Celebrity and architects. The significance of celebrity in relation to the professional legitimisation of American architects in the 1970s and 1980s: a case study

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Celebrity and architects

The significance of celebrity in relation to the professional legitimisation of American architects in the 1970s and 1980s: a case study

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The late twentieth century saw the emergence of a theoretical discourse concerned with celebrity culture. Within this discourse, celebrity has largely been framed as a negative force in relation to the profession of architecture. This thesis challenges that position by reinvestigating the relationship between architects and the media during the "starchitect boom" of the late 1970s and 1980s in the United States of America. With thirty years of historical retrospect now available since the arrival of the "starchitect" phenomenon, this thesis provides a new perspective on the impact of celebrity culture on architectural practice. Drawing on Pierre Bourdieu's theories of legitimacy, the investigation argues that celebrity may be used as a means of gaining professional consecration: that is, recognition by peers. Traditionally, legitimacy has been achieved by such methods as publication in the professional media, institutional appointments, awards and exhibitions. In this investigation celebrity is identified as an extra layer in this process. As a means of supporting this argument the career trajectory of one of the most high-profile American "starchitects" of the 1970s and 1980s, Michael Graves, provides a case study.

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Drummond (nee Knowles), Alanya, 2012, '*Time Magazine* and the publication of celebrity architects', Chapter 5 (pp. 61-72) in: *Essays on Construction*, edited by Stavros Alifragkis, published by Athens Institute for Education and Research, Athens. ISBN 978-960-9549-89-9 (double-blind peer-reviewed).

Knowles, Alanya, 2012, 'Architects on the cover of *Time Magazine*', *The International Journal of the Image*, Volume 2, Issue 1, pp.83-98 (double-blind peer-reviewed).

Knowles, Alanya, 2010, 'Starchitects and the media: The shift from peer review to public review' in: *Imagining... proceedings of the 27th Annual International SAHANZ conference, Newcastle, Australia, 30 June – 2 July, 2010*, pp.191-195 (ISBN 978-0-646-53690-3, double-blind peer-reviewed proceedings).

Knowles, Alanya, 2010, 'The identity of architects: From professionalism to celebrity', in: *proceedings of the 1st International Graduate Symposium on the Built Environment, Middle East Technical University, Ankara, Turkey, 15 – 16 October, 2010*, pp. 301-305 (ISBN 978-975-429-285-5 (1.c), document ID DT2E164, single-blind peer-reviewed proceedings).

CHAPTER 1 – Outline of Thesis

1.1 Background

This thesis developed from my personal experience of working in an architectural practice. One particular occurrence set the context for the germination of this study.

From 2006 to 2008 I worked in Paris for a Pritzker Prize-winning architect. Having attained a high level of publicity upon receiving this Prize, he developed the need for a communications team. I was employed in this small group, and my objective was to raise the profile of my employer through the media. My time was spent responding to media requests and identifying potential avenues for further promotion.

On my first day I was provided with three lists: media sources whose requests were to be dealt with immediately, those that should be responded to within a few days, and those that should be answered only if time permitted.

I was surprised to see that the list of 'urgent' requests was predominantly popular media sources. At the top of the list was *Paris Match*. This publication covers a range of social and cultural topics, from politics to design, but is written in a tabloid style with 'soft' news and gossip interspersed. The readership of *Paris Match* is broad, covering many socio-economic groups, from educated professionals to the working class. Due to its wide audience, the magazine is considered highly influential. It would be of particular interest to an architect as it solicits the attention of many people associated with architectural production; clients, end users and opinion makers. There is no precise equivalent in Australia, where the popular media tends to focus more on film and music stars than architects or other professionals. The closest Australian approximation would be a cross between 'Sydney Magazine' (of *The Sydney Morning Herald*) and *Who Weekly*.

I found it fascinating that this magazine would be the top publication target for an internationally famous architect. I asked the reason for this choice, and he replied simply: "That is what everyone reads". Given that *Paris Match* is a mass-media publication, the comment suggested that the architect was interested in attracting a

broad audience. The fact that profession-oriented architectural journals were in the 'least urgent' category indicated to me that the architect was not interested in communicating directly with the design community; this architect envisioned a more far-reaching profile. Peer review was not the purpose of our communications team; public acknowledgement was. Whether this was because the architect wanted to attract more clients, or develop a larger public profile for grandiose reasons, I do not know. Whatever his reasons, he prioritised popular media over professional media. It would be logical to assume that this architect wanted to be well known. The instructions provided to our communications team indicated his desire for a public profile. It may reasonably be assumed that this architect aspired to the level of public visibility that a number of his international high-profile colleagues had achieved and were enjoying.

Over the following years, as I targeted popular media sources to publicise this architect, I noticed how frequently other architects appeared in the same publications. Clearly the architect for whom I worked was not an isolated case; his promotional tactics represented a broader pattern. It became apparent that considerable value was placed on appearance in popular media sources, and that the reason was not pure vanity. After a magazine appearance, the architect would usually receive many phone calls offering commissions and inviting him to enter design competitions. These new works would, invariably, lead to more promotional opportunities, because the projects that he came to work on were usually high-profile public facilities or exclusive private works, both of which were newsworthy. Given that the architect was typically awarded an unusually long design development phase in these high-profile works, and the budgets were high, he proudly claimed these works to be his biggest achievements. A trail of emails from journalists naturally appeared in our inbox on the day these works were unveiled. It was the recognition of this cyclical process of architectural production and media attention that sparked the development of my thesis.

I had assumed that the search for public support for this architect's work was for superficial reasons: vanity, revenue, ego boost or perhaps simply personal satisfaction. Yet it appeared that there was a much more fundamental relationship between the media and his architectural work. I had assumed that by not focusing on the professional press my employer held a disregard for the opinion of his peers. But in fact, I came to

understand that he was simply undertaking an alternative approach to climbing the professional ladder. For each time the architect actively promoted himself through the mainstream media, he was subsequently reviewed in the professional media. It appeared that he was in fact seeking the respect of his peers, yet via the avenue of public opinion. Upon my return to Australia I decided to further investigate this relationship between architect and public, media and legitimisation. When, how and where did this alternative relationship with the mainstream media begin? For architects, what impact did it have on their career trajectory?

1.2 Hypothesis and research aims

The hypothesis of this investigation is that celebrity may serve as an additional, or alternative, path to professional legitimisation within the field of architecture. Through the lens of Pierre Bourdieu's theories on fields of cultural production, it is argued that symbolic capital may be acquired through the process of "celebrification" which involves the mainstream media, argued to be a valid participant in defining elite agents. It is maintained that the traditional gatekeepers of the field of architecture, such as professional associations and academic institutions, are not the only authority on symbolic capital. This thesis describes an alternative legitimisation process whereby celebrity may be implemented as a tool to augment an architect's perceived significance in the eyes of the public, thereby attracting greater recognition, and ultimately consecration, by professional agents such as architectural institutions and other legitimised architects. The thesis aims to demonstrate that this strategy of consecration was applied by the first "starchitects" of the late 1970s and 1980s in the United States of America.[1] Michael Graves is a prime example, and a case study of his cultural trajectory tests the hypothesis. His career path demonstrates that popularisation and consecration are not mutually exclusive.

The key terms within this statement fall into five main categories: Focus, Framework of Understanding, Geographical Focus, Chronological Focus and Case Study.

[1] The United States of America will henceforth be referred to as the US.

1.3 Focus

The first key term in the hypothesis is 'celebrity', the central theme of the investigation. A celebrity is a person who is well known, and may also be referred to as a personality, icon, VIP, household name, star[2] or famous person. In this thesis, the terms 'fame' and 'celebrity' are used somewhat interchangeably as both refer to a prominent individual in the public eye. As noted by media and cultural scholars Su Holmes and Sean Redmond, the two terms have 'a degree of liquidity' (2006, p. 10). The Oxford Dictionary definitions are nearly identical: 'fame' is 'the state of being known by many people' while 'celebrity' is 'the state of being well known'. Yet in celebrity discourse there is a slight difference in the context of their application. Architectural theorists and historians Charles Jencks and Julia Chance (2001) suggest they both relate to the architectural profession in different ways and at different times.

The first distinction between the two terms is chronological; 'celebrity' appears predominantly in literature of the late twentieth and twenty-first centuries, whilst 'fame' is more frequently cited in earlier texts. Holmes and Redmond refer to 'celebrity' as 'the contemporary state of being famous' (2007a, p. 8). Whilst 'fame' has existed for a long time, the focus of this thesis is the period post 1970 when the term 'celebrity' came into parlance in regards to architects. The second distinction between the two terms regards their relevance to the media; although both are based on becoming well known, celebrity is tied more closely to the mainstream or mass media, and incorporates the added complexities of contemporary commercialism, technological advancements and consumer culture (Gamson 1994). As articulated by Marshall McLuhan, 'celebrity is historically conceptualized as a particular form of fame – one which … implies a particular connection to the historical evolution of public visibility, and its relations with the mass media and changing notions of achievement' (1997, pp. 4–5). Holmes and Redmond offer a similar distinction, suggesting that the term 'celebrity' has 'contemporary currency in describing mass-mediated fame' (2006, p. 11). The third distinction relates to tone; 'celebrity' is often used pejoratively to refer to fleeting renown that rests little on professional merit, whilst 'fame' is tied to more enduring achievement, and is generally applied in a positive context (Cashmore 2006, p. 87;

[2] The term 'star' is typically reserved for film celebrities, and so is used sparingly in this thesis.

Holmes et al. 2006, p. 10). As phrased by psychologist Donna Rockwell, fame is a condition 'of being glorified' while celebrity is 'a process of media exposure' (2009, p. 180). In this thesis the terms 'fame' and 'celebrity' applied to the field of architecture are *not* related to this last identifier, talent. This thesis instead adopts the attitude of social theorist Leo Braudy that 'it is not the separation of fame from achievement that is the crucial moral issue, but the definition of achievement itself … Such is the nature of fame in a media world, where honor becomes less a matter of personal satisfaction and personal values than of an external recognition that makes that inner honor "real"' (1986, p. 10). Hence, in this thesis the usage of 'fame' and 'celebrity' depends primarily on chronology and relevance to the mainstream media, as is common in current discourse on celebrity architects.

In this thesis, the understanding of 'fame' in the field of architecture stems largely on the theories of American architectural theorist Roxanne Kuter Williamson, who has written in depth on the subject. Her book *American architects and the mechanics of fame* (1991) serves as a reference for a variety of architectural books, including Howard Davis's *The culture of building* (2000). According to Williamson, fame, in its strongest definition, is 'the attribute of the person who makes history, whose actions are important enough to be recorded for the future' (1991, p. 206). Fame relates to 'the sort of reputation that arises out of truly innovative designs, the kind of work deemed important enough to be included in the textbooks' (p. 14). Fame for architects relates to those with the most cultural capital, which is acknowledged internally as pre-eminent capital in the field of architecture.

Williamson's opinion regarding fame serves to justify the position of this thesis that fame, and celebrity, may contribute to the process of legitimisation. Williamson refers to famous architects as those who are 'included in the textbooks' (1991, p. 13). Williamson's assertions suggest that such architects have activated the processes of both celebrity and legitimisation; this investigation unpacks that suggestion. It is argued in this thesis that the increased media focus associated with celebrity offers the opportunity to garner the support of the general public, which in turn can serve to encourage the profession to recognise an architect's accomplishments. Sociologist Magali Sarfatti Larson, in her influential book *Behind the Postmodern facade:*

architectural change in late twentieth-century America (1993), states that 'architectural change becomes a public matter only when it exceeds the bounds of discourse and the sphere of the cognoscenti' (p. 60). This investigation explores the way celebrity architects move beyond the 'sphere of the cognoscenti' and establish broad public recognition. Transcendence of the 'sphere' is a means to an end; it is argued that celebrity architects become a 'public matter' – achieve a level of perceived significance – in order to ultimately move into the 'sphere' and attain a level of significance within their profession.

Theorists have long debated the means by which a famous architect may be identified. Larson proposed that the participating jurors in the Design Awards Program of Progressive Architecture from 1966 to 1985 should be considered as renowned architects (1993, p. 20). Yet it was American sociologist Judith Blau who set the precedent in 1984 in her book *Architects and firms: a sociological perspective on architectural practice* (1984). Blau established a technique that focused on a combination of survey, analysing the number of times an architect had been cited in professional journals, and calculating the number of awards and competitions won. Blau's is the earliest and still the most accepted approach. Williamson (1991) followed and, although her methods differ, she considers Blau's to be one of the strongest systems of categorisation and supports the notion that the foundation of the fame is inexorably linked to the media; the celebrity strength of an architect is judged by the attention that they draw from the press. Larson has also articulated the link between fame and publication, writing that the words 'publication', 'publicity' and 'fame' are so intricately associated that it is difficult to conceive of one without the rest (1993, p. 167). This investigation takes the perspective that it is not just the volume of publication, but the type of publication and the audience of the publication that are the key ingredients for fame.

American journalist James Murdock (2007) attributes the coining of the term "starchitect" to journalists in 2002, as does Australian sociologist and cultural theorist Donald McNeill (2008), yet the term is used retrospectively in this thesis to refer to celebrity architects from the 1970s onwards. While the term "starchitect" may not have been coined until the twenty-first century, this thesis aligns with the common view that

the “starchitect” phenomenon originated two decades earlier in the US (McLeod 1989; Williamson 1991; Cuff 1991; Larson 1993). The term “starchitect” holds a similar meaning to ‘celebrity architect’ and the two terms are used interchangeably in this investigation. “Starchitect” is a neologism, a fusion of ‘architect’ and ‘star’. The term describes architects whose celebrity has resulted in their attaining a high profile within the architecture community, and subsequently holding a degree of fame amongst the general public. A “starchitect” may also be known as a ‘signature architect’, ‘name architect’, ‘master designer’, ‘doyen of the profession’ or ‘brand architect’. There is also the pejorative use of the term ‘prima donna’. Some examples of current “starchitects” are Frank Gehry, Rem Koolhaas, Zaha Hadid and Daniel Liebskind (Linda 2009, p. 1).

Despite being attached to many of the profession’s most respected designers, celebrity has largely been framed by theorists as a negative force in the profession of architecture (as is discussed in Chapter 2). Elitism is the dominant critique offered by self-proclaimed ‘architectural sociologist’ Garry Stevens in his book *The favored circle: the social foundations of architectural distinction* (1999) and Blau in her book *Architects and firms: a sociological perspective on architectural practice* (1984). Equally negative discourse is present in the mainstream media. Nicolai Ouroussoff of *The New York Times* claims that “starchitects” are an object of ridicule and that their title is ‘a favourite of churlish commentators, who use it to mock architects whose increasingly flamboyant buildings, in their minds, are more about fashion and money than function’ (2007, p. 16). According to journalist Misty Harris, the term “starchitect” generally describes ‘legitimate leaders in the field’ in addition to architects ‘whose ostentatious buildings are monuments to their egos more than anything else’ (2009, p. 5). This thesis takes a more objective position. Holmes and Redmond write, in regards to celebrity, ‘rather than dismissing it as the ultimate symbol of cultural decline, [we] aim to explore, then, why and how it *matters*’ (2006, p. 7). In this investigation, the term “starchitect” is used neutrally and includes architects who adopted an alternative means of achieving professional support via the public recognition generated by the mainstream media. This investigation seeks to show that harnessing media attention does not necessarily equate to poor professional ethics.

A term that is frequently utilised in this investigation is "celebrification",[3] the etymology of which is an obvious blend of 'celebrity' and '-ification'. This informal term refers to the introduction of celebrity to a field or discipline and has appeared loosely in mainstream discourse in recent years. For example, an article published in *The New York Times* refers to the 'celebrification of politics' (Leibovich 2007, p. 44). The term has also come to appear in scholarly texts on celebrity such as *Framing celebrity: new directions in celebrity culture* (Holmes et al. 2006, p. 6). The appearance of this term in architectural discourse is less frequent, yet it is still applicable and refers to 'artificially manufacturing' celebrity, such as when used by American sociologist Joshua Gamson (2007, p. 141). This artificial process was described in the 1960s by a *TV Guide* writer as follows: 'It is a cross between a vacuum cleaner and a sausage maker. It sucks people in – it processes them uniformly – it ships them briskly along a mechanical assembly line – and it pops them out at the other end, stuffed tight into a shiny casing stamped 'U.S. Celebrity'" (Efron 1967, p. 16). Gamson continued this line of thought, dispelling the myth of 'natural cream-rising-to-the-top' and replacing it with discussion of the 'mechanisms available and used for generating recognition', the most notable being the media. He describes manufacture as a 'serious competitor to the organic explanation of fame' (2007, p. 142).

"Celebrification" within a professional domain is a complex process that requires input from a variety of persons who hold influence over public opinion, such as journalists and editors. Hence, for the purposes of this investigation, the term is adapted more specifically to such 'fame-makers'; "celebrification" here defines the mechanics of the media that result in the construction of celebrity architects. This media focus stems from the research of Marshall McLuhan, who essentially established the field of investigation known as 'media studies'. This investigation may be considered an extension of this field, triangulated with professions theory and architectural historiography.

Cultural theorist Graeme Turner suggests that 'academic literature … has tended to focus on celebrity as a product of a number of cultural and economic processes', including promotion, publicity and advertising (2004, p. 4). This definition of the

[3] Pramod Nayar (2009) uses the term "celebritisation," but "celebrification" is the more common term in celebrity discourse.

production of celebrity is somewhat broad; in this investigation it is considered more precisely. As the above adaptation of the term "celebrification" suggests, this thesis is based on the understanding that celebrity is formed through exposure in the mainstream media.[4] More specifically, celebrity is 'manufactured' by the mainstream media; in other words, stars do not generate of their own accord, they are created or constructed (Riley 2010).

According to cultural theorist Pramod Nayar, the media is potentially the most significant aspect of celebrity (2009). Braudy (1986) and social theorist Daniel Boorstin (1975), for example, argue that a celebrity is acknowledged and recognised by the general public as a figure of interest and sustains a strong presence in the media. . Braudy notes that 'to be famous means to be talked about' by those whom he referred to as 'storytellers – the media and their audience' (p. 592). More recently, Holmes and Redmond wrote that 'the famous are constructed, circulated and consumed through the busy channels of media production' (2006, p. 6). They expand this idea to note that the popular media generates 'power networks' that communicate the impression that celebrities are 'at the centre of things' (p. 2). Morin goes one step further to suggest that, in regards to celebrities, the media generates a religious zeal, and 'pours out upon the faithful all the vivifying elements of their faith' (1960, p. 71). Without the media, the celebrity would have no platform upon which to be venerated.

The mainstream media is acknowledged as the link between an architect and the public, a stance supported by various architectural theorists such as Williamson (1991) and Larson (1993), as well as Iloniemi (2004), a public relations consultant specialising in architecture. Other theorists concur. Jamie Scott makes reference to 'those who are famous enough to be published, and published enough to be famous' (2001, p. 75). Architectural historian Heinz Schutz states that 'in order to be noticed' an architect is obliged to 'express himself or herself through the media' (2001, p. 55). Lastly, as articulated by architectural critics Julia Chance and Torsten Schmiedeknecht, the significance of the relationship between architecture and the media centres on 'the

[4] The mainstream media is sometimes referred to as the mass media, yet for consistency it is referred to as the mainstream media in this thesis.

relationship between the production of architecture and the ways in which the work and the architect are acknowledged in the broader social realm' (2001, p. 12).

The importance of publication for architects also provides a critical foundation for this investigation regarding celebrity and legitimisation. It is the key differentiator between the *traditional* and *celebrity-related process of legitimisation*. This investigation takes the perspective that it is not just volume of publication, but the type of publication and its audience that are the key aspects of the *celebrity-related process of legitimisation.* Whilst the professional media may play a role in legitimising architects, in the case of "starchitects" it is the mainstream media that also confers legitimacy. According to Australian cultural scholar Wenche Ommundsen, an effect of the contemporary media has been to 'bring into the category of "celebrity" … professions and fields of achievement previously untouched by the operations of popular culture' (2007, p. 244). *Traditional legitimisation* relies on gaining the recognition of peers, whereas "celebrity legitimisation" relies on gaining the recognition of a broader public audience. In the *traditional process*, symbolic capital is passed from architect to architect, whereas in the celebrity-related process it is passed to architects from agents located beyond the architectural sphere. It is this distinction that is the focus of investigation in the case study.

While various theorists have explored the participation of architects in their own fame making, that is not the purpose of this investigation. A type of self-constructed fame exists through current media forms such as the internet, but it is fleeting. This investigation examines more enduring public recognition, which requires endorsement by the media. These ideas are discussed in Chapter 3. The contribution of an architect in their own fame-making is acknowledged in this thesis only insofar as it concerns complicity, as explained by media scholar Richard Dyer: 'stars are involved in making themselves into commodities; they are both labour and the thing that labour produces. They do not produce themselves alone' (1987, p. 5). Likewise, Turner suggests that since celebrities rely on the visibility provided by the media, 'it is in their interests to be as cooperative as possible to maintain a continuing relationship' (2004, p. 36).

Much existing theory focuses on the relationship between an audience and celebrity from the perspective of audience consumption, which forms part of 'spectatorship

theories' (Redmond et al. 2007c, p. 310). For example, Holmes and Redmond refer to 'adulation, identification and emulation' as 'key motifs in the study of celebrity culture' (2006, p. 2). The primary avenues of analysis in celebrity studies are production, circulation and consumption; it is production that is the focus of this thesis. Although celebrity audiences form a pivotal role in celebrity culture, they are not the primary focus of this investigation; the thesis centres on celebrity manufacture by the media. Celebrity audiences are acknowledged only insofar as they contribute to the process of celebrity-making. The 'para-social relationship' or 'illusion of intimacy' (Holmes et al. 2006, p. 3) that exists between celebrities and their audience is not considered to contribute to the process of legitimisation beyond providing motivation for an audience to consume the content produced by the media about a celebrity.

Lastly, a key theme that exists in much existing celebrity literature is the disjunction between a celebrity's 'authentic' and 'constructed' identity, the 'private' and 'public' self (Dyer 1987, p. 11). Various theorists argue that the celebrity identity is not a 'true' version of the celebrity individual (Curnutt 1999; Cashmore 2006; Holmes et al. 2006). Again, although a valid line of inquiry, this is not the focus of the thesis. The authenticity of the celebrity identity that contributes to the process of legitimisation is not considered relevant to this investigation; if the public consumes the celebrity identity, however inauthentic, and thereby contributes to the media's process of "celebrification", the process of legitimisation may be activated.

1.4 Geographical focus

The geographic and chronological scope of the investigation is the US in the 1970s and 1980s. This is not to suggest that the subject of the investigation is bound by these parameters. However, the investigation is focused on identifying the origins of the *celebrity-related process of legitimisation.* Hence, this investigation begins with the genesis of the "starchitect". The investigation focuses primarily on the US because most social and cultural theorists, including Boorstin (1975), Braudy (1986) and Ellis Cashmore (2006) attribute the beginnings of fame, and subsequently celebrity, to the US. The first critiques of famous architects also appeared in that country. Primary contributors to this discourse include Williamson (1991), Larson (1993), Cuff (1991)

and architectural scholar Mary McLeod (1989). All of these theorists serve as critical references for this investigation.

Although the focus of this investigation is the US, this thesis is not *about* the US; it is simply the earliest location of what was to become an international trend. Further research would be required to demonstrate the existence of this same model in other countries, but the globality of celebrity suggests, at a glance, that this phenomenon has a broad reach. The thesis could have been written about Australia, but it is clear from the work of the above-cited theorists that the trend did not start in Australia. It was not a nominal choice to focus on the US; rather, it was the necessary starting point for an exploration into what became a trend in most other countries.

1.5 Chronological focus

This investigation focuses on the late 1970s and 1980s, because it was not until the 1970s that the subject of celebrity was given 'real academic consideration' (Redmond et al. 2007a, p. 5), even though fame had been long debated intellectually. Architectural historians generally agree that the "starchitect" boom in the US began in the late 1970s and peaked during the 1980s (Blau 1984; Williamson 1991; Larson 1993).[5] It was during the late 1970s that the public's attention to architecture grew and the media became aware that it was newsworthy (Larson 1993, p. 63). Hence, this time period serves as the primary focus of this study. Yet, this period does not serve as the point of reference solely because it saw "starchitects" reach the heights of publicity; the broader professional and cultural contexts of the time formed part of the catalyst for this investigation. Chapter 4 argues that the 1970s and 1980s presented a critical intersection of several major external cultural forces that would ultimately affect the operation of the field of architecture. These interrelationships would activate the "celebrification" of architects, and enable its adoption as an alternative means of legitimisation for some.

[5] Micheli (2011) states that celebrity for architects peaked slightly later, at the beginning of the twenty-first century. However, Micheli's discussion relates to "starchitects" internationally, whereas this thesis relates specifically to the United States. Also, the focus of this thesis is the *first* "starchitect boom"; it is acknowledged that there have been subsequent booms, but they are not encompassed within this investigation.

1.6 Framework of understanding

Another keyword in the hypothesis is 'legitimisation', a term which forms the basis of the framework of understanding through which this investigation of the architectural profession is conducted. 'Legitimisation' relates to the process of being made legitimate and is rooted in the term 'to legitimise', which has a long linguistic history. Its meaning originates with conformation to the law or to rules, according to the Oxford English Dictionary. The Collins English Dictionary cites similar etymological roots: 'sanctioning ... in accordance with law' or 'to make lawful'. Contemporary use of the term extends to broader processes than the legal system.

'Legitimacy' was a key concept within Marxist theory (Johari 2006, p. 409). Marx's considerations regarding legitimisation were applied primarily within a political context to refer to class struggles (Webb et al. 2002, p. 8), yet they have been widely adopted within other fields of research. The term's application in social and cultural studies stems in part from the body of scholarship referred to as the theory (or sociology) of professions. The French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu was a key contributor, and his perspective is defined as neo-Marxist; the importance of Marx' work (along with that of Wittgenstein and Pascal) to the development of Bourdieu's theories is widely accepted.

The strength of Bourdieu's contribution to cultural studies is articulated by various critics, confirming him as a reliable reference for this study. Bourdieu's advocates include Randal Johnson, who edited a compilation of Bourdieu's writings, and refers to him as 'a major theoretical voice in the critical study of cultural practices' (1993, p. 1). David Swartz, in his book *Culture and power: the sociology of Pierre Bourdieu* (1998), argues that Bourdieu is one of the 'most revered postwar French social scientists' and also 'one of the great empirical researchers' in sociology in the late twentieth century (p. 1). Likewise, Jen Webb, Tony Schirato and Geoff Danaher, in their book *Understanding Bourdieu* (2002), refers to his contributions to the discourse of cultural studies as 'arguably the most significant and successful attempt to make sense of the relationship between objective social structures and everyday practices' (p. 1).

Bourdieu's research also incorporates rigorous empirical analysis. He used detailed fieldwork to test his arguments, affording greater objectivity to his work and further

validating the use of his theories as the framework for this investigation (Webb et al. 2002). Furthermore, Bourdieu's primary cultural theories were generated from the early 1970s through the 1980s, the precise period of the "starchitect boom", and hence they are particularly relevant to this study. Bourdieu's influential essay 'The field of cultural production' (1983)[6] introduces his ideas regarding legitimisation, and it forms the basis of the framework of understanding of this thesis.

Some theorists have already linked celebrity with legitimisation by situating celebrity 'alongside broader discussions of power' (Redmond et al. 2007a, p. 7), yet the discourse is limited. Those few include American sociologist Charles Wright Mills who, in his book *The power elite* (1956), declares that 'those who sit in the seats of the high and mighty are selected and formed by the means of power, the sources of wealth, the mechanics of celebrity, which prevail in their society' (1956, p. 361). Several years later Italian sociologist Francesco Alberoni wrote the ironically titled 'The powerless "Elite": theory and sociological research and phenomenon of stars' (1962), in which he refuted the influence of celebrity and claimed that celebrities 'do not occupy institutional positions of power' (p. 76). This thesis sharply contradicts Alberoni's suggestion that 'an increase in observability is often an expression of the diminution of power'. Although still widely regarded for its insight into celebrity in the 1960s, Alberoni's perspective was short lived and literature produced in subsequent years has again returned to acknowledging the association between celebrity and legitimisation.

Many theorists who make this link between celebrity and legitimisation are referring to social legitimisation, whereas this thesis focuses on professional legitimisation. For example, Braudy suggests that 'fame has been a way of expressing … the legitimacy of the individual within society' (1986, p. 585). Meanwhile, others cite a broader context to legitimisation; for example, communications scholar Sam Riley, in his edited book *Star struck: an encyclopedia of celebrity culture*, noted that 'celebrity has long seemed to assign symbolic significance' (2010, p. 203). Riley also notes that 'the literature on celebrated objects of social attention and recognition provides knowledge of the

[6] 'The Field of Cultural Production' was first published in 1983 in the journal *Poetics*, translated into English by Richard Nice. This first edition was not readily available at the time of this study, hence the more recent republication of the same text in the book *The Field of Cultural Production* (1993), edited by Randal Johnson, has been used as the primary reference for Bourdieu's theories in this thesis.

dimensions of fame' and offers the opinion that 'celebrated personages became a social principle of hierarchical dominance' (p. 229). More recently, media and communications scholar Nick Couldry argues that, in current culture, being a celebrity provides an individual with access to a 'social space' that provides meaning generation and belonging. He also suggests that to be in the media frame is to be at the 'centre of things' and he makes reference to the 'symbolic hierarchy of the media frame' (2000, p. 44). Couldry also claims that 'media people' are 'somehow special', a perception that is based on 'a particular concentration of symbolic power' (2007, p. 353). Sociologists Irving Rein, Philip Kotler, Michael Hamlin and Martin Stoller likewise note that 'so great is the value of visibility that the manufacturing and marketing of celebrities now reach into business, sports, entertainment, religion, the arts, politics, academics, medicine and law. Visibility is what every … every unknown professional seeks' (Rein et al. 1997, p. 1,2). Although these texts do not refer specifically to the field of architecture, they support the view expressed in this thesis that celebrity may be associated with legitimisation.

Bourdieu's theories, in particular those presented in 'The field of cultural production' (1983), were written primarily regarding literature and art. However, they are recognised as a 'powerful and highly productive model for social analysis in diverse fields' (Johnson 1993, p. 1). Although the work of Bourdieu was not written specifically about the architectural profession, his theories have been broadly adapted within the social sciences since the mid-1980s (Wacquant 1993, p. 235). Johnson suggests that Bourdieu's framework 'must be incorporated into any analysis that pretends to provide a thorough understanding of cultural ... practices' (1993, p. 10). Australian architectural historian Paul Hogben, in his essay 'Sociological strains in the analysis of the architectural profession' (2000a), wrote that the work of Bourdieu 'is steadily gaining intellectual favour as a viable means of thinking about the social context of architectural practice and the symbolic attachments given to architecture as a cultural pursuit' (p. 419). Architectural historian Helen Lipstadt, in her paper 'Theorizing the competition: the sociology of Pierre Bourdieu as a challenge to architectural history' (2000), also refers to the applicability of Bourdieu's work within an architectural context.

A significant reference for translating Bourdieu's theories against the field of architecture is Helena Webster's *Bourdieu for architects* (2011). Webster highlights the main concepts established by Bourdieu that relate to the practice of architecture, and analyses their applicability both historically and contemporaneously. Webster's work is referenced frequently in the contextualisation of Bourdieu's work within the realms of architecture and celebrity, as two distinction but overlapping social spaces.

As Bourdieu's theories have been referenced in architectural discourse since the 1990s, they are considered an appropriate framework for this study. For example, Bourdieu's discourse makes a brief appearance in Larson's *Behind the Postmodern facade* (1993). Also, the 2001 issue of *Architectural Design* titled 'Fame and Architecture' published an interview between Chance and Jencks that mentioned issues of fame and legitimisation. Chance suggests that legitimisation is relevant to the considerations of architecture and fame because it infers 'patterns or tendencies underlying the way in which certain architects or kinds of architecture are propelled to fame' (2001, p. 14). Judith O'Callaghan interpreted Bourdieu's theories in her doctoral thesis entitled 'Project housing and the architectural profession in Sydney in the 1960s' (2007), referring to his 'broadly informed theoretical position' in her interpretive framework (p. 47). Likewise, architectural scholar Kim Dovey in his text 'The silent complicity of architecture', published as a chapter in the book *Habitus: a sense of place* (2002), argues that 'while Bourdieu's critique has its limits, it offers considerable hope for re-thinking architectural theory and for a re-engagement of architecture as social practice' (p. 284). Dovey believes that the discourses of art and architecture overlap, meaning that Bourdieu's artistic theories regarding the field of cultural production are relevant to the architectural discipline.

Beyond these references, it appears that the first to adapt Bourdieu's theories as a full theoretical framework for investigating the architectural profession was Stevens, who wrote the essay 'The historical demography of architects' (1996) as well as the aforementioned *The favored circle* (1999). Stevens chose Bourdieu's framework because of its 'anti-philosophical intellectualism' which, he claims, enables a new way of thinking about the architectural profession. Stevens's works serve as a precedent for the present investigation as he not only used Bourdieu's theories as the basis for

investigating the architectural profession, but did so through the lens of eminence, which he refers to as ‘the elite circle’. Stevens himself claims his book to be ‘the most sophisticated analysis of the architecture profession ever done’ (2010a, p. 1). While some have viewed his work with scepticism (Pressman 1999; Jackson 2000; Nobel 2000), others have found value in it (Seidel 2000; Mayo 2000).

The precedent set by Stevens provides a point of departure for this more current interpretation of that same relationship between architects, celebrity and legitimisation, but with a vastly different perspective. Stevens explores access to celebrity, focusing on the internal processes of fame-making in the field of architecture, arguing that architects legitimise each other through professional networks or ‘networks of personal relations’ (1999, p. 436). Stevens’s study suggests that renowned architects have, throughout history, expressed association through collegiate and master-pupil relationships, and it is through this network that architectural influence is disseminated. Yet Bourdieu cautions that we must look beyond a strictly internal analysis to fully understand a field. That is to say, we must venture further than architects and architecture and incorporate external analysis. This might include artistic mediators such as ‘publishers, critics, agents, marchands, academics and so forth’ (Johnson 1993, p. 9). A major gap in Stevens’s investigations is that he does not acknowledge the role of the media, a gap that is filled by this investigation. Bourdieu’s work also lacks detailed discussion of the role of the media in cultural fields and ‘the part they play as disseminators of meaning’ (Webb et al. 2002, p. 182). Hence, the present investigation explores the impact of celebrity on an architect’s career path once it is achieved, and focuses on external contributors to fame-making: the mainstream media and its role in the process of legitimisation. Contrary to Stevens’s study, this thesis does not depict the world of architecture as closed and private, but rather open to the influences of the broader public.

The susceptibility of the field of architecture to the external force of public opinion is an aspect of Bourdieu’s notion of autonomy, which relates to external sources of capital that influence a field. Rather than inferring complete freedom from such influences, or rejection of other fields, autonomy refers to the ability of agents within a field to adopt values from external fields and apply their own cultural ideals. In the words of scholar

Paul Jones, who has applied the concept of autonomy to the field of architecture, it is necessary for agents to translate the 'rules of the game' and logics from external forces into a logic that applies specifically to architects (2009, p. 2522).

Blau (1984) acknowledges that external forces affect the autnonomy of architectural agents, and concurs that the design and production of architecture takes place within an important social context. In the words of Jones (2011) 'the highly aestheticized discussions that characterize much of the symbolic capital at stake in architectural theory and practice can lead to an apolitical vision of architecture in which a disconnect exists between architectural form and wider social questions' (p. 21). While many cultural producers are afforded some freedom, architects are highly susceptible to external forces, the most prominent being political and economic contexts. Commissions require financing, meaning that architects and their practice are, to a degree, regulated by the patronage of economically powerful agents, such as clients. This reality of cultural production is widely acknowledged by practitioners, and articulated by many theorists (Gutman, 1992; Dovey, 1999; and Lipstadt, 2003). Beyond clients, Jones recognises many other social forces impinging on the production of architecture: 'state regulation, available building and design technology, the popular media and the values of other architects' (2009, p. 2520). This thesis focuses on the media, in particular, as an external force. It is argued that "celebrification" is one of the ways in which starchitects have adapted the external force of the media for their own benefit. The capitals of the media field are imposed onto the field of architecture, and activated by some as a force in the process of legitimisation. This interrelationship is a central aspect of the case study.

Blau notes that most historical studies have examined the products of practice – the styles and uses of buildings – while the main theme of her exploration is the social underpinnings of design and production activities. The present investigation of architectural production is conducted, as it is for Blau, from a sociological perspective. The social underpinnings – in this case, celebrity culture – are analysed against the outcomes of practice – in this case, legitimisation.

In his essay 'The field of cultural production' (1983), Bourdieu frames the term 'legitimisation' within his discussions of what he refers to as 'capital'. Like

‘legitimisation’, this term derives from Marxist considerations. The form of capital described by Bourdieu that relates to this thesis is ‘symbolic capital’. As opposed to ‘economic capital, ‘symbolic capital’ is intangible, and Bourdieu associates it with consecration, distinction, prestige or reputation. This form of capital has no specific value; it means nothing in itself, but ‘depends on people believing that someone possesses these qualities’ (Webb et al. 2002, p. xv). The acquirement of ‘symbolic capital’, according to Bourdieu, means ‘making one’s mark’ or ‘winning recognition’ (1983, p. 60). It is important to note that Bourdieu views the recognition associated with ‘symbolic capital’ as acquired through competition, rather than being an inherent quality. In the eyes of Bourdieu, it is the striving for acknowledgement that is the central force in operation in the process of legitimisation. Other theorists have paraphrased ‘symbolic capital’ as accumulated prestige, celebrity, consecration or honour (Johnson 1993, p. 7), yet ‘symbolic capital’ is referred to in this thesis primarily as ‘recognition’. Recognition may also be referred to as ‘perceived significance’, and these terms are used interchangeably in this study.

Stevens extends Bourdieu’s understanding of recognition in regards to the architectural profession, claiming that the process of legitimisation is a struggle to define ‘who is and is not a good architect, to say who is orthodox and who heretic, to define the limits of the field and who can play the game’ (1999, p. 98). He believes that professions require recognition (he uses Bourdieu’s term ‘symbolic capital’) to maintain their position within the competitive field. Stevens argues that recognition is the reason that architects continually struggle to improve and accumulate greater power:

> Designers compete for a host of intangibles: status, fame, reputation. In architecture, for example, architects compete for intellectual status as great creators...the reward sought is reputation for the highest creativity, reputation to be passed down to posterity. Competition is based on convincing the field to accept one's own ideas about what architecture is and how it should be done, and to realize these ideas in built form. The resource at stake is not a material one, but intellectual or symbolic shares of the intellectual field. Doing well means being a subject of architectural discourse, having others talk about one, and acquiring enduring fame. (1996, p. 435)

As for Stevens, this thesis is framed through the understanding that the accumulation of ‘symbolic capital’ (recognition) equates to the process of legitimisation within the

profession of architecture. The original contribution of this thesis is the addition of a new means of obtaining that recognition. Traditionally, 'symbolic capital' is won from a professional's peer circle; indeed, Bourdieu refers to 'recognition by one's peers' as 'the sole legitimate profit' in cultural pursuits (1993a, p. 50). For example, Bourdieu cites the following figures of legitimisation in the field of art: important curators, publishers, established artists, critics and reviewers. All these figures are positioned within the field of art. However, Bourdieu also refers to 'the degree of recognition accorded by those who recognise no other criterion of legitimacy than recognition by those whom they recognise' (1993a, p. 38), thereby acknowledging that there are in fact no set parameters to those who accord recognition; the only requirement is that they themselves be recognised by those they are recognising. Hence, in this investigation Bourdieu's quote is reinterpreted to include a broader range of accorders of recognition than the 'gatekeepers' of the field such as leaders of architectural institutions and publications, who are traditionally acknowledged as the primary, if not only, conferrers of legitimacy. 'Recognition by those whom they recognise' could relate to any entity that holds sway over the opinion of architects, or even the general public. This thesis identifies the media and journalists as contributors to the process of legitimisation, and the public audience as participants in the consecration of architects. It is argued that they contributed to the generation of recognition for "starchitects" in the 1970s and 1980s.

Other architectural theorists have shared the notions of Bourdieu (and Stevens) regarding legitimisation and recognition. For example, American architectural theorist Dana Cuff suggests that architects spend their entire career reaching for 'stability, challenging prospects, prestige, power, and notoriety' (1991, p. 150). Cuff has asserted that 'full-fledged' architects demonstrate a desire for greater recognition 'both from fellow professionals and from the public' (1991, p. 12). Cuff's assertions set a critical precedent for this investigation, in that she acknowledges the role of the public in the process of legitimisation. This thesis extends her claims by analysing the mainstream media as a conveyor of perceived significance, generating recognition of an architect within the public sphere. This argument relates not to just one specific contributor to the mainstream media, but to the field as a whole.

This investigation does not study legitimisation in regards to buildings, but rather the legitimisation of people, that is, architects. There is precedent for such an approach. For example, *The image of the architect* (1983) by British architectural historian Andrew Saint, analysed the behaviour of individual architects who challenged traditional professional structures and introduced a new mode of practice into the architectural field. Architectural scholar Silvia Micheli, in her essay 'Look at the architect! The effects of the star system on the communication of contemporary architecture' (2011), which is one of the most recent international investigations of celebrity for architects, has explored the recent trend whereby architects, rather than their architecture, are the focus of attention.[7]

This investigation also does not explore legitimisation from the perspective of aesthetics – that is, the legitimisation of architectural styles or specific buildings. Although aesthetic legitimisation serves as a valid research focus in its own right, it is not the focus of this study. Also, much of the early twentieth century focused on social legitimisation, reinforcing the importance of the architect to the public. Martin Brigg's *The architect in history* (1927) is recognised the first attempt to survey the vocation of architecture (Kostof 1977, p. vii). Carr-Saunders and Wilson, in *The professions* (1933), analyse the evolutionary characteristics of a profession against the vocation of architecture. The study of architecture's professionalisation continued with Barrington Kaye's *The development of the architectural profession in Britain: a sociological study* (1960) and Spiro Kostof's *The architect* (1960).

Social legitimisation has been substantially explored throughout the twentieth century, and so it is not the focus of this thesis. Rather than analysing the profession as a whole, this thesis concentrates on the legitimisation of individual architects, although social legitimisation is included in the sense that the public's recognition of "starchitects" was an important milestone in their being ultimately recognised and consecrated by their peers. The basic aspects of professionalisation are considered in Chapter 4.

[7] Micheli also co-authored a significant book on the same subject titled *Lo spettacolo dell'architettura: Profilo dell'archistar* (2003) yet it was written in Italian and is unfortunately not yet available in English.

For professionals such as architects, the process of legitimisation operates not just within the professional community but a broader space that Bourdieu terms the 'field'. The field is a 'structured space with its own laws of functioning and its own relations of force' (Bourdieu 1993, p. 55). Bourdieu refers to 'players' within the field as 'agents', and argues that they compete to occupy available positions. Consecrated agents are the most powerful in the field, and attract the most symbolic capital. Any field has a variety of 'agents'; for architecture, they include 'cultural producers' (i.e. architects) as well as clients, journalists, critics, historians and, in the case of *celebrity legitimisation*, the public. Bourdieu defines two types of 'cultural producers': the consecrated and the novice (also referred to by him as the old and the young) (1993a, p. 55). Bourdieu believes that the struggle for legitimacy is largely, if not exclusively, fought out between these two groups. 'Novice' refers to 'those less advanced in the process of consecration' (1993a, p. 58). Legitimisation is the 'recognition of the novices by the consecrated' (1993a, p. 59). Bourdieu depicts the goal of 'newcomers', the novices, as such:

> To occupy a distinct, distinctive position, they must assert their difference, get it known and recognized, get themselves known and recognized ('make a name for themselves'), by endeavouring to impose new modes of thought and expression, out of key with the prevailing modes of thought and with the doxa. (1993, p. 58)

Williamson describes 'newcomers' to the architectural profession as 'creative persons whose ideas are out of step with even the most advanced of their contemporaries ... they are out of place; they cannot connect to any establishment' (1991, p. 201). This investigation depicts "starchitects" as the novices who adopt 'new modes of thought' and expression that has a level of media interest. Yet the consecrators are not only other architects. Bourdieu refers to producers (i.e. the architects) and 'those occupied by all the instances of consecration and legitimation which make cultural products what they are (the public, publishers, critics, galleries, academics and so forth)' (Johnson 1993, p. 9). Bourdieu's use of the term 'legitimation' is similar to that of 'legitimisation'; both refer to the act of conferring legitimacy. In this comment, Bourdieu is referring to the legitimisation of cultural products, yet the same concepts are adapted in this investigation to refer to individual people.

Cuff (1991) suggests that in the field of architecture it is not just one person or group of people that are the consecrators, or determinants of perceived significance. Rather, the opinions of three groups should be taken into account: the public (users, visitors), the participants (client, architect, engineer etc.) and the professionals (architects, institutions). Cuff considers that only architects who are well liked, or valorised, by these three groups, deserve the title of 'excellent'. Hence, in this investigation, these three groups are considered 'agents' in the process of legitimisation. Yet there is a fourth 'consecrator': the media and its producers. This investigation places the mainstream media at the forefront of the consecration process in the field of architecture in the 1970s and 1980s.

Bourdieu describes legitimisation not as an isolated process, but one that necessitates the change in position of other agents, whoever they may be, and even changes in the field's structure (Johnson 1993, p. 6). Yet change in a field does not equate to upheaval. Bourdieu theorises that the strategies employed by 'newcomers' in order to gain a firm 'foothold in the market' are, in fact, typically a reversal of tradition that simultaneously maintains the existing structure. Bourdieu describes this competitive yet rational approach as 'an overturning of the hierarchy of the field without disturbing the principles on which the field is based' (1993, p. 83). Newcomers need to establish their separateness, yet in order to retain and gain power they do not leave the system. This theory has been interpreted in reference to architecture by Schoon, who notes that change in architecture tends to not refer to abandoning established conventions entirely (1992, p. 39). Rather, it involves the transformation or modification of conventions. A central aim of this investigation is to articulate the relationship between the *traditional* and *celebrity-related process of legitimisation*, between an "old" and "new" process. Bourdieu's theories regarding the stability of the field are pivotal to this investigation, and frame the argument regarding the extent to which celebrity has entailed a change in the structure of legitimisation within the field. The case study in particular seeks to explore whether "starchitects" (Graves, for example) abandoned the use of *traditional process of legitimisation* (as described in Chapter 3) or whether these served as a complementary aspect of the *celebrity-related process of legitimisation*.

The existing structure of fields, which is affected by the changing positions of agents, is divided by Bourdieu into two sub-fields: 'the field of restricted production' and 'the field of large-scale production' (1993a, p. 15). These sub-fields refer not only to cultural products, but also their cultural producers. Broadly, the field of restricted production encapsulates producers of 'high' or 'elite' culture, where there is little economic reward, while large-scale production refers to producers of 'mass' or 'popular' culture that is aligned with market demand and economic capital. Bourdieu associates prestige and consecration primarily with producers in the field of restricted production, noting that they may subsequently achieve some economic success. He briefly acknowledges that large-scale producers may be consecrated, yet views this occurring only within the commercial sector. Bourdieu does not acknowledge the potential for the reverse to occur: that a producer of large-scale production, who is 'popular', may become consecrated *after* achieving success in the marketplace. This thesis argues that such consecration may be conferred not just by the commercial sector, but by the traditional gatekeepers of a field; professional peers.

The precise relationship between these two sub-fields is articulated by Bourdieu more clearly in his diagram known as the 'field of cultural production', shown in **Figure 1**. Large-scale producers are often associated with economic success, and Bourdieu depicts those embedded within mass-culture as excluded from consecration by the cognoscenti. Bourdieu argues that economic success may serve as a barrier to professional consecration and symbolic power (Johnson 1993, p. 8). The chart identifies purists in the bottom left, populists in the bottom right and institutions in the top right. According to Bourdieu, those who occupy one side of the chart are mutually excluded from the other. This thesis is the opportunity to demonstrate a key element of the hypothesis of this investigation: that popularisation and consecration are not mutually exclusive. This thesis argues that in the *celebrity-related process of legitimisation* the mass-celebrity may receive awards, and thus not be ignored by their 'elite' peers. Rather than existing as opposite poles, it is argued that 'high' and 'popular' culture in fact represent the different phases of a "starchitect" career, the trajectory of which passes through the latter to reach the former. Bourdieu refers to 'cultural trajectories', which are interpreted by Webb et al. to mean 'movement between and across various fields that constitutes

and individual's history' (2002, p. xi). This thesis argues that 'cultural trajectories' may occur not just *between* fields, but *within* fields.

In summary, Bourdieu's theories provide an understanding of the larger process in operation for celebrity architects of the late 1970s and 1980s. This investigation argues that celebrity involved more than desire for the spotlight, or ambitions to connect with prestigious clients and commissions. As demonstrated by Bourdieu's theories, an underlying process of legitimisation has long been embedded in the field of architecture. This investigation seeks to demonstrate that celebrity was merely another aspect of this existing process. The precise way in which consecration occurs for architects is discussed in Chapter 3.

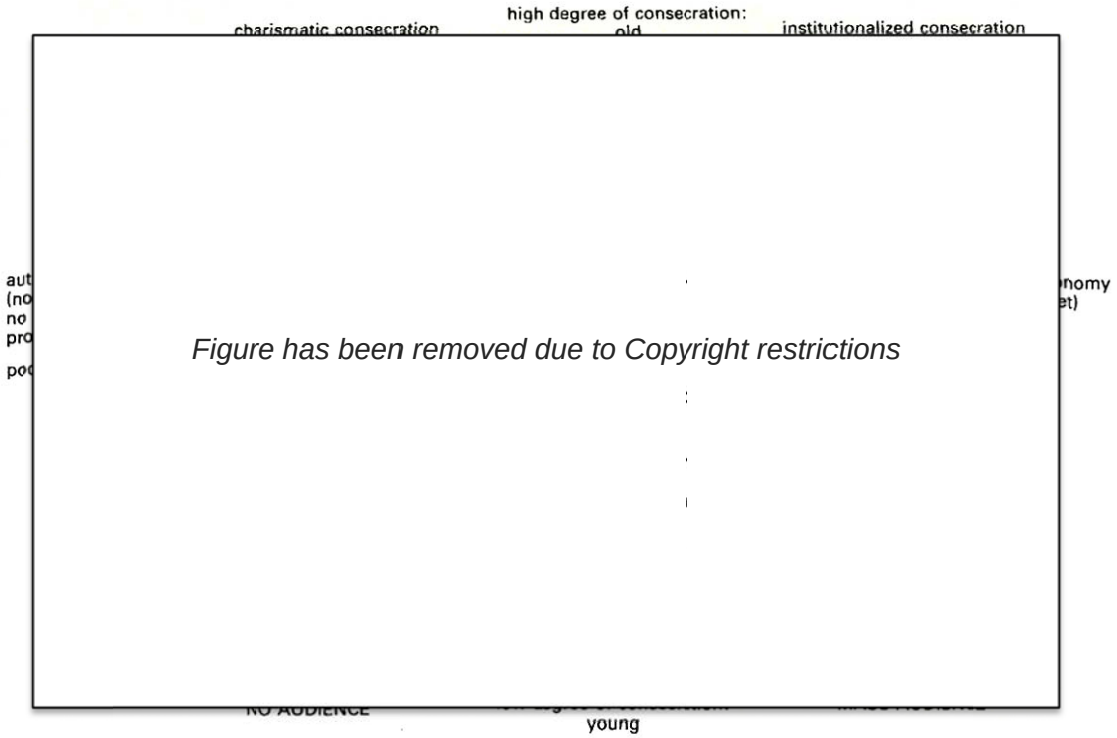

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Figure 1 - *The field of cultural production*, by Pierre Bourdieu. The figure represents the French literary field in the second half of the nineteenth century; + = positive pole, implying a dominant position, - = negative pole, implying a dominated position (image sourced from Bourdieu 1993, p. 49).

1.7 Significance and originality

Expanding research on celebrity architects is significant for several reasons. First, the overriding perspective in social discourse is that celebrity has had an exponentially strong impact on society. Celebrity interrelates with many other fields, impacting their autonomy and exerting its force upon many agents in many hierarchical positions. In 1985 the American journalist Richard Schickel suggested that celebrity is 'a – possibly the – most vital shaping (that is to say, distorting) force in our society' (p. viii). Similarly, Braudy argued that we 'live in a society bound together by the talk of fame' (1986, p. 1). More recently, celebrity theorist Fred Inglis wrote that 'if one thinks of society as a machine more or less rattling along as different parts perform different functions, then different kinds of celebrity work at different functions and keep the machine on the road' (2010, p. 271). Similar views are expressed by Holmes and Redmond, who noted that celebrity shapes 'the social values through which we experience the world' and has a 'ubiquitous presence in all areas of modern life' (2006, p. 1).

By extension, celebrity has become an undeniable force in fields of restricted production, such as architecture. Micheli claims that "starchitects" have become 'a widely accepted condition within architectural culture, one that can be analysed as a strategic feature of contemporary architecture' (2011, p. 1). Architecture critic and editor of *The New Criterion*, Michael Lewis, suggests that 'international celebrity culture is the most important development in the architectural profession in a generation' and that the full significance of this phenomenon has not yet been fully charted (2007, p. 4). Others had put the same view, architectural theorist Helen Castle commenting that 'fame is not a mere bonfire of vanities but a real and dynamic force within architectural practice' (2001, p. 4), and Chance and Schmiedeknecht that 'fame is the life blood of architecture' (2001, p. 5). Architecture critic and editor Cynthia Davidson regards the issue even more strongly, stating that if "celebrification" is not embraced by architects, then the profession is 'not engaged in contemporary life' (2000, p. 51). In this context, a greater understanding of the origins of celebrity for architects and its impact on the profession is important. Celebrity architects have been analysed on a broad level, yet the specifics of the careers of "starchitects" and their interaction with

the mainstream media has never been analysed in fine detail. This thesis concurs with Micheli in refuting that analysis of celebrity for architects is superficial or 'autonomous of the discipline' (2011, P. 3).

Second, research on celebrity architects is important because they are, in a sense, advocates for the profession. Looking beyond a strictly internal analysis of the relational social space of the field of architecture, it is evident that they play the role of the cultural elite, disseminating meaning. Given their concentration of symbolic power, exposure of celebrity architects beyond the bounds of the architectural field can strengthen the public's appreciation for architecture. As has been articulated earlier, the field of architecture is not closed, nor private, but is open to the influences of the broader public. Architectural theorist, critic and past Editor in Chief for *Architectural Record*, Robert Ivy, notes that the work of celebrity architects 'attracts attention by widening audiences for architecture with a type of gravitational pull that might seem planetary' (2004, p. 15). Laura Iloniemi, who theorises the promotion of architectural practice, describes how "starchitects" have served to 'raise awareness of what architecture can and does contribute to our culture' (2004, p. 6). A greater exploration of any force that serves to raise the profile of the field of architecture appears necessarily significant to architectural discourse.

Third, the processes surrounding celebrity have broad implications for the field of architecture. It is not only celebrity architects who are engaged with mediators such as the media; publicity has established itself as a fundamental component of cultural production for contemporary architects. In the words of Rem Koolhaas, current architectural culture is 'obsessed with publicity' (1995, p. 6). Architecture critic David Dunster suggests that for architects 'press attention is not a mere add-on, but endemic and immanent to their continued existence – "publish, exhibit, network" being the verbs leading to building' (2001, p. 8). The communication of architects through the media is explored in this thesis, as it is for Micheli (2011), as a strategic aspect of contemporary architectural practice. It is now common to have a media department and create press releases. Identifying the origins of this trend of active engagement with the media, and its role in attaining higher professional recognition and status, provides greater insight into contemporary practice.

The originality of this investigation lies in the relationship that it draws between historical and current analyses of celebrity. Much theory on celebrity for architects was produced during the late 1980s and 1990s. Given that the 'celebrity boom' occurred during the late 1970s and 1980s, this allowed for only a very short period of reference in which to gain an understanding of its impact on the architectural profession. As is demonstrated in Chapter 2, most of the discourse produced during the 1980s and 1990s focused on celebrity "at face value"; that is to say, the primary focus of research was the immediate "state" of being a celebrity, rather than the underlying mechanics of celebrity. The impact of celebrity on the field of architecture, which includes many people and forces other than architects, was largely overlooked. Primarily this is because historians of the 1980s and 1990s did not yet have the hindsight required to identify celebrity as a contributor to the professional processes, such as legitimisation. The careers of many of the "starchitects" were still ongoing and the long-term perspective was not available to analyse the impact of celebrity across the span of the architects' careers. The present investigation is conducted with the benefit of an extra two decades of historical perspective. This additional period of reflection has facilitated a reinterpretation of the development of celebrity for architects. Current discourse on celebrity architects tends to focus more on current 'stars', leaving a gap for re-analysis of the original, pioneering celebrity architects and their role in the bigger picture of the field of architecture, particularly in the US during the late twentieth century.

As discussed in Chapter 2, some contemporary literature has identified benefits of celebrity for architects, yet these are very focused on immediate outcomes such as involvement in prestigious commissions and access to visionary clients. This investigation steps back and reviews the situation more broadly. The focus of this study is not the state of being a celebrity architect, that is to say, the day-to-day existence of being an architect in demand. Rather, it analyses the effect of celebrity on the overall career trajectory of architects. Celebrity, in this thesis, is neither presented as a futile striving for the spotlight, nor investigated as a fleeting door to opportunity. Rather, it is presented as a valid component of the common, long-term process of professional legitimisation. While the broad assumption is that celebrity is a result or "reward" for career success, this thesis inverts this supposition and reframes celebrity as a precursor or catalyst towards "climbing the professional ladder". This study frames the use of

celebrity as simply another career tool. Legitimacy is framed in this study as a common goal of many architects, stemming from a near-universal professional desire for recognition.

Up until the late twentieth century, most architectural research focused on architecture, not architects. According to Spiro Kostof 'the history of architecture in this century has tended to be centred primarily around the production of architecture. It is interested in architects, in the main, only as the makers of this product' (1977, p. vii). As stated by Cuff in her landmark publication *Architecture: the story of practice* (1991), architectural researchers have focused too much attention on the professional product – buildings and places – and it was only in the 1980s that architects received empirical attention as well. Paul Hogben notes the same chronology, stating that it was not until the late 1980s that a wave of sociological studies appeared that 'report on the 'real life' structural systems that organised architectural practice' (2000a, p. 419). Stevens makes a similar observation in his essay 'The historical demography of architects' (1996) advocating research that focuses on creators rather than their creations. Hence, the originality of this thesis also lies in its focus on architects, rather than architecture. Certainly, this study is not the first to adopt such an approach; rather, it joins the comparatively small body of academic literature on the professional practice of architects which grew during the 1980s and 1990s, and tended to wane around the turn of the twenty-first century. This investigation seeks to extend this scholarship by adding exploration of the mechanics of professional achievement of "starchitects" to the body of knowledge.

The originality of this thesis also lies in its approach to the topic of celebrity. Other studies on celebrity architects have been largely introspective. They have focused on the attainment of celebrity via means internal to the profession: networks, family connections, wealth. The identification of these characteristics of celebrity making has formed the basis of various theories, such as those produced by Williamson (1991), on 'predicting' fame. Other theorists, such as Iloniemi (2004), have focused predominantly on the architect's role in the construction of their own fame. These previous studies have not focused enough on the role of the media in the construction of celebrity, and the way in which it serves as a cultural intermediary between a celebrity and their

audience, the general public. This thesis adopts a less "internalist"[8] approach to the study of celebrity for architects, and recognises the strong impact of public opinion in the architectural processes, as mediated by the press. The involvement of external participants in the *celebrity-related process of legitimisation* is acknowledged in this thesis, in alignment with views shared by such theorists as Serraino: 'Fame in architecture is a cooperative enterprise. It takes an architect, a building, a photographer, a writer, a tabloid, an audience, a publisher, an editor, a distributor, a bookseller, a historian, a forum of exchange, a discourse around a period – and more – to construct the shared memory of architecture' (2001, p. 88).

The approach to celebrity in this study is also long-term, whereas previous studies tended to have a more short-term approach, analysing the early stages of an architect's celebrity at the expense of examining their later career. As discussed in Chapter 2, previous studies have focused predominantly on the precursory phase to celebrity (Williamson, 1991; Cuff, 1991; Blau, 1984) – how it is achieved – rather than what occurs once it is attained. Discourse includes scholarly work on the "look" and "charisma" of celebrity architects, providing descriptions of the way that they wore their hair, or their dark rimmed glasses (see, for example, Stevens's article 'Why architects are flashy dressers' (2010c). Meanwhile, this thesis bypasses that stage of celebrity development, and focuses instead on the impact that celebrity had on the career trajectory of architects.

This thesis does not explore whether people become celebrities involuntarily (that is, when they are not seeking media attention), the concept that architects need to be self-promoters to become a celebrity, or the involvement of publicists or communications teams in the construction of celebrity. The underlying networks of what and who operate behind the scenes of an architect's practice are not sufficiently quantifiable enough to produce valid findings. Exploring the media's contribution to the process of "celebrification", the messages that they diffuse and their subsequent role in "popular" or "social" legitimisation (of which celebrity is a subset) is the research focus.

[8] A term adopted by architectural historian Paul Hogben in his doctoral thesis *PR for architects: the public relations industry and the profession of architecture* (2004).

It is not only the subject focus that contributes to the significance of this research, but also the way in which the research has been carried out. In terms of the framework of understanding, this thesis incorporates a distinctive cross-disciplinary blend. Social theories (primarily professions theories, such as those surrounding the concept of legitimisation) are cross-referenced with celebrity theories (regarding the mechanics of celebrity, and the media's role in the process). This testing of professions theory in relation to the concept of celebrity has not been attempted in any major study.

The way in which this cross-disciplinary link has been explored is also innovative. Whilst case studies are a common research approach for architectural historians, the use of both qualitative and quantitative analysis is rare. The data produced by the content analysis of publications about celebrity architects (in particular, Michael Graves) is unprecedented. Statistical data surrounding the quantity and quality of publications about Graves enable an insight into professional and mainstream media trends in his career.

1.8 Thesis structure

Eight chapters form the body of the thesis. This first chapter provides an introductory overview which states the hypothesis and explains the purpose of the study, while the latter part of this chapter explores the methodology of this investigation.

Chapter 2 serves to reveal the dominant perspectives on the broad subject of celebrity, and particularly celebrity for architects. The literature that forms the basis of this review is drawn from the fields of professions theory, social theory and the related celebrity theory. A cross-disciplinary approach demonstrates the way in which the outcomes of celebrity for architects have been broached by theorists from these three fields.

The subject of legitimisation is examined in detail in Chapter 3. This Framework of Understanding specifically explores the legitimising processes that are present in the field of architecture. The process of legitimisation is defined by the theories of French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu, and interpreted within the field of architecture via discourse on professional practice by theorists such as Stevens, Blau, Williamson, Cuff and Leon van Schaik. The chapter also provides an approach to understanding both the *traditional* and *celebrity-related process of legitimisation*.

Chapter 4 provides a detailed examination of the social and cultural changes that impacted on the dynamics and policies of the architectural profession across the twentieth century. It is argued that these changes fostered the environment in which celebrity architects appeared in the US in the late 1970s and 1980s. Of particular focus are professional attitudes towards publicity and self-promotion, primarily post-World War II, which shifted the identity of the architect from gentleman to entrepreneur. The chapter also examines the impact of the emergence of Post-Modernism.

Chapter 6 is devoted to the case study on Michael Graves, incorporating both qualitative biographical analysis and quantitative content analysis. This chapter tests the hypothesis of this investigation, that celebrity plays a role in the process of professional legitimisation. The career trajectory of Graves serves as a mapping of the perceived significance that he attained in the eye of the public, culminating in professional endorsement. The case study does not seek to overview the entire career of Graves; rather, it examines milestones relating to the heightened public recognition attained by Graves, and the professional consecration that he ultimately received.

Chapter 7 provides an analysis and summary of the findings, and explains the significance of the research and its contribution to the field of architectural historiography. The chapter concludes with recommendations for future research.

1.9 Sources and methods

A variety of sources and methods have supported the development of this thesis. Information has been gathered primarily from academic literature and popular media sources. The primary academic material was sourced from books, journal articles, biographies, monographs and conference proceedings. The investigation also draws on popular media resources such as newspaper articles, magazines and advertising. The academic literature has laid the theoretical foundations of this study in regards to *traditional legitimisation* in the field of architecture, while popular media sources provide valuable information on the role of celebrity and the mainstream media in the legitimisation process. The hypothesis of this investigation is tested in Chapter 6 using a historical case study methodology, which is explained in detail in Chapter 5.

CHAPTER 2 – Literature Review

This literature review is structured by theme. It first presents a broad discourse on celebrity, and then the specific discourse on celebrity architects, a more recent subject of exploration by theorists. Attempts have been made to identify literature that correlates celebrity with the processes of legitimisation in the field of architecture, yet no specific literature is available.

2.1 Discourse on celebrity

Most theorists concur that the idea of famous professionals resulted from new forms of media representation and mass culture during the early twentieth century. Marshall McLuhan was one of the earliest contributors to the discourse. His controversial and revolutionary book *Understanding media: the extensions of man* (1964)[9] predicted the media to be a force in its own right, as distinct from the content that it communicates, encapsulated in McLuhan's well-known phrase 'the medium is the message'. McLuhan asserts that all media exercises a strong influence on people and society. Significantly, McLuhan presents the media in a neutral light, as does this thesis, leaving open the possibility that the media has both positive and negative impacts on the people it represents. The influence of McLuhan's theories waned during the 1970s, yet the digital revolution led to a renewed interest in his perspective.[10]

Subsequent to McLuhan's theories, a wide array of literature appeared on the subject of media and fame. This discourse fits broadly into two major categories; that which focuses on fame-making and that which focuses on the famous. Among the first theorists to broach the subject of fame-making was Daniel Boorstin. His major book, *The image: a guide to pseudo-events in America* (1975), provides vital insights into the mechanics of 'fame-making' during the early twentieth century. In particular, Boorstin studied the generation of publicity and the construction of media hype, which he refers to as 'pseudo-events', more frequently known as 'media stunts'; events whose sole purpose is to generate publicity. The 'pseudo-event' is presented by Boorstin as a 'fame-making technique'. These events are not accidental, but require economic support

[9] Reissued by MIT Press in 1994, with an introduction by Lewis H. Lapham.

[10] Evidence of this is found in his being named "patron saint" of the *Wired Magazine*, launched in 1996, the content of which focuses on how technology is changing our world.

and as such are seen as an investment towards the goal of establishing celebrity. The pseudo-event exists purely for the sake of dramatic interest and is a planned event that aims to receive media coverage. Such events include press conferences, advertisements and news segments. Importantly, Boorstin points to the central role played by the media in formulating the hype that surrounds celebrity.

A decade later, Braudy produced a highly influential book titled *The frenzy of renown: fame and its history* (1986). This is one of the first significant publications in the second major category of literature on fame; it focuses on those who are made famous, as distinct from the processes of 'fame-making'. Braudy closely examines the relationship between media stars and their audience. With a study spanning thousands of years, Braudy examines dozens of figures, from Julius Caesar to Marilyn Monroe, who have captured the imagination of their contemporaries. Braudy frames more recent public figures as constructs of their press agents and public-relations specialists. Whilst this thesis acknowledges such personnel as key players in the path towards fame, their role is not explicitly explored.

Whilst Braudy's study focused primarily on famous figures throughout history, Cashmore's major work *Celebrity culture* (2006) provides a thorough background on the construct of celebrity in the lives of more current individuals. This work is not only one of the most recent resources on celebrity but, importantly, it cross-references fame across a number of industries, identifying likenesses between disciplines. Produced two decades after Braudy's book, Cashmore's study focuses on entertainment figures such as Madonna and Michael Jackson and sporting figures such as Michael Jordan and Tiger Woods. Rather than investigating how an individual attains fame, as Boorstin did, Cashmore introduces the experience of being a celebrity: the advantages and benefits such as financial gain through product endorsement.

Cashmore also discusses the separation between talent and fame, suggesting two categories of fame: media-driven and achievement-based (2006, p. 87). Media-driven celebrities, also known as talent-free personalities, reach their level of renown through scandalous and intriguing aspects of their personal life. Achievement-based celebrity, on the other hand, is slow and long lasting. Boorstin was actually one of the first theorists to comment on this shift in public interest away from skill and towards status:

‘the celebrity is a person who is known for his well-knownness’ (1975, p. 154). He claimed that at a certain point, people began to be less interested in deeds than reputation. In the words of Boorstin, ‘we can make a man or woman well known; but we cannot make him great. We can make a celebrity, but we can never make a hero’ (p. 41). Certainly, this does not relate to every context, yet the opinion remains popular. For example, Turner also offers little support to the idea that celebrity is linked to accomplishment, suggesting that the outcomes of celebrity are identical whether the individual ‘deserves’ their position of public acknowledgement or not (2004, p. 19). Architecture critic Michael Lewis concurs that publicity is indiscriminate of talent and argues that ‘no distinction is drawn between accomplishment and notoriety’ (2007, p. 4).

While the discourse on celebrity has continued to expand in recent years, many studies are historical and focus on the origins of celebrity, leaving a gap in the knowledge of contemporary celebrity-making. *Short history of celebrity* by Fred Inglis (2010) is a historical analysis of the origins of celebrity that spans two-and-a-half centuries, from the first ‘modern celebrities’ in mid-eighteenth century London to the present day. Inglis’s definition of ‘celebrity’ therefore differs from that adopted in this thesis; his focus is on widespread renown associated with heroic figures, a concept which has existed for many centuries, whereas this thesis interprets ‘celebrity’ to be a product of the contemporary media that began only in the late twentieth century. Inglis’s book focuses on individuals, as does this thesis, yet the book is concerned primarily with the personal lives of these individuals, whereas this thesis focuses on their professional lives. Inglis does, to a degree, defend the star system, claiming that celebrities can provide ‘social cohesion’ and provide both positive (and negative) role models. The book sets a precedent (adopted in this thesis) for being ‘even handed’ (McMahon 2010, p. 1) and applying a degree of objectivity to the study of celebrity.

A relatively recent celebrity study that sits apart from the trend of historical analysis is *Seeing stars: spectacle, society and celebrity culture* (Nayar 2009). This text focuses on the ‘manufacture’ of celebrities by the media, and forms part of the discussion in Section 3.2 of Chapter 3. Nayar’s study concentrates on new forms of media representation, whilst the present investigation is more concerned with those media

forms available in the 1970s and 1980s; however, the underlying concepts are still applicable. Also, a large portion of the book is dedicated to the audience's response to the media's mechanics, which Nayar argues to be 'adulation, identification, and emulation', a discussion that is not specifically addressed in the present investigation. It is the media's processes, rather than the audience's response, that are unpacked in the *celebrity-related process of legitimisation*.

Current forms of media are also discussed in *Star struck: an encyclopedia of celebrity culture*, edited by Sam G. Riley (2010). *Star struck* holds a similar geographical focus to this thesis: American celebrity. The book also has a similar chronological focus, concentrating on the period from 1950 to 2008. Furthermore, this book was one of the first to analyse celebrity beyond the narrow field of film, examining the role of celebrity in professions such as medicine and law. According to Riley, 'US culture readily creates celebrities out of just about any profession' (2010, p. 248). *Star Struck* thereby provides a precedent for the analysis of celebrity in the profession of architecture.

Holmes and Redmond have edited several books on celebrity, including *Framing celebrity: new directions in celebrity culture* (2006) and *Stardom and celebrity: a reader* (2007d). *Framing Celebrity* addresses the subject of media by concentrating on the way that celebrity manipulates an audience's consumption of media content. In contrast, this thesis approaches media studies from the angle of celebrity manufacture. The book also discusses current media forms such as 'reality' TV, whereas this thesis explores the media formats that were available during the "starchitect boom" of the 1970s and 1980s. Nevertheless, *Stardom and celebrity* offers an important contribution to celebrity discourse in that it goes beyond discussion of film, music and sports stars (as is the case for *Star Struck*, 2010); a central discussion point for most other texts. The topic of celebrity is approached from a theoretical perspective, and includes such essays such as 'The powerless 'Elite': theory and sociological research on the phenomenon of the stars', by Alberoni. Thus, *Stardom and Celebrity* serves as a scholarly appraisal of celebrity and its role in fields beyond the entertainment industry. Also, as in the case of Nayar's work, the book addresses the 'production' of fame, a central concept for this thesis. For example, an essay by Nick Couldry titled 'Media power: some hidden dimensions' complements the work of Nayar in providing an understanding of the

mechanics of the celebrity and the role of the media in celebrity-making. Furthermore, Holmes and Redmond acknowledge the existence of celebrity professionals, of which there is limited discourse in other texts. Their introductory essay to *Framing Celebrity* discusses 'star academics' who are 'feted within the academic community, whose name guarantees a publishing contract' (2006, p. 5). In this discussion, Holmes and Redmond open the door to furthering the exploration of celebrity professionals in other fields, such as architecture, and their potential for recognition beyond their peer circle.

While the abovementioned texts do not specifically discuss the phenomenon of celebrity in relation to architects and architecture, their discourse serves several main purposes regarding the present investigation. Firstly, they set a precedent for applying a scholarly approach to the study of celebrity; this is particularly evident in *Star struck* and *Stardom and celebrity*. Secondly, they concur that celebrity is a significant force in society, which justifies the continued study of its mechanics. Boorstin's literature is particularly relevant as it was produced during the formative years of celebrity for architects.

It is evident that the discourse on celebrity falls broadly into three categories: representation (identity), production (distribution) and consumption (reception) (Redmond et al. 2007a, p. 10). The focus of this thesis is the second category, the production of celebrity. This subject is addressed through a case study of Michael Graves. The purpose is not to critique his day-to-day life as a "starchitect", but to exemplify the fame-making and "celebrifying" processes at play in his career.

Within discourse on the production of celebrity lies the debate on talent and fame, in which many celebrity theorists have participated. Although not pertaining specifically to the field of architecture, many theorists now present a media-driven perception of celebrity architects. It is not the purpose of this study to comment on the aptitude of "starchitects"; the focus is the impact of their becoming famous on their career trajectory, the discussion of which centres on the media's influence over public opinion and, subsequently, professional endorsement.

2.2 Discourse on celebrity for architects

The discourse on celebrity for architects is presented chronologically, and grouped into subthemes. Early discourse on celebrity architects focused on the apparent problems of

the phenomenon such as favouritism and elitism, lack of talent, egomania and lack of service to the public, as well as lack of involvement in the building process. Yet over time it became apparent that there are benefits to celebrity, such as heightened creativity and the opportunity to gain significant and prestigious commissions.

2.2.1 Elite networks

Discourse on celebrity began in the latter half of the twentieth century when, according to Riley, 'Americans began to realize that they were creating a celebrity culture, and that it was not altogether good' (2010, p. 69). In regards to architecture, the most criticism concerns the way in which "starchitects" attain their elite position of stardom. A body of discourse links stardom with predisposed professional and personal relationships. It is suggested that intricate economic, political and social networks create a biased system of "celebrification" amongst architectural professionals. The biggest contributor to this body of critique, particularly regarding the favouritism shown to rising stars, is Stevens. In his controversial book *The favored circle: the social foundations of architectural distinction* (1999), Stevens attributes success for architects to a privileged background that involves having rich grandparents and indulgent patrons.

Williamson has also contributed to this mode of discourse, writing on fame and architecture in her book *American architects and the mechanics of fame* (1991). Yet her studies focus more on patterns in the lives of famous American architects, such as intra-professional influences and, more specifically, the master-apprentice relationship (the importance of which is also articulated by Stevens in his text 'The historical demography of architects' (1996)). According to Williamson, architects are most likely to achieve fame if they have spent a significant period of their career under the tuition of an architect that attains celebrity later in their own career (1991, p. 6) (see Figure 2). Whilst Williamson does not directly criticise this system, she does articulate its introverted nature. Robert Twombly has made similar claims: 'without elite sponsorship – without attending one of a handful of premier schools and later working for a prominent firm – it is nearly impossible to rise above the ranks of the invisible' (1995, p. 6).

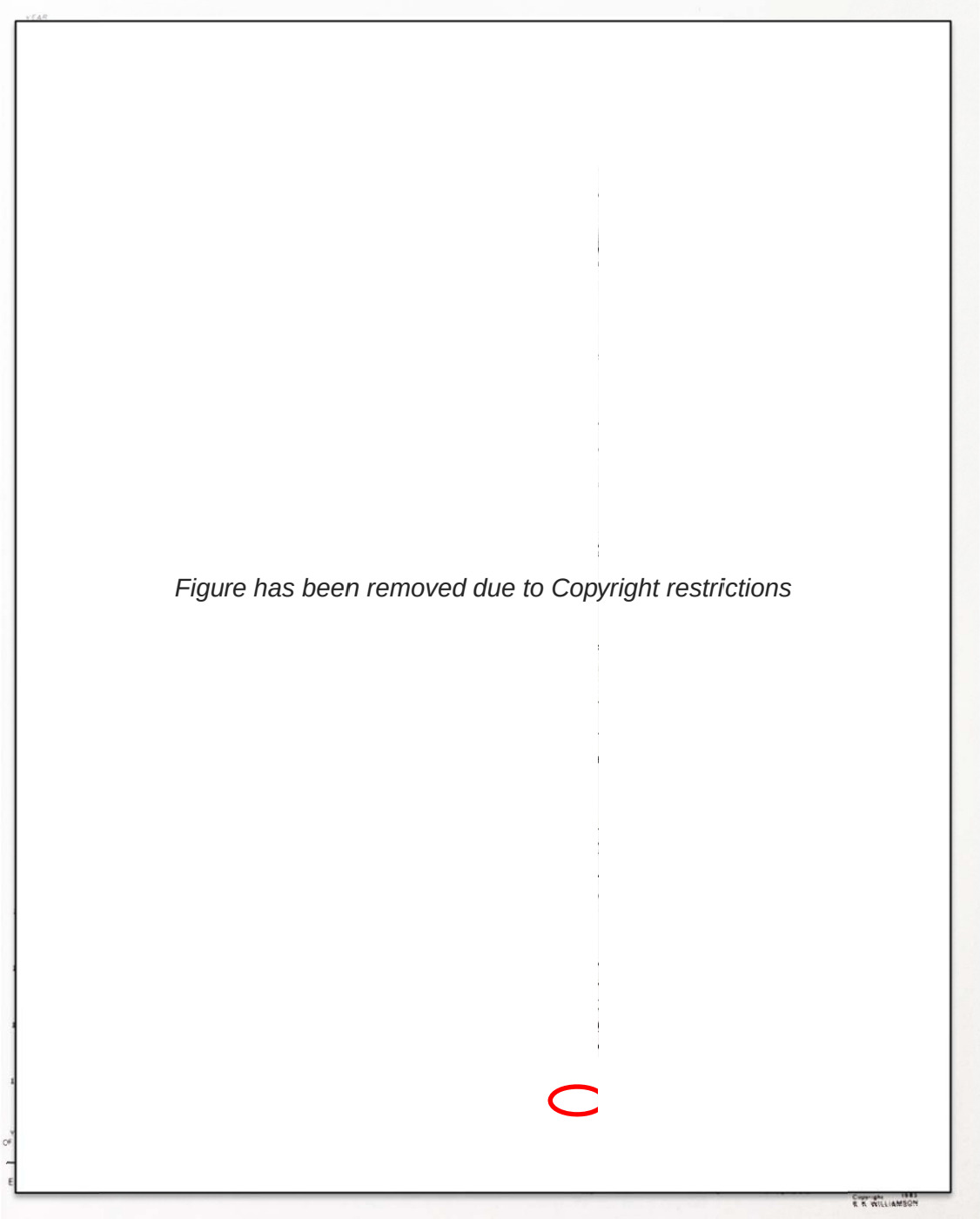

Figure 2 – Williamson's 'network of connections': career connections of major American architects (image sourced from Williamson 1991, p. 3)

The next major source of critique is Blau, who has indirectly contributed to the elitism argument, particularly in her landmark book *Architects and firms; A sociological perspective on architectural practice* (1984). This book was published in 1984, at the height of the "starchitect" boom. Whilst not expressing personal criticism of the

“starchitect” system, Blau conducted interviews with architects from 152 Manhattan firms. Of those interviewed, twenty-six per cent agreed with the statement that ‘architecture is an affair of the elite’ in reference to both practitioner and client (p. 80). While personal and intra-professional networks may provide a means by which celebrity, and the inner circle, may be accessed, this thesis suggests that they are not necessarily the sole vehicle. Media exposure, it argues, can provide an alternative or additional means.

More recently Micheli (2011) has provided further critique of “starchitects”. She conducted an analysis of the star system, focusing on the communication of the architecture of “starchitects” to popular and architectural audiences. Micheli argues that the star system has shifted the media’s focus from architecture to architects. She critiques the trend of “starchitects” attaining a higher degree of fame than their built work. Micheli argues that the benefits of this shift are minimal; although “starchitects” have increased the public’s awareness of the design process, they have simultaneously obscured the true complexities of the practice of building. Micheli suggests that this results in a ‘loss of criticality’. Whilst this thesis does explore the media’s concentration on the life and personality of certain architects, it is not the intention to create a comparison between the media’s interest in architects versus their architecture, as this subject has been adequately explored by Micheli. This thesis does, however, interpret the media’s shift from focusing on an architect’s architecture to focusing on them as an individual as an indicator of celebrity.

2.2.2 Aptitude and ethics

The separation between architectural talent and fame is another theme within the more recent negative criticism of celebrity architects. Broadly, critics have ‘lamented the fall from hero to media personality in an exponentially expanding cultural iconography’ (Riley 2010, p. 73). Riley suggests that ‘the transition from hero to celebrity, for instance, expanded the category of notable figures of popular curiosity, changing the bases of admiration so that one can achieve fame without merit’ (2010, p. 229) and the field of architecture is no exception. Stevens distinguishes between a ‘good’ architect and an ‘internationally famous architect’: to be the former ‘you must have a modicum of talent and many happy clients, pleased with your buildings’, yet to become the latter

‘requires no clients at all, and certainly no buildings’. Stevens believes that not only do “starchitects” not need skill, but they do not even need to apply their skill in practice. In articles published on his controversial website *archsoc.com* he not only focuses on the (perceived) lack of talent of “starchitects” and the (perceived) poor quality of the work that they produce – which he describes as ‘self-indulgent fantasies’ – but also questions whether they have produced any work at all. Here Stevens reignites the age-old debate regarding ‘paper architects’. In one particular article entitled ‘How to become a famous architect without building anything’ (2010b, p. 1), Stevens aggressively attacks Zaha Hadid because her first built commission occurred at the age of 44, after 25 years in the business of architecture. However, the quantity or even the quality of built form of “starchitects” is not a focus of this study; career trajectories of “starchitects” are explored from the angle of professional recognition and prominence rather than the subjective critique of their work.

Many journalists have entered the debate. The identification of individuals who prioritise self-promotion over all else is a popular line of attack. American journalist Patrick Lynch, in an article for *The Architects Journal* (2008), for example, divides “starchitects” into four categories: those who became stars by being really good;[11] stars who critics try to convince us are also good architects;[12] stars who don’t give a damn what we think;[13] and stars who want to convince us that they care.[14]

An extension of this argument is a failure to meet budgets, along with the functional needs of those who live and work in the buildings designed by “starchitects”. Academic and politician John Silber, an honorary member of the American Institute of Architects (AIA), has authored the book *Architecture of the absurd* (2007a) and a letter to *The New York Times* (2007b). Both texts highlight those “starchitects” who display ‘egomania that pursues originality at the expense of fittingness and which throws all humility to the winds in its urgent need to stand out’ (2007b, p. 49). Silber believes that leading architects have become ‘individualistic, eccentric, and self-referential’, producing ‘self-vaunting’ work.

[11] Zumthor, Chipperfield, Siza, Moneo, Ito, Herzog & de Meuron, Enric Miralles, Carme Pinos, Kahn, Palladio.
[12] Koolhaas, Adjaye, Holl.
[13] Hadid, Gehry, Alsop.
[14] Liebskind, Foster, Eisenman.

Nicolai Ouroussof, who was the architecture critic for *The New York Times* from 2004 to 2011, demonstrates a similarly critical view of the social service of 'starchitecture', referring to the "starchitect" as an 'egomaniacal artist with little concern for the needs of us, the little people' (2007, p. 16). He describes Santiago Calatrava's scheme for the transportation hub at ground zero in Lower Manhattan, for example, as an 'overblown' design that is 'as much a monument to the architect's ego as a statement of civic pride' (2007, p. 16). Nicolai Ouroussof (2007) has also accused "starchitects" of 'selling out': 'serious criticism comes from those inside the profession who see a move into the mainstream as a sell-out. The pact between high architects and developers, to them, is a Faustian bargain in which the architect is nothing more than a marketing tool, there to provide a cultural veneer for the big, bad developers whose only interest is in winging as much profit as possible from their projects' (p. 16).

Lack of involvement in the building process is another major criticism levelled at "starchitects". Silber has suggested that a lack of client concern leads to the distancing of architects from the day-to-day management of their constructions. Rather than remaining intricately involved in the realisation of their works, Silber suggests that some "starchitects" become distracted by publicity events and avoid committing time to the intricacies of the building process. Silber also believes that this disregard, resulting in 'absurdism' in buildings, is a bi-product of the leeway accorded to celebrity architects by architectural institutions, boosted by critics, and commissioned by CEOs and trustees.

Along similar lines, *The New Criterion* journalist Michael Lewis made an example of Frank Gehry's apparent lack of project management. This related to a lawsuit filed by MIT in 2007 against Gehry that claimed that the design and construction of his $300 million Stata Center was negligent. Lewis also claims that the 'starchitecture' is not necessarily poorly planned or poorly detailed, but that significant responsibilities are often delegated to associate firms. This is the case particularly for overseas commissions, which is a frequent part of the portfolio of today's celebrity architects. Lewis comments that collaborative partnerships enable "starchitects" to manage many concurrent commissions across the world. All projects have the 'touch' of the 'starchitect', but not much more (2007, p. 9).

Part of the criticism of “starchitects” regarding project management is the misrepresentation of authorship. The article ‘Heroes, not stars’ published in *Architect* (Cramer 2009) refers to ‘starchitecture’ as a ‘one man show’. The singularity of stardom and the narrow-sighted nature of worship have led to individual architects claiming, or being bestowed with, the credit for ventures that have, in fact, been the fruits of the labour of many participants who are not adequately recognised by the public or media.

All of these criticisms focus primarily on the aptitude of “starchitects” in their craft, and even extend to the quality of their buildings. However, buildings and the processes of building are not the focus of this study. The merit of celebrity, rightly or wrongly, does not form a part of this investigation. Rather, the primary focus is the impact of celebrity on climbing the proverbial “professional ladder”.

2.2.3 Heightened creativity

Discourse on the benefits of celebrity for architects gained prominence during the 1990s, after the “starchitect boom”. One of the strongest advocates is Williamson. Williamson identifies a pattern, ‘creative production following publicity’, whereby famous architects produce ‘surer’ designs *after* a major bout of press attention (1991, p. 229). Williamson argues that publication frequently precedes a “starchitect’s” most significant works because publication fosters a ‘burst of self-confidence’ in design and, she argues, ‘since much great architecture is essentially bold architecture, the designer is emboldened further by the event’ (p. 229). According to Williamson, ‘fame rests squarely on the achievement of self-confidence and publicity tends to heighten one's self-esteem and courage’ (p. 229).

Contradicting those critiques that call into question the talent of “starchitects”, Williamson has mapped the achievements of various significant architectural figures, such as Frank Lloyd Wright (1991, p. 171), who began to ‘produce real masterpieces’ in 1900 and 1901, a period of particularly intense media attention. Williamson notes that Wright’s greatest contributions and strongest developments in his career occurred immediately after major publicity, which she claims helped him to ‘synthesize his design ideas’. Despite being in practice for approximately eight years, Wright’s most significant designs followed this surge of attention and continued for another eight years (1991, p. 171). Williamson notes a similar pattern of creative production in the careers

of other architects, such as Walter Gropius, Mies van der Rohe, George Howe, and Louis Kahn.

According to Williamson, fame for architects refers to 'the sort of reputation that arises out of truly innovative designs, the kind of work deemed important enough to be included in the history textbooks' (1991, p. 13). This position is supported by Larson, who suggests that leading designers establish the distinction between 'ordinary' and 'extraordinary' design. They are responsible for posing a challenge to the status quo within the field of architecture: 'in the relational system of architectural objects, artistic and innovative architecture stands out against the necessary background of ordinary design' (Larson 1993, p. 6).

Various journalists agree with Williamson and Larson. Vacillating between positive and negative opinions of "starchitects", even Ouroussoff suggests that "starchitects" are today finally able to test their visions, describing the end of the twentieth century as 'one of the most exhilarating periods in recent architectural history' (2007, p. 16). Although Ouroussoff concedes that many 'novelty' buildings have been produced by the "stars", he believes that there are an equal number of works that demonstrate 'blazing originality' (2007, p. 16). Although noting that there are many 'novelty' buildings, Ivy agrees, suggesting that "starchitects" are often 'exploring ideas, testing new systems, voyaging first where most of us dare not go. In a sense, they are our explorers (2004, p. 15). Ivy advocates that "starchitects" frequently produce built works that push the boundaries of design and set global architectural trends.

2.2.4 Significant commissions

Some writers and theorists have also established a connection between celebrity and the gaining of significant and prestigious commissions. Dana Cuff, for example, has discussed the benefits of media attention in *Architecture: the story of practice* (1991). The book is widely respected due to its meticulous research; Cuff interviewed over two hundred architects from eighty firms over ten years. She has asserted that 'with more prestigious projects come the full-fledged architect's desire for greater recognition both from fellow professionals and from the public. Public recognition is a part of marketing, since architects who are better known and respected by the general population will have the advantage in gaining commissions over their lesser known competitors' (1991, p.

12). Cuff calls this getting out of the ‘developer market’ and into the ‘award winning design arena’ (1991, p. 150). She offers insight into the significance of such opportunity for architects, noting that it is not just a steady flow of commissions that is a positive outcome for architects in the public eye; rather it is the quality of commissions. Cuff suggests that high-quality commissions are those that are prestigious, that is, having a public presence or large budgets, and their attainment is a somewhat universal goal.

Schmiedeknecht has asserted that the main reason he would want to become famous is because it is a ‘valuable marketing tool’ (Griffiths et al. 2001, p. 34). Architectural historian Beatriz Colomina goes further in discussing the opportunities associated with public recognition. She suggests that ‘the mere prominence [celebrity architects] are given, even when undeserving, the more their position is reinforced by those with the power to commission buildings’ (1988a, p. 140). Architecture critic and editor Cynthia Davidson takes a similar stance, commenting that repeated media exposure can create architectural work opportunities for those whose anonymity would otherwise leave them struggling to break into the industry (2000, p. 1). In the same vein, Julia Chance has noted, in reference to “starchitects”, ‘a dramatic increase in potential for jobs due to media coverage and ultimately as renown ensues, an increased autonomy in the way that they will be able to make buildings and landscapes’ (2001, p. 53). Helen Castle sees the situation in the same light, suggesting that those architects involved in the ‘exclusive league’ of the media are rewarded with ‘qualification for the top architectural jobs - the opportunity to build great and iconic buildings’ (2001, p. 4).

Other theorists link celebrity not only with the opportunity to engage with prestigious commissions, but also influential clients. The relationship with ambitious clients is often painted in a negative light (Lewis 2007; Twombly 1995; Stevens 2010b; Silber 2007b) yet Blau’s research shows that architects generally acknowledge the potential value of powerful patrons. She notes that ‘although critics tend to deplore the effects of corporate clients on the integrity of office practice, architects I interviewed are much more equivocal about whether powerful corporate clients corrupt the creative component of architecture’ (1984, p. 101).

2.3 Chapter summary

Existing discourse on celebrity architects serves several purposes for this investigation, primarily the identification of a 'gap' regarding objectivity in existing literature. In discourse from the 1980s and 1990s, celebrity architects have been painted in a negative light. Such discourse has taken a largely moralistic stance, focusing in particular on an erosion of professional values between the architect and their colleague and clients. A reappraisal is evident in some more recent discourse, with celebrity portrayed as having some positive outcomes, such as access to bigger commissions and exposure to influential clients.

This investigation affords the same neutrality to the subject of media as offered by Marshal McLuhan: in neither a positive nor a negative light. It moves beyond the value judgements and ethical critique of the majority of discourse and brings greater objectivity to the debate. The aim of this investigation is to demonstrate that, rather than being contrary to the values of the architectural profession, the "celebrification" of architects is just another expression of the process of legitimisation that has always been central to the field. As previously established, no existing discourse has aligned celebrity with the process of legitimisation in the profession of architecture.

The theories that have been presented on celebrity architects have focused primarily on identifying what it means to be famous, rather than the mechanics of fame. Furthermore, an architect's predisposition towards fame has been more intensively researched than has the impact of their fame on their career trajectory. This investigation is the opportunity to produce a thorough investigation into the outcomes of celebrity for architects from an original, comprehensive perspective.

CHAPTER 3 – The process of legitimisation in the field of architecture

Chapter 1 identified the study's theoretical framework regarding the existence and importance of legitimisation within cultural fields such as architecture. The purpose of this chapter is to provide a deeper understanding of the legitimisation process within the architectural field by articulating the exact ways in which architects increase their cultural capital, and thereby their standing, within the field. This chapter draws on the theories of Pierre Bourdieu and a number of other theorists who have provided specific insights into the mechanics of the architectural field. The two distinct processes that come under analysis here have been categorised as the *traditional process of legitimisation* and the *celebrity-related process of legitimisation*. Each of these two processes forms a section of this chapter.

3.1 The *traditional process of legitimisation* in the field of architecture

As is evident in framework of understanding introduced in Chapter 1, the process of legitimisation is active in cultural fields. Legitimisation involves various agents in the field: those that bestow legitimacy (consecrators), and those that acquire it (cultural producers). Value is ascribed by those who maintain authority (that is, those who acquire the most cultural capital). Traditionally, according to Bourdieu, the consecrators are professional peers. Bourdieu suggests that such consecrators exist in a constant battle to sustain their authority, as they are frequently challenged by those who seek to take their place (Webster 2011, p. 78).

Bourdieu's work, although detailed in regards to the context of legitimisation, is vague in articulating the precise ways in which recognition is bestowed on producers. Whilst he identifies the players (agents) and the context (field) involved in the *state* of legitimisation (as an endpoint), his theories touch only lightly on the *process* of legitimisation. He suggested, for example, that in the literary field it can involve such milestones as 'a preface, a favourable review, a prize' (1983, p. 323). Four prominent theorists, with similar ideas to those of Bourdieu regarding legitimisation, have extended the understanding of legitimisation in contemporary discourse by articulating more clearly the means by which recognition may be conferred: Cuff, Williamson, Blau and van Schaik. Their theories are combined here with those of Bourdieu to establish a

definition of the *traditional process of legitimisation* as it pertains to the field of architecture.

Bourdieu suggests that the goal of all cultural producers is to produce work that, through its consecrated value, raises their own cultural capital and subsequently elevates their hierarchical position within the field (1969, p. 100). Bourdieu (1983) suggests that friction within a field of cultural production centres on practitioners jostling for a higher social position. The quality of the cultural capital that they acquire provides them with a position within the social space of their field. That position is relative to others within the field, and their respective cultural capital. When a newcomer enters a field of cultural production, they are judged on their pre-existing capital, and positioned accordingly. In the words of Webster (2011) the newcomer would 'adopt a course of action that they perceived would improve their position in the field and move them towards appropriating the power to control the field' (p. 67). Bourdieu was only too aware of the irony that newcomers seek consecration from the very institutions whose ideologies they seek to overturn.

Many prominent architects in the US have increased their profile by 'writing, lecturing, presenting exhibitions of their work' (Williamson 1991, p. 5). More specifically, Williamson developed the following guideline which serves as an inter-professional publicity "checklist" of sorts. As discussed in Chapter 1, Bourdieu defines legitimisation as the 'recognition of the novices by the consecrated' (1993a, p. 59). The elements suggested by Williamson align with gaining recognition, and also Bourdieu's initial suggestions on how this occurs, mentioned above (his perception centres on publication and awards). Hence, these points offered by Williamson are, in this investigation, interpreted to be aspects of the *process of legitimisation*:

1. Illustrated lectures (Sullivan, Wright, Gallier and others) and modest exhibitions
2. Articles about the architect's work in local and regional publications by the architect or his or her friends
3. Articles in professional journals
4. Exhibitions with published catalogues (especially those of The Museum of Modern Art)
   a. Broad surveys of contemporary work, like The International Style, Built in USA, 40 Under 40

b. Shows featuring a limited number of architects, like The Chicago 7, Five Architects, or MoMA's 1932 Modern Architects
c. One-man shows (Richardson, Sullivan, Wright, Mies etc.)

5. Articles in the popular journals (*Time, Ladies' Home Journal*, etc.)
6. Monographs, biographies, and sometimes autobiographies (although there are clear exceptions to the effectiveness of this form of publicity).

(1991, p. 168)

The argument presented in this study regarding the *celebrity-related process of legitimisation* is, essentially, an extension of Williamson's fifth point listed above. This thesis argues that the *celebrity-related process of legitimisation* placed an unprecedented emphasis on representation within the mainstream media. Rather than being just one of six major steps, appearing in popular journals and other mainstream media sources such as magazines and newspapers became the most prominent step in their legitimisation process, and occurred much earlier than Williamson suggests (if her list is chronological).

Cuff has also commented on aspects of professional progression for architects that lead to recognition by peers. In her book *Architecture: the story of practice* (1991), Cuff provides insight into the phases of an architect's career, suggesting that there are three traditional rites of passage for the 'newcomer' within the field:

> The first rites of separation for the student and entry-level architect, who learn they are distinct from the laity. Second are rites of transition that occur in the ambiguous middle years, when architects take their registration exam and perhaps start their own offices. Last are rites of incorporation, when full-fledged architects undergo rituals that document their membership in the culture: winning awards, attending the national A.I.A. meetings, getting published (p. 153).

Cuff's concept of 'membership' relates to Bourdieu's notions of newcomers getting 'known and recognized' in order to become legitimised by the profession (1993a, p. 58). The notion of being able to 'join' the professional culture of architecture implies recognition and acceptance. Applying Cuff's theories to this investigation, it could be said that it is during the third 'rite' that legitimisation occurs. Cuff notes that 'while one article about a building is no evidence of excellence, there are some buildings which are published in nearly all the major journals, and receive several awards' (p. 196). It is through elements such as awards and publication within the field itself that an architect achieves a position of recognition, or perceived significance.

Blau has offered similar suggestions on the legitimisation processes within the field of architecture. In her research, she comments on architects who are 'well-known'. Professionals who are highly recognised by their peers embody Bourdieu's concept of 'symbolic capital' (1993a, p. 50), referred to in this thesis as perceived significance, again relating to Bourdieu's notions of recognition. Bourdieu suggests that agents (such as architectural practitioners) are defined by their relational position to those of a higher or lower status within their chosen field. As discussed in Chapter 1, this thesis is based on the understanding that the accumulation of symbolic capital equates to the process of legitimisation. Blau suggests that an architect may be considered 'well known' based on the number of awards and competitions won and the number of times their work has been reviewed in professional journals. In the eyes of Blau, 'architects work for other architects'; their work is only truly appreciated by their colleagues, hence it is the profession's awards and publication that ultimately communicate significant contributions to the architectural canon (1984, p. 93). The profession's own awards and publications are, as they are for Cuff, central to Blau's perception of the process of legitimisation.

Van Schaik's book *Mastering architecture* (2005) discusses fifty 'exceptionally creative practitioners' in over sixty international practices, and touches on the cultural structure of the field of architecture. In this book van Schaik, like Cuff and Blau, suggests that architects who have received professional awards and who have been reviewed in professional journals have 'a mastery in a field of the domain of architecture' (p. 10). In this thesis, 'mastery' is interpreted to mean the attainment of 'symbolic capital'. van Schaik adds that being the subject of monographs and being exhibited in curated exhibitions also communicates a position of significance. He also cites events such as biennales, commissions, educational seminars and conferences as avenues for legitimacy, claiming that these events are 'curated through institutions, critics and publishers' and that architects who contribute to these events 'are pursued through informal but abiding networks of peers'. van Schaik refers to these networks as 'support structures around intellectual change', that is to say, people who are in a position to legitimise. His comments hark back to Bourdieu's notions of agents; the institutions, critics and publishers may be considered 'agents' in the field of architecture, and participants in the process of legitimisation.

Combined, the theories of Cuff, Blau and van Schaik offer the following key aspects of the *process* of legitimisation for architects: professional publication, self-authorship, awards, exhibitions, competitions and involvement with educational institutions. These aspects are unpacked in the following discussion, supported by arguments of other theorists.

The first major aspect of the process of legitimisation, as described above, is professional publication, both being written about by peers and writing about oneself. According to Beatriz Colomina, architecture is 'culturally disseminated through publications' (1988a, p. 15). "Starchitect" Rem Koolhaas goes further, likening architects to novelists: 'they regard the most important thing in their careers as being published' (1995, p. 6). The types of publications in which architects appear include books, monographs and professional journals.[15] Books and monographs often include introductory or interpretive essays by leading architects, acting as a form of professional endorsement.

Publication in professional journals is regarded as an especially significant milestone. The legitimacy of an architect derives from the 'legitimacy and authority of those who propagate [them]' (Johnson 1993, p. 19). As noted by Bourdieu, 'every critical affirmation contains, on the one hand, recognition of the value of the work which occasions it and on the other hand an affirmation of its own legitimacy. All critics declare not only their judgement of the work, but also their claim to the right to talk about it and judge it' (1983, p. 317). Architectural critics, historians and editors play a significant and powerful role in the process of legitimisation. They act as agents in the production and reproduction of cultural identities, such as architects. They exert their power in constructing symbolic capital for architects through the prominence afforded to certain architects in their writing, editing and publishing. Manfredo Tafuri famously referred to the architects cum critics Charles Jencks and Robert Stern as 'opinion-makers', in regards to their self-proclaimed authority within the architectural field (Tafuri, 1989, p. 190).

[15] An architectural monograph is typically a book published about a body of architectural work, usually a career collection, or a theme relating to architecture, such as 'concrete construction' or 'sustainable design.'

The second half of the nineteenth century saw the emergence of specialised journalism, largely due to advances in graphic and printing technologies (Woods 1989, p. 117). This change coincided with the professionalisation of architecture, and during this period architectural periodicals came to play an important role in the operation of the field (Williamson 1991, p. 196). Early American architectural journals relied upon support not only from the publishing industry, but from the architectural profession (Woods 1989, p. 117). Whilst some journals were founded independently, many had connections with the dominant architectural establishments of the time, namely the AIA. Architects used these publications as vehicles to publish their work. Coming to print in 1857 the *Crayon* is considered the first professional architectural journal, and only published the work of AIA members. It was, however, short lived, and was soon surpassed by more enduring AIA-authorised publications such as *American Architect and Building News* (1876-1938) and *Inland Architect* (1883-present). *Architectural Record* was founded in 1891, and the *Journal of the American Institute of Architects* began in 1913, replacing the AIA's previous *Quarterly Bulletin*.

From the outset, the coverage of architectural periodicals was not egalitarian. Many theorists acknowledge their tendency to 'support' certain architects (Lipstadt 1988a, Iloniemi 2004, Williamson 1991). Bourdieu refers to critics and publishers as 'cultural intermediaries' and suggests that they have the power to be 'taste makers' by acting as mediator between artists and audiences within a field (1969, p. 100). According to Webster, who has adapted Bourdieu's concepts to the field of architecture, 'the interpretations and judgements made by cultural intermediaries could work in a partisan way to support the upward trajectory of certain artists or to dismiss others' (2011, p. 65). Watson suggests that the bias of journals is evident through 'heavy editorial intervention, selective publication and support of material, public criticism and limited invited input to discussions' (2005, p. 56). For example, *American Architect* strongly supported Henry Hobson Richardson. It was noted by Williamson that he had no need to promote himself for his collegial network spread throughout the editorial teams of professional journals[16] (1991, p. 177). Williamson also notes that when editors moved

[16] A former Richardson employee, Theodore Minot Clark, became editor of *American Architect* from 1888.

from one journal to another they often brought their interest in certain architects with them; she notes that this had the result of 'narrowing the field of possibilities for some aspiring designers' (p. 178).

Some journals display a distinct ideological slant, and may be said to play a role in legitimising specific architects by providing greater exposure to those aligned with one ideology over another (Iloniemi 2004, p. 11). An example of this is the partisan stance of the IAUS journal *Oppositions* (1973-84), which contributed passionately to intra-professional debate between the Modernists and Post-Modernists during the late 1970s. According to Joan Ockman (1988), who has documented the history of the journal, the editorial intention was to oppose the conventions of architectural discourse and publishing. The editors included Eisenman, and the publication openly promoted the New York Five, of whom Eisenman was a member.

While the ideological slant of journals stems principally from their editors, writers also play an important role in shaping symbolic capital for certain architects. Early influential architectural critics include Russell Sturgis and Mongtomery Schuyler. They each actively promoted their partners and employees, (then) current and former. James Marston Fitch was an associate editor of *Architectural Record* from 1936 to 1941, and Jane Jacobs was aligned with *Architectural Forum*. Jacobs' influence in the field of architecture extended beyond the magazine; she made a name for herself as an activist after writing the powerful *The death and life of great American cities,* published in 1961, which controversially critiques 1950s urban planning policy, and suggests radical alternatives.

The influence of architecture critics is largely bound in their close relationships with progressive institutions and architects (Williamson 1991, p. 179). Ada Louise Huxtable was a prominent name in architectural periodicals from the mid-twentieth century. She began as a contributing editor for *Progressive Architecture* and *Art in America*, yet had been a prior assistant curator at MoMA, under Philip Johnson. Likewise, Peter Blake moved from MoMA to become editor of *Architectural Forum*. Such dominant intra-personal networks no doubt impacted their editorial direction.

The influence of many architecture critics in the early- to mid-twentieth century extended into the mainstream media. Montgomery became a member of the editorial staff of *The New York Times* from 1883 to 1907. Huxtable was later the first architecture critic for the same newspaper from 1963 to 1982 and grew to be known as 'the people's writer' (Chaban 2013). In her powerful role, it is not surprising that she wrote so many complimentary pieces about Johnson, given their working history. Of a total fifty six articles by her about Johnson, early examples include 'He adds elegance to Modern architecture' (May 24, 1964) in which she heralds that he 'strikes a new note in homes and buildings by his special use of the past', and 'Architecture prizes and a prize architect' (28 February, 1960). An obituary for Huxtable describes her close relationship with Johnson as follows:

> "Whatever Philip Johnson's legacy turns out to be, it will not rest on his buildings," Ada Louise Huxtable wrote in her obituary of "the king's architect" in *The Wall Street Journal* eight years ago. Mr. Johnson had once told Ms. Huxtable of his desire to work for royalty. Not finding any, Ms. Huxtable concluded, he crowned himself king and kingmaker. In his way, he reshaped the world, and so too has she (Chaban 2013)

Self-authorship is another favoured method of achieving recognition, which does not rely on the favour of editors or critics. Referring to architecture, Williamson states that 'I can think of no other profession outside of literature and journalism where the members do so much writing about themselves and their colleagues' (1991, p. 6). The proliferation of publication by architects is illustrated through Stevens's study 'The historical demography of architects' (1996), which reveals that over eleven per cent of the architects listed in the *Macmillan encyclopedia of architects* (MEA) had made a major theoretical contribution to the field by way of books, articles or public activity.

Williamson argues that self-authorship 'has proven to be effective; several architects had made their reputations before they saw any of their buildings constructed' (1991, p. 6). Throughout history many architects that have utilised the force of publication to secure themselves a place in architectural history books, from Vitruvius to Le Corbusier and Adolf Loos (MacDonald 1977, p. 28). Rem Koolhaas is a more contemporary example of an architect who has connected very effectively with an audience through his own writing. His collaborative office, OMA, was opened in 1975, and his first

publication, ‘Delirious New York’ (1978), was said to set the tone for his career (Klingmann 2007, p. 122).

The next major aspect of the *traditional process of legitimisation*, as identified by Cuff, Blau and van Schaik, is professional awards. Awards are amongst the highest signs of peer recognition; Cuff refers to them as an ‘official badge of approval’ (Cuff 1991, p. 183). They may be considered the highest form of professional endorsement: ‘the award’s prestige has the greatest impact, providing the recipient a life-long identity as a winner’ (Riley 2010, p. 30). Awards are highly publicised through the professional press, leading to broader recognition of architects and a wider professional perception of significance.

Larson claims that it is a key role of professional institutions to ‘establish the recognition of architects’ through conferring accreditation, awards, and other honours, and that such awards ‘identify deserving practitioners to their peers’ (1993, p. 9). An example of institutional awards is the AIA Gold Medal, which has been awarded annually since 1947 and is the highest honour bestowed on an individual by the AIA ‘in recognition of a significant body of work of lasting influence on the theory and practice of architecture’ (AIA 2011) (see Figure 3).

Yet from the 1970s onwards, architectural awards extended beyond those formed by the institutions and came to encompass non-institutional accolades such as the Pritzker Prize, which is now considered to be the highest recognition for architects (Gutman 1988; Pogrebin 2009). The prominence of this particular award approaches the boundary of the “celebrity” process of legitimisation as it is recognised publicly, as opposed to other awards which hold more value within the profession.

1909	Charles Follen McKim	1960	Ludwig Mies van der Rohe
1911	George Browne Post	1962	Eero Saarinen
1923	Henry Bacon	1967	Wallace K. Harrison
1925	Bertram Grosvenor Goodhue	1968	Marcel Bruer
1927	Howard Van Doren Shaw	1969	William Wilson Wurster
1929	Milton Bennett Medary	1970	R. Buckminster Fuller
1938	Paul Philippe Cret	1971	Louis I. Kahn
1946	Louis Henry Sullivan	1972	Pietro Belluschi
1947	Eliel Saarinen	1977	Richard Neutra
1948	Charles Donagh maginnis	1978	Philip Johnson
1949	Frank Lloyd Wright	1979	Ieoh Ming Pei
1951	Bernard Ralph Maybeck	1981	Josep Lluis Sert
1953	William Adams Delano	1982	Romaldo Giurgola
1956	Clarence S. Stein	1983	Nathaniel Owings
1957	Louis Skidmore	1985	William Wayne Caudill
1957	Ralph Walker	1986	Arthur Charles Erickson
1958	John Wellborn Root	1989	Joseph Esherick
1959	Walter Gropius	1990	E. Fay Jones

Figure 3 – AIA Gold Medal winners up to the period of investigation, 1909 to 1990 (source: AIA, < http://www.aia.org/practicing/awards/2014/gold-medal/julia-morgan/>, data retrieved 17 February 2014)

Exhibitions also play a vital role in the *traditional legitimisation process*, as they showcase an individual to the public. Exhibitions take the endorsement by the profession of an architect out into the public realm. Galleries that draw the largest, and most influential, audiences contribute most strongly to this process. Again applying Bourdieu's terminology, galleries may be considered 'agents' in the field of architecture, and participants in the process of legitimisation. One such major contributor is The Museum of Modern Art (MoMA), New York, founded in 1929. MoMA played a critical role in the early phase of the process of legitimisation; MoMA curators were early identifiers of architects, architecture and styles worthy of the legitimisation, and "celebrification", processes. A significant number of MoMA's exhibitions during the 1970s and 1980s focused on 'architectural forerunners' in the US and Europe (Williamson 1991, p. 200). Williamson suggests that being included in a MoMA exhibition was a 'major event' for an individual architect. She notes a 'time lag' between MoMA's publicity and an architect's acceptance by professional journals indicated the extent to which MoMA supported those worthy of legitimisation (Williamson 1991, p. 205).

Exhibitions are also significant because they typically produce exhibition catalogues. Many galleries and museums play the 'media game' by producing colourful images of their exhibitions that will appeal to the editors of magazines and newspapers (Iloniemi 2005, p. 11). Williamson suggests that printed evidence of an exhibition truly reinforces the significance of the architectural work, and hence architect, being exhibited (1991, p. 198), and that an exhibition need not be 'popular or well attended' for an architect to achieve recognition; rather it is the publication that can truly reinforce the significance of the architect, being exhibited (p. 203). However, Williamson warns that exhibitions are not enough to attain the heights of perceived significance; 'others must forge these names into place in architectural history' (p. 200).

Competitions are also a significant aspect of the process of legitimisation. According to Williamson, 'many a reputation has first been established through competition entries, built of unbuilt, and even second - and third-place - entries can enhance one's status' (1991, p. 181). Competitions rely heavily on juries, recommendations and independent architectural advisers, who all use trade literature and popular press to form an opinion (Iloniemi 2004, p. 11). Competitions for public works cross the boundaries between *traditional* and *celebrity-related process of legitimisation.* Williamson notes that 'the winners [do] not have to please the taste of architects, but the public' (1991, p. 181). As illustrated in the career of Michael Graves, public approval of the winner is often as significant as the professional opinion of the judges.

There is a longstanding tradition for architects to involve themselves in architectural education. Scholar Joan Draper argues that this trend dates back to the 'atelier' system of the mid-19th century, initiated by the return of Richard Morris Hunt from the Ecole des Beaux Arts in Paris (1977, p. 223).[17] Hunt then established an American atelier in 1857, based on the Parisian studio in which students undertook competition entries, directed by an established (legitimised) architect. Other Beaux Arts graduates, such as HH Richardson and Charles McKim, followed Hunt's lead and their ateliers came to be respected as educational centres for architects. The system of architects involving themselves in architectural education later extended to the more formal institutions of architecture schools at universities.

[17] He attended the Ecole des Beaux Arts from 1845 to 1853.

The professional benefit of staying active in the academic milieu lies principally in the dissemination of ideas and interaction with fellow architects (Futogawa 2002, p. 656).[18] It is this inter-professional connection that contributes to the process of legitimisation (see Figure 4). Educational institutions provide an environment that fosters professional communication. Iloniemi (2004) suggests that maintaining a strong presence in the education system is critical to staying visible, since architectural students are one's future peers. This thesis argues that it such visibility with peers and students contributes to professional recognition, and consecration. Williamson notes that when well-known architects are asked to name a mentor, they are more likely to talk about design professors than early employers - 'men like Jean Labatut at Princeton University are hallowed in the memories of alumni' (1991, p. 10).

Harris suggests that the decision to participate in academic pursuits is more closely linked to identity, refers to the ideal of the 'charismatic designer' and 'intellectual master' (2001, p. 74). Jencks and Chance depict the visiting professor as being 'parachuted in … from the wider world of practice (famous for his or her real architectural achievements)' (Jencks and Chance 2001, p. 17). Both suggest, first, that architectural academics are considered to have a high profile. Second, they infer that academia is an activity pursued in conjunction with practice, not in place of it (see Figure 5).

Many of the twentieth century's most famous architects participated in scholarly activities. Wright gave his first well-known lecture in 1900 (Saint 1983, p. 15). He later delivered six lectures at Princeton University in 1930, as part of the Kahn Lecture series (1929 to 1931). Wright's reason for participating was, reportedly, the prestige of the venue (Frank Lloyd Wright Foundation 2012); Princeton's Department of Art and Archaeology, within which the Department of Architecture operated, was among the largest, oldest and most prominent in America. Similarly, Peter Eisenman ran a series of international seminars every six months. They served not only to disseminate ideas but provided promotional opportunities, and they were attended by a number of architectural critics (Jencks and Chance 2001, p. 17).

[18] In an interview with Yoshio Futogawa.

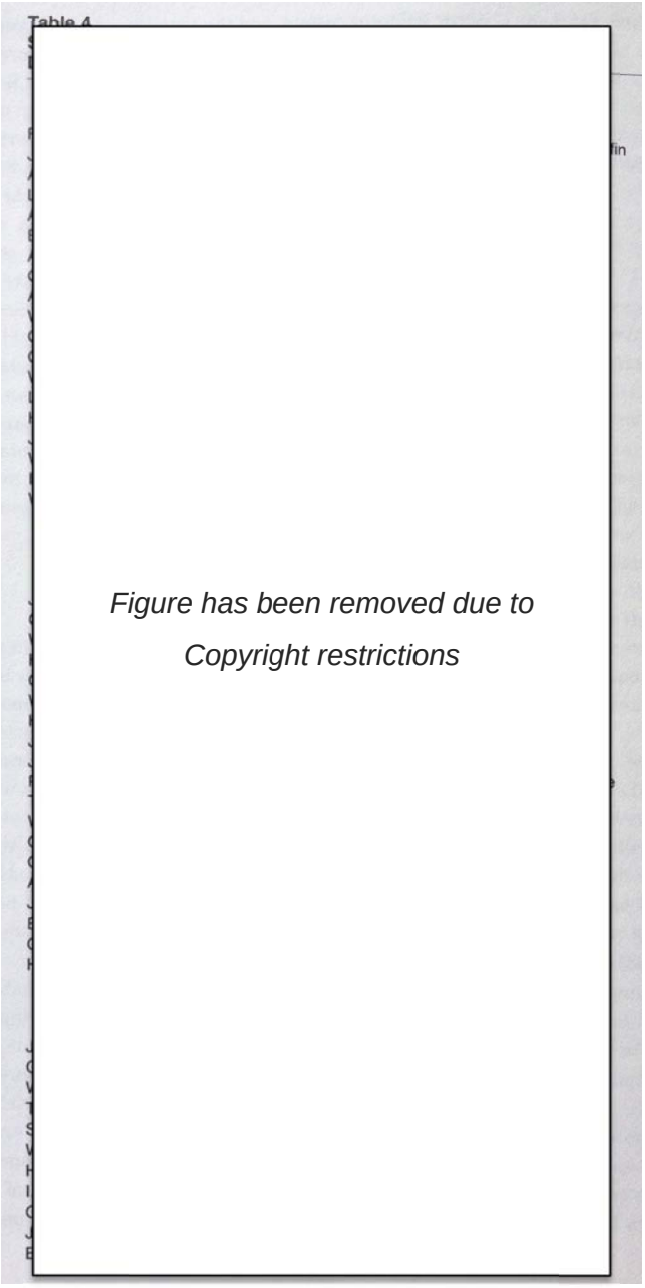

Figure 4 - A chart of the schools with the highest population of famous alumni architects, as at 1991, suggesting that interpersonal connections gained through education years assisted their passage to celebrity status (image sourced from Williamson 1991, p. 164)

Figure 5 - A chart relating architects' involvement in practice and educational institutions, as proposed by Garry Stevens, indicating that architects feed their professional experience back into the education system through tutelage (image sourced from Stevens 1999, p. 170)

The involvement of high-profile architects in educational institutions was particularly evident during the 1960s and 1970s, a turbulent period professionally (primarily due to the Modernist/Post-Modernist conflict) which saw an abundance of activity in architectural theory (Watson 2005). Much of the early Post-Modern dialogue was generated at Yale University and the University of Pennsylvania. This philosophical camp was in its earliest days referred to as the Yale-Philadelphia axis. Robert Venturi taught at the University of Pennsylvania, as did Romaldo Giurgola, who also taught at Columbia University. Charles Moore was Dean of Architecture at Yale University. Graves was associated with Princeton University, where he held a thirty-nine year tenure. During this time he was also a visiting professor and guest lecturer at various architecture schools throughout the US and delivered over one thousand public lectures (Altmann 2010, p. 1). Association with educational insitutions has, in the case of Post-Modernism for example, provided the opportunity for certain architects to unite their

ideologies and generate movements that would impact the practice of architecture and place them in positions of prominence amongst their peers.

Another significant cultural institution to foster the production of new architectural theories was the Institute for Architecture and Urban Studies (IAUS). Founded in 1967, the young members of this non-profit studio welcomed students in search of alternative methods for education, research and development in urbanism and architecture. The Institute was led by prominent architects such as Peter Eisenman, who was appointed as the Institute's first Executive Director. Attendees included architects such as Charles Gwarthmey, Robert Stern, Michael Graves, Richard Meier and Kenneth Frampton, all of whom attained distinction within the field of architecture. Collectively, the members of the IAUS contributed to generating much of the architectural culture's powerful theoretical dialogue from the 1970s until the turn of the century (Hays, 1998). [19]

In summary, the *traditional* path to legitimacy is understood in this investigation to encompass the following elements: professional publication (professional journals, books, exhibition catalogues and monographs); self-authorship; winning awards and being exhibited in curated exhibitions; competitions; involvement in educational institutions. These elements form the basis for comparing the *traditional* with the *celebrity-related process of legitimisation* in the case study of the career trajectory of Michael Graves.

3.2 The *celebrity-related process of legitimisation* in the field of architecture

There is no existing framework to assist with understanding the role of celebrity in the process of legitimisation for architects; it is the purpose of this investigation to identify the mechanics of that process. Accordingly, this discussion is structured in two parts. The first is the production of celebrity, also referred to as "celebrification". In the same way that the *traditional process* was articulated as elements that lead to professional recognition, the *celebrity-related process* is articulated as a series of media-based techniques that foster broader public recognition. These techniques, applied by journalists, editors and authors, increase the public's interest in an individual, thereby

[19] The IAUS closed in 1984, but re-opened in 2003.

"celebrifying" them and instigating their recognition by architectural peers. Second, publications that have actively contributed to "celebrification" within the field of architecture during the period of investigation are introduced. These producers are analysed according to Bourdieu's theory of 'agents' (1984). It is these producers (popular media sources) that form the basis of analysis in the case study of Chapter 6, and they are discussed here in regards to the "celebrification" of Michael Graves.

3.2.1 The production of celebrity for architects

Before introducing the media-based techniques of "celebrification", this discussion begins with an outline of the production of celebrity, focusing on the 'celebrity industry', the commodity value of celebrity and the media's approach to manipulated content. Richard Dyer (1987), an English academic specialising in film, was among the first to consider how celebrity is produced. A limited number of other books have contributed to this discourse (not specific to the field of architecture) of which the most prominent are Joshua Gamson's *Claims to fame* (1994), David Marshall's *Celebrity and power* (1997), Rein et al.'s *High visibility* (1997), Pramrod Nayar's *Seeing stars* and *Fame games* (2000), whose contributing authors include Marshall and Turner. These theorists all discuss the production of celebrity as occurring within the 'celebrity industry' (Turner 2007, p. 199) which is defined as 'the apparatus of representation, production, circulation and consumption of iconic figures, events and actions' (Nayar 2009, p. 26). Their texts were predominantly written in reference to the US, which has the most established celebrity industry (Turner 2007, p. 199).[20]

The 'structure' of the 'celebrity industry' has been theorised in the work of Rein et al, who identify seven contributing 'sub-industries'[21] (1997, pp. 42–58). Of those seven, which include the publicity, entertainment and endorsement industries, this analysis

[20] The remaining six industries are, first, the *entertainment industry*, incorporating movie studies, sports arenas and theatres. The *publicity industry* promotes the entertainment and communications industries, and includes PR firms, publicists and advertising agencies. The *representation industry* is responsible for managing the celebrities themselves, and encompasses agents and promoters. Celebrity images are coordinated by the *appearance industry*, which involves cosmeticians, hairstylists and other image consultants. Professional performance is fostered by the *coaching industry* which involves teachers of dance, music and speech. Last are the *endorsement industry*, manufacturers of clothing, toys and other celebrity paraphernalia, and the *legal and business services industry*, providers of investment and legal advice where necessary.

[21] Within architectural discourse, Rein et al.'s 'sub-industries' are reiterated; for example, Beatriz Colomina refers to the mass-media, cinema, radio, advertising, and periodical publications as agents in the production of fame (Colomina 1988b, p. 57).

focuses on the *communications industry*, which encompasses newspapers, magazines, radio, television and film. Specifically, this discussion focuses on the publication aspect of the *communications industry*; newspapers and magazines. These two forms of publication serve slightly different purposes, yet both contribute to "celebrification" through increasing an architect's visibility. Newspapers are typically more objective, and communicate factual information about people and events. Magazines are typically more subjective, communicating the 'soft' version of the news through narrative. Celebrity theorist Sam Riley suggests that magazines 'play a crucial role in the culture of celebrity' while newspapers 'confer status' (2010, pp. 172, 205). Although magazines have been linked with fame since the nineteenth century, Riley refers to the post-World War II magazine industry as being particularly crucial in celebrity-making.

Discussion of "celebrification" by newspapers and magazines is naturally embedded within considerations of consumer culture. Braudy states that 'the consumer culture and the fame culture are inseparable' (1986, p. 595). A celebrity is a commodity, manufactured by the media to make money (Turner 2004, p. 31), 'a person whose name has attention-getting, interest-riveting, and profit-generating value' (Rein et al. 1997, p. 15). The value of celebrity grew as the market economy spread throughout the 1970s and 1980s and democratic, individualistic values arose (Ponce de Leon 2002, p. 4). That value derives from its consumption by an audience; Redmond and Holmes explain that 'without consumption, the practices and processes of fame could not exist … for someone to become known means that [they] must ultimately meet with an audience' (2007c, p. 309). Although this investigation does not specifically analyse audience, its role in the "celebrification" process is acknowledged.

During the process of "celebrification", interests are clearly conflicting between the culture of production and consumption (whose goal is economic capital), and the process of legitimisation (whose goal is symbolic capital). Celebrity architects broach the two categories of field identified by Bourdieu: the 'field of restricted production' and the 'field of large-scale production'. These two categories have been articulated in Webster's *Bourdieu for architects* (2011): the former is a social space in which well-educated producers participate in value-sharing with well-educated consumers, and the latter in which less well-educated producers succumb to the pull of popular culture (p.

43). In the case of the “starchitect”, valorisation and popularisation are not mutually exclusive. It is acknowledged that there can be discord between the goals of the producer and the produced in the production of celebrity; while celebrity producers seek to maximise the ‘exchange-value of the celebrity-as-commodity’, the individual objectives of the celebrity might be to foster a prosperous career ‘through the commercial circulation of their identity’ (Redmond et al. 2007b, p. 191). Despite their differences, participants in the ‘celebrity industry’, such as celebrities and producers of celebrity, co-exist in a ‘kind of twisted symbiosis’ (Giles 2000, p. 26). Turner refers to this as a ‘network of coordinated but competing interests’ (2004, p. 36). Although this relationship between economic and symbolic pursuits would provide valuable discussion, it is considered beyond the scope of this investigation. ‘Symbolic capital’ is the primary form of capital under exploration in this thesis.

An important consideration regarding the media’s role in “celebrification” is its heightened potential for the manipulation of content. Boorstin promotes the idea that mediated information can often be more interesting than direct information. Mediated information is filtered and edited; the most interesting segments are identified and subsequently relayed to the public under the guise of representing the event or person as a whole. Boorstin suggests that mediated information is ‘more vivid, more attractive, more impressive, and more pervasive than reality itself’ (1975, p. 37). This sentiment reiterates that of Alberoni, who stated that ‘thanks to the media of communication, the public are presented with the image of the person who has most chance of attracting attention and sympathy, of exciting human warmth or curiosity’ (1962, p. 67)

The ways in which information about architects is communicated provides a prime example of content manipulation. The process of building, after all, is typically neither newsworthy to the audience of newspapers nor attention grabbing to the audience of magazines. Lewis comments that ‘the story of an architect does not lend itself to glamorous narrative in quite the same way that the life of a painter or composer might. Building contracts, lawsuits, and leaky roofs do not easily lend themselves to mythmaking’ (2007, p. 9). Yet through journalistic control and editorial intervention, architects are presented to the public in a way that is interesting, informative and accessible. To explain this notion further, architecture critic Jamie Scott suggests

‘magazine readers are more interested in people than buildings, and [the magazine] responds by making architects into celebrities’ (2001, p. 78). A celebrity is rarely the same in real life as in their media profile; according to journalist Thomas Disch ‘we’re all duller without a good script’ (1989, p. 71). The mediation of architects impacts the process of legitimisation by placing a positive – and often manipulated – slant on the factual account of their practice, thereby drawing a broader audience. The “celebrification” techniques discussed later increase the perceived significance of an architect by making them appealing to a public audience.

Bourdieu considers publishers, critics and reviewers to be valid participants in the legitimisation process (1993a, p. 50). They have been portrayed in this investigation as participants in a new, dual process of legitimisation for architects that involves consecration by both peers and the public. Yet Bourdieu notes that journalists themselves are subject to a similar dichotomy in their own practice. He describes the field of journalism as ‘the site of an opposition between two models, each with its own principle of legitimation: that of peer recognition, accorded individuals who internalize most completely the internal “values” or principles of the field; or that of recognition by the public at large’ (1998, p. 70). This comment suggests that journalists experience peer-based legitimisation in their own profession, and are replicating it in the field of architecture.

Journalists often participate in “operative” writing, which is where “celebrification” occurs. “Operative” infers consciousness. Architect, critic and historian Steve Parnell (2012) gives the example of Modernist architectural historians, Pevsner and Giedion, who wrote “operative” architectural history (and criticism) to validate and establish the new architecture. It is the selection of subject matter that enables critics, journalists and editors to participate so intricately in the “celebrification” and, subsequently, legitimisation process within the field of architecture. Parnell emphasises that the media is partial and does have agendas, and that this is an intrinsic part of the struggle for consecration.

It must be acknowledged that “celebrification” is not necessarily the primary focus of publications. Economic drivers are required to maintain newspapers and magazines as sites of cultural production. Their survival depends on profit. This poses a natural

dilemma, for in the words of Stevens, ‘an attachment to symbolic capital implies a denial of the economic’ (1998, p. 91). In building the cultural capital of an architect, a journalist is simultaneously increasing their value as a consecrator. Sensationalism and human interest are often a natural means to drawing a broad audience, and “celebrification” is a result.

Lange (2010) suggests that critics have the ability to ‘develop a theory of the urban environment, alter the outcome of a neighbourhood, dig into politics, place and even personal taste’. The accumulation of the power necessary to activate such influence is an aspect of the innate struggle within any field. Bourdieu refers to ‘the degree of recognition accorded by those who recognise no other criterion of legitimacy than recognition by those whom they recognise’ (1993a, p. 38). That is to say, the only requirement for their authority is that they themselves be recognised by those that they are recognising. Garry Stevens, amidst depictions of battles and forces, describes the field of architecture as ‘a mutually supporting set of social institutions, individuals and discourses’ (1998, p. 70). According to Parnell (2012) the field of architecture ‘depended, and continues to depend, on the legitimation that the critics and historians bestow upon it in their magazines and histories’ (p. 1). He argues that architecture depends on a surrounding culture – ‘a discourse and a struggle to attain the authority to define architecture.’ This process is described by Juan Pablo Bonta in *Architecture and its interpretation* (1979); he suggests that a building is first targeted by a prominent critic, and other critics follow their lead, resulting in the building being canonised within the field. The same may be said of architects. The media may be considered a site for the production of their cultural capital.

There are many examples of close intra-professional relationships that enable consecration of a critic by the public, and by architects, to occur. For example, Peter Blake was described by Williamson as having strong connections to ‘several of the most progressive institutions and architects of the time’ (1991, p. 179). Huxtable was described in one obituary, after her death in 2013, as having ‘radiated the benign but severe authority of a monarch’ (Lamster 2013). Yet, the authority of a critic extends beyond the opinions of architects. The recognition of readership is equally vital to maintaining symbolic power. In the words of Lange (2010), ‘authority comes from

expertise, it comes from developing a point of view over time, it comes from the audience expectations that a critic will be there to tell them what is what, but it also comes from others' support' (p. 1). She notes the most influential critics communicate with the broadest audience possible, and that dissemination of critique is the basis of a critic's authority.

The media also personifies a delicate balance of cultural and economic capital. On one hand, the primary goal of any media entity is the generation of profit, a form of objectified cultural capital. At the same time, that economic capital is increased if the cultural capital of its content increases. Therefore, journalists and editors place themselves in a position to increase their economic capital when their audience perceives there to be greater symbolic capital in the architects that they represent. In the case of both cultural and economic capital, an investment is required in order to secure a return. The various aspects of "celebrification", such as 'humanisation', establish human interest, which draws a broader readership. This is an instance of cultural capital being converted into economic capital, a process that Bourdieu envisaged in his writings on the relationship between different forms of capital.

Any impact that a journal or newspaper has on the symbolic capital of an architect tends to happen over an extended period of time, and may therefore be classified as embodied cultural capital. Any of the "celebrification" processes here described are therefore considered to have occurred over multiple transmissions. Certainly, some appearances hold greater symbolic capital than others, yet it is not considered that any one article holds enough symbolic capital to transform a subordinate architect into a "starchitect". Webb et al., who interpret the theories of Bourdieu, suggest that 'once something (a story, an interview, a celebrity) has been identified as newsworthy by one organisation, everyone else feels obliged to follow suit, or suffer the consequences (loss of ratings or readership)' (2002, p. 187). This comment suggests that legitimisation by the mainstream media occurs exponentially.

Audience is a key distinguisher between the role of publication in the *traditional* and *celebrity-related processes of legitimisation.* A large proportion of research on celebrity production has focused on the analysis of 'celebrity as text' (Turner 2004, p. 136) and the 'textual construction of celebrity' (Redmond and Holmes 2007b, p. 190). Further,

communications scholar Barry King notes that 'from the perspective of the audience … stars appear as finished products of semiotic labour' (1992, p. 3). This discussion borrows from that discourse and analyses the textual construction of celebrity to answer questions such as: How does the mainstream media encourage their audience to view an architect as important? How do they communicate a sense of 'significance' through the content and language of their publications?

The techniques presented in the following discussion of "celebrification" have been collated from the work of a variety of social and cultural theorists who have written about celebrity, such as Boorstin (1975), Braudy (1986), Turner (2000, 2004) and Cashmore (2006). The generic techniques offered by these theorists are then applied to the field of architecture through the ideas of several key architecture critics and theorists, such as McLeod (1989), Lewis (2007), Camille Paglia (2004), James Cramer (1994) and Stephan Kieran (1987). David Dunster (2001) is also frequently referenced; he was a contributing author to the *Architectural Design* issue entitled *Fame and Architecture* (November 2001), which serves as a valuable source for this discussion. This issue is one of the most multifaceted resources dedicated to the subject of fame in reference to architecture, and the only known journal issue to be entirely dedicated to the topic.[22] It approaches the subject of celebrity for architects from a variety of angles, creating a comprehensive reference for the analysis of "celebrification".

The first technique of "celebrification" is referred to in this thesis as "*humanisation*". This concept has been explored by other contemporary cultural theorists such as Turner, who wrote *Understanding celebrity* (2004), and Steven Miles, Kevin Meethan and Alison Anderson, who together edited *The changing consumer* (2002). "Humanisation" establishes closeness between the audience and celebrity, primarily through divulging details of the celebrity's personality, character and personal life. As articulated by Turner 'we can map the precise moment a public figure becomes a celebrity. It occurs at the point at which media interest in their activities is transferred from reporting on their public role…to investigating the detail of their private lives' (2004, p. 8). This form of

[22] The issue's focus is the dynamics underlying fame-making in the architectural profession, and is highly pertinent to the argument in this thesis. Interviews are provided with internationally renowned architects such as Lord Norman Foster, focusing on the power of the media in architectural practice. In particular, the introduction written by Julia Chance and Torsten Schmiedeknecht proved to be particularly useful.

‘soft’ journalism focuses on ‘popular interests, curiosities and diversions’, as opposed to ‘hard news’ which is ‘the solid reporting of significant matters’ (Boorstin 1975, p. 35).

The process of “humanisation” plays on the audience’s desire to appreciate talent but still believe celebrities are, on some level, just like everybody else. Celebrities are often a glorified version of the hopes and desires that a fan has for their own life (Cashmore 2006). In his book *Celebrity culture* (2006), which describes celebrity-making from many angles in a variety of contexts, Cashmore suggests that readers seek empathy with those that they admire (p. 111). Ivy listed the qualities admired by readers: ‘real talent, application of effort, organisational ability, savvy, media friendliness, and intellectual acumen’ (2004, p. 15).

Examples of “humanisation” are found in the *Vanity Fair* article ‘The fountainhead syndrome’ by Suzanne Stephens (1984). Stephens reveals Philip Johnson’s age (seventy-seven) and that he refers to the junior architects at his studio as “the kids” (p. 44). She also humanises several architects by referring to a documentary *Beyond utopia: changing attitudes in American architecture* (1983), by Michael Blackwood Productions. Stephens describes a scene with Frank Gehry in a kitchen cooking goulash and Peter Eisenman being filmed at the barber’s. Stephens points out that the purpose of these scenes was to ‘demonstrate that the stuff of everyday life is truly woven into the outpourings of these *Ubermenschen*-creators’ (p. 44). Further examples of “humanisation” are found in an article titled ‘Architect on the move: Michael Graves spends a lot of time in hotels’, published in *House & Garden* (Boodro 1988) (refer Figure 6). The discussion, which relates to Graves’s favourite hotels, reveals such intimate details as ‘I like big beds’ and ‘I like to watch sporting events when I go to a hotel room’ and ‘what I look for in a hotel is a good breakfast’. These minor details all communicate a sense of getting to know Graves, thereby “humanising” him.

TRAVEL

Architect on the Move

Michael Graves spends a lot of time in hotels. He tells **Michael Boodro** what makes a great

LANGDON CLAY

WILLIAM TAYLOR

Certain architects achieve such fame that they seem to become almost as fixed and immutable in the public imagination as their well-known creations. But architects are, in fact, a peripatetic lot. They are constantly on the move, experiencing the great buildings of the past, meeting with developers, checking out the handiwork of the competition, exploring possibilities for new work. The hotter the architect, the more he travels. And at the moment one of the hottest is Michael Graves, the progenitor and popularizer of Postmodernism, architect of, among others, the Portland Building in Oregon, the Clos Pegase Winery in the Napa Valley, and the proposed—and highly controversial—addition to the Whitney Museum in New York City.

"Hotels should make you feel they care about what you're doing, that you aren't just a number"

When asked what he looks for in a hotel, Graves tells the story of an architect in Houston who was commissioned to design one. With typical Texan largess, the client sent the architect around the world for two weeks to appraise the great hotels and discover their secrets. Graves says with a smile, "When he came back, he said, 'The best hotels are small hotels.' And that's all he said. That was the point of the story."

As if that were not clear enough, Graves adds, "I will do almost anything not to have to stay in a chain hotel."

This is disarming honesty from a man who is currently designing three giant hotels, two in Orlando for Disney World, the larger of which features 1,500 rooms, and a third in La Jolla that can be considered small only by comparison. "The trick is," he says, "to make these big hotels seem small—by virtue of their service. Some hotels are able to accomplish that, to make you feel they care about what you're doing, that you aren't just a number."

He still has to deal with mass-market hotel decor, which he finds an affront on both a personal and professional level. "Those standard designs of peach and cream and beige are so awful. But even in the hotels we're designing, we have to work with hotel interiors people. We're not allowed to do guest rooms. Between architects and developers, it's a kind of Catch-22. You're not a hotel design expert until you've done a hotel. Once you've done one, you can do the world. But," he adds with a shrug, "we always have to hire hotel interiors people to work with us."

Graves is acutely aware of the contrasts between the exigencies of the marketplace and his own taste. In his hotel design work he is attempting to reconcile the two. When he travels, he fully indulges the latter. Fortunately, he has been able to locate hotels that both please the eye and satisfy his demand for comfort. "What I look for in a hotel," he says, "is a good breakfast. I don't know why I do this to myself, but when I go to a hotel, I feel I am suddenly on vacation, whether I'm working or not—because it's not home and it's not away either. So I eat too much. When I'm at a good hotel, it's as if the number of pastries I (Continued on page 81)

COURTESY ROSEWOOD HOTELS, INC.

COURTESY CHARLES HOTEL

Top left: Michael Graves at his office in Princeton; one of his designs for a new Disney World hotel in Orlando. Top: the Mansion on Turtle Creek in Dallas. Above: Le Pli Health Spa and Salon at the Charles Hotel in Cambridge, Mass.

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HG JUNE 1988

Figure 6 - An example of the "celebrification" technique of "humanisation", an article titled 'Architect on the move: Michael Graves spends a lot of time in hotels', published in *House & Garden* (Boodro 1988), discussing Graves' travel practices.

The second technique of "celebrification" is the establishment of a celebrity's visual and physical presence, described as "*visualisation*". Contemporary society is 'ocular-centric' (Iloniemi 2004, p. 147) and cultural theorists Joanne Morra and Marquard Smith observe that 'our ways of seeing, looking and understanding, have transformed our knowledge and experience of the world as a visual domain' (2006, p. 1). Visual communication is, by nature, accessible to the general public as it invokes a more primordial set of skills (Paglia 2004, p. 22). Boorstin notes that images are 'more vivid, more attractive, more impressive, and more pervasive than reality itself' (1975, p. 36). Turner suggests that the 'exorbitance of celebrity's contemporary cultural visibility is unprecedented' (2004, p. 4). Including photographs and conveying details of a celebrity's physical appearance, voice and body language through imagery or visual language therefore enhances the impression of intimacy between a celebrity and their audience (Ivy 2004, p. 15). During the "starchitect boom" journalists recognised the heightened appeal of using images of the architects themselves. The communicative tool of imagery – visual and textual – came to play a critical role in the "celebrification" of architects.

It has been suggested that architects are alert to the importance of this image making. Stevens claims that architects always like to dress 'differently' and suggests that most architects are 'trying desperately to project an air of creative nonchalance' (2010c, p. 1). David Dunster has argued that Wright 'knew how to dress for photography' and Le Corbusier 'played the bohemian intellectual with style' (2001, p. 10). Wright's image making has also been identified by Lewis, who describes him as 'decked out in a long cape and cane, and topped by a magnificent mane of flowing white hair, he made his own physical appearance a declaration of imperious authority' (2007, p. 5). Wright projected the idea that a signature style should begin in the dressing room and that, according to Lewis, 'one should handle a hairbrush as deftly as an I-beam'.

As an extension of "visualisation", part of communicating a stylised image of celebrity is conveying their uniqueness. Kieran argues that uniqueness is a 'prerequisite for survival' for architects in the "marketing age" (1987, p. 111). Likewise, Braudy (1986) describes how the twentieth century media focused on unique and striking personalities, leaving little room for mundane recounts of architectural practice. The projection of

uniqueness is also related to the third "celebrification" technique, referred to as "*grandiosation*", whereby superlatives are hyper-utilised. This technique was established by American journalist and entertainer PT Barnum, who is referred to as 'an innovator in the activity of press agentry' (Fuhrman 1989, p. 14). Texts written by Barnum would refer to individuals as 'the best, the strangest, the biggest, the only …' (Gamson 1994, p. 142).

"Grandiosation relates most closely to the form of cultural capital known as "institutionalised". Although it relates to professional merit, it is not as simplistic as the communication of qualifications and academic credentials. Rather, it involves projecting newness, power, controversy and achievement. In the words of Nayar, celebrity 'rests not simply in the looks or achievements of a person, but the media's validation, praise and reproduction of their achievement and looks' (2009, p. 31). He notes that the achievements of celebrities 'become symbols of power, attractiveness and, finally, credibility' (p. 57). Examples are found in the *Time* article 'U.S. architects doing their own thing' (Hughes 1979). Charles Moore is described as 'one of the most influential architects in America' and Philip Johnson is referred to as a 'genius'. Similarly, the article 'Architect on the move' (Boodro 1988) opens with the phrase 'certain architects achieve such fame that they seem to become almost as fixed and immutable in the public imagination as their well-known creations'. This comment clearly expresses perceived significance regarding Graves, and establishes him as a figure of prominence. Setting the context for the piece, 'the hotter the architect, the more he travels', the article then confirms Graves as 'one of the hottest'.

For architects, "grandiosation" is not only activated through discussion of their product (architecture), but also their peer associations (networks). This enables the evaluation of an individual against other celebrity architects. By comparing an architect with other well-known figures, a journalist conveys a sense of equality with pre-established perceived significance. A clear example is the book *Kings of infinite space* (Jencks 1983), which compares the work and lives of Frank Lloyd Wright and Michael Graves (see .

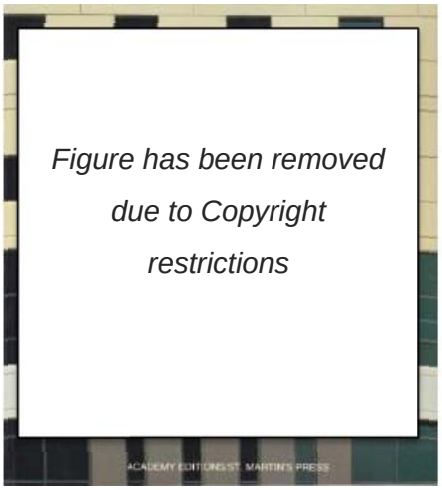

Figure 7 – The cover of the book *Kings of Infinite Space*, by Charles Jencks, 1983.

Endorsement, the fourth technique, is another integral part of the mechanics of "celebrification". Sports people, actors and musicians typically further their career through 'sidelines', endorsements that connect their name to a product. This form of consumer promotion is a key aspect of the public and social role of a celebrity (Nayar 2009, p. 11). Cashmore suggests that if celebrities 'are not directly selling DVDs, movies, CDs, concert tours or books, they're indirectly selling cosmetics, cars, household appliances and every other imaginable piece of merchandise' (2006, p. 166). Inviting a celebrity to align their identity with a commercial product is a method of capitalising on the cultural value of the celebrity to boost the sales of the product. A link is established between the perception of the celebrity's credibility and the product. This co-beneficial arrangement also serves to further the perceived significance of the celebrity, as they subsequently appear more frequently in the media – in particular, through advertisements within the popular media – and therefore come to be more widely recognised by the general public. The celebrity's 'aura' is extended and expanded (Nayar 2009, p. 60).

In the words of Hogben, images of architects have been regularly used in the world of architectural design and specification to imbue a product with 'symbolic value' since the mid-1950s (Hogben 2000b, p. 30). Endorsement by architects traditionally occurs via building product specification; for example, a high-profile architect will utilise a particular product in the construction of a well-known building, and that product manufacturer then seeks to capitalise on the exposure by widely communicating the

placement of their product through brochures or even direct advertisement which feature images of the built work (Colomina 1988b, p. 87). The product manufacturer relies on the well-known architect's reputation to add credibility to the product being advertised (Hogben 2000b, p. 38). Text and imagery communicate their creativity, rationality, intelligence and success. Although the advertiser's goal is to validate their specification choice, the constructed image also serves to professionally legitimise the architect. Hogben points out that architects are 'usually pictured explaining a drawing in the context of a successful and harmonious exchange between him and his clients, who are always depicted as willing and passive subjects of the architect's authoritative gestures and gaze' (2000b, p. 35). Despite the benefits to both parties, building product endorsement necessarily raises ethical questions in the production of architecture. The AIA stipulates that, where an architect receives financial compensation, it is a requirement to inform clients of any product relationships (AIA 1990, p. 7).

Le Corbusier is a prime example of an architect whose work was featured in advertisements, often appearing in the *Almanach de l'architecture modern*, in print from the mid-1920s (McLeod 1989, p. 87). Yet, by the "starchitect boom" of the 1970s and 1980s, architect endorsement was no longer limited to the architectural media, nor were architects associated solely with a building product. Several architects have achieved the celebrity status that has earned them mainstream advertising endorsements (McLeod 1989, p. 43). In 1987, for example, Michael Graves famously featured in an advertisement for Dexter Shoes, which appeared in *The New York Times* (see Figure 62). A further example is the "Personalities" advertising campaign for Vitra, which ran from 1986 to 1997. Celebrities, including some architects, were photographed sitting on Vitra chairs. Jean Nouvel was invited to sit in the "Little Beaver" by Frank O. Gehry and Philip Johnson was offered the "Louis 20" chair designed by Philippe Starck (see Figure 8).

The fifth "celebrification" technique is the "*personal profile*". A published text, such as an article in the popular press, the profile establishes a personal understanding of an individual: their life and achievements, successes and failures. The media is both responsible for and driven by the demand for information on people of interest. According to Amy Henderson, the media 'created a style of portraiture that crystallised

stardom' (1992, p. 1). Likewise, psychologist Jill Neimark puts forward the idea that 'our national passions, cultural watersheds, sexual mores, gender and racial battles, and political climate are viewed through the ever-shifting kaleidoscope of stories about people' (Neimark 1995, p. 54). Indeed, Braudy suggests that the 'willingness to expose oneself publicly' is central to the establishment of fame (1986, p. 595).

In terms of the "personal profile", appearing on the front cover of a publication may be said to hold the greatest 'symbolic capital'. *House and Garden*, July 1988, featured a front cover report on Michael Graves entitled 'The Prince of Princeton' (see Figure 60). Before that, the cover of *Time*, 8 January 1979, featured a picture of Philip Johnson holding a model of this winning design for the AT&T building (see Figure 34). The accompanying article ('Doing their own thing', Hughes 1979) introduced Johnson along with a number of high-profile architects of the time such as Charles Moore and Robert Stern. The article is "celebrifying" in various ways; it discusses the age of Johnson and his peers, their personal motivations and common interest in Post-Modernism. The high professional profile of Johnson is alluded to through his being described as a 'senior partner' of the architectural profession and 'the leading American architect of his generation'. Peer association is created through likening the influence of Johnson's firm (Johnson-Burgee) to that of McKim, Mead & White. Superlatives such as 'brilliant' and 'dazzling' are used frequently in the article.

In summary, the production of celebrity, also known as "celebrification" – the means by which the media increases the perceived significance of architects within the public realm – involves five key techniques: "Humanisation" (references to an architect's personality or private life); Visualisation (photographs, physical descriptions which enable a reader to visualise an architect); "Grandiosation" (the use of superlatives, peer association, references to achievement and currency); Endorsement (the appearance of an architect in advertisements for popular products); and "Personal profiling" (articles dedicated to a single architect, including front cover appearances).

In the case study in Chapter 6 these five techniques form the basis of the analysis of the *celebrity-related process of legitimisation* in his career trajectory.

Figure 8 - Johnson in Vitra's advertising campaign, published in *Domus*, 758, March 1994.

3.2.2 The producers of celebrity for architects

To analyse the media's "celebrification" of architects it is necessary to briefly overview the role played by the 'cultural intermediaries' (Bourdieu 1984): magazines and newspapers and their journalists and architecture critics. The journals, magazines and newspapers that have been selected for discussion frequently and repeatedly published articles on a select few architects. They also are among the most widely distributed publications during the period of the investigation, and hence are considered to have had the greatest impact on the public's perception of architects and therefore played a prominent role in the process of their legitimisation.

The New York Times, *Time* and *Newsweek* are three of the biggest contributors to the *celebrity-related process of legitimisation* for architects. Jencks (1983) argues that these publications took an active interest in "starchitects" of the 1980s. They are also among the highest circulated mainstream publications in the US. As will be demonstrated,

House & Garden and *Architectural Digest* have also featured a proportionally high number of articles on "starchitects", and so are also included in this discussion.[23]

The first full-time architecture critic to be employed by an American daily newspaper was Ada Louise Huxtable, who joined *The New York Times* in 1963 and held her post there until 1982. Huxtable was awarded the first Pulitzer Prize for Criticism in 1970. It has been said that before Huxtable 'architecture was not a part of the public dialogue' (Dunlap 2013, p. 53). Before taking her revered position, she had written an article in *The New York Times Magazine* in 1958 entitled 'The art we cannot afford to ignore (but do)', arguing for the significance that architecture should have in popular discourse:

> The press which regularly reviews art, literature, movies, music and dance, ignores architecture, except for building news on the real estate page. Architecture as a standard feature is virtually unknown, in spite of the direct and inescapable impact of architectural production. Superblocks are built, the physiognomy and services of the city are changed, without discussion, except in a few of the more specialized or sophisticated journals. Unless a story reaches the proportions of a scandal, architecture is the stepchild of the popular press. (p. 14)

Other notable *New York Times* architecture critics followed in Huxtable's footsteps. She was succeeded by Goldberger, who later became a Pulitzer Prize-winning architecture critic and writer for *The New Yorker*. Goldberger's first review of Graves – a 1974 article for *Architectural Record* [24] titled 'Should anyone care about the 'New York Five'? ... or about their critics, the 'Five on Five'? – was scathing, yet as is demonstrated in the case study his subsequent reviews of Graves were primarily complementary. Goldberger went on to publish twenty-three articles about Graves in *The New York Times* from 1979 to 1990, ten of which span 1985 to 1990, the peak of Graves's celebrity. Goldberger also published in prominent periodicals such as *Art in America*, *Art News*, *Architectural Record* and *Progressive Architecture*.

The broad respect that Goldberger received for his work is reflected in his being named a Literary Lion, the New York Public Library's tribute to distinguished writers. Upon being awarded the Medal of Honor of the New York Landmarks Preservation

[23] Refer to Appendix 3 for details.

[24] *Architectural Record* first published Graves in 1974, at the peak of the 'Gray'/'White' debate (discussed in Chapter 4). There were no further publications in this journal about Graves until 1980, the year that Graves won his most significant commission - the Portland building. *Architectural Record* published Graves steadily each year from then onwards (except 1983, 1984 and 1990).

Foundation, Goldberger was said to have produced 'the nation's most balanced, penetrating and poetic analyses of architecture and design' (Brown 2013, p. 1). Also, the respect with which the profession viewed Goldberger's works is evident in his being awarded the AIA Medal in 1981. The AIA referred to Goldberger as one of America's 'most significant architectural journalists' (1981), awarding him the highest award in journalism, the Pulitzer Prize for Criticism, indicating the value of his critique to the period of investigation. His support of Graves therefore greatly impacted the profession's perceived significance of Graves.

Goldberger was succeeded by Herbert Muschamp in 1992, a critic who became famous for limiting his attention to a small circle of no more than a dozen favoured architects; 'readers would wonder if next Sunday's review would highlight Koolhaas or Peter Eisenman, or perhaps – if only for purposes of crop rotation – cite Christian de Portzamparc' (Lewis 2007, p. 6). Although controversial, Muschamp's approach was not unusual, as newspapers and journals tend to 'support' certain architects, and guide their way towards stardom (Lipstadt 1988a).

Joseph Giovannini was another *New York Times* architecture critic to contribute to the discourse on Graves. He wrote intermittently for this newspaper from 1983 to 1988, at the same time as Goldberger, producing nine articles. Giovannini also served as architecture critic for the *Los Angeles Herald Examiner* from 1979 to 1983 and was a correspondent for *Skyline* (Institute of Architecture and Urban Studies, New York, from 1979 to 1980). Other publications to which Giovannini contributed include *ArtForum*, *Art in America*, *Progressive Architecture*, *Architectural Record*, *Domus*, *International Design*, the *Los Angeles Times*, the *New Yorker*, *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, *Berliner Zeitung*.

Another primary publisher during the period of investigation, and active contributor to the process of "celebrification", is *Time*. This magazine first appeared on newsstands on March 3, 1923 and at the end of the twentieth century was the world's most highly distributed weekly news magazine, with an American readership of twenty million and a global readership of twenty-five million (Kelly 2003, p. 1). From 1923 to 1999, fifteen

architects graced the cover of *Time*.[25] The significance of *Time* to the architectural profession as a source of public focus is illustrated by the fact that the AIA.s headquarters in Washington DC display a copy of the covers dedicated to architects. Similarly, three of the fifteen[26] *Time* covers formed the jacket for the November 2001 *Architectural Design*[27] issue entitled *Fame and Architecture* (see Figure 9 and Figure 10). That these covers were chosen to represent a century's worth of fame-making by the media is testament to *Time's* "celebrification" power.

Eight of the fifteen architects to have appeared on the cover of *Time* were recipients of the AIA Gold Medal in the years following their cover appearance.[28] This is a significant percentage, and demonstrates *Time's* leadership as a promoter and fame-maker for architects. *Time* is of particular relevance to the legitimisation of certain Post-Modern architects, as evident through the magazine's dedication of a front cover to Philip Johnson and his proposal for the AT&T building.

Since it was first launched in 1933, *Newsweek* has closely trailed *Time*, the most widely circulated weekly news magazine in the US during the period of investigation. According to Jerry Adler (writer for *Newsweek* 1979-2010), the magazine's editorial brief was to 'explain America to itself' and 'tell the reader about everything important that had happened in the previous seven days' (Romano 2012). During the 1970s and 1980s *Newsweek's* focus began to shift away from government and foreign affairs and towards 'softer' news such as the arts, popular culture, lifestyle and entertainment

[25] 13 December 1926 Ralph Adams Cram; 2 June 1930 William Adams Delano; 17 January 1938 Frank Lloyd Wright; 10 June 1946 Charles Luckman; 15 August 1949 Richard Neutra; 22 September 1952 Wallace K. Harrison; 2 July 1956 Eero Saarinen; 31 March 1958 Edward Stone; 5 May 1961 Le Corbusier; 18 January 1963 Minoru Yamasaki; 6 September 1963 William J. Pereira; 10 January 1964 R. Buckminster Fuller; 6 November 1964 Edmund N. Bacon; 2 August 1968 Alexander Owings; 8 January 1979 Philip Johnson.

[26] Le Corbusier from 1961 and Philip Johnson from 1979 on the front cover, Frank Lloyd Wright from 1938 on the back cover.

[27] *Architectural Design* first published Graves in 1973 then not again until the late 1970s. *Architectural Design* showed particular interest in Graves from 1977 to 1980, the years that Graves transitioned from Late-Modernism to Post-Modernism. It then published Graves regularly in the years 1982, 1984, 1985, 1987 and 1988. Each of these years correspond respectively to the commission or delivery of a significant work; the Portland Building (1982, and 1985), the Humana building (1982 and 1985), Clos Pegase Winery (1987).

[28] Year of *Time* cover appearance and AIA Gold Medal award, respectively: William Adams Delano (1930, 1953); Frank Lloyd Wright (1938, 1949); Richard Neutra (1949, 1977); Wallace K. Harrison (1952, 1967); Eero Saarinen (1956, 1962, poshumous); Le Corbusier (1961, 1961); R. Buckminster Fuller (1964, 1970); Alexander Owings (1968, 1983).

(Quindlen 2006, p. 1), leading to an increased role in the "celebrification" of architects. Artist and journalist Douglas Davis served as architecture critic for the magazine from 1969 to 1988. He also wrote frequently for *The New York Times* and a variety of other periodicals such as *Art in America*, *Artforum* and the *New York Press*. *Newsweek* published Graves most prominently during the Portland controversy; in particular, an article was published by Davis that summarised the debate at a public gathering concerning the design competition and Graves's scheme (Davis 1980, p. 82). Another example of Davis's work is 'The sky's the limit', published in Newsweek (1982b), that discussed signature architects and their unique buildings.

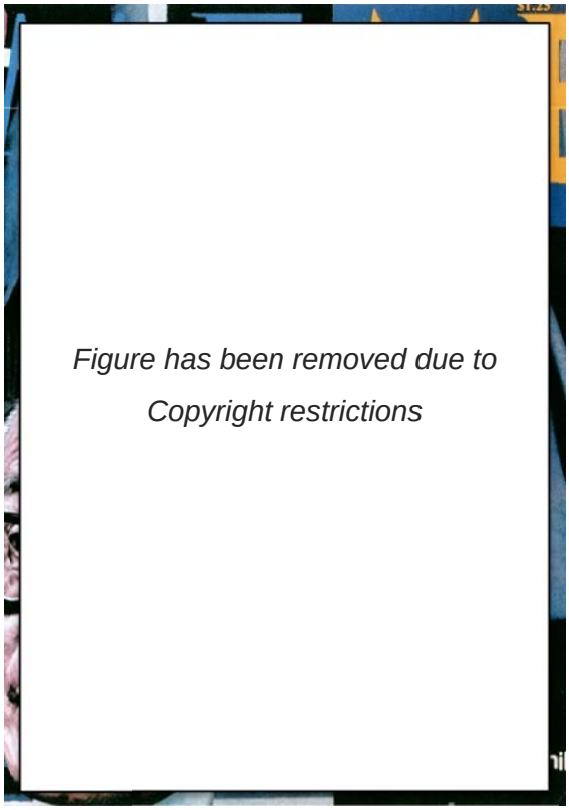

Figure 9 - Front cover of *Architectural Design* (November 2001, Volume 71, Number 6, 'Fame and Architecture') featuring the *Time* issues of Le Corbusier and Philip Johnson.

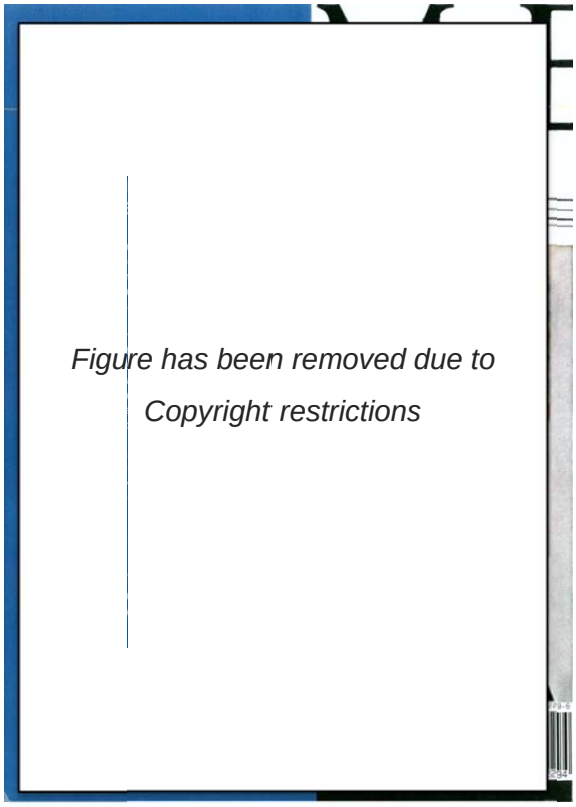

Figure 10 - Back cover of *Architectural Design* (November 2001, Volume 71, Number 6, 'Fame and Architecture') featuring the *Time* issue of Frank Lloyd Wright.

House & Garden was first published in 1901 as a journal devoted to architecture, and its thematic focus later migrated towards interior design. The magazine's long-time editor from 1979 to 2007, Martin Filler, produced a large number of articles during the period

of investigation. Filler also wrote a series of long essays on modern architecture, which were published in *The New York Review of Books* from 1985 to 2007, focusing on high-profile architects of the movement and dissecting their career trajectory. Internationally renowned art critic Robert Hughes has referred to Filler as 'one regular critic in the American press whose pieces are a guaranteed pleasure to revisit–or to read for the first time' (2007, p. 46). Beyond *House & Garden*, Filler also wrote over fifty articles for *The New York Times*, was a contributing author for *Art in America*, and briefly edited *Architectural Record* and *Progressive Architecture*, the most frequent publisher of Graves during his early career phase.[29]

The writings of Filler are particularly relevant to this investigation because his publications span both the professional and the mainstream media. Filler wrote ten articles about Graves during the period of investigation. There is an interesting shift in his attitude towards Graves; his earlier articles, which are somewhat ambivalent, were published in the professional press, while his later articles are more supportive and were written for the popular media.[30]

Another critic who frequently wrote about Graves was Charles Gandee, who contributed architecture and design criticisms to mainstream publications such as *The New York Times* and *Travel & Leisure*. He also wrote for professional publications such as *Architectural Record*, during which time he published several positive reviews of Graves's mid-career projects such as the Sunar Showrooms and the Humana Building. Yet most of Gandees articles about Graves were published during his years as creative director of *House & Garden*, a position which he held during the 1980s and up until 1992. Given the timing of his arrival at *House & Garden*, most of his articles about Graves were written once he was already famous, and all are highly complementary of him and his work. He contributed several significant profiles, including 'The prince of Princeton' (Gandees 1988) and 'Swan's way' (Gandees 1990). Both articles, discussed in detail in Chapter 6, actively "celebrify" Graves through discussing his prominent profile both within the professional circle and broader community.

[29] Graves first appeared in the journal *Progressive Architecture* in 1970, then again in 1972 and 1973. He was regularly published during the years surrounding the appearance of the book *Five Architects* and publications grew steadily throughout the 1980s.

[30] The first two were published in 1979 for *Progressive Architecture*, the next in 1980 for *Art in America*, then the following seven were published from 1982 to 1987 in *House & Garden*.

The American monthly magazine *Architectural Digest* was founded in 1920. In 1975 Paige Rense Noland took over as editor-in-chief, a position that she retained until 2010. Nolad transformed *Architectural Digest* into a 'major figure in the world of design and architecture' (Plambeck 2010, p. 1). The magazine's circulation increased to more than eight-hundred-and-fifty thousand from fifty thousand throughout her longtime editorial control. Contributing authors during the period of investigation include Jencks.

Beyond his contributions to *Architectural Digest*, Jencks came to be one of the most prominent contributors to the "celebrification" of Graves. Jencks is considered a populariser of Post-Modernism; he was one of the first to articulate the paradigm shift from Modern to Post-Modern architecture. Jencks was highly critical of Graves during his Late-Modern phase, yet grew to become one of Graves's greatest supporters after his realignment with the Post-Modern ideology. Jencks' book *Kings of infinite space*[31] (1983) provided insights into Graves's evolving approach to architecture and served to promote his Post-Modern works.

Throughout the period of investigation Jencks provided a particularly personal overview of Graves's career as they grew to become good friends in the years following Graves's London exhibition with 'The New York Five' in September 1975. Graves and Jencks then taught together at UCLA in Los Angeles in 1976. Some of his commentary on Graves may be considered subjective and requires cross-referencing with other sources to gain a more objective sense of Graves' significance during his career.

In summary, the 'cultural intermediaries' that contributed the most strongly to the *celebrity-related process of legitimisation* during the 1970s and 1980s were *The New York Times*, *Time*, *Newsweek*, *House & Garden* and *Architectural Digest*. These media sources are referenced most frequently throughout the case study on the career of Michael Graves. Jencks is also considered a key contributor to the "celebrification" of Graves and his writings are also referenced frequently. Combined, the journalists, editors and writers of these publications provided Graves with a degree of public recognition that could not be ignored by his professional peers. By identifying the most prolific legitimisers for celebrity architects in the 1970s and 1980s, the foundation is

[31] The book was based the BBC film by Jencks.

laid for the analysis of popular media texts in the case study in Chapter 6. The following discussion justifies the central focus of several key 'cultural intermediaries' in the study of the career of Michael Graves.

3.3 Chapter summary

This chapter has provided a deeper understanding of two processes of legitimisation within the architectural profession – *traditional* and *celebrity-based*. Pierre Bourdieu's theories regarding legitimisation have been applied to the field of architecture, in conjunction with the work of a number of other theorists, to unpack certain mechanics of the architectural profession. The chapter described the elements of the *traditional process of legitimisation*: professional publication; self-authorship; winning awards, being exhibited in curated exhibitions; competitions and involvement in educational institutions. It has been established that the *celebrity-based process of legitimisation* involves the following techniques: "humanisation", "visualisation"; "grandiosation"; "endorsement" and "personal profiling". The chapter discussed the producers of celebrity for architects – the journals, magazines and newspapers that frequently published articles on a select few architects, in particular Graves, thereby "celebrifying" them. The most notable contributors were identified as *The New York Times*, *Time*, *Newsweek*, *House & Garden* and *Architectural Digest.*

In the case study of this thesis, Chapter 6, the *celebrity-related process of legitimisation* is investigated in relation to the *traditional process of legitimisation*. This is the opportunity to demonstrate that a different process was in operation in the career of Michael Graves to that which has been depicted in the *traditional legitimisation* section of this chapter. The case study seeks to clarify whether the alternative *celebrity-related process of legitimisation* was adopted in conjunction with the *traditional process*, or in lieu of it; whether celebrity served to 'fast-track' the transition from 'newcomer' to 'establishment', or replace it. This investigation will identify at what point the transformation from *traditional* to *celebrity legitimisation* occurs, and what triggers the shift.

CHAPTER 4 – Celebrity and legitimisation

Celebrity is fundamentally shaped by evolving cultural contexts (Rojek 2007, p. 171). A variety of social, political, cultural and professional changes occurred during the twentieth century in the US. These changes fostered a context within which the "celebrification" of architects could occur during the late 1970s and 1980s, and the *celebrity-related process of legitimisation* became a reality. This chapter outlines those changes, and identifies their role in bringing architects to the attention of the media.

The history of the architectural profession is both broad and complex, involving many milestones, key figures and movements. However, this chapter focuses solely on those that are considered to have increased the perceived significance of individual architects and enabled them to achieve the recognition of a wide public audience. The discussion is presented in six parts: The professionalisation of architecture; Changing professional ethics and values; The broader context of increased competitive practice; Intra-professional debate; The rise of Post-Modernism; A new cultural focus on architecture. It is argued that these phases directly contributed to the development of celebrity within the architectural profession, and subsequently to the development of an alternative or supplementary *celebrity-related process of legitimisation*:

The research approach taken for this chapter is referred to by Groat and Wang (2002) as 'interpretive-historical', exploring 'empirical evidence from the past' (p. 88). From this 'evidence', reasons are posited as to why certain events or ideas or processes first emerged, in this case, celebrity. 'Evidence', according to Groat and Wang, may be found 'in a wide variety of sources, including archival material as well as many other public and private documents' (2002, p. 88). For this analysis, those sources are professional and scholarly publications that 'weave a narrative' of professional change for architects.

4.1 The professionalisation of architecture

Prior to the nineteenth century, the term 'architect' was used liberally and any person could engage in architectural activities to any level of involvement and responsibility, without formal or technical training. In this environment the vocation of architecture was entirely unregulated; practitioners were considered 'semi-autonomous agents' (Cuff

1991, p. 22). With foundations firmly fixed in a history of trade and apprenticeship, architecture long remained in the realm of the traditional artist-practitioner. The architect's role in society was poorly defined, and they were largely indistinguishable from other participants in the building trade. Leading American architectural historian Spiro Kostof (1977) has described how architects hovered between the role of artisan and scholar, putting their knowledge to the practice of designing buildings intermittently. For example, Alberti was an architect, but also an author, artist, poet and philosopher. It has been noted by Beck (1989) that 'to single out one of Leon Battista's 'fields' over others as somehow functionally independent and self-sufficient is of no help at all to any effort to characterize Alberti's extensive explorations in the fine arts' (p. 9).

In summary, the term 'architect' did not refer to an infrastructure encapsulating a particular code of practice, but rather a skill set linked with construction. Occupational boundaries were blurred through a master-apprentice system that merged building and design practices. In other words, architects received their training from the guilds and then advanced from the position of stone-mason to that of head architect. Responsibility in this final promotion encompassed the production of design work and direction over its implementation.

In the mid-nineteenth century issues of identity came to a head. Architects began to feel apprehension and responsibility for the way in which their practice was being conducted and, subsequently, perceived. Architects developed a desire to establish a firmer definition of their industry; like many practitioners, they came to demand better and more consistent standards for themselves (Draper 1977, p. 212). Architects wanted to become recognised as experts with specialised knowledge, obtained through long study, yet there was no organisation specifically established to protect the interests of architects or oversee their education. Hence, the professionalisation of architecture began. The inconsistency between the actuality of architecture as a skilled practice, and the public view of an artisan occupation, began to dissolve (Boyle 1977, p. 316).

Terminologically, a profession is a collection of practitioners, yet the process of professionalisation – the progression of an occupation into a profession – centres on a core set of traits. A fundamental trait is establishing professional organisations (Vollmer

et al. 1966). These organisations operate chiefly in a service and trade capacity; they create legally sanctioned, jurisdictional frameworks that protect the profession. They are responsible for the administration of standards that admit, control and differentiate their practitioners, such as registration, accreditation and certification. They perform corporative functions for the profession at all levels of practice: national, regional and local.

The professions (1933) by A.M. Carr-Saunders and P.A. Wilson provides insight into other professional traits. Originally published in London in 1933, this foundational text endures as one of the earliest and most influential books on the subject of professions (Hogben 2000a, p. 420), focusing on the way in which they form and operate. Carr-Saunders and Wilson conducted research on the distinguishing characteristics of the profession, which they generalised as 'specialised intellectual technique'. This broad definition encompassed factors such as the 'obligation to serve', the 'principle of financial disinterest in the advice or service provided' and the 'prohibition of advertisement, price-cutting, and other methods familiar to the business world' (p. 432). These characteristics are typically defined in a code of behaviour. Other theorists have since offered similar definitions (Wilensky 1964; Vollmer et al. 1966; Greenwood 1966; Jordy 1976; Blankenship 1977; Kostof 1977; Ferris 1996; Freidson 2001).

Drawing on the work of the above theorists, the characteristics of a profession, which relate to architecture in this discussion, are *professional organisations* (licensure and certification), *professional authority* (expert knowledge), *professional culture* (education and training) and a *code of ethics* (egalitarianism and moral obligations). These characteristics laid the first foundations for establishing a social and professional context in which architects would later become "celebrified".

In the US, architecture established its *professional organisations* approximately between 1860 and 1920 (Cuff 1991, p. 23). Saint provides an overview in *The image of the architect* (1983). An early attempt to found a society for architects occurred in New York in 1836 during a meeting attended by local advocates for the occupation,[32] as well

[32] Such as Ithiel Town and Alexander J. Davis.

as prominent architects from Philadelphia.[33] A meeting in Philadelphia ensued in 1837, but due to the physical distance between members and social opposition to the professionalisation of architecture (it was viewed as pretentious) the small society did not gather enough support and soon dissolved. The New York Ecclesiological Society was then founded in 1848, but was also short lived.

The Royal Australian Institute of Architects formed in 1930 and the Royal Institute of British Architects formed in 1834. Over two decades later, in 1857, the most significant national professional organisation for American architects was established: The American Institute of Architects (AIA). The first meeting was held in New York, and it remained a New York-based society until 1869, at which point other states formed their own chapters. In 1899 the AIA moved its headquarters from New York to Washington, DC and it was at this time that the AIA became the 'authentic voice' of the formalised architectural profession of the US (Saint 1983, p. 91). By 1900 the AIA was recognised as the dominant national representative of the profession.

Figure has been removed due to Copyright restrictions

Figure 11 - Photograph of AIA members in 1883 in Providence, Rhode Island. This is the earliest known image of an AIA meeting (image sourced from Cuff 1991, p. 25)

[33] Such as such as William Strickland, John Haviland, Thomas Ustick Walter. Attendees also included Isaiah Rogers, Charles Reichard and Ammi Burnham Young.

A characteristic of the profession of architecture for which the AIA is not responsible is registration and licensure. In 1897, Illinois became the first state to introduce laws regulating the practice of architecture and licensing individual practitioners. California and New Jersey followed soon after, and by 1920 there were seventeen states. However, complexities arose for architects practising in multiple states, requiring multiple licenses. The issue of national registration for architects was addressed in May 1919 at a national AIA convention in Nashville, Tennessee. Here a number of architects united to form the National Council of Architectural Registration Boards (NCARB) ('The history of NCARB' 2004, p. 1). Although only thirteen states were represented at this first meeting, eventually all fifty states would come to be represented by the organisation. NCARB became principally responsible for developing and recommending standards for the registration of architects, as well as providing their certification process.

In regards to *professional authority*, the ultimate aim of the professionalism movement was to raise the status of the practice of architecture (Stevens 1996, p. 435). Professions hold a dominant belief regarding their own authority and seek to improve their social standing or prestige (Freidson 1994, p. 3). The definition of a profession as a special occupation derives from the involvement of its members in responsibilities that hold high social value. Professions evolve from occupations that strive for higher social status so as to attain a level of autonomy and control over the supply of their skill. Hence, the process of professionalisation for architects involved consecration through the assertion of authority. Amongst the other professional organisations, the AIA validated the expertise that architects claimed, thereby legitimising them as skilled professionals.

The process of attaining high social status established a critical relationship between architects and the educated, politicised, elite public. It became acknowledged that public recognition is critical to the process of legitimisation. Cuff has commented on the significance of the public to architectural professionalisation: 'ideologically, professions are bound in a social contract with the public: they retain certain rights and privileges in society in return for bearing certain responsibilities' (1991, p. 22). Training and registration are not enough to attain social standing; it is the public's recognition of the value of these processes that ultimately grants authority.

In building a *professional culture*, architecture followed the path of other professions and based its legitimacy on an objective and scientific knowledge base (Lo 2005, p. 399). The establishment of architecture as a specialised and unique skill centred on distinguishing architecture from other building-related disciplines. Design was the specific competence upon which architects segregated their role from that of the traditional unschooled builder. This could be achieved only through establishing a skill boundary, based on education and training. As noted by Cuff, 'by standardizing expertise through education, educated practitioners can justify their competence over the unschooled. And the professional degree provides the public with a simple index by which to evaluate rather esoteric expertise' (1991, p. 22). MIT opened the first American school of architecture in 1865, and by the start of the twentieth century there were eleven schools across the country. The Association of Collegiate Schools of Architecture formed in 1912 to raise the standard of architectural education in the US; the organisation was, and still is, responsible for coordinating academic programs nationally. The AIA also supports architectural education and, along with the NCARB, founded the National Architectural Accrediting Board (NAAB) in 1940. It soon became a registration requirement to obtain a degree in architecture from a NAAB institution.

Beyond education and training, the AIA became principally responsible for maintaining the *ethical conduct of architects*. A code of ethics is critical to the professionalisation process; according to architectural theorist Mack Scogin, 'without ethics, architecture would not be a profession' (1996, p. 83). Likewise, Scogin notes that the integrity of a profession may be judged by the extent to which its members follow its principles. American sociologist Ernest Greenwood has described becoming a professional as essentially an 'acculturation process' whereby an individual 'internalizes the social values, the behaviour norms, and the symbols of the occupational group' (1966, p. 18).

The AIA's primary tool for regulating members' conduct was created in 1909 with the Standards of Professional Practice.[34] This code provided parameters for appropriate conduct in respect to clients, colleagues and the broader community in attaining and executing architectural projects. The AIA's code of ethics largely centred on a detachment from economic drivers and avoidance of competitive practice. Central to the

[34] See *AIA Journal* 67, Dec. 1978, pp. 55–57 for developments in these Standards over subsequent years.

code was egalitarianism amongst professionals; competitive practice was considered unfair and unacceptable, and the role of the AIA included instilling disciplinary action on those who did not follow the ethical guidelines.

According to Lo, 'professions construct and maintain the boundaries of their self-identities' (2005, p. 393). The establishment of architecture as a profession, regulated by the AIA, redefined the identity of architects in the US during the early twentieth century. As architects in the US aligned themselves with the established values of their practice, as defined by the AIA, they cloaked themselves in a collective, professional identity. Through alignment with the ethics and honour of the professional codes, architects asserted respectability. The architect formed for the first time a clear and recognisable identity that aligned with their practice – that of a gentleman. This would be one of various identities adopted by architects over the course of the twentieth century.

4.2 Changing professional ethics and values

During the period following World War II, the US underwent drastic social, economic and cultural change. The prevailing view of the US at mid-century is that of affluence and unprecedented prosperity (Sugrue 1995, p. 497). This is widely regarded as the 'golden era' in the country's economic and social history. Industrialisation and growth in its capitalist economy allowed consumerism to accelerate. These changes had a strong impact on the practice of architecture, and affected the structure and operation of the profession. Architectural organisations loosened their stronghold on members of the profession and architects emerged as more autonomous practitioners.

During the 1950s the US experienced a construction boom and competition between architectural practitioners became fierce (Sugrue 1995, p. 497). This put enormous pressure on the profession's ethical codes, which regulated most levels of practice. One of the most contentious components of the code of ethics was the strict rules governing the soliciting of work. Architects were obliged not to be competitive in attaining commissions. The professional organisations were responsible for banning most formal modes of promotion, such as paid advertising. Greenwood (1966) describes prohibited activities as those placing an architect in direct competition with their peers, such as

price-cutting and advertising. Hiring agents or advertising firms to conduct promotional activities on an architect's behalf was also considered unacceptable. An article in *Architectural Record* expresses critical views relating to advertising for architects. Whilst the author accepts the role of advertising products and workmanship associated with construction, he makes the firm distinction between this acceptable form of promotion of a product, and the unacceptable promotion of a person: 'architects have looked with well warranted suspicion upon advertising when said advertising concerns the architect himself' ('Do architects object to advertising?' 1928, p. 1).

Larson argues that professional institutions give the impression of being unaffected by market forces yet they are, in reality, heavily swayed (1993, p. 6). Most scholars agree that the architectural profession is actively engaged with social and economic change. According to Cuff 'practice is the embodiment of professional ethos bound to circumstance' (1991, p. 12). Likewise, architectural theorist Margrét Harðardóttir has observed that 'the building industry reflects the cultural state of the society in which we live' (1996, p. 234). Professional institutions operate within a social and cultural framework that is affected by economic trends.

The aversion to competitiveness, and absence of promotion, made it difficult for architects to source new work in the post-World War II period, and with an insufficient client base architectural practice faced an uncertain future. Architects did not thrive universally and they became preoccupied with how their offices might become more profitable and efficient. The growing difficulties faced by architects in attaining work meant that managerial reform in the professional organisations became inevitable. Professional institutions came to realise that architects in the US were addressing the reality of industry and commerce, yet this was generally at the expense of their professional ethics (Boyle 1977, p. 338).

In order to attain work, it had become necessary to actively seek out opportunities and the ethical boundaries of architects became blurred. Published in 1941, the book *This business of architecture* (Wills) offered twenty-three 'civilised hints' on how to gain new commissions such as 'getting your name in print… for any worthy reason whatsoever' (p. 38), and the architect-entrepreneur began to emerge across the US from the 1950s (Saint 1983, p. 154). The professional institutions' acceptance of promotional

activities and endorsement of methods associated with the business world occurred shortly after.

The professional institutions responded to the new attitudes surrounding profit and organisation in architectural practice. During the 1960s the US Department of Justice investigated the ethics of various professions, including architecture. It found that restrictions against fee negotiations, such as the AIA's prohibition of competition, constituted an unreasonable restraint of trade. A 1971 *Fortune Magazine* article drew the attention of the American public to this tension within the architectural profession. This article identified various firms, including John Portman, Charles Luckman Associates of Los Angeles and CRS Design Associates, that had become involved in business mergers or been acquired by other businesses. Of the firms mentioned in the article, most held a common commitment to marketing architecture aggressively.

In 1972 the US Department of Justice forced the profession to allow architects to compete on the basis of fees (Gerou 2008, p. 7). Further institutional reform encompassed recommendations to expand architectural education, establish a closer working relationship relationships with other construction professionals (predominantly engineers) as well as amend the fee schedules to reduce fees for large-scale works and increase them for small-scale ones. Yet one of the most consequential recommendations was to liberalise the rules governing the soliciting of work. The AIA demonstrated their new standpoint by publishing the document 'Development building: a team approach' (Griffin et al. 1972), which encouraged architects to embrace entrepreneurial methods. The document included such discussions as 'A new dimension in architectural practice' that suggested 'architects as entrepreneurs are spanning the nation' (p. 6). Architects were now eligible to compete with one another and marketing of their services was not only permitted, but supported; closer alignment with economic forces began. As noted by Boyle, 'the ethics of the individual architect were replaced by the ethics of the architectural office, and the more the architectural office resembled businesses in general, the more did its ethics resemble those of the business world' (1977, p. 338).

In terms of marketing and publicity, by the late 1970s the AIA's code was further amended and 'advertising was no longer the anathema it had been' (AIA 2011, p. 3). The decision to allow architects to advertise came in 1977 when the New York State

Board of Regents, the state's registration body for all professionals, voted to permit architects to advertise. Other states soon followed. Yet the terms of 'advertising' were at first limited; brochures, pamphlets or newsletters describing an architect's 'experience and capabilities' for distribution only to 'potential clients' were the first ways in which individual architects were permitted to advertise their services (AIA 1977, p. R202). Architects soon sought broader avenues through which to promote their services. While the 1977 code maintained that 'members shall not purchase advertising in the public media to offer architectural services' (p. R205) the amended code of 1979 allowed members to purchase 'dignified advertisements and listings only in newspapers, periodicals, directories or other publications' so long as they did not make any 'comparative references to other architects' (AIA 1979, R.204).

The increased promotional activity of architects affected the autonomy of the field of architecture. Autonomy, in this context, relates not to freedom from promotion but, using Bourdieu's notions, to the ability of architects to apply the external force of promotion to an architectural purpose. Promotion served to not only draw new clients, but to bridge the gap in understanding of architecture between a cultural producer (architect) and their audience (the broader public). Bourdieu depicted the relationship of mutual dependency between artists and their audiences in his essay 'Champ intellectual et project créateur' (1996). While cultural producers produce work for their chosen audience, they have a limited ability to shape the opinion of an audience about their work (Webster 2011, p. 64). Public relations practitioners, as cultural mediators, assist this process.

In 1980 the AIA's 'Standards of professional practice' was suspended following several court rulings.[35] It was replaced with the 'Code of ethics and professional conduct', which directly sanctions the marketing techniques implemented by management consultants. The overriding identity of the architect came to be that of a businessman, as described in Saint's book *The image of the architect* (1983). Architect-entrepreneurs embraced the new approach to marketing that already come to characterise other areas of American business (Saint 1983, p. 154). A connection to the media was inevitable;

[35] Antitrust law violations saw the AIA sued by a member whose membership had been suspended due to ethical violations. Mardirosian v. American Inst. Of Architects, 474 F. Supp. 628 (D.C.D.C. 1979).

marketing leads to publicity which, it has been claimed, is 'the very lubricant of business in the United States' (Rossman 1972, p. 123).

Iloniemi has made some interesting observations about architects' promotional activities in her book entitled *Is it all about image? How P.R. works in architecture* (2004). Iloniemi claims that despite professional endorsement, there still remains an underlying hesitancy on the part of many architects to participate in promotional activities (p. 37). She explores this hesitancy via interviews with a range of specialists from the fields of architecture and PR; Paul McGillick, editor of *InDesign* magazine in Australia, attributes it to shyness or, sometimes, suspicion regarding the media (p. 147). Brand identity specialist Peter Carzasty, on the other hand, believes that it is the sense of finality surrounding architectural work. He suggests that there can be a reluctance to 'go public' with a project (in terms of publicity) because public response is, in a way, too late. Carzasty comments that 'the architect cannot come back to his work, like a choreographer, or the director of a Broadway show who can freshen up a performance by returning to the cast after a few months of a performance running' (Iloniemi 2004, p. 42). On the other hand, Iloniemi claims that architects simply do not have time to foster publicity. She suggests that architects are preoccupied with their own architectural works to consider avenues for engaging with the press (p. 133).

Despite some areas of initial hesitation, promotion became rife in the architectural profession. Architects came to promote and sell themselves by such means as obtaining advice from marketing and public relations specialists and consultants (Gutman 1988, p. 20). Examples are ZweigWhite and Coxe Group, management consulting firms that specialise in the design sector. By the end of the twentieth century, US architects would spend an average of 7% or more of their expenses on marketing and approximately 5% of their staff would be in marketing roles (Kolleeny et al 2001, p. 66).

Rather than participating in promotion for its own sake, however, many architects suggest that they only establish a relationship with the press to facilitate their search for more work (Iloniemi 2004, p. 135). Continuing media coverage can exert a strong influence over the development and commissioning of architecture and, in particular, high-profile projects. It is recognised that promotion is not the only path to the production of significant architecture, and certainly not the only factor contributing to

the effective solicitation of work. Yet, in the words of Iloniemi, 'you can succeed without publicity, but it will be harder' (2004, p. 226). Marketing in architecture services became such an integral aspect of practice that in the late 1980s Gutman would write 'marketing is now so commonplace that no architectural firm can afford to forego spending some funds in this area' (1988, p. 72). Gutman estimates that four to five thousand full-time marketing staff were present in US architecture firms at the end of the 1980s.

This shift towards a promotional culture within the profession laid the next stone in the path towards architects' engagement with celebrity culture. During the early twentieth century, having professionalised the occupation of architecture and asserted the competence associated with complex construction, architects endeavoured to obtain the respect of the elite, educated public. During the mid-twentieth century, architects sought to also attract the attention of a wider popular audience. At the same time there was an overall loosening of the impact of traditional institutions on individuals (Dahlgren et al. 2005, p. 378). This change, along with the softening of the ethical code, established the space necessary for architects to assert their individual identities.

Ayn Rand's enormously popular bestseller *The fountainhead* (1943) is an apt parody of the growing individualisation of architects. Given that it was published just prior to the changing professional ethics that would enable self-promotion, this book interestingly drew the architect into the public realm through the alternative avenue of popular literature. Although it is set in the 1920s and 1930s, the book was first published in New York in the early 1940s,[36] indicating that the author was responding to professional struggles at that time. *The fountainhead* story centres on Howard Roark, a young 'genius' architect, and his conflict between individuality and the forces of collectivism. As articulated by one of the characters, Ellsworth Toohey: 'collectivism is the source of all evil, a poison bred in Europe which, whether under its German Nazi or Russian Bolshevik guise, is now infecting even America, golden land of individualism'. Individualism is argued by sociologist Edgar Morin to be a 'psychological level' to which the much of middle-class America succumbed after the 1930s (Morin 1960, p.

[36] The film version was released in 1949, scripted by the author, which starred Gary Cooper and Patricia Neal.

20), the period during which *The fountainhead* is set. He believes that individualism is a key phenomenon of the twentieth century that came to be expressed in all aspects of life, and refers to it as a 'revolutionary accession'.

The Fountainhead embraces egoism and the 'hero' architect. In the words of Rand, the 'the first right on earth is the right of the ego' (1943, p. 706). According to Saint, who has conducted an analysis of the book, *The fountainhead* novel upholds the notion that 'altruism and selflessness are hypocritical, humiliating and ultimately self-destructive, while real human virtue resides in individualism and in the proper appreciation and development of the ego, regardless of immediate consequences to others' (1983, p. 1). Roark redefined the identity of the modern architect as 'a self-confident, uncompromising loner – and not a little arrogant in the bargain' (Cramer 1994, p. 70). It is interesting to reflect on the possibility that self-assurance, which no doubt derived from the cushioning and stability offered by the professional structure, may have ultimately led to the generation of architects who were confident enough to 'go out on their own' and pursue self-promotion. The esteem previously bestowed on architects collectively came to be focused on a small number of individuals who were singled out by the media for their both their character and their professional merit.

4.3 The broader context of increased competitive practice

Although the changing code of ethics permitted architects to promote themselves, and thereby exercise their individualism, the profession was faced with other challenges. In the late 1980s, sociologist Robert Gutman made some significant observations in his book *Architectural practice: A critical view* (1988) regarding the increasing competitiveness of the field of architecture within the new promotion-oriented environment. He claims that various forces in operation led architects to re-examine their methods and values. Gutman surveyed of the field during the booming economy of the 1970s and early 1980s, revealing ten trends,[37] two of which this thesis would argue

[37] '1) The expanding demand for architectural services; 2) changes in the structure of the demand; 3) the oversupply, or potential oversupply, of entrants into the profession; 4) the increased size and complexity of buildings; 5) the consolidation and professionalization of the construction industry; 6) the greater rationality and sophistication of client organizations; 7) the more intense competition between architects and other professions; 8) the greater competition within the profession; 9) the continuing economic difficulties of practice; and 10) changing expectations of architecture among the public' (Gutman 1988, p. 1).

relate specifically to the development of the "starchitect": 'the oversupply of entrants into the profession' and 'the more intense competition between architects'.[38] These changes are unpacked in the following discussion.

The number of architects practising in the US increased dramatically over the course of the twentieth century, escalating after the end of the Second World War. As Gutman was able to quantify, whilst only five hundred and ninety-one architects identified themselves as members of the architectural profession in the census of 1850, by 1960 this number had reached approximately thirty thousand. A significant jump is registered over the 1970s, which saw the architectural population increase by 60% to over fifty-six thousand. According to the US Department of Commerce ('Statistical abstract' 1993, p. 405), there was then an increase of 85% during the 1980s; up to ninety thousand architects were employed in 1980 and by 1989 this number reached around one hundred and sixty thousand. Gutman refers to this growth as 'astounding' and observed that by 1988 architecture had become the most rapidly expanding of all the major professions in the US.

It is unclear why there was such exponential growth in the supply of architects. As Gutman noted, 'it is hard to believe that young people come into the schools because they are attracted by the pay levels' (1988, p. 27). He suggests that this growth may have been attributed to the relatively fast training period compared with other professions and, more significantly, a relative job security compared with other creative fields, such as studio art. The architectural profession is perceived to provide prime opportunities for creativity and self-expression. Saint concurs with Gutman, and offers the further explanation of the 'extraordinary allure of the image'[39] which he claims to be bound up with creativity (1996, p. 19).

[38] Other theorists have described similar shifts in the practice of architecture. For example, Carl Sapers identified similar forces of change in the profession: 'the debasement of the professions, the influence of liability insurers, the loss of control, the growth of design-build project delivery system, the degradation of the fiduciary relationship, and the popularization of the team approach' (1996, p. 89).

[39] Saint references Marshall McLuhan's *The Gutenberg Galaxy* (1962, University of Toronto Press, Toronto). Saint explains 'words matter less, images more; our culture is image-dependent'.

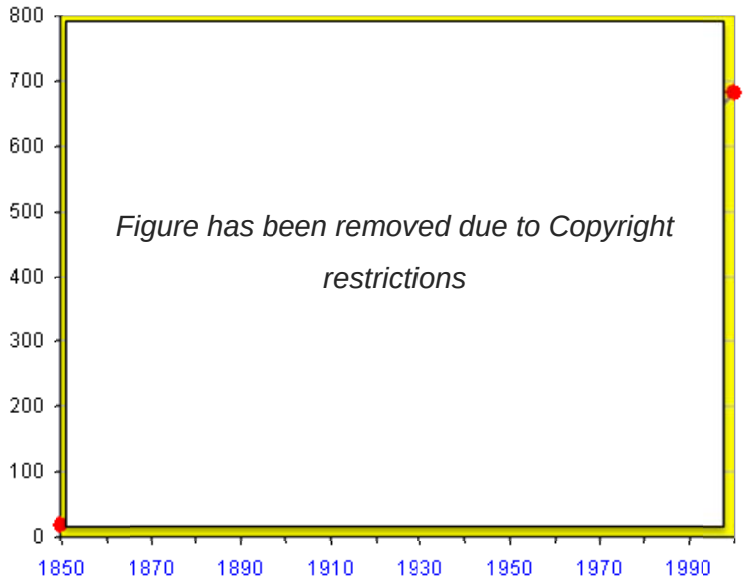

Figure 12 - The findings of Garry Stevens' research parallel that of Gutman; the graph indicates the number of architects per million capita in the USA, data sourced from the Decennial census, U.S. Census Bureau. It is clear that the growth of the architectural profession was exponential during the period of investigation (image sourced from archsoc.com, <http://www.archsoc.com/kcas /disrespect.html>, image retrieved 11 February 2014).

The result was that the number of professional architects had grown more rapidly than their market demand (Rowe 1996, p. 3). Unemployment and underemployment became a prominent issue in the context of the late 1980s recession. In reviewing the oversupply of architects, Williamson begged the question 'how many of these are or will ever be famous?' An exaggerated relationship with the media would come to be a vital component of professional practice as a result of the rapid expansion of those operating within the field; architects needed to make a name for themselves and become known amidst the growing professional crowd.

The downside to this increased demand, but also increased competition within an environment of self-promotion, is the extreme effort required by architects to find work. During the latter half of the twentieth century, architects were not only competing within their own field but also from without. In contrast to the image of the architect as the master of complex construction projected during the early twentieth century, the president of the AIA, R Bruce Patty, stated in 1985 that 'the architect is more of a generalist. Related professionals are the specialists. Most frequently it is the job of the

architect to bring together all the disciplines' ('Architects are gearing up for technological literacy' 1985, p. 46). New occupations emerged that were striving for recognition and overtaking the work of architects. The arrival of more varied and complex building programs led to the introduction of multiple specialists into the building process. According to professional practice scholar Carl Sapers, the architect's influence on the building process has diminished (1996, p. 89). The responsibilities previously held by architects came to be dispersed amongst a wide number of related disciplines such as interior design and landscape architecture. Other specialists to appear prominently were facilities and construction managers, contractors and industrial developers. As more and more contractors came to play a bigger part in the construction process, and the role of the architect became more fragmented, bigger steps needed to be taken to ensure they remained the visible leader of the project. In the words of Saint, reflecting on the period of the late 1980s: 'architects are being pushed out of construction, and they are being pushed into media, advertising, and marketing. That is where their future power lies' (1996, p. 78).

4.4 Intra-professional debate

The next major factor to foster a relationship between architects and celebrity was the intra-professional debate of the 1970s. As universal Modernist orthodoxy declined it was replaced by various opposing and 'often acrimonious' viewpoints, according to architectural historian Mark Galernter (1999, p. 300). This period of ideological diversity was fuelled in the US by the competing factions known as the 'Whites' and the 'Grays'.

The 1960s was a period of ideological unrest when architects and avant-garde thinkers began to question Modernism, particularly in the US. From the mid-1970s onwards the Modernist paradigm was no longer dominant and Modernism became simply one of the many approaches available. According to architectural journalist and editor Nicolai Ouroussoff, 'much of the Modernist dream was in ruins, and one of its central tenets – that architecture could act as an agent of positive social change – lay buried beneath decades of failed urban housing projects, soulless government buildings and sterile concrete plazas' (2009).

In ‘The death of Modern architecture’, a chapter within his book *The language of Post-Modern architecture* (1977), Jencks claimed that Modernism ‘died’ in 1972 with the implosion of Pruitt-Igoe housing project in St. Louis on July 15 at 3.32pm (p. 37). He believed that moment represented a public acknowledgement of the failure of Modernism to meet real-world social development. Yet while the Pruitt-Igoe implosion may have theoretically heralded the ‘death’ of Modernism, Modernist buildings continued to be designed and constructed well into the 1970s and 1980s. These further expressions of Modernism were distinct enough to form their own subcategory, known as Late-Modernism, a term coined by Jencks (1980a).

Late-Modernists viewed their profession as in crisis and saw their role as adapting the principles of Modernism to the altered social mood of the 1970s. Late-Modernists, according to Goldberger, considered their mission as ‘not to avoid social responsibility but to bring a level of seriousness, of gravity, to a profession that they believed had ceased to think in intellectual terms’ (1996, p. 38). One of the milestones of the Late-Modern movement was the Conference of Architects for the Study of the Environment (CASE) in 1969. Ouroussoff describes the event as follows: ‘several young, promising New York architects were invited by Arthur Drexler, the director of the legendary architecture department of MoMA, to meet informally in the museum board room one day in the late ’60s to talk about their work. More meetings followed, a few attendees dropped out, others joined in’ (2009, p. 1). Eventually only five architects remained: Michael Graves, Peter Eisenman, Charles Gwathmey, John Hejduk and Richard Meier. These architects came to be known as ‘The New York Five’, but were also commonly referred to as the ‘Whites’ given the Corbusian references in their architecture.

The work of five of these architects was then exhibited at MoMA in 1969 as an exhibition entitled ‘The New York Five’. Their exhibited work expressed a return to Modernist formalism. Stern said it represented ‘a shared camaraderie and belief that the Modern movement of the 1920s and 1930s was worth revisiting’ (Pogrebin 2007, p. 1). The ‘Whites’ came together three years after this exhibition to publish a book called *Five architects* (Eisenman et al, 1972),[40] cataloguing and promoting the work that had

[40] The book was originally published by Wittenborn, and then famously republished in 1975 by Oxford Press.

been exhibited at MoMA.[41] The purpose of *Five architects* was to promote architectural discourse and bring greater awareness to the Late-Modern movement.[42] As a result, the 'Whites' gained rapid recognition and became the icons of Late-Modernism. They embodied the movement's goal to become 'a serious theoretical pursuit' (Goldberger 1996, p. 1). However, while influential in some quarters, the profession was not unanimously supportive of the 'Whites'; far from it. Over the following several years they sparked fervent debate.

Five architects in fact served as a 'call to action' for those who sat in opposition to the values represented by the 'Whites'. A critique of the book, a collection of essays entitled 'Five on five', was published in *Architectural Forum* in May 1973. This printed debate became known as the 'style wars'; the New York Five came to be referred to as the 'Whites' and their opponents became the 'Grays' (Giovannini 1987, p. 12). The authors were Romaldo Giurgola, Allan Greenberg, Charles Moore, Jaquelin T. Robertson and Robert A.M. Stern, who came to be referred to as the 'Grays'. These architects represented a group based predominantly in Philadelphia that was associated with the architect Robert Venturi. They promoted an architecture that was more concerned with historical and cultural contexts than that offered by the New York Five, and later was considered under the umbrella term of architectural Post-Modernism. Others that held influence within the 'Grays' were Robert Venturi, Denise Scott Brown and Vincent Scully. Wide public debate ensued between these two groups (Watson 2005, p. 56), and Jencks (1983) suggests that this debate summarised the key concerns being voiced by the architectural avant garde at the time.

The 'Grays' were focused on a more historical and complex architecture that derived from culture and experience. The attitude of the 'Grays' towards Late-Modernism was that architecture had taken itself too seriously for a long time and had become dull; the major criticism of the 'Whites' by the 'Grays' was that their pursuit of the pure Modernist aesthetic resulted in impractical buildings that were 'indifferent to site,

[41] Others involved in the exhibition and the publication of *The Five* were: Kenneth Frampton, who represented the work; Drexler, who wrote the preface; Colin Rowe, who contributed the introduction; and Philip Johnson who was responsible for the postscript in the later edition (Watson 2005, p. 58). It is said that the formalist tradition of *The Five* derived from Rowe, whose papers and publications had a great influence on their small group.

[42] *Five architects* also led to them being referred to as 'The Five'.

indifferent to users, and divorced from daily life' (Goldberger 1985b, p. 13). Jaquelin Robertson and Charles Moore criticised Late-Modern architects for creating high-art forms that were more like paintings than architecture and were inaccessible to the public. Giurgola concurred, adding that their buildings tend to 'dissolve into images in search of an intellectual status' (1973, p. 48).

Beyond their stylistic differences, a prominent line of attack by the 'Grays' related to what was seen as the blatant cry for recognition by the 'Whites'. Stern described *Five architects* as being 'burdened with inflation' (1973, p. 48). Giurgola suggested that the 'Whites' were 'in search of an intellectual status' (1973, p. 54). As 'Five on five' pointed out, the 'Whites' sought legitimisation through the inclusion of an eloquent foreword written by Arthur Drexler, referred to by Robertson as 'the MoMA seal of approval' (1973, p. 50). Even the design of the book was seen as means to communicate the significance of the group; the publication was described by Stern as having 'slick, thick paper and overworked graphics' (p. 48). Robertson considers that 'Five on five' said something about 'how a certain modern version of the sport is played' (1973, p. 49), inferring that, in writing *Five Architects*, Graves et al. were beginning to move beyond the traditional means of 'playing' the 'sport' of architecture and towards a strategy that relied on the power of publicity, generated via publication and media exposure. Goldberger sees the book as representing the 'beginning of high-end architectural marketing' (1996, p. 38) (see Figure 13).

It appears that the 'Whites' and the 'Grays' were largely a media construct. Certainly, the two groups existed, yet theorists such as Nadia Watson suggest that the media's categorisation of these architects, such as in the 'Five on five' critique, was largely generalised (2005, p. 58). Watson believes that the typical depiction of unity and complete rejection of one side against the other is false. In reality, according to Watson, both sides were working to gain momentum in a dialogue about architecture, and in the process they contributed to a somewhat embellished 'war' between two factions. However, the reality of the relationships between both sides of the debate, as well as the perceptions of those individuals involved, suggest otherwise. Watson explains that this does not infer that the criticisms were not genuine, but rather that they were welcomed in an unprecedented way and served to raise the profile of the opposing parties.

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Figure 13 - *Five architects* (Eisenman et al, 1975)

Watson's discussion stemmed, in part, from the views expressed in Goldberger's article for *Architectural Record* which asks in its title: 'Should anyone care about the 'New York Five'?...or about their critics, the 'Five on five'?' (1974). Goldberger suggests that the two groups have many commonalities, and argues that there has been an inaccurate implication of a 'rigid separation'. Ignoring their widely used aliases of 'Whites' and 'Grays', he instead refers to them as the 'Exclusivists' and 'Inclusivists', respectively, and describes the debate surrounding them as 'a lot of Eastern academic clap-trap'. Goldberger criticises both sides equally, claiming that their dialogue had been too narrow and elitist, overlooking the issues of real concern to the majority of architects. He suggests that the professional had come to place too much emphasis on these two groups, and were ignoring architects whose work did not 'fit neatly into either camp'.

The focus on the 'Whites' and 'Grays', at the expense of other architects, continued. By the mid-1970s their ongoing debate had engulfed the national professional arena. Two decades later Goldberger could reflect on the long-term significance of the public conflict in his article 'A little book that led five men to fame' for *The New York Times* (1996). According to this article, after the publication of *Five architects* the 'Whites' rose from the status of 'cult figures of the late 1970s to full-fledged celebrities of the 1980s' and each became 'a kind of icon, almost a logo, for something' (1996, p. 1). According to Goldberger, by the end of the 1980s the 'Whites' were commissioned for the design of so many buildings for prestigious Hollywood and Wall Street identities that their list of client 'read like gossip columns'. Goldberger claims that they managed to 'ride the wave of chic all the way to profiles in *Vanity Fair* magazine' (1996, p. 1), a reference to the 'Fountainhead syndrome' article (Stephens 1984), featuring Stern, Graves and Eisenman. They became celebrities within and beyond the architectural community. Graves and Eisenman were the only two to endure in the public eye. The intra-professional debate sparked by the decline of Modernism ultimately drew the attention of the media and provided the opportunity for the first celebrity architects to appear. In the words of Webster 'while artists often claimed to be fighting fundamental ideological battles that challenged the very existence of the artistic field, they were merely fighting to better their own position, because, in reality, no artist would set out to undermine the source of their own status and power' (2011, p. 67).

4.5 The rise of Post-Modernism

The rise of Post-Modernism presented an unprecedented opportunity for public engagement with architecture. A bold, controversial movement, it attracted the attention of critics, journalists and the public alike. According to Bourdieu, the 'riskiest investments' (culturally and economically) are 'very often the most profitable symbolically' (1993a, p. 68). In the case of some Post-Modernists, it is argued that this proved true. The press grew to have a 'near adolescent infatuation' with the phenomenon of Post-Modernism by the late 1970s and 1980s (Mallgrave 2011, p. 65).

Coining of the term 'Post-Modernism' is attributed to various theorists. Early usage dates back to 1966 by the historian Nikolaus Pevsner. It then came more frequently into parlance in 1974 by Stern, Goldberger and Drexler (Jencks 1977b, p. 269). Yet, it was

an article written by Jencks himself that is considered to be a solidifying moment for the term; 'The rise of Post-Modern architecture' was published in 1975 in *Architectural Association Quarterly*. In this essay Jencks called for a 'new way of thinking, a new paradigm based on broad theory, which enjoys a large consensus' (p. 3). This publication was followed two years later by his persuasive book *The language of Post-Modern architecture* (1977). Beyond its controversial subject matter, this book was surprising in that it was very visually stimulating and attracted the attention of a widespread audience. It included not only information about historical and contemporary buildings, but also references to pop-culture. Many colour images were included, and the text and image captions were printed at various angles across the page. Note that Jencks serves as a frequent source for this discussion and it should be noted that he played a key role in building the prominence of the movement, producing intellectual and promotional discourse that illuminated the work of many Post-Modernists.

The next major step in Post-Modernism's rise was the exhibition titled 'La presenza del passato' (The presence of the past), which formed part of the Venice Architecture Biennale in 1980. Although architecture had been displayed at the Art Biennale since 1968, this was the first time that architecture occupied its own section. The Italian architect, theorist and historian Paolo Portoghesi organised and directed this first event, with the aid of the committee of Scully, Norberg-Schulz and Jencks, early proponents of Post-Modernism. The exhibition was a consideration of the movement in architecture. Included was the 'Strada Novissima', which consisted of twenty façades designed by twenty leading international historicist architects such as Graves, Stern and Koolhaas, representing a hypothetical Post-Modern Main Street (see Figure 15). The exhibition was set in a highly public realm, the Corderie, a monumental sixteenth-century workshop. Portoghesi claims that he wanted to create something 'popular' that could establish a direct line of communication between people and architecture (Levy et al. 2010, p. 37). The installation drew widespread interest; 40,000 paying visitors attended in only three months. Architectural historian Aaron Levy claims that Portoghesi's exhibition was the first to move beyond the audience of specialised academics and professionals and draw attention from the international public (2010, p. 13). Jencks considers it the moment that 'Post-Modernism was announced to the world' (1983, p.

80). Post-Modernism gained rapid momentum in the US; Larson suggests that its influence lasted up until 1985, flourishing in particular during the booming economy of the 1980s (1993, p. 18).[43]

Figure 15 – The 'Strada Novissima', part of the 1st International Architecture Exhibition, Venice Architecture Biennale, 'The Presence of the Past' July 1980 (image sourced from *Domus* 605 / April 1980, pp. 9–19).

Despite initial hesitation, the public came to embrace Post-Modernism, a major reason being its communicative approach, as evident in these early publications and exhibitions. The importance of communication through architecture was first raised in Venturi's *Complexity and contradiction in architecture* (1966) and later in his book *Learning from Las Vegas* (1972).

Venturi called for a deeper understanding of everyday commercial vernacular, claiming that the strip of Les Vegas is as worthy a source of inspiration as medieval Europe. He also suggested that ornament and decorative elements 'accommodate existing needs for variety and communication' in an effective and efficient way. Jencks concurred with Venturi in *The language of Post-Modern architecture* (1977), noting that 'a failure of recent architecture has been one of communication' (p. 7). Venturi believed that

[43] Galernter suggests slightly different dates, arguing that the Post-Modern movement was a dominant style from 1973 to 1998 (1999, p. 293). Despite chronological variations, both agree with Jencks that by the mid- to late-1970s Post-Modern architecture had established itself across the US (1983, p. 68).

architecture should be open to multiple interpretations. Jencks comments that architectural pluralism was intended to reflect the complexity of life itself and consider a variety of cultural palates (1986, p. 205). The communication spoken of by Venturi and Jencks was primarily with other architects, as opposed to a broad audience.

At the time of Post-Modernism's uprising, the new consumer culture in the US was erasing the 'high modernist barrier between high and low culture' (Larson 1993, p. 52). The boundaries were being blurred between elite intellectualism and popular culture. Post-Modernism responded to this cultural shift by attempting to produce architecture that was more accessible to the public, and thereby more communicative. This was claimed to have been achieved through imbuing their buildings with visual meaning. Whereas the Late-Modernist architecture of the 1970s was highly abstract, utilising complex geometries that were largely viewed as incomprehensible to the general public, Post-Modernists claimed a higher level of understanding between architecture and user by expressing distinct architectural elements that may be easily recognised by the public (Zapatka 1999, p. 11).

In the US, a primary means of activating public recognition of architectural elements was the revival of traditional forms. Architectural historian and critic Jayne Merkel noted that 'social anxiety created a mood in which looking backwards seemed safer and more comforting than looking forward to an uncertain future' (2010, p. 1). The Post-Modern movement comprised various strands that were aesthetically diverse yet based on the same principles, the most prominent of which was Classicism.[44] This movement was described in the inaugural issue of the *Harvard Architectural Review*, published in Spring 1980s, which included a summary editorial titled 'Beyond the Modern Movement'. It was detailed that the movement aimed 'to bring existing symbols and expressive forms, understood and accepted by broad segments of the population, into the realm of architecture' (p. 6). The same issue also included the essay 'The doubles of Post-Modernism' by Stern (pp. 84-86), which also discussed the diverse approaches within the movement and highlighted the benefits of 'traditional' Post-Modernism. He praised its rejection of Modernism and its humanist approach, and claims it to have

[44] Also known as historicism and straight revivalism. The other strands were neo-verncular, ad hoc urbanism, metaphor metaphysical, and postmodern space (Mallgrave et al, 2011, p. 93).

pluralistic popular support. Likewise, Jencks, in his study 'What is Post-Modernism?' (1986), described Post-Modernism as 'double coding: the combination of Modern techniques with something else (usually traditional building) in order for architecture to communicate with the public and a concerned minority, usually other architects' (p. 14).

The revivalist mentality of the Classicists was not in the form of reproduction, but rather reinterpretation, reference and translation. One genre, Neo-Classicism, was an extreme version of this revival of traditional forms and detailing. It sought to imbue buildings with a sense of time and place, and recreated historical ideals in a contemporary setting. Galernter offers the following explanation of why the traditional forms would have been so appealing to the public at this time:

> Why the revived interest in the traditional styles and architects? It is conceivable after all, that architects in the 1970s might have dismissed the tenets of Modernism without necessarily returning to the traditional styles. Perhaps rebellion consists partly in valuing those things that the previous generation rejected. Perhaps designers saw in the traditional styles those very qualities that were noticeably missing in mainstream Modernism, including character, human scale and detail. Or perhaps the architects responded to the more conservative mood of the period, which had begun to revive traditional values after the revolutionary 1960s. (1999, p. 300)

Classicism incorporated subtle 'witticisms', which involved reinventing traditional elements but with a contemporary twist so that, according to the architect Sean Griffiths, non-architects could also understand and enjoy the building (2001, p. 36). These recognisable features included such simple gestures as obvious entry points and a logical layout. While Modernism was criticised for its lack of character, human scale and detail, Post-Modernists claimed to produce work that was sympathetic to everyday life. Graves attempts to explain this approach in his essay 'A case for figurative architecture', published in 1982 within his first major monograph. Here he emphasises poetic form grounded in anthropomorphic symbolism and nature (p. 13). This theory aimed at an architecture that was more acknowledging of its users. The communicative approach was elaborated by Geoffrey Broadbent in his essay 'The pests strike back!, where he described Post-Modernism as aiming for 'comfortable, human, economic and truly functioning architecture'. He goes on to articulate the extent to which Post-Modernists were attempting to communicate with the public by stating that they 'above all want to be liked. They want to do things that ordinary people will love' (p. 34).

Some Post-Modern architects, such as Venturi, drew on Classical motifs in a non-traditional manner. The originality with which classical elements were positioned in a contemporary context led to many personal and idiosyncratic designs that enabled casual observers to identify certain projects as the work of particular architects of that time (Galernter 1999 p, 301). An early and prominent example of this trend is the Vanna Venturi House in Chestnut Hill in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania (see Figure 16). Venturi planned this house at the same time as writing *Complexity and contradiction in architecture*, and the house is considered to be an embodiment of his book's ideology; traditional richness provoking dynamic interpretation (Unwin 2003, p. 327). The house's roof is pitched in opposition to the flat structure of Modernist dwellings, and the ground floor is closed in contradiction to the Modernist use of columns and glass walls to create transparency. Traditional elements appear on the front elevation; a broken pediment and an arch featuring ornamental applique. The house appears to be symmetrical, but is not, and the traditional central internal staircase leads nowhere after the second floor.

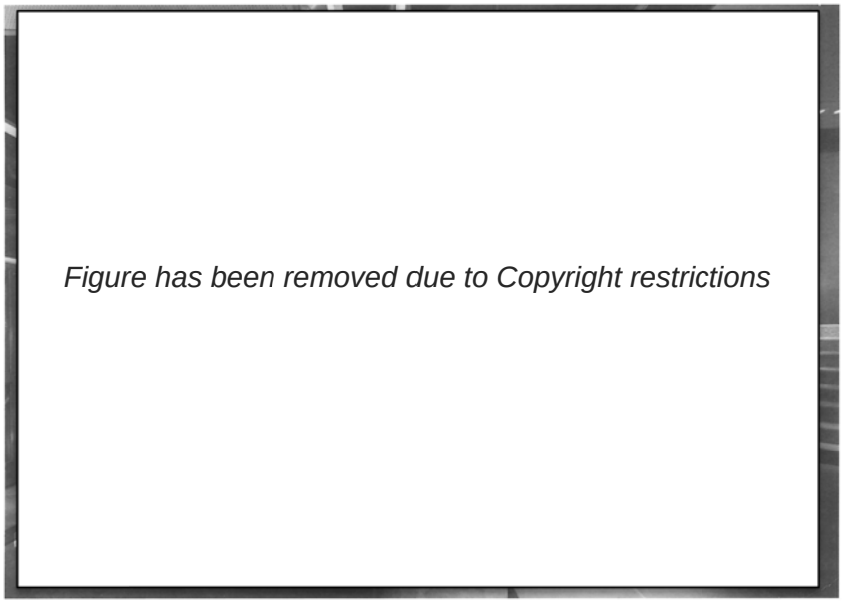

Figure 16 - Robert Venturi (Venturi and Short), Vanna Venturi House, Chestnut Hill, Pennsylvania, 1961-65 (image sourced from McLeod 1989, p. 31).

The revival of traditional form reached its peak with corporate commissions. The earliest influential large-scale expressions were Graves's winning design for the 1979 Municipal Services Building Competition in Portland, Oregon (completed in 1982) and

Johnson and Burgee's design for the AT&T headquarters of New York. The AT&T building (completed in 1984, now the Sony Building) was considered highly controversial due to its neo-Georgian pediment or 'Chippendale top'. This broken pediment deviated from the existing Manhattan office towers, which expressed the rigid, boxed forms of Modernism. Whilst earlier, smaller works had drawn wide curiosity, these works sparked heady public debate and drew the attention of journalists. Larson suggests that the mounting publicity surrounding these projects led to them being viewed as Post-Modernism's first monuments (1993, p. 61).

Johnson famously featured on the front cover of *Time* in 1979 holding a model of his AT&T scheme (see Figure 17). The cover article notes that the building would never have avoided debate given its cost ($110 million) and the prominence of the site. It claims that only Johnson's age (72) and prestige have afforded him the freedom to apply Post-Modernism's historicist metaphors to a large corporate structure (Hughes 1979, p. 53). The building was considered controversial even before construction had begun. Paul Goldberger of the *New York Times* referred to it as 'the most provocative and daring skyscraper proposed for New York since the Chrysler Building' (Goldberger 1978, p. B-4). In the *Chicago Tribune*, it was noted that 'if Mies van der Rohe were alive today, he would regard this building with loathing, because it is the antithesis of everything he believed in' (quoted in Gilbert 1985, p. 58). Meanwhile Michael Sorkin, in the *Village Voice*, referred to the AT&T building as 'the architecture of applique…the Seagram building with ears' (quoted from Hughes 1979).

Humour, whimsy and playfulness were other ways in which Post-Modern architects attempted to communicate with a wide audience. Many Post-Modern works incorporated witty references to traditional Classical themes. This naturally drew opposition from traditionalists. A major critic was the Marxist historian Manfredo Tafuri, who claimed that Post-Modernism was 'annulling history in reducing it to a field of visual incursions, and by a *choc* technique informed by television' (Tafuri 1986, p. 190). He also referred to the movement as 'fiction-architecture', a reference to its whimsy and playfulness. Yet, in the words of Merkel, Post-Modernism 'made architecture fun again' (2010, p. 1). It was this 'fun' that attracted the public.

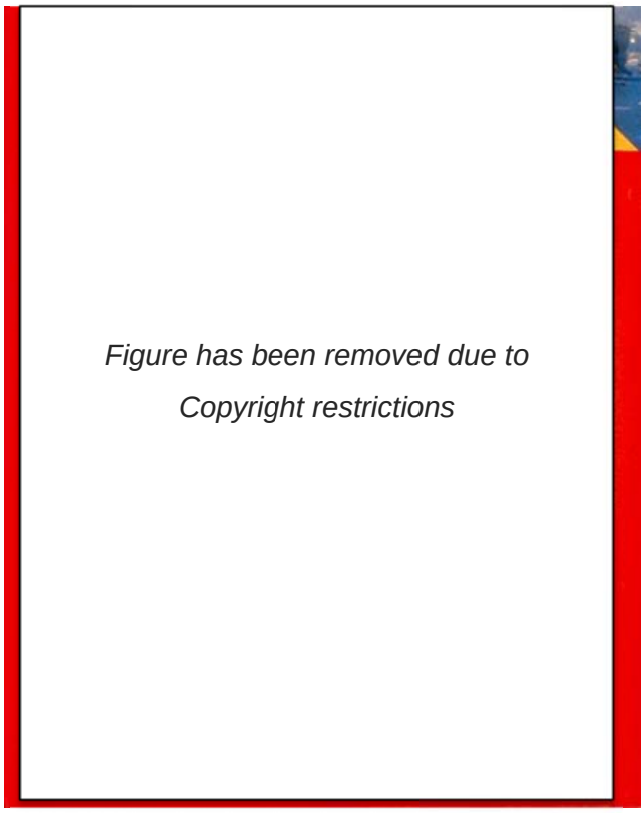

Figure 17 – Philip Johnson on the front cover of *Time*, holding a model of his AT&T design. 8 January, 1979 (image sourced from *Time* archives).

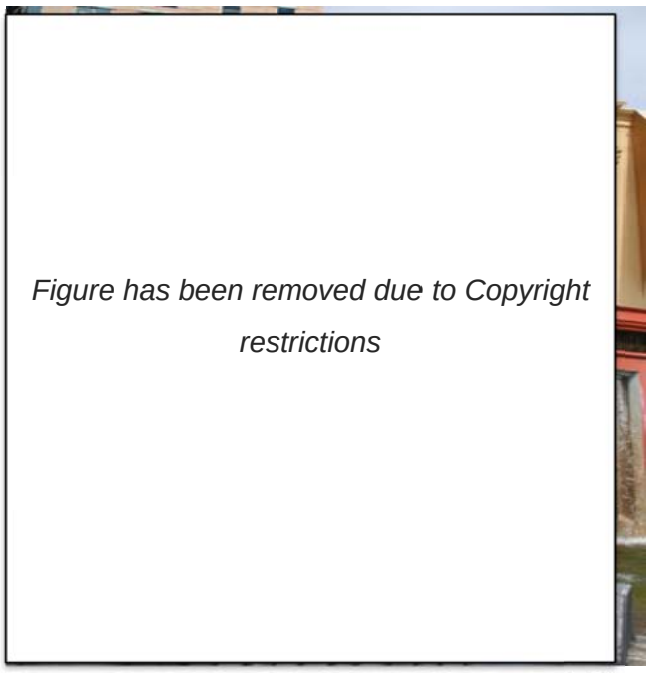

Figure 18 - Charles Moore's Piazza d'Italia in New Orleans (image sourced from New Orleans Online, <http://www.neworleansonline.com/images/slideshows/listings/1344/01.jpg>, image retrieved 23 July 2013).

In the Piazza d'Italia in New Orleans (1978) (Figure 18), Charles Moore made amusing references to Italian Classicism for the local Italian-American community. The design incorporates a Classical colonnade overhanging a fountain in the shape of the boot of Italy, harking back to Italy's contribution to high art. There is also an amusing aquatic cascade forming a column; the traditional Corinthian form is represented by jets of water. A statue of Charles Moore spouts water from its mouth. Such humour provided a further opportunity for the press to take an active interest in Post-Modern architects and their highly newsworthy work. Media coverage of the project was as colourful as the project itself; it was described as a 'razzmatazz design' and 'the masterpiece of a megalomaniac pastry cook' (Hughes 1979, p. 53)

Humour is also evident in the architectural work of James Wines's 'Sculpture in the Environment' (SITE), producing nine commercial buildings for Best Products Corporation from 1970 to 1984 that opposed the uniformity of suburban USA in order to attract shoppers. The first was the 1971 'Peeling Project' in Richmond, Virginia (see Figure 19). A folding corner on the right side of the building, and a curving wall on the left side of the building were incorporated into the existing façade. The bottom edge of the curved wall hovered off the ground, creating the illusion of it being precariously adhered, ready to peel fully away from the building and crash to the ground.

Figure 19 - Best Products Corporation, Richmond, Virginia by Sculpture in the Environment (SITE) (image sourced from <http://culturalghosts.blogspot.com.au/2013/03/best-products-and-site-showrooms-part-1.html>, Image retrieved 20 February 2014).

The most notable of the SITE/Best collaboration was the showroom in Houston, Texas (1974) that presented a mock ruin: a crumbling brick façade, dubbed the 'Indeterminate Façade' (see Figure 20 and Figure 21). This was achieved through constructing two large false walls above the roofline, which appear to crumble into a pile of brick debris onto the awning below. Their form left an ironically absent keystone. Being visible from a nearby freeway, the building became a local landmark and was frequented by tourist groups. In a critique of the Best stores, Robert Harbinson asked 'Who would have thought that contemporary American shoppers could entertain simultaneously the consumer's fiction of shiny function and fantasies of decay?' ('Old before their time, 2003). The project architect James Wines wrote in *Architectural Digest* (1985) that he was often asked to autograph stray bricks, indicating the extent to which his design infiltrated popular culture.

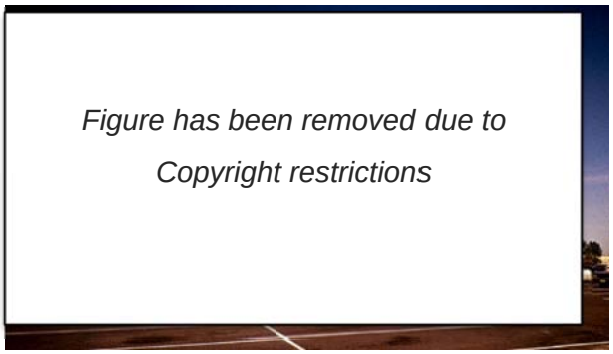

Figure 20 - Best Products Corporation, Houston, Texas by Sculpture in the Environment (SITE) (image sourced from *The Guardian* website, <http://www.guardian.co.uk/artanddesign/2011/sep/20/postmodernism-at-the-v-and-a>, Image retrieved 23 July 2013).

Figure 21 - Best Products Corporation, Houston, Texas by Sculpture in the Environment (SITE) (image sourced from Specific Object, David Platzker <http://www.specificobject.com/objects/info.cfm?object_id=12185#.UfIcdTZ-9RA>, image retrieved 23 July 2013).

A further means by which Post-Modernists communicated with their audience was through context. Post-Modernists criticised Modernists for applying global design principles in an attempt to redefine society (Blake 1977). While Modernist designs had been seen to overlook their local contexts, climates and architectural customs, Post-Modernists, by contrast, produced architecture that was meant to appreciate a building's significance in time and place. Post-Modernists sought to 'humanise' architecture by connecting buildings to their broader physical and social context, re-establishing the implementation of traditional classical or vernacular ornamentation, and imbuing their

designs with symbolic meaning. Post-Modernists produced architecture that was 'a vehicle of cultural expression' (McLeod 1989, p. 24). They sought to reclaim the symbolism, history and local vernacular that had been detached from architecture during the Modern movement. An example of the renewed sense of location is found in the group of condominiums at Sea Ranch, California. Produced between 1964 and 1972 by Charles Moore, Joseph Esherick and Lawrence Halprin, in conjunction with the firm Moore Lyndon Turnbull Whitaker, these raw, unpainted, wood-sided structures blended into the rugged Oceanside terrain. While the Modernist approach would have often been to dominate the landscape, the Post-Modern approach was to integrate.

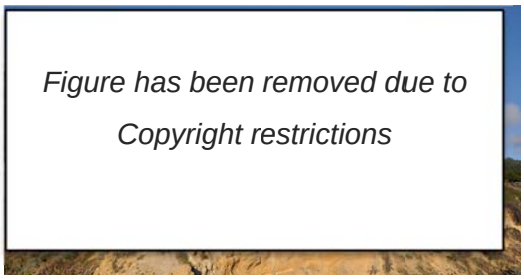

Figure 22 – The view of condominium one from the bluffs.

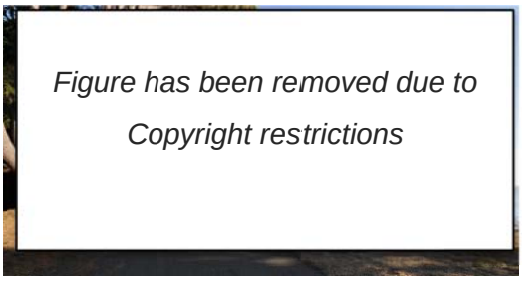

Figure 23 – The motor court heading into Condominium 1.

Figure 24 - Photograph of Richard Whitaker, Donlyn Lyndon, Charles Moore, and William Turnbull (circa 1991), the designers of condominium one.

Figure 22, Figure 23 and Figure 24 are of Condominiums Sea Ranch, Gualala, Sanoria County, Claifornia (1964-1966): Charles Moore, Donlyn Lyndon, William Turnbull, Richard Whitaker (image sourced from http://www.lifeofanarchitect .com/sea-ranch/>, images retrieved 20 February 2014).

Another example of a highly contextualised work was Graves' San Juan Capistrano Regional Library in Southern California. Begun in 1980, when Post-Modernism was gaining rapid momentum, Graves followed local design guidelines to adhere to the indigenous eighteenth century Spanish mission style. The building was small in scale, constructed in stucco, and adorned a tile-roof so as to nestle comfortably into the town's panorama. Classical colonnades were present, entryways were clearly defined and traditional elements and spaces are both sequential and rhythmic. Most notably, Graves incorporated clever uses of light, a reference to the style's Renaissance origins and an appropriate and necessary consideration for a library. Graves' details include walls that act as light filters, clerestories and light monitors. Also, the stucco structure was arranged around a central courtyard, a further reference to the Spanish mission style, and an opportunity to again increase the quality of light in the space. Completed in 1984, the highly-symbolic building came to be much loved by the people of San Juan Capistrano for enhancing its civic identity. Filler wrote a particularly complimentary piece for *House & Garden* in 1984 in which he describes the works as 'architecture that its community could grow quite fond of' (p. 202).

Figure 25 – Graves' San Juan Capistrano Regional Library, designed according in the principles of the local Spanish mission style (1980-1984) (Image sourced from the website of Michael Graves, < http://www.michaelgraves.com/architecture/project/san-juan-capistrano-library.html> , image retrieved 19 February 2014).

Along with traditional forms, humour and context, Post-Modernists also used spectacle to draw public recognition. Post-Modern architecture and design found favour in the growing commercialism of the US, and came to represent the extravagance with which the 1980s is synonymous. Post-Modern buildings exuded lavishness through their use of ornamental forms, colour and extravagant materials which stood visually prominent against the stark and muted Modernist landscape. An example is Stanley Tigerman's Library for the Blind and Physically Handicapped (1978), located on the Chicago Circle campus of the University of Illinois. The scheme is splashed with bright primary colours, on the basis that most visually impaired people can still register a degree of tonal contrast.

Along with bright, bold designs came colourful, controversial personalities. Many Post-Modernists were outspoken and lively in their defence of their architectural approach, which again drew the attention of the American public. Johnson has been described as 'the voice of authority, flavoured with luxury' and 'a brilliant opportunist' (Hughes 1979, p. 52) (see Figure 26). He was particularly noted for his chameleon tendencies; he adapted to a variety of stylistic approaches throughout his career, from Modernism to neo-historicism to Post-Modernism. Flamboyance and passion were certainly a traits of Johnson; during his acceptance speech in June 1978 he commented: 'We stand at a place where maybe we haven't stood for 50 years, and that is a shift in sensibility so revolutionary that it is hard to grasp because we are right in the middle of it. It is the watershed between what we have all been brought up with as the Modern, and something new, uncharted, uncertain and absolutely delightful' (Hughes 1979, p. 52). In 1997, a video documentary was filmed of Johnson titled 'Philip Johnson: Diary of an eccentric architect' (from the Checkerboard Film Foundation, produced and directed by Barbara Wolf).

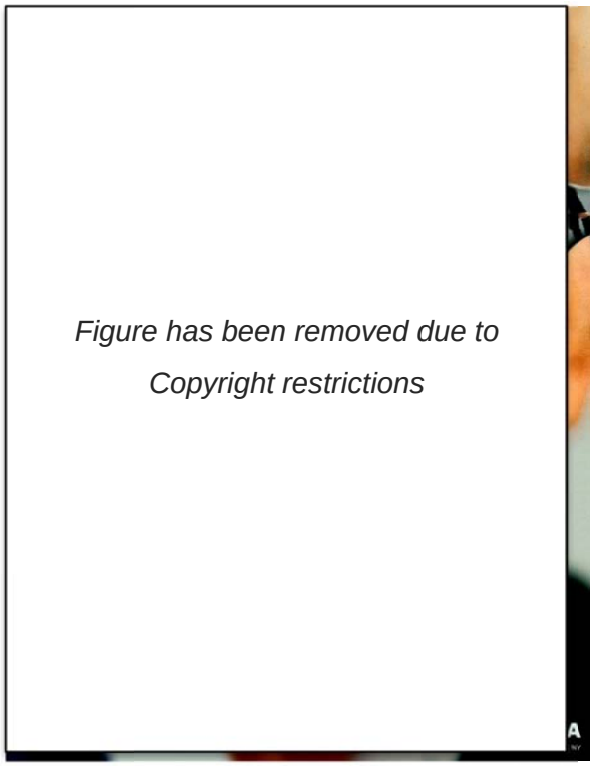

Figure 26 – The poster for a 2005 retrospective on Johnson's Post-Modern architecture, by MoMA. The quirky glasses worn by Johnson allude to his audacity in terms of both design and personalitiy (image sourced from <http://chockboard.com/portfolio/print-illustration_philipjohnson.php>)

Such colourful Post-Modern personalities thrived amid an increased focus on individualisation. Larson, for example, argues that the key differences between the Modern and Post-Modern ideals were 'individualist over collectivist values, variety and choice over uniformity, distinction (however superficial) over standardization' (1993, p. 82). American historian Charles Ponce de Leon points out that Post-Modernism grew from 'the rise of democratic, individualistic values' (2002, p. 14). Likewise, American historian Christopher Lasch described the Post-Modern era as 'the apotheosis of individualism' (1979, p. 4).

Gutman argues that the new emphasis on the individual within the architectural profession at this time was aligned with a sense of reduced obligation. Whilst the Modern Movement had prided itself on being a vehicle for social change and improvement, Gutman claims that Post-Modern architects exhibited 'less of a sense of

obligation to claim that the buildings they design have a moral or social content and are more frank about their inclination to tailor social and political ideas to their architectural ambitions' (1989, p. 107). The decline in social engagement opened up a situation in which architects could be more removed from their clients and experiment more freely with their own ideas.

In summary, the communicative nature of Post-Modern architecture allowed it to draw the attention of the public. It valorised aspects of everyday life to enable those beyond the field of architecture to recognise merit. The apparent broad popularity of Post-Modernist architecture may be attributed to its adoption of traditional forms, humour and context, as well as its propensity for spectacle. As an architectural approach, it drew the interests of various players within many social spaces, such as cultural intermediaries, consumers and other cultural producers. The daring nature of Post-Modern architecture was accompanied by bold and colourful personalities, who actively engaged in the authority struggles internal to the field. Post-Modernism – in terms of both architecture and architects – fitted the media's mechanics of "celebrification" through being controversial, provocative and humorous. As the movement gained momentum, it attracted enough interest from both the public and the media for it to provide the first "starchitects". These practitioners were the new cultural elite of the field of architecture.

It is acknowledged that many other architectural approaches also formed or continued in the US during this same time period, such as Brutalism, Structuralism, Hi-Tech, Critical Regionalism and Deconstructivism. Some of these movements activated their own "celebrifying" processes through the media on a smaller scale, with varying degrees of success. Deconstructivism, in particular, would serve as a rich study in its own right. The faction was as confrontational as Post-Modernism, yet rejected historicism in favour of fragmentation and geometric irregularity.

Two major events established the movement and generated wide publicity (Mallgrave et al, 2011, p. 154). First was a one day symposium held at the Tate Gallery in London in April 1988, moderated by Jencks, the aim of which was to define 'Deconstruction'. Some of the resultant press coverage included a special edition of *Architectural Design*, dedicated to Deconstructivism (vol. 58, no. 3/4, 1988). The edition was edited by

Andreas C. Papadakis, the symposium's organiser, and included a series of design profiles on Andrew Benjamin, Catherine Cooke, Charles Jencks, Bernard Tschumi, Zaha Hadid, Emilio Ambasz, Peter Eisenman, Coop Himmeblau, Elias Zenghelis, and Frank Gehry, all of whom became "starchitects" in the years to come.

The second event to cause a media stir was an exhibition at MoMA several months later, titled 'Deconstructivist Architecture' (1988). The exhibition was curated by Johnson, with the aid of Eisenman, and was considered to be on par with major MoMA exhibitions of the past such as 'Mies van der Rohe' (1947) and 'International style' (1932). The exhibition drew a large audience, and widespread recognition was gained by the architects chosen for inclusion: Gehry, Libeskind, Koolhaas, Eisenman, Hadid, Coop Himmelblau and Tschumi (Mallgrave et al, 2011, p. 156). The symposium and exhibition served to raise the profile of Deconstruction, and Deconstructivists, both within and beyond the profession.

4.6 A new cultural focus on architecture

In the post-World War II period, there was an increased social focus on the arts. From the 1950s onwards the government motivation to develop cultural programs grew, leading to 'coming of age' of the US as a 'world art power' (Bourdon 1967, p. 1). Gutman analysed this trend in depth and notes that an unprecedented explosion in culture was seen between 1950 and1980 when more money was invested in the visual arts than during the preceding one hundred and fifty years (1988, p. 87, 95). This thesis argues that this trend may have contributed to the increased public interest in architecture.

In 1965, under the leadership of President Lyndon Johnson, Congress passed legislation that instigated the formation of the National Endowment for the Arts (NEA). During the 1970s this organisation sought to 'encourage competitions, initiate demonstration projects in design and urban innovation, support worthy designers with innovative ideas, and encourage research on design problems' (Gutman 1988, p. 88). From the mid-1980s the NEA was granted annual funding by Congress of between $160 and $180 million ('About US' 2014). The result by the late 1980s was that in major metropolitan cities the opinions of the general public encompassed 'relatively recondite aspects of design', for example, the disputes regarding the aesthetic appropriateness of

planned additions to the Whitney and Guggenheim museums in New York City (Gutman 1988, p. 90).

The new arts focus within the American community produced increased opportunities for the public to engage with and consume architectural culture over the 1970s and 1980s, ultimately increasing the public's interest in architecture. One such opportunity was the growth of architectural collections in public museums (Gutman 1988). By the late 1980s, for example, there were important collections, including significant models and drawings, in close to thirty American museums, five of which were in the cultural hub of New York City.[45] Private galleries that specialise in exhibiting and selling architectural drawings began to appear, along with guidebooks about the architecture of major cities and regions of the US. By the early 1970s, three American publishers – MIT Press, Rizzoli Publications, and Princeton Architectural Press – had established programs committed to the development of books on the topic of architecture. By the late 1980s the US boasted approximately ten bookstores specialised in the trade of contemporary publications on architecture (Gutman 1988). An example is the Prairie Avenue Bookshop (see Figure 27), located in Chicago, which opened in 1974 and had become the premier architectural bookstore in the world by the early 1980s. It not only sold architectural literature but established itself as a meeting place for the architectural community: mainstream and avant garde architects, architectural historians and architectural critics. At the time of its closing in 2009 it was the largest architectural bookstore in the world (Ogbac 2009).

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Figure 27 – The Prairie Avenue Bookshop, a cultural hub for architects during the late twentieth century (image sourced from Ogbec 2009).

[45] Gutman's reference is based on the American Art Directory, 1984, by Jacques Cattell press.

Major international awards for architecture were also established at this time. Although similar awards had existed for many years, they were granted primarily by professional bodies. The new awards programs of the late 1970s were unique in that they were established by groups and foundations that were disconnected from the professional associations. For example, the Pritzker Prize was founded by architectural enthusiasts Jay and Cindy Pritzker, who believed that it would enhance the public's awareness of architecture ('The Pritzker Architecture Prize' 2013). The prize is widely recognised as one of the most significant architecture awards, internationally (see Figure 28 and Figure 29).[46]

1979	Philip Johnson	1997	Sverre Fehn
1980	Luis Barragán	1998	Renzo Piano
1981	Sir James Stirling	1999	Norman Foster
1982	Kevin Roche	2000	Rem Koolhaas
1983	Ieoh Ming Pei	2001	Herzog & de Meuron
1984	Richard Meir	2002	Glenn Murcutt
1985	Hans Hollein	2003	Jørn Utzon
1986	Gottfried Böhm	2004	Zaha Hadid
1987	Kenzo Tange	2005	Thom Mayne
1988	Gordon Bunshaft	2006	Paulo Mendes da Rocha
1988	Oscar Niemeyer	2007	Lord Richard Rogers
1989	Frank Gehry	2008	Jean Nouvel
1990	Aldo Rossi	2009	Peter Zumthor
1991	Robert Venturi	2010	Kazuyo Sejima
1992	Álvaro Siza Vieira	2010	Ryue Nishizawa
1993	Fumihiko Maki	2011	Eduardo Souto de Moura
1994	Christian de Portzamparc	2012	Wang Shu
1995	Tadao Ando	2013	Toyo Ito
1996	Rafael Moneo		

Figure 28 – Pritzker Prize Laureates to date (as at 2014) (data sourced from <http://www.pritzkerprize.com>).

[46] Gutman cites other significant cultural events as including: 'the establishment of national and international study centers on architecture, the growth in enrolment by non-professional students in undergraduate courses in architecture and architectural history and the continuing swarm of applications to schools of architecture' (1988, p. 93).

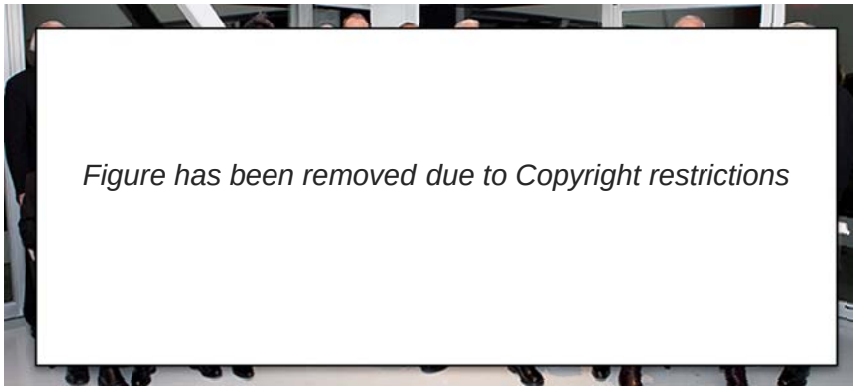

Figure 29 –Pritzker Prize laureates, jurors and founders: Front row, left to right: Carlos Jimenez*, Lord Palumbo, Ryue Nishizawa, Cindy Pritzker***, Kazuyo Sejima, Frank Gehry, Christian de Portzamparc, Glenn Murcutt. Back row, left to right: Juhani Pallasmaa*, Karen Stein*, Rolf Fehlbaum*, Jorge Silvetti* Hans Hollein, Alejandro Aravena*, Richard Meier, Thom Mayne, Cesar Pelli*, Rafael Moneo (behind-Jan Utzon, representing Jorn Utzon) Richard Rogers, Jean Nouvel, Kevin Roche, Renzo Piano, Martha Thorne**, Bill Lacy**. (Photo taken in 2010) *Juror **Executive Director ***Founder (image sourced from < http://www. pritzkerprize.com/about/purpose>)

During the 1980s the public also had unprecedented access to architect-designed products. Twombly suggests that these these 'archifacts' served as the 'mass-marketing agent of Post-Modernism': furniture designed by Robert Venturi and Richard Meier for Knoll International as well as jewellery designed by such architects as Meier, Venturi, Stanley Tigerman, Cesar Pelli and Michael Graves, commissioned by collector for Cleto Munari of Vicenza, Italy (Brown 1987). The collection was published in a book titled 'Jewelry by architects' (Radice 1988). There was also a cookie tin designed by Graves, along with birdhouses and tea sets and birdhouses by these architects, as well as luminescent fish lamps designed by Frank Gehry. Likewise, McLeod recounts the abundance of books and labels, architecture drawings in the art market, design awards and gimmicks such as architect-designed doghouses (1989, p. 38). As the concept of commodity grew around them, the architects of the post-war period were conscious that their work was, too, an object to be bought and sold with a value that related to the economic market.

Through these cultural programs and mass-produced products, architecture achieved an unprecedented level of popularity and marketability, publicity and promotion. Architecture became a subject about which the masses came to 'hold opinions' (Gutman 1988, p. 94). It was the 'new "star" of global culture' (Rothenberg 2000, p. 1). Crowds

flocked to architectural exhibitions and architects' drawings became a collector's item. Bookshop departments began to stock expensive monographs, while private galleries and shops appeared that were devoted solely to architectural bric-a-brac. *Architectural Digest* came to feature regularly on coffee tables (Twombly 1995, p. 115).

This public fervour was fuelled by another external cultural force that acted upon the autonomy of the field of architecture: the media's growing attention to architecture. As the interrelationship between the fields of architecture and media grew stronger, the subject of architecture featured regularly in columns in metropolitan dailies and feature stories in weekly glossy magazines. Rizzoli publications became omnipresent and, by the late 1980s, thirty newspapers in the US included journalists and critics who wrote regular articles on the topic of architecture (Gutman 1988, p. 94).[47] According to Twombly these avenues 'all promoted the profession and its "stars"' (1995, p. 115). It became the responsibility of agents within the field of architecture to adapt this influence, and establish their own 'rules': establish promotion as a value that would be of use to them.

Media interest also encompassed major television programs dedicated to architecture and architectural personalities. For example, in January 1981 The National Endowment for the Arts conferred a grant[48] on Washington's Public Broadcasting Service station, WETA-TV, for a series of programs dedicated to architecture and design. In 1986 the popular eight-part television series sponsored by Mobil Oil about American buildings 'Pride of place: Building the American dream', written and hosted by Stern, was aired. The series was aggressively promoted, including a two-page spread in *The New York Times*, typically reserved for Broadway shows or extravagant Hollywood movies, and an extravagant first screening at the State Department in Washington. The series journeys across over one hundred locations, and was not entirely objective, each site narrated through the Post-Modern eyes of Stern (Kimball 1986). The Modern movement in architecture was criticised and the challenges of contemporary practice were analysed. Each episode incorporated scripted discussions with fellow architects

[47] Gutman states the source of this statistic being the press office at the AIA.
[48] The US$700,000 grant was the largest endowment award ever contributed towards arts programming on television, and was matched with $1.4 million by WETA, bringing the project's budget to $2.1 million.

such as Johnson and Eisenman, architectural historians such as Scully, and architectural writers such as Jencks and Goldberger. They all reinforce Stern's personal view, and also add human interest, sharing stories from their own lives. The series was described by critics as 'romanticised' and 'dramatised'; 'spectacle' architecture (Kimball 1986). A like-titled book was published to accompany the series.

'Pride of place' was followed by the 1987 series 'America by design' consisting of five one-hour shows on the subject of the American landscape. That year Goldberger would say 'at this rate, architecture may replace Monday night football on television' (1987a, p. 1). He reinforced that the rapid televising of architecture and architects made clear that the public 'no longer considers architecture an irrelevant or academic discipline, but a subject of wide appeal' (1987a, p. 1).

This unprecedented level of media exposure appears to have had a direct impact on the public's perception of their significance. According to architect Marco Zanini, architecture went through profound changes not only in the way it was 'free flowing around the world mixing culture and ideas' but also in the way it was 'perceived, discussed, published' (1996, p. 13). Whilst the profession had sustained criticism during the waning years of Modernism, over the course of the 1970s and 1980s architects came to be viewed as 'near the top of the prestige list of all occupations' according to University of Chicago and *Money Magazine* studies. Cramer claims that these years corresponded with the public seeing architects as 'innovators, problem solvers, and among the most fascinating professionals in the world' (1994, p. 80). Likewise, McLeod claimed that the image of the architect shifted from 'social crusader and aesthetic puritan to trendsetter and media star' (1989, p. 38).

In summary, the growing focus on architecture during the 1970s and 1980s in the US provided the context within which architecture and architectural personalities came to infiltrate mainstream culture, aided by the media. In the words of American sociologist Joshua Gamson, the media allowed 'more editorial space for those aspiring to fame…and for celebrities from untapped fields' (1992, p. 9). Architecture was one of those fields.

4.7 Chapter summary

Celebrity architects evolved from a complex web of professional and cultural changes in the US over the course of the twentieth century. The professionalization of architects established a position of respect and responsibility. The post-World War II period saw a decline in institutional power for the profession and a loosening of codes of practice and conduct. This enabled architects to actively engage in promotional activities.

As has been established in the Framework of Understanding (Chapter 1), celebrity centres on distinction and individuality and is therefore at odds with the notions of allegiance and unity that were the initial foundations of professionalism. The process of becoming a celebrity involves stepping beyond the generality of professional boundaries and establishing an identity that is unique. As architects moved away from a collective identity sustained within the inner sanctum of the institutions towards a more liberated mode of professional practice, the opportunity opened up for media attention. Architects were drawn into popular discourse and published to a broader audience, gaining wider public recognition. The admiration and esteem previously bestowed on a group instead came to be focused on a small number of architects that were singled out for both their character and their professional merit.

CHAPTER 5 – Case study setup

The hypothesis of this investigation is tested using a historical case study methodology, which is a common methodology for research in architectural historiography (Johansson 2003). In this case study, Bourdieu's theories regarding legitimisation are explored in the architectural field through the career of "starchitect" Michael Graves. The theories of Stevens, Blau, Williamson, Cuff and van Schaik are also tested in regards to the professional practice of Graves. As in Stevens's studies, which are based on the theories of Bourdieu, this thesis seeks to produce statistical evidence to back up sociological claims. The case study attempts to identify a causal correlation between coverage in the mainstream media and legitimisation by Graves's professional peers. The idea of causality 'entails an effect following on from (that is, succeeding) an independent variable that precedes it' (Bryman 2012, p. 74). A triangulation is established through exploration of the professional media and mainstream media, which converge to demonstrate the causal relationship.

5.1 Approach

A case study serves as the method by which the hypothesis is tested. This method is recommended by many theorists such as Howard Gruber and Sara Davis (1988), who recommended case studies for 'exploring the patterns in which knowledge, purpose, and affect are organised in creative work that takes place in a 'real life' context' (p. 243). They believe that individual case studies 'allow for a description and explanation of unique patterns in approach and experience; they consider a larger number of issues together and reflect on the dynamic interactions of a person as a whole in a meaningful context' (p. 243). Given the many factors being taken into consideration for this study – both social and professional – a case study was considered the most appropriate method for exploring celebrity for architects and its role in the process of legitimisation. The case study is also recognised as an important methodology in historical architectural research (Johansson 2003, p. 1).

The case study follows the career trajectory of an architect to establish a correlation between public recognition and professional recognition. The quantity and quality of publicity received –in both the professional and public media – in relation to architectural works produced was recorded and critiqued, and the findings led to

conclusions about the impact of this exposure on the architect gaining professional recognition. The case study sought to clarify whether the alternative *celebrity-related process of legitimisation* was adopted in conjunction with the *traditional process*, or in lieu of it, and whether celebrity served to fast-track the *traditional process*, or replace it.

Selecting a case study involved identifying an architect whose career trajectory was 'typical' or 'representative' (Yin 2009, p. 48) of the *celebrity-related process of legitimisation* (as discussed in Chapter 3). In accordance with the scope of the investigation, the career of Michael Graves was chosen for analysis because he practised in the US – the birthplace of celebrity culture – and his career peaked during the "starchitect" boom of the 1970s and 1980s. Many theorists and journalists have acknowledged Graves's celebrity; Paul Goldberger has referred to Graves as 'an epoch-making figure' (1982a) and a 'cult figure' (1990b). In 1983 Jencks claimed Graves was the 'most influential' practitioner of Post-Modernism. As a symbol of Graves's rise to public prominence, in 1997 he was named *GQ* Man of the Year. In 2010 he featured in the Architectural Digest AD100, an edition dedicated to 'celebrated' talents in architecture (The new AD100 2010).

What makes Graves a suitable "starchitect" for the case study is that at the time of reaching celebrity status he was not yet consecrated by the profession. In fact, as will be demonstrated, his work and ideas were called into question by the profession at the very time that he received the most attention from the mainstream media. He had adopted a radical new ideology and the 'establishment' was all but ignoring him. Even so, Graves's career was, of course, not the only candidate for this investigation. Other American architects were practising at the same time as Graves, and some received an even higher level of media attention. Philip Johnson, for example, achieved an almost equal presence in the mainstream media as Graves during the early 1980s with the unveiling of his plan for the AT&T building. However, Johnson had already achieved a high public profile earlier in his career during his Modernist phase, and was arguably already legitimised by his peers before the "starchitect boom". Charles Moore and Robert Venturi were other potential candidates, yet they did not achieve the same public recognition as Graves. According to Goldberger, Graves was a true 'household name' at the peak of his career (1996, p. 38).

It is impossible to analyse the career of Michael Graves without referencing Post-Modernism. The controversy of Post-Modernism is entwined with the history of the media's increased interest in architects. Journalists such as Goldberger have described Graves as a 'Post-Modernist superstar' (1990b, p. 37). Graves contributed substantially to the formation of this once-controversial movement and is widely recognised as one of its first proponents. Most notably, Graves produced The Portland Building, Oregon. One of the early authorities on Post-Modern architecture, Jencks (1983) considers it to be one of the first and most enduring symbols of Post-Modernism. Graves was certainly not the first architectural Post-Modernist of the 1970s and 1980s. Robert Venturi is largely afforded that title. Graves was, however, *among* the first to actively engage with the media early in his career development and attain celebrity, and subsequently become legitimised by the profession.

It could have been possible to conduct a multiple-case approach, and produce a comparative study, however this method was not chosen. While some theorists, such as Bryman (2012) believe that multiple cases further confirm the findings of one case and better determine the extent to which a theory holds, others argue that a single case permits a richer understanding of the complexity and particularity of the case (Dyer and Wilkins 1991; Johnasson 2003; Bryman 2012). Dyer and Wilkins argue that multiple-case studies result in less attention being paid by the researcher to the specific context of each case; the primary focus becomes the means by which the cases may be contrasted, often bypassing more important findings. In this investigation understanding the architect's professional trajectory is crucial; a lack of context would lead to a narrower understanding of celebrity and its role in legitimisation. Dyer and Wilkins also believe that a single case study strategy permits in-depth analysis, provides abundant information and has a better narrative (1991, p. 613). The depth with which the career of Graves has been analysed would not have been possible if time and resources were spread among analyses of other architects. There exists the opportunity for further research in the future to develop other cases.

5.2 Methodology

This case study tests three primary theories; first, that the media communicated a high level of perceived significance for Graves; second, that he was consecrated by the profession; and third, that a relationship exists between those two processes. Three main research questions determine the relationship between the *traditional* and *celebrity-related process of legitimisation* in the career of Graves:

> How did the media's representation of Graves change throughout his career?
>
> What is the relationship between the professional and mainstream media coverage of Graves?
>
> What is the relationship between the *traditional* and *celebrity-related process of legitimisation* in the career of Michael Graves?

To holistically investigate a particular set of circumstances – in this case, the celebrity of Michael Graves – research methods scholars Groat and Wang recommend using a variety of data collection and analysis tactics (2002, p. 18). Hence, this case study adopts a mixed methods approach, incorporating both qualitative and quantitative strategies. This is an increasingly common approach, as gaps left by one method can be filled by the other (Bryman 2012, p. 68), with the quantitative component enhancing the qualitative component and so increasing the integrity of the findings (p. 637). As in Micheli's study on "starchitects", this analysis was conducted in a 'systematic way through the careful accumulation of data' (2011, p. 2).

The methods for the qualitative and quantitative strategies differ considerably, yet both rely on the analysis of press coverage throughout the career of Graves to identify both the *traditional* and *celebrity-related process of legitimisation*. The qualitative component focuses on actions and events, enabling the identification of legitimisation milestones. It provides a biographical overview, interpreted and presented chronologically. The quantitative component focuses on perceived meaning, communicated through the media, exploring the way in which Graves's significance was conveyed to the readership. It provides statistical analysis that complements and supports the qualitative findings.

The first step in data collection for the case study was to compile publications about Graves. This publication data were derived primarily from a subject search for the architect's full name in the Avery Index to Architectural Periodicals.[49] The first recorded publication for Graves was 1966, and the search was limited to publications up until 1990 (in accordance with the chronological "starchitect boom" parameters of the research, as defined above). The Avery Index provides limited access to non-discipline specific mainstream publications (such as newspapers and current affairs magazines). Hence, a subject search for Graves's name, from 1966 to 1990, was conducted for the historical databases of *The New York Times*, *Time* and *Newsweek*.[50] These publications were chosen because they took an active interest in "starchitects" of the 1980s (Jencks 1983), and so are considered a suitable representation of Graves's mainstream coverage. They are also among the highest-circulated mainstream publications in the US, and as such are considered to have contributed the most to influencing the public perception of Graves. In addition, the bibliographies of the books and monographs about Graves were analysed to identify articles not captured by the previous search methods. Combined with the Avery publications, the entire search produced a publication sample of 574 articles, both professional and mainstream.

The second step in data collection for the case study was to compile biographical data about Graves and his career. The primary source of this data was books, biographies and monographs written by and about Graves.[51] This enabled the identification of the major professional legitimisation milestones in his career. The biographic data collection also provided detailed information on the key projects produced by Graves.

Analysing the publication data involved both qualitative and quantitative investigation of the professional and mainstream media coverage of Graves. Content analysis was

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[49] Accessed over the years 2009-2012, and updated in 2013. Avery provides articles from most major international professional journals; publications aimed at a purely professional readership. In addition, Avery includes some mainstream sources: those journals whose thematic focus is architecture, but whose readership includes the general public, such as *House & Garden* and *Architectural Digest*.

[50] All news items were candidates for collection; feature articles and letters to the editor were included.

[51] These sources included: Jencks, Charles. *Kings of infinite space: Frank Lloyd Wright & Michael Graves*. London: Academy Editions and Architectural Design, 1983; Dobney, Stephen, ed. *Michael Graves: Selected and current works*. Victoria, Australia: The Images Publishing Group, 1999; Nichols, Karen Vogel, Patrick J. Burke, and Caroline Hancock, eds. *Michael Graves: Buildings and Projects 1982-1989*. New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 1990; Wheeler, Karen Vogel, Peter Arnell, and Ted Bickford, eds. *Michael Graves: Buildings and projects 1966-1981*. New York: Rizzoli International, 1983.

chosen as the best method to answer the research questions because it is a technique developed specifically for the interpretation of documents and text, and is frequently associated with analysing mainstream media outputs (Bryman 2012, p. 304). Indeed, content analysis has played an important role in developing an understanding of the 'social construction of events and meanings' in the media (Bryman 2012, p. 618).

The content analysis in the case study sought to capture both the 'latent' and the 'manifest' meanings within the sample articles about Graves (Berelson 1952, p. 18). Manifest meaning is that which is superficially evident, such as the project being discussed, the length of the article and its time of publication. This form of analysis enabled the broadest perspective on the quantity, frequency and volume of publication over the career of Graves. The analysis of manifest meaning involved coding the articles according to predetermined categories, or dimensions (Bryman 2012, p. 290). All articles were tabulated into a spreadsheet, an example of which is shown in Appendix 1.[52] A Coding Manual was developed to explain the dimensions to be coded and the coding options. Often this is not necessary when the content analysis is conducted by just one person, the researcher, as it was in this thesis, yet the manual was developed in any case for clarity. This Coding Manual is provided in Appendix 2.

Latent messages 'lie beneath the surface' and understanding their meaning is largely interpretive (Bryman 2012, p. 290). Latent analysis of the publications involved identifying messages associated with legitimisation and "celebrification"; that is, whether the author is communicating Graves as 'significant', and thereby "celebrifying" him. This analysis was based on the framework established in Section 3.2 of Chapter 3, which articulates the media's techniques for attracting the attention of the public and making an architect well known.

It is common to question how generalisations may be made from a single case study; however, as stated by Bryman, 'it is not the purpose of this research design [case study] to generalize to other cases or to populations beyond the case' (2012, p. 71). Rather, the purpose is to reveal the unique aspects of the case and generate statements that apply in

[52] Professional publications included academic and industry literature read by architects, with a high level of assumed knowledge of architecture, while mainstream publications were popular literature read by the general public, with little to no level of assumed knowledge of architecture.

respect of time and place. Johansson suggested that the main way in which the findings of a single case study may be generalised is through 'the testing of hypothesis (theory) within a case, and, as a result, the definition of the domain within which the theory is valid' (2003, p. 5). The theory being tested in this study is the media's manufacture of a "starchitect", and the subsequent dissemination of a broad perceived significance (in the eyes of the public) resulting in the attainment of a position of consecration amongst their professional peers. The domain within which the *celebrity-related process of legitimisation* applies to the field of architecture is not profession wide. The case represents an extreme sample of the alternative process adopted by the prominent group of professionals known as "starchitects". Whilst media engagement plays a role at all levels of contemporary architectural practice, and the *celebrity-related process of legitimisation* may occur to a lesser extent for those with a lower media profile, such generalisations are considered too broad to be argued in this investigation. The extent to which the *celebrity-related process of legitimisation* occurs beyond the 1980s, and beyond the "starchitect" circle, is discussed in Chapter 7.

5.3 Structure

The case study is structured according to six distinct phases that have been identified in the career of Graves: 1962–1973, a traditional beginning; 1974–1977, a period of transition; 1978–1979, growing public prominence; 1980–1982, the heights of media attention; 1982–1985, celebrity boom; 1986–1990, popularising Post-Modernism.

In the process of examining those phases of Graves's career, particular emphasis is given to documenting the *traditional* and *celebrity-related process of legitimisation*. The former encompasses publication in professional journals, books, exhibition catalogues and monographs; being exhibited in curated exhibitions and winning awards; and competitions and involvement in professional institutions and organisations. The latter includes references to an architect's personality or private life (*humanisation*); photographs and physical descriptions which enable a reader to visualise an architect (*visualisation*); the use of superlatives, peer association, references to controversy, achievement and currency (*grandiosation*); the appearance of an architect in

advertisements for popular products (*endorsement*); and articles dedicated to a single architect, including front cover appearances (*personal profiling*).[53]

The quantitative component of the case study involves charting various trends in the career of Graves, in alignment with the phases identified. These trends include the quantity per year of professional publications, mainstream publications, awards, exhibitions, commissions and built work.[54] These trends are charted and provided in section 5.8 at the end of this chapter. These charts extend and support the literary analysis. The results have guided the overview of Graves's career, and aided in the analysis of his peaks and declines in public and professional recognition. They provide a continual source of reference for this discussion.[55]

Research methods scholar Alan Bryman wrote that 'sometimes, the decision about dates is more or less dictated by the occurrence of a phenomenon' (2012, p. 293). Hence, the case study does not present the entire career of Graves. He is still practising at the time this thesis is being written. Rather, the study focuses on the specific period during which Graves's media profile translated into professional significance: the 1970s and 1980s. A short introduction to Graves's early professional practice during the 1960s is included to provide context for his later legitimisation and "celebrification".

Whilst Graves has, of course, produced many architectural works throughout his career, the case study focuses primarily on the works that received the most media focus, and hence contributed most prominently to the *celebrity-related process of legitimisation.* Prioritisation was applied by tallying the number of publications of each project, from all media sources. Five projects were chosen for analysis: the Sunar Showrooms, the Portland Building, the Humana Building, the Whitney Museum of American Art redevelopment and the Dolphin Resort and Swan Resorts at Walt Disney World. [56] The

[53] Refer to Section 3.2 for a detailed explanation of each celebrity-related technique.

[54] Other trends that were analysed and charted, per year, to provide a more detailed understanding of the media's focus on Graves are: the average number of pages per article, articles that were project-specific or career achievement, profiles written about Graves, interviews published with Graves, books published about Graves, the instance of the word 'Graves' appearing in the title of the article, articles written by Graves and articles appearing in international publications. Refer to Section 1.10, p. 49, for further details on the trends that were coded.

[55] For a complete index, see List of Charts.

[56] The volume of publication for each of these projects is, in order: Whitney Museum of American Art, New York (1985–1988) – forty-five publications; Humana Building, Louisville, Kentucky (1982–1985)

buildings are discussed only in regard to their media attention. The case study does not include detailed physical descriptions of each architectural work; rather, it focuses on the analysis of the press coverage of Graves surrounding these prominent projects.

– twenty-eight publications; The Portland Building, Portland, Oregon (1980–1982) – twenty-seven publications; Dolphin Resort and Swan Resort, Walt Disney World, Orlando, Florida (1987–1990) – twenty-seven publications; 11 Furniture Showrooms and Offices for Sunar, Hauserman, United States and London, United Kingdom (1980–1986) – twenty-three publications.

CHAPTER 6 – Case study: Michael Graves

The primary focus of this chapter is to track the legitimisation and "celebrification" of American architect Michael Graves from the first year of his practice (1966) to the last year of his celebrity boom (1990). As will be demonstrated, journalists and theorists agree on two major points regarding Michael Graves. First, he is viewed as one of American architecture's first and most recognisable celebrity figures. He attained the pinnacle of public admiration and professional consecration amongst his fellow actors in the social space of architecture. During the peak of his stardom – in the first half of the 1980s – he and his work drew widespread coverage in the mainstream media and gathered much public support. He participated actively in the interrelationship between the architectural and media fields, and applied the symbolic capital endowed by the press to improve his standing amongst the gatekeepers of his field: professional peers. Second, his architecture was highly criticised by his peers, both during the early years of Post-Modernism and even more so once the movement achieved commercial prominence. He participated in the power struggles that dominate fields of cultural production, and in doing so raised his position within the field of architecture. Yet, despite such criticism, he came to be legitimised by his peers and his work is regarded as significant in the history of American architecture. He broke the barriers to professional consecration and attained enough symbolic power to be considered one of architecture's elite.

How did an architect who was so professionally unpopular during the peak of his practice subsequently achieve acclaim within the same circles? This case study reinterprets the celebrity of Graves, offering an explanation for this apparent contradiction. The case study argues that Graves was an architect striving for recognition by his peers, but rather than taking a purely traditional route he also actively sought celebrity as a means to legitimisation.

6.1 The anonymous Late-Modernist

Michael Graves was born on 9 July 1934 in Indianapolis, Indiana. He began his tertiary studies in architecture at the University of Cincinnati, where he was awarded a Bachelor of Science in Architecture in 1958. Graves then completed a Master's degree in Architecture from Harvard University in 1959.

The early years of Graves's career suggest that he pursued a traditional approach to his career trajectory. In 1962 he took up an academic post at Princeton University, indicating a commitment to his field through research and teaching. Graves then formed his practice, Graves and Associates, in 1964, and the architectural approach adopted by Graves was very much aligned with the dominant ideology, Modernism. This is not surprising given his early educational experiences. During Graves's study at the University of Cincinnati, for example, he participated in a program that enabled him to work at Carl A Strauss and Associates. Strauss was a pioneer of the Modern Movement in the Cincinnati local region and Graves has acknowledged his influence. Graves also met an early mentor during this time, Ray Rousch, who was 'at the forefront of the Modernist architecture movement in Cincinnati' (Billman 2002, p. 1). Furthermore, at Harvard University Graves had been schooled in the architectural language of Le Corbusier. In the words of Jencks, Graves's early work represented 'one ingenious intellectual exercise in Corbusian aesthetics after another' (1983, p. 63). This pursuit of the purism of the Modernist style through the readaptation of the Corbusian aesthetic came to be known as Late-Modernism (a term coined by Jencks).

During the early phase of his career Graves produced a small body of work[57] (refer Chart 7). Most were residential projects in this Late-Modernist style. A prime example is the Hanselmann House, Fort Wayne, Indiana (1967–1971), which is considered to be Graves's first architectural commission (see Figure 30). The house incorporated Late-Modern elements such as columns and offset squares.

As expected, during this early phase of his career, Graves won few awards[58] (refer Chart 4) and had limited media presence[59] (refer Chart 3). Due to the residential nature of his work, many of Graves's first media appearances were in mainstream publications such as *House & Garden*.[60] His presence in the professional media during these early years

[57] During the years 1966 to 1973, Graves received between one and two commissions per year, reaching three commissions only in 1972. The first thirty per cent of his career saw Graves receive only twelve commissions, equating to just ten per cent of his overall career output.

[58] He averaged between one and three projects per year. In the first decade of his practice, he received a total of twelve awards. That equates to only fourteen precent being won in the first thirty per cent of his career.

[59] He featured in no more than two articles per year.

[60] Articles included 'Exciting Face-Lifts for 3 Houses' and 'An architect designed a dream house for a family who built it themselves,' both published in 1971.

was largely restricted to intellectual, theoretical issues. For example, an article titled 'On reading architecture: Eisenman and Graves: an analysis' published in *Progressive Architecture* (Gandelsonas 1972) includes analysis of communication and signification in the architecture of Graves.

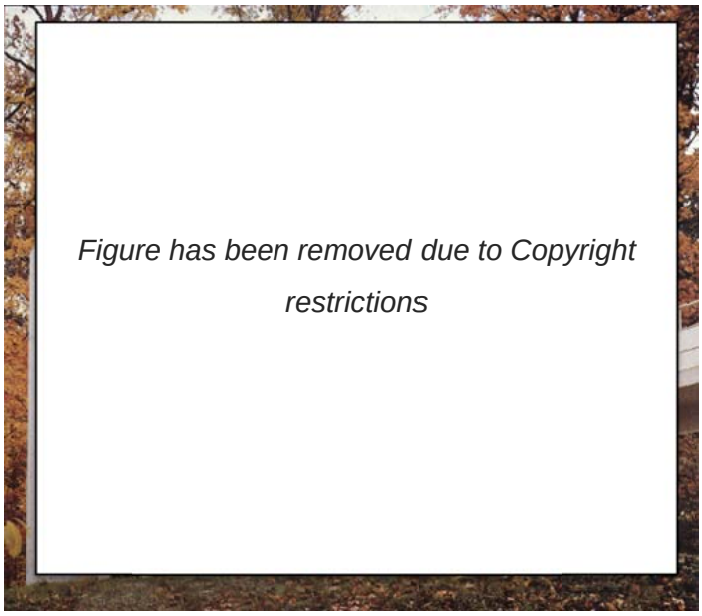

Figure 30 - Graves's Hanselmann House, Fort Wayne, Indiana (1967-1971) (image sourced from the website Michael Graves & Associates, <http://www.michaelgraves.com/architecture/project/hanselmann-house.html>, image retrieved 17 March 2013).

During these early years, however, Graves did participate in a number of exhibitions (refer Chart 06). In 1966 he was included in '40 Under 40' held by The Architectural League of New York at The American Federation of the Arts. This exhibition occurs roughly once per decade[61] and involves several dozen young Americans being 'declared the best and the brightest of their generation' (Andersen 1986, p. 94). It was Graves's first opportunity to showcase himself to his peers; a review of the exhibition produced Graves's first publication, an article called 'The Jersey Corridor Project' (Stern 1966). This exhibition was a first small step for Graves in achieving professional recognition. Architecture critic Anderson would later comment that being named in '40 Under 40' does not, of course, guarantee a successful career, yet an extraordinary number of the

[61] The previous was held in 1941. The next two '40 Under 40' exhibitions would be in 1976 and 1986.

most celebrated architects of the celebrity-boom period were '40 under 40' alumni from 1966, including, of course, Graves (Andersen 1986, p. 94).

Graves's next opportunity to exhibit came in 1969, when he produced a masterplan for the Newark Museum that was invited for inclusion in an exhibition at the prestigious MoMA, organised by Arthur Drexler, called 'The New York Five'.[62] Graves's scheme was displayed alongside that of Peter Eisenman, Charles Gwathmey, John Hejduk and Richard Meier. The architects were chosen for the similarity of their work at the time, which strongly referenced Le Corbusier's forms and theories. The exhibition was controversial, and its intent was to spark critical review of the five architects and their work (Watson 2005). This opportunity presented a major steppingstone in Graves's path to raise his professional profile; exhibiting at MoMA has long been recognised as a key avenue for architects to raise their professional profile.[63] Although this exhibition was significant for Graves at the time, it would not be until several years later, as will be discussed, that the potential of 'The New York Five' to raise the profile of Graves became apparent.

Despite his growing professional presence through these two exhibitions, Graves became frustrated by the types of commissions that he was receiving. Jencks notes that Graves was 'trying to make it to the top' yet was still locked into small residential commissions (1983, p. 67) and remained little known beyond his 'circle of academics' (Goldberger 1996, p. 38). In an interview with Jencks several years later, Graves expressed his frustration at this slow progress: 'the kind of projects I had in those days were tiny: I was called the "Cubist Kitchen King" and to do a kitchen or renovation you don't make any money. You get paid a pittance and hope you will get larger projects; instead you get more kitchens. And you know, kitchens beget kitchens' (1983, p. 66). It became clear that a major shift in approach would be needed to 'get out of the kitchen', as Graves phrased it. He recognised that 'it's a Catch 22: only big buildings beget big buildings. Somehow you've got to have luck, or whatever it is to get you over the hill' (Jencks 1983, p. 66).

[62] Refer to Section 4.4 for more information on 'The New York Five' exhibition.
[63] Refer to p. 58 for further detail on the significance of MoMA exhibitions in the process of legitimisation for architects.

For Graves, the 'whatever it is' came in the form of the book *Five architects* (Eisenman et al, 1972), to which he contributed.[64] Although the book received some professional recognition, it was not until the 'White'/'Gray' debate ignited by 'Five on five'[65] that Graves and his co-exhibitors gained greater professional exposure. It is critical to note here that Graves openly admits that it was the 'Five' who in fact requested the opposing discourse (Graves 1980b, p. 7). In an interview for the journal *Transition*, Graves recalled that the *Forum* editorial team invited architects with opposing ideologies to debate the book. According to Graves, he was alert to the fact that 'Five on five' represented an opportunity to gain increased exposure for their work. It is notable that of the 'Five' only Eisenman and Meier wrote their own texts. Graves's section was written by William La Riche, a fellow lecturer at Princeton, and it was suggested that this technique was employed to 'build him up' (Stern et al. 1973, p. 51).

The critiques in 'Five on five' that related specifically to Graves began with 'Stompin' at the Savoye' (1973, p. 46), written by Stern. Stern states that Graves relied heavily and comfortably on cubism, and that this reference could be 'unintentionally ironic' at times, suggesting that Graves's interpretations were not controlled or accurate. He argues that Graves did not give enough consideration to context and that his style was at times 'clumsy'. Meanwhile, Giurgola, in his text 'The discreet charm of the bourgeoisie' (1973) suggests that the forms of Graves's architecture 'subscribe too much to a formal vocabulary' and in 'Similar states of undress' (1973, p. 54) by Moore, Graves is referred to as one of the 'Cardboard Corbu' people.

Robertson, in her essay 'Machines in the garde' (1973, p. 51), suggests that Graves's architecture was 'divorced from day-to-day life'. Robertson refers to his house designs as 'architecture as object', lacking in context and void of connection to 'any real order'. Graves's architecture, according to Robertson, could be described as 'inordinately fussy' and his house renovations unsympathetic to the original structures as a result of attempting to 'announce himself'.

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[64] The book was first published in 1972 and stemmed from the 'New York Five' exhibition at MoMA. Refer to Section 4.4 for more information on the book *Five Architects*.

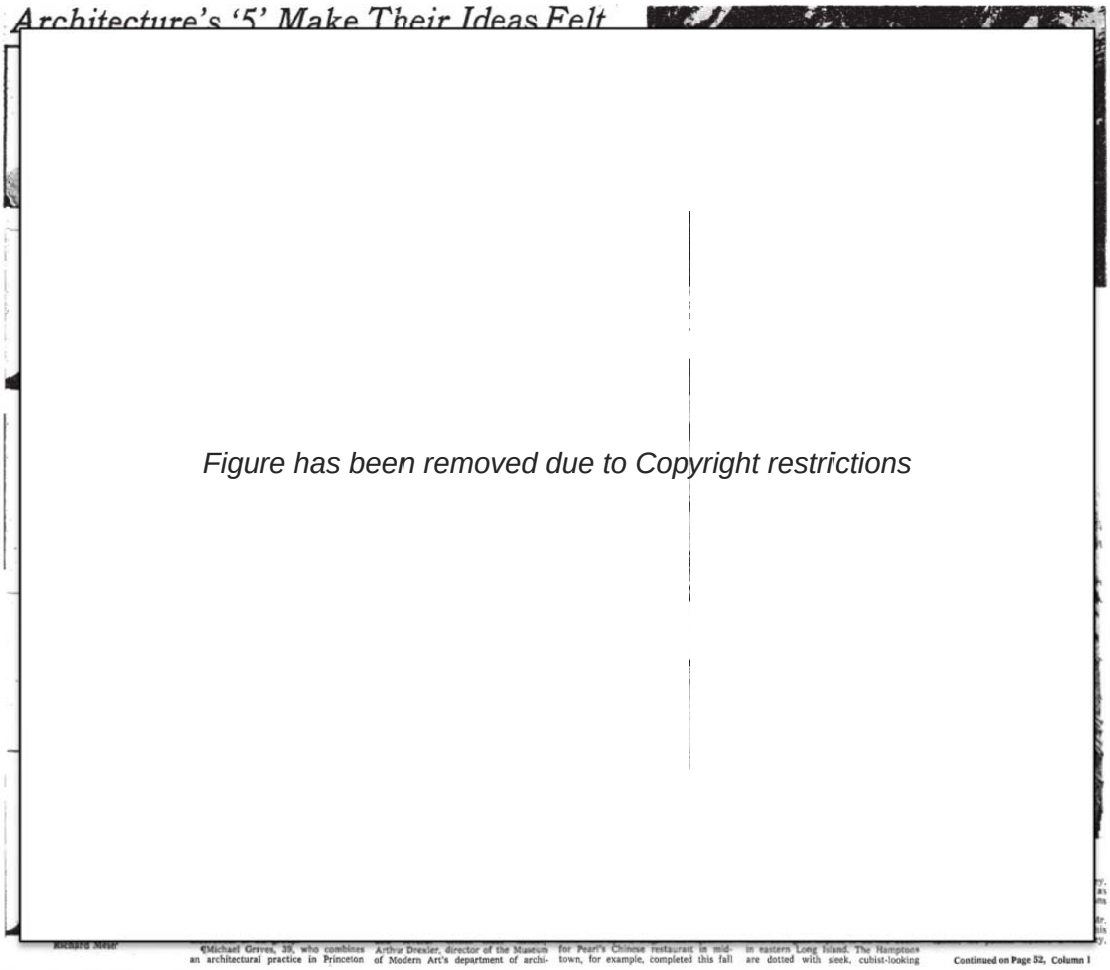
[65] This collection of essays, published in *Architectural Forum* in 1973, was written by the architects Romaldo Giurgola, Allan Greenberg, Charles Moore, Jaquelin T Robertson and Robert AM Stern. They came to be referred to as the 'Grays', while the 'Five' were referred to as the 'Whites'. Refer to Section 4.4 for further information on the 'White'/'Gray' debate.

The perceived significance of Graves and his co-authors increased in the wake of the publicity received for *Five architects*. Charles Moore suggests that they were a 'potent' force whose enthusiastic ideas had begun to strongly influence architecture schools, albeit benignly, and he refers to them rather condescendingly as the biggest news in the shelter magazines[66] since Shibui' (1973, p. 53). The extent to which the ideological debate dominated the architectural press is evident in an analysis of the average length of articles published about Graves, which peaked during the mid-1970s (refer Chart 14). There was also a peak in international architectural publications featuring Graves during this period (refer Chart 20). The number of architecture books featuring Graves also rose (refer Chart 17). It is interesting to note that Graves's growing prominence in the professional press bore little correlation to his productivity as an architect; in the year of the 'Gray'/'White' debate, growth in the media's focus on Graves over took the number of projects he completed (refer Chart 9).

The 'Gray'/'White' debate even extended into the mainstream media, if only briefly. The article 'Architecture's '5' make their ideas felt', written by Goldberger, appeared in 1973 in *The New York Times*, one of the most widely distributed publications at the time (see Figure 31). This is one of the first instances of Graves being "celebrified". Goldberger, who grew to become one of Graves's greatest supporters in the mainstream media, alludes to the growing prominence and currency of the 'Five'; he states that Graves et al. were a central subject for talk within 'the New York architectural world today' (1973, p. 33). By referring to them as 'the Five', Goldberger infers a cult status on this small group, and activates the technique of "grandiosation". He also mentions that prominent architecture critics believed the 'Five' constituted 'a new New York school of architecture'. The article provides an ocular reference to the architects by including a photograph of each of the 'Five', thereby "visualising" them. Despite these initial hints of "celebrification", it would be several years before Graves achieved the full momentum of celebrity within the mainstream press.[67]

[66] The term 'shelter magazine' refers to periodicals that focus on architecture, interior design, home furnishings, and sometimes gardening.

[67] The increased mainstream media coverage of Graves also included interest in his earlier works from the 1960s (refer Chart 3, p. 193). For example, although the Hanselmann House was completed in 1968, the


Architecture's '5' Make Their Ideas Felt

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Michael Graves, 39, who combines an architectural practice in Princeton

Arthur Drexler, director of the Museum of Modern Art's department of archi-

for Pearl's Chinese restaurant in mid-town, for example, completel this fall

in eastern Long Island. The Hamptons are dotted with sleek, cubist-looking

Continued on Page 52, Column 1

Figure 31 - The 'Five' make an appearance in *The New York Times*, 26 November, 1973. Article by Paul Goldberger.

The effects of the publicity surrounding the 'Gray'/'White' debate is evident in Graves's increased rate of receiving awards during the mid-1970s (refer Chart 4). Despite the criticism drawn from the debate, Graves began to receive awards for his Late-Modernist works. For example, in 1973 Graves won a National AIA award for the Hanselmann House, completed in 1968.

In the meantime, Graves's traditional career path was on the rise. In the same year that *Five architects* was published Graves became the youngest full professor at Princeton (Jencks 1983, p. 66). Graves also continued to participate in exhibitions. Prominently, the 'Five' were invited to exhibit their work at the 'Triennale' in Milan in 1973 (Goldberger 1973, p. 33). Along with Robert Venturi, the 'Five' were the only

first article about it was written for *House & Garden* in 1973, titled 'An architect designed a dream house for a family who built it themselves.'

representatives of the US to appear at the 'Triennale', indicating their growing professional prominence during these years of debate. From 1973 to 1975, the exhibition 'The New York Five' was re-exhibited in various locations, even extending internationally.[68] At the same time Graves experienced a peak in his rate of exhibition; he appeared in five exhibitions in 1974 including 'Due Architetti: Michael Graves and Richard Meier', USIS Gallery, Milan, Italy (refer Chart 06). That year Graves also held his first solo exhibition, featuring the Hanselmann House, at the University of Texas, Austin, Texas. Another peak is evident in 1977, with a total of seven exhibitions including the group show 'Grafica 80 – Architettura' in Milan, Italy (Dobney 1999, p. 247).

In summary, the early years of Graves's career display evidence that he pursued the *traditional process of legitimisation* through involvement in the traditional means by which an architect achieves symbolic capital within their field: educational institutions (his professorship at Princeton University), exhibiting his work (most significantly 'The New York Five' at MoMA) and publication (the book *Five architects* (Eisenman et al, 1972)). In the professional media, his early exposure was principally limited to theoretical discussions, then proceeded to encompass the 'Gray'/'White' debate, which located him as a somewhat aggressive newcomer within a competitive field. Through this ideological clash Graves tested the power of the media as an alternative way to 'play the sport' and achieve professional recognition. He explored the potential to gain the recognition of the broader public as part of his pursuit of legitimate cultural profit. Professional articles such as 'Five on five' sparked controversy and increased Graves's profile within the architectural community. Although they did not comprehensively "celebrify" Graves – there are no instances of "humanisation", for example – they did succeed in conveying controversy, an aspect of "grandiosation" and a means by which an agent in a field may challenge the existing systems of valorisation. It was this controversy that led to Graves's first appearances in national newspapers such as *The New York Times*. The first instances of "visualisation" are present through photographs

[68] The first exhibition was shown at the School of Architecture and Urban planning, Princeton University, Princeton, New Jersey in 1974 and was titled 'Five architects.' In 1975 'Five architects' showed at Castel Nuovo, Naples, Italy; that was Graves's second Italian exhibition, having been included in the XV Triennale, Milan, 1973, yet 'Five architects' was vastly more significant in the career progress of Graves. In the same year, 'The New York Five' appeared at Art Net, London, England. It was at this exhibition that Graves made the acquaintance of Charles Jencks.

being published of Graves; visibility is considered by Bourdieu to be a quality that every professional seeks. In this early coverage, Graves is discussed only in the context of the Five; there is little coverage of him as an autonomous player within the field. During these early years Graves remained relatively unknown to the broader public, yet he laid the foundation for what would later become the basis for his "celebrification"; a transition towards Post-Modernism. It was this transition that truly established him as a key player in the internal struggles of the social space within which architecture was located.

6.2 A transition from Late-Modernism to Post-Modernism: garnering widespread professional attention

Although Graves had vehemently defended Late-Modernism during the 'Gray'/'White' debate, he was profoundly affected by the response of his opponents (Jencks 1983, p. 64). Despite the growing professional interest in his work, it sparked a period of reflection. Feeling that he had reached an impasse in his career, he realigned his ideology (Jencks 1983, p. 103). Graves had been heavily criticised for the abstract nature of his Late-Modern works, and he came come to realise that 'there are many things to say which abstraction just won't allow' (Graves 1988, p. 10). Graves described his shift in this way: 'Little by little, I drifted away from [Modernism]…I wasn't able to make humanistic architecture with the minimalism of a modern interior. I liked colour, and form, and objects' (Basulto 2010, p. 74). He began to consider the two years he spent in Rome,[69] between 1960 and 1962, in a new light. The experience had exposed Graves to classical architecture and art and he recalled that 'it was in Rome that I came to understand architecture as a fully flowered idea; it was there that I became aware of varied architectural intentions living together' (Graves 1988, p. 10).

Out of this came a new sense of alignment with the precepts of Post-Modernism. A variety of approaches were encompassed under this new ideological banner. Jencks classified them as Venturi and Stern's Commercial Classicism, Krier and Purini's Fundamentalist Classicism, and Moore and Gordon Smith's Baroque Classicism (1983,

[69] An opportunity offered after winning the Prix de Rome.

p. 69).[70] Yet Graves's approach was unique amongst his peers and came to be known as Post-Modern Classicism.[71] It focused specifically on the reinterpretation of the Italian Renaissance and was, according to Jencks, a 'cross between Classicism and Cubism' (1983, p. 80). During the mid- to late-1970s Graves experimented with this new language by way of creating a more accessible and communicative architecture; Graves refers to his own approach as 'Slang Classicism' (Jencks 1983, p. 94). He sought to produce buildings that 'read logically and naturally to the uninitiated' (Goldberger 1985b, p. 13). As a result Graves produced compositions that were boldly coloured and expressed his personal interpretation of Classicism. He introduced stylised ornamentation and contrasting materials. His approach was visually appealing and communicated a strong sense of time and context, as well as an understanding of daily life.[72]

The first architectural work to demonstrate his ideological shift was the Snyderman House, Fort Wayne, Indiana. This project was commissioned in 1972 and completed in 1977, spanning Graves's two stylistic phases. The house is considered to be Graves's most focused expression of Late-Modernism in terms of form, but also his first foray into Post-Modernism in terms of colour. This project established Graves's move from the whiteness of Modernism to the rich tones that would characterise his Post-Modern palette. Due to this apparent contradiction between form and colour, Filler referred to this project as 'an early Michael Graves building with a later Michael Graves building trapped inside it, fighting to emerge' (1980b, p. 99).

The late 1970s was a period of consolidation for Graves (Jencks 1983, p. 69). He produced various residential projects in rapid succession that served to refine and

[70] During this period Charles Moore produced his Piazza D'Italia (1976–1979); Ricardo Bofill produced Les Arcades du Lac (designed 1975, built 1977–1980); Philip Johnson produced his AT&T (1978); Arata Issozaki produced the Fujima Country Club (1973–1974); along with the works of Hans Hollein, Robert Stern and Robert Venturi (Jencks, 1983, p. 73).

[71] Whilst many of the above mentioned architects, primarily Venturi, claim that they started the Post-Modern Classicism movement, according to Jencks the credit goes to Graves for producing the hybrid style that merged traditional elements with Modern underpinnings. Graves's amalgamation of various influences is, according to Jencks, uniquely his own language.

[72] Refer to Section 4.5 for more detail on the ideology of Post-Modern Classicism.

synthesise his new approach.[73] Around this time Graves also produced a scheme for the Fargo-Moorhead Cultural Center Bridge, Fargo, North Dakota (see Figure 32). Although never built, this widely discussed design was highly influential in the architectural community because it distinctly expresses Graves's union of Modern and Classical languages (Jencks 1983, p. 70). The column capitals of the bridge were designed according to Modern concrete construction, and Cubist paintings were referenced through Graves's bold use of colour, in particular red, orange and blue. At the same time, the design incorporated Classical features such as a three-layer division of top, middle and base, and figurative elements such as keystones and vaults.

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Figure 32 - Graves's design for the Fargo-Moorhead Cultural Center Bridge, Fargo, North Dakota and Moorhead, Minnesota, South elevation (image sourced from the website of The Museum of Modern Art (Collections), <http://www.moma.org /collection>, image retrieved 13 February 2013).

[73] The Claghorn House, Princeton, New Jersey (1974); the Crooks House, Fort Wayne, Indiana (1976); the Schulman House, Princeton, New Jersey (1976); the Plocek Residence, Warren, New Jersey (1977–1982).

As Graves refined his new language, the number of articles featuring Graves within the professional press grew exponentially, close to doubling each year[74] (refer Chart 3). There is also a dramatic peak in the length of these articles, demonstrating a growing focus on Graves[75] (refer Chart 14). While there had been a short incline during the period of 1971 to 1973, in alignment with the publication of *Five architects* (Eisenman et al, 1972), there was a second, more dramatic peak in the length of professional publications that mention Graves during the years 1974 to 1977. The types of publications that Graves was appearing in also expanded. In 1973 he featured for the first time in the prestigious *Architectural Forum*, and then *Architectural Record* in 1974. By 1975 Graves would add the influential *American Institute of Architects Journal* to the list.[76]

Graves also began to self-author articles in the professional press. In 1975 he wrote 'The Swedish connection' for the *Journal of Architectural Education*. The essay was based on a brief given to his Princeton students regarding the Snellman villa at Djursholm, near Stockholm, designed in 1918 by the Swedish architect Gunnar Asplund. Students were asked to design a guesthouse as an addition to the existing villa. Graves uses the article to promote his Post-Modern concerns by calling for students to consider, among other concerns, the 'relationship of new to old and the role of traditional architectural elements'. Above the article is the editor's introduction of Graves, an opportunity for "celebrification". It mentions his teaching skills, an element frequently overlooked in the technique of "grandiosation": he is described as 'unique as an architectural educator in attempting to introduce humanistic issues directly through the discipline of architecture rather than through the more traditional areas of humanities' (p. 13).

Graves also began to appear in major published texts on Post-Modernism. Notably he featured in the second edition of *The language of Post-Modern architecture* (Jencks 1977). In the first edition, Jencks was highly critical of Graves's Late-Modern work. By

[74] From an annual average of twelve publications in 1975, Graves reached twenty-one publications by 1978.

[75] While articles from the early 1970s averaged one page in length, by the mid-1970s the average rose to thirty pages, the highest for the career of Graves, demonstrating the pre-eminence of the 'White'/'Gray' debate within the professional circles at that time.

[76] Refer to Appendix 3 for further details on the publications featuring Graves throughout his career.

the second edition he drew Graves to the forefront, featuring him on the back-flap, where Graves briefly described his new theories and the accessibility of Post-Modernism. Stern also shifted his opinion of Graves; after his critique during the 'Five on five' debate, Stern then incorporated Graves and his work in his book *New directions in American architecture* (1977). Stern used Graves as an example of the revived interest in architectural meaning, expressed through what he refers to as 'ornamentalism'.

Graves also gained exposure in the international architectural media. The first major articles to appear were a continuation of the 'Gray'/'White' debate, featuring discussion on the works of the combatants. For example, in 1975 Graves featured in Italy's *Lotus International*, a quarterly review that promotes architectural debate and analyses architectural developments internationally. The article was written by the prominent architecture critic Kenneth Frampton and is, in fact, an edited version of the text presented by Frampton at MoMA in 1969 as part of the CASE meeting that prompted the exhibition 'The New York Five'. Given his involvement, the article is supportive of Graves and his fellow Five. The article – a 'criticism' as Frampton refers to it – prompted inter-professional discussion at the time, and its publication six years later served to perpetuate the 'Gray'/'White' debate. In regard to Graves, Frampton focuses on his Hanselmann house design. His description is both theoretical and technical, defending many of Graves's design decisions and attempting to explain the subtleties and complexities of the house. For example, Frampton suggests that Graves's Hanselmann house incorporates the 'contrasting phenomena of frontality and rotation' (p. 232). Frampton refers to the 'ephemeral building mass' resulting from the intense manipulation of the house's surface. Instances of "grandiosation" are also evident in this early article. Frampton raises Graves's profile through peer association: he comments that one of his house designs, the Hanselmann house, holds similarities to the house of Walter Gropius, 1938 (p. 151). He also alludes to future success for the five architects, suggesting that they 'would ultimately like to work on much larger commissions' (p. 231).

A series of reviews of Graves's work ensued, independent of the 'Gray'/White' debate, in particular in the Japanese press: *Process: Architecture* published an article on the

Snyderman House in 1976. The coverage is very factual, conducting a 'walk through' of the project and providing impartial physical descriptions, such as 'the main stair occurs at the intersection of the two axes'. The article is neither praiseworthy nor critical, but neutral in tone, simply highlighting the features of the design. No mention is made of Graves, other than in the title of the article. The Snyderman House also featured in *GA Houses* in 1977 (Perkins). By 1978 the French media had 'found' Graves. *Architecture d'aujourd'hui* published a feature on his work, and that same year he began to feature in Italian journals such as *Controspazio*. This article was, in fact, written by Graves, and represents one of his first attempts to defend his new Post-Modern approach to an international audience. In the article he explains his use of 'classical and neo-classical architectural elements' and also highlights his use of 'historical and natural context'.

This burgeoning international focus is significant because Graves had not yet attained an international commission during the 1970s; all of his work until 1980 was completed within the US, the majority in New Jersey. In fact, twenty of the thirty projects that Graves completed from 1961 to 1980 were in New Jersey, and four were in New York. Graves was certainly still very much a local architect, a fact that was to change dramatically in the 1980s.

During the 1970s Graves continued to maintain his academic profile by publishing a series of scholarly writings relating to his teaching. An essay entitled 'The Swedish Connection', published in the *Journal of Architectural Education* (1975), describes one of the exercises Graves allocated to his graduate design studio students. Graves also produced the extremely influential and frequently quoted text 'The necessity of drawing: tangible speculation' published in the English magazine *Architectural Design* (1977). This text explored the role played by motivations and methods of drawing in architectural design.

Sporadic appearances in the mainstream media continued. Most of this coverage provided descriptions of Graves's buildings, yet provided limited detail on Graves and hence were not actively engaged in "celebrification". Graves featured particularly in *House & Garden* and *The New York Times*. The Claghorn House was featured in the latter in an article titled 'Layers of space and symbol: Michael Graves believes we need to relearn symbols in architecture' (1976, p. 26). This was the first article to appear in

The New York Times that was dedicated solely to Michael Graves. As the Claghorn House was considered Graves's first entirely Post-Modern design, the title expresses Graves's shift in approach. The article shows clear support of Graves's new endeavours to reintroduce familiar architectural elements by commenting that, to Graves, 'it is something we have only to relearn - the fundamental connection between nature and architecture, between the classical and the contemporary'. The building is outlined thoroughly, from the structural grid of the kitchen beams to the functionality of the pre-dinner cocktail area. The writing style is very objective, including few references to Graves; there are no photographs of or quotes by him. The last paragraph of the article provides some insight into his design intentions, yet they are interpreted through the journalist, who paraphrases Graves's comments. Only one sentence is dedicated to Graves's intentions beyond this one project. The phrase outlines his sentiment that architecture had been abstracted from relationships with nature for too long. This brief opinion provides a glimmer of insight into his theory and motivation.

During these years of transformation, Graves also continued to win awards, but not for his most recent work (refer Chart 4).[77] In 1975 Graves won the AIA National Honor Award for the Hanselman House, Graves's first such National accolade. It is interesting that Graves was being rewarded by the 'establishment' for his Late-Modern works at the very time that he was abandoning the approach. Also in that year Graves won Architectural Projects Honor Awards from the New Jersey Chapter of the AIA for the Hanselmann House, the Medical Office: Ear, Nose and Throat, as well as the Alexander House, all of which display varying remnants of his Late-Modern style.

In summary, the mid- to late-1970s was a period of transition not just for Graves, but for the profession as a whole. Filler wrote an article for *Art in America* entitled 'Michael Graves: before and after' (1980b) in which he suggested that Graves's evolution as an architect during this period 'can be seen as a summary of the major issues being raised by the architectural avant garde' (p. 99). The newcomers of Post-Modernism were destabilising the constructed logic of the architectural field and were emerging as an alternative, prominent approach and offering an alternative to the dominant ideology of Modernism. Graves's shift towards Post-Modernism garnered widespread professional

[77] Graves's award average increased from one per year during the early 1970s to three per year in 1975.

attention and his presence in the professional media increased dramatically, as did his visibility amongst the professional community and its supporters. As his professional profile grew some articles began to focus Graves as a solo architect, distinct from the Five or the 'Gray'/'White' debate. In conjunction with publication, the primary source of Graves's legitimisation at this stage was the traditional methods of developing a network of influential relations with other cultural producers and institutions: his ongoing position at Princeton, the self-authorship of various scholarly papers and the winning of some professional awards. Mainstream media coverage continued at a slow pace. Some minor instances of the "celebrification" techniques of "grandiosation" and peer association are evident, yet Graves was still little known to the public at large. His work had not yet entered the field of large-scale production, the commercial realm, and so its interest remained largely limited to those within the field of restricted production: other architects.

6.3 Refining a Post-Modern language and growing public prominence

If the mid-1970s was, for Graves, a period of transition and refinement, the late 1970s was the time that Graves began to test the commercial viability of Post-Modern Classicism. Until this point, Graves's work had drawn focused attention from the architectural and art communities, yet was little recognised within the corporate community (Giovannini 1985, p. 28). In 1979, Graves received his first large-scale 'commercial break' designing temporary showrooms for Sunar in New York and Chicago (Jencks 1983, p. 73). The designs were colourful and bold, including such features as white tape criss-crossed over a high-gloss black floor, and pink columns with gold highlights (see Figure 33). Following these first installations, Graves then designed Sunar's permanent showrooms in Los Angeles, Houston and Dallas, as well as New York and Chicago. In total, the Sunar project phase spanned 1979 to 1983. The showrooms provided an important opportunity for Graves to showcase his new architectural language. Graves had, through his residential projects, 'tested' Post-Modern Classicism on a small scale, and was now ready to 'work out' his approach on a

larger scale with a more substantial budget (Jencks 1983, p. 73). The commissions won eight awards, making it the most highly awarded of Graves's projects (refer Chart 21).[78]

The Sunar projects were well publicised, predominantly during the years 1978 to 1984 (refer Chart 21).[79] The majority of these articles, close to ninety per cent, appeared in the professional media.[80] Five articles appeared in the first year of commission, including Filler's article in *Progressive Architecture*, positively titled 'Grand allusions' (1979). This article is one of Filler's last for *Progressive Architecture* before migrating into the mainstream publication *House & Garden* where he would provide frequent, supportive commentary on Graves.

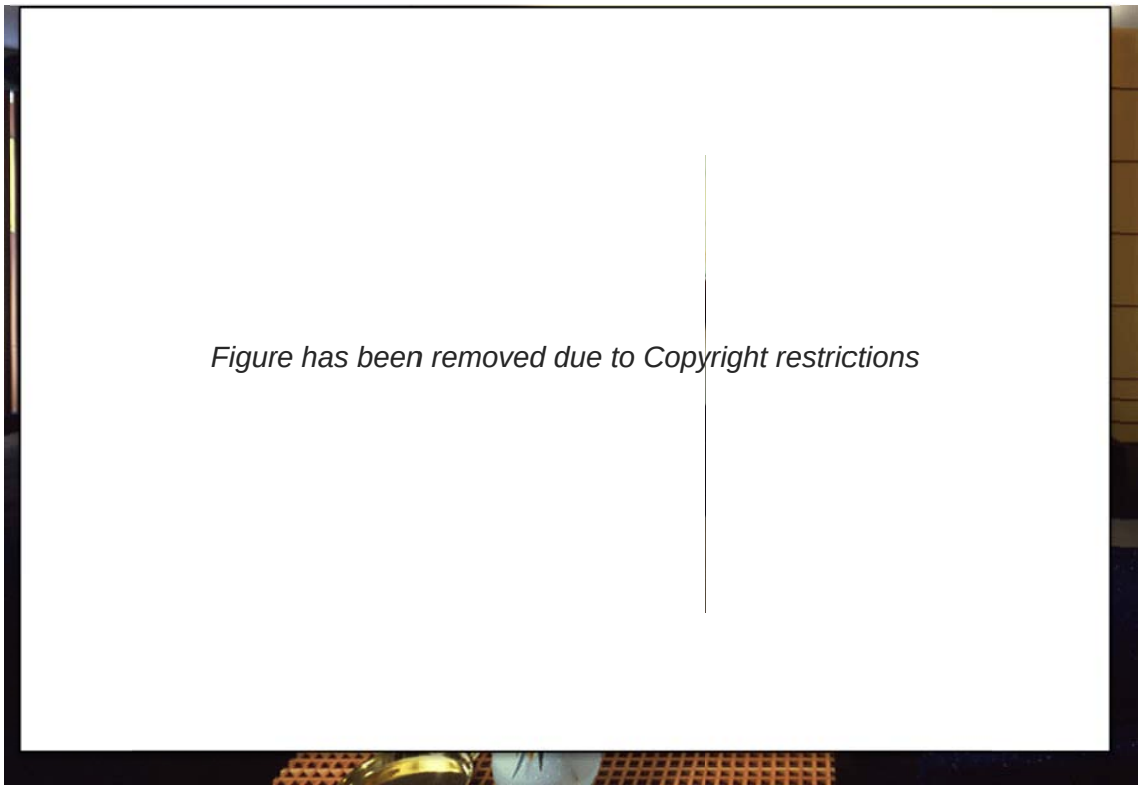

Figure 33 - Graves's Sunar Furniture Showroom design (image sourced from the website of Michael Graves & Associates, <http://www.michaelgraves.com/design/project/sunar-hauserman. html>, image retrieved 11 July 2012).

[78] Three of these were Architectural Projects Honor Awards from the AIA and one was an *Interiors Magazine* Award (for the New York Showroom, awarded 1981). The remainder were awarded for furniture. Two were Institute of Business Designers Awards (both in 1982 for the Sunar Casement Fabric and the Sunar Lounge Chair), one was a Furniture Design Award from *Progressive Architecture* (awarded in 1982 for the Sunar Arm Chair) and the other was a Resources Council Commendation (for the Sunar Table, 1982).

[79] A second small publication peak is evident in the years surrounding the 1987 commission for a Sunar Showroom in London.

[80] A total of twenty articles were published about the projects in the professional media, while only three articles were published in the mainstream media.

‘Grand allusions’ is very complimentary, referring to Graves as a ‘master of the art of display’ and noting his ‘formidable array of design talents’. Filler’s description of the commission selection process communicates Graves’s growing public profile, and is an example of “grandiosation”. In selecting Graves for the showroom, the client – the chairman of the board of Sunar, Robert B. Cadwallader – is said to have ‘focused his attention on a short list of young, avant-garde designers, settling at last...on Michael Graves’. Filler points out that Cadwallader had been a leader in ‘the creation and marketing of innovative, high-style design’. As such, he would serve to raise Graves’s profile by association and opportunity.

This article also praises Graves’s Post-Modern approach, commenting that ‘a showroom setting need not be blandly neutral or starkly undecorated in order for it to be functionally effective’. The Sunar showroom is referred to as ‘splendid’ and Graves’s shift towards Post-Modernism is described as ‘a stunning stylistic about-face’. Such superlatives foster an impression of significance. Filler referred to his new work as having ‘great depth and resonance’. Filler also broadly notes the powerful impact that temporary exhibitions have had in architectural history, citing the World’s Columbian Exposition of 1893, the Pavilion de L’Esprit Nouveau and the Barcelona Pavilion. This comment is an example of “grandiosation” as it creates associations with previous, successful and powerful works and architects.

Graves also began to appear frequently in the national press. From 1978 onwards he was repeatedly published in *The New York Times* (refer Chart 27). Graves also began to feature regularly in *Newsweek* as well as popular design magazines such as *Architectural Digest*, *Arts Magazine* and *Via*. A milestone in Graves’s mainstream media presence was his first mention in *Time* (1979b). The citation was included in an article about Philip Johnson, who was featured on the front cover holding a model of his AT&T building design (see Figure 34). Although Graves is only mentioned briefly in the article, it gave a national presence to the Post-Modern movement that was to bring Graves so much media attention over the coming years. The author Robert Hughes introduces some of the pivotal ideas of the new eclectic group of individuals, of which Graves is presented as a founding member. This article is another early instance of Graves being “celebrified” through peer association; Hughes references such high-

profile contemporaries such as Robert Venturi, Charles Moore, Stanley Tigerman, Charles Gwathmey, Richard Meier, Philip Johnson and Cesar Pelli.

The success of Graves's testing of the commercial viability of Post-Modernism through the Sunar showrooms is reflected in an increased rate of commission for Graves (refer Chart 7). It is also reflected in Graves receiving greater professional recognition. He was admitted as a fellow of the AIA in 1979. He also remained actively associated with teaching, primarily through his continued tenure as Professor at Princeton University. He was, by the late 1970s, increasingly respected in the academic community and according to Jencks came to be referred to as an 'icon' at Princeton (1983, p. 59).

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Figure 34 - Philip Johnson, holding a model of his AT&T building design, appearing on the front cover of *Time*, 1979, vol. 113.

It was also at this time that Graves began to receive awards for his early Post-Modern works[81] (refer Chart 4). This demonstrates a significant jump in his recognition by the profession, despite any major growth in his rate of project completion. Many of these awards were given by the local, New Jersey Chapter of the AIA. Others were

[81] In 1978 Graves won six awards and by 1980 he won nine awards, the most in any year of his career.

Progressive Architecture Awards, presented by the editors of the journal *Progressive Architecture*, intended to recognise 'recognise risk-taking practitioners and promote progress itself in the field of architecture' (Cramer 2007, p. 1). One such award was received in 1978 by Graves for his Snyderman House.

Yet the 'establishment' was not yet fully supportive of Post-Modernism. Despite early signs of approval, Graves continued to receive retrospective awards for his earlier Late-Modern works. An interesting example is the Gynwyn Ventures office project, completed in 1972. Graves's first National Honor Award for this project was given during the year of intense media hype surrounding the publication of *Five architects* (Eisenman et al, 1972)*;* at that point the project was three years old. In 1979, during the media attention surrounding Graves's testing the commercial viability of Post-Modernism through the Sunar commissions, he was again awarded for the Gynwyn project, then seven years old.

In conjunction with receiving a higher number of awards, Graves was also the subject of a significant exhibition, 'Michael Graves: current work' at the Max Protetch Gallery in New York in 1979.[82] The display comprised Graves's architectural drawings and paintings, the Sunar Showrooms featuring most prominently (see Figure 35). He had previously participated in thirty-one minor exhibitions, yet this was his first large solo exhibition outside of a university[83] and only his second solo exhibition.[84] It was the opportunity for Graves to communicate his new, refined architectural language and increase his public profile. The sub-title of the exhibition, 'Art and architecture: space and structure', makes reference to the new logic and clarity in Graves's work of the late-1970s.

[82] The exhibition later travelled nationally.

[83] Graves had appeared in the 'Michael Graves, projects 1967–1976' in 1977 at Columbia University and the University of California at Los Angeles.

[84] The first was in 1976 and covered Graves's abstract modernist period from 1967 to 1976. This exhibition was held at Columbia University and Princeton University in 1976. The same exhibition was then displayed at the University of California, Kent State University and the University of Virginia in 1977.

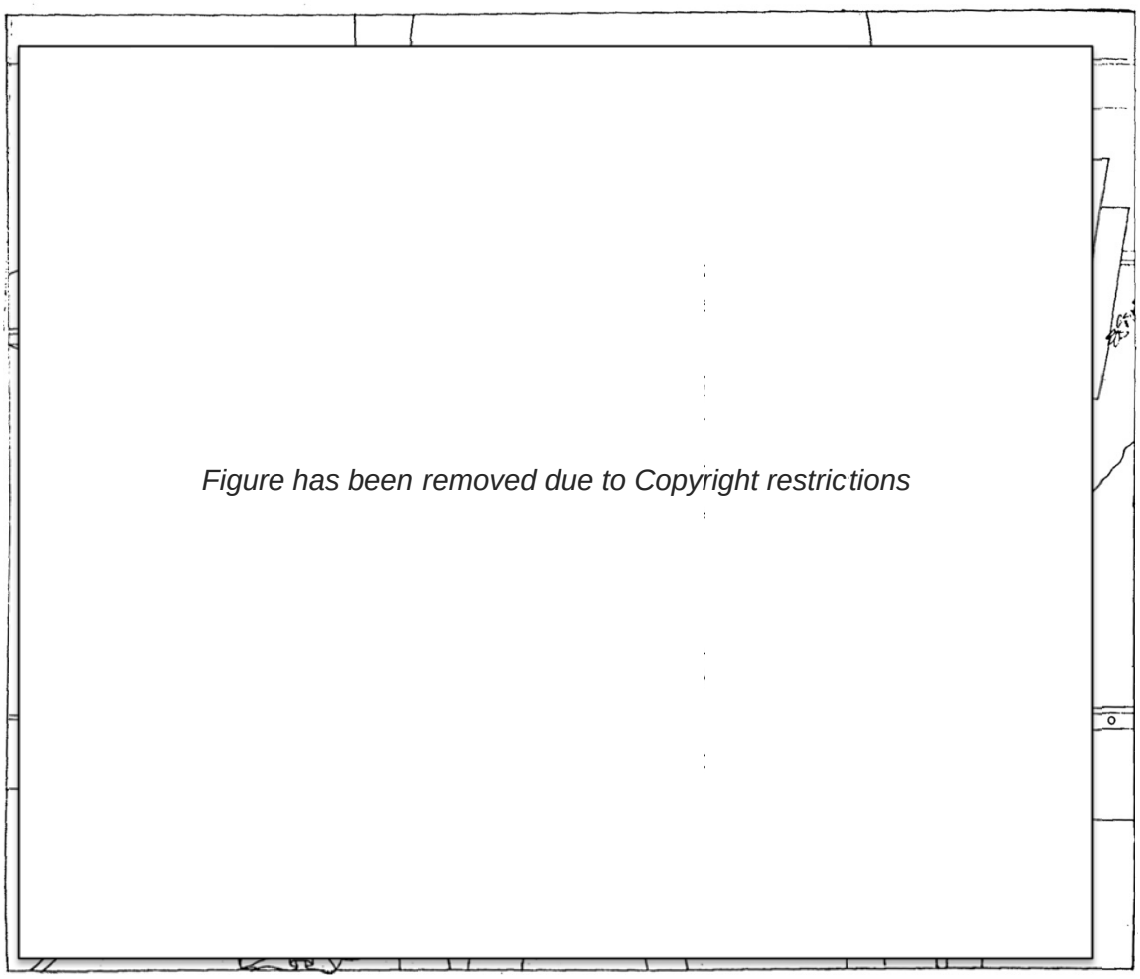

Figure 35 - Michael Graves's drawing of a Sunar Showroom, displayed in the exhibition 'Michael Graves: current work' at the Max Protetch Gallery in New York in 1979 (image sourced from Bletter et al 1979, p. 2).

Graves was among of the first architects practising at the time to present his work in a one-man show in a commercial art gallery. The exhibition drew much public interest and some significant press coverage. On May 11, 1979 *The New York Times* published an article entitled 'Architecture: works of Michael Graves', written by Goldberger. He asserts Graves's growing professional prominence by stating in the first paragraph that he is 'now an architect of major stature' who is 'known nationally'. His professional authority is also expressed through references to his Princeton position where, it is claimed, 'he has become something of a cult figure'. Such comments are early instances of the intense "celebrifying" language that would characterise later articles about Graves. A positive perception of Graves is also expressed through Goldberger's sympathy with his architectural divergence. Goldberger notes that the exhibition is the

‘record of a highly thoughtful architect, struggling over a decade’s time, to come to terms with the reality of the culture of which he is a part’ (1979, p. 20). This is a clear reference to Graves’s transition from Late-Modernism to Post-Modernism, and the challenges that he would face in gaining the acceptance of his peers.

Another significant article about the Protetch exhibition was Huxtable’s ‘A unified new language of design’, published in *The New York Times* (1979). Like Goldberger, Huxtable contributed to drawing Post-Modernism, and Graves, into the public eye. Huxtable describes the Protetch exhibition as a ‘record of the development of architectural talent’. Huxtable uses the aspect of “grandiosation” that relates to controversy – she establishes Post-Modernism as a provocative new movement, and identifies Graves as a key participant. Graves’s 1977 design for the Fargo-Moorehead Cultural Center is referred to as a ‘remarkable design’ and Huxtable claims that it would ‘shatter a lot of ideas about what such a building, or any building, should be like’. Another aspect of “grandiosation” used by Huxtable to “celebrifiy” Graves is superlatives. She creates a larger-than-life impression of him by saturating the article with terms such as ‘breakthrough’, ‘dramatic’, ‘radical’ and ‘shock’. She also makes references to the achievements and skill of Graves, another aspect of “grandiosation” including such terms as ‘refined intelligence’ alongside ‘subtlety and power, originality and elegance’.

The Protetch exhibition also led to Graves’s first profiles in the mainstream media. Whereas early articles focused predominantly on specific projects, career reviews of Graves and his work indicate a growing interest in him as an individual, distinct from his architecture. An example is the article ‘Graves’ new world’ that appeared in the November issue of the magazine *Gentlemen’s Quarterly* (Smith 1979). Graves’s appearance in this lifestyle magazine for ‘the man who wants to broaden his style horizons’ indicates a clear transition into the mainstream media that is entirely disconnected from architecture.

The article employs a variety of “celebrification” techniques. First, “visualisation” is evident in the inclusion of a full-length photograph of Graves smiling, conveying Graves’s personality and creating the illusion of intimacy with the audience (refer Figure 36). Next, the opening line of the article “humanises” Graves by describing his

voice; he is referred to as a 'soft-spoken man'. Yet, in regards to his architecture, Smith portrays Graves as anything but soft; the article is peppered with such powerful and "grandiosing" terms as 'boldness', 'fascination' and 'richness'. Almost a third of the article, the entire last page, is dedicated to quotes by Graves, providing a personal insight into his way of thinking. He discusses a range of topics, from his inspirations and aspirations (restoring a 'certain quality of life') to his bold opinions on Modern architecture ('I think life would be better without it').

In regards to Graves's position within the architectural community, Smith suggests that Graves is becoming influential, writing that his 'highly regarded efforts have brought architecture to a turning point' (p. 152). Further, Smith refers to Graves's 'visionary thinking' and credits him with being at the forefront of the Post-Modern movement. This reference reinforces the "grandiosation" of Graves and his work through establishing a sense of currency. Smith suggests that one of Graves's designs in progress at the time, the Fargo-Moorhead project in North Dakota, could 'emerge as one of the decade's foremost architectural statements'. Such comments encourage the reader to view Graves as significant both at the time and in the future. The closing line communicates Smith's view of Graves's longevity and prominence in the architectural field; 'We're at the beginning of a new era, one based on an intelligent use of the past, and Michael Graves is in the forefront' (p. 154).

The positive press coverage in both the mainstream and the professional media served as a sign of the Protetch exhibition's success and opened the door to other important opportunities, such as representation in the Venice Architecture Biennale the following year.[85] Being a group display, Graves was effectively re-enacting his experience of 'The New York Five', aligning himself with a small number of controversial architects, but this time on a much larger scale (see Figure 40).

Despite its popularity, a clear understanding of the Post-Modernism in architecture remained elusive. Jencks wrote an article for *Domus* (1980c) on the exhibition in which he sought to interpret and defend the movement. Jencks suggests that 'journalists, editors and the public at large' were confused by the definition of the new language,

[85] See section 4.5 The rise of Post-Modernism for further detail.

assuming that it merely encompassed ‘anything that is playful, strange, more Modern than Modern’ (1980c, p. 9). Jencks proposes that the ‘success of the term’ is a reason for the misunderstandings concerning Post-Modernism, and makes particular reference to Post-Modern Classicism, which he refers to as ‘the new synthesis which now unites practitioners around the world as the International Style did in the twenties’ (1980c, p. 13). The article includes several pictures of the installation, among the first being Graves’s façade (see Figure 37 and 5.9).

Along with a rise in his presence in national publications, the attention of international journals also grew exponentially (refer Chart 20). Half of the articles published about Graves in 1978 were from journals outside of the US. Graves’s increased media profile is also evident in a rise in the average length of articles. Just as there had been a rise in the length of publications about him during the ideological debate years of the early and mid-1970s, there was also a rise during the late 1970s[86] (refer Chart 14).

Figure 36 - A portrait of Graves in the article ‘Graves’ new world’ by Philip Smith that appeared in the magazine *Gentlemen's Quarterly*, 1979, November, p. 154.

Figure 37 - Michael Graves’s façade under construction for the 1st International Architecture Exhibition, Venice Architecture Biennale, ‘The Presence of the Past’ July 1980 (image sourced from *Domus* 605 / April 1980, pp. 9–19).

[86] This trend is most noticeable in the professional media. The average length of articles during the years of 1978 to 1980 reached approximately twelve pages, up from an average of one page in 1977.

Around this time, the transcripts of interviews with Graves alone came to be published as articles in the mainstream media (refer Chart 16). These interviews were Graves's opportunity to further clarify and defend his new language. It is interesting to note that all published interviews with Graves featured after he shifted his approach towards Post-Modernism, indicating the public's growing interest in the voices of this movement. An example is the interview with Abraham Rogewick, professor of architecture at the University of British Columbia (at the time), published in *Forum*, the official journal of Western Canadian architects. The opening line of the five-page transcript exhibits "grandiosation" through describing Graves as 'well-known'. His growing professional status is then articulated by Rogewick's description that 'he is known as one of the major proponents of the "Post Modern" movement in architecture'. Allusion is then made to the multiple design awards that Graves had won in recent years, further reinforcing his rising prominence in the field of architecture. In the conversation with Rogewick, many questions are asked regarding opposition to his approach. Graves heavily defends his Post-Modern language, brushing lingering critics aside with the comment 'it is threatening if somebody is engaged in the same discipline and yet working in a different way' (p. 5). Graves alludes to his blooming status in the mainstream media through describing Huxtable of *The New York Times* 'staunchly defending' his architecture during an AIA forum.

Graves's ambition to prove himself as a commercially successful designer, rather than a paper architect, is evident, not only through his interview transcripts but also his increased rate of self-authorship. Graves began to contribute articles within the professional media, indicating a growing confidence in his new architectural approach (refer Chart 19). Having produced almost no written output in either the professional or mainstream media during the 1960s and 1970s, apart from *Five architects* (which was not authored by him), from 1975 Graves began to pen his ideas to a broader audience, reaching a self-authorship peak in 1978.[87]

Although by this stage Graves had tested the commercial viability of Post-Modernism through the Sunar showrooms, many of his writings discussed his earlier residential works. In 1978 Graves participated in the article '3 architects, 3 approaches to color

[87] In 1978 Graves produced four self-authored works, close to a quarter of his career total of eighteen.

use' in the AIA journal *Architecture*. The article comprised three essays by Graves, Peter Bohlin and Hugh Hardy, who were each invited by the editor to discuss why and how colour is used in their designs. Graves focused his piece on symbolism and the 'classical language of colour' (p. 58). The article discusses his Post-Modern use of colour as a communicative tool, and presents the Schulman House as an example. The houses discussed are in his Post-Modern language, and serve to promote his new approach. The Claghorn House Addition then featured in an article by Graves for *GA Houses* several months later. Again, Graves's new approach is explained through discussion of how he created a visual connection between the original structure and the addition through allusions to the house's classical and neo-classical architectural elements.

Graves then wrote a thirteen-page article for the journal *International Architect* in 1979, which served as a prominent "celebrification" opportunity. As the first-ever issue of the journal, it is telling of Graves's growing prominence that he was chosen for inclusion. Graves's piece, which discussed his design for a Vacation House in Aspen, Colorado (1979), was the opening article for the issue, again communicating significance. The prominence of Graves extended to the cover, where his name featured in bold (see Figure 38). This was among Graves's first cover appearances. He is the first cited of three architects; his name sits above the prominent Agrest & Gandelsonas and Fister Associates.

Figure 38 - The cover of the first ever issue of the journal *International Architect*, 1979, featuring Graves.

The following year the first monograph on Graves was published, edited by David Dunster and titled, simply, *Michael Graves* (1979). This monograph indicates an achieved level of respect in the field as the monograph is considered to be a tribute, of sorts. The monograph provides an overview of Graves's work to that date and includes interpretive essays written by Graves's Princeton colleague Alan Colquhoun and Cambridge professor Peter Carl. These reviews essentially endorse Graves and contribute to his legitimisation. The monograph was successful enough to go to a second edition, this time including an essay by the high-profile academic and architecture critic Vincent Scully titled 'Michael Graves' Allusive Architecture' (1982). In this essay, he defends Graves's ambition to renew the significance of historical architectural form. He writes that 'the reduction of art to problem-solving with a single answer has been one of the more unrealistic and destructive of semi-modern tenets' (p. 293). Scully's opinions on Graves's Post-Modern work in this monograph is notable given that he had, of course, written the introduction to Venturi's manifesto *Complexity and contradiction in architecture* in 1966.[88]

In summary, the eleven Sunar Showrooms provided Graves with the opportunity to test the commercial viability of Post-Modernism, if only at a small-scale. The positive professional media coverage received for the commissions served as a sign of its success. It was not only through international publication that Graves began to be recognised by his peers; he also received more awards, and was honoured with several important exhibitions. He continued his *traditional* position at Princeton, and became more closely associated with the AIA. Graves also wrote more essays than at any other time in his career, and his first monograph was published.

To a lesser degree the public's interest in Graves also grew. Exhibitions of his work began extending beyond the field of restricted production and into the field of large-scale production, such as commercial art galleries, and the door to the national press arena opened for Graves. He began a trajectory toward a dual legitimisation process that crossed the boundaries of multiple fields, and drew symbolic capital from both sides He began to appear in publications such as *The New York Times*, *Newsweek*, *Time* and

[88] Scully had described the book as 'probably the most important writing on the making of architecture since Le Corbusier's 'Vers Une Architecture', of 1923' (Scully 1966).

Architectural Digest, all of which have been identified in Chapter 3 as producers of celebrity within the field of architecture. Articles in these publications by now refer to Graves as being influential and recognised both within the professional community and the broader public. Graves' accumulated cultural capital came to hold value in both spheres. The media began to frequently liken him to significant peers, and superlatives fill the articles about him. Graves was beginning to demonstrate that popularisation and consecration are not mutually exclusive. Profiles about Graves began to appear, discussing him as an individual, distinct from his architecture. The first instances of "humanisation" are evident, and photographs of Graves came to be more commonly included. However, despite this initial interest from the mainstream media, it would take a far bigger project to draw Graves fully into the "starchitect" spotlight and consecrate him within the value systems of multiple social spheres.

6.4 The Portland Building: activating the celebrity-related process of legitimisation

The momentum of Graves's career during the late 1970s in testing the commercial viability Post-Modernism and gaining his first major appearances in the mainstream media set the scene for his entry into large-scale commissions. It was in 1980 that Jencks believes 'things finally started to go right' for Graves (1983, p. 80). This was the year in which Graves won the commission for his most controversial and high-profile work to date: the Portland Building.[89] This project became one of the nation's first major works of Post-Modern architecture and is widely credited as 'the design that established Graves' pre-eminence in the field' (Officer 2011, p. 8).[90] Two sources serve as important references for the following discussion of the Portland Building and its surrounding controversy: *Kings of infinite space* by Jencks (1983) and David Gilbert's 'The Portland Building' published in *The critical edge* (1985).

Whilst the Sunar showrooms presented a first opportunity to test the commercial viability of Graves's Post-Modern approach on a small scale, it was the commission for this first large-scale public work that propelled it into national prominence. Yet this

[89] Originally the Municipal Services Building, it is now more commonly referred to as The Portland Building.

[90] Comment made by the Officer of State Historic Preservation in the National Register of Historic Places Registration for the Portland Public Service Building.

increased recognition was earned not through praise but through controversy. The commission instigated heated debate within the architectural community and public at large. A nation-wide discourse began, and Graves experienced exponential growth in his presence in the professional and mainstream media. The Portland Building remains Graves's longest-spanning project, in terms of publication. Although the project's development lasted only from 1980 to 1982 (commission to completion), its publication range stretched from 1979 to 1989 (refer Chart 22).

Graves won the commission for the Portland Building in a competition sponsored by the City of Portland, Oregon. The building was to occupy the prominent block next to City Hall and a landmark design was sought (Norberg-Schulz 1990, p. 9). The jury comprised various local architects, along with John Burgee and Philip Johnson, who were asked to chair the selection committee. It is considered that Johnson's invitation, given that he was an AIA Gold Medallist by this stage, was aimed at attracting the most talented architects for the project (Officer 2011, p. 8).

Graves submitted his entry for the open competition in December 1979, in conjunction with Emery Roth & Sons, the famous New York-based firm with an established reputation in large commercial projects. This strategic partnership suggests that Graves was committed to succeeding, from a practical perspective, in his first translation of Post-Modern Classicism to large-scale. Eleven competitors were narrowed down to three by January 1980. Johnson and Burgee both made strong recommendations in favour of Graves.[91] Johnson and Graves had been closely aligned since the days of *Five architects* (Eisenman et al, 1972), and Johnson has since been referred to as a "Gravesophile"; it is suggested that he encouraged the Portland city officials to select Graves's design. Eventually, in February 1980, Graves's scheme was selected by an independent committee of the City Council (see Figure 39 and Figure 40).

[91] This is mentioned in a letter from William E Roberts to the Portland Council Members on 29 February 1980: 'The Jury leaned heavily on the Philip Johnson and John Burgee analysis and recommendation'.

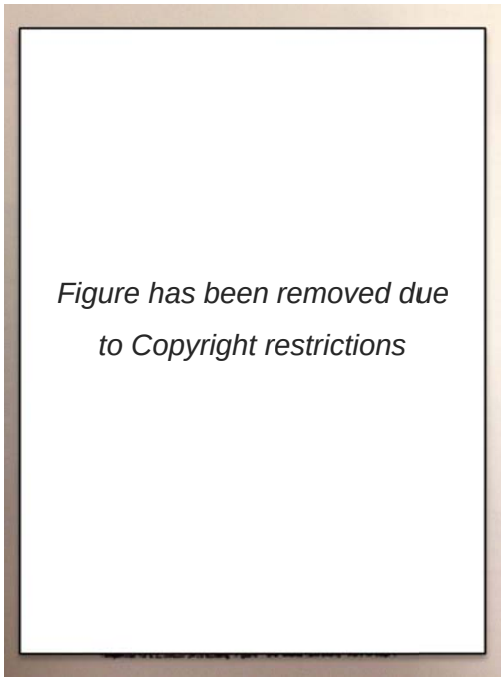

Figure 39 - Announcement in the *Oregon Journal* of Graves's scheme being selected for the Portland Building, Wednesday 3 April 1980.

Figure 40 - Graves's Portland Building scheme (image sourced from Wheeler et al 1983, p. 30).

Part of the reason for Graves's success in the competition was that his scheme met the budgetary requirements for the project.[92] He was able to achieve this by utilising a typical non-load bearing Modernist 'skin'. This incorporated his decorative elevations; he applied a keystone motif over giant fake pilasters. Hence, Graves's scheme was able to offer both economy and visual interest. Johnson said that when he was reviewing the submissions it was clear that 'only one spoke of genius – and that it came in on budget was just one of those lucky things that happens in this world' (Jencks 1983, p. 86).

Graves's scheme, despite winning, was hotly contested. The first to question the scheme were Portland's local architects. According to Gilbert 'nothing short of an architectural biopsy' was performed on Graves's design (1985, p. 165). The Portland commentary is one of the first instances in which Graves is personally critiqued. Much of the initial criticism was aimed at Graves himself, instead of the building design. His inexperience in large-scale work was a first line of attack. Major government commissions are rarely awarded to architects as innovative and aspirational as Graves. According to Filler,

[92] William E Roberts's letter to the Portland Council Members on 29 February 1980 says that 'it is apparent on a dollar evaluation that the Graves building is the leading contender'.

‘private clients are often willing to take risks for the sake of art, but elected officials answerable to the public rarely follow suit’ (1983, p. 168).

In addition to these personal criticisms, detractors questioned the aesthetic of the building. Graves suggests that it drew such vehement opposition from some of his peers because it was a threat to Modernism and ‘all the people who had so much stake in making glass boxes in cities’ (Arehart 2011, p. 1). Jencks has suggested that Graves was working ‘against the elite profession’ (1983, p. 90). Local architects migrated into two camps, each headed by respected AIA Gold Medallists. Post-Modernist Philip Johnson adamantly defended Graves’s design, while international architect Pietro Belluschi, the ‘elder statesman of Modernism’ represented the opposing faction (Jencks 1983, p. 87).

In the words of architectural historian Mark Galernter, ‘gleefully rebellious, the Post-Modernist supporters disparaged the old Modernist tenets as out-dated’ (1999, p. 302). It was suggested that the innovative nature of the proposal would inevitably elicit criticism from traditionalists (Jenning 1980b). As expected, the Modernists loudly objected to the historicism demonstrated in the Portland scheme, criticising in particular the lack of relationship between the ornament and structure. Belluschi penned a letter to council on behalf of the local AIA chapter which suggested the scheme was a ‘laughingstock pervaded on our urban community’. He referred to the design as an ‘enlarged juke box or the oversized beribboned Christmas package’. Even a public gathering was convened at the City Council[93] where Belluschi made an address regarding the Portland Building on behalf of the Fellows of the American Institute of Architects (FAIA). Over sixteen architects from the Portland Chapter gathered to support Belluschi. In his address, Belluschi suggested that the building would soon ‘be out of date’, and that it would be better placed in Atlantic City or Las Vegas. He attacked Graves’s reliance on ornament, referring to it as ‘a form of allusion not viable as architecture’.[94]

Various notable Portland architects joined Belluschi in his tirade. John Storrs commented that the scheme was ‘a dog building, a turkey’ with a ‘pigeon coop on the

[93] The gathering was held on 12 March 1980.
[94] A transcript of the address is found in Jencks’s article ‘Post-Modern Classicism’ in *Architectural Design*, 5/6, 1980, p. 138 .

roof' (Heinz 1980). AD Benkendorf, another Portland architect, insisted 'I hope that others concerned about the future of downtown will join with me in urging the City Council to send 'Graves' temple back to the East coast' (Jenning 1980a, p. 1). These architects were joined by politicians. City Commissioner Mike Linberg said at the public gathering that he strongly objected to the design, stating 'in my opinion, the Graves building is totally unacceptable. It's a fortress. It says government is monolithic, imposing and remote' (Jenning 1980b). On the other hand, The Mayor of Portland, Frank Ivancie, suggested that the building would be Portland's Eiffel Tower, putting the city on the architectural map. Davis wrote an article for *Newsweek* (1980) summarising other comments made at the gathering, indicating the extent to which the debate became national news.

The other group to voice their concerns were Portland's citizens. Being a public monument built at the expense of taxpayers, public opinion was rife. Much of the hype and paranoia surrounding the competition process was fuelled by the local Oregon newspaper, the *Oregonian,* which published a succession of aggressive letters to the editor (Gilbert 1985, p. 165). Many suggested that the building would never have been commissioned if neighbourhood associations had the right of approval. Considering the people of Portland the subjects of a joke, one resident wrote that 'we may have a paragraph in *Time* but we're going to also get three pages in *National Lampoon'*. Another suggested that the building expressed a 'fortress mentality' and the message that 'government is monolithic, imposing and remote'. A further letter stated sharply 'I have complete disdain for the selected design of the proposed public office building (Clark 1980). Clark clarified his position by arguing that the building 'is archaic rather than innovative; gaudy rather than aesthetic; and offensive rather than open and inviting'. He finished his letter with the remark 'our public officials are not gods. Why build them a temple? The *Oregonian* also published critical, yet entertaining, cartoons, such as that likening the Portland design to a 'sage-hen grouse in full strut' and another equating the Portland controversy to a volcano erupting (refer Figure 41 and Figure 42).

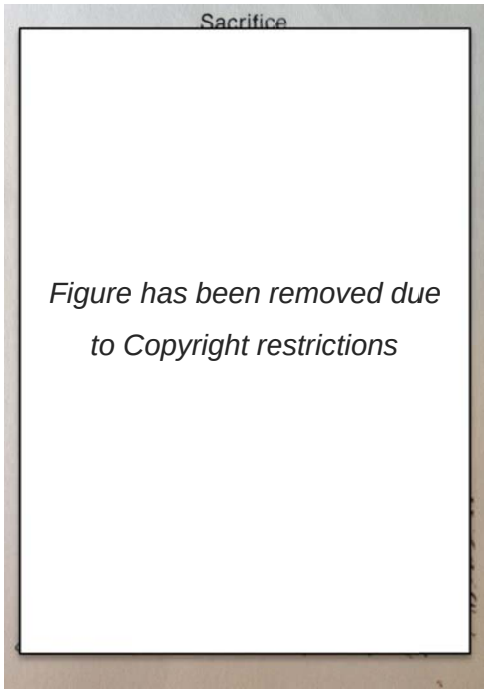

Figure 41 - Cartoon in the *Oregonian* (4 March 1980), likening the controversy of the Portland Building to an erupting volcano.

Figure 42 - Picture of a sage-hen grouse in full strut, published in the *Oregonian's* letters to the editor (1980). It was suggested that it may be the inspiration for the Portland Building design.

Some members of the public offered positive responses, again primarily through letters to the editor of the *Oregonian*, yet they were by far in the minority, at least at first. Many of the supportive comments related to a perceived boost to the profile of Portland. One local resident wrote that the building 'will in time be recognized as an important piece of art' (Jenning 1980b). Prophetically, another suggested that Graves 'may have a vision that we do not possess at this time'. In terms of aesthetics, it was argued that Graves's design is 'certainly more interesting than the grey, characterless office towers that are rising everywhere. It will be colourful and controversial, but it will grow on Portlanders, I think. It will certainly gain some nationwide attention' (Gix 1980). In a further letter it was voiced that the scheme 'gives Portlanders a building with visual interest for the first time in recent years' (Morris 1980).

Despite the abundant criticism from local Portland architects, and mixed reviews from the public, support was shown by the national architecture critics. Another strong defence to appear in the professional media was an article by Eleni Constantine,

published in *Architectural Record* (1980). Constantine advocated that the building was engaging, active and colourful. She also believed that the design was sympathetic to its site, functionally and symbolically appropriate.

Positive reviews by architecture critics also appeared in the mainstream media. For example, Huxtable produced prominent and supportive commentary in *The New York Times*. Her article 'The boom in bigness goes on' (1980) refers to the Portland Building as the 'Post-Modern building of the year'. In her words, 'Graves's insistence on almost Druid-like significance for every element of the design has obscured the fact that this is a thoughtfully and economically planned structure that beat out its competitors easily. If it promises a surfeit of symbolism, it also proposes some efficient and interesting spaces' (p. 25).

The abundance of opinions on the Portland Building during its commission and early development presents a critical turning point in Graves's media presence. Nineteen-eighty was the first year in which the mainstream media coverage equalled that of the professional media (refer Chart 3). He began to appear frequently on the cover of design magazines, feature in celebrity gossip publications such as *People* and to be interviewed on *The NBC Nightly News*. Yet it was not just the quantity of media that contributed to the blossoming public profile of Graves, but the content. Broadly, when analysing the Portland debate within the professional and mainstream media, in most of the articles the negative criticisms are presented first. They were, evidently, more eye-catching than positive comments, incorporating colourful language. Yet, whilst their purpose was to denigrate the Portland Building, in fact they proved to be so engaging that they generated even further publicity and served to "celebrify" Graves through highlighting his potential for controversy. Notably, almost every article includes Graves's name in the title or opening sentence, whereas in previous articles the building itself is discussed quite anonymously in terms of the architect.

The hype surrounding Graves at this time led to several profiles being published about him. A prominent example was 'The man who's rewriting the language of color', written by Filler for *House & Garden* (1980a). Graves is enthusiastically praised in the opening paragraph for his colourful Post-Modern palette used in his Portland building. Filler claims that Graves is 'in the forefront of architects who are rewriting the rules

about what can and cannot be done with color in architectural design' and suggests that he 'might well affect the prevailing attitudes in this country toward applied exterior colour in architecture' (p. 132). By suggesting that Graves's new use of colour could help shape the reader's environment in the future, Filler communicates his view of Graves' longevity in a position of influence within the profession. Superlatives are abundant, including frequent use of the terms 'remarkable', 'significant' 'bold' and 'innovative'. Filler continues the process of "grandiosation" through referring to Graves' professorship at Princeton. As a key step in the *traditional process of legitimisation*, this reference validates his rising professional stature. Filler then begins to "humanise" Graves through indicating his age (45 years old), and referring to him as 'quiet, soft-spoken'. The article is accompanied by an image of Graves, which "visualises" him (see Figure 43).

Graves continued to be frequently interviewed, and the transcripts published in prominent magazines. For example, in 1981 Graves was featured in *Interview* magazine. The conversation was with Wilson Hand Kidde and Larz Ferguson Anderson, and the transcript was titled 'Michael Graves builds his reputation'; the very title "celebrifies" Graves through alluding to his growing profile. The article begins by discussing the rising prominence of Graves in the professional community; lists are provided of awards won (nine) and exhibitions participated in (nine). To activate "grandiosation", Kidde and Anderson refer to the controversy of the Portland Building. Poignantly, Kidde identifies Graves's growing public profile by asking the question: 'You're probably the most famous young architect and now the most controversial, with the Portland Building going up. How has all the attention affected you?' Graves sidesteps the direct question, answering simply that the media focus has taken up much of his time. Although Graves was actively involved in the media at this point, it appears that he did not want that fact to be obvious to the public; he seems to still hold the traditional attitude of architects, as identified in the Literature Review, that it is crude to openly discuss media relationships. As in the case of many other articles about Graves from this time onwards, a portrait is included. In this case, Graves is shown in a relaxed and reflective pose, inviting the reader to wonder what he is thinking (see Figure 44).

James Fesler

Architect Michael Graves, left, *originally trained as a painter, still does murals for interiors he designs, such as illusionistic "fresco,"* above, *for Sunar furniture showroom in New York.*

The man who's rewriting the language of color

Beach house in Loveladies, N.J.

Michael Graves, a young American architect, is in the vanguard of a movement toward design that uses color with greater freedom, imagination, style, and wit than has been seen in many years, and which could influence the way your environment will look for many years to come

Furniture designs by Graves include marble occasional table, left, *which will be manufactured by Sunar.*

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Figure 43 - Profile on Graves, written by Filler for *House & Garden*, 1980, p. 133.

Figure has been removed due to Copyright restrictions

Figure 44 - Portrait of Graves during an interview with Wilson Hand Kidde and Larz Ferguson Anderson. Graves is sitting in a room of his own design, photograph by Neil Selkirk. The transcript was titled 'Michael Graves builds his reputation', published in *Interview* magazine, September 1981, p. 75.

The disseminated support of Graves's scheme by architecture critics through the channels of the mainstream media appeared to produce a distinct shift in public opinion about the design. As the building began to take shape, it came to be reappraised by many local residents, local architects and the local press. This change in opinions is evident an article in the *Oregonian* titled 'Architect holds steady view … While critics slowly alter theirs' (Reed et al. 1981). Here Portland residents voiced that the building was 'not so bad after all' and that it was 'growing on people'. Gilbert later described the swing as 'striking' and 'unprecedented' (1985, p. 168).

The local press did not just publish the evolving opinions of the public, the critical consensus of the local newspaper editors and journalists also shifted. The *Oregonian* published an editorial entitled 'Portland anchor of Postmodernism' (1982) claiming that the Portland Building may become 'a great credit to the human spirit and mind in an age that scarcely knew what it was seeing when it looked'. Roger Downey, a design critic for the *Seattle Weekly*, praised the Portland Building's relationship with surrounding buildings and wrote that 'planning, politics, and chance conspired for once to push innovation forward'. The *Seattle Times* then published a series of supportive essays about Graves's building, firstly by Norman Johnston, then president of the AIA Seattle Chapter, and secondly by Ed Weiner. The latter was controversially titled 'The most famous building in Seattle is in Portland' which produced an influx of letters to the editor.[95]

Just as local sentiment was softening, Graves suffered another strong blow in the form of a highly critical article published in *Time* and written by Wolf von Eckhardt (1982, p. 72), the architecture critic for *Time* at that point. It is considered one of the strongest and most nationally prominent attacks on the Portland Building. Von Eckardt states quite clearly that 'the building is ugly … weird, heavy and polychrome'. Interestingly, although critical of Graves's aesthetic, the article also highlights Graves's growing professional prominence. Von Eckardt suggests that Graves has 'electrified architecture students everywhere, and they are now imitating him. He has become their pied Piper'.

[95] See Letters to the editor, *Seattle Times*, 1 November 1981.

The same backhanded “celebrification” is also evident in Von Eckardt’s discussion of Graves’s Post-Modernism. The opening phrase of article claims that the Portland Building is ‘dangerous Pop surrealism’. Von Eckardt seeks to disparage Post-Modernism by referring to the building as ‘Mickey Mouse Classical’, ‘rubbery ET’ and ‘Starastro’s Temple of Isis’. The critique also includes the terms ‘mystic fantasy world’, ‘stage set design’ and ‘sundry comic-strip characters’. Von Eckardt suggests that, while ‘Modern architecture is ripe for radical change’, Graves replaces ‘Satan with Beelzebub’. In using such analogies from popular culture, he places Post-Modern architects into the branded, controversial realm of entertainment culture, which holds celebrity at its core. The article received four letters to the editor, of which three defended the building. This indicates that the article, in fact, had a more positive than negative impact on the opinions of some *Time* readers.

The Portland Building was dedicated on October 2, 1982 (see Figure 45 and Figure 46). It is important to note that all of the commentary above was provided before the building was actually completed. Again, a diversity of opinions concerning its worthiness ensued. Overall, some negative criticisms were aimed at functional aspects of the building, yet the largest source of criticism was style. Within the professional press, architecture critic Douglas Brenner suggested, in an article for *Architectural Record*, that the final Portland building was ‘anticlimactic’, and that the needs of the user were not met by Graves’s design (1982, p. 90). He did, indirectly, support the ‘good intentions’ of the project, but did not feel that the cultural aspirations proclaimed by Graves had been achieved. He wrote, ‘for all the messages it was meant to convey, the Portland Building remains eerily mute' (p. 92). Another prominent reproach was offered by John Pastier, entitled ‘First monument of a loosely defined style’ (1983, pp. 232–237). Published in the AIA journal, and therefore widely read by Graves’s peers, Pastier criticises all aspects of the scheme, from colour to form. In summary, he suggested that the building failed ‘not through timidity, but through its very boldness’ (p. 236).

The mainstream media also published its share of unsympathetic articles. Kurt Forster’s review in *Skyline* indicated that the Classical references in the building were ‘tenuous’ and did not work well (1983, p. 18). The *Oregonian* published an article by the critic

Alan Hayakawa titled 'Building's a bane to city' (1982) in which he wrote that the building 'looks out of place'. On the other hand, Goldberger hailed it as the most significant American building of the decade less than a week after its dedication, in an article for *The New York Times*, (1982a, p. 43). In a second article, titled 'The Modern cityscape now finds room for the picturesque' (1982b), Goldberger referred to the completion of the Portland Building as the most compelling event in architecture in 1982 because it signified Post-Modernism's influence on the cityscape. He likened the building to a 'handsomely painted car'.

Filler contributed to the positive mainstream coverage with his article 'The gallant gamble of Michael Graves' for *House & Garden* (1983, p. 168). The article opens with a reference to the Portland Building as 'controversial', immediately setting a "celebrifying" tone. Filler communicates the currency of Graves by referring to him as both a 'high-style architect' and suggesting that he 'clearly has his finger on the pulse of the times'. Filler also highlights the growing profile of Graves through writing that he had become 'a cynosure of both the popular and the professional press during the past few years'. Filler notes that it is rare for a building to provoke such extreme reactions. Whilst Filler is ambivalent about the aesthetic merits of the building, the significance of the structure is described as follows; 'love it or loathe it, it will pique people's thinking about architecture and its role in the city for quite some time'.

The publicity boom surrounding the Portland commission included many architectural books after the project's completion[96] (refer Chart 17). According to the National Register of Historic Places, the Portland Building's 'enduring importance as an iconic building of the Post-Modern movement at large and specifically of the classicism that dominated the style in the late 1970s through 1990 is evident in that almost every book addressing architecture during this period discusses Michael Graves and the Portland Building' (Officer 2011, p. 152). One such book appeared in 1985, titled *Frozen music* (Bosker et al.). According to the authors of this well-researched book, the Portland Building is 'an exceptionally important national work' both as an expression of Post-Modern theory and as a physical work of architecture (p. 253). The authors also notes

[96] After an average of two or three books being released per year during the second half of the 1970s, there were ten books published in 1981.

that an architect ‘is never the same after a protracted gaze at Graves’ decorative masterpiece’ (p. 254).

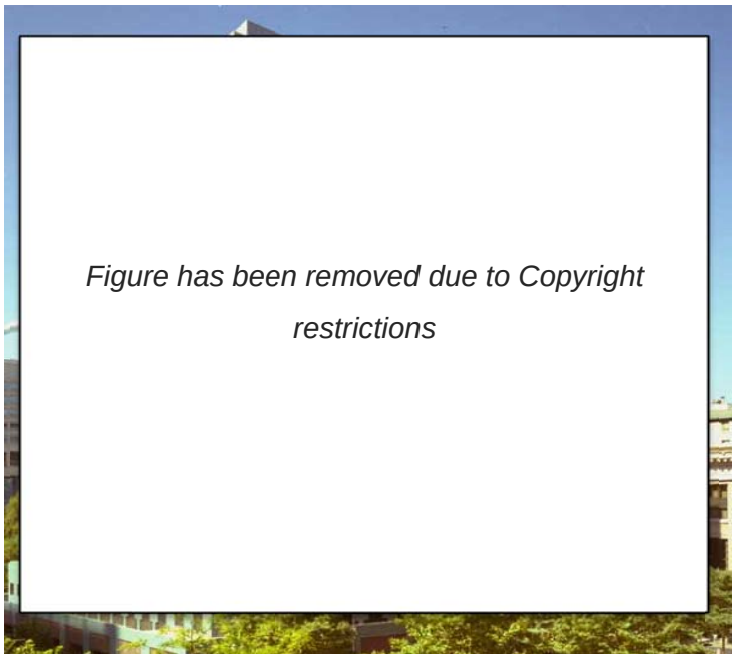

Figure 45 - West side of the Portland Building, August 1986, (image sourced the City of Portland archives, <http://www. portlandonline.com/ Auditor/Index.cfm?a=24 883&c=27928>, image retrieved 19 June 2013).

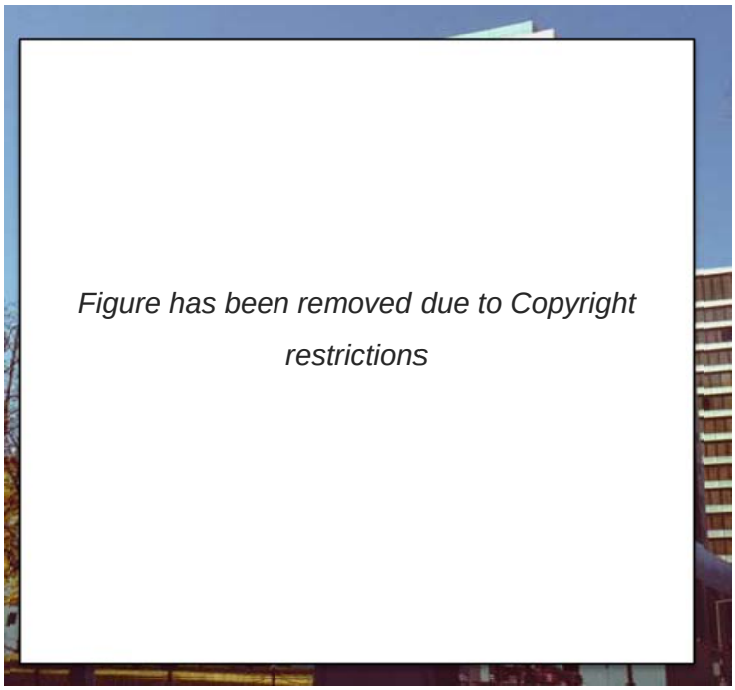

Figure 46 - East side of the Portland Building, August 1986, (image sourced the City of Portland archives, <http://www. portlandonline.com/Auditor/Index.cfm?a=24883&c=27928> , image retrieved 19 June 2013).

Two years earlier Wheeler, Arnell and Bickford published the monograph 'Michael Graves: buildings and projects' (Wheeler et al. 1983). In his introduction to the book, Vincent Scully hailed the Portland Building as 'mythic', continually reinforcing the contextualisation of the building. According to Scully:

> By any reasonable definition of the term, it is an entirely modern building, finding 'new objective correlatives' for every one of the great, traditional shapes which it employs, and reproducing none of them. Because of them it should be taken as a major and highly creative step toward the salvation of our cities from the mindless junk with which they have recently been strewn. It enhances the meaning and enlarges the emotional scope of the office building program … (Scully 1982, p. 298).[97]

In terms of reactions from the general public to the completion of the Portland Building, its opponents immediately made their presence felt. A group gathered at the dedication ceremony wearing badges, some with a red slash through an image of the building, others citing the phrase 'We don't dig Graves' (Guenther 1983, p. 1). That members of the public felt compelled to attend such a professional event and voice their opinions about an individual architect and his work indicates the level of controversy surrounding Graves and the building by the early 1980s.

Despite criticism, the building successfully demonstrated that Graves's Post-Modern approach could be applied at a large scale; the project was delivered on time and on budget (Keenan 1982, p. 26). In 1985 the Portland Building was officially sanctioned and celebrated with an AIA National Honor Award in recognition of the design and the contribution of Graves to the field of architecture. The timing of this award is significant. Graves's first two National Honor Awards, for the Gunwyn Ventures Professional Office and the Schulman House, had been awarded seven and six years, respectively, after delivery of the project. Yet the Portland building received its award within a year of its completion (refer Chart 22), suggesting that the generation of debate within the popular and professional media had ultimately influenced its recognition by the professional community. Also, most of the career achievement awards won by

[97] See also *Three Centuries of Notable American Architects* (Thorndlike 1981). The chapter written by Paul Goldberger, entitled 'Architects of today,' cites Graves as one of the members of the generation 'now coming into prominence' (1981, p. 341).

Graves were given during the years surrounding the Portland project[98] (refer Chart 5). These institutional awards served to recognise his overall contribution to the field of architecture, as distinct from the design merit of one building. They include the Arnold W. Brunner Memorial Prize in Architecture from the American Academy of Arts and Letters (1980), the Special Recognition Honor Award from the AIA New Jersey Chapter (1982) and the 'Silver Spoon Award' from Boston University (1984).

In summary, the Portland Building remains among the most debated works of late twentieth century architecture (Gilbert 1985, 172). As articulated by Webster, there is a 'causal relationship between scarcity and value' (2011, p. 43). The professional and public divide surrounding the Portland competition generated much publicity, disseminating meaning around the value of Graves and increasing his profile dramatically. This is the period when the *celebrity-based process of legitimisation* began full activation; the Portland saga was drawn so deeply into public discourse that for the first time in Graves's career his presence in the professional media dipped and was overtaken by his presence in the mainstream media. This was the beginning of his transcendence of the field of architecture and adoption of the cultural capital offered by cultural intermediaries such as journalists. Almost all articles, both supportive and unsupportive, reference the controversy over the Portland scheme, heightening Graves' position as a Post-Modern newcomer, thereby activating the "celebrification" technique of "grandiosation". The visibility of Graves also increased; whilst several photographs of Graves appeared in previous articles, this was the period when he began to be "humanised" through portraits in profiles. He began to exist as an autonomous individual within the framework of the media's system of consecration, to be both interpreted and judged, and guided in an upward trajectory. Graves's relationship with his professional consecrators remained steady; appearance in books peaked during this period, as did his use of the *traditional* elements of self-authorship and interviews. According to Zapatka, the Portland building 'turned a Princeton university professor into an overnight sensation' (1999, p. 9). This is the building that, according to Jencks,

[98] Graves won at least one career (non-project specific) award in each year of the early 1980s.That represents two-thirds of his career achievement awards being won in the space of four years. Of the eight non-project specific awards won by Graves from 1966 to 1990, all (except one in 1990) were awarded in the years surrounding the Portland project (1980–1986). The three most significant of these – awarded in 1980, 1982 and 1986 – were awarded in the year following a rapid boost in mainstream publication.

truly established both Post-Modern Classicism and the reputation of Graves (1983, p. 86). Ultimately, the Portland commission was a primary reason for the dramatic growth in both celebrity and professional recognition for Graves during the following period of 1982 to 1985.

6.5 The fully fledged "starchitect"

Having gained national prominence with the Portland commission, Graves's career during the first half of the 1980s took off with astounding speed (Goldberger 1985b, p. 13). He experienced a strong increase in commissions, which grew in size, scope and number (refer Chart 7). Whilst residential construction had provided a slow career debut, large-scale public works provided Graves with full career momentum. Two major examples are the Humana Building and the proposed design for the Whitney Museum of American Art. Graves's professional and public profile dramatically expanded; these projects, and others commissioned and completed during this period, demonstrate the highest rate of publication of his career (refer Chart 10).[99] Also, Graves began to apply his versatile design language on an infinitely smaller scale: consumer products. These projects broadened his public profile and deepened his involvement in mainstream culture.

The Humana Headquarters in Louisville,[100] Kentucky, was commissioned in 1982 and completed in 1985. This was Graves's second large-scale work after the Portland Building and first major commercial construction, and his largest urban building to date. As in the case of the Portland Building, the Humana Building was won through a competition, which served as a source of much of Graves's publicity about the project. The budget for Humana was almost twice as big as for the Portland commission, and this competition was even harder for Graves to win because his competitors – Cesar Pelli, Helmut Jahn and Norman Foster among others – were even more experienced (Jencks 1983, p. 98).

[99] Graves's five most published projects were produced during the time span of 1981 to 1985. In 1982 and 1985 there were three of the most highly published projects in production, indicating that these two years were particularly high in both output and media presence. During 1983 and 1984, there were three of the most highly published projects in production, making the overall span of 1982 to 1985, Graves's celebrity boom phase, the period of peak production and publication for Graves.

[100] More commonly referred to as the Humana Building.

The selection of Graves by the Humana Corporation was largely viewed as a gamble. Corporations are typically hesitant to commission an architect inexperienced in large corporate buildings due to the potential for cost overruns. Hence, the competition win was, for Graves, an important means of confirming his credibility to transition beyond small-scale buildings to large commercial endeavours. In an article about the competition in *The New York Times* titled 'Humana's bet on innovation' (Giovannini 1985, p. 28), it was indicated that the client sought a 'building of architectural importance', inferring that Graves was the most likely architect to achieve such an aim. The journalist suggests that, by selecting Graves's design, the Humana executives 'have shown architectural sophistication beyond that of most corporate officers'.

Despite the apparent risk, the project was largely considered a success. Whilst the Portland Building had stirred much public controversy, the Humana Building received both professional and public credit. In later years, the Humana project would come to be referred to as more conservative and mature than the Portland building and 'almost universally acclaimed' (Schriener 1990, p. 25). It is interesting to note that the mainstream coverage of the Humana Building exceeded the professional coverage, indicating that Graves had truly entered the realm of public interest in the wake of the Portland controversy (refer Chart 23).

The mainstream media coverage of the project was particularly complimentary. A high-profile article was published in *The New York Times* by Goldberger, titled 'An appraisal; The Humana Building in Louisville: compelling work by Michael Graves' (1985b, p. 13). The building is described as Graves's 'largest and most ambitious work so far'. Goldberger describes the building as 'a remarkable achievement – in every way Mr. Graves' finest building, a tower that proves his ability not only to work at large scale, but to create interior and exterior details as well wrought as those of any architect now practicing'. He suggests that Graves and his Humana scheme would no doubt be compared to Philip Johnson and John Burgee and their AT&T commission.

The extent of the Humana Building's acclaim is demonstrated through the awards it received (refer Chart 23). The project won the AIA National Honor Award in 1987;[101] the sixth of Graves's career and, like the Portland Building, the award was bestowed close to the building's completion. Winning three awards places the Humana Building amongst the most professionally recognised of Graves's projects, exceeded only by the Sunar Showrooms. That same year, the media confirmed its significance; *Time* listed it as one of the ten best buildings of the 1980s. This building is now considered to be a textbook example of Post-Modernism (see Figure 47).

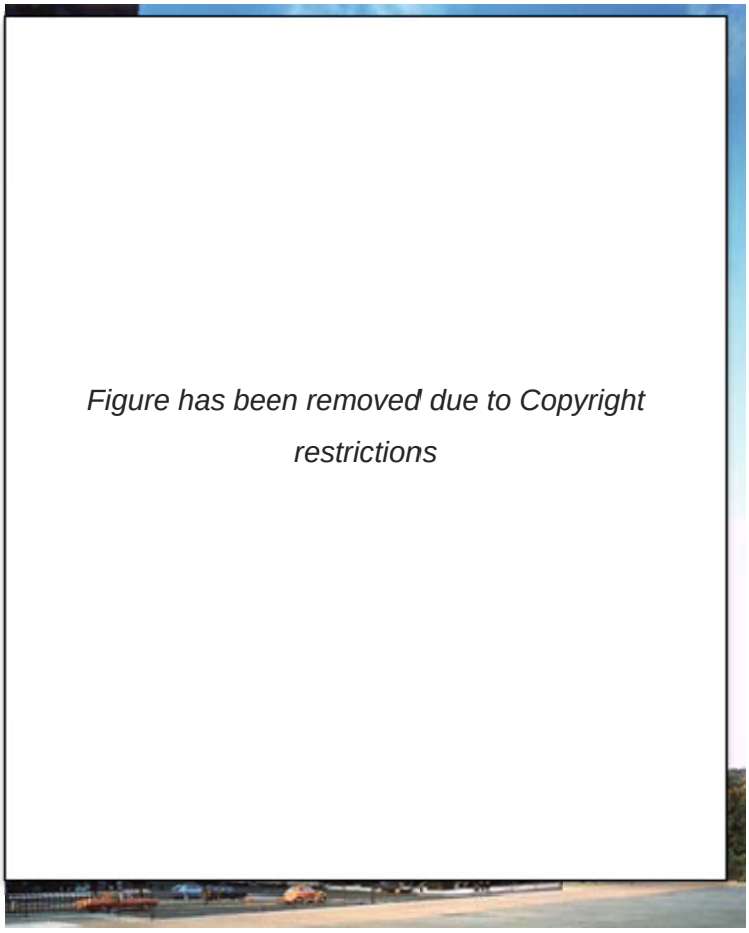

Figure 47 - The Humana Building, Louisville, Kentucky (image sourced from the website of Michael Graves & Associates,<http://www.michaelgraves.com/architecture /project/the-humana-building.html>, image retrieved 22 May 2013).

[101] The project also won an Architectural Projects Honor Award from the New Jersey chapter of the AIA in 1985 and an *Interiors* Magazine Award in 1986.

Concurrent to the Humana commission, Graves began to apply his talents to a range of other kinds of design projects. In 1982 he was commissioned to design the stage sets and costumes for the ballet 'Fire', choreographed by Laura Dean for the Joffrey Ballet (see Figure 48). Graves played with scale to produce an ambiguous view for the audience; the set and furniture take prominence and dancers appear in miniature, reaching only the height of a table (see Figure 49Figure 48). The design was explored in an article in *The Princeton Journal* titled 'Table talk' (Gans 1983). In analysing the approach of Graves and Dean, who are described by Gans as 'acclaimed Post-Modernists' (p. 57), the similarities and differences between the application of Post-Modernism in architecture and dance are described in detail. This serves to reinforce the relevance of Graves's language to a variety of popular and cultural mediums.

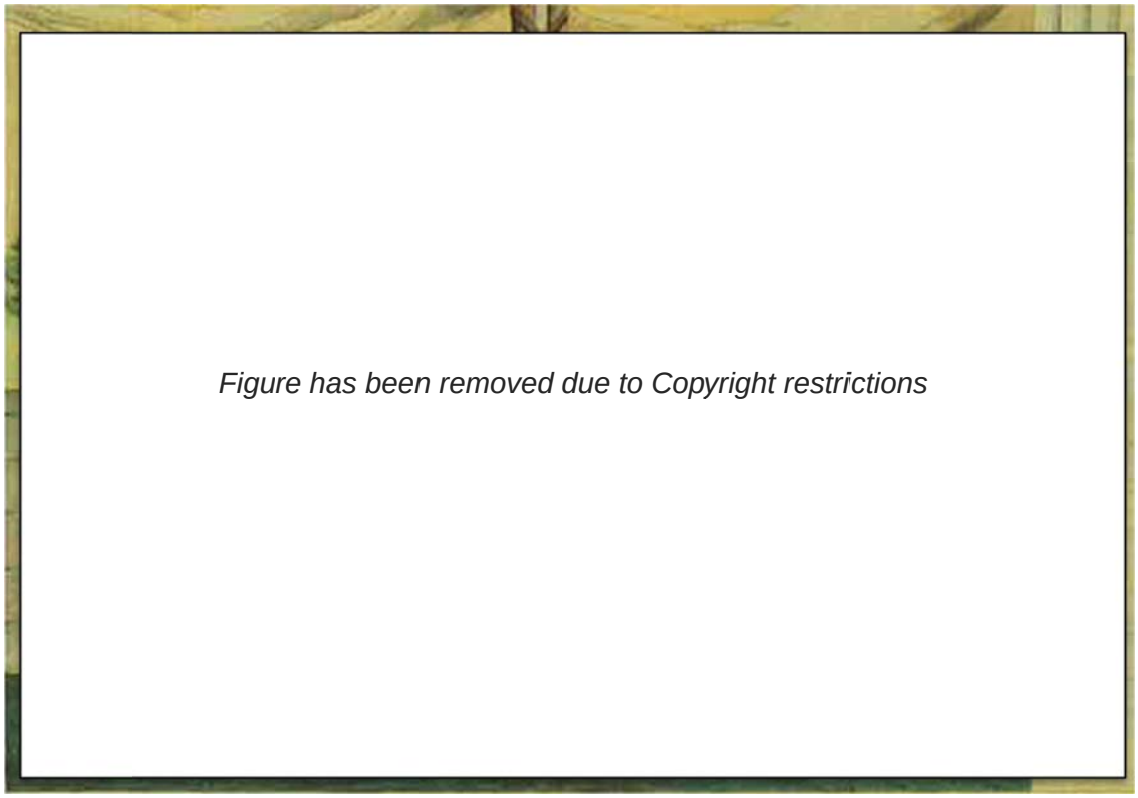

Figure 48 - Graves's set design for the Joffrey Ballet production of 'Fire', world premiere 30 December 1982 (image sourced from Gans 1983, p. 56).

Figure 49 - Graves's set and costume designs for the Joffrey Ballet production of 'Fire' (image sourced from Gans 1983, p. 58).

Graves also ventured into consumer products. In 1982 he was invited by *Gentleman's Quarterly* magazine to design a trophy for an annual awards program, known as the 'Manstyle Award' (see Figure 50). In the same year, Graves created a bag for Bloomingdale's spring and summer collections, as well as producing illustrations for *The great gatsby*, published in 1984. However, his most notable product was a sterling silver tea service designed for Alessi in 1982 (see Figure 51). This was part of Alessi's experimental 'Programma 6', in which eleven internationally known architects were commissioned between 1980 and 1983 to design a limited edition tea set in silver. Additionally, Graves designed the 'Birdie Tea Kettle' in stainless steel for Alessi, which is considered Graves's first and most iconic home product (Zapatka 1999, p. 11). In an article for *The New York Times* entitled 'When big-name talents tackle trifles', by Patricia Leigh Brown (1988), it is suggested, in reference to Graves's teakettle, that 'we have entered the era of the architect-and-designer object. Just as brides once lusted for Baccarat and Orrefors, today's upscale brides crave Graves' (p. 1).[102]

[102] Graves later established strategic brand partnerships with companies such as Target, Disney, Phillips Electronics, and Black and Decker, developing a wide range of products.

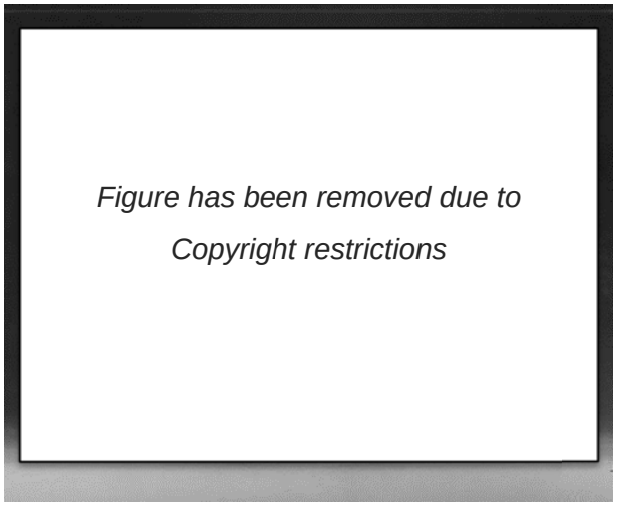

Figure 50 - 'Manstyle Award' cup, designed by Graves for *Gentleman's Quarterly* magazine in 1982 (image sourced from the website of The Museum of Modern Art (Collections), <http://metmuseum.org/Collections>, image retrieved 12 April 2013).

Figure 51 - Tea service for Alessi, Milan, 1980. The monumental teapot (image sourced from Jencks 1983, p. 100).

Graves's consumer products drew much criticism from his peers. In the words of Goldberger, 'when he turned to Bloomingdale's shopping bags, he seemed less like a man eager to broaden the arena of serious design than one willing to put his name on anything that could be sold' (Goldberger 1996, p. 38). Yet despite some professional opposition, Graves's product designs displayed the ultimate 'accessibility' of his Post-Modern language. Widely commercially available, his products touched the daily lives of users, making him a household name.

Whatever criticism Graves received for his commercial products, it was minimal compared to his next major public commission in the mid-1980s. This was for an addition to the Whitney Museum of American Art in New York, designed by the leading Modernist Marcel Breuer. A number of star architects, such as Sir Norman Foster, had been hired over the previous five years to design the extension, yet each attempt had been abandoned due to cost or design. The museum's building committee and board of trustees then invited Graves to submit a design; he attributes this opportunity largely to his success from the Portland building. He claims that the trustees recognised the Portland building's urban value and were impressed by its pragmatic and aesthetic attributes (Keenan 1982).

Graves found himself once again at the centre of professional and public outcry. Graves's proposed extension to the national landmark was viewed as an attack on Breuer and his architecture. The new Post-Modern scheme was large scale and colourful; it was claimed that it not only competed with the stark minimalism of the original Whitney, but overwhelmed it (McGill 1985b, p. 26). As a result of such widespread criticism, Graves was continually sent 'back to the drawing board' (Goldberger 1989a). Ultimately Graves would produce three different designs for the Whitney. The first version was produced by Graves in 1985, the second was unveiled in 1987, and the third was finally accepted in 1988. Support for the project by the museum's trustees gradually diminished, and the scheme was abandoned in 1989, yet the controversy surrounding the project still served to raise Graves's profile significantly.

The Modernists fiercely opposed the scheme from the start, and eventually the entire community became involved in the debate, which was widely published in the professional and mainstream media, particularly *The New York Times*. In total, *The New York Times* archives reveal sixty-five articles published on the Whitney redevelopment from the first scheme in 1985 to the final construction in 1988. Goldberger described the social climate as: 'almost everyone with even a passing interest in architecture had become accustomed to arguing about the Whitney' (1989b, p. 31). When Graves's first design was unveiled the Modernists rallied, attacking Michael Graves as 'the plunderer of one of the twentieth century's greatest works of architecture' (Goldberger 1989b, p. 31). The architect Abraham W Geller took the opportunity of an acceptance speech to the New York Chapter of the AIA for the 1985 Medal of Honor to condemn Graves's proposed scheme. According to *The New York Times* his comments 'were greeted with enthusiastic applause'.

Importantly, the AIA became officially involved in the controversy. To protest the first proposal, the institute set up a petition that attracted 600 signatures of architects, artists and writers[103] (McGill 1985a, p. 26). The New York Chapter of the AIA also sponsored a highly visible public discussion held at the prominent Donnell Library auditorium in

[103] Including Edward Larabee Barnes, IM Pei, Isamu Noguchi and Arthur Miller.

midtown Manhattan.[104] Present were Graves, several of his colleagues, the Whitney museum director, academics, students and professionals. An article in *The New York Times* provides an insight into the significance of this gathering: 'the auditorium was standing-room-only, and in the audience were many of this country's most prominent architects and art scholars, including Philip Johnson, Ulrich Franzen and Vincent Scully' (McGill 1985b, p. 26).

Several members of the profession and architecture critics did, however, come out in support of Graves's design. Goldberger, for example, described it as 'daring and sensitive' (1985a, p. 20). Goldberger proudly proclaimed Graves to be an architect who had 'not done what many architects would do, which is to lie down and play dead beside such a powerful and difficult building'. Instead, Goldberger praised Graves for his 'courage' and for producing a 'powerful and subtle' design. Philip Johnson was also a supporter of Graves during this time, standing during a public debate to voice his opinion: 'I join the trustees in admiring the building enormously' (McGill 1985b, p. 26).

Graves's Whitney controversy ultimately drew more media interest than any other project in his career, including the Portland Building. Interestingly, this project demonstrates the closest alignment between mainstream and professional media coverage; the interest of both rose and fell almost in unison (refer Chart 24). Graves contributed to this media hype by self-authoring various articles, as he had in the years surrounding the Portland controversy (refer Chart 19). Despite his efforts, and the widespread publication of the project, being unbuilt meant that it won no awards. Yet the Whitney would still prove to be beneficial to Graves's career. Just as the media hype surrounding his Portland Building had led to a stream of successful commissions, such as the Humana Building, so too would the Whitney controversy immediately precede Graves's involvement in another high-profile project during the final years of the 1980s.

Broadly, Graves's celebrity boom years of 1982 to 1985 were characterised by a rise in almost all aspects of both the *traditional* and *celebrity-related process of legitimisation*. Graves experienced a rapid increase in his rate of publication in both the professional and mainstream press from 1982 onwards, the most significant media boom of his

[104] On the evening of 25 July 1985.

career[105] (refer Chart 3). Graves also came to be of greater interest to the international press;[106] as he became more widely read in the US, he also became more widely read overseas [107] (refer Chart 20).

In alignment with the traditional process, professional media interest tends to focus on an architect's work. For Graves, a rise is evident in the number of special editions and opinion pieces. In 1983 the *New Criterion* also released a special issue on Graves (authored by Jordy), as did *Space* Design, this time the article was an extensive sixty-nine pages long (authored by Takagi and Senou). *Global Architecture Document 10* ran a special edition on Graves, publishing eight of his works: Cincinnati Symphony Summer Pavilion; St. James Townhouses; The Republic Building; The Humana Building; Art History Department; Public Library; Environmental Education Center; and The Portland Building. Graves's opinion was considered significant enough to be invited to write 'Thoughts about Louis I Kahn,' published in the *Architecture and Urbanism Special Issue: Louis I Kahn* (1983c).

The growing professional and mainstream media attention that Graves experienced is also evident in the average number of pages per publication (refer Chart 14). Although there had been peaks in the length of articles in the professional media during the 1970s, the early to mid-1980s is the period during which the first major peak in article length in the mainstream media is evident.

It also became obvious that Graves's name held considerable cachet by this point. It featured much more frequently, for example, in the headings of articles (refer Chart 18). While publications in the 1970s almost never cited Graves in the title, by the early 1980s almost half of all articles about Graves included his name in bold. The peak occurred in 1985, the height of his celebrity phase, when thirty-four articles included the word 'Graves' in the title. This statistic also indicates that Graves was the primary focus of these articles, rather than being merely one of the many architects cited.

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[105] In both the professional and mainstream media Graves jumped from an average of twenty-one publications around 1981 to astonishing eighty-one publications by 1985. The increase is relatively exponential, with only a minor dip occurring in mainstream publications around 1984.

[106] The countries that produced the most publications about Graves are during his career are Japan (fifty), England (thirty-one) and Italy (thirteen).

[107] The highest rate of international publication spans 1983 to 1986. In 1985 alone there were twenty-one international publications, representing a quarter of all publications about Graves that year.

Additionally, the incidence of 'profiles' about him greatly increased, indicating that there was an audience that wanted to know who Graves was, his personal motivations and feelings [108] (refer Chart 15). A prominent example from the professional press is 'Michael Graves on Michael Graves' in *GA document* (1982). Graves's work in fact featured on the front cover of the issue (see Figure 52).

Another prominent example from the professional media is 'Michael Graves at mid career, eleven years after 'Five architects'', published in *Architecture: the AIA Journal* (Wilson, 1983). This article is highly complementary of Graves and enthusiastically describes his newfound celebrity. The first line of the article expresses the high profile of Graves: 'Michael Graves has quite clearly attained a position of eminence both within American architecture and also American culture at large that is unusual for an architect who is only 49 years old' (p. 78). In this opening sentence Wilson conveys not only the professional prominence of Graves, but also his public prominence. He also alludes to the speed at which Graves has achieved both; typically architects must wait far longer to reach his position. The article references the celebrity that Graves by this stage experienced. Wilson discusses his popularity on a 'broader mass-cult level' and writes that he now frequently appears in airline magazine; according to Wilson, that is 'surely a sign of arrival'. He also uses the term 'mass acceptance and adulation'. The mainstream media's interest in Graves is described through such terms as 'media hype' and 'heavy sell', both indicative of "celebrification". The article also makes reference to Graves's professional legitimisation. Wilson writes that Post-Modernism has come to dominate architectural discourse, and that Graves is playing a 'central role'.

[108] After only two profiles appearing during the decade of the 1970s, two profiles were published in 1981 alone. In 1983 that number jumped to five and 1985 saw the career-peak of six profiles.

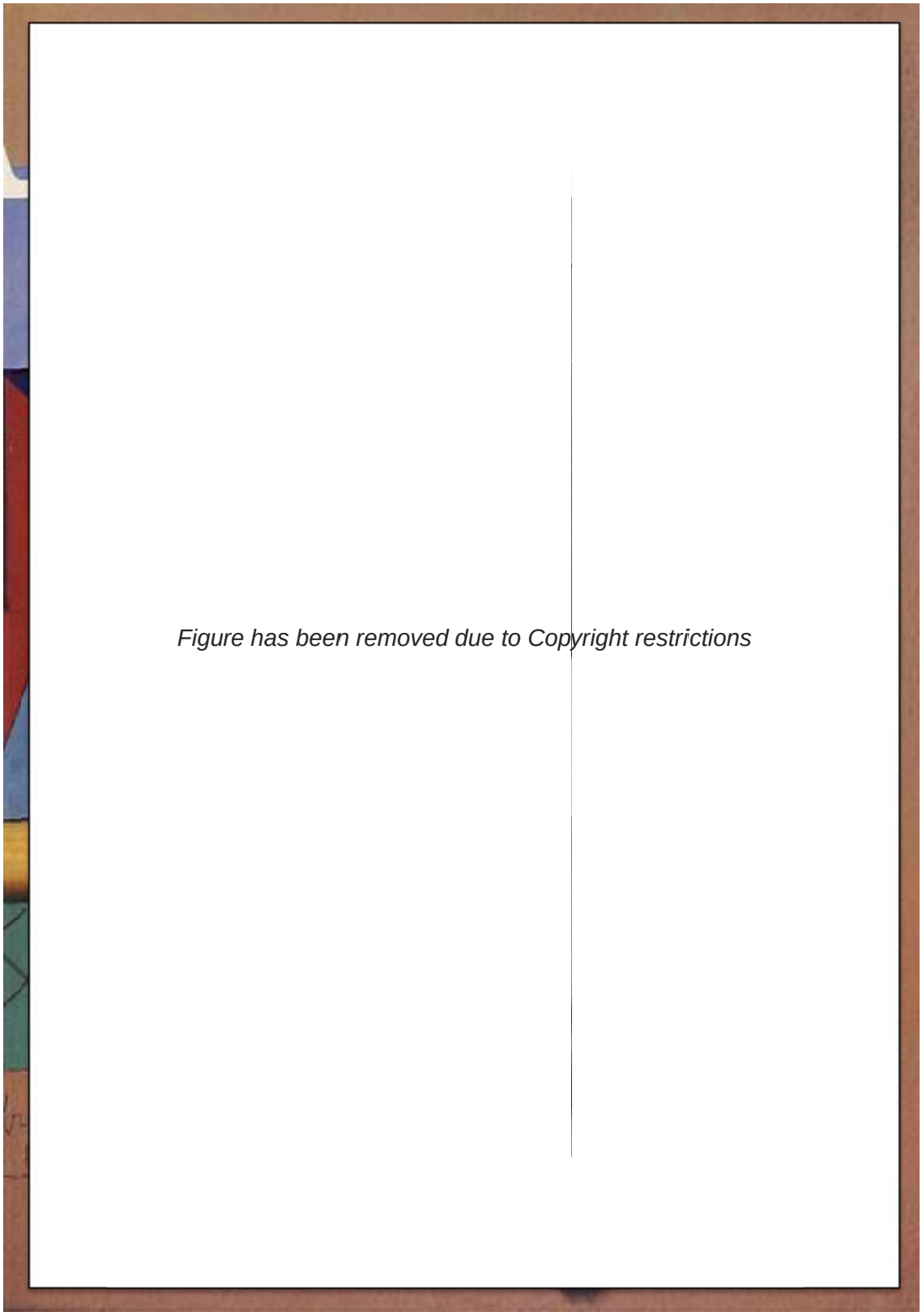

Figure 52 - Collage by Graves on the front cover of *GA Document*, 1983, vol. 5.

The frequency of profiles in the mainstream media also increased. One of the most prominent profiles of Graves's career was published at this time; Suzanne Stephen's 'The Fountainhead syndrome', published *Vanity Fair* (1984). The article discusses a remake of *The Fountainhead* film, and Stephens suggests that the director, Michael Cimino, drew inspiration from some of America's contemporary architects. Three are featured: Stern, Eisenman and Graves. Stephens suggests that these architects had 'rekindled the sense of architecture as a creative act' and, as such, represent a 'new breed of Howard Roarks' (p. 42). The article argues that 'in degree of acclaim, Michael Graves approaches Howard Roark's mythic stature' (p. 43). The article "celebrifies" Graves through referencing the controversy surrounding him and his work. Stephens writes that he had been 'savagely attacked' by *Time* magazine (she notes a similar occurrence in the career of Roark). Yet, far from damaging his career, Stephens suggests that it made Graves more famous. The profile also 'humanises' Graves through including a photograph of him surrounded by some of his most high-profile designs: a model of the Humana building and the Birdie Tea Kettle (see Figure 53). Stephens uses the technique of "grandiosation" by suggesting that these projects, along with his other major commissions such as the Portland building, 'impel the architecture world to watch Graves very closely" (p. 43).

A further example of mainstream media profile is 'An architect with a very personal approach to design', published in the *Philadelphia Inquirer* (Hine 1984). It again heavily references Graves's heightened prominence. The article includes frequent use of the terms 'popular' and 'celebrated' and references the 'tremendous publicity' that Graves had received, thereby communicating his currency. Hine also uses the technique of "grandiosation" through referring to Graves's talent and describing his work as 'inspiring'.

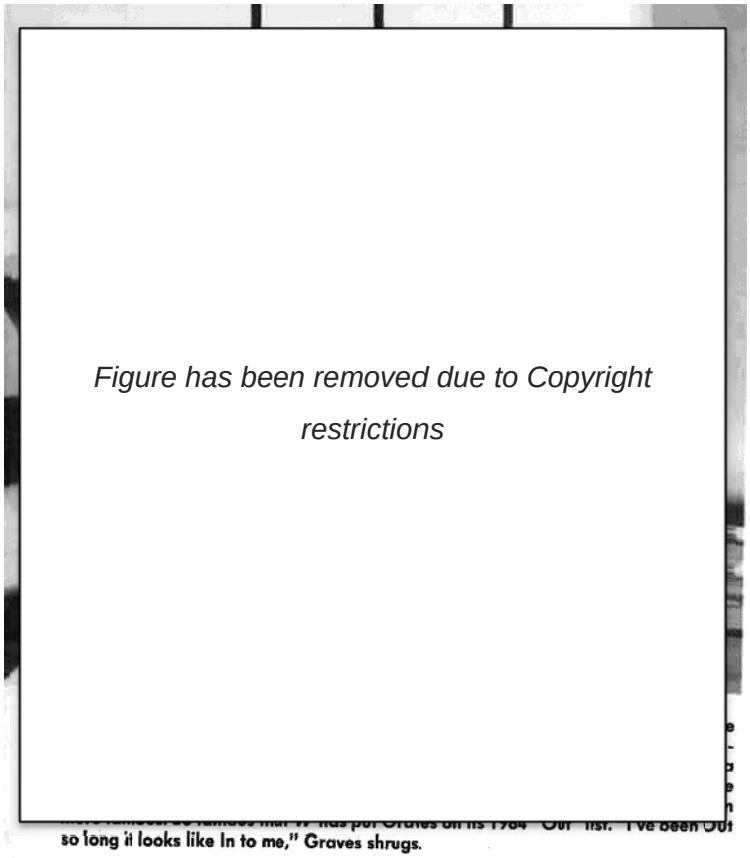

Figure 53 - Photograph of Graves in Suzanne Stephen's article 'The fountainhead syndrome', published April 1984 in *Vanity Fair*. Graves is featured surrounded by some of his most high-profile designs; a model of the Humana building, and the Birdie Tea Kettle.

This is also the period of time when the most number of interviews with Graves were published, indicating that Graves's opinion was being more actively sought[109] (refer Chart 16). A prominent example was Graves featuring as the 'voice of the Americas' in an article for *Designers West* titled 'Perspectives from the East' (1981b), in which he was asked to address the question of stylistic difference between the East and West coasts of the US. The interview took place in Graves's Sunar showroom in Los Angeles, showcasing his work. The journal claims to be interested in defining the people who contribute to the Western US position as 'a major design capital of the world' (p. 168). The fact that Graves is considered one of those people is telling of his rising fame. This perceived significance is reinforced by the headline of the article,

[109] There is then an exponential jump in the early 1980s; four or five were published each year. The mid-1980s saw a continual high rate of interviews appearing in both the professional and mainstream media.

which includes the phrase 'leading designers'. The editor's introduction to the interviewees further exhibits "grandiosation" Graves through referring to him as 'respected' and then 'one of America's most watched and widely imitated architects'.

Two years later *A & U: Architecture & Urbanism* published the article 'Aica seminars in architecture 1: Michael Graves talks on his work' (Graves 1983b). The first page of the article "visualises" Graves by including a portrait of him (see Figure 53).

Figure 54 - Portrait of Graves in the article 'Aica seminars in architecture 1: Michael Graves talks on his work', published in *A & U: Architecture & Urbanism*, 1983, p. 19.

Several important professional books were also published about Graves, such as *Kings of infinite space* (Jencks, 1983). In this book, Jencks provides support for his architecture by commenting that it has 'reached complete maturity' and 'opened up a monumental style which is accessible and free from cliché: popular without being populist' (p. 100).

Whilst the publications written *about* Graves increased dramatically, the publications written *by* Graves also rose (refer Charts 19). From 1983 onwards Graves significantly reduced his rate of self-authorship.[110] Whilst self-authorship is an aspect of the *traditional process of legitimisation*, Graves's adaptation of this technique was slightly different. Rather than being restricted to the professional media, Graves's self-authored

[110] Graves published only four self-works over the seven-year period.

articles appear in a wide range of sources, from the most academic of publications, such as the *Princeton Journal*, to more mainstream publications such as *Architectural Digest* and newspapers such as *Fifth Column*. It would appear that Graves canvassed himself to the widest audience possible.

Many mainstream articles from this time period begin with an introduction on the professional significance of Graves, citing his growing prominence in the field of architecture. For example, Filler wrote an article for *House & Garden* (1982) with the opening sentence: 'according to a recent poll conducted among architecture students, the most influential architect in America is Michael Graves' (p. 102). Filler also makes reference to Graves's 'ever-widening reputation' and employs such terms as 'popular' and 'important'. Graves is credited by Filler as being 'responsible in recent years for re-establishing architecture as an openly acknowledged art form', a remarkable claim for an architect who came into the professional and public eye only several previous prior. Two years later Filler wrote another article in *House & Garden* in which he stated that 'in a few short years Michael Graves has had a profound effect on American architecture' (1984, p. 148). He also wrote that 'several of Graves' ideas have already reached the mainstream of American architectural practice, and his influence has spread with a speed that is surely a record for a member of the avant-garde'. In a similar vein, Goldberger wrote in *The New York Times* that 'the fact of the matter is that Graves, if he is not an epoch-making figure, is the most truly original voice that American architecture has produced in some time'(Goldberger 1982a, p. 42).

As Graves's public and professional profile rose in the media, other traditional aspects of his career path rose concurrently. The first half of the 1980s was characterised by an increased rate of award winning; Graves had reached the peak in 1980, yet 1983 almost matched that record[111] (refer Chart 4). The rate of exhibition of Graves's work also increased[112] (refer Chart 6).

[111] Eight awards were won that year.

[112] The most number of exhibitions held for Graves throughout his career was in the period from 1980 to 1990, and the period 1980 to 1987 provided the most number of exhibitions in consecutive years. After hovering at an average of five to seven exhibitions per year during the 1970s, in 1980 that number would increase to fourteen exhibitions, a rate that remained steady during the Portland phase. The most number of exhibitions for any one year was twenty-eight in 1983 (up from thirteen the year before) followed by nineteen in 1984 and twenty in 1985.

In summary, through the early to mid-1980s Graves reached two significant stages: he became a fully-fledged celebrity and he became legitimised by the architectural profession. This period was characterised by an increase in almost all aspects of both the *traditional* and *celebrity-related process of legitimisation*. Graves's work was more frequently exhibited than ever before, he won the majority of his career achievement awards and his presence in the professional media peaked, as did his presence in the mainstream media. Indicators of Graves's celebrity reached their highest levels, including the number of profiles, the length of articles about him and the frequency of his name in the title of articles. Almost all techniques of "celebrification" – "humanisation", "visualisation"; "grandiosation" and "personal profiling" – were employed.

During these years Graves's productivity soared and he was commissioned for more projects than ever before or after, absorbing himself fully in the field of large-scale production. The commercial works activated a long-term accumulation of symbolic capital. In response to the controversy surrounding his Portland scheme, disseminated by cultural intermediaries, Graves further secured his heightened position within the field by confirming his ability to accomplish large-scale construction through acclaimed projects such as the Humana Building. It was becoming clear that he had the power to exert control within the field of architecture, were he to acquire the necessary authority. He then reignited public outcry through his Whitney scheme, which generated further media interest and reinforced his celebrity. The introduction of consumer products to his repertoire meant that Graves's designs became more widely accessible. Although Graves received criticism from his peers for the commerciality of these works, they helped to make him a household name. Goldberger would later write in an article for *The New York Times* that Graves became 'almost a cult figure' by the mid-1980s (1990b, p. 37). Having reached the heights of celebrity and become recognised by his peers, the second half of the 1980s was characterised by Graves's efforts to solidify and retain his influential status.

6.6 The Disney era: popularising Post-Modernism

In 1987 Goldberger wrote that Post-Modernism had become 'virtually the establishment attitude … an accepted approach' that had infiltrated 'the mainstream of American

architecture' (1987b, p. 1). Yet the prevalence of Post-Modernism did not last; in the second half of the 1980s it began to lose favour professionally and became 'less central than it once was' (Giovannini 1987, p. 12). The 'retreat' was widely reported and debated in both the professional and mainstream media. *The New York Times* critic Giovannini suggested that Post-Modernism was 'nurtured in professional publications' but by the mid-1980s was 'being abandoned by those publications' (1987, p. 12).

Post-Modernism's decline occurred, according to Giovannini, due to 'poor examples' that sprang from the 'popularization' of the movement (1987, p. 12). Once Post-Modernism reached the commercial mainstream, it came to be viewed as less radical and, therefore, less interesting. Other architecture critics, such as Goldberger, claimed that Post-Modernism had simply 'run its course' (1987b, p. 1). Likewise, Kurt Andersen wrote an article for *Time* in which he suggested that 'prevailing fashions in architecture, being fashions, tend to change course at just the moment they become mainstream doctrine … As postmodern clichés become ubiquitous, in other words, the movement is becoming passé' (1986, p. 94).

Graves was frequently referenced in reports of Post-Modernism's demise. Goldberger, in his article for *The New York Times*, suggested that the interest in Post-Modern architects such as Michael Graves and Philip Johnson had vanished in New York city architecture schools[113] (1987b, p. 1). Likewise, the December 1987 issue of *Interior Design* included an editorial by Stanley Abercrombie which read as a mock obituary for the Post-Modern movement. According to Abercrombie (1987) Post-Modernism had been 'diagnosed as seriously ill' when, out of boredom, close to half of the student audience left a lecture being given by Graves in London in 1984.

This negative media coverage led to a strong response from Post-Modernists including, of course, Graves, who had experienced a drop in both his professional and mainstream media presence since the mid-1980s[114] (refer Chart 14). Graves wrote an article for *Architectural Digest* (1988); it is significant that he chose a mainstream publication for

[113] Goldberger's claim was based on a comment by Peter Pran, former co-chairman of the awards committee for the New York Chapter of the AIA.

[114] Graves's professional and mainstream media presence halved between 1985 and 1987. The reduced media exposure of Graves is evident in the declining average length of articles, in both the mainstream and professional media (refer Chart 14, p. 218).

this defence, indicating the extent to which professional discourse on Graves and Post-Modernism had infiltrated public dialogue. It also indicates that, just as Graves had been aided by the mainstream media in his first celebrity boom, so too was he relying on its power for his resurgence. The article was titled 'Has Post-Modernism reached its limit?' (Graves, 1988) and was subtitled 'The Movement's leading exponent offers his view of the future'. In this article, Graves recognises the growing professional opinion that Post-Modernism had run its course, and makes an argument to the contrary. The article reads like a manifesto, an effort to defend his own works through repeated references to his ideology, such as 'using the context of the street and surroundings' (p. 6). In this article, while defending his approach, Graves is also seeking to raise his own profile. He places discussion of his own work alongside that of masters such as Michelangelo, Borromini and Sir John Soane (in reference to their acknowledgement of the rich urban contexts of their work). He also provides details of his private life, discussing his school years in the 1950s (p. 8). Further, he communicates a strong sense of self-importance through such statements as 'I do think that I can create, both indoors and out, a landscape of the mind for our time' (p. 10). The "celebrification" techniques of *visualisation* and *humanisation* are broached through the inclusion of a large, central photograph of Graves in his Princeton studio (see Figure 55). In the context of waning media interest in Graves and Post-Modernism, this article reads as a last defence.

Yet it would not only be through writing that Graves attempted to revive Post-Modernism, and by association his professional status, but through his commissions. In the wake of declining public interest, Graves took on a large number of new projects and chose an opportune moment to align himself with an ultimate symbol of popular culture. In the second half of the 1980s Graves established a design relationship with the cultural icon, Disney, the 'hottest' movie studio in the country at the time (Viladas 1988, p. 104). Evidence of Disney's popularity is found in CEO and chairman, Michael D Eisner, appearing with the cartoon icon Mickey Mouse on the cover of *Time* (see Figure 56). The works designed for this large conglomerate may be interpreted as Graves's last efforts to defend his language, and demonstrate the true extent of its accessibility: 'it's almost as if Graves were trying to prove not only that Postmodernism is not, as they say, dead but that Postmodernism is alive and well and kicking up its heels in sunny central Florida' (Gandee 1990, p. 144).

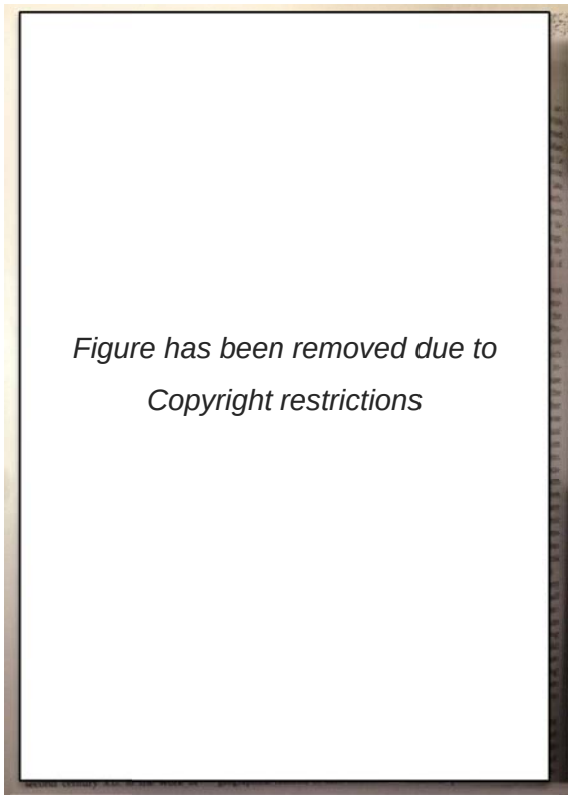

Figure 55 - Portrait of Graves in the article 'Has Post-Modernism reached its limit?' by Michael Graves. Published in 1988 in *Architectural Digest*, vol. 45, no. 4, p. 6.

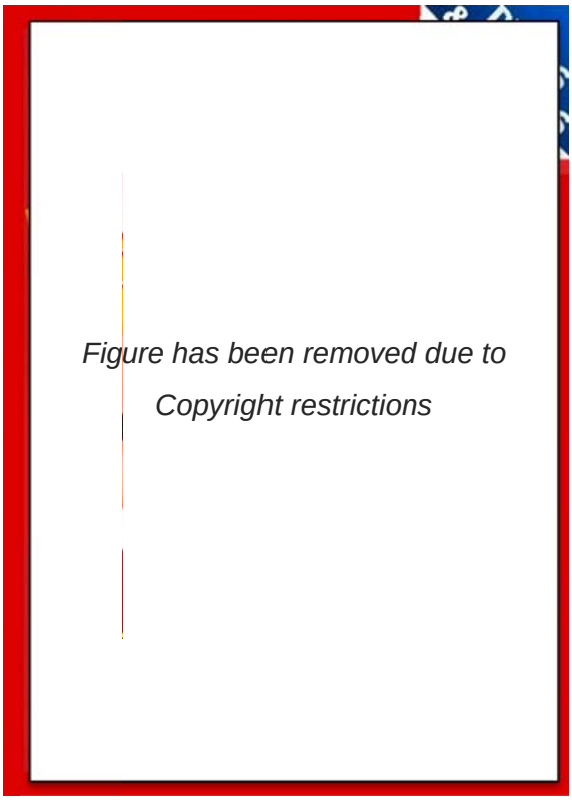

Figure 56 - Michael D Eisner, then CEO and chairman of the Walt Disney Company, appearing with the cartoon icon Mickey Mouse on the cover of *Time*, 25 April 1988 (image sourced from *Time* website, <http://www.time.com/time/covers/0,16641,19880425,00.html>, image retrieved 26 June 2013).

Disney had been undergoing profound change from the early 1980s under the driving force of Eisner. He was ambitiously transforming Disney into a multi-billion dollar enterprise through new pursuits such as hotels, convention centres and office buildings. For these projects Eisner was actively engaging the services of many celebrity architects, such as Frank Gehry, Gwathmey Antoine Predock and Arata Isozaki (see Figure 57). Eisner came to be referred to as a 'superstar-gatherer' (Schriener 1990, p. 25) and Graves's inclusion indicates his high-profile at the time.

Graves's relationship with Disney began with two commissions: the first for the company's Headquarters in Burbank California (1986) and the second the Walt Disney World Hotels Master Plan for Orlando in Florida (1987). However, his most famous work for the corporation was the Walt Disney World Dolphin and Swan Hotels, Lake

Buena Vista, Florida (see Figure 58). These two hotels were commissioned in 1987 and completed in 1990, and the client representative for the projects was Eisner.[115] Graves had never designed a hotel before and, as in the case of the Portland Building, Eisner showed extreme confidence in Graves's abilities through selecting him for the project.

The hotels received widespread coverage in both the professional and mainstream media[116] (refer Chart 25). The Disney works sparked heated debate and the professional media coverage was predominantly negative.[117] Broadly, criticisms related to the project's commercialism, referred to as 'entertainment architecture', snubbing the bright pastel colours, animal figures and sculptures to in keeping with the Disney theme. An article brutally titled 'Mickey Mouse architecture' appeared in *Architectural Review* in 1990. The author, Penny McGuire, refers to the buildings as 'bizarre' and 'oddly grim', mocking that the Dolphin hotel is locally known as 'Flipper's tomb'. She reiterates the comments of a *New York Times Critics* who was reminded of 'Aztec idols awaiting sacrificial maidens'. McGuire also attacks those involved in the project, describing Eisner as the 'Medici with Mouse Ears' and suggesting that Disney is 'celebrity hungry'. She also denigrates the use of architecture as a marketing tool. Graves took these criticisms very personally. He was quoted saying 'they wouldn't do that to IM Pei or Arata Isozaki … I don't know what it is about me' (Schriener 1990, p. 25), indicating that he did not yet feel fully accepted by the professional elite.

Rather than enter into debate within the professional media, as he had done in the past, Graves instead responded defensively through mainstream media, notably in an article for *The New York Times* titled 'Disney deco' (Brown 1990). In this article Graves said that the 'Disney doubters', as he referred to them, were showing their elitism and were opposed to architects using architecture as a form of marketing. Graves claimed that it is the mission of an architect to breathe 'life and beauty' into any object – be it a building

[115] The client was not officially the Walt Disney Company; the project was a joint venture between Metropolitan Life Insurance Co, Tishman Realty & Construction Co, and Aoki Corp, with Tishman as managing partner.

[116] From 1986 to 1990 Graves's presence in the mainstream media rose from an average of seventeen publications to an average of almost twenty-five. The increase in his professional media presence was even more dramatic; while Graves featured in only eighteen publications in 1987, he featured in over double that number, thirty-nine, by 1990.

[117] As was the case at all points of peak publication for Graves throughout his career, such as during Portland and Whitney projects.

or a shopping bag – and exclaimed ‘the morality! If someone asks me to design a morgue, I’d be happy to’ (p. 5).

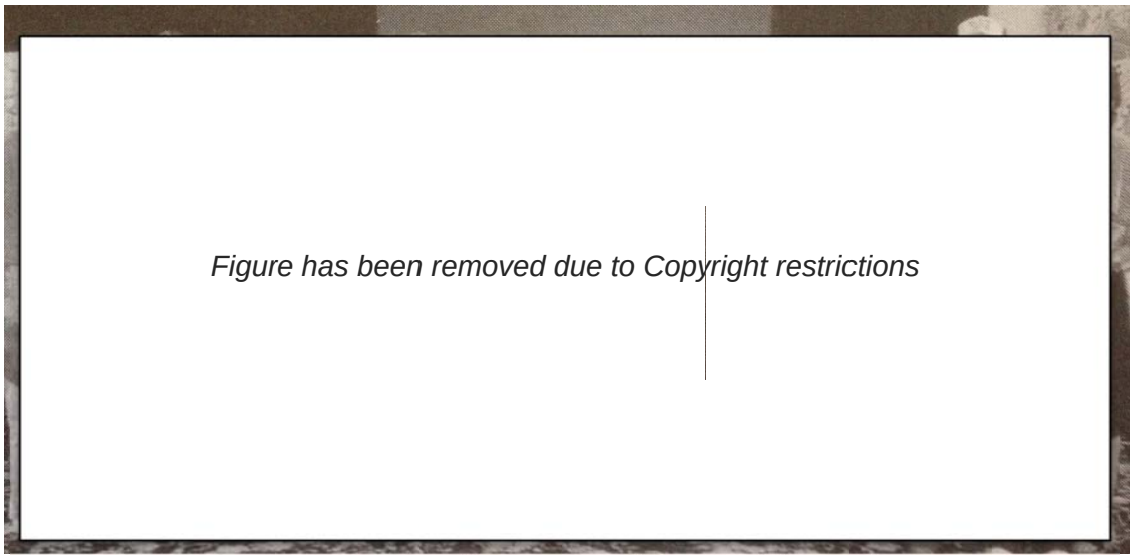

Figure 57 - Disney architects: (from the lower left) Peter Rummell, Wing Chao, Antoine Predock, Bernado Fort-Brescia, Michael Graves, Frank Gehry, Robert Stern, Jacques Robertson, Philippe Bourguignon; (behind from left) Johns Ruble, Charles Moore, Peter Dominick, Robert Siegel, Charles Gwathmey, Alexander Cooper, Stan Eckstut, Michael Eisner and Helmut Jahn (Image sourced from Ricco and Micheli 2003, p. 172).

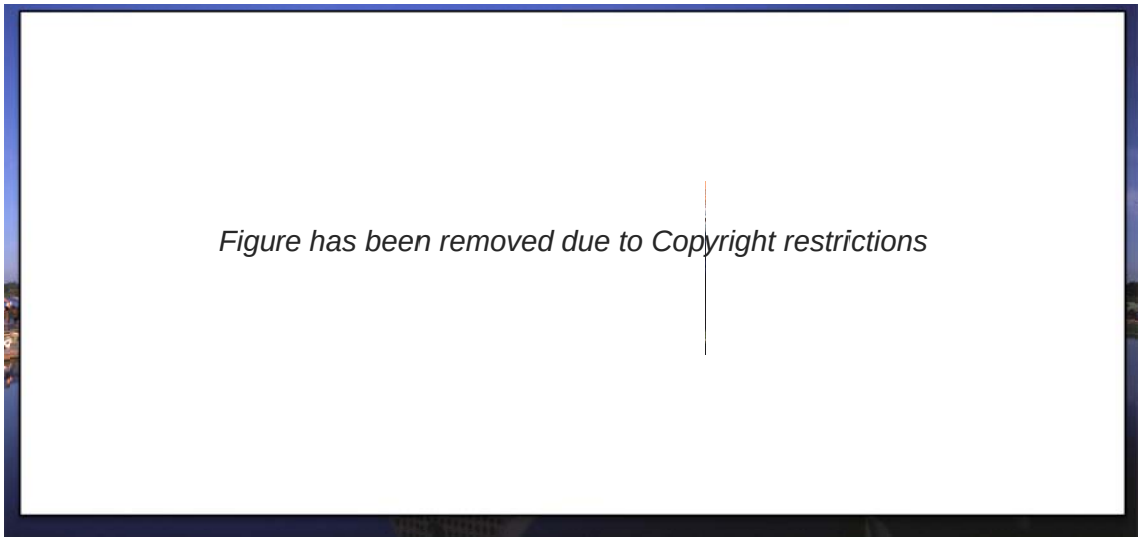

Figure 58 - Graves’s Dolphin and Swan Hotels at Disney World in Orlando, Florida (photograph by Steven Brooke, sourced from the website of the American Institute of Architects, <http://www.aia.org/practicing/AIAB095007>, image retrieved 24 June 2013).

As well as represent Graves’s defence, Brown also “celebrifies” him. She communicates his high profile, an aspect of “grandiosation” through reiteration of discussions between Eisner and Tishman Realty, the managing partner that developed

and built the hotels. Brown wrote that Tishman wanted ‘a spectacularly new whatever you want to call it … In short, he wanted Michael Graves’ (p. 18). An anecdote is provided of Graves passing by the Dolphin hotel; a tourist recognised him and, aiming her video camera at Graves, exclaimed ‘Mr. Graves, I love your building!’ (p. 43). The inclusion of this star-moment demonstrates the extent to which Graves was, by now, visually recognisable and had public appeal.

Brown’s article drew comment from her fellow *New York Times* journalist Goldberger, who wrote the article ‘Disney deco; and now, an architectural kingdom’ (1990a). Goldberger held the same positive opinion of the Disney hotels as Brown, spending the first page of his two-page article discussing the cultural significance of the works. In doing so he also contributes to the “grandiosation” of Graves. Goldberger alludes to Disney’s embrace of Graves’ Post-Modernism as an attempt to market ‘serious architecture’. He reasons that architecture was at the most popular point of his lifetime and that it was appealing to a larger audience than ever before, suggestive of the accessibility of Graves and his work. It is cited that, through Graves’s design, Disney could ‘expand its reach’ (alluding to Graves’s widespread public appeal) and ‘excite a more sophisticated user’ (alluding to the growing significance of architecture to the public). Goldberger also incorporates “grandiosation” through an amusing ‘tale’, incorporating this light-hearted scene: ‘and then one day a new prince named Michael came to rule the kingdom, and he decreed that architecture could be just as much fun as buildings’ (p. 1). The use of the word ‘rule’ communicates perceived significance.

Goldberger’s article produced mixed responses from the public, particularly in the form of letters to the editor. In terms of aesthetics, it was written that ‘Disney Deco may be good marketing but it is bad architecture’ (Snibbe, 1990). Another wrote that the Disney hotels were ‘an assault to our visual sense’ and that there was ‘nothing appealing about it’ (Tracten, 1990). Further, it was commented that ‘our great buildings of the past did other things than literally embody a commercial product’ (Bernheim, 1990). Yet one letter did stand in defence of the hype surrounding the buildings commissioned by Walt Disney World. It noted that the use of architecture to draw people to commercial and entertainment venues was ‘hardly a new phenomenon – world’s fairs have done this for more than a century’ (Lewis, 1990). The author went on to ask ‘is it possible to merge

the legacy of Mickey with big architecture by big architects? Disney is giving it a try, and Eisner should be applauded for taking his audience as seriously as his building programs'.

Despite public criticism, other *New York Times* critics followed Goldberger in writing similarly positive reviews. A series of long, prominent articles appeared over the course of the Disney hotels' production, namely those written by Giovannini (1988, p. 1), Goldberger (1990b, p. 37) and Vogel (1988, p. 86). Throughout these prominent articles, "celebrification" of Graves is rife. It is evident first through referencing his high profile, an aspect of "grandiosation". Vogel refers to Graves 'one of America's most prominent architects' while Goldberger described Graves as 'a kind of crucible' for America's architectural culture throughout his career: popular but not populist. Eisner makes similar reference to the 'talent' of Graves. In Giovannini's article, it is claimed by Mr Eisner that Graves's works were the first components of an overall strategy to 'actively shape the company's growth and image through architectural design' (1988, p. 1). This statement highlights that in 1988 Graves was a name that held cultural currency that could be translated into economic capital for large organisations that commission him for works.

Giovannini's article also "celebrifies" Graves through referencing peer association; he begins by informing that during the 1980s Disney learned the value of internationally recognised architects and commissioned a range of "starchitects" to design buildings for its 'fantasy kingdoms'; Graves is listed alongside the names of other high-profile architects commissioned by Disney, such as Robert AM Stern, Frank O Gehry, Charles Gwathmey, Robert Siegel, Antoine Predock and Japan's Arata Isozaki. Such comments show that, despite criticism from the profession, Graves was considered interesting and well-known to the general public by this stage in his career.

The positive media coverage of Graves's Disney hotels extended beyond the *New York Times*. *House & Garden* published several articles, including 'Swan's way' written by Charles Gandee (1990, p. 142). The "celebrification" technique of "visualisation" is evident in this article; the opening page of Gandee's article features a large image of Graves, smiling and wearing a Mickey Mouse jumper (1990, p. 142) (see Figure 59). He is in a relaxed, sitting position on the ground with legs crossed, and appears to be

very friendly and approachable, establishing a sense of intimacy and friendship. The caption reads 'proud architect … has abandoned his signature Armani in favour of Mickey'. By providing the audience with details of his wardrobe, an aspect of his personal life, this comment also activates the technique of "humanisation".

The high amount of mainstream media coverage of the Disney hotels led to a small peak in the number of profiles published about Graves[118] (refer Chart 15). One of the most prominent was a front cover article published by *House & Garden* entitled 'The prince of Princeton' (Gandee 1988) (see Figure 60). Much of the article discusses the home of Graves, his career-long project known as 'The Warehouse', which is a very personal subject, thereby "humanising" him. Amidst the discussion, the article uses terms that activate "grandiosation" such as 'fame and fortune' as well as 'greatness' and 'self-confidence'. Further, Ghandee employs the technique of "visualisation", painting a vivid physical picture of Graves's physicality: 'He now scoots around town in a black Mercedes 300E, displays a marked preference for Giorgio Armani menswear and sleek Italian footwear'. Such a sophisticated depiction serves to solidify the 'star' image of Graves.

The 'prince of Princeton' article became widely referenced in other media sources. McLeod published the article 'Architecture and politics in the Reagan era: From Postmodernism to Deconstructivism' in *Assemblage* (1989). Here, Graves is not only referenced in the context of his high-profile peers, but featured next to them. A full-page spread in the middle of the essay places a copy of Graves's 'Prince of Princeton' article alongside a 'Fountainhead syndrome' article by Suzanne Stephens, published in *Vanity Fair*, April 1984, representing Robert AM Stern as Howard Roark (see Figure 61). The images express her view that the image of the architect, in the late 1980s, had shifted from 'social crusader and aesthetic puritan to trendsetter and media star'; Graves was, by now, clearly grouped in the 'star' category.

[118] The year 1989 produced three; up from zero the year before and half of the career-high of six in 1986.

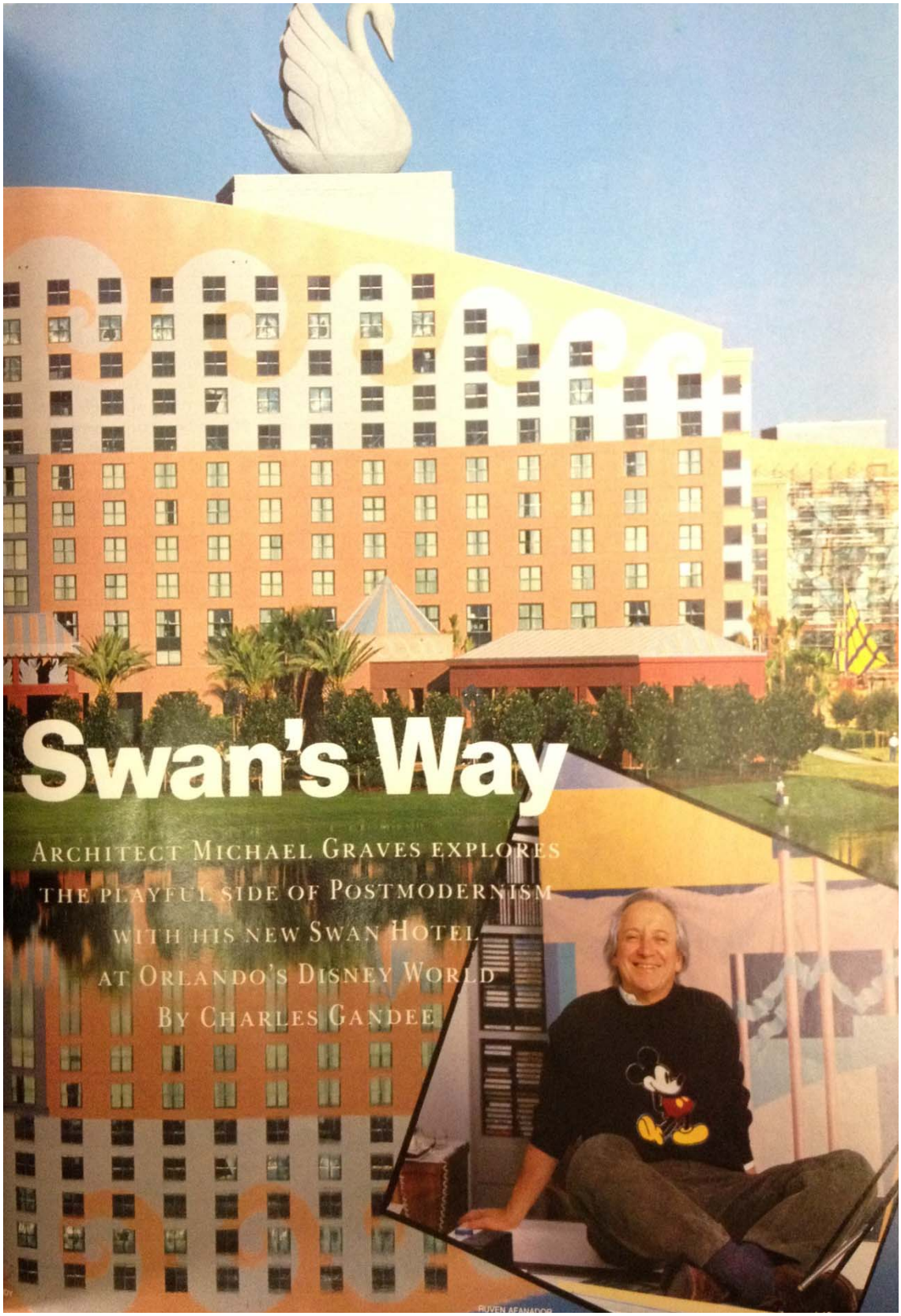

Figure 59 - First page of the article 'Swan's way', by Charles Gandee, featuring a smiling Graves. Published in *House & Garden*, 1990, vol. 162, no. 3, p. 142.

Figure 60 - Article 'The prince of Princeton' by Charles Gandee, published in 1988 in *House & Garden*, vol. 160, no. 7, p. 132.

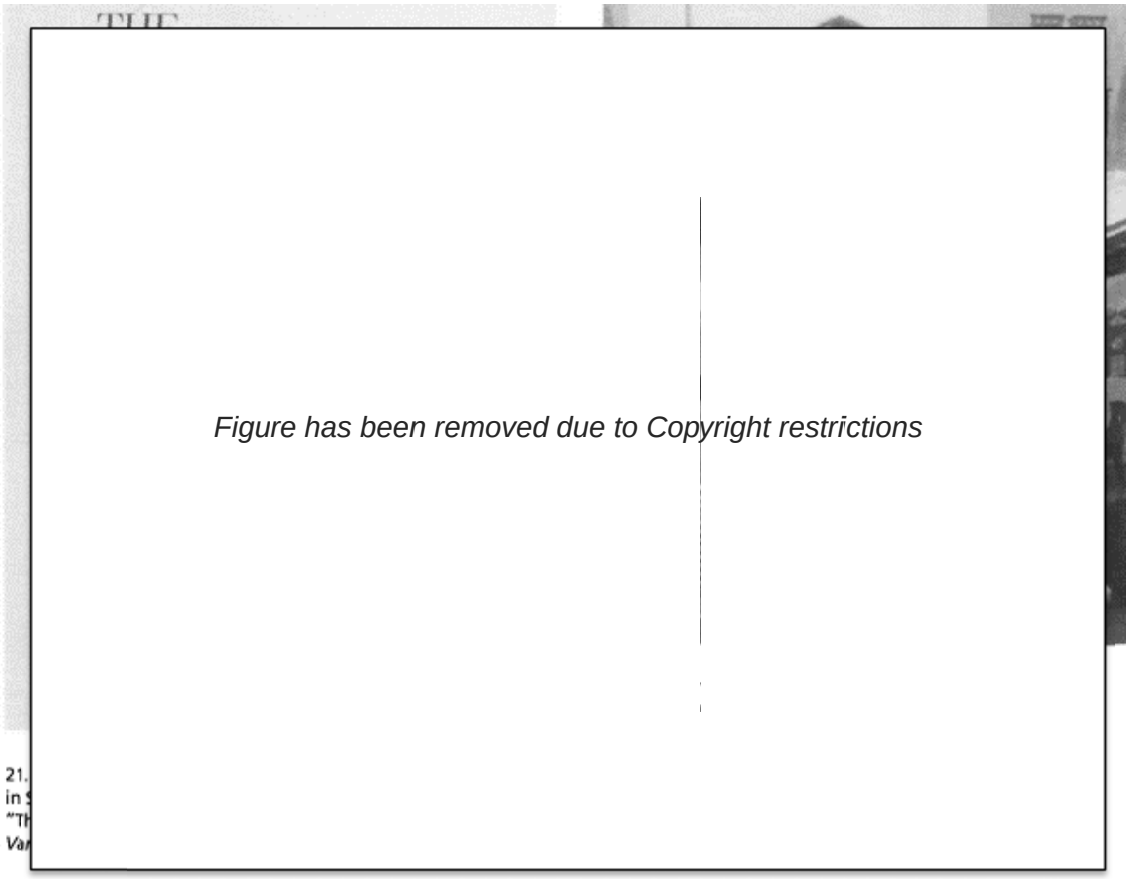

Figure 61 - Magazine covers featuring Stern and Graves, appearing in the article 'Architecture and politics in the Reagan era: From Postmodernism to Deconstructivism' by Mary McLeod, published in 1989 in *Assemblage*, vol. 8, p. 42.

A powerful sign of Graves's heightened celebrity came in 1987 with his appearance in an advertisement for Dexter shoes (see Figure 62). The advertisement generated press coverage, with an article appearing in the *New York Times* titled 'Architect tries on new shoes' (Slesin 1987) (see Figure 62). In this article, the agency responsible for the advertisement[119] justify their choice of architect, commenting that Graves was one of those 'very interesting people who have had extraordinary success in their own field' (p. 3). The article includes a cartoon of Graves atop a classical column, supporting a giant shoe in place of a pediment. The advertisement itself depicts an image of Graves in his studio alongside a Dexter design. Under Graves's photograph is a short caption which describes him as 'one of the country's most celebrated architects'. The advertisement comprises a testimonial by Graves, making comparisons between the combination of

[119] Pagano, Schenck and Kay, based in Providence, Rhode Island, United States.

‘the classic and the contemporary’ and a blending of ‘the traditions we all know with the spirit of new invention’ in both his own architecture and the shoe design. That the advertisers would expect the public to recognise the aesthetic and ideology of Graves’s work to the extent that it was used in analogies regarding a consumer product for endorsement demonstrates the high recognition value of Graves. The advertisement was widely distributed, appearing throughout the autumn of 1987 in *The New York Times* as well as various national magazines, including *Time*, *Newsweek* and *Sports Illustrated*. Graves was heavily criticised for the campaign, experiencing ‘a lot of grief’ from his peers, as he had during his phases of consumer product design and his association with Disney (Slesin 1987, p. 3). Nonetheless, the advertisement held widespread popular appeal. For Graves, what produced the highest professional criticisms appears to have inversely resulted in the widest public recognition.

The media hype of the late 1980s was not restricted to the mainstream press. Although the professional media had been critical of the Disney scheme, after the burst in mainstream media attention around 1987 there was an exponential increase in coverage in the professional media (refer Chart 3). In fact, while mainstream attention faded slightly in the final years of the 1980s, the professional media focus continued to escalate, almost reaching the same heights as Graves’s peak celebrity boom in 1985. A distinct rise in article length in the professional media is also evident in the years of 1989 to 1990[120] (refer Chart 14). A relatively high number of scholarly books were published about him (refer Chart 17); in 1989 there were seven. The following year the fourth monograph on Graves, *Michael Graves: buildings and projects 1982–1989*, was published (Nichols et al.). Graves contributed to this publication spike through a high rate of self-authorship in the final years of the 1980s, indicating the extent to which he defended his profile and Post-Modernist approach[121] (refer Chart 19).

[120] The average article length rose from five pages in 1988 and 1989 to an average article length of eight pages by 1990.

[121] Having focused less on self-authorship from 1985 onwards, producing no written work in the year 1987, during 1988 and 1989 Graves wrote five articles per year.

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Figure 62 - Advertisement for Dexter shoes, featuring Graves, published in *The New York Times*, 1987.

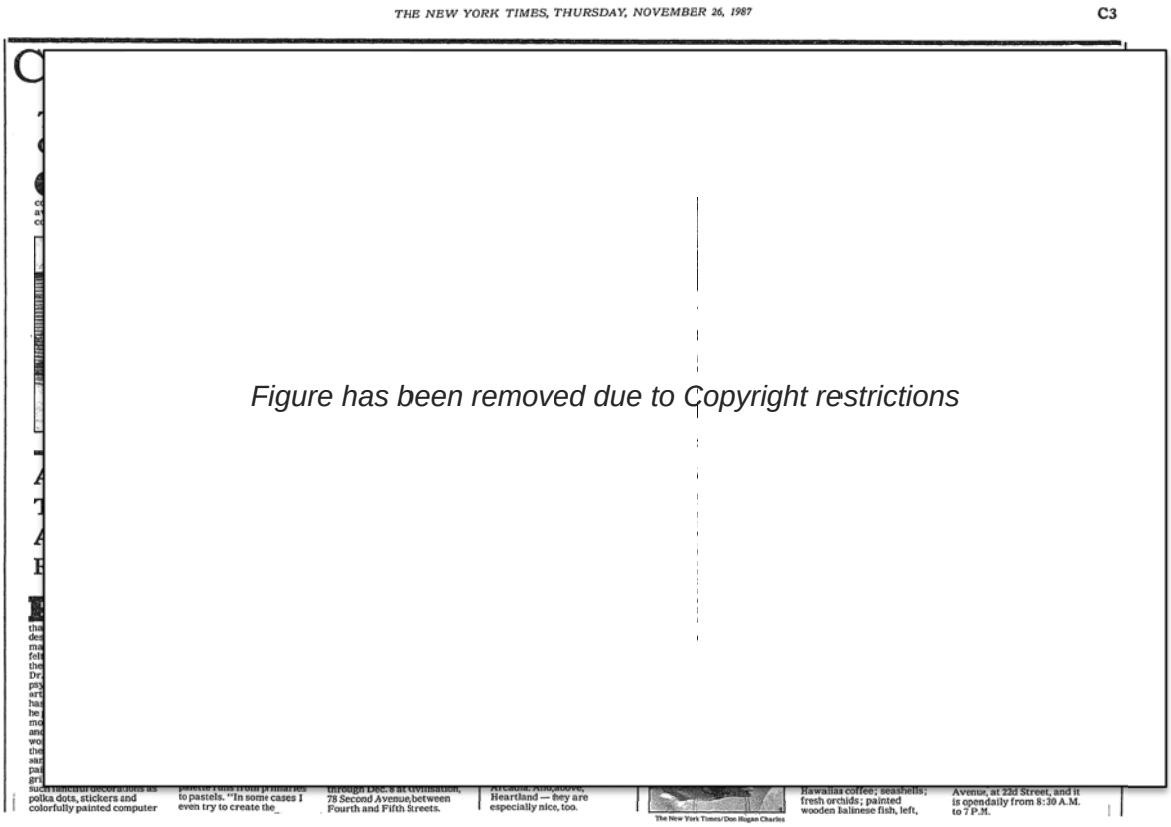


Figure 63 - Article discussing Graves' advertising campaign for Dexter shoes, 'Architect tries on new shoes', published in *The New York Times*, 26 November 1987. The image shows Graves atop a classical column, supporting a giant shoe in place of a pediment.

Much of the professional media coverage reinforced the celebrity of Graves in the same way as the mainstream press. An example is a 1990 article for *Engineering News-Record* (Schriener 1990), where the opening line is 'Michael Graves is a celebrity' (p. 25). This phrase is an example of the author's use of "grandiosation"; Schriener is expressing the media's interest in Graves. She then refers to Graves as a 'renowned' architect with 'superstar status' who 'hobnobs with other celebrities' and 'poses for pictures', further confirming his high profile. The article then "celebrifies" Graves, not only through the use of peer association, but peer quoting; Shriener cites Philip Johnson, Graves's close ally, who states that Graves's offices had 'the atmosphere of a guru' and that he was 'the most popular architect in America'. Schriener proceeds to "humanise" Graves through making reference to his 'charm and engaging smile', as well as noting aspects of his personal life: 'since Graves was small, he's been overflowing with creative ideas. He drew little cartoons, which his mother encouraged him to continue'. She also notes his three 'failed' marriages and that he complained of having 'no

personal life', revealing the complexities and sacrifices associated with a celebrity lifestyle.

Much of the media coverage about Graves during this period was also non-project specific. Such articles were strongly "celebrifying" as they demonstrated interest in the life of Graves and his career overall, as opposed to the technicalities of a particular project. When examining the relationship between the number of articles published about a particular project, and those that were published about Graves and his career more generally, there were peaks in 1983, 1985 and 1988. In each of those years, Graves was commissioned for or delivered a controversial project, most notably the Portland Building and the Disney Hotels. Whilst such projects drew direct discourse on their architecture, they also appear to have piqued the media's general interest in Graves as an individual. In each of these years the publications about Graves's career, that is, not related to any one project, were approximately double than in previous years.[122]

There is also evidence of a final spike in Graves's professional recognition during the final years of the 1980s. First, there was a peak in his winning of professional awards[123] (refer Chart 4). In 1986 Graves won the 'Gold Plate Award,' presented annually since 1961 by the American Academy of Achievement to 'men and women of exceptional accomplishment'. Recipients are considered to be 'representatives of the many who excel' (Academy of Achievement 2013). In 1990, Graves won the 'Award of Excellence' from the American Federation of Arts, Graphic Design, one of the nine that Graves received that year, equalling the record achieved in 1980.

There was also a small peak in exhibitions[124] (refer Chart 6). The School of Architecture at Princeton University, where Graves held his academic post, frequently displayed his work. Examples are the 1986 group exhibition 'Faculty Work' and solo exhibition 'Three recent projects by Michael Graves'. The broader Princeton community also exhibited Graves; the Arts Council held 'Michael Graves: 25 years in Princeton' (1989)

[122] Whilst project-specific publications peaked in 1985, in alignment with Graves's increased architectural output, non-project specific publications peaked 1983, in alignment with his completion of the Portland Building, and in 1988, related of course to the Disney hotels.

[123] In 1987 Graves won a total of eight awards, just one off the record of nine in 1980, and equalling that won in 1983.

[124] In 1989 Graves featured in fifteen exhibitions, up from seven the year before. The number dropped back to five the following year.

while the Historical Society presented ‘Small town/distinguished architects’(1990). A variety of other universities displayed Graves’s work. Solo shows entitled ‘Michael Graves’ appeared at the University of Virginia, Charlottesville (1987), the University of Maryland, College Park (1988) and Syracuse University, New York (1990).

Beyond universities, professional institutions such as The Architectural League of New York also frequently included Graves in group exhibits. Given the League’s goal of showcasing the world’s most interesting and influential architects, it was an honour for Graves to be included in ‘Remaking America: new uses, old places’ (1986). This exhibition promoted the adaptive reuse of older buildings, focusing on their aesthetic, economic and social value of historic preservation. Graves’s redesign of the Michael C Carlos Hall at Emory University was one of forty-eight projects exhibited. The participating architects were described in the foreword of the catalogue, written by Goldberger, as ‘celebrated’.

Graves’s work was also included in the League’s exhibition ‘The experimental tradition: 25 years of American architectural competitions’ (1988). He entered his design for the Clos Pegase winery in the Napa Valley, California. The exhibition catalogue “celebrifies” him through alluding to ‘differences of opinion’ and ‘ongoing debate’, aspects of “grandiosation”. Controversy is also expressed through references to the Portland competition and its surrounding dialogue; the catalogue notes that the entry ‘brought Graves’ design philosophy to the attention of the general public’ (Lipstadt 1988b, p. 108). Meanwhile, regional institutions such as the Design Council of the San Francisco Bay Area held the ‘1989 International design review exhibit’, while that same year the Washing Design Center drew crowds to ‘Michael Graves: current projects’.

Towards the end of the 1980s Graves’s work was included in over a dozen architectural exhibitions in design institutions overseas, most prominently in Japan and France. ‘Chateaux Bordeaux’ was hosted by the prestigious Centre Pompidou in Paris (1988). This exhibition aimed to define the French term *chateau*, focusing in particular on the wine-making region of Bordeaux. According to the Pompidou’s director of architectural projects at the time, Jean Dethier, inspiration for the exhibit was Californian wineries, including a design by Graves (Prial 1988). He was chosen as the architect to design the Clos Pegase winery in the Napa Valley through an architectural competition held at the

San Francisco Museum entitled ‘Art + architecture + landscape’ (1985). Sadly, despite his accomplishments and acclaim, Graves still perceived that he was under attack from his peers. In the Schreiner article, for example, Graves bemoaned ‘the criticism and lack of acceptance from his fellow architects’ (1990, p. 25).

In summary, having reached the heights of his celebrity boom and attained the recognition of his peers during the mid-1980s, the second half of the decade was characterised by Graves’s efforts to retain his high profile. Whilst Graves’s Post-Modern language was one of the reasons for his success, it was also a reason for renewed criticism of his work as the movement lost favour. During the period 1985 to 1987, Graves suffered a profile dip; there was a significant dip in both the professional and mainstream media coverage. The average length of articles dropped, and he received little interest from the international media. Almost no profiles were published about him, and there was a reduced instance of his name appearing in article titles. Interviews with Graves halted, and he reached an almost career-low in books being published about him and his work.

Graves reacted strongly both on paper and in built form. He published various articles defending Post-Modernism, and took on more work than ever before. The most notable and bold commission during this building spree was his alliance with Disney. The Disney hotels commission served as a key tool in reigniting both the “celebrification” and professional legitimisation of Graves. Just as the Portland and Whitney controversies had produced intense media hype, so too did Graves’s alignment with Disney. The Disney hotels drew Graves back into the spotlight. There is a distinct resurgence in his overall presence in the press during the second half of the 1980s (refer Chart 3, p. 216). Although the professional media coverage of the hotels was predominantly negative, there was a peak in awards and exhibitions during these years, proving again that controversy would remain Graves’s ally throughout his career trajectory. The mainstream coverage was largely positive and most “celebrification” techniques were used, most frequently “visualisation” and “humanisation”. The coverage of Graves during this revival period often predominantly focused on him as an individual, in conjunction with or as opposed to his architecture, further indicating a revived “celebrification” boom. The final technique of “celebrification” – endorsement

– also became utilised. His appearance in the Dexter shoes advertisement represented his further absorption into the mainstream media and its mechanics of “celebrification”.

6.7 Chapter summary

In summary, Graves’s career began traditionally, as he sought involvement with professional institutions and adopted the dominant architectural language of the time, Modernism. Yet Graves took the unusual step of contributing to a book that sparked intra-professional debate and generated his first bout of publicity. At the same time, Graves aligned himself with a new, controversial movement, Post-Modernism. The Portland Building was Graves’s first large-scale building in a Post-Modern idiom. It drew both outcry and support, both professional and public, and placed Graves on the national architectural map. The following years represented a period of exponential career progress for Graves. He won a series of high-profile commissions, his presence in both the professional and mainstream media grew, and he received many awards. After a minor dip in the second half of the 1980s, amidst the context of a waning confidence in Post-Modernism, Graves again experienced controversy. Aligning himself with the ultimate popular culture icon, Disney, Graves’s public and professional profile was regenerated.

In conclusion, the career of Michael Grave is a prime example of the strong relationship between the *traditional process of legitimisation* and the *celebrity-related process of legitimisation*. Throughout the period 1966 to 1990, the public’s interest in Graves appears to have served as a catalyst for his recognition by the profession. The coverage of his most controversial buildings in the mainstream press, for example, where the techniques of “celebrification” were clearly applied, typically peaked in quantity a year prior to that of the professional media. The allocation of professional awards also followed this pattern.

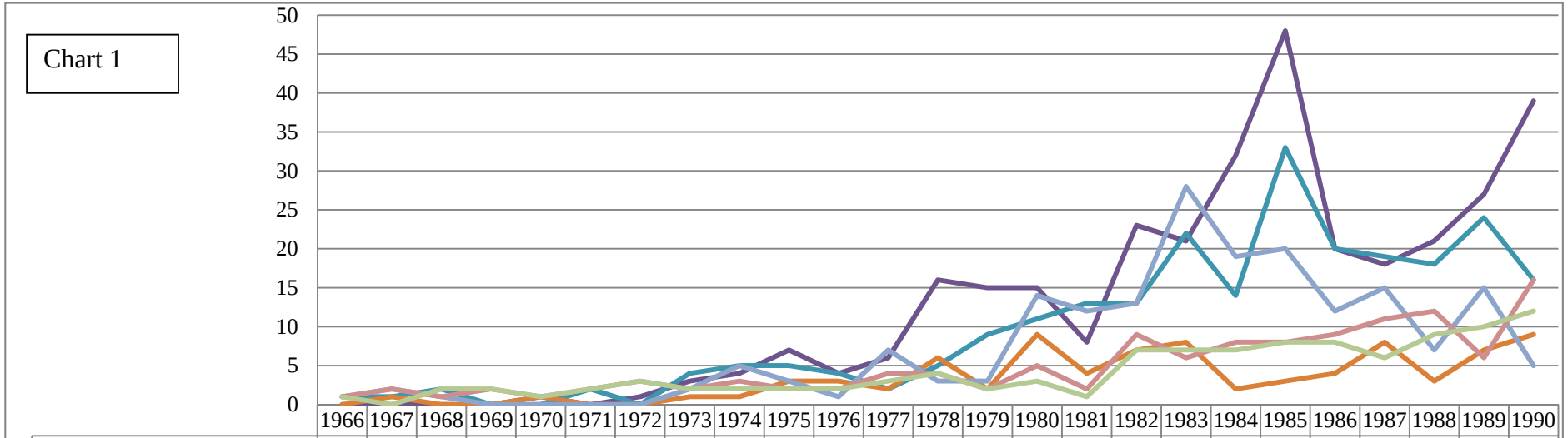
Significantly, Graves’s rate of commission and delivery of projects also rose throughout the 1980s in relative alignment with his growth as a celebrity figure (refer charts 07 and 08). However, no direct relationship is established between the rate of both mainstream and professional publications about Graves and his work and his actual output as an architect. It appears that the highest points of Graves’s media presence occurred

irrespective of his architectural productivity (refer Chart 9). Graves's media presence overtook his output during the early years of his career, particularly the period of the 'Gray'/'White' debate. During his celebrity phase, particularly the span of 1983 to 1985, the media's focus on Graves rose dramatically, yet this is the period during which his output remained relatively steady, rising marginally per year and demonstrating no clear peaks.

It is important to note that Graves did not abandon the *traditional process of legitimisation* (refer Chart 28). He continued his involvement with professional institutions throughout his career, most notably his thirty-nine year tenure at Princeton University. He also remained committed to the established traditions of exhibition and self-authorship. It appears that the *celebrity-process of legitimisation* served to complement and promote the traditional processes, rather than overtake or replace them. It may be suggested that celebrity served to fast-track Graves's embrace by the architectural establishment. In the space of only a few years during the early 1980s, Graves rose from a relatively unknown architect beyond the academic community to a figure of national prominence and recipient of major architectural awards.[125]

[125] As of 2013, Graves has been honoured with over one hundred awards and citations, including twelve national honour awards and over fifty state awards from the AIA. Graves has also received numerous *Progressive Architecture* Awards and *Interiors Magazine* Awards. In 1999 Graves was presented with the National Medal of Arts. Then in 2001 Graves received the Gold Medal from the AIA, at the age of sixty-six, the highest individual honour bestowed by the Institute. In 2010, Graves was awarded the Topaz Medal from the AIA for Architectural Education, and was also inducted into the New Jersey Hall of Fame.

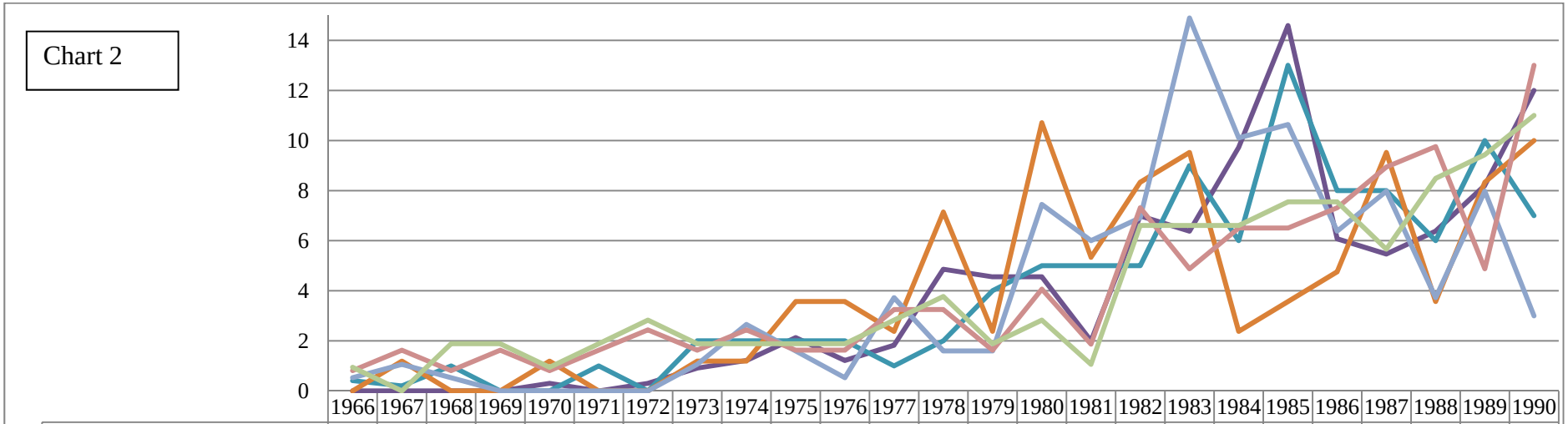
6.8 Charts



	1966	1967	1968	1969	1970	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990
Professional Publications	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	3	4	7	4	6	16	15	15	8	23	21	32	48	20	18	21	27	39
Mainstream Publications	1	1	2	0	0	2	0	4	5	5	4	2	5	9	11	13	13	22	14	33	20	19	18	24	16
Awards	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	1	3	3	2	6	2	9	4	7	8	2	3	4	8	3	7	9
Exhibitions	1	2	1	0	0	0	0	2	5	3	1	7	3	3	14	12	13	28	19	20	12	15	7	15	5
Projects Commissioned	1	2	1	2	1	2	3	2	3	2	2	4	4	2	5	2	9	6	8	8	9	11	12	6	16
Projects Delivered	1	0	2	2	1	2	3	2	2	2	2	3	4	2	3	1	7	7	7	8	8	6	9	10	12

Career Phase	Traditional beginning	Period of transition	Growing public prominence	Heights of media attention	Celebrity boom	Popularising Post-Modernism

Chart 1 Number of publications, awards, exhibitions and projects per year.

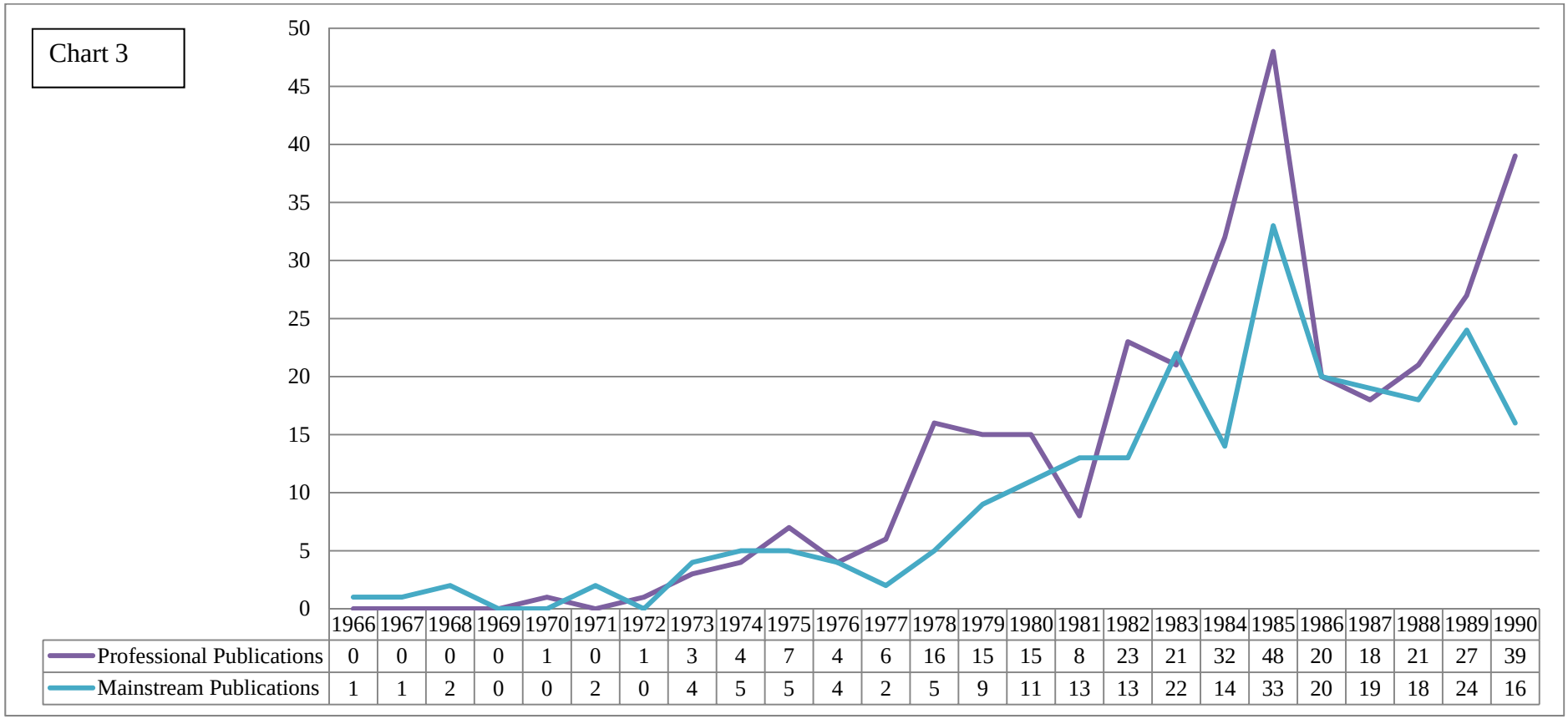


	1966	1967	1968	1969	1970	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990
Professional Publications	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	2	1	2	5	5	5	2	7	6	10	15	6	5	6	8	12
Mainstream Publications	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	2	2	2	2	1	2	4	5	5	5	9	6	13	8	8	6	10	7
Awards	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	1	4	4	2	7	2	11	5	8	10	2	4	5	10	4	8	10
Exhibitions	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	3	2	1	4	2	2	7	6	7	15	10	11	6	8	4	8	3
Projects Commissioned	1	2	1	2	1	2	2	2	2	2	2	3	3	2	4	2	7	5	7	7	7	9	10	5	13
Projects Delivered	1	0	2	2	1	2	3	2	2	2	2	3	4	2	3	1	7	7	7	8	8	6	8	9	11

Career Phase	Traditional beginning	Period of transition	Growing public prominence	Heights of media attention	Celebrity boom	Popularising Post-Modernism

Chart 2 Number of publications, awards, exhibitions and projects per year, as a percentage of the total from 1966 to 1990.

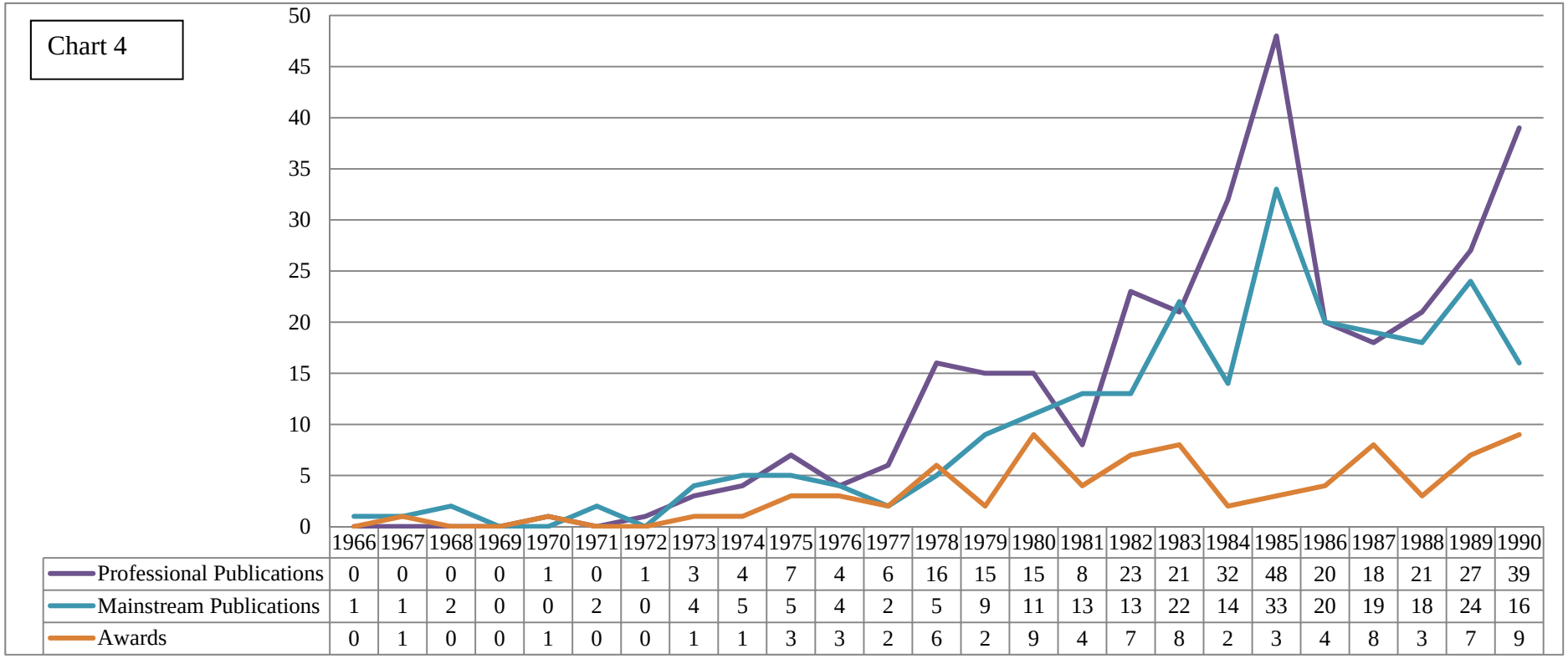
The use of percentages enables the analysis to consider not only the quantitites of each trend, but to identify the peaks and troughs and, in particular, periods of concentrated media attention.



	1966	1967	1968	1969	1970	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990
Professional Publications	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	3	4	7	4	6	16	15	15	8	23	21	32	48	20	18	21	27	39
Mainstream Publications	1	1	2	0	0	2	0	4	5	5	4	2	5	9	11	13	13	22	14	33	20	19	18	24	16

Career Phase	Traditional beginning	Period of transition	Growing public prominence	Heights of media attention	Celebrity boom	Popularising Post-Modernism

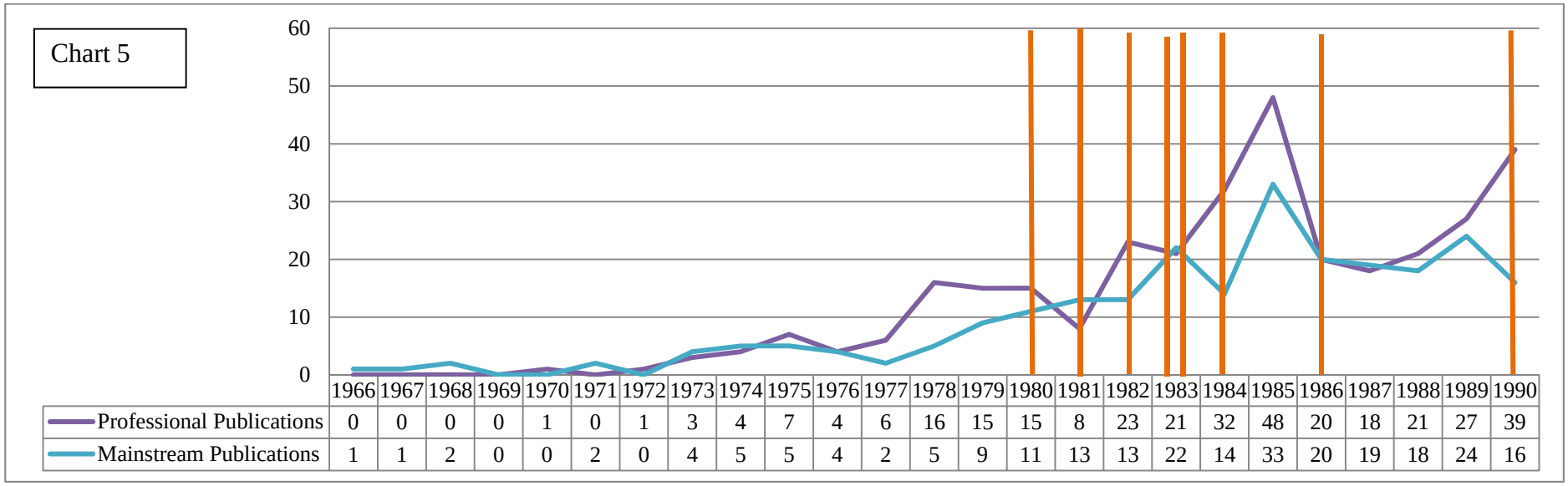
Chart 3 Number of publications per year, both professional and mainstream.



	1966	1967	1968	1969	1970	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990
Professional Publications	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	3	4	7	4	6	16	15	15	8	23	21	32	48	20	18	21	27	39
Mainstream Publications	1	1	2	0	0	2	0	4	5	5	4	2	5	9	11	13	13	22	14	33	20	19	18	24	16
Awards	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	1	3	3	2	6	2	9	4	7	8	2	3	4	8	3	7	9

Career Phase	Traditional beginning	Period of transition	Growing public prominence	Heights of media attention	Celebrity boom	Popularising Post-Modernism

Chart 4 Number of awards per year, charted against the number of professional and mainstream publications.

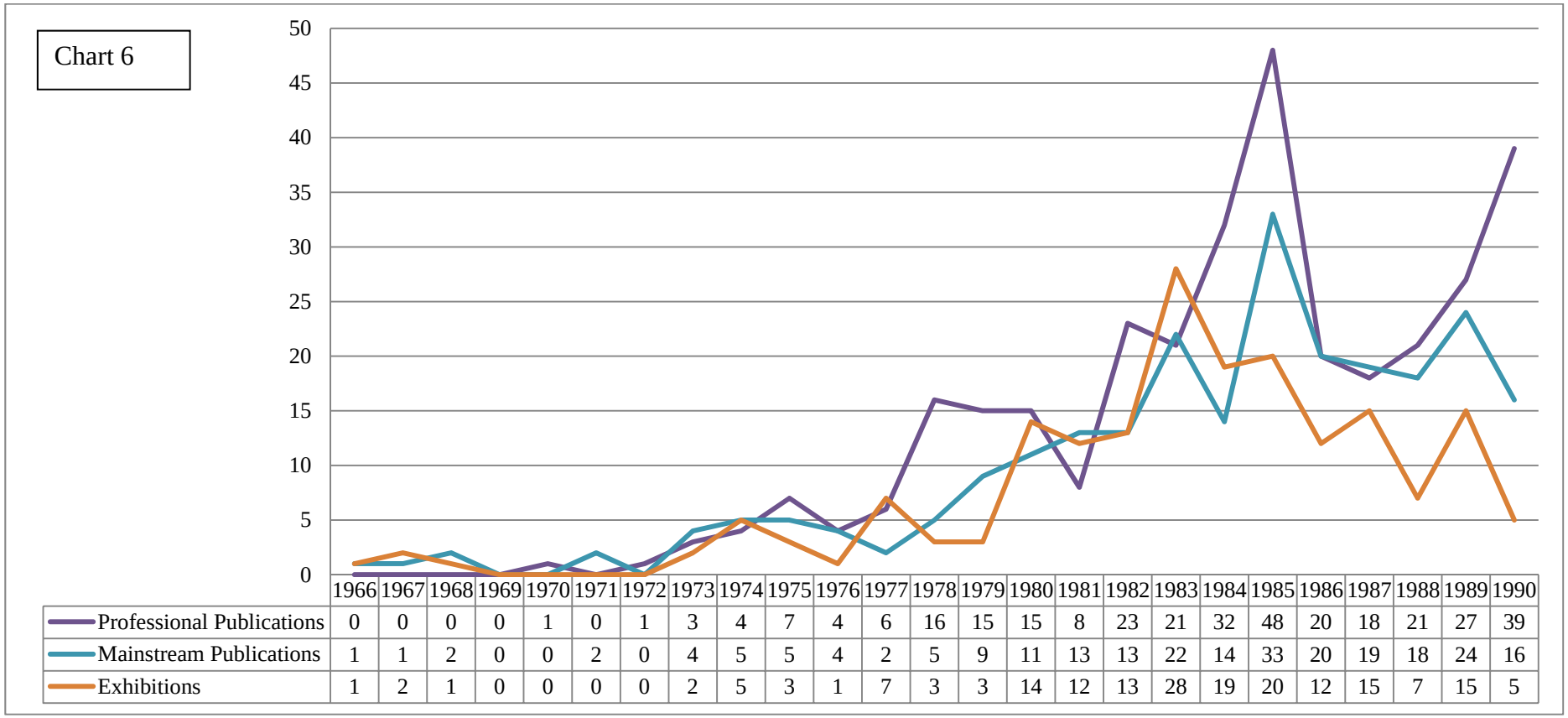


	1966	1967	1968	1969	1970	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990
Professional Publications	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	3	4	7	4	6	16	15	15	8	23	21	32	48	20	18	21	27	39
Mainstream Publications	1	1	2	0	0	2	0	4	5	5	4	2	5	9	11	13	13	22	14	33	20	19	18	24	16

Career Phase	Traditional beginning	Period of transition	Growing public prominence	Heights of media attention	Celebrity boom	Popularising Post-Modernism

Chart 5 Number of publications per year – professional and mainstream – cross-referenced against the career achievement (non-project specific) awards won by Graves.

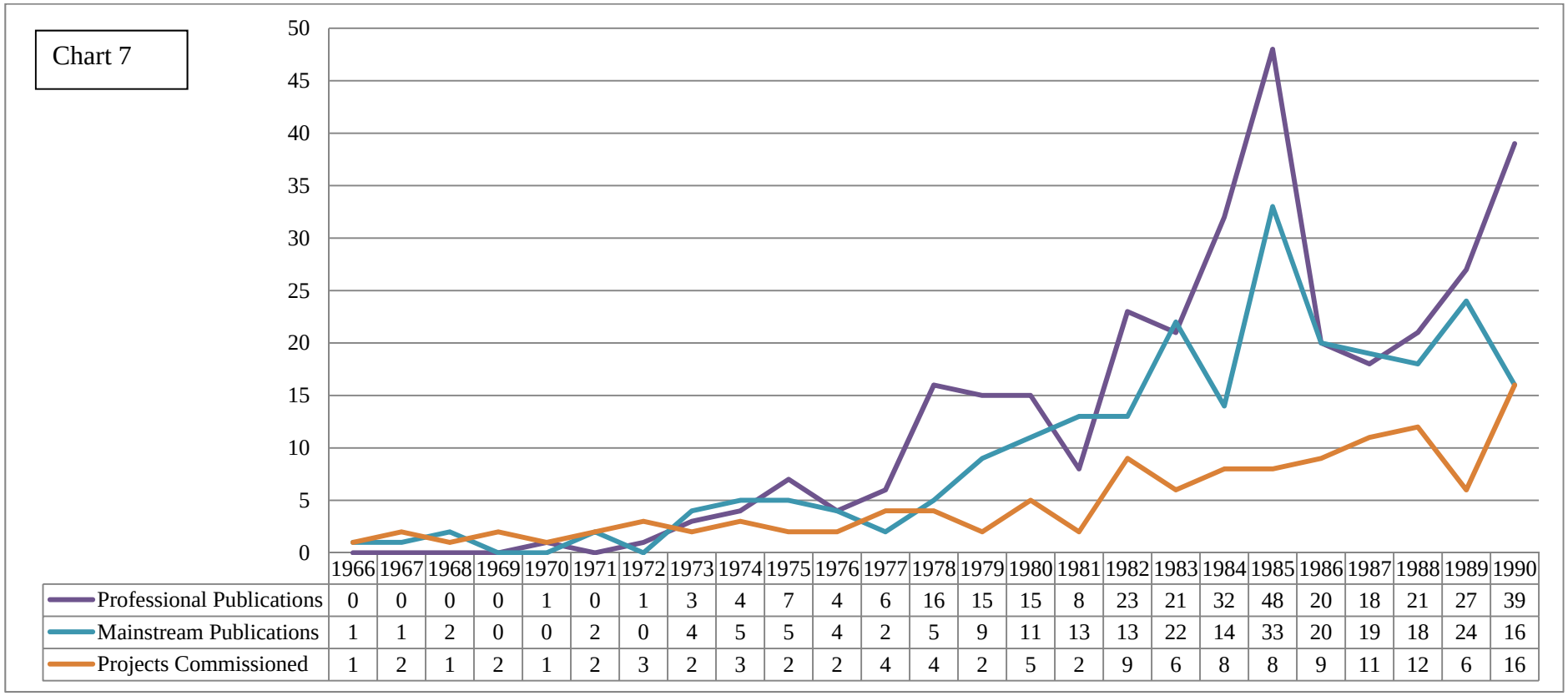
The awards indicated are: 1980, Arnold W. Brunner Memorial Prize in Architecture, American Academy of Arts and Letters; 1981, Designer of the Year, interiors Magazine; 1982, Special Recognition Honor Award, AIA, New Jersey Chapter; 1983, Indiana Arts Award; 1983, Euster Award, Miami, Florida; 1984, Silver Spoon Award, Boston University; 1986, Gold Plate Award, American Academy of Achievement; 1990, Award of Excellence, American Federation of Arts, Graphic Design.



	1966	1967	1968	1969	1970	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990
Professional Publications	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	3	4	7	4	6	16	15	15	8	23	21	32	48	20	18	21	27	39
Mainstream Publications	1	1	2	0	0	2	0	4	5	5	4	2	5	9	11	13	13	22	14	33	20	19	18	24	16
Exhibitions	1	2	1	0	0	0	0	2	5	3	1	7	3	3	14	12	13	28	19	20	12	15	7	15	5

Career Phase	Traditional beginning	Period of transition	Growing public prominence	Heights of media attention	Celebrity boom	Popularising Post-Modernism

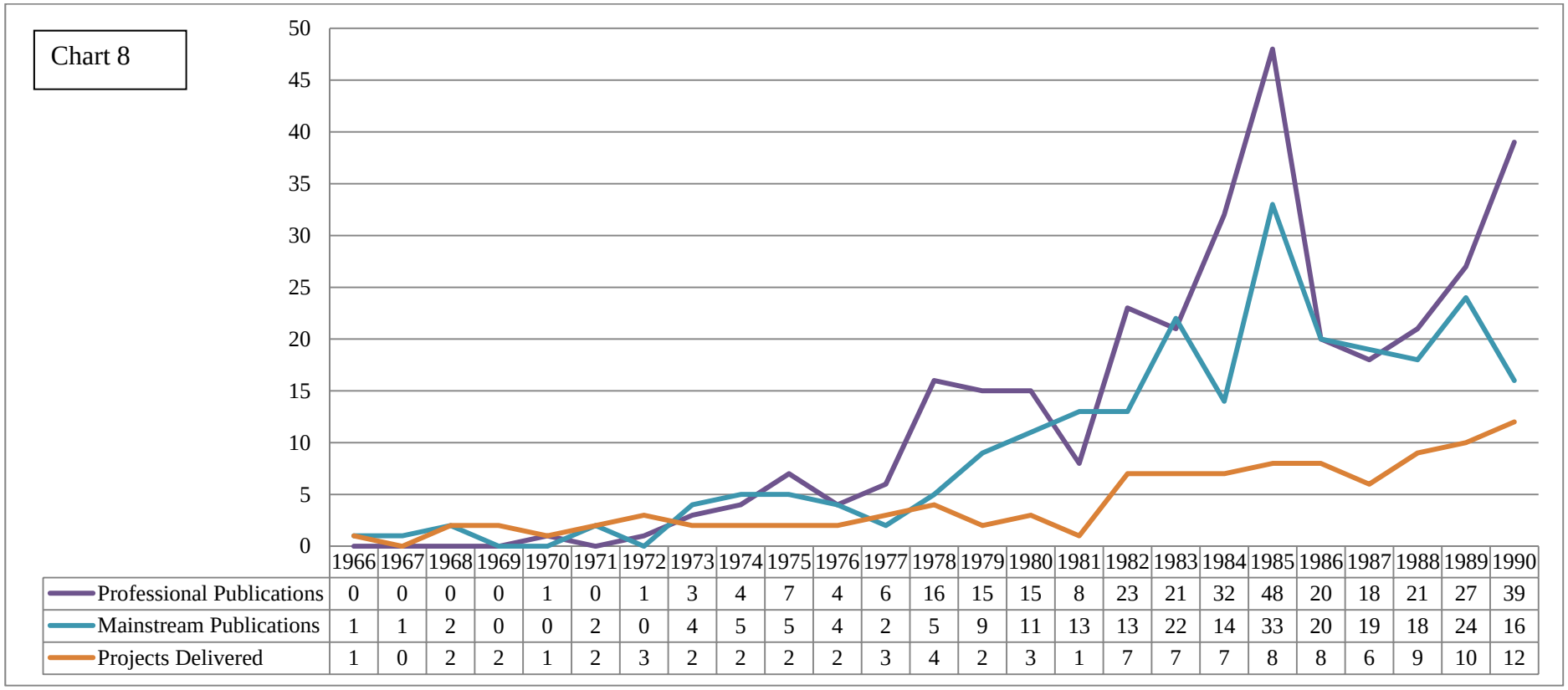
Chart 6 Number of exhibitions per year, charted against the number of professional and mainstream publications.



	1966	1967	1968	1969	1970	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990
Professional Publications	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	3	4	7	4	6	16	15	15	8	23	21	32	48	20	18	21	27	39
Mainstream Publications	1	1	2	0	0	2	0	4	5	5	4	2	5	9	11	13	13	22	14	33	20	19	18	24	16
Projects Commissioned	1	2	1	2	1	2	3	2	3	2	2	4	4	2	5	2	9	6	8	8	9	11	12	6	16

Career Phase	Traditional beginning	Period of transition	Growing public prominence	Heights of media attention	Celebrity boom	Popularising Post-Modernism

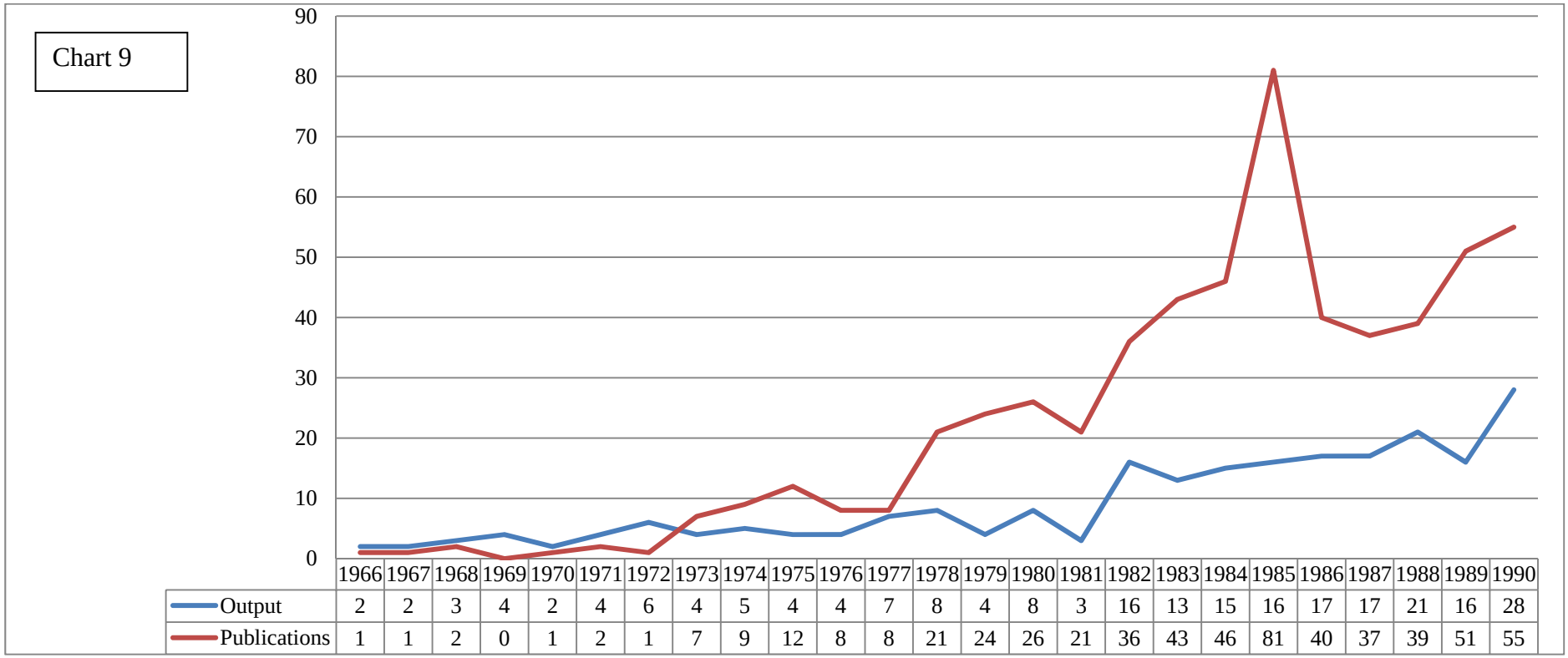
Chart 7 Number of projects commissioned per year, charted against the number of professional and mainstream publications.



	1966	1967	1968	1969	1970	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990
Professional Publications	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	3	4	7	4	6	16	15	15	8	23	21	32	48	20	18	21	27	39
Mainstream Publications	1	1	2	0	0	2	0	4	5	5	4	2	5	9	11	13	13	22	14	33	20	19	18	24	16
Projects Delivered	1	0	2	2	1	2	3	2	2	2	2	3	4	2	3	1	7	7	7	8	8	6	9	10	12

Career Phase	Traditional beginning	Period of transition	Growing public prominence	Heights of media attention	Celebrity boom	Popularising Post-Modernism

Chart 8 Number of projects completed per year, charted against the number of professional and mainstream publications.



	1966	1967	1968	1969	1970	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990
Output	2	2	3	4	2	4	6	4	5	4	4	7	8	4	8	3	16	13	15	16	17	17	21	16	28
Publications	1	1	2	0	1	2	1	7	9	12	8	8	21	24	26	21	36	43	46	81	40	37	39	51	55

Career Phase	Traditional beginning	Period of transition	Growing public prominence	Heights of media attention	Celebrity boom	Popularising Post-Modernism

Chart 9 Graves's architectural output (commission and delivery of projects) charted against the number of publications (professional and mainstream) per year.

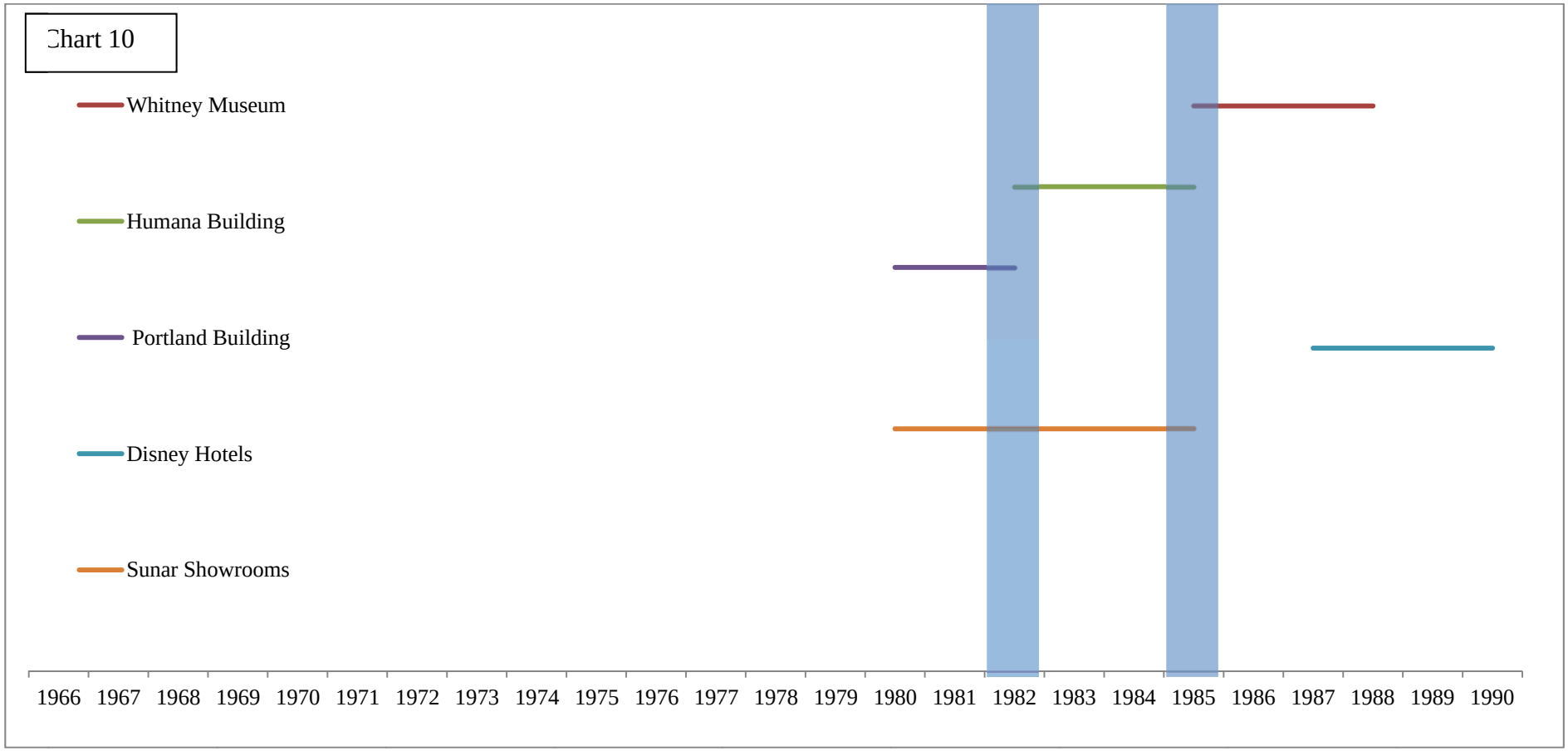


Chart 10 Time span of the seven most published projects of Graves's career, in order from the most published at the top (Whitney Museum). The time span ranges the years during which the three design proposals were produced.

Chart 11

Project dates (year of commission to year of completion)																									Project	Publications	Professional	Mainstream	Awards
1966	1967	1968	1969	1970	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990					
																			x	x	x	x			Whitney Museum of American Art	45	22	23	0
																x	x	x	x						Humana Building	28	18	10	3
														x	x	x									The Portland Building	27	16	11	2
																					x	x	x	x	Dolphin and Swan Resorts, Walt Disney World	27	20	7	1
														x	x	x	x	x	x						11 Sunar-Hauserman Showrooms	23	20	3	6
																		x	x	x	x				Clos Pegase Winery	22	14	8	2
																x	x								San Juan Capistrano Library	21	17	4	3
																		x							Diane Von Furstenberg Boutique	12	7	5	0
																x									The Republic Bank and Texas Theater Study	8	6	2	0
	x	x																							Hanselmann House	7	4	3	2
															x	x	x								The Environmental Education Center	7	7	0	3
																x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		Newark Museum Expansion	7	4	3	0
																			x						Phoenix Municipal Government Center	7	6	1	0
																				x	x	x	x		Crown American Building	7	6	2	0
								x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	Graves Residence "The Warehouse"	6	4	2	2
															x										Art History Department and Museum, Vassar College	6	5	1	0

Project dates (year of commission to year of completion)																									Project	Publications	Professional	Mainstream	Awards
1966	1967	1968	1969	1970	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990					
											x	x	x	x	x	x									Plocek Residence	5	4	1	1
																								x	Michael C. Carlos Museum, Emory University	5	4	1	2
																				x	x	x	x		Youngstown Historical Center of Industry and Labor	5	3	2	0
								x																	Claghorn House	4	4	0	0
																		x	x	x					Erickson Alumni Center, West Virginia University	4	3	1	0
																								x	Fukuoka Hyatt Hotel and Office Building	4	3	1	1
						x																			Snyderman House	3	3	0	2
										x															Crooks House	3	2	1	2
																	x								Center for the Visual Arts, Ohio State University	3	3	0	0
																			x	x	x	x	x	x	Aventine Mixed Use Development	3	3	0	0
																					x				Henry House	3	3	0	2
			x																						Benacerraf House	2	1	1	1
						x																			Keely Guest House	2	2	0	0
					x		x																		Alexander House	2	1	1	1
											x														Fargo-Moorhead Cultural Center Bridge	2	2	0	2
																x									St. James Townhouses	2	1	1	0

Project dates (year of commission to year of completion)																									Project	Publications	Professional	Mainstream	Awards
1966	1967	1968	1969	1970	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990					
																			x						Columbus Circle Redevelopment	2	2	0	0
																				x					Mardi Gras Arch	2	2	0	0
					x																				Medical Office: Ear, Nose and Throat Associates	1	1	0	1
						x																			Gynwyn Ventures Professional Office	1	0	1	1
								x																	Wageman House	1	0	1	0
										x															Schulman House	1	1	0	2
												x													Vacation House, Aspen	1	1	0	1
																x									Fire Stagesets and Costumes, The Joffrey Ballet	1	1	0	0
																	x								Glazer farmhouse and Studio	1	1	0	0

Chart 11 Time span of all published projects from 1966 to 1990, in order from the most published at the top (Whitney Museum).

The time span chart on the left indicates the time span of each project, from year of commission to year of completion. The five projects highlighted in orange are the most highly published projects that have been discussed in depth in the case study. The statistics on the right indicate the total number of publications, then the total number of publications in the professional and mainstream media, and lastly the total number of awards for the time span 1966–1990.

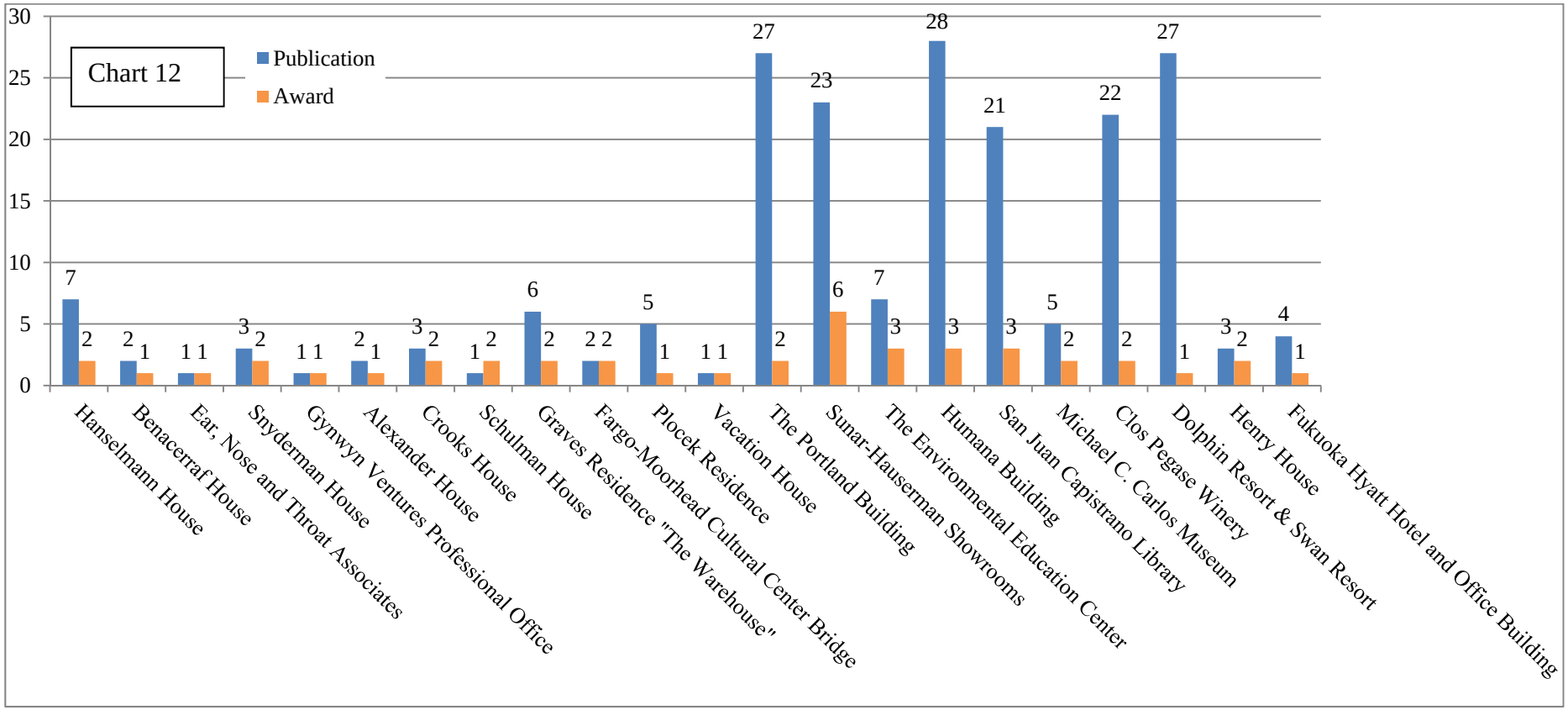
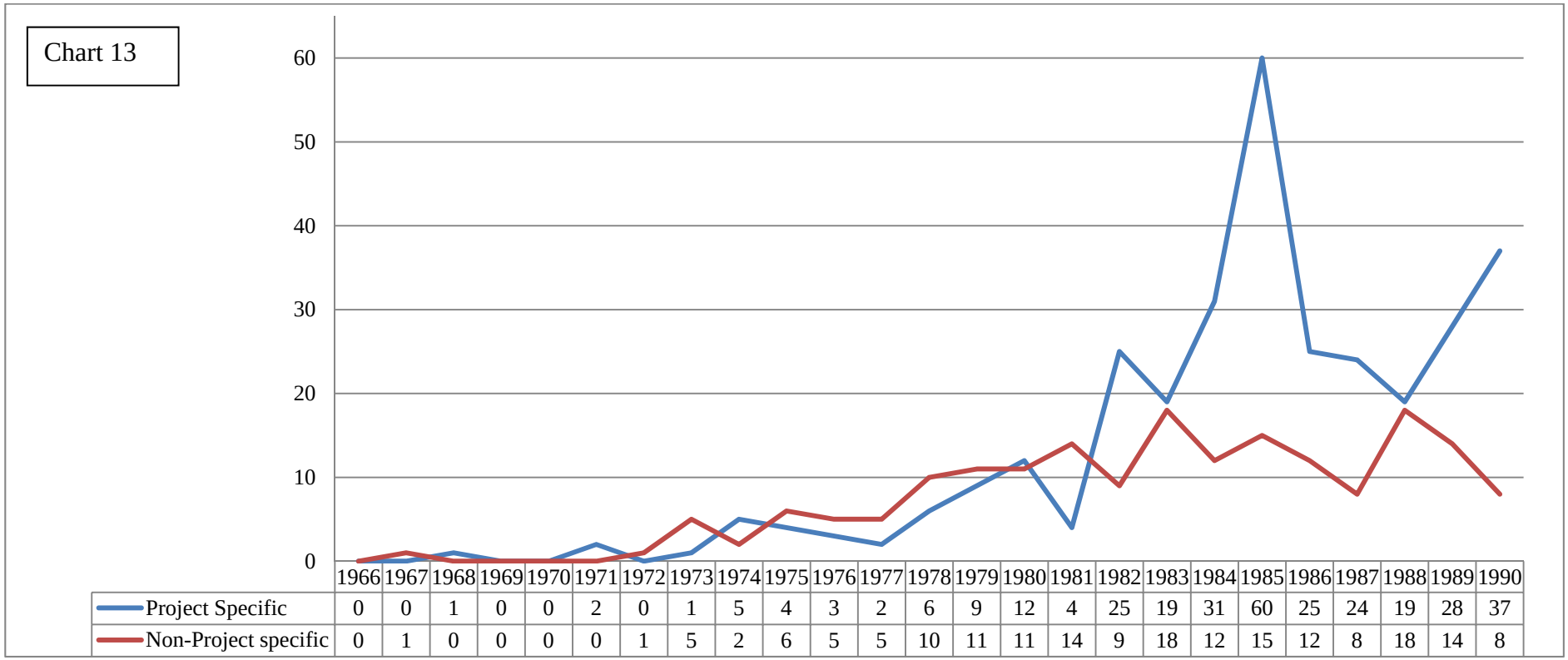


Chart 12 All projects by Graves that were delivered between 1966 to 1990 that won at least one award.

The projects are presented chronologically, the earliest towards the left and the most recent towards the right. The figures shown are the total number of publications (professional and mainstream) charted against the total number of awards.

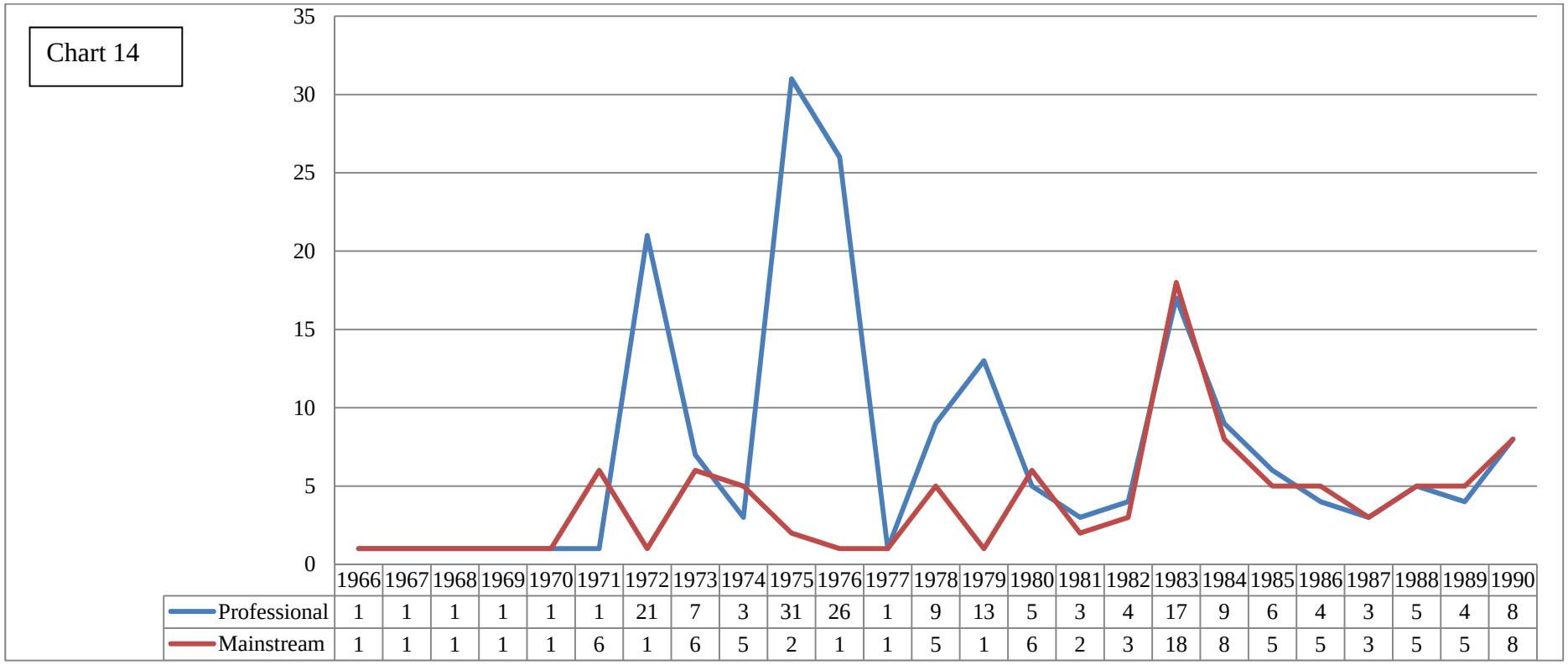


	1966	1967	1968	1969	1970	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990
Project Specific	0	0	1	0	0	2	0	1	5	4	3	2	6	9	12	4	25	19	31	60	25	24	19	28	37
Non-Project specific	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	5	2	6	5	5	10	11	11	14	9	18	12	15	12	8	18	14	8

Career Phase	Traditional beginning	Period of transition	Growing public prominence	Heights of media attention	Celebrity boom	Popularising Post-Modernism

Chart 13 Publications per year that were dedicated to a single project, and those that were not project specific.

Those in the latter category demonstrate a broader interest in Graves and his career.

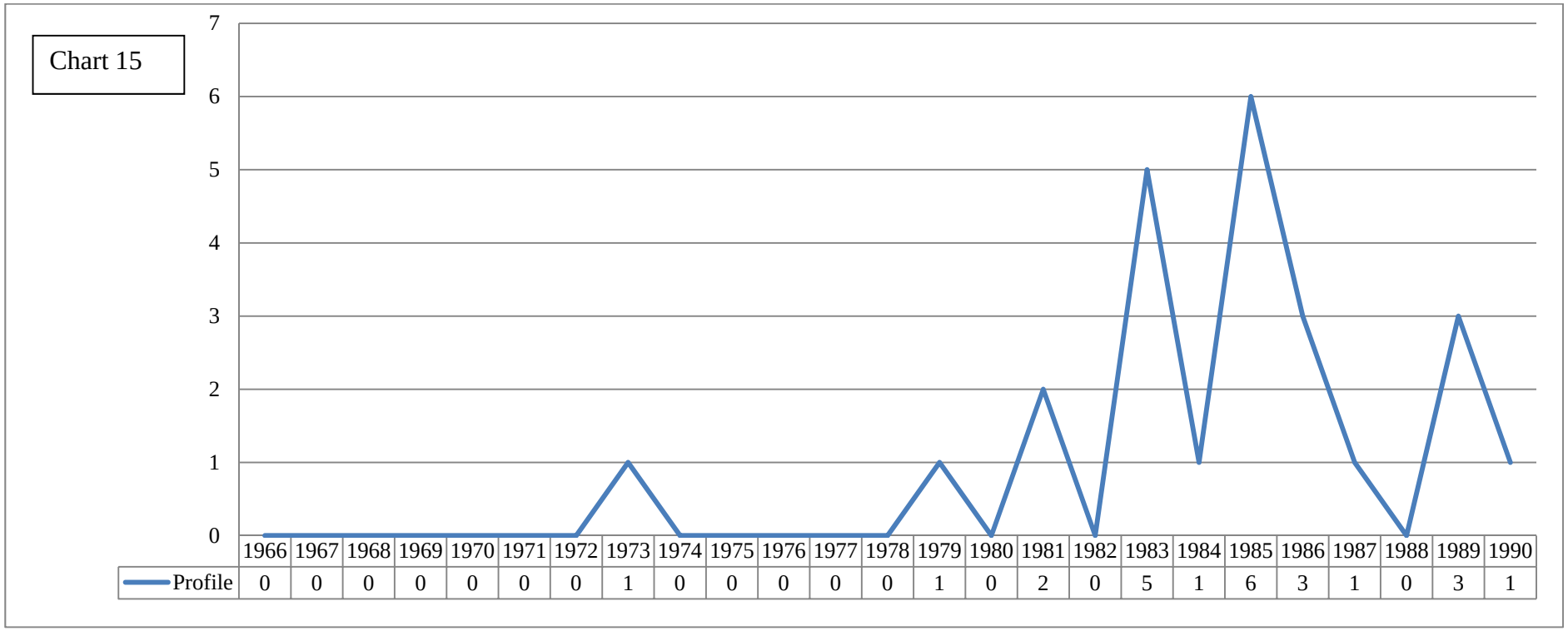


	1966	1967	1968	1969	1970	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990
Professional	1	1	1	1	1	1	21	7	3	31	26	1	9	13	5	3	4	17	9	6	4	3	5	4	8
Mainstream	1	1	1	1	1	6	1	6	5	2	1	1	5	1	6	2	3	18	8	5	5	3	5	5	8

Career Phase	Traditional beginning	Period of transition	Growing public prominence	Heights of media attention	Celebrity boom	Popularising Post-Modernism

Chart 14 Average number of pages per article per year, for both the professional and mainstream media.

The length of articles demonstrates the media's focus on Graves at certain periods throughout his career.

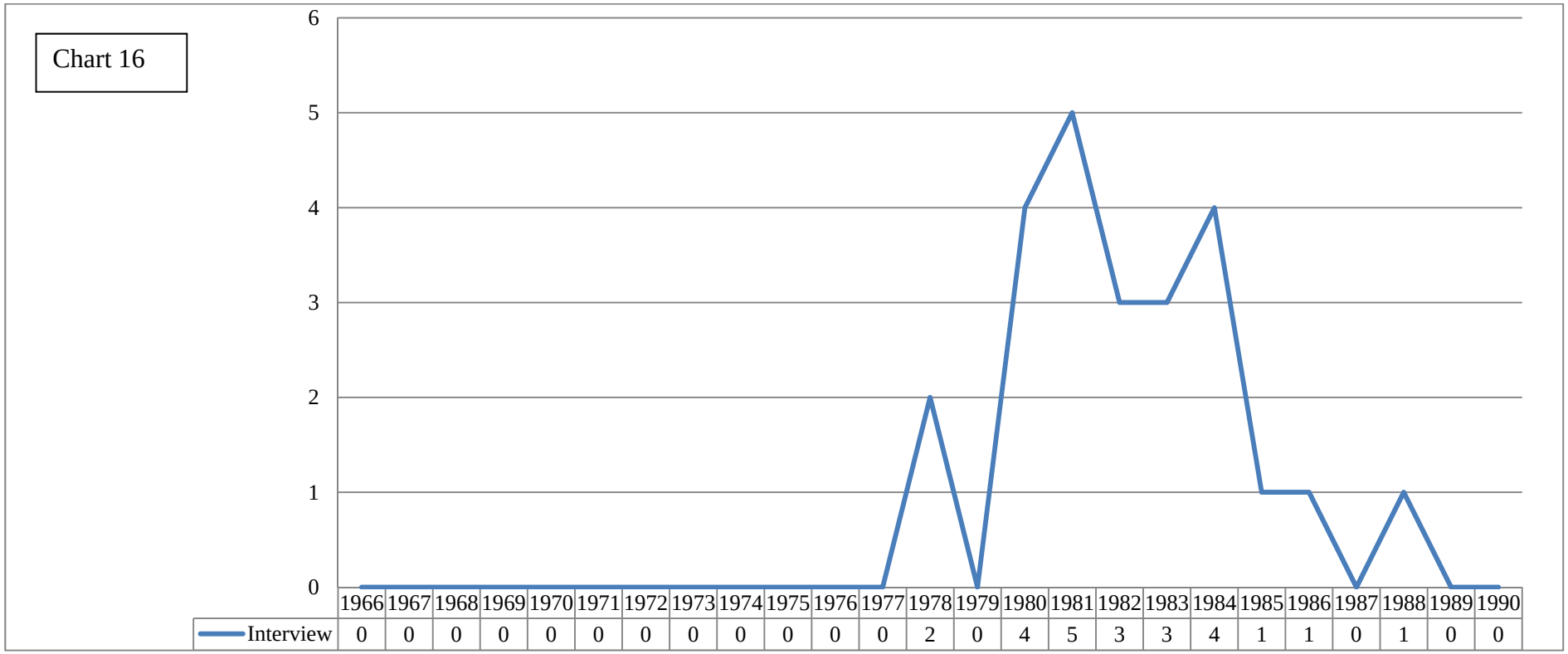


	1966	1967	1968	1969	1970	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990
Profile	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	2	0	5	1	6	3	1	0	3	1

Career Phase	Traditional beginning	Period of transition	Growing public prominence	Heights of media attention	Celebrity boom	Popularising Post-Modernism

Chart 15 Number of profiles per year written about Graves.

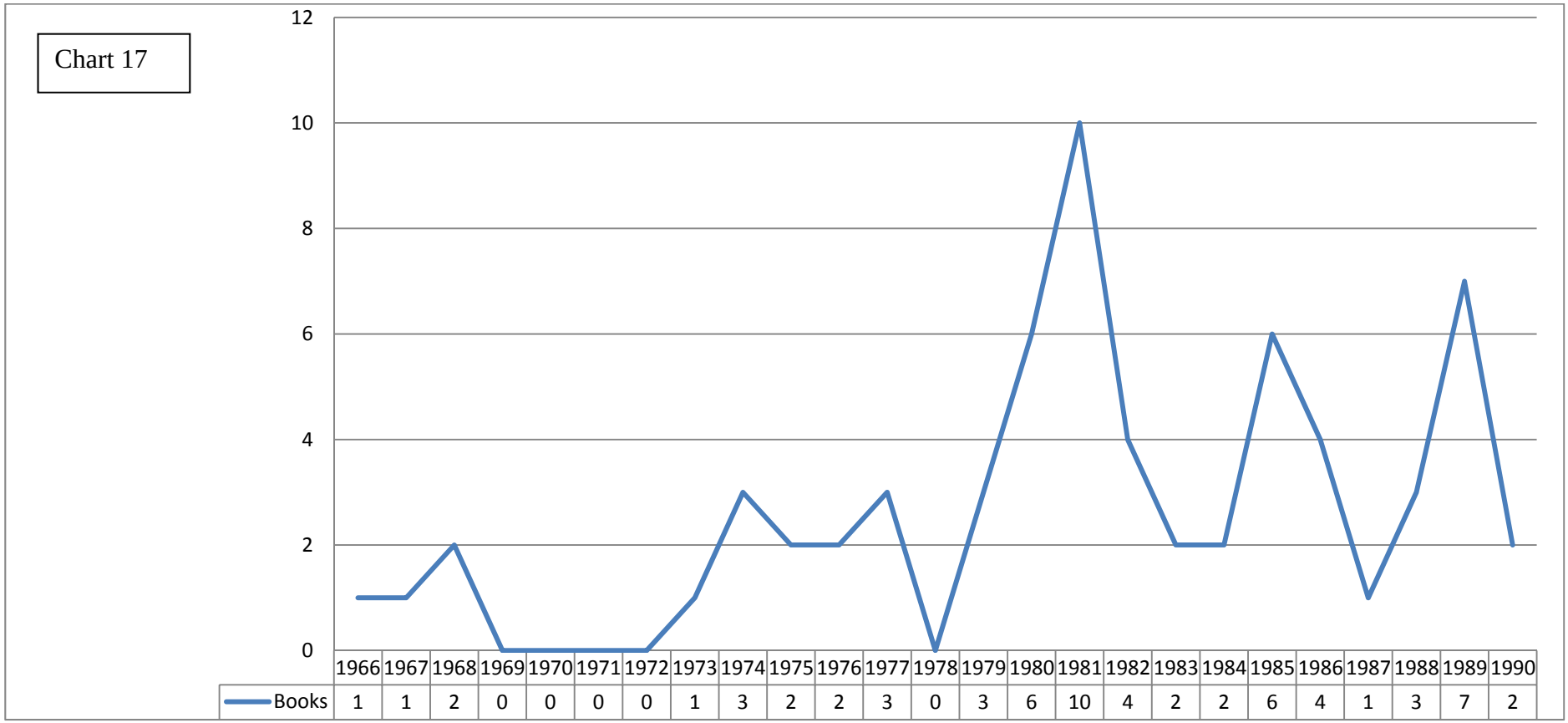
The increase and decrease in the number of profiles is an indicator of Graves's celebrity, as profiles are a personal form of journalism that convey details of an individual's life and character to the reader, which aligns with the *humanisation* aspect of "celebrification".



Career Phase	Traditional beginning	Period of transition	Growing public prominence	Heights of media attention	Celebrity boom	Popularising Post-Modernism

Chart 16 Number of interviews with Graves published per year.

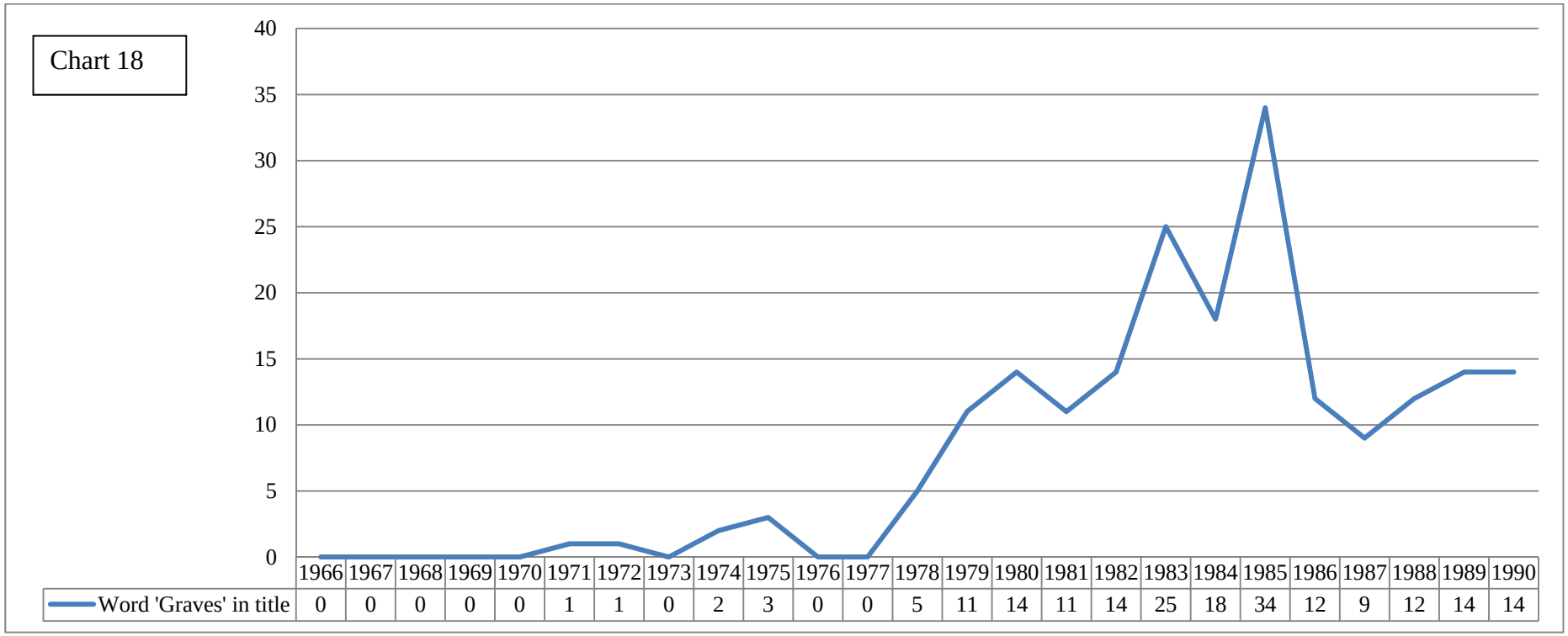
Interviews are considered an indicator of Graves's growing professional profile, and increasingly prominent voice within peer circles.



	1966	1967	1968	1969	1970	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990
Books	1	1	2	0	0	0	0	1	3	2	2	3	0	3	6	10	4	2	2	6	4	1	3	7	2

Career Phase	Traditional beginning	Period of transition	Growing public prominence	Heights of media attention	Celebrity boom	Popularising Post-Modernism

Chart 17 Number of professional books published about Graves per year, including monographs and biographies.

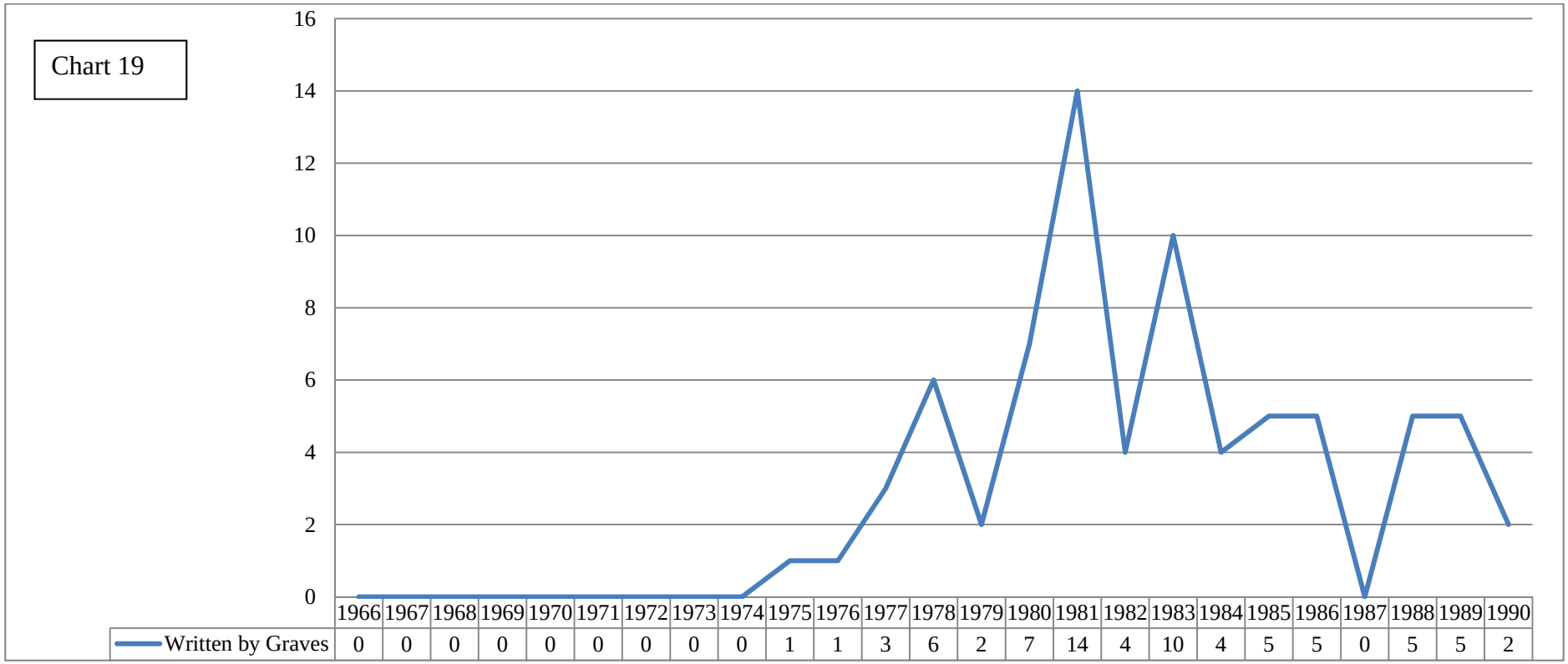


	1966	1967	1968	1969	1970	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990
Word 'Graves' in title	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	2	3	0	0	5	11	14	11	14	25	18	34	12	9	12	14	14

Career Phase	Traditional beginning	Period of transition	Growing public prominence	Heights of media attention	Celebrity boom	Popularising Post-Modernism

Chart 18 Number of times the word ‘Graves’ appears in an article title.

This is considered an indicator of Graves’s growing celebrity as it suggests that his name held greater currency and was being used to draw the attention of readers.

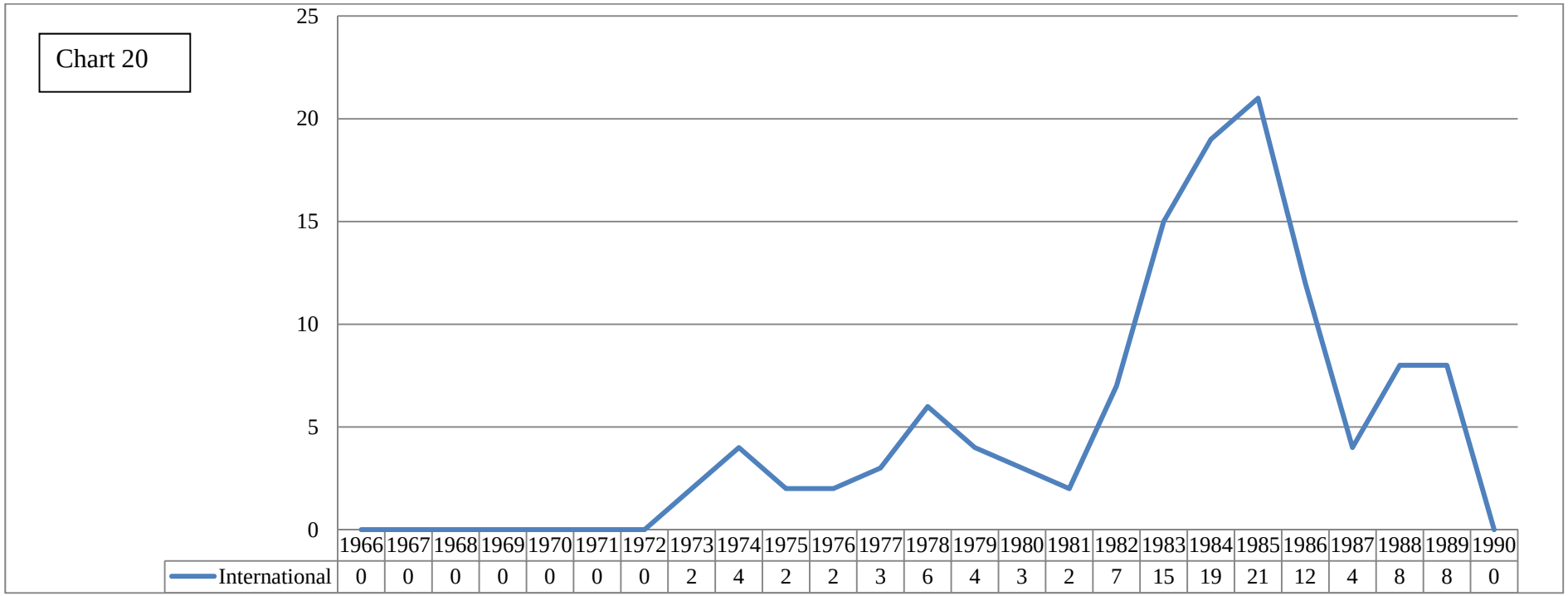


	1966	1967	1968	1969	1970	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990
Written by Graves	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	3	6	2	7	14	4	10	4	5	5	0	5	5	2

Career Phase	Traditional beginning	Period of transition	Growing public prominence	Heights of media attention	Celebrity boom	Popularising Post-Modernism

Chart 19 Number of publications written by Graves per year.

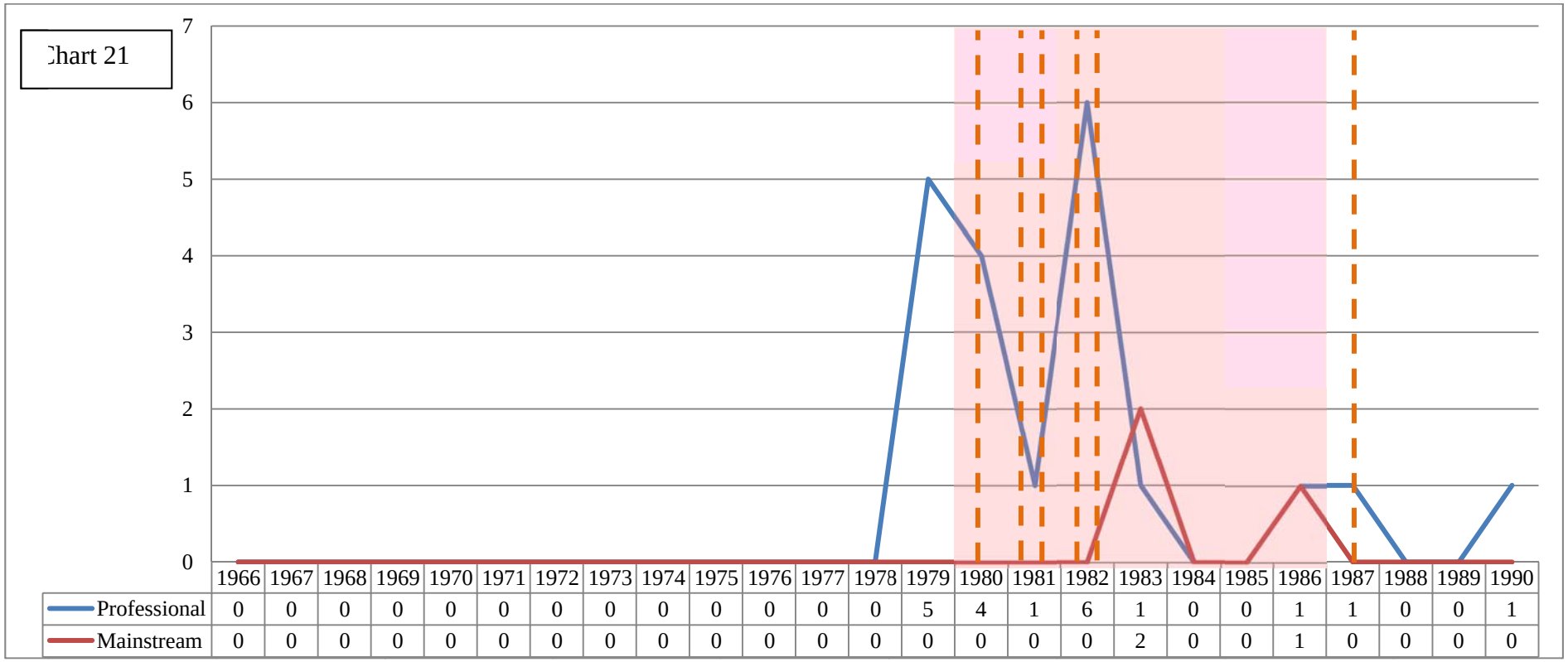
This demonstrates periods during which Graves was most actively engageed in attracting recognition for himself and his work.



Career Phase	Traditional beginning	Period of transition	Growing public prominence	Heights of media attention	Celebrity boom	Popularising Post-Modernism

Chart 20 Number of articles about Graves to appear in international publications per year.

This demonstrates the growth of his profile to a global audience. The number of publications from each country, in order of quantity, is as follows: Japan, 50; England, 31; Italy, 13; Canada, 4; Germany, 3; Spain 2; Denmark, 2; Finland, 2; France, 2; Chile, 1; Greece, 1; Hong Kong, 1, Sweden, 1.

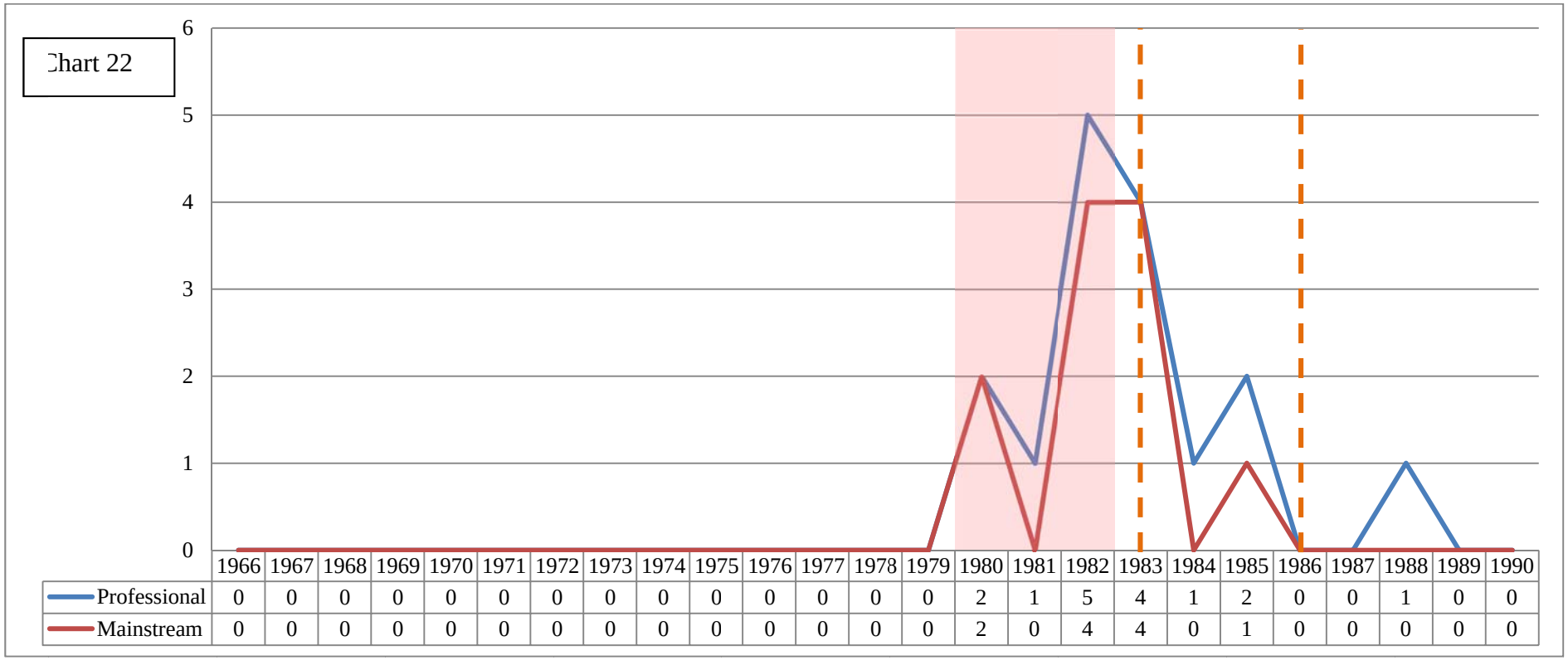


	1966	1967	1968	1969	1970	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990
Professional	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	5	4	1	6	1	0	0	1	1	0	0	1
Mainstream	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	1	0	0	0	0

Career Phase	Traditional beginning	Period of transition	Growing public prominence	Heights of media attention	Celebrity boom	Popularising Post-Modernism

Chart 21 Publications dedicated to the 11 Furniture Showrooms and Offices for Sunar-Hauserman, US and London.

The orange vertical lines indicate awards for the project. The pink vertical box spans from the year of commission to the year of completion.

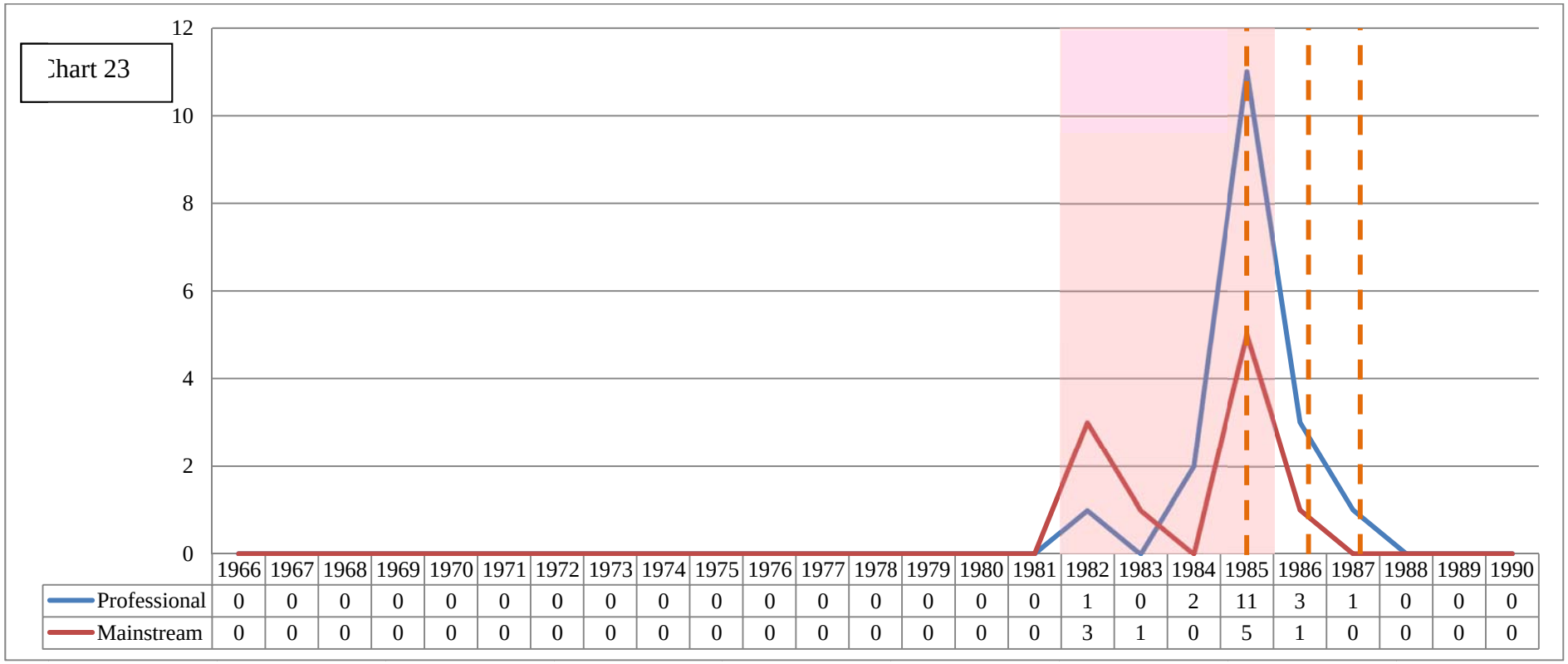


	1966	1967	1968	1969	1970	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990
Professional	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	1	5	4	1	2	0	0	1	0	0
Mainstream	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	4	4	0	1	0	0	0	0	0

Career Phase	Traditional beginning	Period of transition	Growing public prominence	Heights of media attention	Celebrity boom	Popularising Post-Modernism

Chart 22 Publications dedicated to The Portland Building, Portland, Oregon.

The orange vertical lines indicate awards for the project. The pink vertical box spans from the year of commission to the year of completion.

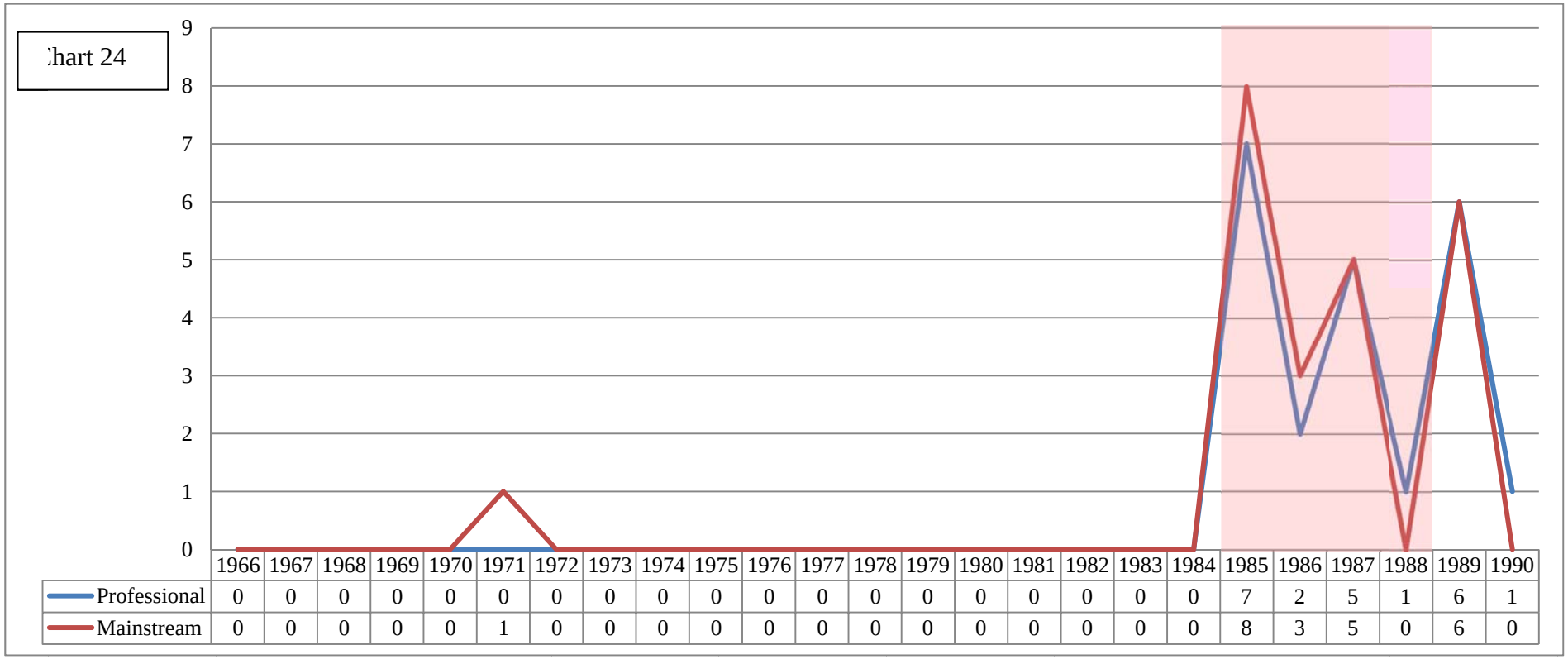


	1966	1967	1968	1969	1970	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990
Professional	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	2	11	3	1	0	0	0
Mainstream	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	1	0	5	1	0	0	0	0

Career Phase	Traditional beginning	Period of transition	Growing public prominence	Heights of media attention	Celebrity boom	Popularising Post-Modernism

Chart 23 Publications dedicated to the Humana Building, Louisville, Kentucky.

The orange vertical lines indicate awards for the project. The pink vertical box spans from the year of commission to the year of completion.

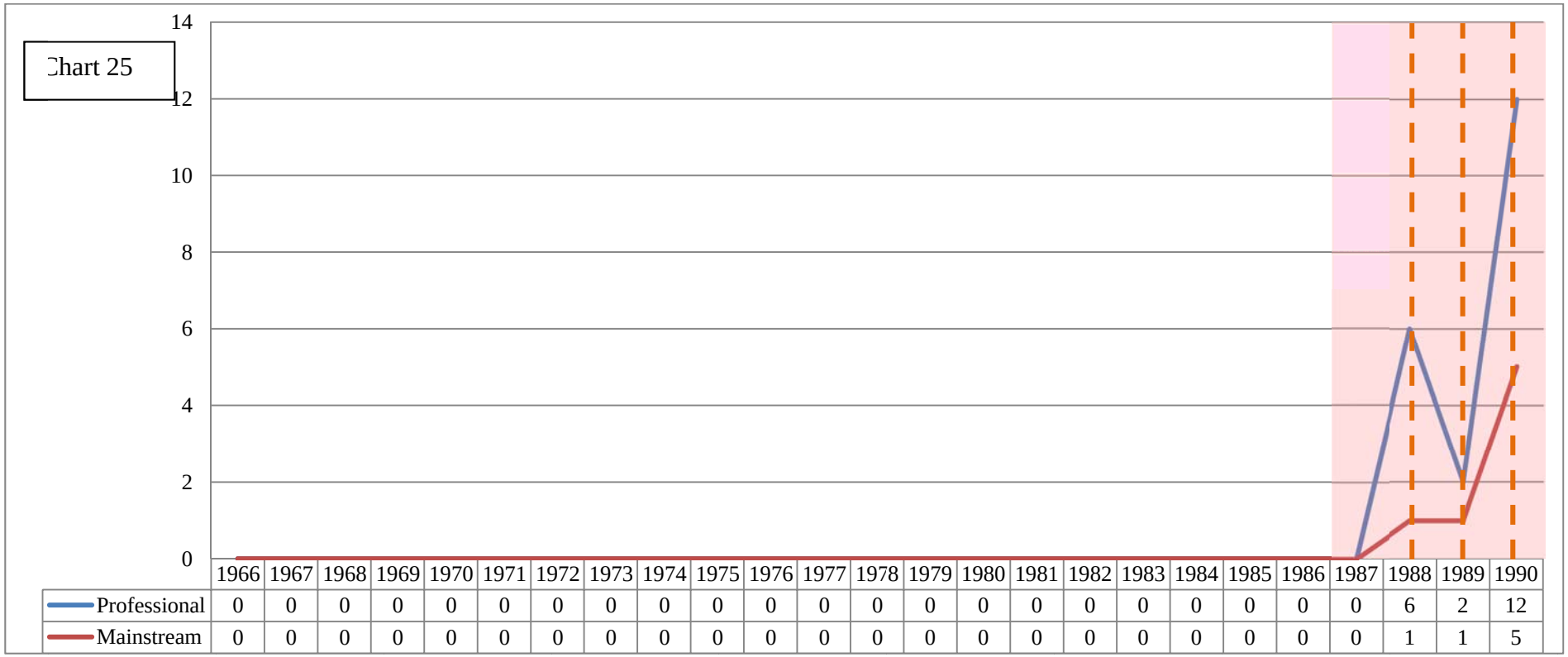


	1966	1967	1968	1969	1970	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990
Professional	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	7	2	5	1	6	1
Mainstream	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	8	3	5	0	6	0

Career Phase	Traditional beginning	Period of transition	Growing public prominence	Heights of media attention	Celebrity boom	Popularising Post-Modernism

Chart 24 Publications dedicated to the Whitney Museum of American Art redevelopment, New York.

The pink vertical box spans from the year of commission to the year of completion.

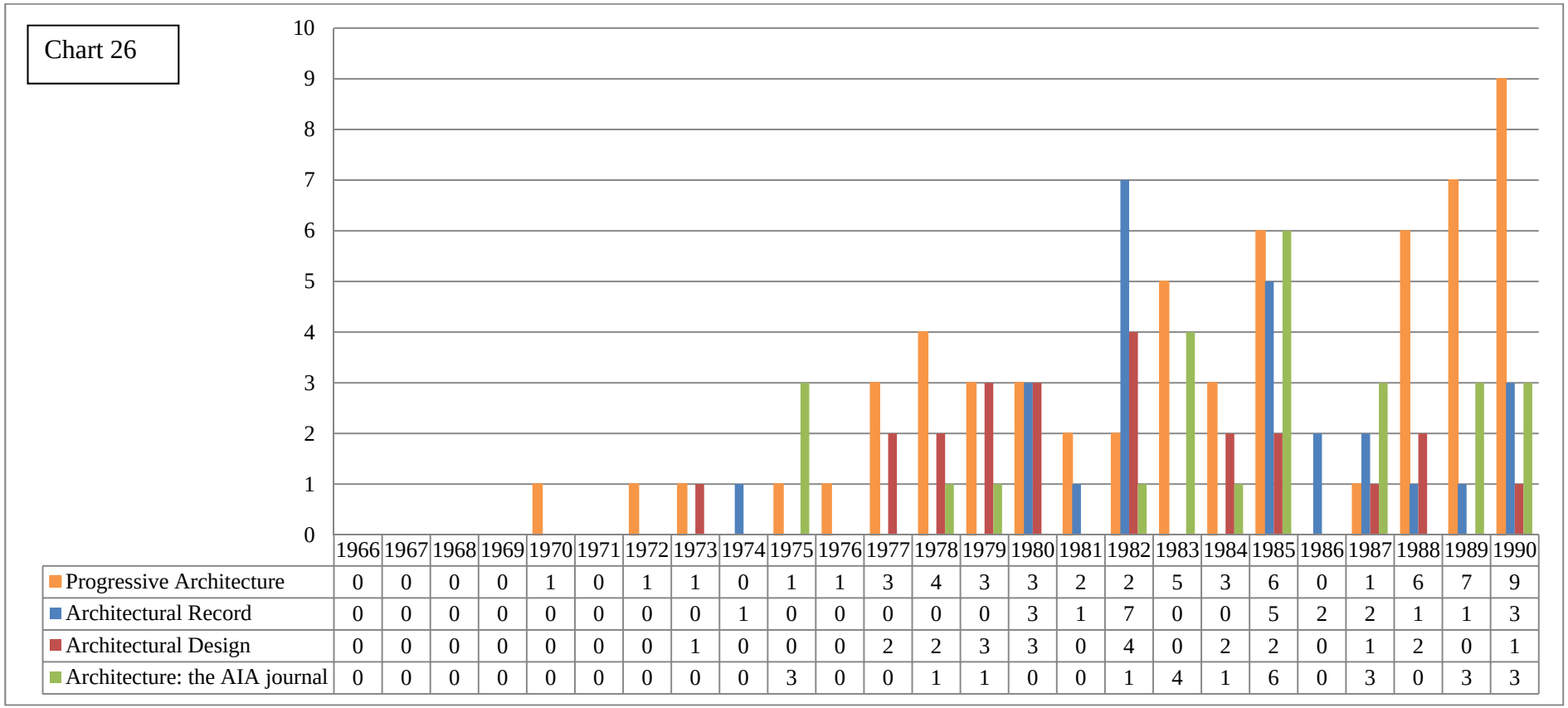


	1966	1967	1968	1969	1970	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990
Professional	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	6	2	12
Mainstream	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	5

Career Phase	Traditional beginning	Period of transition	Growing public prominence	Heights of media attention	Celebrity boom	Popularising Post-Modernism

Chart 25 Publications dedicated to the Dolphin Resort and Swan Resort, Walt Disney World, Orlando, Florida.

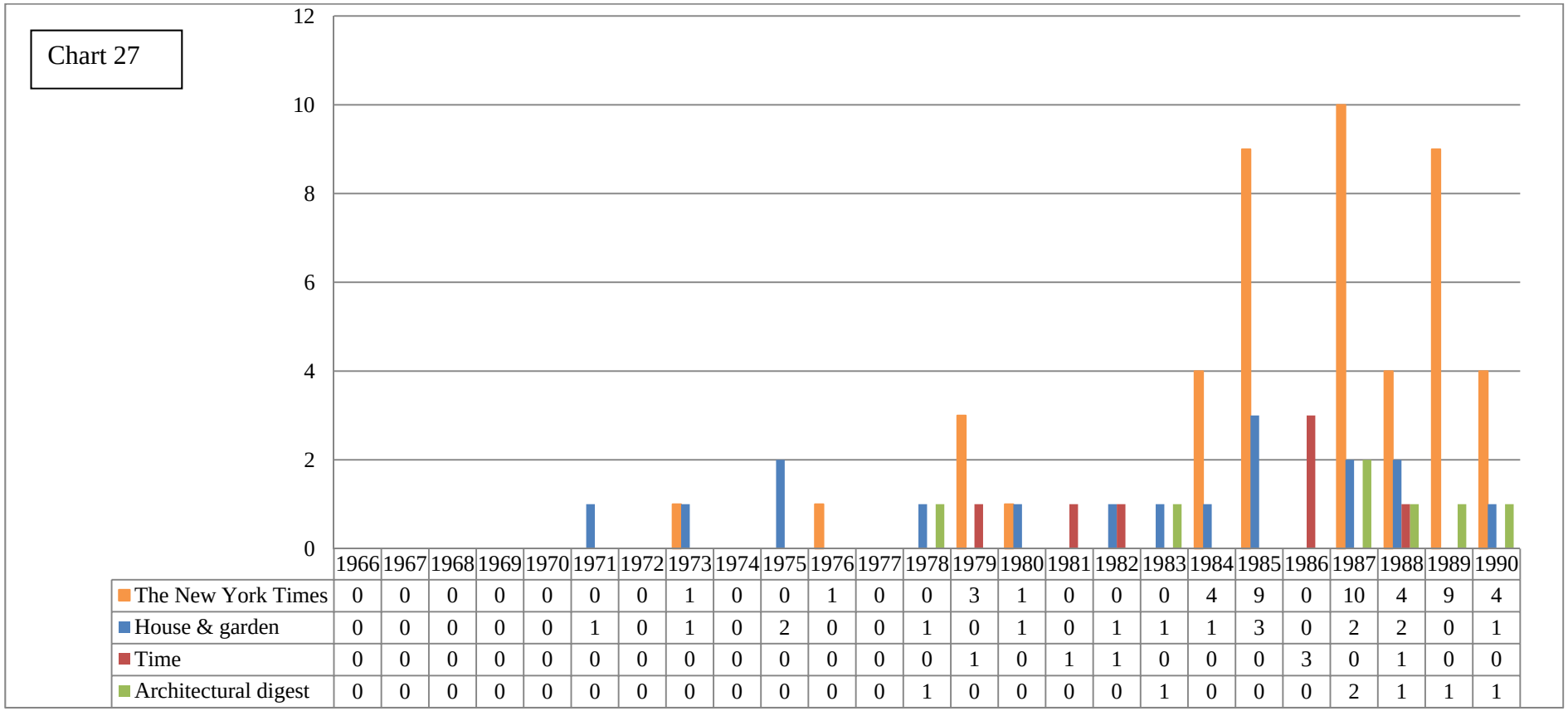
The orange vertical lines indicate awards for the project. The pink vertical box spans from the year of commission to the year of completion.



	1966	1967	1968	1969	1970	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990
Progressive Architecture	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	1	0	1	1	3	4	3	3	2	2	5	3	6	0	1	6	7	9
Architectural Record	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	3	1	7	0	0	5	2	2	1	1	3
Architectural Design	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	2	2	3	3	0	4	0	2	2	0	1	2	0	1
Architecture: the AIA journal	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	1	1	0	0	1	4	1	6	0	3	0	3	3

Career Phase	Traditional beginning	Period of transition	Growing public prominence	Heights of media attention	Celebrity boom	Popularising Post-Modernism

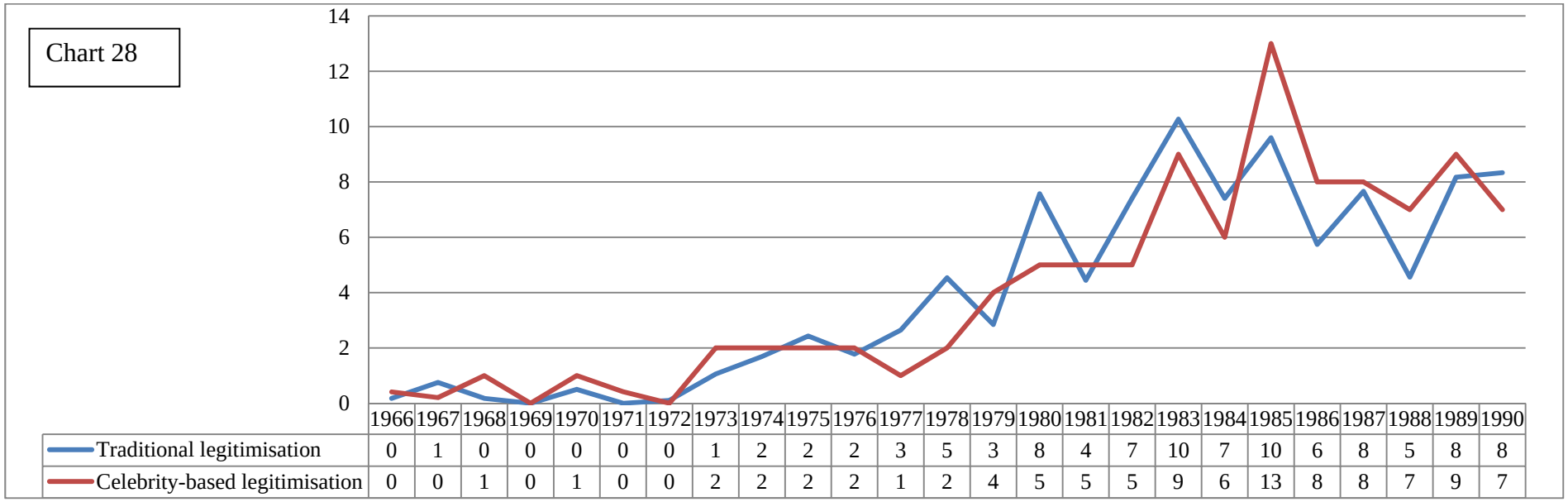
Chart 26 Publication trend of the professional journals that featured Graves most frequently during his career.



	1966	1967	1968	1969	1970	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990
The New York Times	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	3	1	0	0	0	4	9	0	10	4	9	4
House & garden	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	2	0	0	1	0	1	0	1	1	1	3	0	2	2	0	1
Time	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	3	0	1	0	0
Architectural digest	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	2	1	1	1

Career Phase	Traditional beginning	Period of transition	Growing public prominence	Heights of media attention	Celebrity boom	Popularising Post-Modernism

Chart 27 Publication trend of the mainstream media sources that featured Graves most frequently during his career.



	1966	1967	1968	1969	1970	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990
Traditional legitimisation	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	2	2	3	5	3	8	4	7	10	7	10	6	8	5	8	8
Celebrity-based legitimisation	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	2	2	2	2	1	2	4	5	5	5	9	6	13	8	8	7	9	7

Career Phase	Traditional beginning	Period of transition	Growing public prominence	Heights of media attention	Celebrity boom	Popularising Post-Modernism

Chart 28 *Traditional* and *celebrity-related process of legitimisation* throughout the career of Graves.

The legitimisation line is the average of the professional publications, awards and exhibitions per year, shown as a percentage of the total from 1966 to 1990. The “celebrification” line indicates the number of mainstream publications per year, shown as a percentage of the total from 1966 to 1990. The use of percentages helps to negate the discrepancy between the volume of publication in the professional and mainstream media, and shows instead the periods of concentration of publication, award and exhibition of Graves’s work.

CHAPTER 7 – Conclusions and opportunities for further research

This thesis has provided a new perspective on the impact of celebrity culture on architectural practice. The purpose of this investigation was to reframe the overriding assumption in existing discourse that celebrity is a negative force in relation to the profession of architecture. Instead, an objective, neutral position has been argued. The thesis has attempted to shown that the increased media focus associated with celebrity can provide an architect with the opportunity to capture the attention of not only the general public but also the profession. Accordingly, the attainment of celebrity may in fact contribute to the process of professional legitimisation, rather than detract from it.

The theories of Pierre Bourdieu have been critical in forming this perspective on professional legitimisation, particularly those introduced in his influential essay 'The Field of Cultural Production' (1983). Predominantly, the intangible notion of 'symbolic capital', which is associated with consecration, distinction, prestige or reputation, has been explored. According to Bourdieu, the acquirement of 'symbolic capital' involves winning recognition, also referred to as acknowledgement or perceived significance. This thesis has been framed through the understanding that the accumulation of 'symbolic capital' (recognition) equates to the *traditional process of legitimisation*.

Although primarily devised for the fields of art and literature, Bourdieu's theories have been applied in this thesis to the architectural discipline. The thesis has sought to provide a clear definition of the *traditional process of legitimisation* for architects, as the writings of Bourdieu are valuable in articulating the existence of the process but somewhat vague in regard to its mechanics. Legitimisation is theorised by Bourdieu as a state, whereas this thesis articulates legitimisation as a process. This has been achieved through the amalgamation of related theories developed by scholars such as Stevens, Cuff, Williamson, Blau and van Schaik. It has been demonstrated that the *traditional process of legitimisation* for architects involves the following elements: publication in professional journals, books, exhibition catalogues and monographs; being exhibited in curated exhibitions and winning awards; competitions and involvement in professional organisations and educational institutions.

This thesis has attempted to expand the definition of the process of legitimisation for architects. Through investigating the relationship between architects and the media it was found that "starchitects" can establish a new means of gaining the recognition of their peers; it is the mainstream media which fosters, and manufactures, celebrity. This thesis fills a gap in existing discourse by acknowledging that the mainstream media can affect the perceived significance of architects, and thereby contribute to their process of legitimisation.

While the *traditional process of legitimisation* has been defined as professional practices that result in peer recognition, it has been argued that the *celebrity-related process of legitimisation* involves a number of key media-based techniques: Humanisation; Visualisation; Grandiosation; Endorsement; Personal profiling. It has been demonstrated that these techniques, applied by journalists, editors and authors, serve to raise an architect's profile. Whilst the *traditional process of legitimisation* is largely insular, relying solely on professional recognition, the *celebrity-related process of legitimisation* involves a much broader audience, including the general public.

The architectural profession has long been criticised for being too insular. Valorisation, in the profession of architecture, has traditionally been the provenance of the professional institutions and organisations such as the AIA, whose role it is to maintain a high standard of practice for the benefit of clients. Peer status has traditionally held a high value in the appraisal of architects, often at the expense of broader public critique (Iloniemi 2004, p. 11). This thesis goes some way towards demonstrating that, as of the "starchitect" boom of the late 1970s and 1980s in the US, this is not necessarily true; it has been shown that external opinion may serve as a critical force in professional consecration. The architectural field became more interrelated with the media field, which provided the opportunity for a new power to emerge: public interest in architectural production. Whilst the public had hitherto served to consecrate architecture through their role as clients as users, they were now in a position to validate architectural producers, who were in turn given the opportunity to translate that force into a meaningful value for their trajectories.

To gain a deeper understanding of the *celebrity-related process of legitimisation,* in particular the reasons for its manifestation, this thesis has provided an overview of the history of celebrity for architects. It has demonstrated that "starchitects" emerged as the result of several major transformations within the field of architecture over the twentieth century in the US, spurred by external social and cultural forces.

First, it has shown that the professionalisation of architecture, which roughly spanned the period 1880–1940, resulted in the specialisation of architectural skill and the formation of a professional identity: that of the gentleman. This milestone enabled architects to collectively gain the respect and acknowledgement of the public. Yet the post-World War II period saw a decline in institutional power and changes in professional ethics and values ensued. Competitive practice became the new norm for architects and individualism took hold. From the mid-1960s to the mid-1980s, intra-professional debate was sparked by the rise of Post-Modernism. The movement was controversial, provocative and newsworthy, and expanded the debate beyond the confines of the professional media.

During this same period, a variety of governmental and state programs, which were actively promoted by the media, instigated an unprecedented cultural focus on architecture in the US. The American public came to be more aware of architecture, and architects, than ever before. It was within this cultural setting that architectural personalities infiltrated mainstream culture, aided by the media. During the late 1970s and 1980s in the US, the identity of the architect evolved to encompass media star.

These first media stars came to be known, over time, as "starchitects". These architects actively embraced the power of the media in connecting with the public. Importantly, it has been argued that they were the first to use the mainstream media to gain professional legitimisation. Their media profiles grew to the point that the profession could not fail to take note and their career trajectories accelerated exponentially. By the end of the 1980s many of these "starchitects", who were largely associated with the Post-Modern movement, had won every prestigious award and were dominating the professional and popular press.

One of the most high-profile American "starchitects" of this period was Michael Graves, the subject of the case study of this thesis. The existence of the *celebrity-related process of legitimisation* has been demonstrated through an analysis of his career trajectory. The purpose was to clarify whether the *celebrity-related process* was adopted in conjunction with the *traditional process*, or in lieu of it; whether celebrity served to 'fast-track' the *traditional process of legitimisation*, or replace it.

The case study was informed by considerations that were formulated from a cross-disciplinary blend of social theories, professions theories and celebrity theories, presented in chapters 3 and 4. It used both qualitative and quantitative analysis, which is rare in architectural historiography. The statistical data produced during the quantitative analysis supported sociological claims and enabled broad trends to be identified in the career of Graves. A causal relationship between coverage in the mainstream media and legitimisation by Graves's professional peers has been identified. As Graves began to engage with a blossoming celebrity culture, an exponential rise in his public and professional profile followed, as did prestigious commissions. He went on to win major career awards and came to be recognised by the profession as an architect of merit.

In summary, several broad conclusions can be drawn. Most significantly, the thesis has demonstrated that popularisation and consecration are *not* mutually exclusive in the field of architecture. Bourdieu depicts those embedded within mass-culture as excluded from consecration by the 'cognoscenti'. In contrast, this thesis explores the professional acknowledgement of more commercial architects. Over the course of Graves's career, public interest during his most 'popular' years appears to have served as a catalyst for his recognition by the profession.

Second, this thesis has demonstrated that the *traditional* and *celebrity-related processes of legitimisation* are not mutually exclusive; rather they are complementary and occur in unison. In the career of Graves, the *celebrity-related process* was adopted in conjunction with the *traditional process*. Indeed, rather than dominating or replacing the *traditional process*, it appears that the cele*brity-related process* serves to 'fast-track' to some degree the recognition by one's peers.

The thesis has also shown that it is not only positive mainstream media coverage that increases one's public profile. Negative coverage can have an equally beneficial impact on the generation of perceived significance; it appears that the quantity and frequency of mainstream media appearances may hold as much, if not more, sway than what is printed. Whilst the media certainly has the tendency to 'tear people down', it appears that controversial press coverage elicits as much support as it does criticism.

The thesis has also revealed that there is a relationship between media exposure and professional recognition in the form of increased rate of commission. Whilst this may be perceived as common knowledge, the statistical data presented in the case study substantiates the belief. As an architect's public identity and reputation grows, so too do their professional opportunities. However, it cannot be assumed that a rise in media presence automatically corresponds with a rise in architectural output; in the career of Graves this was not the case. The investigation revealed that a celebrity boom is not reliant on architectural production. The peaks of Graves's media presence occurred irrespective of his commission and delivery of projects at the time.

Having established the relationship between celebrity and professional legitimisation, several opportunities for future inquiry have presented themselves. First, the thesis has presented an argument regarding the origins of celebrity for architects, focusing on the career "starchitects" during the late 1970s and 1980s. An area that could now be explored further is the *celebrity-related process of legitimisation* in current architectural practice. It is clear from the Literature Review that celebrity has continued to be a dominant force in twenty-first century architectural practice, yet further study would be required to identify a continued relationship between celebrity and legitimisation.

Initial investigations suggest that the trend is ongoing. A brief analysis was conducted of architects since 1990 who have been both legitimised (for example, granted at least one major professional award) [126] and "celebrified" (for example, heavily published in *The New York Times*),[127] available as Appendix 4. The results indicate that the most

[126] A tally was taken of The Pritzker Prize, The AIA Gold Medal, The RIBA Royal Gold Medal and The UIA Gold Medal. The result was a list of fifty-one architects, available as Appendix 4.

[127] As previously indicated, *The New York Times* is one of the most highly distributed mainstream media sources and, therefore, a strong indicator of celebrity.

legitimised celebrity architects are also the most published within the mainstream media. The top three of the most-published have each won three major awards. The top twenty average two awards each, while the bottom thirty average one award each.

While the thesis has focused on the US, results from the broad analysis conducted in Appendix 4 suggest that the *celebrity-related process of legitimisation* is present in the career trajectory of non-American architects. Seventy per cent of the "starchitects" in Appendix 4 are based outside of the US. Of the twenty most-published by *The New York Times*, twelve are from Europe or Asia. The only two architects to have won all four major professional architectural awards are from Italy (Renzo Piano) and Japan (Tadao Ando). These initial results point to an opportunity for determining whether this same trend is present in Australia. The broad subject of celebrity within Australian culture has been broached by Graeme Turner, Frances Bonner and David Marshall, authors of the leading study *Fame games: the production of celebrity in Australia* (2000). As in this thesis, Turner, Bonner and Marshall focused on the manufacture of celebrity. Their research was confined to the entertainment industry, analysing the cultural commodities that spring from the Australian "mediascape". It would be feasible to extend this research into the field of architecture to identify similarities and differences with American fame-making, highlighting the impact of celebrity on the career trajectory of those targeted by the media.

Lastly, the primary means by which the *celebrity-related process of legitimisation* was explored in the case study was the print media. An area that could be explored further is the role of other media forms. From the introduction of television in the post-World War II period to the creation of the internet in the 1980s, the "celebrification" process has expanded through many avenues. A range of theorists have begun to investigate the impact of new media technologies on celebrity culture (Holmes et al. 2006; Willis 2005; Austin et al. 2003; Riley 2010; Redmond et al. 2007d). According to Redmond et al., celebrities are 'rarely restricted to a single medium' (2007a, p. 6). Cashmore has argued that celebrity culture would have been impossible without television, which was developed in the 1950s and became a vital force in Post-Modern celebrity culture (2006, p. 38). Television established intimacy between a celebrity and their mass audience (Riley 2010, p. 289). Whereas previously the public had mostly 'known' prominent

figures through artists' impressions, photographs, newsreels or radio, through television the celebrity became available as a visually concrete product. The imagination no longer played a part in understanding a person of renown; the intimacy of body language and speech created a realistic and believable image. As a result, with the arrival of television, celebrities became the heroes of popular culture from the 1950s onwards (Riley 2010, p. 289).

Architects made their first appearances on television from the 1950s. For example, Ray and Charles Eames introduced their Eames Lounge Chair through infomercials on the Arlene Francis "Home" show in 1956.[128] Yet, it was not until the 1980s that celebrity architects became widely acknowledged within the popular culture of the US.[129] This trend has continued into the twenty-first century. For example, an animated Frank Gehry character appeared in the popular series 'The Simpsons' in 2005.[130] The trend is also present beyond the US; four years later Philippe Starck featured in the reality television program 'Design for Life'[131] in which he mentored twelve young British designers. There is the opportunity to explore the impact of such high-profile exposure through television on the *celebrity-related process of legitimisation.*

By extension, there is the opportunity to explore the impact of more current media forms. One of the most obvious recent technologies is the internet, and Riley (2010) suggests that, as it has substantially influenced celebrity careers, aspiring professionals may find 'a route to success and renown through diligent work on the Internet' (p. 146). It may play a role in creating celebrities through enabling mass audiences and content producers, thereby transferring the 'star-making machinery' from the traditional news and entertainment media into the hands of the individual (Riley 2010, p. 73).

Riley refers to the 'self-nominated stars' of the internet, a trend which has been commented upon by various other theorists (Rein et al. 1997; Redmond et al. 2007d). For example, Rein et al. suggest that individuals are increasingly demanding the media

[128] Broadcast on the NBC television network.
[129] See discussion in Section 4.6: A new cultural focus on architecture.
[130] The episode was titled 'The Seven-Beer Snitch' and was the fourteenth episode of Season sixteen. It was aired in the United States on 3 April, 2005.
[131] The series first aired in the United Kingdom on BBC2 on 14 September, 2009. The winner was offered a six-month placement in Starck's Parisian studio.

spotlight and seeking to take control of ‘decisions about their own visibility’ (1997, p. 150). The internet enables an individual to ‘circumvent some of the economic and technological structures through which celebrity is usually produced and consumed’ (Redmond et al. 2007c, p. 310). This type of fame making falls into the field of discourse known as the ‘democratization of celebrity culture’ (Redmond et al. 2007c, p. 310). There is the opportunity to explore this phenomenon within the architectural profession.

In summary, it is evident that celebrity pervades all aspects of contemporary culture and that the profession of architecture is not immune to its influence. The thesis has recognised celebrity as a potentially powerful force in the career trajectory of architects, particularly regarding the processes of legitimisation. This thesis has contributed towards identifying the *celebrity-related the process of legitimisation* within the architectural field. This conclusion is significant because celebrity has had an exponentially strong impact on society, and “starchitects” have become an undeniable presence in architectural practice. They have served to raise the profile of the field of architecture, and also started the now field-wide trend of active engagement with the mainstream media; hence insight into their careers provides a valuable contribution to architectural discourse. While the case study of Michael Graves has demonstrated a singular instance of this process, it appears that numerous avenues exist to demonstrate that his was not an isolated case; it holds the potential to be applied to other cases and analyses of the 1970s and 1980s. A better understanding of the role of celebrity for architects has resulted in a redefining of its impact. It may no longer be presumed that it is entirely a negative force, and this thesis has demonstrated that there is potential for interpreting celebrity as another strategic tool used to further an architect’s professional standing.

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Appendix 1

Coding schedule example

For discussion, see chapter 1.9 Sources and methods.

ITEM TO BE CODED	EXAMPLE
COPY AVAILABLE	M
AUTHOR	Paul Goldberger
YEAR	1972
MONTH	3
TITLE	On reading architecture: Eisenman and Graves
JOURNAL / BOOK	Progressive Architecture
SOURCE TYPE	3
VOLUME	53
ISSUE	1
START PAGE	32
NUMBER OF PAGES	6
SECTION	H
NATIONALITY OF PUBLICATION	0
AUDIENCE TYPE	A
NUMBER OF PAGES	12
SECTION	NA
SUBJECT - BROAD	0
SUBJECT - SPECIFIC	7
PROJECT	NA

Appendix 2

Coding manual: Biographical data

For discussion, see chapter 1.9 Sources and methods.

ITEM TO BE CODED	CODE DESCRIPTION	CODE
COPY AVAILABLE	Manual	M
	Digital	D
AUTHOR	First Last	E.g. Robert Ivy
YEAR	Number	E.g. 1970
MONTH	January	1
	December	12
TITLE	Name	E.g. Graves Saves
JOURNAL / BOOK	Name	E.g. House & Garden
SOURCE TYPE	Book	1
	Book Section	2
	Journal Article	3
	Magazine Article	4
	Newspaper Article	5
VOLUME	Number	E.g. 138
ISSUE	Number	E.g. 4
NATIONALITY OF PUBLICATION	USA	0
	International	1
AUDIENCE TYPE	Professional	A
	Mainstream	B
NUMBER OF PAGES	Number (does not apply to books)	6
SECTION	Relevant for newspapers only	E.g. A, C
SUBJECT - BROAD	Project	0
	Not Project Specific	1
SUBJECT - SPECIFIC	Architectural Project	2
	Product Design	3
	Drawings	4
	Exhibition	5
	Profile	6
	Interview	7
PROJECT	Hanselmann House, Fort Wayne, Indiana	1
	Benacerraf House, Princeton, New Jersey	2
	Medical Office: Ear, Nose and Throat Associates, Fort Wayne, Indiana	3
	Keely Guest House, Princeton, New Jersey	4

ITEM TO BE CODED	CODE DESCRIPTION	CODE
	Snyderman House, Fort Wayne, Indiana	5
	Gynwyn Ventures Professional Office, Princeton, New Jersey	6
	Alexander House, Princeton, New Jersey	7
	Wageman House, Princeton, New Jersey	8
	Claghorn House, Princeton, New Jersey	9
	Crooks House, Fort Wayne, Indiana	10
	Schulman House, Princeton, New Jersey	11
	Graves Residence "The Warehouse", Princeton, New Jersey	12
	Fargo-Moorhead Cultural Center Bridge, Fargo, North Dakota	13
	Plocek Residence, Warren, New Jersey	14
	Vacation House, Aspen, Colorado	15
	The Portland Building, Portland, Oregon	16
	11 Furniture Showrooms and Offices for Sunar-Hauserman, United States; London, U.K.	17
	The Environmental Education Center, Liberty State Park, New Jersey	18
	Art history department and museum, Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, New York	19
	Humana Building, Louisville, Kentucky	20
	Newark Museum expansion, Newark, New Jersey	21
	San Juan Capistrano Library, San Juan Capistrano, California	22
	Fire' Stagesets and Costumes, The Joffrey Ballet, New York	23
	Michael C. Carlos Museum, Emory University, Atlanta, Georgia	24
	The Republic Bank and Texas Theater Study, San Antonio, Texas	25
	St. James Townhouses, Cincinnati, Ohio	26
	Glazer farmhouse and studio, McKinney, Texas	27
	Center for the Visual Arts, Ohio State University; Columbus, Ohio	28
	Erickson Alumni Center, West Virginia University, Morgantown, West Virginia	29
	Clos Pegase Winery, Calistoga, California	30
	Diane Von Furstenberg Boutique, New York City	31
	Aventine Mixed Use Development, La Jolla, California	32
	The New York Coliseum site, Ten Columbus Circle, New York, New York	33
	Phoenix Municipal Government Center, Phoenix, Arizona	34

ITEM TO BE CODED	CODE DESCRIPTION	CODE
	Whitney Museum of American Art, New York	35
	Crown American Building, Johnstown, Pennsylvania	36
	Youngstown Historical Center of Industry and Labor, Youngstown, Ohio	37
	Mardi Gras Arch, Galveston, Texas	38
	Dolphin Resort and Swan Resort, Walt Disney World, Orlando, Florida	39
	Henry House, Rhinebeck, New York	40
	Fukuoka Hyatt Hotel and Office Building, Fukuoka, Japan	41
	No Project	NA

Appendix 3

Articles per publication

The following charts indicate the number of articles that discuss Michael Graves over the timespan 1966 to 1990. Professional publications are listed first, followed by mainstream publications.

For methodology, see Case study methodology and structure

For discussion, see Chapter 6 Case Study: Michael Graves.

PROFESSIONAL PUBLICATIONS	Progressive Architecture	Architectural Record	Architecture: the AIA journal	Architectural Design	A & U: Architecture & Urbanism	GA Document	Architecture New Jersey	Interiors	Interior Design	Process: Architecture	Domus	Princeton Journal	Texas Architect	Buildings Design Journal
1966	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1967	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1968	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1969	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1970	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1971	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1972	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1973	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1974	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
1975	1	0	3	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
1976	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1977	3	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1978	4	0	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0
1979	3	0	1	3	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0
1980	3	3	0	3	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
1981	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1982	2	7	1	4	1	2	0	1	0	0	0	0	2	0
1983	5	0	4	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	0
1984	3	0	1	2	3	8	1	1	2	0	1	0	0	0
1985	6	5	6	2	2	3	0	1	1	1	2	1	0	2
1986	0	2	0	0	1	0	3	3	0	1	0	0	1	0
1987	1	2	3	1	0	1	4	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
1988	6	1	0	2	0	1	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
1989	7	1	3	0	1	1	0	2	1	0	0	0	0	0
1990	9	3	3	1	0	3	4	3	0	0	0	0	0	0
TOTAL	**59**	**26**	**26**	**23**	**16**	**19**	**14**	**13**	**6**	**4**	**4**	**4**	**4**	**3**

PROFESSIONAL PUBLICATIONS	Journal of Architectural Education	Oppositions	Abitare	Architects' Journal	Architecture d'Aujourd'hui	Architecture Intérieure créé	Arkkitehti	Crit	Eupalino	Harvard Architecture Review	Inland Architect	International Architect	L. A. Architect	Oculus	Princeton Journal: Landscape	Section a
1966	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1967	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1968	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1969	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1970	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1971	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1972	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1973	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1974	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1975	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1976	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1977	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1978	2	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1979	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
1980	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
1981	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1982	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
1983	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
1984	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	2	0	0	0
1985	0	0	1	0	0	1	2	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	2	0
1986	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
1987	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
1988	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1989	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
1990	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
TOTAL	**3**	**3**	**2**	**2**	**3**	**2**	**2**	**2**	**2**	**2**	**2**	**2**	**2**	**2**	**2**	**2**

PROFESSIONAL PUBLICATIONS	Techniques et Architecture	The Christian Science Monitor	A & V	American Artist	Archaeology	Archetype	Architectural Forum	Architectural Monographs	Architecture California	Architektonika Themata. Architecture in Greece	Arkitekten	Arkitektur DK	ARQ	Art criticism	Baumeister	Bauwelt	Blueprint	Building	Center: a Journal for Architecture in America
1966	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1967	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1968	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1969	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1970	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1971	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1972	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1973	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1974	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1975	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1976	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1977	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1978	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1979	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1980	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1981	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1982	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1983	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
1984	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1985	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
1986	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1987	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
1988	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0
1989	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0
1990	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0
TOTAL	**2**	**2**	**2**	**1**	**1**	**1**	**1**	**1**	**1**	**1**	**1**	**1**	**1**	**1**	**1**	**2**	**1**	**2**	**1**

PROFESSIONAL PUBLICATIONS	Continental Profiles	Controspazio	Design Book Review: DBR	Designers' Journal	Designers West	Dialogue	Engineering News-Record	Florida Architect	Forum	GSD News, Harvard University	**International Journal** of Museum Management & Curatorship	International Lighting Review	Japan architect	Modulus	Museum & arts Washington	North Carolina State School of Design	Society of Architectural Historians Journal	Triglyph	Urban Design International
1966	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1967	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1968	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1969	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1970	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1971	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1972	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1973	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1974	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1975	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1976	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1977	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1978	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
1979	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
1980	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1981	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1982	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1983	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1984	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
1985	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
1986	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
1987	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1988	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1989	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0
1990	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
TOTAL	**1**	**1**	**1**	**1**	**1**	**1**	**1**	**1**	**1**	**1**	**1**	**1**	**1**	**1**	**1**	**1**	**1**	**1**	**1**

PROFESSIONAL PUBLICATIONS	The Canadian Student Journal of Architecture	The Architectural Review	The Chronicle of Higher Education
1966	0	0	0
1967	0	0	0
1968	0	0	0
1969	0	0	0
1970	0	0	0
1971	0	0	0
1972	0	0	0
1973	0	0	0
1974	0	0	0
1975	0	0	0
1976	0	0	0
1977	0	0	0
1978	0	0	0
1979	0	0	0
1980	0	0	0
1981	0	0	0
1982	0	0	0
1983	1	0	0
1984	0	1	0
1985	0	0	1
1986	0	0	0
1987	0	0	0
1988	0	0	0
1989	0	0	0
1990	0	0	0
TOTAL	**1**	**1**	**1**

MAINSTREAM PUBLICATIONS	The New York Times	House & Garden	Time	Architectural Digest	Space Design	Architectural Review	Metropolitan Home	Arts Magazine	Metropolis	Artforum	Connaissance des Arts	Lotus International	The Wall Street Journal	Newsweek
1966	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1967	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1968	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1969	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1970	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1971	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1972	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1973	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1974	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1975	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
1976	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1977	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1978	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1979	3	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1980	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
1981	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
1982	0	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
1983	0	1	0	1	6	2	0	0	2	0	0	0	1	0
1984	4	1	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0
1985	9	3	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	0
1986	0	0	3	0	0	2	0	1	0	1	0	2	0	0
1987	10	2	0	2	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0
1988	4	2	1	1	0	0	2	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
1989	9	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
1990	4	1	0	1	1	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
TOTAL	**46**	**17**	**7**	**7**	**6**	**6**	**6**	**4**	**4**	**3**	**3**	**3**	**3**	**2**

MAINSTREAM PUBLICATIONS	Skyline	The Boston Globe	Current Biography	Detroit Free Press	Visual Merchandising and Store Design	Art & Design	Art in America	Art Net	Art news	House Beautiful	Places	Art & Antiques	Art Papers	Arts & Architecture	Arts of Asia	Artscribe International	Belle Australia
1966	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1967	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1968	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1969	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1970	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1971	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1972	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1973	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1974	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1975	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1976	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1977	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1978	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1979	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1980	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1981	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1982	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
1983	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1984	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
1985	0	1	0	0	1	2	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
1986	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
1987	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
1988	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0
1989	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
1990	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
TOTAL	**2**	**2**	**1**	**1**	**3**	**2**	**2**	**2**	**2**	**2**	**2**	**1**	**1**	**1**	**1**	**1**	**1**

MAINSTREAM PUBLICATIONS	Connection	Contract Interiors	Nassau Literary Review	Parametro	Roma Interrotta Incontri Internazionale d'Arte	Studio International	Terrazzo	Via	The Designer	XC Triennale di Milano	Esquire	Express	Friends of Kebyar	Gentlemen's Quarterly
1966	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1967	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1968	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1969	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1970	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1971	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1972	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1973	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
1974	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1975	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1976	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1977	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1978	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1979	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
1980	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0
1981	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1982	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
1983	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1984	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1985	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1986	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
1987	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
1988	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1989	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1990	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
TOTAL	**1**	**1**	**1**	**1**	**1**	**1**	**1**	**1**	**1**	**1**	**1**	**1**	**1**	**1**

MAINSTREAM PUBLICATIONS	Johnstown Tribune-Democrat	Manhattan, Inc.	New York Magazine	Newark Star-Ledger	Northwest Magazine	Revue	Pittsburgh Post Gazette	Southern Accents	Spectator Magazine	Sunday Review	The New Yorker	The San Diego Tribune	The Washington Post	TWA Ambassador	Vogue	Harper's Bazaar	The Philadelphia Inquirer
1966	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1967	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1968	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1969	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1970	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1971	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1972	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1973	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1974	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1975	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1976	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1977	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1978	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1979	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1980	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1981	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1982	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
1983	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1984	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1985	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1986	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
1987	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1988	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	1	0
1989	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
1990	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
TOTAL	**1**	**1**	**1**	**1**	**1**	**1**	**1**	**1**	**1**	**1**	**1**	**1**	**1**	**1**	**1**	**1**	**0**

Appendix 4

Legitimised "starchitects" since 1990

For discussion, see chapter 6.1 Opportunities for future research.

First Name	Last Name	Nationality	The New York Times	Awards	R.I.B.A. Gold Medal	AIA Gold Medal	The Pritzker Prize	U.I.A. Gold Medal
Norman	Foster	UK	2178	3	1983	1994	1999	
Richard	Meier	USA	2107	3	1988	1997	1984	
Frank	Gehry	USA	1883	3	2000	1999	1989	
Charles W.	Moore	USA	978	1		1991		
Richard	Rogers	UK	907	2	1985		2007	
Michael	Graves	USA	843	1		2001		
Renzo	Piano	Italy	592	4	1989	2008	1998	2002
Rem	Koolhaas	Netherlands	481	2	2004		2000	
Thomas	Jefferson	USA	463	1		1993		
Peter	Rice	Ireland	393	1	1992			
Ieoh Ming	Pei	China	392	3	2010	1979	1983	
Zaha	Hadid	Iraq /UK	359	1			2004	
Jean	Nouvel	France	293	2	2001		2008	
Santiago	Calatrava	Spain	270	1		2005		
César	Pelli	Argentina	266	1		1995		
	Herzog & de Meuron	Switzerland	250	2	2007		2001	
Benjamin	Thompson	USA	244	1		1992		
Robert	Venturi	USA	242	1			1991	
E. Fay	Jones	USA	215	1		1990		
Tadao	Ando	Japan	172	4	1997	2002	1995	2005
Michael & Patricia	Hopkins	UK	165	1	1994			
Kevin	Roche	USA	144	2		1993	1982	
Thom	Mayne	USA	91	1			2005	
Christian de	Portzamparc	France	77	1			1994	
Aldo	Rossi	Italy	76	1			1990	
Rafael	Moneo	Spain	70	2	2003		1996	1996
Oscar	Niemeyer	Brazil	70	2	1998		1988	
Edward Larrabee	Barnes	USA	69	1		2007		
Toyo	Ito	Japan	55	1	2006			
Fumihiko	Maki	Japan	42	2		2011	1993	1993
Alvaro	Siza	Portugal	38	2	2009		1992	2011
David	Chipperfield	UK	37	1	2011			

First Name	Last Name	Nationality	The New York Times	Awards	R.I.B.A. Gold Medal	AIA Gold Medal	The Pritzker Prize	U.I.A. Gold Medal
Kazuyo	Sejima	Japan	36	1			2010	
Antoine	Predock	USA	33	1		2006		
Colin	Rowe	USA	32	1	1995			
Peter	Zumthor	Switzerland	30	1			2009	
	Archigram	UK	28	1	2002			
Charles	Correa	India	22	1	1984			1990
Giancarlo	de Carlo	Italy	21	1	1993			
Frei	Otto	Germany	18	1	2005			
Jørn	Utzon	Denmark	10	2	1978		2003	
Aldo	van Eyck	Netherlands	9	1	1990			
Peter	Bohlin	USA	9	1		2010		
Glenn	Murcutt	Australia	8	2		2009	2002	
Paulo	Mendes da Rocha	Brazil	8	1			2006	
Sverre	Fehn	Norway	4	1			1997	
Edward	Cullinan	UK	3	1	2008			
Harry	Seidler	Australia	2	1	1996			
Colin	Stansfield Smith	UK	2	1	1991			
Ricardo	Legorreta Vilchis	Mexico	0	1		2000		1999
Samuel	Mockbee	USA	0	1		2004		