

Cheerful Chats: Alvin Boyarsky and the Art of Teaching of Critical Architecture

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Fig. 1: The International Institute of Design Summer Session, publicity postcard.

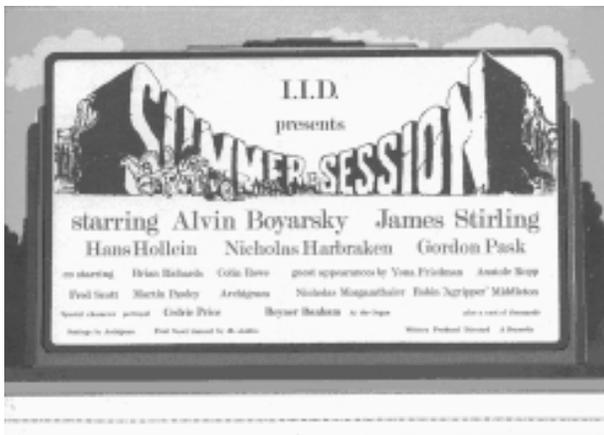


Fig. 2: The International Institute of Design Summer Session 1970, publicity postcard.



Fig. 3: The International Institute of Design Summer Session, publicity flyer for Peter Cook's "5 Cheerful Chats".



Fig. 4: The International Institute of Design Summer Session 1970, publicity stamps.



Fig. 5: The International Institute of Design Summer Session 1972 letterhead.



Introduction

All social life is essentially practical. All mysteries which lead theory to mystics, find their rational solution in human practice and in the comprehension of this practice.... The philosophers have only interpreted the world, in various ways; the point is *to change it*.

Karl Marx, 1845, *Theses on Feurbach*: II, VII, XI;

The history of architecture is in many ways inseparable from the history of architectural education, its curricular developments and ideological perspectives. Modern architecture in particular offers a unique legacy of architectural education—one that is still implemented and debated today. This paper will examine the teaching of critical architecture in the work of Alvin Boyarsky, chairperson of the Architectural Association School of Architecture (1971-1990) and one of the most influential design educators of the last century. The notion of

criticality is introduced as a synonym for change, a comprehensive revision of inherited educational, professional, and ultimately social orders. I will argue here that critical architectural practice often begins in education, using Boyarsky's curricular interventions as the main historical precedent.

TEACHING MODERN ARCHITECTURE: EDUCATION AND PROFESSIONALIZATION

The rise of architectural education is inseparable from the rise of professions in the nineteenth century. The nineteenth century saw the separation of professions, and analogously, the separation of academic disciplines into distinct bodies of knowledge. In the professional fields of the built environment, this meant the formation of architects, landscape architects, and planners as distinct professionals with separate professional, economical, and social mandates. Unlike the apprenticeship model of the pre-industrial world, the process of professionalization was enabled by the founding of institutions of higher learning that prepared graduates for the entry into profession. Hannes Siegrist writes:

First, the term (professionalization) frequently refers to processes by which an occupation acquires the character of an academic profession evidenced in the fact that relevant expertise as a prerequisite to admittance to a given professional field could only be obtained in higher institutes of learning, professional practice being limited to those who successfully complete entrance examination and obtain the respective title.¹

It is from this time that professions and education form a tentative alliance, framed by the context of the capitalist nation state. This triad was materialized in the US with the founding of the first architectural programs, such as those at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology in 1865² and at the University of Illinois in 1867. Founded in 1847 in London by Robert Kerr and Charles Grey, the Architectural Association became the oldest school of architecture in the United Kingdom.³ These transatlantic analogies speak about the similarities of economical and social developments the US and UK, but they also foresee the increased traffic of ideas and people between the two countries and continents. The processes of establishing institutions of higher learning for architects was complemented by the founding of professional institutions,

such as the American Institute of Architects (AIA) in 1857, the National Council of Architectural Registration Boards (NCARB) in 1919 in the US, and the Royal Institute of British Architects (RIBA) in 1837, and the Architect's Registration Board (ARB) in 1997 in the UK. It was through these organizations that the relationship between architectural education and practice has been negotiated throughout the development of the modern movement. Furthermore, this relationship has been complicated by the issues of criticality, a constant desire to change each other in the increasingly dominating context of the nation state.

The first attempt to negotiate the position of architecture within the socio-political context of the nation state was the act of its professionalization, "chiefly as a process of separation and exclusion whereby a profession monopolizes occupational opportunities and functions in order to acquire or secure an exalted social and economic status."⁴ The second attempt relates to another aspect of architectural education, defined by its balance between sciences and arts or liberal arts and technology. These relationships are not autonomously created within the curriculum itself. Rather, they often reflect societal needs and architects' desires to respond to them. Architectural education responded to these needs in the nineteenth century by providing a separate course of study for architects, one that solidified the historical processes of industrial production, the division of labor, market economy, and political and social power. But it is precisely the modern phenomena of space production that led both academia and practice to its major challenge—one that would define their criticalities in the twentieth century—the issue of social responsibility. The architectural avant-gardes—both in academia and practice—attempted to incorporate social awareness by expanding the idea of practice and incorporating into it a variety of artistic practices. This culminated in the artistically based concept of the Bauhaus. The artists and architects shared their visual vocabulary and sites of resistance, such as museums, academe and publications. I will argue here that the issue of social change separated architectural critical practice from other professional and educational architectural endeavors, leading to the crisis of modern curricula and an ultimate clash between professionalization and liberal architectural education. The work of Alvin Boyarsky as an educator resisted the forces

of professionalization by emphasizing artistic excellence and social awareness and creating a series of events and publications that celebrated the work of artists and architects.

BOYARSKY YEARS: EDUCATION VS. PROFESSIONALIZATION

Born in Montreal in 1928, Alvin Boyarsky grew up in the predominantly French Canadian and Scottish Presbyterian context of Quebec. He enrolled in the School of Architecture at McGill University in 1946, as just one of five students not wearing uniform. All other students came straight from the Second World War, funded through the GI bill of rights. This path is somewhat similar to the path of figureheads of modern architecture, such as Walter Gropius—a war casualty himself—who came to Bauhaus straight from the First World War. It is in this context of war—its casualties and the aftermath—that Boyarsky established first contact with modern ideals.⁵ He would fly to New York for the weekend, visit the Museum of Modern Art during the day, and read Giedion's *Space, Time, and Architecture* at night. His education coincided with the settlement of European modernists in American academe—Ludwig Mies van der Rohe and Laszlo Moholy-Nagy in Chicago, and Walter Gropius and Marcel Breuer in Cambridge. Overcrowded with GI's, the McGill University campus was extended into an army-like suburban development of temporary barracks and dormitories. It was in this context of need for spatial and social rebuilding that Boyarsky developed as an architect. The work of Le Corbusier made the greatest impact:

Aside from being a very powerful plastic artist in his own right, Corb had that uncanny ability to produce words, drawings and buildings which incorporated both the polemic of the time and shall we say the culture and the history of architecture itself. And he was able to use painterly techniques which made his drawings and his buildings speak in many dimensions simultaneously. So for me the Corb arrangement was a suitable framework to enter the world of architecture. The proposition that architecture was in fact an artistic venture which allowed one to speak coherently on many fronts simultaneously. It involved a certain envelope for one's idealism because Corb architecture presupposed some kind of unified rebuilding of the world. It tended to unite painters and writers, it tended to unite arts.⁶

It is through this narrative of Le Corbusier's work that Boyarsky's agenda for the art of teaching emerges, an agenda for artistic excellence and design endeavors that transcend drawing, writing, and social idealism.

After graduation from McGill, Boyarsky went on a European grand tour, ending up working in an architectural office in London. He also became increasingly interested in city planning, and returned to Montreal, where he worked on large-scale urban plans. His growing interest in cities led Boyarsky to enter graduate studies in the Department of City and Regional Planning at Cornell University in 1957. He did his thesis on Camillo Sitte's art of building cities, paying his way through Cornell's graduate school by working as a teaching assistant—his first encounter with the practice of teaching. Most importantly, at Cornell, he found himself in the orbit of Colin Rowe. Rowe had settled in Ithaca after his exodus from the South, where he had formed part of the Texas Rangers. He supervised Boyarsky's thesis on Camillo Sitte, influencing his sensibility for urban design issues and historical development of urban infrastructure. The special relationship between Rowe and Boyarsky was to last for the rest of Boyarsky's life. It was built upon Rowe's tradition of socializing with his protégés, and personally educating his students through conversations and travels abroad. After graduating from Cornell University, Boyarsky accepted an assistant professor position at the University of Oregon at Eugene in 1959, which according to Rowe, "must have been the crucial stage of his early career."⁷ In Eugene, Boyarsky crossed paths with another Texas Ranger, Lee Hodgden. Rowe and Hodgden had known each other from Texas, which was the connection that landed the job for Boyarsky.

It is through Rowe and Hodgden that Boyarsky learned about the work of Texas Rangers—John Hejduk, Lee Hodgden, Bernhard Hoesli, Colin Rowe, John Shaw, Robert Slutzky, and Werner Seligmann—all of whom worked under the direction of Harwell Hamilton Harris at the University of Texas at Austin between 1951 and 1956. This intersection made a profound and life-long impact on Boyarsky. The teaching of Texas Rangers at the University of Texas constituted the first major institutional attempt of revising the Bauhaus design curriculum, thus challenging the dominant design

pedagogies of the time.⁸ However, their activities so challenged senior faculty, that all the Texas Rangers were ultimately forced to leave Austin.

The work of Texas Rangers is ambiguously related to the Bauhaus legacy. On the one hand it accepted the Bauhaus tradition of connecting architectural studio to other artistic disciplines. This was particularly obvious in the foundations level curriculum which relied heavily on drawing, extending the modernist belief that the first year students should be trained by artists, not architects, in order to erase historical assumptions about architectural form (creating an educational and personal *tabula rasa*). On the other hand, unlike the Bauhaus model, which relied on ahistorical artistic principles based on talent, originality and purism of form, and instead following the Beaux Arts educational tradition, the Texas Rangers' educational model introduced rigorous training in representation and historical precedent, based on producing labor-intensive models and drawings. The Texas Rangers returned to the study of history, mostly through the study of precedents, or case studies of significant buildings ranging from Queen Hatshepsut's tomb to Mies van der Rohe's Barcelona Pavilion. This return to the Beaux-Art tradition was also specific to the University of Texas campus, embodied in the 1935 campus plan and architecture by Paul Cret and the tradition of a classically inspired architecture curriculum. The reemergence of precedent and representation can be read as the first sign of post-modern architectural attitudes in the making. This tradition would later excel at places like Cooper Union under John Hejduk, or Cranbrook Academy under Daniel Libeskind, resulting in the production of beautifully crafted—fetishized even—drawings and models. The design program of the University of Texas School of Architecture for 1956-1957 states that the main design studio skills involved:

...three essential and interrelated abilities, namely: the ability to evolve an idea, the ability to develop the idea in architectural terms, and the ability to present that idea in drawings and models.⁹

The return of artistic qualities, especially those associated with labor-intensive production rather than pure talent, became one of the main legacies

that Texas Rangers took into their diaspora. The diaspora included Lee Hodgden, who came to the University of Oregon one year before Boyarsky's arrival. It is the network and intellectual discourse of the Rangers that landed the first full time teaching job for Boyarsky and that led to the creation of his own intellectual network.

Boyarsky's tenure at the University of Oregon was short. He spent three years there (1959-1962), and the next three years at the Architectural Association (1962-1965), his first tenure at the institution he would soon dramatically change. He also taught at the Bartlett School of Architecture, where he shared an office with Reyner Banham, one of the most influential architectural critics of the time. The contact with Banham further radicalized Boyarsky's attitude towards architectural history. Although he came from the Renaissance and Le Corbusian tradition of Rowe—his thesis on Camillo Sitte led to the development of courses on Brunelleschi and Le Corbusier which he taught at the AA in 1964—Boyarsky's focus increasingly switched from the history of architecture to the history of cities and industries. If Boyarsky's sensibility for artistic excellence came from Le Corbusier's paintings and drawings, his interest in industrial imagery and issues of labor and politics came from the strong lineage of European modernists who, using examples of grain elevators, ocean liners, airplanes and the like, appropriated such imagery for ideological and aesthetic purposes to advocate modern architecture.

Reyner Banham revisited this agenda in *A Concrete Atlantis* in 1986, re-affirming once again the modernist belief in science and technology. He argued that the question of leaking flat roofs, for example, was an aesthetic and cultural question, not a technological one. He questioned European statistics on leaking flat roofs and praised American industrial buildings with flat roofs that did not leak even eighty or more years after their construction.¹⁰ He used the photographs of such industrial buildings to illustrate his point, justifying the use of same strategies by early European modernists:

the power of photographs comes from the fact that, like the works of engineering they represented, they were understood to be

the product of the scientific application of natural laws. ... The photographs represented a truth as apparently objective and modern as that of the functional structures they portrayed.¹¹

Boyarsky's intersection with Banham at the Bartlett School of Architecture might have been brief, but the impact of revived interest in industrial imagery and its connection to the origins of modern movement would remain throughout his life. He began collecting vintage postcards with industrial themes and structured his studios around the problems of the industrial city. The two of them intersected at a point in time when modern movement in architecture was beginning to be questioned, ironically also a time when Charles Jencks was at the Bartlett. Boyarsky would take Banham's torch as defender of modern architecture against the tides of soon-to-arrive Jencksian post-modernism, an idea still alive in the work of his students and protégés, such as Zaha Hadid and Rem Koolhaas.

In 1965 a job offer came to Boyarsky from the newly established University of Illinois at Chicago Circle (today University of Illinois at Chicago, UIC). His position at the Architectural Association had become increasingly complicated, resulting in his involuntary departure from the AA that year. Advice from Colin Rowe¹², led him to accept the position of associate dean at the College of Architecture and the Arts at UIC.

Boyarsky's arrival in Chicago in 1965, and his tenure at UIC until 1971, represents the culmination of his American career. In Chicago, he defined himself as a critic and educator, testing his ideas for the new art of teaching within the model of the International Institute of Design, a series of international summer workshops which he ran between 1970 and 1972. His teaching agenda in Chicago was complex, one that integrated the artistic principles of Le Corbusier's legacy, the scientific foundations of the modern movement, and the social consciousness of early modernism. All three aspects were fully implemented in IID Summer Sessions. He would later implement these ideas at the AA, transforming it into one of the most influential institutions in the world. When asked in 1974 "What a school of architecture should be," he replied

that “I’ve tried to breathe my own spirit and the style of IID into the place (AA)”¹³.

THE INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTE OF DESIGN

The formation of IID had its roots in Boyarsky’s dismay over the state of architectural education of the 1960s. Boyarsky was also very disappointed by the aftermath of the upheavals of 1968, especially the lack of dialogue and absence of architecture from political discourse. In 1968, he was invited by Oswald Matthias Ungers to lecture in Berlin; the students protested and called Ungers a traitor because he invited an American speaker.¹⁴ Boyarsky found the European scene very parochial, with architects being educated to practice only within the boundaries of their own countries. The new age of the jet travel offered an opportunity for people to travel globally and affordably, and Boyarsky felt that such technological opportunity must be seized by educators. The affordable use of telecommunication media enabled Boyarsky to “be having a breakfast in Chicago and be able to call Moscow to arrange for something to happen.”¹⁵ And so it was arranged. Conceived in Chicago during the school year, IID Summer Sessions would take place in London during the summer break. They were the model made possible by new technologies, one that brought students and tutors from all over the world to a global city to work on a set of burning urban issues and compare experiences from all over the world. Boyarsky observed:

I had this idea of operating in a comparative way and of providing an alternative to the available education. And so I tried to marry these two ideas into an International School which brought together people from diverse situations to provide—I used to use slogans, I became a slogan-monger—to provide a forum for people from all over the world, a platform for people who never had a chance to use a platform and had something to say, to provide a workshop for people to actually prototype ways of doing things, and provide a market place where people could actually shop around and find things and do things which were of interest to them.¹⁶

The themes of IID were derived from issues Boyarsky identified with the crisis of the modern metropolis. In Chicago, Boyarsky found himself amidst social and political tensions, where post-war housing projects had created “a city where

40% of the people live in 15% of the city.”¹⁷ Concerned about the future of the projects, which moved people around the city without their participation in the decision, he turned his architectural voice to such underrepresented groups. He observed that

One found oneself working with the neighborhood groups on abandoned sites, to produce a little bit of housing overflow to take up the slack of what people required and eventually getting involved in the miserable education problem.¹⁸

Although founded on the modernist social agendas of social and technological progress, the IID Summer Sessions also aimed to revise the modernist project of architectural education. They offered studio choices to students, a model that would lead Boyarsky to introduce a unit system at the Architectural Association in the UK. The studios worked at the scale of the city, but did not aim to design large scale mass produced projects. Rather, they dealt with technology and market forces on a smaller scale, resulting in custom designed projects suitable for user’s needs based on a more pluralist definition of need. The IID also embodied the cheerful, experimental, and anti-establishment spirit of the sixties, and the visionary messages of architects and artists such as *Archigram* or *Superstudio*.

The first IID Summer Session took place at the Bartlett School of Architecture in 1971. The second session moved to the Architectural Association in 1972, while the third, and final Summer Session, was held at the Institute of Contemporary Art of Pall Mall (ICA) in 1972.¹⁹ The first summer session in 1971 brought together an impressive number of moderators, merging Boyarsky’s connections in the US and UK. Among them were James Stirling and Robert Maxwell, as well as Colin Rowe and the *Archigram* group. The core of the session was “(Peter) Cook’s tour of London” and three workshops: one on Stirling housing projects, run by Boyarsky himself; another one run by Cedric Price that dealt with the impact of information technology and cybernetics on architecture; and the third workshop, run by Peter Cook, that centered around the production of *Archigram*’s *Blimp* in the studio premises. According to Graham Shane, a fourth and unplanned

workshop by Colin Rowe was introduced, dealing with the urban fabric of the city of London. The workshops were interwoven with a series of lectures and seminars, providing students with multiple viewpoints. Unlike the rigid modernist educational model, the IID provided an open forum for debates. This multiplicity of ideas can be seen as a post-modern phenomenon, but it is also important to note that the actual projects did not fall into the historicism that eventually came to characterize architectural postmodernism. Rather, the studios carefully combined the post-modern tendencies of Colin Rowe with the new technologies and pop art embodied in the work of Archigram. The bedrock of all the studio sessions was Boyarsky's lecture on Chicago, entitled *Animal City* or *Tartan City*, in which he constructed the city's urban history through popular picture postcards. Similar to early modernists, most of the slides created from the postcards focused on the industrial sights and contemporary sites of social unrest.

Boyarsky's interest in cities owes something to the Cornell tradition of urban design, and more to Banham's influence, but owes yet more to the political climate of the 1960s. It was in Chicago where Boyarsky blended Rowe's legacy of the artistic design of cities with the complexities of contemporary social and economical developments. He was sensitive to both aspects of the debate, combining presentations by Rowe, with presentations by Bernard Tschumi about the role of urban spaces in the triggering of the events of 1968. At the Summer Session in 1972, Tschumi's student Rem Koolhaas presented the London Wall scheme, his thesis project from the AA.

Boyarsky also unleashed architectural publications as a fundamentally important cultural site for the construction of critical architecture. The *Manhattan Workshop Briefing Document* prepared by Archigram for the IID Summer Session 1972 provided a documentary of the city, especially its predicaments in the production and use of urban space. With its montage of maps, images, and newspaper clippings, this overview of Manhattan in many ways anticipated the work of Bernard Tschumi in *Manhattan Transcripts* and Rem Koolhaas in *Delirious New York*. The official IID letterhead paid tribute to the legacy of science: it featured a soaring image of a jet liner. IID post-

cards, used to advertise the event and recruit students, represented a more delicate montage of faces, words and urban images. Represented on the postcards were Boyarsky, Peter Cook and other members of Archigram, Queen Elizabeth II, double-deckers, and images of London, Chicago, New York and other cities. With a typically British sense of humor, these images rebelliously questioned the power of authority. Boyarsky even produced stamps with his portrait, and portrait of others involved in the IID: James Stirling, Hans Hollein, Colin Rowe, Robin Middleton, Cedric Price, and Reyner Banham, just to name a few. It is through these montage strategies that Boyarsky acted as an ironic critic of architectural establishment, an elite community of privileged individuals enclosed in the club-like settings of their associations. The IID lectures undermined the authority of the "old boys" club through their outspoken vocabulary and daring use of popular culture. A pink flyer of IID 1972 invites attendees to "5 Cheerful Chats" by Peter Cook, with the first ironically titled "Chat One: England – Nothing Much Happens." It is through this sense of humor and satire that IID questioned the autonomy of late modernism which had rejected its social ideals and focused on corporate practices. Boyarsky and the IID tried to re-gain the ability to talk about the city and architecture in a manner that is accessible (and interesting) to multiple audiences.

CONCLUSION

The opening statement in this essay calls for practical experience that *changes* current conditions. The work of Alvin Boyarsky aimed at architectural change on several levels. First, through the creation of the IID, he took the education of architects outside traditional institutions. The IID was a personal endeavor, with Boyarsky as the master of ceremonies and his family as a support staff. It connected architects in an informal manner, providing the platform for dialogue not constrained by the institutional predicaments of academia or corporate practice. Second, when he took this model to the Architectural Association, it changed the nature of architectural education at the institution Boyarsky also kept independently run and financed throughout his career. His struggle to keep this school active, vibrant, and independent, is witnessed through his dialogue with and eventual dismissal of the technocratic desires of Margaret Thatcher, Education Minister in the 1970s. He

worked both within and outside the system to keep the School alive and independent of a nation-wide imposition of quasi-modernist technological norms on architecture curricula. He also resisted privileging forms of professionalization, i.e. the education of architects based on market needs only. He did not deny the power of market economy—the work of his protégés like Rem Koolhaas is probably the best examples of that—but he nevertheless raised consciousness at the Architectural Association about the social issues and economic inequalities facing architecture in the seventies and eighties.

Finally, his art of the socially engaged architecture embodied two often opposing poles of the architectural profession—artistic sensibility and scientific potential. The artistic principles were best exemplified by the quality of visual work produced under his instruction and the use of collage and montage strategies in posters, flyers, and postcards that advertised the events that he organized at UIC, AA, and elsewhere. The scientific principles were represented through the exploration of modern technologies and their impact on everyday life, certainly their impact on the history of cities. But it is the social themes that remain ever present in Boyarsky's own work and in the themes of his design studio projects.

Boyarsky mobilized architects and artists through the organization of exhibition and lectures, such as the early exhibition of Mary Miss' work at the AA. He loved Le Corbusier for his ability to bring painters and architects together. The IID and his educational reforms at the AA provided sites for the avant-garde of the 1980s to exchange their ideas and excel in their debates, enabling the making of critical architecture through publications, postcards and newspaper clippings. The work of Rem Koolhaas, Zaha Hadid, and Bernard Tschumi speculated about architecture through labor-intensive drawings, paintings and texts, reproduced and globally circulated through the prolific publicity machine of AA Publications, instituted by Boyarsky. This was yet another expression of critical architecture born in academia, and only the first step. In later years, the critical debate and ensuing published projects led to an immense number of commissions and completed building by AA graduates whose reputations had first been made through debate and print. Boyarsky's umbrella of theoretic

cal debates anticipated its conversion from the readers of theoretical texts to producers of buildings, making "the reader no longer a consumer, but a producer of the text."²⁰

NOTES

¹ Hannes Siegreß, "Professionalization as a Process: Patterns, Progression, and Discontinuity" in M. Burrage and R. Torstendahl (eds.), *Professions in Theory and History: Rethinking the Study of the Professions* (London: SAGE Publications, 1990), p.177

² Founded in 1861 by William Barton Rogers, the official opening of MIT was delayed by the Civil War and the Institute admitted its first class of students in 1865. (Source: <http://encyclopedia.thefreedictionary.com/MIT>, accessed October 10, 2004)

³ It is worth noting that Kerr was only nineteen years old and Grey twenty four when they founded the Architectural Association (AA). Envisioned as a student-run forum for architectural debates, the early AA saw lectures from John Ruskin and Lutyens, among others. In 1890, three years after the Royal Institute of British Architects (RIBA) introduced the obligatory professional examination, the AA School of Architecture was formally founded. (Source: Architectural Association History, <http://www.aaschool.ac.uk/history.shtm>, accessed October 10, 2004)

⁴ Hannes Siegreß, *ibid.*

"Professionalization as a Process: Patterns, Progression, and Discontinuity" in M. Burrage and R. Torstendahl (eds.), *Professions in Theory and History: Rethinking the Study of the Professions* (London: SAGE Publications, 1990), p.177

⁵ Biographical data on Alvin Boyarsky is taken from a taped conversation with Bill Mount in 1980. Mount was a student at AA at that time. Transcript courtesy of the Alvin Boyarsky Memorial Trust, London, UK.

⁶ From Alvin Boyarsky's taped conversation with Bill Mount in 1980. Transcript courtesy of the Alvin Boyarsky Memorial Trust, London, UK.

⁷ Colin Rowe, "Alvin Boyarsky: A Memory," in Alexander Caragone (ed.), *As I Was Saying: Recollections and Miscellaneous Essays (Colin Rowe), Volume III: Urbanistics* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1996), p. 337

⁸ Most of the historical data about the Texas Rangers is from Alexander Caragone, *The Texas Rangers: Notes from an Architectural Underground* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1995).

⁹ Alexander Caragone, *The Texas Rangers: Notes from an Architectural Underground* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1995) p. XVIII.

¹⁰ Reyner Banham, *A Concrete Atlantis: U.S. Industrial Building and European Modern Architecture 1900-1925* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1989), p. 17

¹¹ Reyner Banham, *A Concrete Atlantis: U.S. Industrial Building and European Modern Architecture 1900-1925* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1989), p. 18

¹² Colin Rowe mentions that it is based on his advice that Alvin Boyarsky accepted the position at the University of Illinois at Chicago Circle in Colin Rowe, "Alvin Boyarsky: A Memory," in Alexander Caragone (ed.), *As I Was Saying: Recollections and Miscellaneous Essays (Colin Rowe), Volume III: Urbanistics* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1996), p. 339

¹³ From the taped conversation between Alvin Boyarsky and Bill Mount in 1980. Transcript courtesy of the Alvin Boyarsky Memorial Trust, London, UK.

¹⁴ From the taped conversation between Alvin Boyarsky and Bill Mount in 1980. Transcript courtesy of the Alvin Boyarsky Memorial Trust, London, UK.

¹⁵ From the taped conversation between Alvin Boyarsky and Bill Mount in 1980. Transcript courtesy of the Alvin Boyarsky Memorial Trust, London, UK.

¹⁶ From the taped conversation between Alvin Boyarsky and Bill Mount in 1980. Transcript courtesy of the Alvin Boyarsky Memorial Trust, London, UK.

¹⁷ From the taped conversation between Alvin Boyarsky and Bill Mount in 1980. Transcript courtesy of the Alvin Boyarsky Memorial Trust, London, UK.

¹⁸ From the taped conversation between Alvin Boyarsky and Bill Mount in 1980. Transcript courtesy of the Alvin Boyarsky Memorial Trust, London, UK.

¹⁹ Most of the data about the IID Summer Sessions is taken from an unpublished material by Graham Shane, entitled *The IID Summer Sessions 1970-1972*.

²⁰ Roland Barthes, *S/Z*, tr. Richard Miller (London: Cape, 1975), p.4 from Belsey Catherine, *Critical Practice* (London: Routledge, 2001), p. 126.