

Eurocentric Legacies: The Institute for Architecture and Urban Studies and Delaying Change in Architecture in 1970s New York City

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This paper examines how the Institute for Architecture and Urban Studies (IAUS) that existed in New York City between 1967-1984, constructed a space that reinstated a Western epistemology for architecture and created an audience and discourse for an emerging architecture scene in a distressed New York through its events and media during the 1970s. Given their resonance, the paper positions current demands for change in architecture education and the profession concerning their equivalent in the late 1960s when the IAUS was founded. This paper will ask whether a change in architecture and non-Eurocentric educational models following the 1960s struggles and upheavals were delayed with the appearance and success of the IAUS in New York City. The paper argues, through a critical reading of their media apparatus (exhibitions, lectures, classes, journals, and books), notably the ambitious OPEN PLAN series, and their undeniable success, that the IAUS's reinstated a Eurocentric legacy—delaying change, the reckoning of architecture's role in racial, social, and political asymmetries, and advanced architectural disciplinary ideas' marketization in an emerging neoliberal rationale. Finally, this paper discusses existing scholarly work around the IAUS and first-hand research from the IAUS's collection archived at the Canadian Centre for Architecture in Montreal.

NEW YORK CITY 1960S, OR A TRANSFORMING CLIMATE

It is well known that New York City (NYC) was in gruesome distress during the late 1960s and 1970s. The same fact is well known at least marginally in the United States' North-East architecture discourse. The remarkable story told by Sharon Egretta Sutton in her 2017 book *When Ivory Towers Were Black: A Story About Race in America's Cities and Universities* illustrates the intricate relations between architecture and its institutions in the tumultuous 1960s New York and beyond.¹ However, the deafening similarities of our time well into the first quarter of the 21st century with that of the social, racial, and political challenges of the 1960s raised questions about how, then, architects, schools, or institutions responded to them, as we are in fact seeing many react.² The critical distance-time offer us to look back at New York City during the 1960s and 1970s also allows

us to reevaluate the contributions, challenges, or omissions of how the city's architecture world related to these struggles. One crucial question arises, can we evaluate 1960s institutions with our current understanding of their social, racial, and political struggles? or even further, can and should we evaluate those institutions precisely because they experienced the struggles from the late 1960s in the first place and we are now experiencing their legacies? American architecture, a Western-epistemology edifice in itself, barely reacted to the turbulent sixties, neither did their institutions in academia or the profession. More than being transformed by the impact of a Fiscal Crisis, Civil Rights, Antiwar, Feminism, and then Gay Rights movements, architectural institutions survived and surpassed them by anchoring themselves in reinstating architectural tropes with knowledge from the European traditions. The ones that did transform were marginal experimental practices with less power and a different ground wiring.³ This paper considers the historical context during the founding of the Institute for Architecture and Urban Studies (the Institute, IAUS) of NYC from 1967-1984, led by Peter Eisenman, how they responded to it, and their various legacies.

This paper critically examines the epistemology of the discourse and the audience creation and figures rising of the IAUS's. It acknowledges that the Institute conveniently selected realities to engage with from the city it sat on. In doing so, it will argue that the Institute—despite having enormously succeeded in advancing their strict disciplinary agenda for architecture with lasting impact today, helped postpone the reckoning of our field with the shared social, racial, and political realities of our time and those of the late 1960s and 1970s. In addition, it embraced and promoted the marketization of architecture—including the disciplinary as a consumer product galvanizing the entry of the emerging neoliberal rationale into the field. It also created the space to consolidate the “star” system of architecture based on a strict Eurocentric worldview, distancing their discourse from a change in response to the demands that emerged in the dusk of the decade. These demands are referenced, for example, by Sutton's account of the 1969–1971 *Transgression* chapter of her book as “off-putting pedagogies that discourage women and ethnic minority students from pursuing the field, among them a directive teaching style, an aesthetic rather than social emphasis, a narrowness of content, and—for ethnic minority students—a Eurocentric outlook that ‘channels students into becoming custodians of the status quo’.”⁴ As a result, I will argue

that their apparent disciplinary contributions were advanced to the detriment of, in addition to benefit, the architecture field.

THE INSTITUTE FOR ARCHITECTURE AND URBAN STUDIES

In 1967 Peter Eisenman, armed with a degree in architecture from Cornell University and postgraduate degrees from Columbia University and the University of Cambridge, England—and after not consolidating his teaching position at Princeton University, approached Arthur Drexler, the Museum of Modern Art’s (MoMA) Architecture and Design Department’s director at the time, and asked him for the support of the elite art-institution to create an Institute for Architecture and Urban Studies. One main project took the stage before all was agreed, the exhibition *The New City: Architecture and Urban Renewal* at MoMA. The museum commissioned teams of architects to design urban projects to reconsider the development of upper Manhattan–Harlem. One was led by the soon-to-be Institute director Peter Eisenman.⁵ His project was governed by the organizational scheme of what he titled the “Harlem Plan.” Although I will not recount the full extent of the sharp analysis penned by architectural historian Lucia Allais of this project over a decade ago, her incisive analysis revealed the disorienting realities of such a plan.⁶

The racially dismissive—*culturally insensitive* attitude towards Harlem’s legacy and Black and African Americans’ culture by Eisenman reflected the disconnection of his view of the discipline of architecture—as a worldview, from the intricate complexities that architecture is not just subjected to, but more importantly, a critical producer and material carrier. The “Harlem Plan” evidenced the architects’ deep void of epistemological tools who carried their backpacks filled with Eurocentric references and American expansionist imaginaries. These realities posed questions and challenges that required unearthing or creating new forms of knowledge and embodied experiences from community members to address such places. The exhibition *The New City: Architecture and Urban Renewal* sets the tone for the founding of the IAUS.

After the summer exhibition, Eisenman and Drexler agreed to work to create of the new institution. Finally, in the Fall of 1967, a brochure illustrated with a Vitruvian Man within a gridded square over a drawing of Manhattan announced the creation of the Institute for Architecture and Urban Studies as a non-profit organization sponsored by MoMA and chartered by the Board of Regents of the State University of New York (Fig. 1). Accompanied by the founding members’ energy, knowledge, and enthusiasm, the Institute embarked on transforming architectural discourse over a decade and a half.

To say that there was no architectural discourse in the U.S. during the forming years of the IAUS would be a mistake; however, as Joan Ockman asserts, “Theoretical discourse in American architecture have always been meager, lagging well behind other aesthetics and intellectual disciplines.”⁷ Ockman’s position was

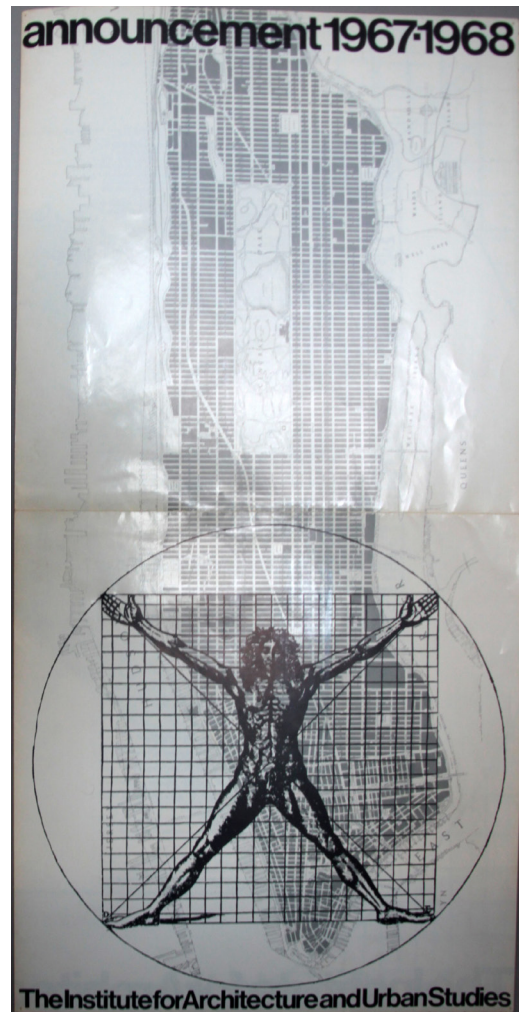


Figure 1. IAUS Announcement Brochure. CCA.

stated primarily in contrast to European traditions. The interest for an American discourse was, in fact, a significant concern for Eisenman, who was officially named the Institute’s Director.⁸ There were other key characters in its foundation: Kenneth Frampton, Anthony Vidler, Mario Gandelsonas, and Diana Agrest. At Cornell, Eisenman was exposed to the Italian Rationalist Giuseppe Terragni by his mentor Colin Rowe.⁹ Eisenman brought his interests in Italian rationalism and later his known turn into post-structuralist philosophy through the figure of Jacques Derrida.¹⁰ Kenneth Frampton was brought from England and developed his critique of the internationalization consequences of Modern Architecture. Anthony Vidler, also from England, was an architectural historian of the French Enlightenment and the concept of typology. Mario Gandelsonas and Diana Agrest came from Paris (with their origins in Argentina) with marked interests in Structuralism and Semiotics.¹¹ In multiple ways, these scholars and designers—combined with a growing group of fellows, sow the seeds for the architectural discourse as interpreters, producers, and interlocutors.

Considering the condition of the city's distress, one might ask, were these tensions influential in the political agenda and constitution of the IAUS? As suggested by the Institute's librarian Suzanne Frank in her memoir's of it:

The country was torn by the devastating news of casualties on both sides [Vietnam War], but little of this seeped into the Institute discussions. It was presumed that the Institute was on the side of the liberals, but in order to try to bolster the architectural content of civilization, the IAUS applied to conventional governmental sources for financial support while trying to maintain a critical stance. Formed in the rebellious 1960s, the Institute viewed any revolutionary activity as an expression of European sophistication, certainly vastly different from the hippie outlook that was to culminate in the Woodstock Festival of 1969. The Institute's mission was primarily a cultural one (except for the outspoken political stance taken by Kenneth Frampton) and its organizers felt it could make contributions to societal good deeds by supplying social and formal solutions to architectural and urban problems.¹²

The Institute, distancing from certain NYC's realities desiring to have autonomy from the academies and profession, aligned itself from the beginning with a Eurocentric figure of power with the MoMA and found in the museum a safe place for cultural extension and institutional stability.

THE INSTITUTE, EUROPE AND ITALY

The 1966 appearance of Robert Venturi's *Complexity and Contradiction in Architecture* in the US and Aldo Rossi's *L'architettura della città* created one shared disciplinary juncture across the Atlantic.¹³ Both questioned high modernism by developing historicists' revisionisms of Western traditions.¹⁴ The exhibition *Italy: The New Domestic Landscape, Achievements and Problems of Italian Design* at MoMA in 1972, led by Emilio Ambasz, included a catalog with a text by Manfredo Tafuri, who entered the NYC constellation.¹⁵ Later, in the early years of the IAUS, Tafuri wrote "L'Architecture dans le Boudoir: The language of criticism and the criticism of language" and was published in the Institute's journal *Oppositions* 3; it presented the moment of convergence of colliding discourses, as suggested by Ockman: "Tafuri took the work of James Stirling, Aldo Rossi and the New York Five¹⁶ as paradigms of a retreat by contemporary architects, from the 'domain of the real' into the 'universe of signs', ultimate symptoms of a 'widespread attitude intent on repossessing the unique character of the object by removing it from its economic and functional context'."¹⁷ This acute observation by Ockman affirms the embraced Western disciplinary epistemology by the Institute discourse. Ockman's assertion of Tafuri's critique of architects retreating from architecture's complexities (economical, political, social) supports the argument that the Institute delayed a critical revision of architectural production at home in NYC by reinstating the New York-Europe axis. Tafuri shook the discourse of the Western canon with his *Progetto e*

utopia: architettura e sviluppo capitalistico from 1973, translated into English as *Architecture and Utopia: Design and Capitalist Development* in 1976.¹⁸ However, the Institute signaled an interest in a New York-Europe axis orienting the compass of the discourse towards the "universe of signs" and the "intent of repossessing the unique character of the object by removing it from its economic and functional context." The growing challenges and crisis scenario emerging in New York transformed the IAUS not in dialogue with them but as a lofty retreat from the real into a new form of an architectural, cultural artifact, as has been argued by architectural historian Kim Förster.¹⁹ The Institute "became better known as a conduit for transmitting the theoretical and critical ideas of European architects and intellectuals into North American architectural culture."²⁰ The IAUS was the place to be. The Institute, however, was not in itself responsible—nor this paper claims they were, to solve structural inequality or major urban conflicts.

Nevertheless, positioning the axis of their discourse and motivations further in context helps reveal the paths not taken and the reinstated legacies. Context was, for many at the IAUS, a formal topic of debate, not a source of racial, social, or economic realities. Their events made this content visible; their growing media acquired a prominent role.

THE INSTITUTE MEDIA APPARATUS AND OPEN PLAN

In the emerging scenario of the Institute, there was a commitment to creating a discursive proposition for defining a new critical mass of people for architectural education and practice of New York during the 1970s.²¹ The Institute's extensive programming and media apparatus marked an emerging architectural culture by defining a new audience and discourse. Theory made its way into the New York scene.²² In its life, the Institute created an impressive amount of work in courses, seminars, lectures, exhibitions, journals, books, newspapers, and public debates, transforming the discipline into a cultural artifact.²³ The Institute printing apparatus became the host in the Spring of 1976 for the beginning of the art, theory, criticism, and politics journal *October*.²⁴ However, the Institute found its connection to art through the construction of architecture-as-art artifacts when displayed against white walls. The exhibition and book, *Idea as Model: Investigations About Architecture* of December 1976 helped reinstate the myth of the architect's figure projecting their work as art.²⁵

Their media apparatus included the Evenings Lectures, *Oppositions* journal,²⁶ *Oppositions* Books, and the *Skyline* newspaper. However, during the Institute's peak, one event marked the dynamic exchange for the "new" ideas, the OPEN PLAN series.²⁷ These events were an intense menu of courses, lectures, and seminars presented daily (Monday through Thursday) during specific periods between 1977 and 1980. I will argue that the Institute's OPEN PLAN—in tandem with their media apparatus, was a critical space-and-event that cast the myth of the Institute and the people that formed it. Through the live-performative

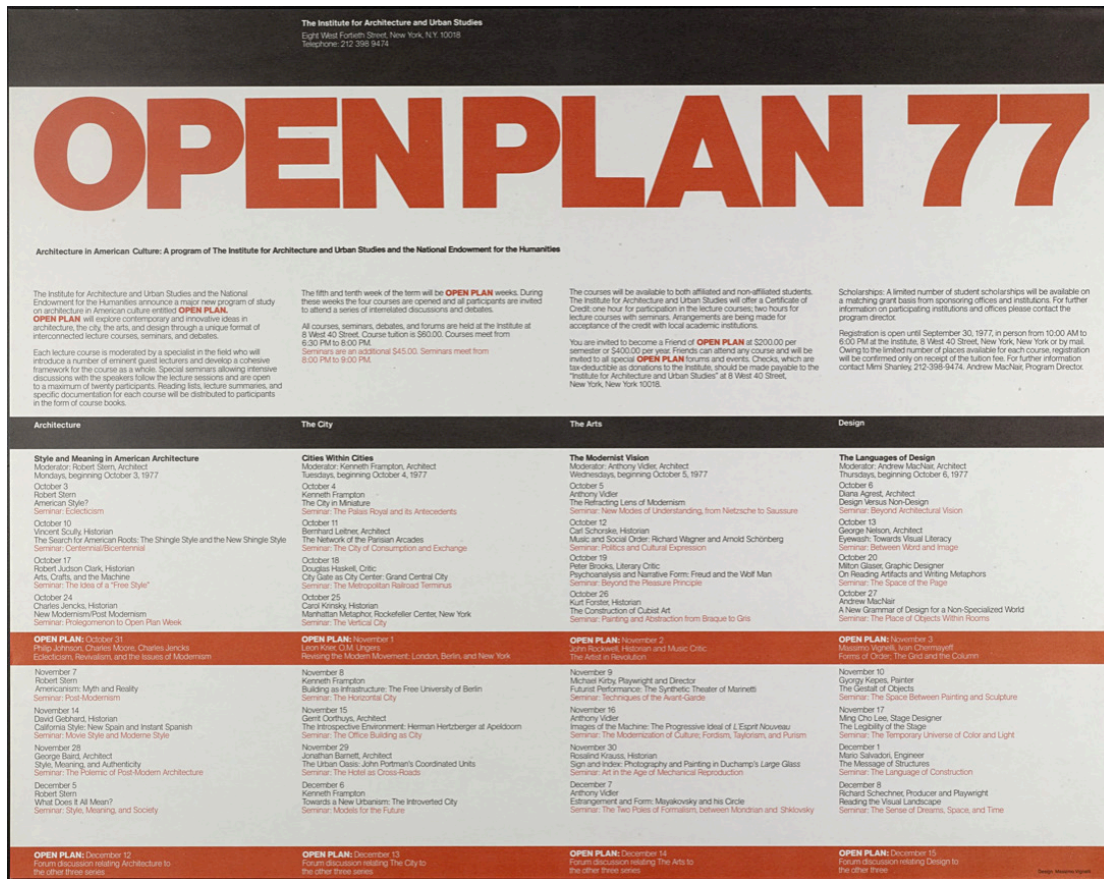


Figure 2. OPEN PLAN 1977 poster. CCA/MoMA.

presentations, the discourse was impressed in the audience, including the events receptions that circulated as socialite-photos in some of the *Oppositions* journal back pages. Through this performative operation, the Institute helped create and galvanize the idea of the “star system” for architects, particularly their male characters of European origin. These authors’ contributions—not under question in this paper, strictly marked an agenda that distanced the Institute from the city it was created on, delaying and postponing the opportunities of engaging overlooked American realities manifested in the city in virtue of “European sophistication.”²⁸ The IAUS success through its media apparatus conquered the attention of the architecture scene while offering exceptionally entertaining and informative discussions about disciplinary issues that catapult the discourse far from any grounded dialogue that was not a beneficial transaction. The Civil Rights movements, racial and social inequality, gay rights, antiwar sentiment—or the core characteristics of the 1970s, did not make it into the Institute narrative or discourse as revealed in the posters’ topics (Fig. 2). Instead, architecture had been absorbed by disciplinary stories founded on centuries of exclusive traditions of civilization.

Although I will not recount the whole OPEN PLAN program, I will describe its legacy by inquiring about some of the late Institute’s internally circulating documents. The extraordinary receipt to

their *Evening Programs*, directed by Andrew McNair, led them to search for the consolidation of the evening events and their perceived transnational success in the U.S. and Europe.²⁹ As a result, the Institute received a grant from the National Endowment for the Humanities (NEH) for the amount of \$350,000 for the creation and operating of OPEN PLAN—following a proposal written by Vidler, Frampton, and Gandelonas,³⁰ during three years from 1977-1980³¹ setting the most intense and concurred series in its history.³² By the time the Institute was granted the endowment, they had hired Frederieke Taylor as the administrative manager in charge of coordinating events with moderators and series director Anthony Vidler. The series was organized in four sessions presented in thematic columns in the Massimo Vignelli designed poster:³³ Monday to *Architecture*, Tuesday to *The City*, Wednesday to *The Arts*, and Thursday to *Design*. OPEN PLAN’s general theme poster description read *Architecture in American Culture: A program of the Institute for Architecture and Urban Studies and the National Endowment for the Humanities*—a subtle declaration for the re-founding of architecture within American culture and as culture.³⁴

In 1977 the series themes directly addressed the question of meaning and language.³⁵ In 1979,³⁶ the topics touched upon themes of precedents’ studies, houses, and interiors.³⁷ In 1980, the series was devoted to certain American architects and



Figure 3. OPEN PLAN Conference Invitation Letter. CCA.

introduced questions about “social order” and politics in the American and European contexts as if it was inevitable to consider these issues.³⁸ Later, the director was Patrick L. Pinnell, a figure closer to Robert Stern who was linked to the search of tradition. The series was, following Joan Copjec, OPEN PLAN’s late coordinator, decidedly dynamic:

I remember being quite impressed by the amount of energy that surrounded these lectures. Every evening the lecture room of the Institute was filled with people who had paid money in tuition to enroll in the series, attended rigorously, and seemed enthusiastic about doing so. Even in my most cynical moments, I will admit to be impressed by the devotion of the audiences. I was very impressed by the fact that so many people and so many architects, particularly, who worked all day long in their offices—(you would have thought that by the end of the day they would have had enough of architecture and want simply to go home) would come to the Institute to listen to what other architects had to say and see the work they were doing. They also listened to the theorists, as if trying to find a language adequate to the practice.³⁹

This revealing (though personal) statement gives us an idea of the impact perceived by the series’ organizers and reveals the thirst, culture, and environment that the Institute impressed in education and practice. The role of the audience and the discourse promoted by panelists and so-called theorists were critical in defining the success of the Institute through its figures. Although the IAUS had a strong media apparatus to promote their work—a kind of self-peer-review system, it was not necessarily accessible to everyone. The cost of attendance to these series was organized as a tuition system. In 1977, for example, it cost \$60.00 for tuition and \$45.00 extra for the Seminars series. The value of \$105.00 in 1977 roughly equals \$740.00 today. The US household median income for 1977 was \$13,570 as per the US Census documents, with the clarification that with rising inflation, the income almost stayed the same as the past recent years.⁴⁰ The state of distress of NYC only adds uncertainty to this figure, and who could have spent \$105.00 in a few weeks to complement or further entertain their architectural knowledge desires.

With the end of the 1980’s OPEN PLAN session, the Institute proposed a symbolic “closure” of the NEH grant with an exit conference titled Populism and Elitism in American Architecture Today (Fig. 3). In a “working outline” document—significant to this paper,⁴¹ Pinnell asks P. Eisenman, P. Wolf, and C. Skodinski their comments regarding the exit conference with the concern that they needed to “bend over backwards” to deal with their elitist reputation.⁴² There was a ghost haunting the Institute, the ghost of elitism. Later, another internal document directed to Eisenman, Wolf, and Holstein, Pinnell presented his reflections on the discussion of an Open Plan’s successor program.⁴³ One of the Purposes presented for possible programs served to “Public awareness, professional education and continuing education.”⁴⁴

However, the main content of the document elaborated a Range of Possible Programs, highlighting the “significance” of their impact, and that “There are no monetary considerations,” making emphasis in the “intellectual and professional satisfaction” of the proposal:

Range of Possible Programs:

1. *Lecture programs directed towards a self-selected mixed audience, New York area.*
2. *Lecture programs directed towards a self-selected audience, outside the New York Area.*
3. *Seminars for various sorts of homogeneous group, New York and out of town.*
4. *Production of materials from and for Categories 1 to 3, and the packaging of various existing public-domain architectural materials.*
5. *Design of prototypical houses and apartments for a developer or a shelter-mag builder/client pattern book.*
6. *Genuine thin-tank project in architecture and urbanism, funded out of private and public self-interest.*⁴⁵

It is evident in points 1-3 that the growing population of New York became an audience concern and a significant client opportunity. The 4th was directly interested in capitalizing from publication material outside of costly copyright. The 5th was a direct suggestion to monetize updating developers and patterns’ books options. Lastly, the sixth point looked to suburbia and convenience-based public-private partnerships for design commissions. A market mindset had glossed all possible outcomes. I will briefly dwell on the second and fifth points.

In its extensive description, the second point appeals to a self-selected audience to gain control, one “more uniformly suitable to approach.” This point was both a concern for funding and a peculiar suggestion to benefit from the people that have risen to fame as a product of the Institute. The figure of the “star,” remarks Pinnell, “Into this category would fall the possibility, with high or low aspirations to quality and continuity, of simply acting as a star speakers bureau. Schools and local professional groups would reap the economies of buying a mass-produced package, name-brand architects would presumably see the benefits of a guaranteed tour, scheduled in a regular way, and the Institute would get the impresario’s [sic] rakeoff [sic].”⁴⁶ Finally, the fifth point reveals how the Institute had grown with the times, in this case, the rising neoliberal rationale of producing work. The late 1960s aspirations for a new educational institution invested in disciplinary knowledge seemed far removed from updating a developer’s pattern housing book.

However, were they far removed? Were the foundation principles not far removed, an origination, of how mainstream architectural discourse shaped itself and set the foundations for tightly knitted ventures with the oil-driven 1980s, the everything goes of the dot com bubble of the 1990s, the pro-war and “post-critical” participants of the post 9/11 NYC, and a consolidated star system well into the 21st century?

The silent commodification of subjects and the growing neoliberal mentality of the times were formally adopted in what began as an alternative academic and professional space—the focus shifted to save the institution, its edifice, its figures by overriding the discourse. The politics of the “star system” had taken over as discourse, and the initial Eurocentric intellectual ambitions had mutated from intellectual curiosity to market exchange value. The disciplinary knowledge of architecture and its institutions as edifice—the epistemology the IAUS embraced in its origin, was far removed from the life of buildings and the life of people, particularly those in vulnerable urban areas or, at *The Threshold of Democracy* as suggested by Rosalyn Deutsche in her account of NYC’s Bronx Borough in the 1970s.⁴⁷

LEGACIES

OPEN PLAN, perhaps a direct reference to Le Corbusier’s *free plan*, an architecture model supported by the modernist *tabula rasa*, proved to enlarge the architectural discourse, particularly in the North East Coast, and brought invaluable discussions about architecture and the city as an inseparable duo—something not entirely familiar in the American context.⁴⁸ Moreover, it did so at the margins of a city that embodied the challenges our field has not been able to engage with entirely even today. As seen by other race and ethnicity groups, a Eurocentric view was at the core of what needed to be reimagined for architectural education in the late 1960s when the Institute was founded. Sutton gives us some context based on the work of the Black Movement on university campuses, “Along with white, Hispanic, Native American, and Asian students, they disrupted nearly one thousand campuses in every state except Alaska, demanding relevant non-Eurocentric curriculum that would equip them with ‘the intellectual tools to fix a broken society.’”⁴⁹ In addition, the National Organization of Minority Architects (NOMA) was founded in 1971, reflecting the racial and ethnic inequalities embedded in the profession. Reading these accounts seems like reading today’s demands, or at least of those schools who have been challenged to counter the legacies of racial, ethnic, and social inequalities in architecture and are trying to react.⁵⁰ Nevertheless, the desire and interest to at least expand the Western epistemology of architectural education, precisely to address the legacies of inequalities today, were there all along since the 1960s.

One question remains, how much could the Institute have engaged in the challenging sixties that saw them emerge? The Institute figures moved on to secure teaching positions in major universities—primarily Ivy League elite institutions who were

instrumental in raising them and other schools through their member’s relocation.⁵¹ The intensity of the program offerings produced multiple audiences and an open discourse that is still lively, reproducing some of the same discussions and living out of their legacies. Others are trying to bridge the disciplinary with the real or connect—instead of removing it, architecture to “its economic and functional context.” Furthermore, in doing so, create the space for alternative epistemologies.

Nevertheless, OPEN PLAN and most of the Institute production helped create the myth, the people, and the place for an advanced, evolved star system. The Institute aimed to create a new form of pedagogy and practice, a place to captivate a curious audience and transform it into a new body—a new disciplinary body, much more than a critical body-politic in dialogue with its time and context. There were, towards the end, however, other initiatives that acknowledged the intricate relation between architecture and politics coming out of the Institute—even if a first step in situating the same body of knowledge under the pressure of critical inquiry.⁵² Stories suggest debates between disciplinary groups carefully staged to appeal to their preferred stylistic-disciplinary camp (i.e., modernist vs. traditional, whites vs. grays). These tropes signaled the insufficiency of modernist-Eurocentric training and the frustration in overcoming it. Nevertheless, the demands of the 1960s are enough evidence of the need for alternative knowledge for architecture and renewed models to emerge. One valuable legacy from the Institute is their committed oppositional debates about their disciplinary differences even when negating their politicization; we still need to produce new frameworks—institutional or not, to re-politicize and support the legacies aiming to create renewed and real epistemologies for architecture through oppositional, dissenting, and agonistic debates for New York city and beyond.

ENDNOTES

1. Sharon Egetta Sutton, *When Ivory Towers Were Black: A Story About Race in America’s Cities and Universities* (New York: Fordham University Press, 2017). For an additional account of the late 1960s and 1970s architecture scene see, Mary Mcleod, “The End of Innocence: From Political Activism to Postmodernism,” in Joan Ockman and Rebecca Williamson, *Architecture School: Three Centuries of Educating Architects in North America* (Washington/Cambridge: ACSA/MIT Press, 2012).
2. The Summer of 2020, while in the midst of a fatal global pandemic, people all over the US (and the world) took the streets to demand justice for the killing of Breonna Taylor and George Floyd—both African Americans, particularly in relation to police brutality. Once again, the discriminatory treatment of Black, Indigenous, and People of Color had resurfaced to the national public stage. Architecture and its racial and ethnic discriminatory legacies also resurfaced. Statements abounded. Certain architecture schools, institutions, and even architectural firms reacted and pledge to transform and take action. The timely publication of the book *Race and Modern Architecture: A Critical History From the Enlightenment to the Present* (July, 2020), edited by Irene Cheng, Charles Davis II, and Mabel O. Wilson, provided a strong framework to expand the debate. Student groups also demanded immediate action and held their institutions accountable. For reference see: Smithsonian, Aaron. “Whiteness in the Ivory Tower” *The Architect’s Newspaper*, June 17, 2020. Accessed September 30, 2021. <https://www.archpaper.com/2020/06/black-students-demand-action-on-institutionalized-racism-harvards-graduate-school-of-design/>; Pacheco, Antonio. “Black Columbia GSAPP faculty and students push school for comprehensive reforms” *Architect News*, June 30, 2020. Accessed September 30, 2021. <https://archinect.com/news/article/150204915/black-columbia-gsapp-faculty-and-students-push-school-for-comprehensive-reforms>; McGuigan, Cathleen. “Three Architects Discuss Whiteness and Racism in the Built Environment” *Architectural Record*, July 30, 2020. Accessed September 30, 2021. <https://www.architecturalrecord.com>.

- com/articles/14738-three-architects-discuss-whiteness-and-racism-in-the-built-environment..
3. For reference of politically engaged groups working in NYC at the same time of the Institute see, Nandini Bagchee, *Counter Institutions: Activists Estates of the Lower East Side* (New York: Fordham University Press, 2018). Countless artists were also engaged with the realities of the times who were associated later with Institutional Critique, among them were some exploring the tensions between architecture, the city and their political implications. See, for example: Martha Rosler's *House Beautiful: Bringing the War Home* (c. 1967–72) or Hans Haacke's *Shapolsky et al Manhattan Real Estate Holdings, A Real Time Social System as of May 1, 1971*. Martha Rosler continued later with *If You Lived Here* (1989), and more recently with *If You Can't Afford to Live Here Mo-o-ve!* (2017).
 4. Sutton, 2017, pp. 106-107.
 5. MoMA Press Release, December 11, 1967 on *The New City: Architecture and Urban Renewal* book launching. www.moma.org/learn/resources/press_archives
 6. Peter Eisenman as quoted in Lucia Allais, "The Real and the Theoretical, 1968" in *Perspecta* 42 (2010): 27-41. Eisenman in his role of designer engaged the African American civil rights organization the Urban League of New York, and in developing the project claimed that, as quoted by Allais, "The black American needs a myth, something to believe in, something which will give structure and meaning to his life. This cannot be a literal and oversimplified mythology such as the study and belief in African history,...[or] institutions such as schools and museums of black cultural artifacts ... It would seem that such a myth must come from the deeper, more encompassing structure of the black community and the black individual." It is thanks to the incisive account of Allais that we can understand the implications of such a contemporary unfamiliar Eisenman, she explains, "This is not the Eisenman to which architects have become accustomed: not the unrepentant formalist who disorients his subjects, not the dedicated postmodernist seeking a neo-purist whiteness, not the process-driven designer intent on conceptual density, and not the self-referential deconstructionist for whom cities are but collections of traces. Instead of an "evasive and complex, singular and contentious" project, we find a clearly stated analysis and an assertively proposed collaborative solution. To be sure, the argument is culturally insensitive and the discourse totalizing. "African history" is dismissed as a frivolous belief; "black cultural artifacts" are judged unsubstantial. The "black American" is purely the carrier of a degree-zero subjectivity that provides access to "deeper structure." Clearly, this is a blank slate epistemology, which connotes a tabula rasa urbanism."
 7. Ockman, Joan "Venice and New York", *Casabella* (January/February 1995): 59.
 8. Eisenman was named Director of the Institute of Architecture and Urban Studies during the first meeting of the founding members of the Board of Trustees, Gibson Danes, Arthur Drexler (MoMA), Peter Eisenman, John Entenza and Burnham Kelly (Cornell University) on October 9, 1967. He was nominated by Arthur Drexler and seconded by John Entenza. Consulted in CCA Archive [Lot 3 061] A 1-1. The various sources consulted at the CCA include images that are part of the paper's presentation not included in this few-images text version.
 9. Giuseppe Terragni was the famous Italian architect associated with Rationalism and who designed the Casa del Fascio in Como, Italy for Benito Mussolini's National Fascist Party in 1936.
 10. Eisenman was first exposed and introduced to Jacques Derrida work thanks to Bernard Tschumi who knew him from Paris. Learn from discussion of author with Bernard Tschumi while on the seminar "Architecture After 1968" at Columbia University in 2012. See also, Ockman, Joan "Venice and New York", *Casabella* (January/February 1995): 65.
 11. For a specific reading of Agrest and Gandelonas' contribution to the journal *Oppositions*, see Michael Hays, "The Oppositions of Autonomy and History" in *Oppositions Reader* (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 1998) page ix.
 12. Frank, 2011, page 25. Although the cited quote made an exception only for Frampton, Anthony Vidler, Mario Gandelonas and Diana Agrest had evident political stances which they tried to engaged in disciplinary terms.
 13. Ockman, Joan "Venice and New York", *Casabella* (January/February 1995): 57.
 14. The books were a critical questioning of the role of high modernist architecture. Rossi was familiar to the context of Milan and Venice and was part of the Italian neo-rationalist *Tendenza*. Through his critique he was devoted to look back to a traditional view of the European city as building-blocks and their apparent capacity to contain a "collective memory," particularly through its monuments. Rossi's book was later made available in English through a publication by the Institute, translated as *The Architecture of the City*. Venturi, on the other side, although many times invited to participate in the Institute's events, kept distanced and represented the resistance to the high-modernist architecture in search of a high-low American form to it.
 15. Tafuri was originally brought to the U.S. after an invitation by Diana Agrest for a lecture at Princeton University in 1974, and thus formally introduced to the constellation of the Institute.
 16. The New York Five was a group of media-savvy architects who published their work in 1972 in the book *Five Architects*, supported by MoMA. The architects were Peter Eisenman, Michael Graves, Charles Gwathmey, John Hedjuk, and Richard Meir. This group was also known as the "Whites" (modernists) who would stage in opposition to the "Grays" in the Five on Five response published in 1973 in *Architectural Forum*, led by Robert Stern including Romaldo Giurgola, Allan Greenberg, Charles Moore and Jaquelin T. Robertson.
 17. Ockman, Joan "Venice and New York", *Casabella* (January/February 1995): 57.
 18. Manfredo Tafuri was a critical figure to the Istituto Universitario di Architettura di Venezia (IUAV) and the projects and discourse that emerged around it.
 19. Kim Förster PhD Dissertation, unpublished, "The Institute for Architecture and Urban Studies, New York (1967-1985). A Cultural Project in the Field of Architecture" examines the Institute as a "cultural artifact." www.kimfoerster.com
 20. Joan Ockman and Avigail Sachs, "Modernism Takes Command," in Joan Ockman and Rebecca Williamson, *Architecture School: Three Centuries of Educating Architects in North America* (Washington/Cambridge: ACSA/MIT Press, 2012) p. 151.
 21. Between April 22-23, 1979 they hosted the ACSA (Association of Collegiate Schools of Architecture) Eastern Regional Meeting, see, Board of Trustees Minute document mentioned the hosting on the event. CCA Archive [Lot 3 061] A 1-1. Before that in 1976 they received the AIA Medal for having "inspired and influenced the architectural profession," see, Letter from The American Institute of Architects on December 23, 1975 confirming the telegram notification of the award. The Medal was delivered at the AIA national convention held in Philadelphia between May 2-5, 1976. CCA Archive 1 file (s) IAU5 1973-1974, 1971-1976 ARCH 153470.
 22. Ockman, who took part in the IAU5 editorial group in its latter half was a key figure in both advancing and questioning its discourse: "...*Oppositions*, along with the Institute itself, was greatly responsible for insinuating a largely unfamiliar body of theory and ideology into the architectural discussion on this side of the Atlantic, as well as for ushering in an unprecedentedly strong emphasis on theory itself; and the impact of this, especially in the schools, but also within an initially suspicious profession, was substantial." See: Ockman, Joan, "Resurrecting the Avant-Garde: The History and Program of *Oppositions*," in *Architectureproduction*, ed. Beatriz Colomina (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 1988), 192-193.
 23. See note 18.
 24. The Institute had secured publishing with the The MIT Press. See. "About October." *October* 1 (1976): 3-5. Accessed February 24, 2020. www.jstor.org/stable/778502.
 25. See Kim Förster, "Institutionalizing Postmodernism: Reconciling the Journal and the Exhibition at the Institute for Architecture and Urban Studies in 1976" in, Véronique Patteuw / Léa-Catherine Szacka eds. *Mediated Messages: Periodicals, Exhibitions, and the Shaping Postmodern Architecture*, (London: Bloomsbury, 2018): 213-229. In additional examples, the Leo Castelli gallery in New York was crucial in opening up the space for architectural drawings and objects into their exhibition space, in *Architecture I* in 1977, for example, where the work of Aldo Rossi and from the IAU5's circle was shown.
 26. For an assertive reflection of reading the work of the Institute as it relates to the relation between media, architecture and city, particularly through the lens of *Oppositions*, see, McLain Clutter, *Imaginary Apparatus: New York City and Its Mediated Representation*. (Zurich: Park Books, 2015), 186–92.
 27. Frank, Suzanne, *The Institute of Architecture and Urban Studies: An Insider's Memoir* (Bloomington: Author House, 2011), page 276.
 28. See note 11.
 29. During the mid 1970s the Institute hosted international architects from Europe that were invited to present or develop work as fellows, or simply contacted to participate, among them were the Spanish Rafael Moneo, or the Dutch Rem Koolhaas who develop his influential book, *Delirious New York: A Retroactive Manifesto for Manhattan* published in 1978 by The Monacelli Press.
 30. Frank, 2011, page 201.
 31. "The public aspect of the Institute's program was further enhanced in 1977 by the consolidation of the Evening Program into OPEN PLAN, and interrelated series of public lectures, courses and seminars on architecture, the city, the arts, and design, funded by the National Endowment for the Humanities". IAU5, The Nimrod, Press, 1979. Brochure (without page numbers) consulted in the CCA Archive, [Lot 1 0166] C 3-2 57-008 B50 5 04.
 32. Although some sources set the end of the Institute in 1984, I'm using for reference the accounts of Christian Hubert and Bob Silman stating the end in 1985, as presented in: Frank, 2011, pages 246 and 276 respectively.
 33. All posters were commissioned to the studio of Massimo Vignelli, another well established European. For the discussion of the role of Massimo Vignelli and the graphic design of the IAU5 see the *Places* journal article online "Massimo Vignelli: *Oppositions*, *Skyline* and the Institute," by Kim Förster. <http://places.designobserver.com/feature/massimo-vignelli-oppositions-skyline-and-the-institute/15508/>
 34. This was evidently a contested declaration considering that Philip Johnson had "proclaimed" in the Preface of the MoMA exhibition *Built in the USA: Postwar Architecture of 1952*, that they had finally achieved a path for an American architecture, appealing to a strong nationalist sentiment after the war. For more see: Philip Johnson, "Preface" in *Built in USA: Post-war Architecture*, eds. Henry Russel-Hitchcock and Arthur Drexler (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1952), 8.
 35. 1977 Program was: *Architecture: Style and Meaning in American Architecture*, *The City: Cities Within Cities*, *The Arts: The Modernist Vision*, and *Design: The Language of Design*.
 36. I have not found any document related to the existence of the 1978 edition of OPEN PLAN. There was no poster in the Archive and no reference that discuss it, although it most likely took place.
 37. Topics titles included: *The Uses and Abuses of Precedent*, *The Visual Arts: Critical Encounters*, *Interiors/Exteriors: House and Home*, *Architecture/Film/Ideology* and later included and Advanced Seminar titled *Reading Contemporary Architecture*. The Advanced Seminar was moderated by Mario Gandelonas

with the participation of Diana Agrest, Kenneth Frampton, Werner Oechslin, and Anthony Vidler. They discussed the work of Loos, Le Corbusier, Venturi, Eisenman and Rossi, to the light of language, semantic, structure, poetic and architecture as text among others. That year the discussion included a film series moderated by Kenneth Frampton, and brought the “architectural historicist postmodernism” discussion under the figure of Robert Stern who moderated the *precedents* series.

38. The topics were in Session I: *The Family: Sources of the Architectural Status Quo*, *Louis I. Kahn: Modernism and Tradition*, *America vs. Europe: Symbolic Exchanges and Transformations and Architecture and the Social Order: Style, Politics, and Regeneration*. The Session II discussed: *Vienna Today: A New Wave of Austrian Architecture*, *Frank Lloyd Wright: Tradition as Modernism*, *Shadowing: Modern and Post-Modern in the 1980's*, and *Architecture and the Ideology of Nature: Gardens as Ideal Form*.
39. Frank, 2011, page 228.
40. See *Money Income in 1977 of Households in the United States* in US Census Bureau, available at <https://www.census.gov/library/publications/1978/demo/p60-117.html>
41. Typed Working Outline document (prepared most likely by director Pinnell). The conference include *Today* at the end in the Working Outline, in other letters for participants the ending *Today* was omitted. CCA Archive ARCH 253039.
42. The notes suggested to include a figure such as Peter Blake because the “Conference is implicitly[sic] about the Institute’s own elitist reputation. Especially if we take pains to invite the various schools and groups who think of themselves as an out-crowd – the honchos from New Jersey Tech or New York School of Interior Design – the Conference would be both interesting for itself and readable as some kind of door-opening gesture to potential supporters who haven’t come here before.”
43. The document exists in both a manuscript and a typed version with a few differences, I am referring here to the typed document, dated 1.25.1980. CCA Archive ARCH 253039.
44. *Ibid.* List A number 1 of the document.
45. *Ibid.* List B.
46. *Ibid.* point 2, second page.
47. See, Rosalyn Deutsche “The Threshold of Democracy” in *Urban Mythologies: The Bronx Represented Since the 1960s*, (New York: The Bronx Museum of Arts, 1999).
48. “This program was the final step in institutionalizing a culture of debate in architectural and urbanistic circles in NewYorkCity.” Kim Foerster: “Alternative Educational Programs in Architecture: The Institute for Architecture and Urban Studies” in: Geiser, Reto [ed.]: *Explorations in Architecture: Teaching, Design, Research*, Basel: Birkhäuser, 2008, p. 26.
49. Sharon Egretta Sutton, *When Ivory Towers Were Black: A Story About Race in America’s Cities and Universities* (New York: Fordham University Press, 2017), 22.
50. See note 2.
51. Mcleod, Mary in Joan Ockman and Rebecca Williamson, *Architecture School: Three Centuries of Educating Architects in North America* (Washington/ Cambridge: ACSA/MIT Press, 2012) pp. 180-201.
52. The Young Architects Circle and its *Revisions* series were formed around the figures of Joan Ockman and Christian Hubert, and their aim was to “initiate a dialogue among talented architects thirty-five years and under and possibly generate some sense of collective consciousness within this group.” They met for conversations and as a result of that they produced two books edited by Ockman, *Architecture, Criticism, Ideology* and *Architectureproduction* (Beatriz Colomina being the invited editor for this second version). They operated thanks to the sponsorship of Walter Chatman. Extract from the proposal letter to the Institute. CCA Archive 1 file(s) D. Programs and Publications, 1981: 7. Young Architects Circle ARCH153535.