Between Urban Renewal and *Nuova Dimensione*: The 68 Effects *vis-à-vis* the Real

Marianna Charitonidou

PhD Candidate University of Paris Nanterre and National Technical University of Athens
Visiting Scholar École française de Rome and Columbia University in New York
charitonidou@aaschool.ac.uk

Marianna Charitonidou is an architect and a historian and theorist of architecture. Her PhD dissertation 'The Relationship between Interpretation and Elaboration of Architectural Form: Investigating the Mutations of Architecture's Scope' (advisors: George Parmenidis (NTUA), Jean-Louis Cohen (NYU) and Panayotis Tournikiotis (NTUA), June 2018) is on the mutations of the modes of representation in contemporary architecture, focusing on the work of Le Corbusier, Mies van der Rohe, the Team 10, Peter Eisenman, John Hejduk, Aldo Rossi, Oswald Mathias Ungers, Bernard Tschumi and Rem Koolhaas. She was a visiting scholar at Columbia University's and the École française de Rome and resident at the Canadian Centre for Architecture. She holds an MSc degree in Sustainable Environmental Design from the Architectural Association, a post-Master's degree in History and Theory of Architecture from the National Technical University of Athens and Master's degrees from the School of Architecture of Aristotle University and École Nationale Supérieure d'Architecture de Paris. She has presented her research at many international conferences and has published several articles.

ABSTRACT

This article examines the effects of 1968 student protests on architectural education and epistemology within the European and American contexts. Juxtaposing the transformations within the north-American and Italian contexts, it shows how the concepts of urban renewal, in the U.S., and 'nuova dimensione', in Italy, were progressively abandoned. It presents the mutations of the architects' role and the curriculum of the schools of architecture, taking into consideration significant episodes as the Civil Rights Act of 1968 and the Vietnam War protests. The six weeks student protests at Columbia University were related to the intention to respond to the fulfilment of needs related to the welfare of the society as a whole and the responsibility to provide equal housing opportunities and equal access to public amenities regardless of race, religion, or national origin. The strategies elaborated to criticize urban renewal in the U.S. often pushed architectural discourse away from the real, either neutralizing the real or reducing the real city to its image. In Italy, a network of events around 1968, extending from the fight between the police and the students outside the School of Architecture at Valle Giulia in Rome to the students' occupation of the 15th Triennale di Milano in 1968 and "Utopia e/o Rivoluzione" at the Politecnico di Torino in 1969, triggered the rejection of the 'nuova dimensione', the rediscovery of reality's immediacy and of the civic dimension of architects' task. The 1968 effects on architectural education and epistemology in Europe, and especially in Italy, were linked to the reinforcement of the relation of architecture to the real, in contrast with the North-American context, where they stimulated the invention of design strategies related to the so-called "autonomy" of architecture and the primacy of the observer of architectural drawings over the inhabitants of real spaces.

Instead of referring to the events of 68 as moments, we should refer to them as trajectories. More intriguing and correct is to reveal the processes of transformation that the student protests triggered all around the world and the contradictions and ambiguities of the demands behind the events, than interpreting them as the result of a homogenized retrospective vision. My objective here is to scrutinize the mutations of pedagogical strategies and epistemological tools of architecture that were shaped because of the reformations of 1968 on an international scale. Despite the fact that the student protests in Paris and the reformations of French pedagogy are more highlighted than those elsewhere, it is a fact that student protests elsewhere, as in Italy and the United States, were also important factors for the reinvention of pedagogy and epistemology of architecture internationally. There were also protests elsewhere apart from France, the United States and Italy, as in Portugal, in Germany, in Mexico, but here, I focus mainly on the American and Italian context and their interferences and contradictions. My purpose it to reveal the differences and affinities between the ways pedagogical transformations appropriated the ideologies expressed through the student protests within these different national and institutional contexts.

The main hypothesis that is examined here is that the effects of 1968 on architectural pedagogy and epistemology in Europe, and especially in Italy, are inextricably linked to the demand to reinvent and reinforce the relation of architecture to the real, while, in the United States, the effects of 1968 on architectural pedagogy and epistemology are associated with the invention of strategies that reinforced the liberation of architecture from the real. In the American context, many activists were very much concerned with the "real", but in a different "real" than what the Italians were considering. My intention is to shed light on the differences of the way the "real" was treated in the American and the Italian context, on the one hand, and on the impact that the student protests in both context had on the models of urban evolution and the discourse regarding the "nuova dimensione", in Italy, and the urban renewal, in the U.S., on the other hand. I examine the role the protests of 1968 played for the reorientations concerning the above-mentioned questions. My purpose it to demonstrate the complexity of the transformations that were taking place around 1968 in both contexts and to take into consideration, apart from the student protests, other episodes as The Civil Rights Act of 1968, which is a landmark part of legislation in the United States that provided for equal housing opportunities regardless of race, religion, or national origin, played an important role for the subsequent transformations not only of the architects' task but also for the curriculum of the schools of architecture.

Another significant event for the profession was the keynote of Whitney M. Young Jr., National Urban League executive director and black activist, at the convention of the American Institute of Architects in 1968, criticizing

architects for not failing to support civil rights. According to Joseph A. Fry "the Vietnam War had provoked the most massive protests in American History".[1] In order to grasp the amplitude of Vietnam War protests, one can recall "the 5000,000-person demonstration in mid-November"[2] and the fact that, in April 1969, "253 student body presidents and student newspaper editors sent a "Declaration of Conscience" to President Nixon". [3]

In order to examine this contrast of the impact that had the 1968 events on the Italian and the American architectural academic milieus, I will analyze how the understanding of two protagonist concepts in these two contexts, that is to say in Italy and the United States, at the time was reshaped because of the infusion of architectural discourse with the social demands, put forward because of the 1968 student protests. These two concepts are: the concept of the "nuova dimensione" for Italy and the concept of the "urban renewal" for the United States. My aim is also to show how the critique of the concepts of the "urban renewal", in the United States, and the "nuova dimensione", in Italy, is related to the mutation of the epistemological status of architecture and, especially, to the transformations of architectural pedagogy in order to respond to the demand for incorporation of social concerns. These metamorphoses of the epistemology of architecture concern, to a large extent, the strategies of analyzing the city and its relation to architecture.

Even if Jane Jacob's *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*[4], which criticized sharply urban renewal, and Peter Blake's *God's Own Junkyard*[5], which associated post-war suburbanization to the uglification of American landscape and the decline of the sense of place, had been published in 1961 and 1964 respectively, the mid-sixties architectural discourse and practice in the United States was still dominated by the concept of urban renewal, despite the critiques that were being progressively intensified. An event reflecting that the interest in urban renewal was still dominant within the north-American context was the exhibition "The New City: Architecture and Urban Renewal"[6], held at the Museum of Modern Art in New York from January 24 through March 13, 1967 [Fig. 1]. The title that Ada Louise Huxtable had chosen for her article in *New York Times* regarding this exhibition – "Planning the New City: Modern Museum Exhibits Projects That Link Esthetics and Sociology"[7] – made visible that within the American context the opinion that urban renewal was able to bridge the gap between aesthetic and social concerns was still powerful.

In order to grasp the presence of the concept of urban renewal, we should think of its immense scale and of its nature as act of federal funding to cities to cover the cost of acquiring areas of cities perceived to be "slums".
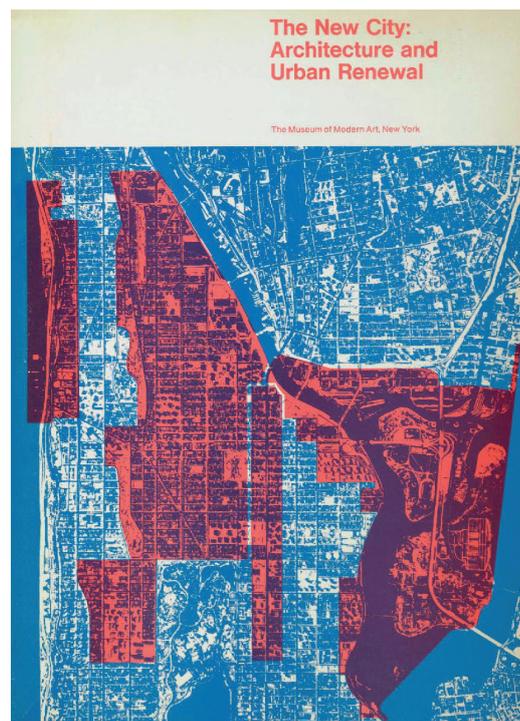

FIG. 1 Cover of the exhibition catalogue of "The New City: Architecture and Urban Renewal, held at The Museum of Modern Art, New York, January 23-March 13, 1967

1.   Joseph A. Fry, "Unpopular Messengers: Student Opposition to the Vietnam War," in *The War That Never Ends: New Perspectives on the Vietnam War*, ed. David L. Anderson and John Ernst (Lexington, KY: The University of Kentucky Press, 2007), 240.

2.   Ibid., 235.

3.   Ibid., 233.

4.   Jane Jacobs, *The Death and Life of Great American Cities* (New York: Random House, 1961).

5.   Peter Blake, *God's Own Junkyard: The Planned Deterioration of America's Landscape* (New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1964).

6.   Museum of Modern Art, *The New City: Architecture and Urban Renewal. An exhibition at The Museum of Modern Art, New York, January 23-March 13, 1967* (New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 1967); Suzanne Frank, "Harlem and the 1967 'New City' Exhibition," *Journal of Planning History* 11, no. 3 (2012): 210-25.

7.   Ada Louise Huxtable, "Planning the New City: Modern Museum Exhibits Projects That Link Esthetics and Sociology," *New York Times*, January 24, 1967, 39, 45.

The passing of Fair Housing Act, which banned racial discrimination in the sale or rental of housing, coincides chronologically with Martin Luther King's assassination in 1968 challenged the discriminatory nature of urban renewal programs and put into question its criteria [Fig. 2]. In late July or early August 1968, just after the foundation of the Institute for Architecture and Urban Studies (IAUS), Peter Eisenman conceived and noted down, as Lucia Allais reminds us, "Harlem plan"[8] [Fig. 3], which was based on a tabula rasa logic of urban design.[9] The main idea behind this plan was, to borrow Eisenman's own words, that "Black America is in essence urban America".[10] It is important to note that, at the time, the Institute for Architecture and Urban Studies (IAUS), which would become in the seventies a significant condensator of the transatlantic cultural relations concerning architectural discourse, consisted only of Peter Eisenman, Colin Rowe and Alexander Caragonne. Alvin Boyarsky, after having taught at the Architectural Association in London between 1962 and 1965, returned

FIG. 2 Mourners during the funeral procession for Martin Luther King Jr. (Source: Walter Oleksy / Alamy Stock Photo)

to the United States and was appointed   professor and associate dean at the College of Art and Architecture at the University of Illinois in Chicago. As Irene Sunwoo reminds us, "during a trip to Europe in late 1968 Boyarsky became acutely aware that the crisis in architectural education was international in scope". [11] After his relocation at Chicago, Boyarsky Working reoriented his education strategies and converted Chicago's housing crisis and local communities' issues into main aspects of his approach. Boyarsky's postcard collection, which was published in his seminal article entitled "Chicago à la Carte", published in Architectural Design in 1970, aimed to grasp "the highly desired apparatus representing the tangible miracles of contemporary life"[12] and to convey a different look at the city [Fig. 4]. The interrelations between politics, economy and architecture become extremely present in his postcard collection. Boyarsky's International Institute of Design (IID), founded by Boyarsky in 1970, was, as Peter Eisenman's Institute for Architecture and Urban Studies, instrumental for "shaping institutional identities and goals".[13]

Another significant episode within the American Context, to which I shouldn't omit to refer are the six weeks student protests at Columbia University. In April 1968, hundreds of Columbia University students,

8.   Canadian Centre for Architecture (CCA) Archives, Fonds Peter Eisenman - IAUS, Folder B2-2.

9.   Lucia Allais, "The Real and the Theoretical, 1968," *Perspecta* 41 (2010): 28.

10.   Peter Eisenman, draft proposal for a "Block study of prototypical future Harlem", Canadian Centre for Architecture (CCA) Archives, Fonds Peter Eisenman - IAUS, Folder B2-2; Peter Eisenman quoted in Lucia Allais, "The Real and the Theoretical, 1968," ibid.

11.   Irene Sunwoo, "Pedagogy's Progress: Alvin Boyarsky's International Institute of Design," *Grey Room* 34 (2009): 34.

12.   Alvin Boyarsky, "Chicago à la Carte: The City as Energy System," in *The Idea of the City*, ed. Robin Middleton. London: Architectural Association, 1996, 11.

13.   Beatriz Colomina, Craig Buckley and Urtzi Grau, eds. *Clip, Stamp, Fold: The Radical Architecture of Little Magazines*, 196X to 197X (Barcelona: ACTAR Publishers, 2010), 13.
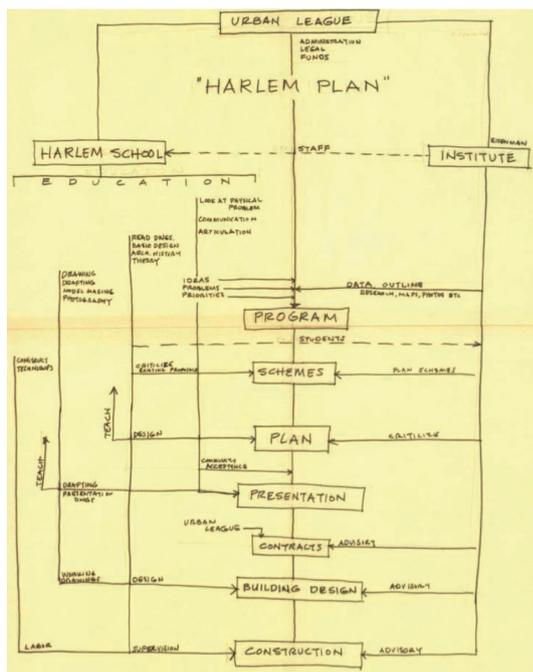
FIG. 3 Peter Eisenman, Harlem Plan, 1968 (Source: Canadian Centre for Architecture (CCA) Archives, Fonds Peter Eisenman - IAUS, Folder B2-2)York, January 23-March 13, 1967

allied to Students for a Democratic Society (SDS)14 and Students' Afro-American Society (SAS), 15 reacted against what they regarded as their university's racist and militaristic policies by barricading themselves inside five buildings on campus [Fig. 6]. As Mabel O. Wilson notes, in *When Ivory Towers Were Black*, "Columbia's rebellious antiwar students were especially irked by the university's participation in a secretive think tank known as the Institute of Defense Analysis (IDA)".[16] The student protesters blamed Columbia University for indirectly involving students and researchers in the war, without telling them the whole story. They accused their University to have "compromised academic freedom by involving academicians in secret scientific projects"[17] [Fig. 6]. On March 26, 1968, "150 students participated in raucous demonstration in Low Memorial demanding Columbia's withdrawal from the IDA".[18]

On Sunday afternoon, April 28, nearly 1,000 faculty, Majority Coalition pickets, and students on both sides of the sit-in surrounded the President's office in Low Library. As we can read in the spring issue of 1968 of *Columbia College Today*, "Avery, the home of the Graduate School of Architecture, was the first building that the police had to enter from the front, the first part of the bust that was visible to many of the 1,500 spectators on campus"[19] [Fig. 7]. Useful for understanding the interaction between the various crisis that are related to the 1968 students' protests at Columbia University is the Cox Commission, which was organized at the request of the Executive Committee of the Faculty[20] [Fig. 8].

Robert Stern, in an unpublished interview given in the framework of Columbia University Architecture Centennial Project on June 15, 1981, said: "Let's face it, architecture schools tend to have middle-class and upper-middle-class types. The school went out of its way to recruit minority students. I think that it's fair to say that the recruitment process was rather zealous and sometimes suggested to minority students that architecture was a way to implement social change, in a way that architecture is not a way to implement social change."[21] In the same

14. Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) was founded in 1690 and constituted the most active and visible "New Left" group. By the end of the 1960s it claimed a membership of only 100.000.

15. The Student Afro-American Society (SAS) was a black militant protest group that took part in the occupation of Hamilton Hall during the 1968 protests. See also Stefan M. Bradley, *Harlem vs. Columbia University: Black Student Power in the Late 1960s*. Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2009. Bradley notes, in ibid., 113: "By the time of the Columbia 1969 protest, black studies was becoming an issue at other Ivy League colleges and universities as well. Observing the example that students set at Yale University in 1968 by forcing their school to create a black studies department, in 1969 black protesters at both Harvard and Cornell fought for black-centered programs. Under the leadership of Afro (a group similar to SAS), student demonstrators at Harvard called for a black studies program that would allow the students to participate in faculty hiring and tenure practices. At Cornell University, a black student group known as the Afro-American Society militantly protested for a black studies program."

16. Mabel O. Wilson, *When Ivory Towers Were Black: A Story about Race in America's Cities and Universities* (New York: Fordham University Press, 2017), 58.

17. Ibid.

18. Ibid., 63.

19. George Keller, "Six weeks that Shook Morningside," *Columbia College Today* 15, no. 3 (1968): 66.

20. Organized at the request of the Executive Committee of the Faculty, the Cox Commission was given the mandate to establish a chronology of events leading up to and including the Columbia crisis, and to inquire into the underlying causes of those events. The Commission held twenty-one days of hearings during May 1968, heard testimony from seventy-nine witnesses, and compiled 3,790 pages of transcript. The report, published in a paperback edition on September 26, 1968, stressed the lack of effective channels of communication between administration, faculty, and students, and endorsed implicitly the Executive Committee's idea for a representative University Senate. The commission's membership included: Archibald Cox, chairman, Professor of Law, Harvard University; Anthony Amsterdam, Professor of Law, University of Pennsylvania; Dr. Dana Farnsworth, Director of University Health Service, Harvard University; Honorable Simon Rifkind, former Judge, Southern District Court; and Hylan Lewis, Professor of Sociology, Brooklyn College.

21. Transcript of the interview that Robert Stern gave to Richard Oliver in the framework of Columbia University Architecture Centennial Project on June 15, 1981, Department of Drawings & Archives, Avery Architectural and Fine Arts Library, Columbia University, Series V: Interviews, Columbia University. Graduate School of Architecture, Planning, and Preservation: Centennial (1881-1991) Archive, 1954-1982, (bulk 1980-1981).

interview, Stern commented on the impact of the approach of Team 10 on the curriculum of the late-sixties at Columbia University, claiming that "it was a rigorous, doctrinaire, team-tenish, pseudo-Corbusier or Corbusiesque thing, and didn't seem to have a certain didactic clarity and intensity".[22]

In order to understand the debates that characterized the period around 1968 in the United States, it is important to take into consideration the questions raised by advocacy planning, community design, counterculture, self-build and the pedagogical reform. An episode that shows how the critique of urban renewal was linked to the student protests at Columbia University is that of the plan to build a gymnasium in Morningside Park (fig. 9). The tension between Columbia University's control of the surrounding community and the activists' reached its peak, some weeks after the assassination of Martin Luther King Jr., because of the intention of the university to build a gymnasium in Morningside Park. The fact that this gymnasium would be mainly for student athletes, despite its location on public land posed several problems. The fact that four-fifths of the gym would be open to Columbia students alone in addition to the university's ownership of a big part of the surrounding neighborhood was considered as offensive. The willingness of Robert Moses and New York City Department of Parks and Recreation to lease public land to Columbia for a gym, that is to say to support the realization of a private facility on public land provoked various reactions[23] [Fig. 10]. The debates that took place because of this tension reflect the conflicts concerning the relationship between liberalism and the postwar American college campus.[24]

Marta Gutman and Richard Plunz, in "Anatomy of Insurrection", in their effort to unravel the reasons behind the strike at the Columbia School of Architecture in 1968, refer to the contradictions to which the students intended to respond: the tension "between responsibility to fulfill needs related to the welfare of the society as a whole and survival within the constraints of the American economic system".[25] Gutman and Plunz
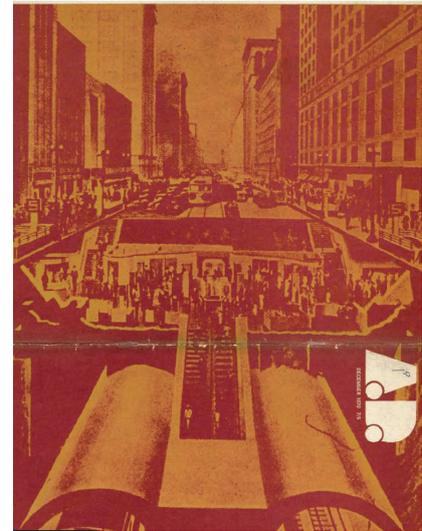
22. Ibid.

23. **William Richards**, *Revolt and Reform in Architecture's Academy: Urban Renewal, Race, and the Rise of Design in the Public Interest*. New York and London: Routledge, 2017, 50.

24. Michael H. Carriere, "Between Being and Becoming: On Architecture, Student Protest, and the Aesthetics of Liberalism in Postwar America" (PhD Dissertation, University of Chicago, 2010)

25. Marta Gutman and Richard Plunz, "Anatony of Insurrection," in *The Making of an Architect,1881-1981: Columbia University in the City of New York*, ed. Richard Oliver (New York: Rizzoli, 1981), 183.

FIG. 5   Activist groups were initially united in occupying Hamilton Hall and other university buildings. (Bettmann Archive via Getty Images)

FIG. 6   Activist Mark Rudd, president of Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), addresses students at Columbia University in 1968. (Hulton Archive/Getty Images)

suggest that "[f]or a school of architecture in New York City, the issue of defining social purpose is probably more immediate than for schools located in more idyllic settings".[26]

The protests at Columbia University, which are just one parameter of the general shifts in the political plane, changed the network of interests behind the "Harlem plan". Therefore, this project was abandoned, and the Institute for Architecture and Urban Studies (IAUS) continued its trajectory, shaping step by step its stance. A well-known reference of Peter Eisenman during the first decade of the activities of the Institute for Architecture and Urban Studies (IAUS) is Noam Chmosky's model of language as it was presented in *Aspects of the Theory of Syntax first published in 1965*.[27] Despite this borrowing of Noam Chomsky's tripartite theory, which develops around semantic, syntactic and pragmatic, the approach that Eisenman tried to develop in "Notes on Conceptual architecture"[28] wasn't structuralist, but formalist. This hypothesis is confirmed by the fact that he removed the axis of

FIG. 7   Photo showing Avery Architectural & Fine Arts Library of Columbia University on strike (Source: George Keller, "Six weeks that Shook Morningside," *Columbia College Today* 15, no. 3 (1968): 66)

pragmatics and added the bipolar relationship between conceptual and perceptual [Fig. 11]. Little by little, Eisenman was taking more distance from the real, using the label of "theory". Here, it is important to note that 1968, according to many scholars, such as Lucia Allais, correspond to the moment that "theory" acquires a significant institutional status in the American academic and cultural context.[29]

Such a hypothesis of Eisenman's distancing from the real is further reinforced by the talk he gave some years later, in 1971, in the framework of the conference "Architecture Education USA: A Conference to Explore Current Alternatives", held at the Museum of Modern Art in New York City in November 12-13, 1971. In this address, which was entitled "The Education of Reality", Eisenman sustained that "the value of reality" needed to be "neutralized".[30] The title of his talk cannot but bring in mind Aldo Rossi's "Un'educazione realista".[31] Despite the phenomenal affinities of these texts, especially of their titles, the agendas behind them are very different. What I argue in this article is that this slippage between Eisenman's and Rossi's attitude towards reality is part of a broader distinction between the form that took that effects of 1968 in the American architectural academy and in the Italian one. In other words, what I claim is that the effects of 1968 on architectural pedagogy and epistemology in Europe, and especially in Italy, are related to the desire to reshape one's aesthetic criteria in a way that interferes with the meaning architects give to reality. On the contrary, the effects of 1968
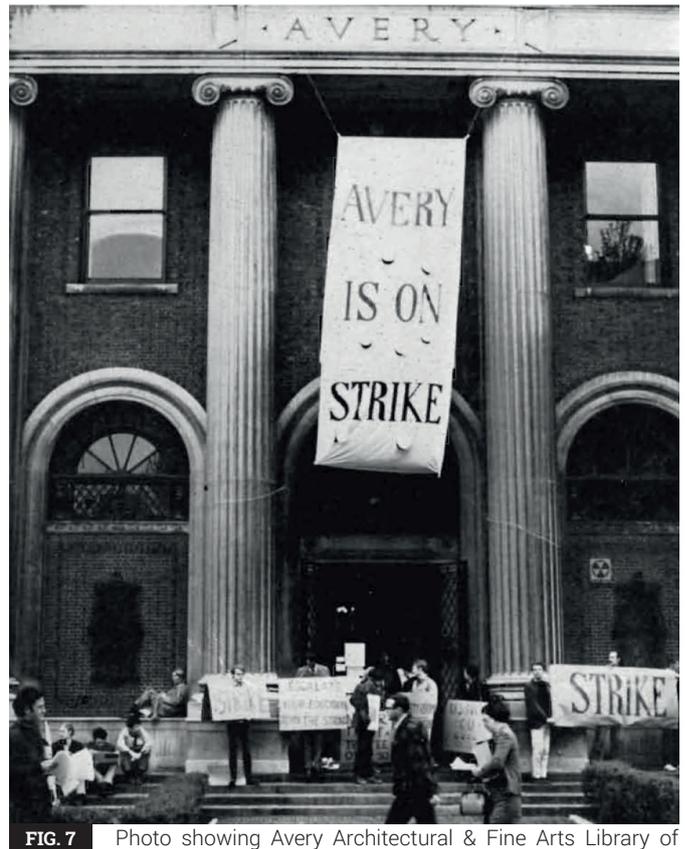
26. Ibid.

27. Noam Chomsky, *Aspects of the Theory of Syntax* (Cambridge, Mass.: The MIT Press, 1965)

28. Peter Eisenman. "Notes on Conceptual Architecture: Towards a Definition." *Design Quarterly*, no. 78-79 (1970): 1-5; Peter Eisenman. "Appunti sull'architettura concettuale/ Notes on Conceptual Architecture: Towards a Definition." *Casabella*, no. 359-360 (1971): 35.

29. Lucia Allais, "The Real and the Theoretical, 1968," *Perspecta* 41 (2010): 27-41 instead of Lucia Allais, "The Real and the Theoretical, 1968," ibid.

30. Peter Eisenman, "The Education of Reality", *Architecture Education USA: Issues, Ideas and People; A Conference to Explore Current Alternatives*, transcript of talk, Canadian Centre for Architecture (CCA) Archives, Fonds Peter Eisenman, DR2001:0039.

31. Aldo Rossi's manuscript of his text entitled "Un educazione realista," Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles, CA, Aldo Rossi papers, Series II. Drafts and writings, 1943-1999, Box 2a, Folder 3 ; Aldo Rossi, «Une éducation réaliste,» *L'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui*, no. 190 (1977): 39.

on architectural pedagogy and epistemology in the United States were encapsulated in a conceptualization and an abstracting of architecture, which proceeded through detachment from reality. After 1968 upheavals, in Italy, reality was elevated to a device of reflection, while, in the United States, architecture curricula were dominated by the invention of abstract compositional devices, detached from any reflection on the real.

A common characteristic of the attitudes of Rossi and Eisenman is their rejection of functionalism, but the means that each architect chose to overcome functionalism differs in terms of stance vis-à-vis reality. More precisely, what I argue here is that the path of Rossi to avoid functionalism is the understanding of the real, while the means of Eisenman to reject functionalism is to ignore the real. The specificity of by argument consists of my intention to interpret this opposition of how the above architects unfolded their critique of functionalism as a differentiation of the 1968 effects in the Italian and the American context. On the Italian side, the effects of 1968 were embodied to the elaboration of approaches of engagement with reality, while, on the American side, the effects of 1968 were concretized through the elaboration of approaches of detachment from reality.

A symptom of this non-involvement of the reality within the American context is the way Manfredo Tafuri's was instrumentalized in the United States, which is characterized by a misreading of the political implication of his approach. In parallel to this progressive detachment of compositional process from reality, which is present in Eisenman's and John Hejduk's internalized design processes, one can observe that the discourse around utopia was developed. I could refer to the intensification of the interest in books such as Manfredo Tafuri's *Architecture and Utopia: Design and Capitalist Development*, Dolores Hayden's *Seven American Utopias: The Architecture of Communitarian Socialism. 1790-1975*, which were advertised in the issue of September 1979 of *Skyline*, a newspaper published by the Institute for Architecture and Urban Studies (IAUS)[32] [Fig. 12]. This tendency to fetishize the European written works on utopia, such as Tafuri's *Architecture and Utopia: Design and Capitalist Development*, without grasping the social and political implication of their arguments is very typical of the American attitude towards architectural theory during the seventies.

At the same time, in Europe, the trend in the protagonist architectural academic circles was to demystify every transcendent meaning of the concept of utopia and to invent tactics based on the
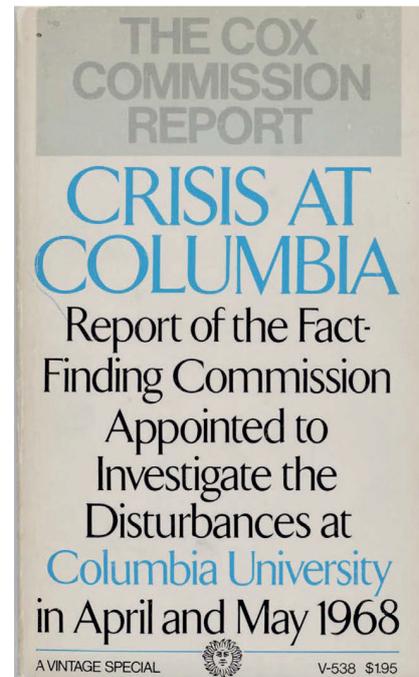
FIG. 8 *The Cox Commission Report: Crisis at Columbia. Report of the Fact-Finding Commission Appointed to Investigate the Disturbances at Columbia in April and May 1968* (New York: Vintage Books, A Division of Random House, 1968) (Source: "Cox Commission Report," *Columbia University Libraries Online Exhibitions*, accessed June 8, 2018, https://exhibitions.library.columbia.edu/exhibits/show/1968/item/5565.)

32. *Skyline* 2, no. 4 (1979): 15.

FIG. 9 Columbia Daily Spectator, Volume CXIV, Number 10, 7 October 1969 Issue

micropolitics of reality and on historic materialism. For instance, Bernard Huet, in contrast with was happening in the United States in the post-1968 era, associated the reform of 1968 concerning education of architecture in France with "the end of the utopias and the death of the avant-garde".[33] My aim here is to make visible that this non-realization of what we could call death of the notion of "utopia" and "myth" in the United States kept architecture isolated in relation to the real. This can be confirmed by the fact that we can observe a parallel proliferation of events, which revolved around the notion of utopia, and of compositional strategies detached from real parameters. The discourse and compositional mechanisms of Eisenman and Hejduk for example for the shake of process and of visual tricks chose to leave behind any interest for starting design thinking reading real parameters, in the sense that Rossi tried to do.
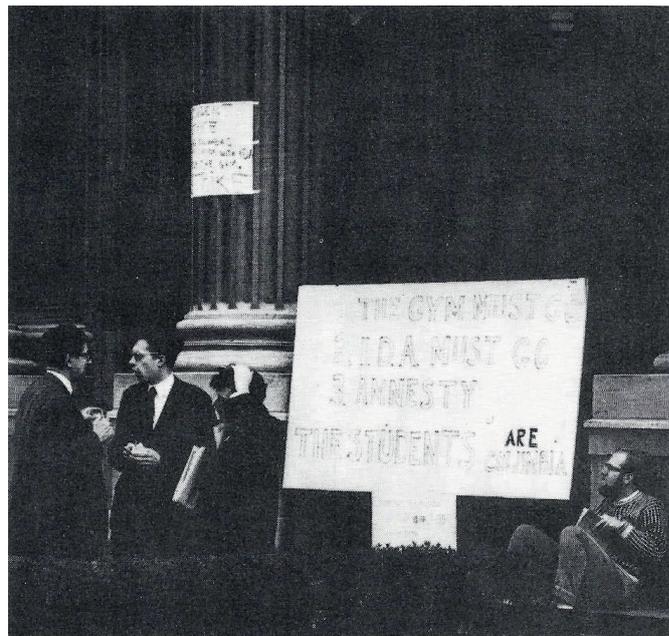

FIG. 10   "The Gym must go", Spring 1968. Photo: *Columbia College Today*. Source: Richard Oliver, ed. *The Making of an Architect,1881-1981: Columbia University in the City of New York*. New York Rizzoli, 1981, 197.

Aldo Rossi, *Architecture of the City*, originally published in 1966, referred to a "critique of naïve functionalism" and maintained that "any explanation of urban artifacts in terms of function must be rejected". He also sustained that when one reduces architecture to a way to respond to the question "for what purpose?", they develop an approach that does not manage to incorporate "an analysis of what is real".[34] It becomes, thus, evident, that in Rossi's eyes the critique of functionalism is as a way to enlarge architecture in such a way that would permit to take as a starting point of the design process the close understanding of reality.

33.   Bernard Huet, "L'insegnamento dell'architettura in Francia: 1968-1978 da una riforma all'altra/ The Teaching of Architecture in France: 1968-1978: From One Reform to The Next," *Lotus International*, no. 21 (1978): 38.

34.   Aldo Rossi, *The Architecture of the City*, trans. Diane Ghirardo and Joan Ockman (Cambridge, Massachussetts: The MIT Press, 1982), 46. Original edition: *L'architettura della città* (Padova: Marsilio, 1966).
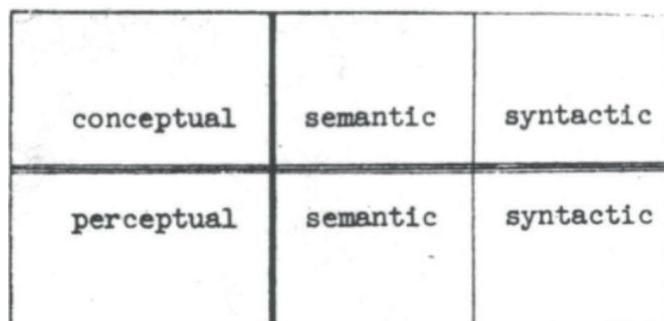
The effects of 1968 on both contexts – the Italian and the American – are related to the emergence of the demand to find strategies to respond the conflict between architectural formalism and social concern. Even if Venturi's and Eisenman's stances are very different and despite the conflicts that characterized the climate of this period, such as the famous conflict between the Greys and the Whites, in their majority, the strategies elaborate by the architects in the American context staid attached to the visual communication of the image produced by architecture. This image took forms as the "pop agony" of Venturi and Scott Brown, to borrow their own expression, or of fetishizing of the process

FIG. 11   Diagram of Peter Eisenman after his adaptation of the linguistic model of Chomsky in *Aspects of the Theory of Syntax*, published in "Notes on Conceptual Architecture: Towards a Definition" (Source: Peter Eisenman, "Notes on Conceptual Architecture: Towards a Definition." *Design Quarterly*, no. 78-79 (1970): 1-5; Peter Eisenman. "Appunti sull'Architettura concettuale/ Notes on Conceptual Architecture: Towards a Definition." *Casabella*, no. 359-360 (1971): 35)

and its visualization thought the establishment of design strategies that ensured "a controlled and one way decodification of [...] signs",[35] as in the case of Peter Eisenman.

35.   Manfredo Tafuri, "Peter Eisenman: The Meditations of Icarus," in *House X*, ed. Peter Eisenman (New York: Rizzoli, 1983): 167.

On the other side of the Atlantic, in Italy, the journal *Zodiac*, in 1967, promoted the debate around urban renewal in the north-American cities, publishing articles as Richard Hatch's "Urban Renewal in Harlem".[36] In the same issue of *Zodiac*, Giorgio Gaetani aimed to analyze the relationship between planning and design in the United States,[37] while Vincent Scully, who was much more skeptical regarding the positive effects of urban renewal and had criticized it, in various instances, expressed his fears regarding its outcomes.[38] Zodiac was published by Edizioni di Comunità, that is to say by a publishing house owned and directed by Adriano Olivetti, thing that explains the positive attitude towards the American context and its promotion.

FIG. 12 Advertisement of Manfredo Tafuri's *Architecture and Utopia: Design and Capitalist Development*, Dolores Hayden's *Seven American Utopias: The Architecture of Communitarian Socialism. 1790-1975* in *Skyline* (Source: *Skyline* 2, no. 4 (1979): 15)
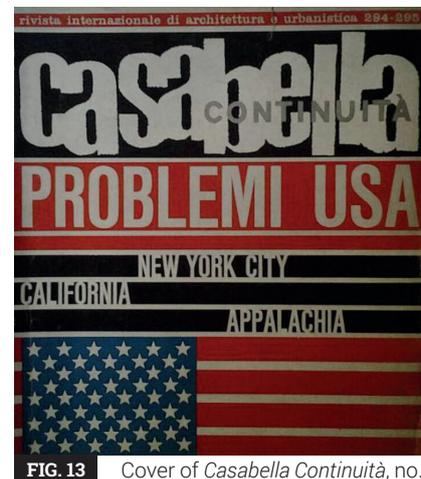
Three years earlier than the publication of the above issue of Zodiac on the United States, in 1964, the Italian journal *Casabella Continuità*, directed at the time by Ernesto N. Rogers, devoted an issue to the United States, in which American urban renewal programs were presented and analyzed[39] [Fig. 13]. The issue of *Casabella Continuità*, which was dedicated to the United States, is the one that opens with the editorial of Ernesto N. Rogers entitled "Discontinuità o continuità?".

FIG. 13 Cover of *Casabella Continuità*, no. 294-295 (1964).

The same period, Fondazione Adriano Olivetti had their own Centri Studi, sponsoring and organizing platforms of experimental research focusing on new models of expansion of the city, such as the corso sperimentale di preparazione urbanistica. The *corso sperimentale di preparazione urbanistica* of 1963 [Fig. 14], which was supporting the idea of the "nuova dimensione", was held in Arezzo and brought together as tutors Ludovico Quaroni, Giancarlo de Carlo and Manfredo Tafuri. It had as "theme […] the updating of the discipline in the face of the changes that had occurred within Italian cities and their surrounding territory under the pressure of the economic boom of the 1950s and early 1960s and the accompanying of the poor south to the industrialized north".[40]

An important instance for understanding how the suburbanization of the post-war Italian cities was conceptualized is the meeting of the Istituto Nazionale Urbanistica of 1959, during which the debate unfolded around the notion of the "nuova dimensione" with main participants Giancarlo de Carlo and Ludovico Quaroni. The emerging and intensified interest in the concept of the "nuova dimensione" was linked to the awareness that the urban system was at a state of permanent transition. The problem of the new dimension was also addressed at a conference entitled "The New Dimension of the City", organized by Giancarlo de Carlo in the framework of the Istituto Lombardo per gli Studi Economici e Sociali (ILSES) in the town of Stresa on Lago Maggiore in January 1962[41].

36. Richard Hatch, "Urban Renewal in Harlem," *Zodiac*, no. 17 (1967): 196-98.

37. Giorgio Gaetani, "Notes on the Relationship between Planning and Design in America," ibid.: 249-55.

38. Vincent Scully, "The Threat and the Promise of Urban Redevelopment in New Haven," ibid.: 171-75.

39. *Casabella Continuità*, no. 294-295 (1964).

40. Pier Vittorio Aureli, "Aldo Rossi's begrip locus als een politieke categorie van de stad/ Rossi's concept of the locus as a political category of the city," *OverHolland* 8 (2009): 59.

41. Giancarlo de Carlo *et al., La nuova dimensione della città. La città-regione.* Milan (ILSES) 1962, 185-189.

At the framework of the *corso sperimentale di preparazione urbanistica* of 1963 in Arezzo, Aldo Rossi was assistant to Ludovico Quaroni. As it becomes apparent from how the debates evolved during the Arezzo seminar, Rossi was sceptical vis-à-vis the concept of "la città-territorio", which was promoted by Manfredo Tafuri, Giorgio Piccinato and Vieri Quilici – all members of the AUA (Architetti Urbanisti Associati), which dissolved a year later, in 1964 – in "La città-territorio verso una nuova dimensione"[42] [Fig. 15]. Rossi's urban theory was focused on the concept of the locus instead of that of the "nuova dimensione". In contrast with Rossi, Quaroni and De Carlo, along with Tafuri, were positive towards the notion of "la città-territorio". One of the reasons for which Rossi refused to endorse the idea of "la città-territorio" was his conviction that the latter disregarded the importance of the individuality of the urban artifact.

Another expression of the dominance of urban renewal discourse within the north-American context at the time was the New Jersey Corridor Project, designed by Peter Eisenman and Michael Graves, in 1965. The fact that Eisenman and Graves had contacted Le Corbusier, as can be seen in Le Corbusier's correspondence, conserved in the Le Corbusier Foundation in Paris[43] [Fig. 16], in order to have a feedback from him regarding this rather exaggerated project, reveals that they were confident about its real dimension and did not design this project as an ironic comment as did the Italian radical group Superstudio, when they designed their Continuous Monument series (1969). The project of Eisenman and Graves did not have any critical dimension, thing that can be confirmed by the fact that it was published in the mainstream American magazine *Life*[44] [Fig. 17] and not in any kind of experimental countercultural journal, in contrast with the publication of Superstudio's projects, which were characterized by the power of their critique and irony.

42. Giorgio Piccinato, Vieri Quilici, Manfredo Tafuri, «La città territorio: verso una nuova dimensione,» *Casabella Continuità*, no. 270 (1962): 16–25.

43. Michael Graves, letter to Le Corbusier, June 8, 1965, Fondation Le Corbusier T1-7-401.

44. *Life* magazine, 24 December 1965; One can read in headline of the issue of 24 December 1965 of Life magazine: "Self-sufficient structures carry a metropolis across New Jersey." Life magazine devoted a two-page spread to Eisenman's and Graves's New Jersey Corridor Project, which is a linear city linking New York City to New Jersey, consisting of radically elongated buildings stretching for 20 miles, with industry located in the right-hand strip and homes, shops, and schools in the left-hand strip.
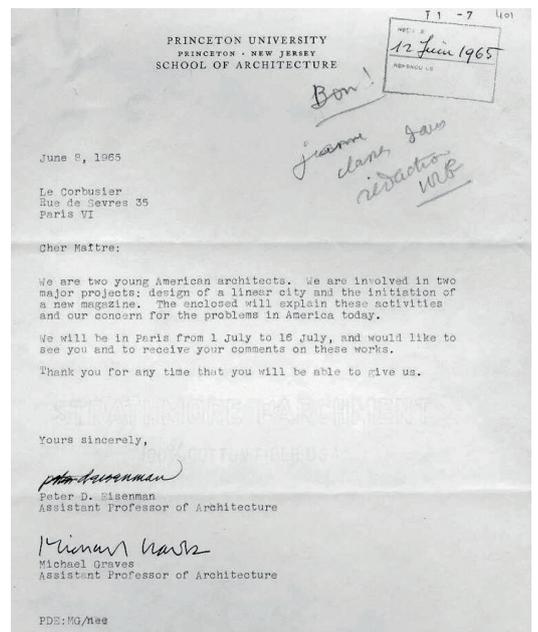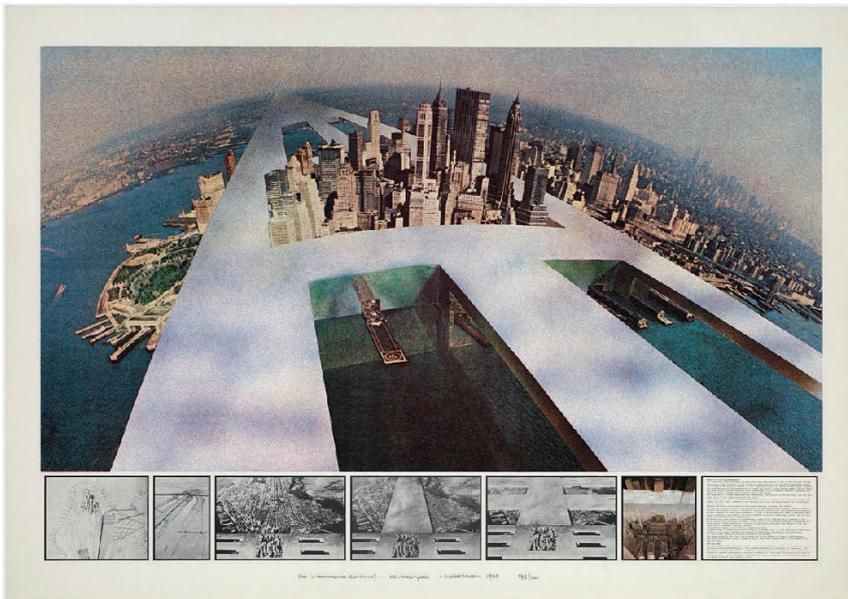
FIG. 18 Superstudio, il Monumento Continuo, New York, 1969. MAXXI Museo nazionale delle arti del XXI secolo, Roma. Collezioni MAXXI Architettura. © Fondo Superstudio.
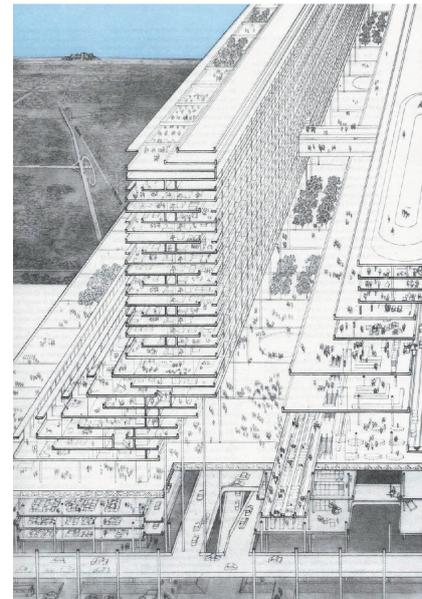

FIG. 17 Peter Eisenman and Michael Graves, New Jersey Corridor project, 1965, *Life Magazine*, 24 December 1965

This contradiction between New Jersey Corridor Project and Continuous Monument [Fig. 18] series depicts quite effectively the slippage between the climate in the north-American context and that in the Italian one.

Even if urban renewal discourse was still presiding in the United States, a group of students coming from the Department of City Planning of Yale University's School of Art and Architecture, reacted against the extensive redevelopment of New Haven in the 1950s and 1960s, marshalling a critique of their university's role in this top-down reconstruction. This response of Yale students could be understood as a rejection of the dominance of the notion of "urban renewal", which had a protagonist role within the north-American context of the mid- and late-sixties. The climate at the time was characterized by a division into two groups: one consisted by architects and theoreticians that searched for new ways of conceiving and applying urban renewal, on the one hand, and one consisted by a group who rejected the very basis of urban renewal. This second group thought urban renewal was incompatible with any kind of socially effective architecture and urban design approach. Within such an ambiguous context, where the problem of urban conditions was protagonist, in 1968, Robert Venturi and Denise Scott Brown started teaching at Yale School of Art and Architecture a seminar titled "Learning from Las Vegas" [Fig. 19]. This seminar was the sperm of what, four years later, would become their seminal book *Learning from Las Vegas*,[45] which they co-authored with Steven Izenour. In November of the same year that the seminar "Learning from Las Vegas" started being taught by Robert Venturi and Denise Scott Brown at Yale School of Art and Architecture a seminar titled, within the same context, a group of students founded a countercultural broadsheet titled *Novum Organum*. Its first issue was opening with the headline "Education for Alienation"[46] [Fig. 20].

45. Robert Venturi, Denise Scott Brown, Steven Izenour, *Learning from Las Vegas* (Cambridge, Mass.: The MIT Press, 1972).

46. "Education for Alienation," *Novum Organum* 1 (1968): np. The editors were Bob Coombs, Mark Ellis, Manfred Ibel, Herb Short, and Stuart Wrede.

The impact of Italian post-war architectural approaches on Venturi's point of view should be taken into account in our effort to explain the differences between the effects of 1968 on the Italian and the American context. Venturi had spent as visiting scholar two years – in 1955 and 1956 – in the Academy of Rome. During his stays in Italy he developed a friendship with Ernesto N. Rogers and, as Matino Stierli notes, was confronted with the question building in historically sensitive urban areas, which was a major issue in the post-war Italian architectural scene.[47] Venturi, during his stays in Rome, also attended lectures at the Istituto Nazionale di Urbanistica (INU), including a presentation by Ludovico Quaroni. Denise Scott Brown was among the students that had followed the Congrès International d'Architecture Moderne (CIAM) International Summer School, held at the Istituto Universitario di Architettura (IUAV) in 1956, where Ludovico Quaroni gave keynote lecture entitled "The architect and town planning". Therefore, both Venturi and Scott Brown were familiarized with the Italian approaches to city and the Italian discourse that seeks to incorporate the idea that architects are responsible for society. Following Stierli, we could claim that Venturi and Scott Brown distanced themselves from the vision of avant-garde architects, who had designated themselves the role of "the demiurge who is committed not to urban reality but rather to a yet-to-be-realized social and architectural utopia". Stierli also claims that Venturi and Scott Brown "brought the discourse on the city back to the reality of the here and now."[48]

Just a year after the student protests at Columbia University, another episode of student protests took place within the context of the Ivy league North-American Universities, this time at Ithaca at Cornell University, where a 36-hour student takeover of Willard Straight Hall began on April 18, 1969 [Fig. 21]. At the time, Oswald Mathias Ungers was the newly appointed chairman of the Department of Architecture at Cornell University. Ungers had moved to the United States, after having organized an international seminar titled "Architekturtheorie", held at Technischen Universität (TU) Berlin from 11 to 15 December 1967, which had ended with the demonstration by students of a banner writing "All houses are beautiful — stop constructing!".[49] Kenneth Frampton and Colin Rowe were among the speakers at "Architekturtheorie" symposium. As Kenneth Frampton and Alessandra Latour note, in 1980, in Lotus International, Ungers "[c] oming to Ithaca, New York, from West Berlin, […] was particularly sensitive to the political climate of the late sixties which by that time had involved the rising of the New Left from Rudi Dutschke in Berlin t the students' revolt in Paris". The same authors underscore that Ungers challenged "the apolitical but liberal consensus that had been the consequence of Rowe's pragmatic/humanism".[50] An event that reflects the climate in Berlin, just before his departure in the United States is the Diagnosis on Building in West Berlin Exhibition (Diagnose zum Bauen in West-Berlin Ausstellung) [Fig. 22], which was counter-event organized in 1968 by young lecturers,
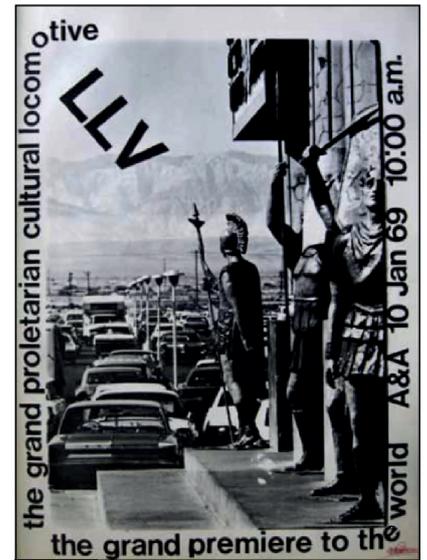
47. Martino Stierli. "In the Academy's Garden: Robert Venturi, the Grand Tour and the Revision of Modern Architecture." *AA Files* 56 (2007): 42-63.

48. Martino Stierli, "The City as Image," in *Las Vegas in the Rearview Mirror: The City in Theory, Photography, and Film.* (Los Angeles: Getty Publications, 2013), 318.

49. Tahl Kaminer, *The Efficacy of Architecture: Political Contestation and Agency* (London; New York: Routledge 2016), 4.

50. Kenneth Frampton, Alessandra Latour, "Notte sull'insegnamento dell'architettura in America: Dalla fine del diciannovesimo secolo agli anni '70/ Notes on American Architectural Education: From the End of the Nineteenth Century until the 1970s," *Lotus International* 27, no. 2 (1980): 29.

students, and architects in Berlin in order to criticize urban renewal practices in Berlin at the time.

This tension between the politically engaged approach of Ungers and the apolitical one of Rowe is symptomatic of an ambiguous and diffuse atmosphere, torn between the imperative to infuse architecture with social preoccupations and the nostalgic adhesion to a kind of understanding of the city which aspires to systematize how the expansion of the city

FIG. 21 The Pulitzer Prize-winning photo of Cornell students emerging from Willard Straight Hall after the takeover (Source: https://assembly.cornell.edu/tools-tabs-resources/history-shared-governance/takeover-willard-straight-hall-1969)

should be read and directed. The above schism was very present at the climate, presiding the Department of Architecture of Cornell University when "The Provincial City: A symposium on past and current models of provincial cities in western civilization"[51] was organized by Klaus Herdeg, in 1970 [Fig. 23]. The fact that Colin Rowe's talk at this symposium was entitled "Utopia or Collage City" and Robert Boguslaw's "The New Utopias: Models and Implementation" shows that the debate around utopia within the north-American context was inextricably linked to the reinvention of provincial cities' models. The main aspiration of the symposium was to associate utopia to the transformation of what city means for architecture, but without really trying to reflect on how social concerns could be incorporated in architectural and urban thought. Despite the symposium's general indifference for the social imperative of architecture and urban design, as it is confirmed by the unpublished correspondences, Ungers insisted on inviting European figures such as Jaap Bakema and Hans Hollein, who's stance was characterized by a conception of architecture as intrinsically linked to social processes.

Hollein was involved in the XIV Triennale di Milano of 1968, as curator of the Austrian pavilion. He was invited along with Arata Isozaki, Alison and Peter Smithson, Shadrach Woods, Aldo van Eyck, Archigram, Archizoom and Gyorgy Kepes by Giancarlo de Carlo, who curated this Triennale. A crucial episode concerning the demand to incorporate social concerns in epistemology of architecture is the occupation by students of architecture of this Triennale di Milano of May 1968, which postponed its opening[52] [Figs. 24-25]. A month earlier, in "Everything is Architecture" ("Alles ist Architektur") [Fig. 26], which constitutes one of the most significant manifests of architecture in post-war era, published in *Bau*, Hollein was declaring: "There is a change as to the importance of "meaning" and "effect". Architecture affects. The way I take possession of an object, how I use it, becomes important."[53] In 1966, he had invited Theodor Adorno to

51. "The Provincial City," *The Cornell Daily Sun*, Friday, May 8, 1970: 5.

FIG. 22 Poster of the Diagnosis exhibition (Diagnose zum Bauen in West-Berlin Ausstellung) at the Institute of Architecture in Berlin, 1968 (Source: http://radical-pedagogies.com/search-cases/e25-%E2%80%A8institute-architecture-urban-regional-planning-berlin-institute-of-technology/)

52. See also Paola Nicolin, "Beyond the Failure: Notes on the XIVth Triennale," *Log* 13/14 (2008): 87-100.

53. Hans Hollein, "Alles ist Architektur," *Bau: Schrift fur Architektur und Stadtebau* no. 1-2 (1968): 1; Hollein quoted *Occupying space: Sammlung Generali Foundation Collection*, edited by Sabine Breitwieser (Vienna; Cologne: Generall Foundation; Walther König, 2003), 256.

contribute to an architectural symposium in Vienna, as Liane Lefaivre reminds us.[54]

The contributors to the "The Provincial City: A symposium on past and current models of provincial cities in western civilization" were William MacDonald, Spiro Kostof, Kenneth Frampton, Robert Boguslaw, Colin Rowe and Henry Millon. Among the people who were invited but refused to contribute to this event were Jaap Bakema, Shadrach Woods, Giancarlo de Carlo, Hans Hollein, James Stirling, Vincent Scully. There was, thus, a clear preference for Team 10 vision, since three of its members – Jaap Bakema, Shadrach Woods, Giancarlo de Carlo – were enthusiastically invited to contribute. However, the attitude of Team 10 was quite skeptical vis-à-vis the questions of this symposium, as it becomes evident from the response of Shadrach Woods: "Now that I have seen the outline […] I don't feel that I could make any really useful contribution to such discussion as the topics may give rise to; it is well outside my field of interests".[55] The topic of the symposium was described as a discussion on the "architectural manifestation and implications of the provincial city in the United States".[56] A clarification regarding its focus, sent to the invited speakers, was the following: "The topic 'provincial cities' is usually discussed in terms of city planning topics such as regional development or transportation; and we hope to keep that type of discussion to a minimum. We would rather hope to discuss it in terms of its architectural and cultural background in order to obtain a greater understanding of the milieu in which we work".[57]

Oswald Mathias Ungers, who was Chairman of the Department of Architecture at Cornell University at the time, appointed in 1968, addressed a letter to Bakema inviting him to participate to the panel discussion of this symposium.[58] The papers presented in the framework of this symposium, were: William MacDonald's "Roman Urbanization: Principles and Practice", Spiro Kostof's "The Transformation of Rome: From a World Capital to a Provincial Town", Colin Rowe's "Utopia or Collage City", Kenneth Frampton's "The Linear City Critique of the Provincial City", Robert Boguslaw's "The New Utopias: Models and Implementation" and Henry Millon's "Nancy: A Provincial Capital in the 17th and 18th centuries. Augusta Sabaudiorum: A New Provincial City". The panel discussion that followed the above presentations apart from the speakers brought together Paul Hohenberg, Oswald Mathias Ungers, José Luis Sert, Alvin Boyarsky and Joh W. Aldridge. Sert was more related to the Congrès International d'Architecture Moderne (CIAM) than to Team 10. He belonged to the older generation of the Congrès International d'Architecture Moderne (CIAM) and, in 1959, had initiated the first professional degree program in urban design at Harvard University's Harvard Graduate School of Design, where he was dean until 1969, just a year before the organization of the above

FIG. 23 Advertisement of the "The Provincial City: A symposium on past and current models of provincial cities in western civilization" in *The Cornell Daily Sun,* Friday, May 8, 1970: 5.

54. See Liane Lefaivre, "Everything is Architecture: Multiple Hans Hollein and the Art of Crossing Over," *Harvard Design Magazine*, no. 18 (2003): 1.

55. Shadrach Woods, letter to Leon Satkowski, March 11, 1970, Department of Drawings & Archives, Avery Architectural and Fine Arts Library, Columbia University, Klaus Herdeg papers, Box 1: Folder 19, Series I: Faculty Papers, Cornell University, Symposium correspondences, 1970.

56. Leon Satkowski, letter to Vincent Scully, December 19, 1969, ibid.

57. Ibid.

58. Oswald Mathias Ungers, letter to Jaap Bakema, January 9, 1970, ibid.

symposium at Cornell University. Sert when he accepted the invitation to participate to the panel discussion he had the impression that Jaap Bakema and Shadrach Woods, both member of the Team 10, would participate. Klaus Herged in his invitation letter informed him that Jaap Bakema and Shadrach Woods were among the contributors.[59] Frampton mentioned in his talk:

> I have a feeling that behind this topic which no doubt sits differently for an architectural historian than it does for an architect, there lie the expression of a conscious wish to return to a more manageable and humane urban dimension. A nostalgia for that ancient period so expertly drawn for us earlier by William MacDonald and Spiro Kostof, and previously rather succinctly characterized by Joseph in his essay "The Idea of a Town" as that time when the universe could be reduced to a diagram.[60]

Frampton, in the above excerpt of his address, refers to Joseph Rykwert's book entitled *The Idea of a Town: The Anthropology of Urban Form in Rome, Italy and the Ancient World*.[61] He assimilated the way Joseph Rykwert understood the urban form and condition, in the above book, to the approach of William MacDonald and Spiro Kostof towards the city. Frampton also sustained that the situation in the United States was characterized by "an economy which is patently antipathetic to […] independent entities, both formally and economically"[62] and criticized the tendency to establish manageable and controllable modes of understanding urban conditions. He interpreted Robert Venturi and Denise Scott Brown's, and Tom Wolfe's analysis of the strip city of Las Vegas as an act of affirmation vis-à-vis the appropriation of the dimension of production and consumption in how urban dimension is understood. In other words, he claimed that Venturi, Scott Brown and Wolfe invite us to accept that "we now live locked in a cycle of production and consumption were the ultimate fate of the city is to consume, perhaps both itself, its people and its environment".[63]

A year after this talk, Frampton, in "America 1960-1970. Notes on Urban Images and Theory", published in 1971 in *Casabella*, referred again to Robert Venturi, Denise Scott Brown and Tom Wolfe, as he had done a year

FIG. 24 Entrance to the Triennale di Milano during the occupation in May 1968 © Veselina Dzhingarova

FIG. 25 Giancarlo de Carlo debates with Gianemilio Simonetti as protesting students take over the Milan Triennale in May 1968. Photograph by Cesare Colombo. Courtesy La Triennale di Milano

59. Klaus Herdeg, letter to José Luis Sert, December 13, 1969, Department of Drawings & Archives, Avery Architectural and Fine Arts Library, Columbia University, Klaus Herdeg papers, Box 1: Folder 19, Series I: Faculty Papers, Cornell University, Symposium correspondences, 1970.

60. Kenneth Frampton, manuscript of the address at "The Provincial City: A symposium on past and current models of provincial cities in western civilization", Department of Drawings & Archives, Avery Architectural and Fine Arts Library, Columbia University, Klaus Herdeg papers, Box 1: Folder 18, Series I: Faculty Papers.

61. Joseph Rykwert, *The Idea of a Town: The Anthropology of Urban Form in Rome, Italy and the Ancient World* (Netherlands: Hilversum, 1960).

62. Kenneth Frampton, manuscript of the address at "The Provincial City: A symposium on past and current models of provincial cities in western civilization", ibid.
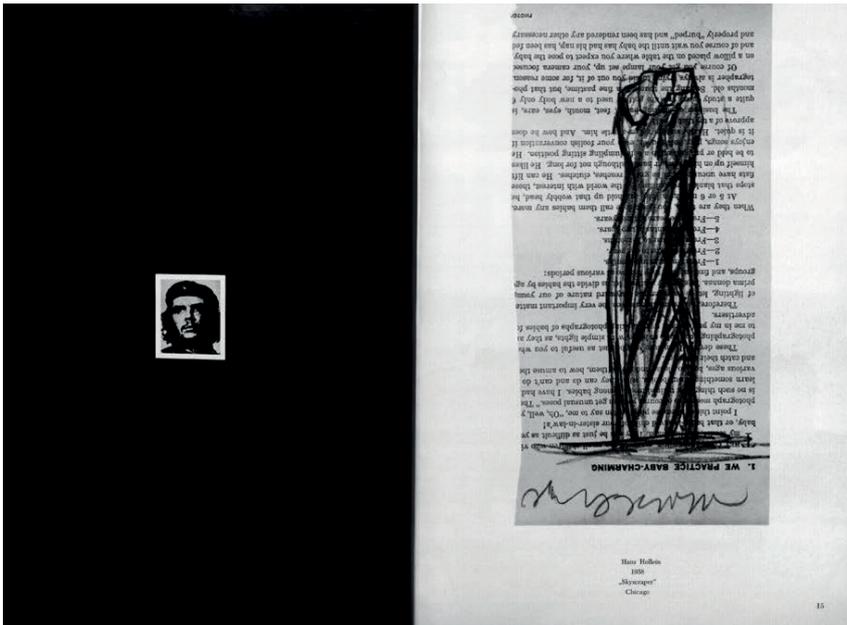
63. Ibid.

FIG. 26   Hans Hollein, "Alles ist Architektur," *Bau: Schrift fur Architektur und Stadtebau* no. 1-2 (1968): 14, 15.

earlier in his address at the above symposium held at Cornell University. Frampton wrote there: "This essentially picturesque prospect of Las Vegas relates however elliptically to the English "townscape" position, first initiated in "The Architectural Review in the late 40's as an integral part of that post-war Anglo-Saxon concern to "humanize" the modern movement. This "humanization" was a popular success and by the mid-50's Townscape had been academicized into a Sittesque "method" of urban design, that was commonly accepted and practiced in the States. Townscape was introduced into "respectable" American planning circles via the development of an MIT methodology that was first publicly presented in 1960, in Kevin Lynch's "The Image of the City"".[64]

64. Kenneth Frampton, "America 1960-1970. Appunti su alcune immagini e teorie della città/ America 1960-1970. Notes on Urban Images and Theory," *Casabella*, no. 359-360 (1971): 25.

   In the same issue of *Casabella*, Denise Scott Brown, in her article titled "Reply to Frampton", underscored that "Frampton misses the agony in […] [their] acceptance of pop" and "seems to suggest that Kevin Lynch allowed urban renewal to happen". Her disagreement with Frampton lied mainly in their criteria for judging what is "socially relevant or socially irresponsible in architecture", while their point of convergence lied on their critical stance vis-à-vis urban renewal architecture. She argued that "analysis of physical properties [should not be equated] with lack of social concern". She differentiated herself from urban renewal principles, underlying that "in urban renewal, […] architects well-trained in the art of coordinating have not

FIG. 27   Fausto Giaccone, Fight between police and students outside the School of Architecture at Valle Giulia. Rome, 1 March 1968. From '68. Un anno di confine (Milano, 2008) LF.31.b.4963

FIG. 28 "Sanguinosi scontri all'Universitá," in *Il Messaggero*, 7 March 1968: 1-8.

FIG. 29 "Sanguinosi scontri a Roma frag li universitari e la polizia", *Il Messaggero*, 2 March 1968

[...] included important social concerns in their coordinations".[65]

Scott Brown also claimed that, even if Frampton was not aware of it, they – she and Robert Venturi – had "been involved both theoretically and practically with the relation between architectural formalism and social concern".[66] A very interesting remark of Scott Brown regarding Frampton's point of view is that he seemed to be "caught between two social critiques of America a European and an American".[67] She, thus, distinguished two social critiques of America. As Scott Brown highlighted, the conflict between architectural formalism and social concern was at the center of North-American debates at the time. This split was reflected in the dilemmas of the pedagogy, which were unfolded in the framework of two conferences that are defining for understanding the transformations of the pedagogy of Architecture within the north-American context, held both at the Museum of Modern Art in New York: "Architectural Education USA: Issues, Ideas, and People" in 1971, and "Institutions for a Post-Technological Society: The Universitas Project" in 1972. Among the contributors to the first were Peter Eisenman, Robert Gutman, Herbert J. Gans, Oswald Mathias Ungers, Denise Scott Brown, Colin Rowe, Jonathan Barnett, Kenneth Frampton, Stanford Anderson and Anthony Vidler, while among the speakers at the second were Henri Lefebvre, Jean Baudrillard and Michel Foucault.

Urban strategy and urban analysis were at the center of French discourse at the time, extending far beyond the frontiers of architecture and urban design disciplines. Within the French context, Henri Lefebvre and Roland Barthes tried to propose new ways of reading the city. Henri Lefebvre noted regarding the relation of urban strategies to utopia, in "From Urban Science to Urban Strategy": "The science of the city and of the urban phenomenon cannot reply without taking the risk of consenting to constraints from elsewhere: from ideology and power. It constitutes itself slowly, through hypotheses and experiments as much as concepts and theories. It cannot do without imagination, which is to say utopia".[68] In 1972, the theories that Lefebvre developed in his seminal book *Le droit*

65. Denise Scott Brown, "Risposta per Frampton/ Reply to Frampton," *Casabella*, no. 359-360 (1971): 41.

66. Ibid., 43.

67. Ibid., 44.

68. Henri Lefebvre, "From Ubran Science to Urban Strategy," in *Utopie: Texts and Projects*, 1967-1978, ed. Craig Buckley, Jean-Louis Violeau (Los Angeles, CA: Semiotext(e), 2011), 206.

à la ville,[69] originally published in Paris in 1968, at the very moment of the student protests and the workers strikes, were introduced this very moment in London architectural scene, through the review written by Bernard Tschumi in *Architectural Design*.[70]

Roland Barthes, in "Semiology and Urbanism" ("Sémiologie et Urbanisme"), published in *L'Architecture d'aujourd'hui* a year earlier, in 1971, referred to the concept of urban semiology. He claimed that the practice of urban semiology is associated with semiology, geography, history, urbanism, architecture and psychoanalysis.

FIG. 30   Pier Paolo Pasolini, "Vi odio cari studenti," in *L'Espresso*, 16 June 1968.

Barthes, in this text, examined to what extent an urban semiology is possible and tried to understand under what conditions such a kind of semiology could exist. He underscored that "the human space [...] has always been signifying". A thought-provoking remark of Barthes, in the above text, is his observation that "Lynch' conception of the city is more gestaltist than structural".[71]

The same year, the seminar "La città-territorio" was held at the same university. Manfredo Tafuri, who participated at the above student revolts, at the time was attracted by the concept of the "nuova dimensione", which was dominant in the debates on architecture and urban planning in Italy. His approval of the notion of "nuova dimensione" was evident in the article entitled "La città territorio: verso una nuova dimensione", which he co-authored with Giorgio Piccinato and Vieri Quilici in 1962 for *Casabella Continuità*.[72] In 1964, Tafuri had changed his mind regarding the importance of the concept of "nuova dimensione". This becomes evident from what he argued in "Razionalismo critico e nuovo utopismo", published also in Casabella Continuità that year. There, he expressed his fears regarding the dangers of the hypothetical "nuova dimensione" of intervention, which, according to him, was risking of "passing into the catalog of slogans without operational consistency".[73] In the same article, Tafuri underlined the intensification of methodological and syntactic renewal in the international architectural scene.

Tafuri's "La città territorio: Verso una nuova dimensione" was written before the occupation the forty-three day occupation of the Valle Giulia Facoltà di architettura during 1963,[74] while his text entitled "Razionalismo critico e nuovo utopismo" was written after its occupation. This should be more than a coincidence. Tafuri's reorientation should also be interpreted in conjunction, on the one

71. Roland Barthes, "Sémiologie et Urbanisme," *L'Architecture d'aujourd'hui*, no. 153 (1971): 11-13; "Semiology and Urbanism," in *Architecture Culture*, 1943-1968, ed. Joan Ockman (New York: Columbia Books of Architecture, 1993), 412-18. The text comes from a conference that Roland Barthes gave on 16 May 1967, organised by the Institut Français, the Institute of History of Architecture of the University of Naples and *L'Architecture d'aujourd'hui*.

72. Giorgio Piccinato, Vieri Quilici, Manfredo Tafuri, «La città territorio: verso una nuova dimensione,» *Casabella Continuità*, no. 270 (1962): 16–25.

73. Manfredo Tafuri, «Razionalismo critico e nuovo utopismo,» *Casabella Continuità*, no. 293 (1964): 20.

74. Andrew Leach. "Choosing History: Tafuri, Criticality and the Limits of Architecture." *The Journal of Architecture* 10, no. 3 (2005): 235-44.

FIG. 31   Author unknown, Sesto San Giovanni, Milan, 1968 (Source: http://www.darsmagazine.it/racconto-privato-intimoracconto-sociale-comune/#.Wy4ZbiOB3V)

hand, with the dissolution of the Architetti Urbanisti Associati (AUA), who's members were Giorgio Piccinato and Vieri Quilici apart from Tafuri, and, on the other hand, in relation to his conviction that no architectural intervention can contribute to the change of capitalist ideology, if it's produced within the capitalist system. Ernesto N. Rogers, the director of *Casabella Continuità* at the time, in his editorial of the following issue, entitled "Discontinuità o continuità?", declares that the vision of the journal was still characterized by the belief "in the usefulness of an ideal battle in the field of architecture, in its profound human, political, social content, in an anti-fascist, democratic, progressive sense."[75] Carlo Aymonino, in "Facoltà di Tendenza", published in *Casabella* in 1964, referred to the transformations that should take place within the discipline of architecture in order to be able to resolve concrete problems of an immediate nature. Aymonino, in this article, underscored the necessity to develop "new types of theoretical problems" based on "Marxist aesthetic critique"[76]. He maintained that Marxist theory could help reinvent the discipline of architecture, taking into consideration its vivacity and exactness.

FIG. 32   Broadsheet of the "Utopia e/o Rivoluzione" meeting in Casabella 337 (June 1969).

Given that hundreds of students and policemen were injured, the so-called "Battle of the Valle Giulia"[77] [Fig. 27] is considered as a moment in which violence marked the Italian students' movement [Figs. 28-29]. Pier Paolo Pasolini's poem "The PCI to the Young!" (The Italian Communist Party to the young!) which is also known by the title "Vi odio cari studenti" ("I hate you dear students")[78], [Fig. 30], contributed to the consideration of the above clash between the students and the police as a moment par excellence within the debates over the *Sessantotto*.[79] As Sam Rohdie notes, "Pasolini's poem took the position that the events at the Valle Giulia were not a class conflict, but a civil disturbance within the confines of the class in power and"[80] [Fig. 31]. As Gianni Statera mentions, "[f]rom December 1967 to June 1968, practically every university was disrupted by repeated occupations".[81] The difference of the student demonstration held Valle Giulia from all the other student protests that "succeeded one another in many Italian cities at that time" lies in "the bitterness of the clash the excessively violent reaction of the police".[82]

Milan's newspaper *Corriere della Sera* and Turin's newspaper La Stampa covered the student movement protests. Within the Italian context, a significant instance is the "battle of the Valle Giulia" on March 1, 1968. The clashes between police and student protesters trying to occupy the faculty of Architecture at Valle Giulia that took place in a park outside the University of Rome's Faculty of Architecture are paradigmatic for understanding the intensity of the conflicts in the Italian context. Stuart Hilwig compares the "Battle of the Valle Giulia" in Rome with the Grant Park demonstrations in Chicago and the Parisian students' protests.[83]

75.   Ernesto N. Rogers, «Discontinuità o continuità?,» *Casabella Continuità*, no. 294-295 (1964) : 1.

76.   Carlo Aymonino, «Facoltà di Tendenza,» *Casabella Continuità*, no. 287 (1964): 11.

77.   The "Battle of Valle Giulia" ("battaglia di Valle Giulia") is the conventional name for a clash between Italian militants (left-wing as well as right-wing) and the Italian police in Valle Giulia, Rome, on 1 March 1968. It is still frequently remembered as one of the first violent clashes in Italy's student unrest during the protests of 1968 or "Sessantotto"

78.   The newspaper *L'Espresso* printed the poem with this alternate title: Pier Paolo Pasolini, "Vi odio cari studenti," in *L'Espresso*, 16 June 1968.

79.   Simona Bondavalli, *Fictions of Youth: Pier Paolo Pasolini, Adolescence, Fascisms* (Toronto; Buffalo; London: University of Toronto Press, 2015), 150.

80.   Sam Rohdie, *The Passion of Pier Paolo Pasolini* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1995), 195.

81.   Gianni Statera, *Death of a utopia: the development and decline of student movements in Europe* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1975), 106.

82.   Ibid., 107.

83.   Stuart Hilwig, "Constructing a Media Image of the *Sessantotto*. The Framing of the Italian Protest Movement in 1968" in *Media and Revolt: Strategies and Performances from the 1960s* to the Present, ed. Kathrin Fahlenbrach, Erling Sivertsen, Rolf Werenskjold (New Work and Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2014), 112.

Hilwig claims that the "Battle of the Valle Giulia" "proved to have an effect similar to have an effect similar to the student-police battles of the Chicago Democratic Convention riots of 1968".[84] In order to grasp the magnitude of the "Battle of the Valle Giulia", we can call to mind, on the one hand that "[t]he popular presses' coverage […] turned the event into a national spectacle"[85] and, on the other hand, that "for the first time students fought back a police charge".[86]

Another significant instance for unfolding the transformations of the role of the architect and the pedagogical models are the exhibit and public meeting "Utopia e/o Rivoluzione" [Fig. 32], held in Turin in 1969 as an initiative independent from any university, which echoes the climate of political turmoil, questioning the role of education in relation to utopia within urban planning and architecture. "Utopia e/o Rivoluzione" was an exhibition and public meeting organized by student and assistant professors from the Faculty of Architecture of Politecnico di Torino in April 26 and 27 in 1969. The main question treated in this event was the "reconsideration of the legacy of utopia in the late 1960s, in reaction to the increasing commoditization of culture at the level of housing, city, and territory. It raised several theoretical questions: If there is to be a utopia, what utopia? If revolution, where and when? What is the role of the proletarian or intellectual in this discussion?".[87] Among the invited participants were Italian emigrants Romaldo Giurgola and Paolo Soleri, who were residents of the United States since the 1950s. Other contributors to the event were Dennis Crompton and Peter Cook from the British group Archigram from Great Britain, Hans Hollein from Austria, Hubert Tonka from the *Utopie* Group from France, Paul Virilio and Claude Parent from the group *Architecture Principe*, Yona Friedman, Archizoom from Italy and the Torino-based radical groups Grupp Strum and Anonima. The last three groups were the sole representatives of Italian practices, who contributed to "Utopia e/o Rivoluzione".[88]

Paolo Soleri, in the address he gave at "Utopia e/o Rivoluzione", claimed that "[t]he city constitutes something more substantial than the accumulation of the activities and its individual citizens". He argued for neither "Utopia and/or revolution, but evolutionary radicalism", insisting that "[t]he urban system is not only an instrument for the service of the individual".[89] Archizoom, in "Relazione del gruppo Archizoom", published in the issue of the journal Marcatré, which was dedicated to "Utopia e/o Rivoluzione", sustained that the philosophy of conceiving building typologies in accordance with the existing economic conditions needed "to be blown to pieces".[90]

Insightful regarding the shifts of educational models in Europe and the United States, after 1968, are the issues 21 (1978) and 27 (1980) of *Lotus International*, presenting the pedagogical models in both contexts. Pierluigi Nicolin, in his editorial to the 21 issue of *Lotus International*,

84. Hilwig, Italy and 1968: *Youthful Unrest and Democratic Culture* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), 24.

85. Ibid.

86. Donatella della Porta, "Protest, Protesters, and Protest Policing: Public Discourses in Italy and Germany from the 1960s to the 1980s," in *How Social Movements Matter*, ed. Marco Giugni, Doug McAdam and Charles Tilly (Minneapolis; London: University of Minnesota Press, 1999), 71.

87. Beatriz Colomina, Craig Buckley and Urtzi Grau, eds. C*lip, Stamp, Fold: The Radical Architecture of Little Magazines*, 196X to 197X (Barcelona: ACTAR Publishers, 2010), 114.

88. Mary Louise Lobsinger, "Domestic Environments: Italian Neo-Avant-Garde Design and the Politics of Post-Materialism," in *Atomic Dwelling: Anxiety, Domesticity, and Postwar Architecture*, ed. Robin Schuldenfrei (London; New York: Routledge, 2012), 199.

89. Paolo Soleri, Jules Noel Wright "Utopia e o Revolucione: Utopia and/or Revolution," *Perspecta* 13/14 (1971): 281.

90. Archizoom, "Relazione del gruppo Archizoom," *Marcatré*, no. 50-55, numero monografico dedicato al convegno Utopia e/o rivoluzione (1969): 100.

entitled "Architecture in the University: Europe", published in 1978, referred to a phenomenon "resumption of architectural design work within the university, coming after the triumphant years of sociology, design methods, urban planning reform, the mathematicization of architecture and do-it-yourself (in other words, the movement away from a specific interest within the architectural discipline), does not by any means represent 'a return', but is being carried out in absolutely".[91] According to him, the teaching strategies in the European Schools of Architecture in 1978, were characterized by the intent to reinforce the "relation within reality", to take distance "from capitalist industry" and to refuse "to accept the capitalist city".[92] He also noted that the main characteristic of the shift of pedagogy in the Schools of Architecture within the European context since 1968 is the dissolution of "the myths of creativity and the technology of the creativity [...] along with the very "design methods" of which it was to be the Gestaltic complement".[93] In his eyes, the mutations of pedagogy after 1968 concerned the research for "a more direct knowledge of the "real city" and its contradictions of the class struggle and its connections with urban transformations".[94]

Bernard Huet, in "The Teaching of Architecture in France: 1968-1978: From One Reform to The Next", scrutinized the question of massification of architectural pedagogy, underscoring that "the reform of 1968, which called itself "democratic" [...] without realizing it and motivated by the best political intentions, brought in a new teaching of an elitist kind".[95] "The Provincial City: A symposium on past and current models of provincial cities in western civilization" and "Utopia e/o Rivoluzione" constitute expressions of the disjunctive synthesis between utopia and revolution. To return to the argument raised at the beginning of the article, the 1968 student protests in Europe, and especially in Italy, provoked a shift on architectural pedagogy and epistemology, which was characterized by the elaboration of strategies towards the city that had as starting point the conviction that a close understanding of reality would help architecture not to lose its locus.

This act of embracing reality was accompanied by the rejection of utopias and the ideology of the avant-garde. The avant-garde ideology was based on the certainty that architects and artists are capable of directing social and architectural utopia. In contrast with such a grand narrative, the network of the events around/in 1968, infused architectural epistemology in Europe with the awareness of the fragmentary character of socially inspired projects. The return to reality was presented to European architects as the antidote against the dogmas not only of functionalism, but also of utopian projects. For this reason, irony was very present in the dominant architectural discourse in Europe. For instance, one of the articles published in the issue of *Marcatré* dedicated to the event "Utopia e/o Rivoluzione" was entitled "Fetishism of the utopia. From the Utopists of the early 19th century, precursors of radical critique, to speculative

91. Pierluigi Nicolin, "L'architettura nell'università: Europa/ Architecture in the University: Europe," *Lotus International*, no. 21 (1978): 3.

92. Ibid.

93. Ibid., 5.

94. Ibid.

95. Bernard Huet, "L'insegnamento dell'architettura in Francia: 1968-1978 da una riforma all'altra/ The Teaching of Architecture in France: 1968-1978: From One Reform to The Next," *Lotus International*, no. 21: 37. As Huet reminds us, professors and students had started fighting for the reform of 1968 since 1966.
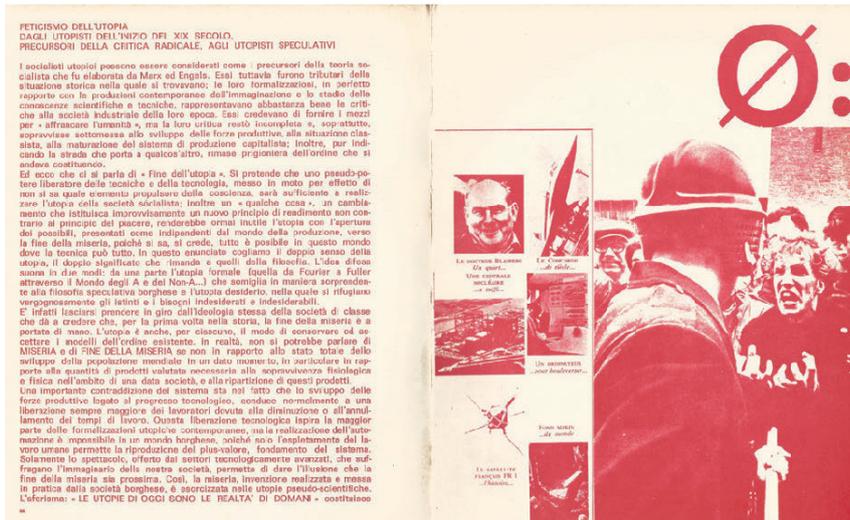
FIG. 33   "Feticismo dell'utopia. Dagli Utopiste dell'inizio del XIX secolo, precursori della critica radicale, agli utopisti speculative," *Marcatré*, no. 50-55, monographic issue on "Utopia e/o rivoluzione" (July 1969)

utopians" ("Feticismo dell'utopia. Dagli Utopiste dell'inizio del XIX secolo, precursori della critica radicale, agli utopisti speculative")[96] **[Fig. 33]**. This title reflects this perspective, which I tried to explain above, regarding the non-efficiency in terms of social mutations of utopian projects.

"Utopia e/o Rivoluzione", as a non-institutionalized event, expressed the wish for a non-capitalist logic of education, while "The Provincial City" did not take any distance from the norms of understanding architectural pedagogy. In this sense, the former is representative of the desire to democratize architecture, while the latter echoes the elitist tendency of education, emphasized by Huet. For Huet, "[a]ll the progressive lines of thought which preceded and followed 1968, in spite of their differences, agree at least on one point: the end of the utopias and the death of the avant-garde".[97] It becomes, thus, evident, that for him revolution and, especially, change, in architectural pedagogy cannot be possible without taking distance from myths of utopia. In other words, he believed that the revolutionizing of pedagogy and the attachment to utopia were incompatible. In the question that "Utopia e/o Rivoluzione?", posed in Turin in 1969, Huet would answer "rivoluzione". This stance of Huet, which is representative of the presiding posture at the time in Europe, seems to be in contrast with the dominant discourse during the same period in the milieus of North-American architectural pedagogy. Manfredo Tafuri, who had lectured at Princeton in 1974, wrote to Joan Ockman more than ten years later referring to his disenchantment caused by his reading of *Architecture Criticism Ideology*[98]: "'revolution' is not among my thoughts. Etymologically, revolution (revolution) signifies 'return,' and is related to the perfection of the origin [...] revolutions - have always been extraneous to my point of view".[99] Therefore, Tafuri to the question "Utopia e/o Rivoluzione?" would have answered: neither utopia nor revolution, since he believed that his thought and practice as historian was incompatible with the illusions that accompany the notions of both utopia and revolution. He believed,

96. "Feticismo dell'utopia. Dagli Utopiste dell'inizio del XIX secolo, precursori della critica radicale, agli utopisti speculative," *Marcatré*, no. 50-55, numero monografico dedicato al convegno Utopia e/o rivoluzione (1969).

97. Bernard Huet, "L'insegnamento dell'architettura in Francia: 1968-1978 da una riforma all'altra/ The Teaching of Architecture in France: 1968-1978: From One Reform to The Next," *Lotus International*, no. 21: 38.

98. Joan Ockman, ed. *Architecture, criticism, ideology*. Princeton: Princeton Architectural Press, 1985.

99. Manfredo Tafuri quoted by Joan Ockman in "Venezia e New York/Venice and New York." *Casabella*, no. 59 (1995): 67.

instead, "in an activity that constantly modifies the given coordinates".[100]

100.   Ibid.

A prompt that Tafuri addressed to Ockman, in the same letter, could recapitulate well the contradiction I tried to present, in this article, between the effects of 1968 in architectural pedagogy and epistemology in Europe and those in the United States: "If American culture wants to understand me, why not make an effort to abandon facile typologies (Marxism, negative thought, etc.)?" If we accept the above opinion of Tafuri regarding the fondness for labeling and systematizing in the American discourse, we could argue that such rather reductive American attitude of abstracting concepts did not permit the events of 1968 to rearticulate the forces related to architecture's social reality. According to Tafuri, such disentangled interpretation of concepts coming from Europe when introduced in the United States was related to Americans' tendency to abstract them from the historical context in which they emerged. He said characteristically regarding this issue: "Another thing that strikes me is that those who write about me in the U.S.A never put things into their historical context: 1973 is not 1980, is not 1985…".[101]

101.   Ibid.

In the post-1968 era, a large part of the protagonists of architectural pedagogy in the United States privileged the notion of process in terms of form-making, instead of putting forward the processes of quotidian transformations that inevitably characterize the inhabitation of spaces, on the one hand, and life in the cities, on the other hand. They, thus, left behind concerns regarding how real architecture and real cities are inhabited and experienced. We could claim that the post-1968 situation regarding the design and educational strategies in America was characterized by the ignorance of the living subject for the sake form-making processes. This state of affairs in the American post-1968 architectural pedagogy privileged the interpreter of architectural drawings instead of the inhabitant of architectural spaces. This claim is valuable for Peter Eisenman and John Hejduk. In the case of Robert Venturi and Denise Scott Brown, the experience of the inhabitant is reduced to its communicative aspect. In other words, there was no distinction between the activity of seeing images and the activity of navigating in the city. The image of the city was more important to them than the real life of the city. In the case of Eisenman and Hejduk, we have paper-architecture, while in the case of Venturi and Scott Brown we are confronted with a reduction of the encounter with the real city to an act of reading signs of the city, the city's image. To conclude, I would argue that a rather significant difference between the American and the Italian post-1968 attitudes concerns the extent to which architects feel responsible for the evolution of society in general. In the United States, despite they insisted on using terms such as "utopia" and "myth" and on introducing European critical works vis-à-vis utopia, such as this of Tafuri, the architects liberated themselves from their responsibility as actors in society's transformation.

We can, thus, observe two post-1968 American tendencies: one enclosed in the invention of formal intellectual games, which reduced architecture to its drawing, recapitulated by Eisenman and Hejduk, and one celebrating the non-control of the growth of the city by the architects and urban designers and the dependence of its evolution by parameters that do not belong to the discipline of architecture and urban design, such as this of Robert Venturi and Denise Scott Brown. This rather schematic presentation of the different directions that took architectural pedagogy and epistemology in the European and American contexts, even if it risks being interpreted as a generalization, shows that, despite the dissemination of similar demands through the student protests of 1968 in both sides of the Atlantic the transformations that these protests activated were of rather different nature. Their divergences should be comprehended as result of coordination and complex interactions of forces that surpass architecture and have to do with the dissimilarities of European and American societies. Despite the intensification of the cross-fertilization between European and American architectural discourse, and especially between Italian and American architectural discourse, during the post-1968 era, the same concepts were interpreted and instrumentalized differently because of these dissimilarities of societies that surpass architecture as discipline.

In both contexts – the Italian and the American – the effects of 1968 provoked a distancing from the concept of the "nuova dimensione", in the case of Italy, and the concept of urban renewal, in the case of the United States. In Italy, the antidote against the risks of the "nuova dimensione" was the rediscovery of the immediacy of reality, the locus and the civic dimension of the role of the architect. On the contrary, in the United States, the strategies against the unpredictability of the urban renewal could be recapitulated in three main directions. The first direction consisted in the interiorization of architectural design through its reduction to the representation of the design procedure and to the establishment of controlled and one-way decodifications of signs. This tendency, which included Peter Eisenman and John Hejduk's compositional methods, was based on the assumption that the addressee of architecture is the reader and interpreter of architectural drawings. It becomes evident that, in this case, architects' civic responsibility is minimized and the transmission of the message is mono-directional, that is to say from the architect to the reader of the drawings. The enactment of civic responsibility and the co-creation of the artefactual value by the addressee of architectural message is not included in the intentions of the architect. The second direction consisted in the reduction of architectural and urban artifacts in their images and included Robert Venturi and Denise Scott Brown's stance. According to this approach, the architect and the addressee become both receivers of the all-expanding message of the city and celebrate their non-control on its expansion. In this case, as in the

previous, neither the fertilization of civic responsibility nor the sense of participation of the interpreter of architecture signs in the formation of architecture and urban fabric's artefactual value are not part of architects' vision. The third direction consisted in the conservation of the belief in the invention of new utopias, through the incorporation of strategies coming from previous historical contexts and without understanding that the city as artefact of the post-1968 economic and social rearrangements could not be treated adopting models that are not connected to architecture and city's real attributes.

In Europe, during the same period, the demand for intensification of architects' civic responsibility was very dominant. Architects were motivated by an intense concern with the extension of their responsibilities towards society. Their conviction that the locus of the city should be the starting point of any design procedure, as in the case of Aldo Rossi or Léon Krier, and the awareness that the way architecture affects its users should be the main concern, as in the case of Hans Hollein, who shed light on the transformation of architecture's effects on individuals, are more central than any of the directions that I described above referring to the American context.

These divergences between Europe and America regarding the transformations of architectural epistemology after 1968 show that the trajectories of architectural discourse and pedagogy after 1968 should not be treated in a homogenized way. Instead of referring to the events of 68 as moments, we should refer to them as trajectories. If we accept Reinhart Koselleck's assumption that "[h]istorical time […] is bound up with social and political actions",[102] we should try to grasp in their concreteness and their historical specificity the transformations that followed the 1968 student protests in different geographic and institutional contexts, such as the Italian and the North-American. In order to do so, we should seek to untie the social and political actions in a way that takes into consideration the specific characteristics of each context. Such an approach implies that we should not keep our analysis tightened exclusively with the sphere of architecture. Instead, we should unravel the encounters between the different spheres – economic, cultural, social, political, etc. – and understand the effects of their interaction on architectural discourse. This is valuable for any historical study, but it is even more indispensable for understanding the effects of 1968 student protests on the epistemology of architecture in different geographic contexts, since this is a very complex topic, but timely to comprehend.

102.   Reinhart Koselleck. *Futures Past: On the Semantics of Historical Time.* Translated by Keith Tribe. New York: Columbia University Press, 2004, 2. Original edition: Reinhart Koselleck. *Vergangene Zukunft: Zur Semantik geschichtlicher Zeiten* (Frankfurt/ Main: Suhrkamp, 1979).