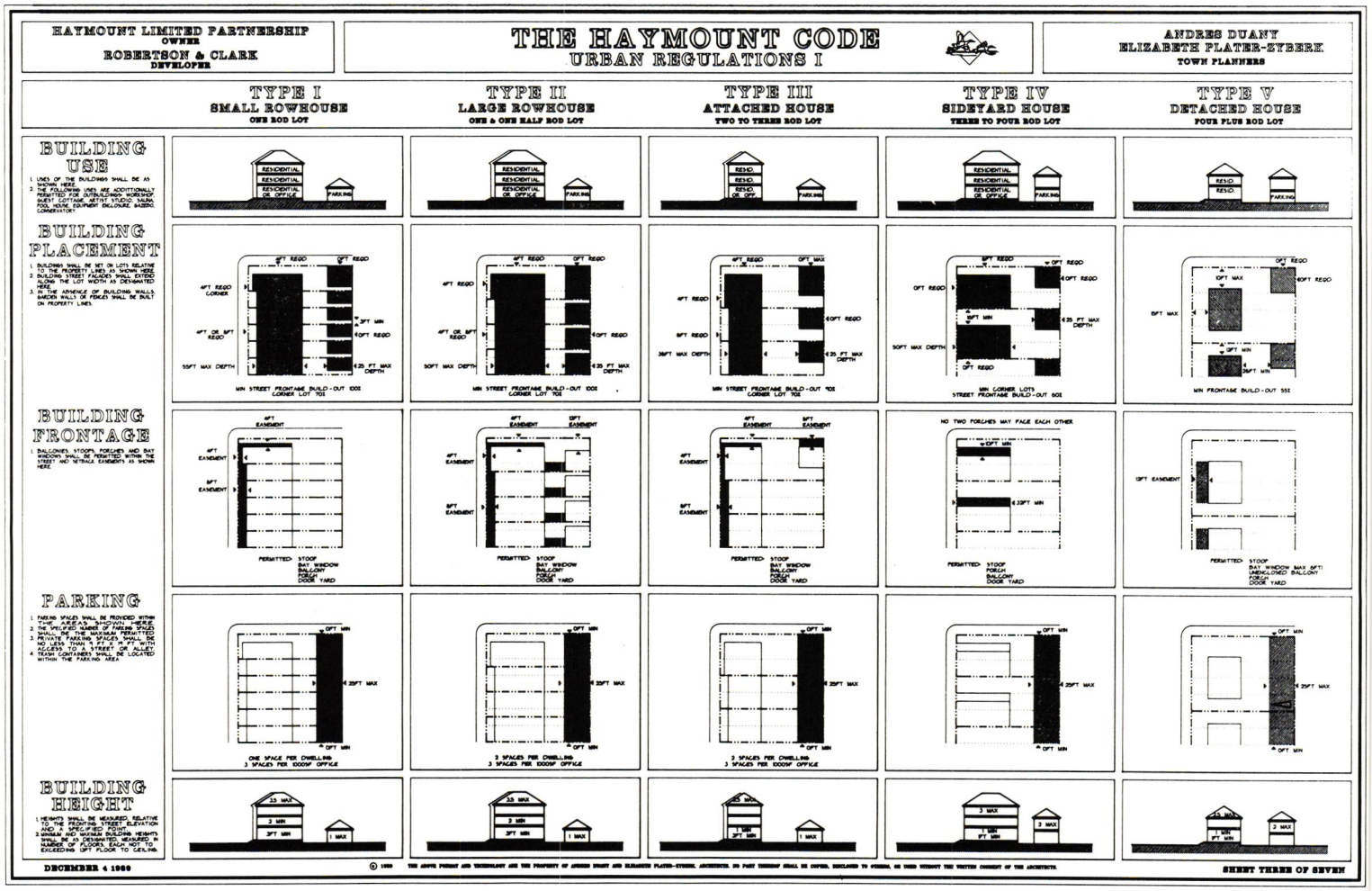


Haymount will slowly grow into a town.

Designers and developers are working to maintain the rich, natural beauty of this area.



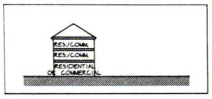
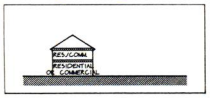
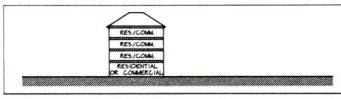
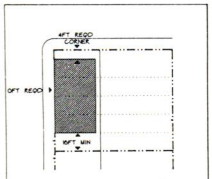
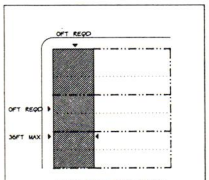
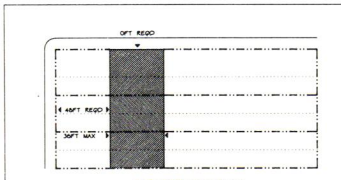
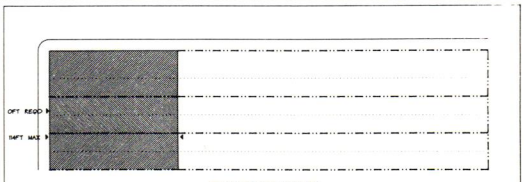
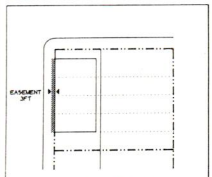
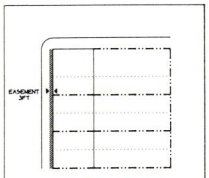
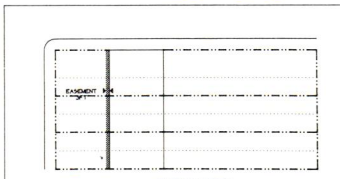
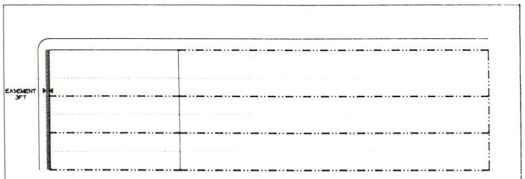
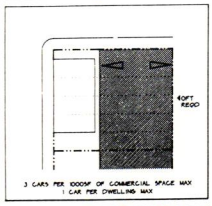
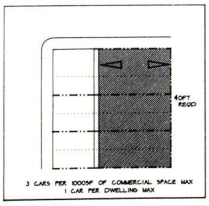
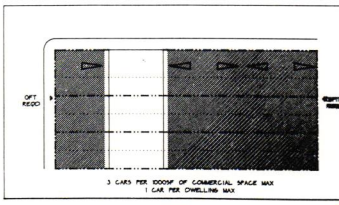
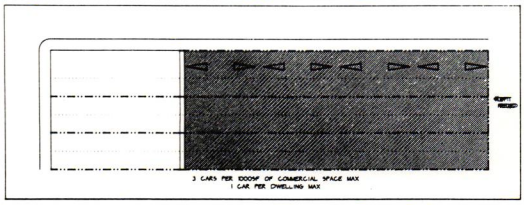
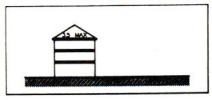
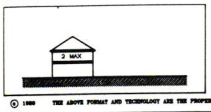
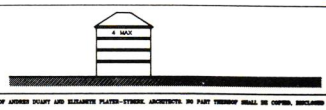
Haymount Master plan


HAYMOUNT LIMITED PARTNERSHIP
OWNER
ROBERTSON & CLARK
DEVELOPER
THE HAYMOUNT CODE
URBAN REGULATIONS I
ANDRES DUANY
ELIZABETH PLATER-ZYBERK
TOWN PLANNERS
TYPE I
SMALL ROWHOUSE
ONE ROD LOT
TYPE II
LARGE ROWHOUSE
ONE & ONE HALF ROD LOT
TYPE III
ATTACHED HOUSE
TWO TO THREE ROD LOT
TYPE IV
SIDEYARD HOUSE
THREE TO FOUR ROD LOT
TYPE V
DETACHED HOUSE
FOUR PLUS ROD LOT
BUILDING USE
BUILDING PLACEMENT
BUILDING FRONTAGE
PARKING
BUILDING HEIGHT
DECEMBER 4 1990
SHEET THREE OF SEVEN

HAYMOUNT LIMITED PARTNERSHIP
OWNER
ROBERTSON & CLARK
DEVELOPER

THE HAYMOUNT CODE
URBAN REGULATIONS II

ANDRES DUANY
ELISABETH PLATER-ZYBECK
TOWN PLANNERS

	TYPE VI URBAN VILLA FIVE PLUS ROD LOT	TYPE VII SMALL STOREFRONT TWO PLUS ROD LOT	TYPE VIII LARGE STOREFRONT TWO PLUS ROD LOT	TYPE IV SIDEYARD HOUSE TWO PLUS ROD LOT
BUILDING USE 1. USES OF THE BUILDINGS SHALL BE AS SHOWN HERE. 2. THE FOLLOWING USES ARE ADDITIONALLY PERMITTED FOR OUTBUILDINGS: WORKSHOP, GUEST COTTAGE, ARTIST STUDIO, SAUNA, POOL HOUSE, EQUIPMENT ENCLOSURE, GAZEBO, CONSERVATORY.				
BUILDING PLACEMENT 1. BUILDINGS SHALL BE SET ON LOTS RELATIVE TO THE PROPERTY LINES AS SHOWN HERE. 2. BUILDING STREET FACADES SHALL EXTEND ALONG THE LOT WIDTH AS DESIGNATED HERE. 3. IN THE ABSENCE OF BUILDING WALLS, GARDEN WALLS OR FENCES SHALL BE BUILT ON PROPERTY LINES.				
BUILDING FRONTAGE 1. BALCONIES, STOOPS, PORCHES AND BAY WINDOWS SHALL BE PERMITTED WITHIN THE STREET AND SETBACK EASEMENTS AS SHOWN HERE.				
PARKING 1. PARKING SPACES SHALL BE PROVIDED WITHIN THE AREAS SHOWN HERE. 2. THE SPECIFIED NUMBER OF PARKING SPACES SHALL BE THE MAXIMUM PERMITTED. 3. PRIVATE PARKING SPACES SHALL BE LOCATED AS SHOWN HERE. PUBLIC ACCESS TO A STREET OR ALLEY. 4. TRASH CONTAINERS SHALL BE LOCATED WITHIN THE PARKING AREA				
BUILDING HEIGHT 1. HEIGHTS SHALL BE MEASURED RELATIVE TO THE FRONTING STREET ELEVATION AND A MAXIMUM OF 3 STORIES. 2. MINIMUM AND MAXIMUM BUILDING HEIGHTS SHALL BE AS DESIGNATED, MEASURED IN NUMBER OF FLOORS, EACH NOT TO EXCEEDING 12FT FLOOR TO CEILING.				

DECEMBER 4 1988

SHEET THREE OF SEVEN

How We Build

The Values That Shape Our Environment

Excerpts from Conferences Held at the University of Virginia

"Right now, with our landscape littered with the detritus of greed, particularly, we need an immediate inquiry into our architectural values, and into the larger issue of the social values that form them. I'm an architect, a designer, and I believe thoroughly in the ultimate efficacy of good design. But what is good design? I think that is the corollary to what are our values — to design something is to, in essence, explain it, how it works, how we use it, how we build and also why we build."

Peter Forbes, moderator, How We Build 1989

Founded in 1987, the How We Build Conference was conceived and organized entirely by students as an annual two-day forum for the discussion of exemplary architectural projects that have been built in contemporary America. The presentation of work, however, is not the conference's primary goal. Rather the projects serve as catalysts for discussions of such issues as the fate of the American city, the broadening role of the private sector in development and planning, and man's relationship to the environment.

Each year, principal players in the realization of at least two recent projects are invited to participate in the conference. Project participants are encouraged to bring a complete spectrum of their project team, from government officials to developers to community representatives. A keynote speaker, moderator, and panel of four or five professionals and academics are invited to discuss the projects and the issues raised by them. What follows in this article are excerpts from a few of these project presentations and discussions.

Panel discussion at 1989 How We Build Conference

Jaquelin Robertson, former dean of the University of Virginia's School of Architecture, opened the first conference in 1987 with the following thoughts:

"Why the focus on government officials and planners, designers, builders, developers? Essentially, these four groups are those responsible for what's there, out there on the road to the airport, like it or not. They have translated directly the values of this culture into built stuff, and they are products of this culture and its values.

"Why the title, "How We Build"? I think we're finally becoming product-concious in this country with respect to the built environment. We evaluate everything except the total environment in which we live, and extremely critically. Now we've lived with it for thirty-five years, and I'm really talking about the world we created since World War II, and we are beginning to understand it, what it's like. And that is making us extremely nervous. We are not just policy-conscious, or process-concious; we are becoming product-conscious of the visible world because that's what we live with in the end. Twenty-five years after a project is argued, debated, approved, and built, no one remembers the bloody developer, the planner, the architect, any of the arguments; they're all out the window. But you live with the products for another thirty or forty or fifty years. The product influences an untold number of people who had nothing to do with the original debates. It's for that reason that I and others in this room, who are designers and planners, have always understood the three clients we have: the one who hired you and pays the bill — hopefully, the one who lives inside you and is the most rigorous critic, and the third client, the unintended user of it, who is by far the most important. So the criteria by which we build for uninvolved, unintended future users, those criteria are by far the most important in evaluating the physical product."

The following two projects were presented in 1989. Panel includes:
Richard Collins, *Director, Institute for Environmental Negotiations*
Paul Heyer, *Dean of the School of Architecture, Pratt Institute, New York*
Kate Magennis, *Development Director, Xerox Realty Corp.*
A. Kent Rayburn, *AIA, Development Coordinator, Temple University*
Mark Schimmenti, *Director of Urban Design, Duany/Plater-Zyberk Architects*
C. William Westfall, *Urban Theorist and Professor of Architectural History, University of Virginia*

BANFIELD LIGHT RAIL
Portland, Oregon

Gregory S. Baldwin, *Principal, Zimmer Gunsel Frasca Partnership*
Roger Shiels, *Partner, Shiels & Obletz*
Ron Higbee, *Director of Project Development, Tri-Met*
Client: Tri-Met, Oregon DOT, City of Portland, City of Gresham, Mutonomah County, Metropolitan Service District

Winner of a 1984 AIA urban design and planning award, the Banfield Transitway is the highly successful first leg of a proposed regional light rail system for Portland, Oregon. The Banfield line extends 15 miles east from central Portland to Gresham and passes through three political jurisdictions. Since its opening in 1986, it has exceeded all projections in ridership.

"We found the project's real interest in highly designed public-realm elements...this is a real contribution to improve the landscape of the city."
—comments from AIA jurists

PROJECT PRESENTATION

Greg Baldwin: I really want to talk about the expansion of a grand ideal, the working definition or ideology, one that assumes that there is really a virtue in hard, independent work, that we need to be closely associated with our roots. It sometimes has been romanticized. It is the importance of independence that has made it very difficult for us to build cities as we would have them. We really have eschewed the cumulative mind and richness that comes from interdependent relationships, and therefore, we are often not very successful. What is important about the development in Portland is that transit really plays the role of matchmaker, which is interesting because transit, whether it's rail or bus, typically is independent and isolated in the pursuit of its own agendas. However, if it properly intervenes, we have found that it can cause other types of partnerships to form which are beneficial to the city and also beneficial to transit.

The role we play is that of taking three or four individuals who are proximate to each other but, as typical in the American city, don't converse, and [we're] starting conversations: conversations that can be continued and maintained. The Banfield is a fifteen-mile system that starts in downtown, travels along a freeway through half a dozen suburban communities to a small city at one end. It's a project that, in a very short period of time, has transformed the areas it serves. It really had a profound influence on where people are locating. Proximity to light rail gives location. Even in historic districts, projects are being undertaken that otherwise would not have occurred.

The Banfield Light Rail is the first leg of a proposed regional light rail system for Portland, Oregon.

What we have learned from this project are principles that, in different forms, keep occurring and that we think are important. Perhaps the most important one is that for a transit project to be successful, it had better be a number of things in addition to being a transit project. As a matter of fact, that should not be its first objective. Every time we've worked on a transit project that set out to be . . . a transit project [only], it has not been a very good project and has not had the impact that it was capable of having.

Roger Shiels: I would like to talk about politics as a form, because there are a lot of subtleties to building a project of this kind, and I would like to briefly go through that. It wasn't quite as simple as taking two train tracks and just gently laying them down in the street. We had to go over utilities, gas, water, sewer, electrical, telephone, all sorts of other things, under the street. There was the need to change traffic patterns which had been established downtown. There was the need to deal with warping of street surfaces that had all been worked out over the years to try to drain off some three feet of water that falls on the city every year. There was need to relocate and disrupt loading and access and even basement extensions and sidewalk elevators. In addition to that, there were hundreds of homes and businesses that fronted on this new improvement that really had to live with it. We were taking out their homes and disrupting their businesses.

In accomplishing this, there were originally two turf battles, as I see it: . . . first, the highways, street areas, tracks, and railroads. . . The second was that the city and TRI-MET are two distinct and absolute independent organizations that have no political connection whatsoever. The city has total authority over the street right-of-ways and TRI-MET had total authority over the project.

DISCUSSION: excerpts

While the alignment wasn't selected to serve a social agenda, it very definitely had significant social impacts. It was serving an area that was predominately middle to moderate to low-income; people who were in areas that were not developing; mostly unemployed in certain areas, people who were really in very vulnerable positions. There was concern that it would cause a great deal of speculation where it was unwarranted.

In all of the areas where they did not want to see change, zoning regulations were enacted that would preclude any speculation. Then, when they would like to see community centers developed or economic development to occur, they will rezone that. So, there was a tremendous manipulation of the context through which it passed to make sure that before it actually went ahead, the environment you would have there was established.

They also paid a metro council of governments to go out and do some studies on where housing might be developed or promoted, to make sure that the zoning would be appropriate for new housing in the neighborhoods where it was to be located. So, the transit agency, was unusually perceptive in recognizing that they should help figure out what to do. On the other hand, if they were going to have some control over these other jurisdictions, they could give them the money and place some strings on it. And in fact, they wouldn't get the system until they had reviewed the zoning and undertook these studies.

Panel member: I think the presentation raises a very important point, and that is what you look for to bring civility and quality of life to the urban environment. I think that's basic to the issue. I mean the moving car is not really the problem. The stationary car is the basic problem in the city. Boston happens to be a very attractive city to go through because it's so painless to get there. The plane puts you down and you go into the little metro thing and you're pretty much into Boston. New York is obviously a nightmare because of getting in and out. So, I think the way we put those systems together is important. We had some pretty good ideas of that less than a century ago.

Europeans believe that the way you solve a problem with cars is to get rid of them. That's just. . . not very practical. The way to deal with the problems of the city is with intelligence, direction and planning. You look at the public good with a certain inventive creativity. To look at the geographic configurations of an area and the cultural traditions, particularly those that make an area special: that's why we like to go to places. That's what makes people interesting; the fact that they have certain things that make them special, and places do, too. We need to maximize those. You've got to take advantage of the geography and the geographical features and the heritage, and you've got to have systems of organization, including transit systems that support and complement them.

Shiels: On a neighborhood by neighborhood basis, we looked at how it affected the community. We didn't go to the larger public and we didn't take it to the TRI-MET Board. I recall going up and

The fifteen-mile Banfield Light rail has exceeded all ridership projections.

meeting some people on Burnside and they hated us. . . The only way we were able to overcome that was to work with each of the individual communities. There is a community that you are directly impacting, there's a neighborhood which you are going through, and also there is the business community that is adjacent to the facility strip, and they all have their own interests. We tried to set up a community relations or public affairs group that worked on the project and also interfaced with those people so that we could get a two-way dialogue going. To establish those communications was really important.

At Burnside they were having problems. To their credit, they suspended design work for six months and went back and started designing everyone's front yard to make sure that the driveways they would be replacing would match up. Where there had to be retaining walls, they got to select from six or eight different types of wall; they got fences, they got landscaping. In the long run, it was a lot cheaper than arguing "right of way." But the transit design was stopped and it became a front yard design project and they hired somebody that just worked with these people on a house by house basis. . . We met with all of them singly. You never get them together.

. . . Your ability to operate independently, to be self-sufficient [is] extremely important. Altruism doesn't have much meaning and so the point was how to create an urban place where, in fact, there are interdependencies without sacrificing the ability to control your own future. Transit has turned out to be the most effective tool we have: far more effective than public schools, than parks,

than roads, than anything in getting to a point where, from an architect's point of view, you can begin to produce a gregarious architecture for a client.

Higbee: There are a number of other communities that are looking at light rail and they all seem to have a common thread that goes through them with regard to the movement of people which, in turn, is tied to the quality of life and the livability of the city. I think we all recognize that rather than continuing to depend on one mode of transportation — i.e. the automobile — we must try to come up with a balanced system. Whether light rail is part of that equation, maybe, maybe not. Maybe it's a shuttle-type bus system. It doesn't have to be a heavy rail. It is not all of one thing; it is a mixture that provides for the best access for all modes of transportation, bicycles and pedestrians included. If you do the first one in a manner that benefits a great deal of people, it will be a lot easier to do the second, and we are finding that subsequent projects are a lot easier. We are extending the bus mall downtown and it is being readily accepted, and I think that is because they have seen some good projects downtown. That is why, from the transit perspective, it is important that you undertake these projects not principally as transit projects to serve your own agenda, but as devices to serve a whole bunch of agendas. In the process of doing that you get the kind of support that is absolutely critical in running the transit system. From my perspective, this was an economic development and a community development project, which happened to use transit as a tool.

None of this would have happened unless the federal government provided the costs. There was no way that the local community [could] come up with the kind of dollars that Portland, Oregon could have come up with: $200 million... I think that what is really going to decide whether communities have light rail or not is the priorities in Washington. Local communities can't pay for them, states can't pay for them. I think the problem in the future is money. We were very fortunate. We had a Secretary of Transportation who signed a letter before he left office when Carter was defeated, and you know a lot of it was luck.

One thing people have to recognize is that we put in this new capital investment on this facility and we are all euphoric about how many people it is carrying and how it is helping reduce TRIMET's operating deficit and all those types of things, but the thing is costing money. It is costing money to run. Our long term goal is to lose less money than we would otherwise lose if we just had an all-bus system, but we still are faced with the situation that it is something we have to maintain.

The decision that was made to pick light rail was a vote for clean air, reduction of our dependency on oil, one small step. It seems our values in this country so often seem to come with a dollar sign. It seems to me it is not a trivial point to say we ought to be working for an accounting system to try to quantify those savings. This is the way to persuade people.

It goes back to perceptions. What we have to do is change the perception of the communities within which we are trying to make these advancements. Whether it's nicer housing, emission health, new affordable housing or whether it's light rail as a means of transportation, we have to be better at defining our objectives under these new circumstances.

MISSION HILL HOUSING AND CHARLESTOWN NAVY YARD

Boston, Massachusetts

William Rawn, *Principal, William Rawn and Associates, Architects*
Thomas McIntyre, *President, Bricklayers and Laborers Non-Profit Housing Company*
Kevin Fitzgerald, *Massachusetts State Representative; Chairman, Joint Committee on Housing and Urban Development*
Kay Galligher, *President, Back of the Hill Community Development Corporation*
Patricia McDermott, *Research Director for the Joint Committee on Housing and Urban Development of the Massachusetts General Court*

Charlestown Navy Yard and Mission Hill Housing are two affordable housing projects designed by William Rawn and Associates in the highly gentrified city of Boston. They have received extensive publicity for their success. Both projects were sponsored by the Bricklayers and Laborers Non-Profit Housing Company. The Charlestown Navy Yard Rowhouses were hailed by *Time Magazine* as one of the "Best of '88" architectural designs. The units are "virtually miraculous: cheerful, dignified, altogether grand-looking low-cost housing." The Charlestown Navy Yard Project offers 48 units of housing. The Mission Hill Project is a 165-unit development of townhouses which creates a new street and urban park at its center.

Mission Hill homes were sponsored by the Bricklayers and Laborers Non-Profit Housing Company.
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PROJECT PRESENTATION

Thomas McIntyre: When you get involved in affordable housing, there are some fundamental assumptions you have to change. You have to understand that when you are talking about rebuilding the cities, you are talking about America. When you talk about the people who live in the neighborhoods of our cities, you are talking about Americans. The truth is that the cities and the neighborhoods are as much a part of the landscape of America as the Grand Canyon.

The Mission Hill neighborhood in Boston where I'm from was a wonderful Irish ghetto. I was born and grew up during the depression. Everybody was broke. Everybody was poor. When you talk about affordable housing, you're talking about these people and their children who grew up in the neighborhoods of our cities, through bad times as well as good, and want to remain in their neighborhoods.

William Rawn

"The American spirit of building came out of a response to necessity, a response to a purpose. I think, the problem today is that we are building buildings without a need for them. We are building without a sense of purpose."

Several years ago I was talking to Kevin Fitzgerald. I said to Kevin, "What is it that the Unions do out in Mission Hill that could provide more presence in the neighborhoods?" I was interested in demonstrating that unions can be a force for good in the life of the community. And he said, "Well, there's some folks over there on the Back of the Hill that want to build some housing." And that is how we first sat down with the Back of the Hill group.

Kay Galligher: Back of the Hill has a very strange terrain: hills, valleys and little winding streets. It is really pretty: parks and houses, it's a neighborhood. In 1965 hospitals in the area started to buy up the properties. They'd [buy] the house[s], and then [tear] them down. Finally, we had about 25 acres of empty land between us and civilization.

Kevin Fitzgerald: Leadership was the really decisive thing that moved this project. . . We had a community fighting for its life. What does that mean, in terms of the values of what we are talking about, "How we build" and "What we build"? Shouldn't the people of the neighborhood have a decent and affordable place to live? These were the values we were fighting for. And a home ownership opportunity. The idea is a great one, it's a noble one. It happened because we had Mayor Flynn in terms of a new administration. We had Governor Dukakis who made housing a priority. And we had people at the community level driving the process.

William Rawn: As an architect, I come at this from really two points of view: One is a political one, and my politics certainly dovetail with the politics you've just listened to. The second viewpoint is the architectural one. I think it is important that architects start thinking about design in ways that relate to what you've been listening to. There is the confluence of values that I think this conference is about.

When one starts thinking about democratic instititutions of the 20th century, I would insist that the major democratic institution is the city. Tom describes the city as essentially, "what is American." I would say the city is also what is essentially democratic. The city is a place of freedom, pluralism, the rubbing of shoulders of different economic groups, racial groups. It's the place which, if all is going well, is for access of opportunity.

Cities are very fragile institutions. They are delicate, they are very vulnerable, they are always changing. I would insist that architects treat them with care. If you look at the South Bronx, you can see a city, which 30 years ago was a vibrant community, that is dead.

For me the question, as an architect, is how to translate those values into building form. I want to share with you some principles of housing, an observation that housing is essentially an issue of urban design. We are going to show you the Charlestown Navy Yard in an attempt to show how housing, in this case, affordable housing, can adapt itself to a very rich, historic fabric. We are going to show you Mission Hill, where housing is, in fact, mending the neighborhood—pulling the neighborhood back together. In all of this, we are trying to design housing that is providing opportunity for its inhabitants. It's not just the exterior that's important. My goal today is to talk about housing as not only "patternless place," but as an issue of typology, of urban form

"When you get involved in affordable housing there are some fundamental assumptions that you have to change."

Thomas McIntyre

and typology of building form.

I have developed what I call four urban design principles, or typologies of urban form. Item one is continuity of scale. The towns that tend to work together as a form tend to have the same scale, whether it's in Spain, Vermont, or Beacon Hill. When that scale is violated it can raise major danger signals for a neighborhood.

Likewise, the next issue is what I call continuity of fabric. In an Italian town, tall roofs knit together the neighborhood. Archways knit together a neighborhood or a whole town in Northern Spain. That becomes the fabric that people know.

A third issue is continuity of street edge. Fifth Avenue in New York is a wonderful example, where the floor lines are varied, the window details vary, but the buildings create a very strong edge to Central Park. The same can be true in a farm town like Hadley, Massachusetts, where a series of farm houses are all lined up in a row, very close together, almost urban in form, and they create a continuous street edge. Each is a different situation, but it has the same quality. These were qualities I began talking to the neighborhood about when we started working at Mission Hill.

The fourth is a slightly more abstract idea, but it is the idea that streets should have two sides to them. Of major commercial streets in the world, very few are single-sided streets. The same is true of housing, whether it is a promenade in Barcelona, or a street in Paris.

CHARLESTOWN NAVY YARD

The Charlestown Navy Yard is an urban village directly across the water from downtown Boston. One of the issues I thought was very important was for our building to fit into the existing pattern, which included being on Main Street, which is not something a little two story house could do.

At a building typology level, the Navy Yard is full of long, linear buildings. We started looking at some of the major images in the Navy Yard and found strong gabled ends as one of the strongest images. Additionally, we found a waterfront tower image.

The gable end building, on Main Street, contains primarily one bedroom units. The linear portion of the building is a series of stacked townhouses, each one with a back yard. Then, a tower building at the end echoes the seacoast form.

Our four bedroom unit at the end sells for $104,000. Across the street two and three bedroom units are selling for $350,000 to $400,000. Farther out on the pier some units are selling for between $500,000 and $600,000.

DISCUSSION

Panel Member: Our city is the essential democratic institution in America as Mr. Rawn reminded us. This project is entirely in the spirit of the wonderful blend of politics and capitalism in this country that prompts a question. At the Charlestown Navy Yard a unit sells for $104,000 and across the street a similar unit costs $300,000. . . What's to prevent the owner of the affordable unit to sell at market price?

Response: In the Deed, it reads that you can't sell it for beyond what the

Consumer Price Index has gone up since you bought it. And the city has first crack at the unit. What the city does when they get into this linkage arrangement, is you cannot sell it for more than a 5% increase a year since you bought it. That, of course, keeps the affordable housing in the area all the time.

Panel Member: It seems that Jefferson said that Property is a personal liberty. It seems as though here, however, there is a framework in which personal liberty and property are rather largely enmeshed in the machinations of government?

Response: I know what you're saying, because it has been said to us: "You're obstructing our right to liberty and all that." We tell them what we told them right up front — that if you want to make a lot of bucks, you don't have to buy it.

Response: We had a wonderful discussion this morning about the American spirit and how it pertains to the landscape of this country. The problem is that we've lost that spirit. The American spirit of building came out of a response to necessity, a response to a purpose. I think, and I've tried to think this through, the problem today is that we are building buildings without a need for them. We have a piece of land; a developer comes in; there is no program, and he whips up the biggest building that can be put on the site based on the zoning rules. He builds it in the least expensive way to get the maximum return on his investment. We are building without a sense of purpose. We market that. These are wonderful housing projects, but they are pitifully modest in the scheme of the problem.

I think the hope of this country rests in audiences like this where there are tireless souls to hang on to the spirit of things they believe in. A lot of young people have to get aggressive again and start to put this country in order by committing themselves to reshaping this country, build on the ideals this country was originally founded on. This is an absolute message that has to come out of this type of presentation.

Panel Member: Bill, this morning we were talking about one of the issues that concerned you which was that the isolation of the quality that was achieved in these three projects isn't achieved universally in affordable housing?

Response: I would hope that more and more architects are cognizant of these "urban design" issues. I think one of the things that would be important as you start looking at affordable housing is that you demand a level of quality, both in terms of the urban quality of the housing but also of the quality of the interior. All of us are strongly in favor of affordable housing, and Tom and I are strongly supporting the Mayor's efforts to build lots of housing. But, I must say, as you look at some of the affordable housing that's being built, one starts wondering what its going to look like ten years from nowand how it fits into the neighborhood setting. It is solving a problem. It may solve the immediate problem of the homeless person or of the working family, but, in terms of rebuilding the city, we've been through that before. Public housing has had that goal since the mid-30's and it has been a failure. Let's not have affordable housing initiatives have the same failure now because they don't meet the needs of their inhabitants. I think architects, as they look at designs and community groups, should acknowledge that and recognize the challenge.

Panel Member: On the basis of what you've learned from this project, and research you've done on affordable housing, do you see a way that commercial developers can do projects that are even remotely like this?

Panel Member: It is the key question, and it really does come down to being the good neighbor and, in your own community, finding the right formula that's going to work. I continuously say that, as a developer, I'm here to make money. But that's because that's who I work for. However, as a neighbor, I've spent a lot of time working on this issue. So, I don't think I'm cold-hearted. I think, in fact, it's not easily translatable. It comes down to the political aspect of it, and here in Virginia, unlike Boston, there are whole new neighborhoods that didn't exist ten years ago. They are sprouting up at the rate of one hundred homes a day in the Northern Virginia and Tidewater areas. They don't have a sense of community yet. So, they don't know what it means to pull together.

The following two projects and discussion were presented in 1990. Panel includes:
Jonathan Barnett, *FAIA, Professor, City College of New York*
Warren T. Byrd, Jr., *Chairman, Department of Landscape Architecture, University of Virginia*
Richard C. Collins, *Director, Institute for Environmental Negotiation*
Terry Jill Lassar, *Research Counsel for the Urban Land Institute, Washington, DC*
William A. Rawn, *William Rawn Associates, Architects*
Elizabeth Baldwin Waters, *Mayor, Charlottesville, VA*

James San Jule

Daniel Solomon

AMANCIO ERGINA VILLAGE

San Francisco, California

Architect: Daniel Solomon,
Daniel Solomon and Associates
Chairman of the Board of Amancio Ergina Village: James San Jule

Winner of a 1987 AIA Honor Award for Excellence in Design, Amancio Ergina Village is a 72-unit low and moderate income housing project built on a two-acre vacant lot in a section of San Francisco known as the Western Addition. Amancio Ergina is a Filipino druggist from the neighborhood who made it his mission to bring affordable housing to the neighborhood. After one innappropriate design was fought off by the community, the firm of Daniel Solomon and Associates was hired to design buildings appropriate to the neighborhood. The units they designed are based on the building typology of San Francisco—sensitively scaled rowhouses fronting continuously along the street with street access to inner landscaped courts. The project was commended for reinforcing "the San Francisco urban form and context. . .with a slightly new vocabulary" (AIA jury).

PROJECT PRESENTATION

James San Jule: Diane Feinstein [mayor of San Francisco] called me one day and said, "I've got troubles, I've got egg on my face because of the Ergina project." I went in and organized the board of directors. This was a totally pro bono operation. We spent two and three hours a meeting at least once a week for a year and a half working on this thing, putting it together. Our immediate decisions on the first meeting [were as follows]: throw out the old architecture even though it was done to the point of working drawings, $200,000 worth. . .Throw the lawyer out because he supported the old architecture. Get a new lawyer. Retain Daniel Solomon and Associates as the new architects. Retain a management marketing group to take care of all the nuts and bolts stuff. . . Get construction financing; get bond issue funds for permanent financing, retain a contractor, arrange with the redevelopment agency for acquisition of the land at a price of five hundred dollars per unit where it had been appraised at ten thousand dollars a unit. Establish a brand new non-profit cooperative corporation and confirm a 72-unit development . . . we did all of that, all those cosmic decisions and we didn't have one penny in the bank.

I want to emphasize the importance of political action and the political process in getting housing built and especially low and moderate income housing. No housing of any kind is built without deep involvement with political action and the political process.

Daniel Solomon: San Francisco is a colonial city, a planned city. It is based on the Spanish planning law, the Laws of Indies, which are really a survey method, a method that takes land and subdivides it according to a grid. . . The [major design idea behind Amancio Ergina was to] take three elements of historic San Francisco building typology: the twenty-five foot lot in ten vario lots, which had been eradicated by the process of urban renewal. . .; the midblock alley, which was the invention of nineteenth century speculators to increase the perimeters of blocks; and the midblock courtyard. [The buildings] are

very simple woodframe buildings embellished with a bit of architectural detail, making use of historic elements but in a completely new way.

DISCUSSION

Panel Member: I think many would be interested in knowing how you think a zoning ordinance should be designed and what architects can particularly contribute to making sure that they don't produce stupid design.

Solomon: I think that architects bring something to it that people who have exclusively planning or exclusively land use backgrounds do not. Something that I have contended for a long time is that a lot of what is wrong with American cities has to do with architects not being involved in physical planning and physical planning becoming a . . . branch of land use law. Lifting planning codes out of the generalities of land use law and dealing with the specifics of physical design in the making of public space by buildings is a contribution that architects collectively can make to the planning process.

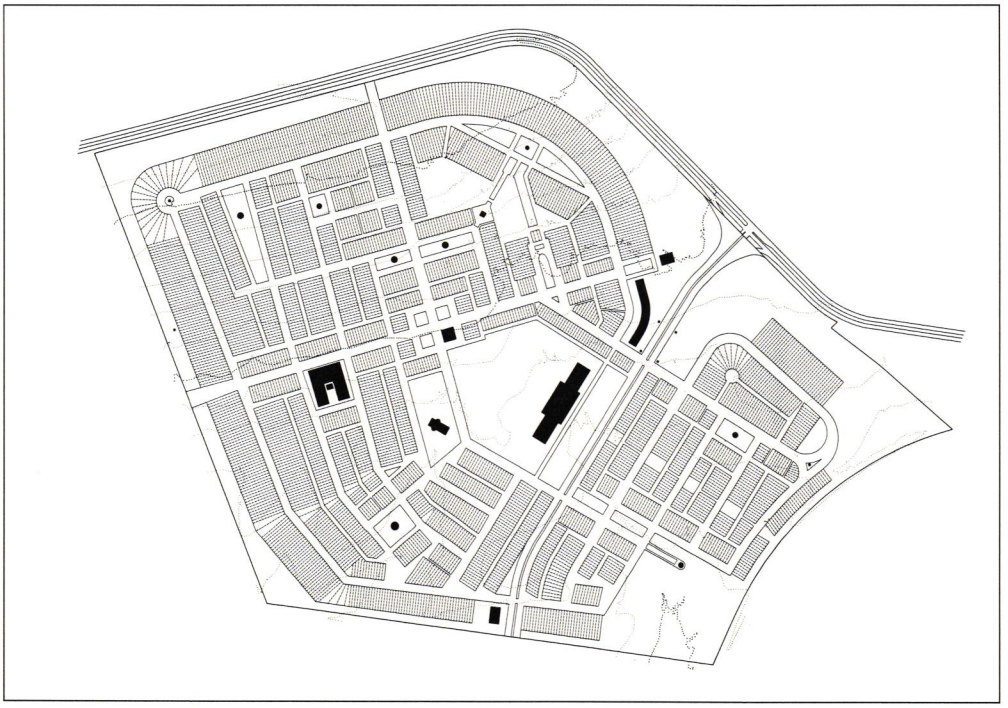
San Francisco's planning code, for instance, had a rear yard provision that prevented you from doing the traditional pattern of the tandem house and courtyard. It was a rear yard requirement based on an open space requirement that actually prevented you from replicating the historic pattern. But these are things that are very easy to change. They are just mistakes.

Andres Duany has bravely and brilliantly put together a shell of a universal planning code. What we have had a lot of discussion about is how universal is universal and to what degree does that provide a framework for really looking at and understanding local circumstance and local heritage. I tend to put more emphasis on the localness . . . but the problem is of such a magnitude that there needs to be a kind of general methodology for dealing with it from place to place.

Barnett: It seems to me that the trouble with all types of zoning is that it is much more prescriptive than the writers intended it to be. They thought they were being objective and were providing envelopes in which a variety of different things could happen. But, in fact, it becomes prescriptive and because it was written by non-designers, the prescriptions were not well designed. If you get designers to work on your prescriptions and if you recognize that zoning is , in fact, a description of what you are going to have built, you will get more particularity, you will get better zoning. It would be deadening if individual people have better ideas and it would also mercifully get rid of a lot of people who have worse ideas. I just think it is a better framework than an undesigned framework. I would rather have something that has design sensibility, even if it is over-replicated. It is a better basis for the real evolution that will take place later.

DISCUSSION FOLLOWING PRESENTATION OF HAYMOUNT AND BELMONT

Architect: Andres Duany, *Duany/Plater-Zyberk, Architects and Town Planners*
Developer: John Clark, *Haymount Development Corporation*
Haymount is presented on page 128 of this journal.



Belmont Town Plan

Duany: The increment of planning is the neighborhood. With a radius of 1300 feet, that gives you a statistical basis for the number of people that would walk to a potential bus stop. That increment of planning happens to be extremely archaic. It's very close to the size that Leon Krier says the Medieval neighborhood is, because of course that was determined by walking also. These neighborhoods are assembled into towns, and the towns are assembled into regions that are connected by more than one road, so that they don't plug up. So you can actually go ahead and commute from one town to the other, but one of the things that is available is that there are multiple means of getting there. They're not pods with single access points.

Collins: . . .What we have heard today is a social and economic critique with a physical alternative that in no way meets the nature of the critique. It's a safe, and maybe even feasible response to some problems of subdivision organization and really sprawling urban design, and that's about it. What I'm saying here is that the best, biggest, most attractive part of what we heard is the social critique of the automobile, of the silliness of modern life, of the miserable nature of much of our transportation, going from work to shopping and so on. Those things can not be resolved simply by better physical design. I'm not telling him something he doesn't know; I think he probably in some sense agrees with me. Ralph Nader couldn't make a better critique, in some ways, than he has made, and when he was hitting the target, most of us laughed, because in a sense we recognized the essential truth of many of the criticisms. However, in terms of the physical planning thing, there is physicalism, which is different from physical planning, and that's the idea we fell into when we used to think the slums were problems of housing or physical structure, rather than tied to the social and economic realities in which people live. Physicalism creates on the part of the architectural critic, and particularly the articulate spokesperson as well as the apt designer, a sense of misdirected superiority—a certain archness—a "well we can fix it but you guys are always gummin' it up!" "You don't understand how towns work, you draw ordinances that require us to do stupid things—." In short, it leaves the impression among people like myself at least, that you don't understand how deeply these problems are connected with our way of life and not with the way our streets are laid out.

Duany: You've granted me the solution to so many problems that I'll take it the way it is.

Collins: Pardon me?

Duany: Many of the things that you said that this begins to resolve are really substantial problems, so it's fine with me if I didn't resolve the others—

Andres Duany

"There has been a mis-analysis of what constitutes efficiency that has been going on since World War II—the analysis is not comprehensive enough."

Collins: Let's say I'm the Caroline County Supervisor, and he [Duany] comes in and tries to convince me to approve his plan. Would I vote for it? That's the question. I doubt it.

Duany: But that's not the reality. Everybody always votes for these. We always get through.

Collins: You know what, I would say that to call a subdivision a town, to use and evoke the images of yesterday's empirical design in Fredericksburg, to make fun of the automobile, and all of those things, is a very effective sales technique for getting subdivisions approved at locations that might not otherwise get approved. I hope you don't take that as hostility, but really as a comment—

Duany: No—It's what permits us to play hardball with developers.

Collins: Good.

Duany: "You wanna get permitted, you gotta do this." For example, in a certain place in Florida called the Treasure Coast, the planner whom I spoke to yesterday said the last six projects that were presented to him were traditional towns, every last one. Why? Because Florida has let it be known that traditional towns are what get permitted, and the model has switched within six months. It's remarkable. It's happening all around DC. Whenever we do one of these projects the local firms switch—first they switch their brochures a little bit, and add traditional town planning to it, and within a few months they know how to do it.

Collins: I believe it.

Duany: The primary driving force is permitting. The secondary driving force is that it's extraordinarily good marketing. People will actually buy this faster than they will buy the other thing, and that's what drives America, you know. You can predict the success of this because it is not dependent upon my speeches, it is dependent upon money, which is what drives ideas in this country. And you can be absolutely confident that the model's going to change, because it is a profitable way to do things.

Waters: . . . But how many of these towns work well together before they drain each other—?

Duany: The answer is that it's an enormous number. It's basically a matter of channelling the natural economic growth . . . I'm not saying there will be as many frogs in Caroline County when we're done as there are now, but in fact a lot of human beings in Caroline County will be able to live somewhat more intelligent lives than they are able to now, causing much less environmental damage. See, the problem is, even if this is flawed, it is the least flawed of the models. It is the only one that is likely to work, because the others don't! Just what other model do you propose works? I'd really like to know that.

Collins: You're talking about what physical model?

Duany: Yes.

Collins: I'm talking about a model for a better way to live. The only word we really have right now, which is not very well defined, is some sort of "sustainable society"—which is based on a different

" I'm talking about a model for a better way to live."

Richard Collins

economic conception which does not imagine continuous economic growth, and which is redirected into a pattern of living in which consumption —you may not like this—

Duany: Of course I do! That's what I call "after the revolution." The order that I give the designers of the parking lots is, "Design it so after the revolution it will be a beautiful square." Just as the beautiful squares of Europe are now parking lots. All our parking lots can be retrofitted into urban grids later. The infrastructure is laid out so that 25 years from now, after the revolution, when the time comes to fill up the parking lots in the office parks, the infrastructure's ready to receive apartment buildings. I'm thoroughly counting on the future being different.

Audience member: I'd like to suggest that before the revolution you address the housing-jobs imbalance. I'm uncomfortable with your putting off providing for more industrial space. I mean, the prognosis is that within the next ten years, not within the next generation, the most highly demanded development use is going to be industrial space.

Duany: The code that we wrote for Western Loudon does not permit one use without the other. If you're a residential developer, you've also got to provide retail and jobs. There's no such thing as single use zoning any more. Everything has to be provided in balance. Now, what I haven't talked about here are the codes we're writing for counties that not only permit this to happen, which is currently illegal, but force it to happen.

Collins: May I ask you, when you say it's illegal, what we mean, I assume, is that if you have a PUD ordinance in Loudon, which I think you have—It may not permit exactly those streets, but when you say "illegal", the implication is that this vision, this kind of community, is impossible under the laws that some stupid planners made—which is not in fact the case.

Duany: Yes it is, because what's happened is that the PUDs which were originally designed to permit the freedom to negotiate a plan all have acquired accretions. Inadvertently, they're loaded up with all sorts of little junk that prevent enough of these details to happen—

Collins: The details, yes.

—Some discussion of size, how libraries, schools, etc. have been getting large out of proportion to the community—

Duany: . . . There has been a misanalysis of what constitutes efficiency that has been going on since World War II—the analysis is not comprehensive enough. And actually, the way engineers look at roads has exactly the same problem: they only make sure that the traffic can get through, without any other criteria.

Rawn: I was going to ask how you dealt with that very powerful group of people in a county condition.

Duany: Well, in the case of Haymount, John arranged that we go straight to Richmond. We went straight to the top, and they knew what we were talking about.

Rawn: Road engineers in

John Clark

Richmond sympathetic to decreasing train radiuses—? How so?

Clark: I've got a comment about that—because Andres didn't go with me, as a matter of fact—

Duany: I'm not permitted to be in the same room with a traffic engineer—we end up in fist fights.

Clark: It was interesting because we walked in, and we had 20 minutes with these guys, and it ended up being two hours on a Friday afternoon. And the guy who is about the no. 2 man at VDOT right now was the Northern District engineer who had Reston. I couldn't believe when I heard it come out of his mouth. He said, "You know, we really need to return to the planning that went on in the 20's and 30's." And I said to myself, "this is from a guy from VDOT? I must be hearing things!" I think there's a recognition that some of these things don't work. And his point was, "OK, demonstrate to me that somehow or other I can get my snow plow down there—." And then his comment, even more interesting, was, "Well, that's a little bit tight for a radius, but you know, they're going to have to do it a little bit slower."

Rawn: I've never heard a traffic engineer say anything like that—

Duany: No, what we found is that the top guys are actually sympathetic, and the very young people love it, but the middle crust—there's just this enormous mass of—

Rawn: Your generation, right?

Duany: Yeah, and they're completely in control. They're very powerful.

Clark: . . . One thing that's very important to me is that we really went to great lengths to find a site for a college—and God knows where I'm going to get one—but it's going to be there whether they like it or not. And not only that but it's going to be built to that plan. But that's what it takes to make those things work, and that's what it takes to make those economies and scales work. And yes, it's utopian—

Duany: It's not utopian, it's the way we used to think, which is different. We used to habitually imagine a great future for ourselves, and we have been distracted from that. It's just a matter of having the aspiration to permit it to happen.

Byrd: I'd like you to talk about public and community participation in the charrettes—the relationship between that and the agenda that you bring to this thing.

Duany: We just did the fourth generation of planning in an area of St. Louis called Lafayette Town. It was demolished in the 60's, there was a plan that remained unbuilt in the 70's. In the 80's during the Reagan years it was handed over to a private developer entirely. The developer exploited it, built a lot of trash, and was bought out by the city. Then it was given to us. We met with the neighborhood. We did a plan for the 430 acres that was absolutely first rate—if the Prince of Wales had asked me to do a better plan, I couldn't have done it—and they knew it that they were treated well. In the final presentation there were 300 people present, and there were only two in opposition, neither of which had heard about the charrette before. . . . The only thing that has not been delivered to these poor people in the slums is good design. Everything

Elizabeth Waters

else has been tried, including doles of money. And it's at the level of physical design, which is the level at which they can understand it. When they see that window well-proportioned, when they see that decent material, when they see a park well-designed, instead of some experiment. We're always experimenting on the poor. You know, let's treat them as if they were rich. They recognize it immediately—immediately. And it is physical design. I can tell you other instances. The difference is not that we present better, but that we actually deliver what they want. That's a big difference. A lot of developers or planners say, "well, the people are in opposition to this or that." It's not because they're stupid, it's because they really don't want what is being delivered! They don't want the shopping center or the high rise. What they want is a nice, traditional neighborhood. And if that's ever put in front of them, they will recognize it and be for it. It's the last experiment.

Byrd: I just want to add that I think that part of the value of incorporating them is that it de-mystifies the process relative to the designers doing it all. And it really holds you accountable for what you're doing and why you are doing it. And if you're clear enough and strong enough in what you believe in, then you can explain that. And they can also explain to you what's appropriate for that place and what they value in it.

Duany: The connection isn't just asking them what they want. It's showing them what we want, which is the traditional neighborhood, and them agreeing that they also want it. Because if you listen and listen and listen you get a collection of little junk—a little thing here a little thing there—there's no overall vision. It has to be a vision of some grandeur and some ambition.

Rawn: Andres, have you ever come up with some rules of thumb about how to deal with the edges. . . ?

Duany: There are rules. . . But you know what is the big problem? A lot of people are faking traditional towns. For example, Reston, which people think is a town, has a pod which looks like a town center, but you actually have to drive to it just like a shopping center. Reston is the biggest marketing success and most substantial fraud ever perpetrated in urbanism. It has nothing to do with a town. . . . And if our model fails to dominate the pattern of the future, it will be because a lot of people are falsifying it. . . . They photograph exactly the same way. And it's very difficult for the permitting authorities to recognize this, unless there's a code. Because just a few statements prevent the fraud. For example, you can write a rule saying every street must end at another street. Just that rule alone gives you the network of streets.

Audience member: Could you explain once again how you get the integration of incomes and housing prices? You've talked about these ratios. When you've run out of rich people, since there are more poor people than rich people—?

Duany: In all this private sector stuff there isn't that much affordable housing being provided. We encourage the outbuildings, which are inexpensive rental apartments. We strongly encourage apartments above the store, which are cheap because they're not all that desirable. But perhaps the single most important contribution is we do not segregate the poorer from the richer. But bear this in mind: people who can afford housing

these days are relatively rich.

Audience member: And you don't feel a need—

Duany: Yes, I work in St. Louis with slum people too. But you can't bring the slum people out to Haymount because they don't have cars. They're just different agendas; they're not very closely tied, in fact.

Audience member: But you could tie it because the jobs are out there, they're not in the cities anymore. And people from Tyson's Corner are sending buses at 4:30 in the morning to West Virginia and to Pennsylvania to import workers.

Duany: The residential neighborhoods around Tyson's corner that we would build would have those workers interspersed within them. You wouldn't have to go all the way to West Virginia to get affordable housing. All of these communities have a measure of affordable housing. Might be only 10%, but at least it's nearby.

Westfall: You have a situation in which the town is built. It's been started by a developer who is a prince, and a generous-minded architect—and you write some codes. How do you move, then, to the democracy which the town is supposed to be?

Duany: There is a fantastic device which is the Homeowner's Association Document, which is completely underused. Usually they're very primitive documents that list the paint colors, the doorknobs, the maximum weight of your dog, how often you mow the lawn. But it can be an extremely sophisticated document of governance. We're developing one now that even has three branches of government. You know, a legislative branch, and so forth. Now when the developer is done, what we hope is that the Homeowner's Association Document is sufficiently complex to become an excellent constitution.

Westfall: Does that mean, then, that the only people with voting rights are property owners?

Duany: Yes.

Westfall: So how does the renter become a citizen?

Duany: It's kind of a Jeffersonian concept, isn't it?

Westfall: Yeah.

—some discussion of problematic county-town relationship in Virginia—

Clark: I'm very interested in getting it built, but I'm also very selfish in how it operates, and seeing that it does operate as it is intended to. And the idea behind these codes is that if I happen to be run over by a bus, at least what I've set in motion has some chance to be reality, whether or not I'm there.

Westfall: This is very much in line with what I was saying—the fear that the people will govern well is what you're manifesting, and that's exactly what Jefferson was trying to address. But he also had tremendous faith in the capacity of education, which is one thing that a town does. And your town does that, and the physical setting that you as the builder establish does that, so that one says, it has taught me how to administer this place, it has taught me how to be a citizen of this place.

Clark: That's the issue in Reston now.

Duany: When I was in architecture school, modernism's sociological ambitions had failed. Pruitt Igoe had just been demolished. And what we were taught is, forget all that, architecture is an autonomous discipline that refers only to itself. Just worry about form. When we did Seaside, we did it because it looked good. It was the best-looking thing we could do. It turns out that it also operated very strongly as a community. Like lo and behold, people knew each other. They wave to you from an outrageous distance. They say hello. In fact, in many ways, there isn't any privacy. You can't just go to the store, buy milk and get out. And we said "Look at that!—Architecture can have an effect on people's behavior! Wow!" And that was a great surprise, and that became central to our decision making. But that was not the way it was conceived, it was the result of it.

Westfall: That's what you learned from making good architecture.

Duany: That's what we learned.

Audience member: I'm still disturbed by this issue of the citizen being a property holder. It seems to me that if you're looking at 27 million dollars of profit, you could afford some greater effort to integrate—

Duany: Believe it or not, no one has ever brought this up before, and we

haven't thought about it. Just no one has brought it up before—it's remarkable.

Waters: What was the question again?

Duany: What happens to the renters and their votes when it becomes a town—you're absolutely right; they're totally disenfranchised.

DISCUSSION

Waters: Can changing the space do it if we're talking about social and economic issues? Who contributes to change, who sees who as a barrier, where does initiative come from? Where do we start?

Solomon: Well, I think there are some fundamental things about the world that architecture can't change, and I think that a reservation that a lot of us have, that I share with some people in the room, about Andres' work—which I admire enormously, in many ways—is that it doesn't acknowledge, either in its imagery or in its substance, a lot of fundamental facts about the world which we can't alter, having to do with the accumulation of capital, with the power of corporate enterprise, with the way in which corporate enterprise rewards itself in planning processes and development processes, with the impact of electronic communications on living, and on the organization of business, with a whole set of things that have to do with how you buy your tires, where Toyotas are made, who controls land, and a lot of things that are not going to be solved with the recreation of the 19th century city. There's a kind of vacuum that I fear lives within this movement that I consider myself a part of, that it doesn't

answer certain important questions sufficiently, that it leaves the world open, and leaves a seductive argument to architecture students and planners to abandon the quest for urbanism, and abandon it to a kind of privatism which I think we saw this morning.

Duany: That is a very stimulating set of failures there. I don't think that we're abdicating any measure of reality by playing the game. I think that it is the architects who withdraw into the high art game that end up doing absolutely exquisite restaurant interiors. The most talented designers that I know at this moment are actually doing restaurant interiors in Los Angeles and lofts in New York of absolute irrelevance, and they think they're the great revolutionaries. They think we're self-indulgent nostalgic types, while actually what I do every day is play hardball with politicians and developers and write codes. Now the fact that it looks romantic is because at this moment American society is very weak in terms of its image of itself. And I think the model of the weak architect is a very recent one. Burnham told Roosevelt to butt out of the design of Washington. That's because Burnham knew what he was doing and was playing the game with the powerful people. The role model of the people like Burnham should become much more prominent, and the model of neurotic Austrian decorators in fact should be diminished in architectural schools.

Waters: I think that one of the difficulties involved is that if you filter the wrong folks to the top they impose some very bad solutions—

Duany: But if you look at the cities that are being really well run, like Charleston, for example, Mayor Riley lays the line. He just says, "no demolitions" and "this is what the parking lot's going to look like," and so forth, and Charleston is the best-looking city in the world right now. There might be some few exceptions, but the good cities are the results of powerful people. I'm sorry. I know they don't run the best government and I know they lose wars, but centralized authority builds the best cities. And what I'm saying is that fortunately in this country which is a democracy, the building of future cities is in centralized hands. It's a wonderful paradox. There is incredibly concentrated power in the hands of developers and we should use it, because that can give rise to fabulous cities.

Solomon: One thing really spooky about that model, Andres, is that developers have power over rural land, and they don't have power over the peripheral land of cities which is where the real problem is. The model of the enlightened pasha developer as the salvation of urbanism perpetuates the leapfrogging development that devours agricultural land, sprawls the metropolitan region out indefinitely, exacerbates transportation problems, and so forth. So I think that's a very frightening model, that it is only through large scale private land assembly that urbanism can be reestablished in the United States. I agree very strongly with something that Jonathan Barnett said yesterday, which is that the reason that the language looks retro is that the nineteenth century and classical training provided the language of urbanism. Historically there is simply no such thing as modernist urbanism, so that I guess to some extent my work and Andres' work have a slightly retro quality because we turn to an internal language of urbanism that happens not to have been around for awhile. However I'm very frightened of the perpetuation of sprawl if the developer on virgin land is the only mechanism of achieving it.

Audience member: Mr. Duany, I think your work is great, but I think that the Haymount project is just in the wrong place. What you refer to as the LA of Caroline County is the urbanizing corridor between DC and Richmond where there's already an existing passenger rail. So why the hell don't you put one there? I really don't understand.

Duany: That's a very good question. I suppose that at the most fundamental and the most honest level, it's because John Clark bought a piece of land that wasn't on the corridor, that's really what happened. By the way, the farmer whose ancient ties to the land somehow snapped in 1987 really wanted to sell it, also. Let's not forget that.

Waters: How and to what extent do we combine the different approaches, different models, how do we make it all fit together? Where does art vs. social conscience leave us in the real world?

Duany: Look, this is not fudge. There is an absolutely explicit place for high art objects. We say, "civic buildings, in these towns are the correct place for unlimited self-expression." But the streets themselves, and the vernacular buildings that make the streets must be controlled, because if not you've destroyed the making of public space. A huge amount of construction is going on in this country now that is being completely wasted and we must intercept it. I can't wait until regional planning is in place preventing all types of sprawl. What we have to do in the meantime is direct sprawl and all that economic energy which is there, and channel it into something decent.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

Leo Marx: We start with the question of the values that shape the environment, and I as a historian, tried to define a view of the environment from which those values come. To put it a little differently, I'd say that there is a kind of polarity represented by my quotation of John Locke that land only becomes valuable in our kind of system when it's commodified: when it's given exchange value, when money is attached to it. And this whole conference has had necessarily to accept that assumption. When I came to Jefferson, I pointed out that he really took the position that economic criteria should not dominate. And in that famous passage where he rejects the idea of developing manufacturers, he does so not only on economic grounds, but on what I call "pastoral" grounds. That is to say, he wants the economic to be subordinated to social quality of life. It is very interesting that in the second Treatise that Jefferson studied very carefully, it talked about the use for government, "to defend life, liberty, and property," and when Jefferson used that phrase in the Declaration, he changed it to "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." I think that's a very important editorial reclamation. I don't mean to imply that he didn't believe in private property, because he did. But he didn't believe in its primacy. I think this whole

conference has been about how to control, use, curb and subordinate greed — the profit motive, those impulses on which a capitalist society depends for its energies — and reconcile them with this other set of non-quantitative values.

. . .The only rule in the long run is to subordinate the power of the marketplace to human use.

Bill Rawn: Let me say two rather different things. First, on a more pessimistic mode, I'm struck by Richard's quotation, "buildings don't lie; cities lie even less." That's very frightening because everything that we're finding wrong with the public landscape, in the broadest sense, are things that most of us as designers don't like. And yet, those things are very much a product of our culture. We build in three ways. We build with our pocketbooks, which is an economical model; we build with our feet, which is maybe a land-use model, and we build with our votes. Yet in Portland, in fact, a wonderful system probably would have been voted down had it been taken to the electorate. Those things to me are very frightening. Maybe it is because we're just finishing what probably is a decade of the marketplace, optimism, but if one thinks that "buildings don't lie and cities lie even less," then our problems are much bigger than what we can solve ourselves.

I think designers have to better convince society that we have some answers by coming up with better answers and by backing those answers up with a lot more facts and with the ability to deal in the verbal world and the technological world. We should not be sitting there telling developers how to handle their risk. We should not be sitting there telling city governments "you're all wrong because you're helping the automobile." We should be designing better, and more effectively communicating those designs to the public sector.

Westfall: Building a city and living in a city involves the highest art that we know, the art of citizenship. We move from disorder, which is wildness, to civility, which is city, by exercising our art. We would do that only in the interest of property unless we wanted to build cities. If we only always add to our property, our personal property, we eventually produce the kind of world that we now seem to be bent on producing: one that is uninhabitable. That's what happens when you fail to hold foremost a notion that the art of citizenship is the most valuable art and that we all practice our other arts in the interest of the art of citizenship. That's what builds cities.

Biographical Notes

Diana Agrest is Principal of Agrest and Gandelsonas Architects. She has been involved since 1975 in the design and development of projects and buildings in the USA, Europe, and South America, ranging from single-family houses and interiors to larger buildings, urban design projects and master plans. She is the Project Design Director of the Vision Plan for Des Moines, Iowa. She is currently a Professor at the Cooper Union and at Columbia University. She was also a Fellow at the Institute for Architecture and Urban Studiesfrrom 1972 to 1974 and has taught at Princeton University and at Yale. She has published *A Romance with the City, the Work of Irwin S. Chanin,* for the Cooper Union and "Architecture from Without: Theoretical Framings for a Critical Practice" and is presently completing *The Work of Agrest and Gandelsonas,* to be published by Princeton Architectural Press. Diana Agrest received her Diploma Architect degree from the School of Architecture and Urbanism, University of Buenos Aires and did post-graduate work at the Sorbonne and at the Centre de Recherche d'Urbanisme in Paris.

Diana Balmori is Principal of Balmori Associates, Inc. Formerly, she was Principal for Landscape and Urban Design at Cesar Pelli and Associates. Ms. Balmori is currently a visiting critic in Landscape Architecture at Yale University with a joint appointment in the School of Architecture and the School of Forestry. She has also taught at Harvard University, SUNY-Oswego, New York, and at New York University. Ms. Balmori's publications include *Ecology of Greenways,* a National Park Service Publication, *Beatrix Farrand: Landscape Architect* (1982) and *American Landscapes: Her Gardens & Campuses* (1985). Ms. Balmori studied architecture at the University of Tucuman, Argentina. She received her Ph.D. in Urban History from the University of California at Los Angeles in 1973.

Andres Duany and **Elizabeth Plater-Zyberk** are Principals in the Miami-based firm Andres Duany and Elizabeth Plater-Zyberk, Architects and Town Planners. The firm has completed over three dozen buildings in the last ten years, most in South Florida. Duany and Plater-Zyberk's town planning work includes over forty new town and urban redevelopment plans, seven of which have begun construction. Both are associated with the University of Miami School of Architecture; Duany is Adjunct Professor, Plater-Zyberk is Professor in the Master of Architecture Program in Suburb and Town Design. In addition, Duany and Plater-Zyberk have taught at several American architecture schools, including the University of Maryland, University of Houston, University of Virginia, and Harvard University. Duany and Plater-Zyberk both earned the B.A. in Architecture and Urban Planning from Princeton and the Master of Architecture from Yale University.

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Daniel Solomon is the President of the San Francisco-based Solomon, Inc., Architecture and Planning. He has received a number of awards and honors for his work and has delivered several lectures on architecture and urban design. He has published numerous articles in publications including *Architectural Record, Architecture California, Design Quarterly, AIA Journal,* and the *Journal of Architectural Education*. His books include *The Art of City Design, Common Walls/Private Homes, Life on the Edge: Towards a New Suburbia, City Segments*, and *A Guide to Bay Area Architecture*. Solomon's academic positions include teaching at the University of Southern California, Columbia University, and his present appointment at the University of California at Berkeley. Solomon received his B.A. from Stanford University, B. Arch. from Columbia University, and his Master of Architecture from the University of California at Berkeley.

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