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**Televising Architecture:
Media, Public Engagement, and Design in America**

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**Televising Architecture:
Media, Public Engagement, and Design in America**

by

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Dissertation

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Televising Architecture: Media, Public Engagement, and Design in America

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Supervisor: Richard Cleary

Starting in the 1940s, the cultural revolution associated with the popularity of television placed new demands on how and where designers communicated the value of their work with the American public. *Televising Architecture* explains how architects, planners, and other design professionals used television as a communication technology and as a cultural platform for shaping public opinion on the built environment. Each of the six chapters describes a specific purpose and context for the application of television to architectural practice. I consider public affairs programs produced by the American Institute of Architects; the use of closed-circuit television for space simulations; public service announcements meant to offset negative coverage on urbanism; interactive television projects that elicited community participation in planning; and PBS mini-series on the history of American architecture. I conclude by discussing Home and Garden Television (HGTV) as a lesson in media convergence for design professionals in the twenty-first century.

Televising Architecture provides a new way to understand architecture not as a text, image, or built object, but as a complex system of communication models — including representation, negotiation, mediation, and participation — that occur between design experts and the public at large. I draw from the work of media and technology scholars who treat media as sites of negotiation and convergence. One of my primary

methods is to analyze the largely untapped archive of architectural images, texts, and sound-bites found in television programming. I do so by examining programs themselves, including frame-by-frame analysis to identify what the programs communicated through visual tropes and camera and editing techniques, and a textual analysis, drawing on transcripts, program summaries, and press coverage. As a result, *Televising Architecture* provides historical perspectives— and a series of media lessons— for understanding the practice of architecture in our current digital culture, wherein architects must navigate a new media environment in the pursuit of social relevance.

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Introduction

Architecture by Television

It's like changing the temperature in a room. It doesn't matter what's in the room at all, or what pictures are on the wall, or who is in the room. If the temperature drops forty degrees suddenly, the effect on our outlook, our attitude, is profound. Media are like that. They just offer the total social temperature.

- Marshall McLuhan, 1966¹

The early history of electric media is less the evolution of technical efficiencies in communication than a series of arenas for negotiating issues crucial to the conduct of social life; among them, who is inside and outside, who may speak, who may not, and who has authority and may be believed.

- Carolyn Marvin, 1988²

“Imagine architects explaining their designs before the eyes and ears of the world (within a 50-mile radius)!”³ With those words, *Architectural Record* reported on the February 1944 telecast of three architecture students on WRGB Schenectady. Most likely the first appearance of architects and their work on American television, the WRGB program showed the three students—recent medal recipients in the annual Beaux Arts Institute of Design (BAID) competition—standing in front of a large drawing board and discussing their designs for the “television studio of the future” (Figure I.1).⁴ The broadcast not only celebrated these young designers’ solutions to the nascent media industry’s spatial demands; it also demonstrated the potential of television as a platform for architectural communication.⁵ In its competition announcement, the BAID explained

why the new technology was exciting: “Television can present to a recipient, at a distance from the event, both the sight and sound of any occurrence upon which a camera can be focused and a microphone trained. The entire living world must be considered as material for television transmission.”⁶ *Architectural Record* invited its readers to consider the potential of transmitting architectural material, embodied by architects and their drawings. Even within the limited broadcasting range of early transmitters (fifty miles), the medium of distant sight promised to be a revolutionizing platform for disseminating design knowledge. The magazine referred to this process as “architecture by television.”

Today, seventy years later, audiences find hours of architecture-themed television in the form of home and garden programming on cable networks like HGTV (Home and Garden Television). Distributed in sixty-nine countries, including to more than ninety-nine million American homes, HGTV averages 1.24 million viewers in weekly primetime.⁷ HGTV series focus on the basics of home renovation, interior design, real estate, and landscape design. Shows regularly feature professional design experts, including architects, interior designers, and landscape architects, alongside television personalities and celebrity hosts. Considering the extent to which HGTV programming presents audiences with style trends and how-to advice, it has become central to the production of popular design knowledge in America.

From WRGB to HGTV, “architecture by television” speaks to an ongoing convergence between design culture and popular culture that is central to the history of American architecture. During the second half of the twentieth century, media proliferation transformed America’s social, political, economic, and popular cultures, the

products of which began to be distributed globally. Amidst a revolution in communications, including emergent theories on cybernetics, information processing, and new media, television became a site for new ways of looking and seeing, and of disseminating and receiving information. Specifically, television became associated with the convergence of ‘high’ and ‘low’ cultures at a mass scale. While Americans began to value their power—and rights—as media literate audiences, the ability to exploit the communicative power of television became vital to capturing public interests. As Carolyn Marvin has stated of all new media, they become “a series of arenas for negotiating issues crucial to the conduct of social life; among them, who is inside and outside, who may speak, who may not, and who has authority and may be believed.”⁸ In the age of television, perhaps more than ever before, the value of information became measured by its performance as media content.

Architects were not exempt from these social transformations. As media and technology scholars have shown, the arrivals of new media are always met with a mixture of hope and anxiety. In her book *Make Room for TV*, Lynn Spigel defined the social practices and expectations surrounding new media as a “dialogical relationship between communication technology and culture.”⁹ Spigel explained how, in the immediate postwar years, “television was not simply promoted; rather, it was something that had to be questioned and deliberated upon.”¹⁰ Such deliberations mirrored and sometimes provoked a similar set of negotiations concerning the practice of architecture over the following decades. Amidst calls of social irrelevance aimed at the profession, architects began to doubt the detachment from popular culture that had defined their professional

ethics since the nineteenth century.¹¹ They similarly reevaluated their longstanding biases against the mechanisms of consumerism, including mass media and advertising, and to consider new communication methods that engaged the public in ways both meaningful and popular. As a medium with incredible potential for communication based on participation, education, and publicity, television became a testing ground for these professional changes.

The period of television's ascent as a popular medium, beginning in the late 1940s, was an occasion for considerable change in professional design standards and practices. The cultural revolution associated with the popularity of television placed new demands on how and where architects communicated the value of their work (and profession) with the general American public. Over the past seventy years, architects, planners, and other design experts used television as a technology of cultural, professional, and social convergence, and as the site of knowledge exchange.¹² Design professionals responded—with varying degrees of success—to changes in the television industry, including broadcasting policies and technological changes, and to American popular culture in general. Each of the thematic chapters that follow reveals a different intention for using television as an architectural medium: publicity, representation, framing, participation, education, and commerce. These historical efforts demonstrate how architects struggled to assert their place as design experts within a quickly changing America.

The history of architecture by television offers a new set of criteria for judging, organizing, and practicing architecture — criteria based not on principles of aesthetics

from art history, but on standards of communication defined by media studies. The media environment of the Television Age provides an alternative framework, both chronologically and theoretically, to the general understanding of architectural modernism and its move into postmodernism. In charting the place of architecture within the culture of American television, and conversely of television within the practice of American architecture, this dissertation proposes a new understanding of architecture (*by television*) as a complex system of communication methods, one that is not only reliant on extant media structures but should be evaluated against them.

Television: An Architectural Medium?

Design experts have generally denounced television as an architectural medium. Their biases against the medium are usually rooted in two criticisms: 1) that mass-mediated environments have replaced authentic spatial and personal experiences, and 2) that television represents an especially debased and lowbrow representational media (as compared, say, to printing or photography). The first criticism manifests anxieties surrounding the increased mediation of modern society, conceptualized most popularly in Daniel Boorstin's notion of the "everywhere community" and Marshall McLuhan's "global village." On American's modernization in the wake of the Civil War, which saw the emergence of transcontinental rail travel, mail-order consumerism, and telegraph communication, Boorstin wrote: "America moved from cluster communities of transients and upstarts, of individuals calling one another by their first names, to a nation of everywhere communities of consumers and national-brand buyers who would never

meet.”¹³ Of the media culture he witnessed in the 1960s, McLuhan wrote “Today, after more than a century of electric technology, we have extended our central nervous system itself in a global embrace, abolishing both space and time as far as our planet is concerned.”¹⁴ Such an abolition of space and time by new electronic media often proved troubling for architecture professionals.

Starting in the 1970s, design theorists interested in phenomenology bemoaned the rise of mediated lives as less authentic than “public” lives. In 1973, Martin Pawley explained how television created a “new reality of its own” by absorbing and recasting “the deceptions and evasions of the real world” with its “own inherent deceptions.”¹⁵ As a result, Pawley called television “the principal assassin of public life and community politics.”¹⁶ Architectural theorist Karsten Harries similarly lamented a loss of experiential authenticity that resulted from the increasingly networked suburbs, writing in 1975 how “instead of genuine proximity, we are offered increasingly only its perverted analogue.”¹⁷ Such theorizations of television as constructing a “second reality,” seen as inauthentic and damaging, have persisted. The urban planning historian Nan Ellin reiterated this criticism in her book *Postmodern Urbanism* (1999): “As knowledge, information, and entertainment derived increasingly from mass-mediated sources rather than from personal experience, the decline of the public realm and rise of a mass society reconfigured our sense of reality.”¹⁸ In his 2008 book *Zoomscape: Architecture in Motion and Media*, architectural historian Mitchell Schwarzer argued that “more than any other medium, television, with its ability to simulate and reconstruct architectural setting, infringes on architecture.”¹⁹ The language used by these authors— including their use of such words

as assassin, deception, perverted, impotence, decline, and infringe— speaks to their anxieties towards the television environment.

Similar questions of authenticity and cultural degradation underpin the second common bias against television, namely that its treatment of architecture lacks seriousness because of the commercial structure of the medium itself. This view draws from a long history of aesthete thinking about the problems of mass culture, or what sociologist Herbert Gans has called the “mass media critique.”²⁰ In their foundational essay “The Culture Industry: Enlightenment as Mass Deception,” Theodor Adorno and Max Horkheimer established a tenacious form of this critique: “Television aims at a synthesis of radio and film...Such a synthesis, with its unlimited possibilities, promises to intensify the impoverishment of the aesthetic material so radically that the identity of all industrial cultural products, still scantily disguised today, will triumph openly tomorrow in a mocking fulfillment of Wagner’s dream of the total art work.”²¹ Architecture critics have commonly wielded this Frankfurt School criticism against televisual expressions of design culture. Design journalist Peter Sobchak described the design offered on HGTV as “a quick fix version of what design is all about and what designers actually do. The problem is...design TV rarely presents design journalism, venturing into critical or conceptual territory.”²² In his 2005 essay, “Decorating for Dummies: Why HGTV is Bad for Design, and Why it May be Our Own Fault,” the designer Greg Blonder mocked design-based programming for promising quick fixes at the expense of quality: “HGTV teaches clients to want design faster, cheaper, and more elaborate than practical reality—or mere humans—can or should deliver.”²³ Likewise, when Schwarzer presented a paper

on HGTV to an audience of architecture faculty and students at Syracuse University in 2008, he focused on the constructed nature of the programs and slammed their tendency to contribute “to an increasingly passive manner of dwelling, more about entertainment than use.”²⁴

Popular mediations of high art often provoke defenses of traditional taste structures. In 1980, the Director of the National Endowment for the Art’s (NEA) Media Arts Program, Brian O’Doherty, wrote that “media—vigorous, banal, vulgar, and endlessly fascinating (a little like America itself) — have an uncomfortable relation to our formal expectations about art.”²⁵ Media often become sites of what O’Doherty called “social discriminations masquerading as esthetics.” Media themselves are subject to such cultural hierarchies, as critics insist on differentiating between lower and higher forms: movies vs. “films” and television vs. “video.” O’Doherty dismissed criticisms regarding the impurities of media, including their “brusque, unprotected congruity of excellence with kitsch,” as the efforts of “purists whose idealism conceals...an authoritarian urge.”²⁶ On the question of media as a platform for artistic enterprise, O’Doherty concluded: “However we conceive the arts—as a mere special interest or as transcendental propaganda—that small screen is going to convey them to huge audiences in ways that will circle back to touch on the nature of the arts themselves and how we receive them.”²⁷

O’Doherty’s acceptance of the complex ways meanings are made within media systems has been lacking in the work of architectural historians whose scholarly inclinations are “authoritarian” and monographic. To dismiss television as an instrument of degradation is to overlook what its popularity can reveal about the strengths and

weaknesses of architectural communication in American society.²⁸ As the cultural studies scholar Laurie Ouellette has written, “popular culture is contradictory, and it can overlap with democracy, citizenship, and politics in unpredictable ways.”²⁹ The academic framework for understanding architecture *as* and *in* media has stalled in its effort to understand these contradictions and overlaps.

Scholars of architecture and media have been indebted to Beatriz Colomina for the past twenty years. Her work, specifically the 1996 book *Privacy and Publicity: Architecture as Mass Media*, crystallized a foundational model of understanding architecture as “a series of overlapping systems of representation.”³⁰ Then, and now, Colomina’s understanding of media was rooted in the theoretical foundations of Walter Benjamin, Roland Barthes, and Jean Baudrillard. As such, she focused on built forms as media in their framing and staging of views, experiences, and interactions; she also considers mediations of architecture, focusing mostly on photography. The idea of reciprocity underpinned Colomina’s thesis, namely that modern architecture only becomes modern through its engagement with media.³¹ In light of this idea, historians have become comfortable treating architectural representations as authentic artifacts, equally worthy of study and separate from the physicality of a built object.³² Moreover, Colomina demonstrated how to consider the work of modern architects—her primary study focused on Adolf Loos and Le Corbusier—as constituting issues of media constructions and communication programs, in addition to the already accepted ideas of architectural design practices.

Much like Pawley, Harries, and Frampton before her, Colomina argued that mediations work to degrade the authenticity of the original “thing.” She ascribed this process to the shift in sense perception that occurs as a result of new technological circumstances: “Photography does for architecture what the railway did for cities, transforming it into merchandise and conveying it through the magazines for it to be consumed by the masses.” She saw this transformation, however, as one that degraded the quality of place-ness: “Photography shares with the railway an ‘ignorance’ of place, and this has on the objects shot by the camera an effect similar to that of the railway on the points it reaches: it deprives them of their quality as things.”³³ Ultimately, then, Colomina’s conception of mediation assumed a hierarchy between things (or places) and representations of things (or places). As such, her work represented a continuation of the “authoritarian urge” to preserve the purity of the former.

In the twenty years since *Privacy and Publicity*, architectural historians have made use of media sources with varying degrees of scholarly rigor. They have almost exclusively focused on photography and print media, using research methods devised by scholars in visual culture studies, psychoanalytic theory, and perceptual psychology. Architectural histories that consider television specifically have been limited, partly because the medium seemingly has little bearing on the routines of design practice, but also because its status within popular culture makes it anathema to the aesthetic categories that attract design scholars.

Much of the work that does look at television and architecture adopts the televisual metaphor for describing modern buildings. In her chapter, “Johnson on TV,”

Colomina argued, as do I here, that television is a largely unused archive of architectural material. As evidence of that fact, she referenced Philip Johnson's regular appearance on television; however, instead of studying those televisual records, she focused on the architect's use, through the publication of photographs, of his Glass House as a symbolic "broadcasting center."³⁴ Colomina's work did little to investigate Johnson's public life and his role as a "celebrity" using a textual and visual analysis of his radio and television interviews; the work remains to be done. Reinhold Martin similarly adopted the television metaphor when he likened the postwar curtain-wall to the medium in its ability to visually collapse information into a screen-like glass surface.³⁵

In *Zoomscape: Architecture in Motion and Media*, Schwarzer explored how our experiences of architecture shift in response to media. He discussed the work of transportation (railroad, car) and camera (photography, film, television) technologies in fundamentally altering our perception of the built environment: "We have become used to seeing architecture through abrupt shifts of viewpoint and via unexpected juxtapositions."³⁶ In his single chapter on television, Schwarzer mentioned the range of programming on architecture, including documentaries and the "house and garden" approach.³⁷ He then analyzed the set design of famous sitcoms spaces and the depictions of cities, namely New York, over the years.³⁸ Such discussions of television stage sets are helpful in identifying the architecture *of* television, but they do little to further our understanding of how architectural ideas were communicated via the medium.³⁹

There is also small body of literature on television and architecture wherein the authors focus on the TV set as an object with spatial ramifications, much like furniture.⁴⁰

In this vein, the television scholar Lynn Spigel has written on the transformative role of the medium in postwar domestic life, including her analysis of the media center as the new hearth of the modern home.⁴¹ Anna McCarthy, in her book *Ambient Television*, studied individual screen installations in public contexts, including restaurants, retail stores, and airports, as a way to understand the pervasion of televisual culture in everyday public life.⁴²

Lynn Spigel's book, *TV by Design*, provides a parallel to my own study. In it, she argued that "since TV's inception, the television industry and the art world have depended on each other for promotion, sustenance, and their mutual appeal to publics."⁴³ Looking at the late 1940s to the 1970s, Spigel studied the relationship between network television and modern movements in painting, graphic design, and architecture. The result of these collaborations, she argued, was a new aesthetic of "everyday modernism," which she defined as "a broad postwar era lifestyle phenomenon experienced through midcentury forms of quotidian modern cultural experiences and artifacts."⁴⁴ Spigel's research mirrors my own in that we are both interested in the material products of professional collaborations, which she described as "social networks and labor relations" between figures from the art and television industries.

The Media Environment

One objective of this dissertation is to provide a new method by which to study the relationship between media and architecture — a comparative media studies method that draws on the understanding of architecture as communication and television as a site

of cultural convergence.

On media in general, I begin with the two-part definition offered by Henry Jenkins. A medium is, as Jenkins writes, first, a “technology that enables communication,” and second, a “set of association protocols or social and cultural practices that have grown up around that technology.”⁴⁵ This theorizing of media allows me to avoid the tone of technological determinism that often underlies the criticisms of Pawley, Sennett, Frampton, and those making the “mass media critique.” They treat television—its technologies, industries, and audiences— as a fixed system, only capable of negating authentic spatial experiences and of producing shoddy commercial content. What I argue, instead, is that television proves to be a mutable technology and cultural form for architects, planners, and other design professionals in their ongoing negotiations of what it means to be a design professional in America. On both accounts of Jenkins’s definition of media, television was a significant architectural medium: it functioned as a communication technology and as a cultural platform for shaping public opinion of the built environment.

Marshall McLuhan argued that new media contain their own models for investigating and understanding their social roles and ramifications. In a 1966 televised interview, McLuhan said, “The medium is a happening. It creates an environment.”⁴⁶ Studying television with only theories of representation and semiotics fails to understand the medium as a social and cultural “environment.” In the same interview, McLuhan described the popularity of new media as a social process:

It's like changing the temperature in a room. It doesn't matter what's in the room at all, or what pictures are on the wall, or who is

in the room. If the temperature drops 40 degrees suddenly, the effect on our outlook, our attitude, is profound. Media is like that. They just offer the total social temperature.⁴⁷

McLuhan's adage "the medium is the message," which is often misread as an argument for technological determinism, is best understood in light of his words on media as a totalizing social environment; his conception of media becomes the foundation for my study of architecture within the television age.

Raymond Williams was the first to offer qualitative and quantitative data on television's specific media environment.⁴⁸ In his 1974 book, *Television: Technology and Cultural Form*, Williams theorized television as a "technology of transmission and reception" that not only combined existing cultural communication forms—he listed the newspaper, public meeting, educational class, theater, cinema, stadium, advertising columns and billboards—but also became the source of new and unique forms.⁴⁹ Williams associated the new structure of television with the term "flow," which conceived of the planned streaming, or broadcasting, of information as a continuous event, taken in by a viewer not in discrete segments but with the overall effect of "watching television" itself.⁵⁰ The result was a wholly new visual experience:

There are moments in many kinds of programme when we can find ourselves looking in what seem quite new ways. To get this kind of attention it is often necessary to turn off the sound... what then can happen is an experience of visual mobility, of contrast of angle, of variation of focus, which is often very beautiful.⁵¹

Ultimately, Williams argued for television broadcasting as a "new kind of communication phenomenon." Subsequent television scholars, including John Ellis and

John Fiske, offered similarly compelling arguments for television's distinctiveness as a media environment.⁵²

Similar to McLuhan, the cultural historian Warren Susman wrote of the need to study the larger cultural context of a medium before attempting to decode its messages. In his essay "Culture and Communication," Susman observed: "Too often, we have become insistent on thinking in rigid and awkward causal terms; instead we ought to be thinking "ecologically," in terms of a total, interacting environment."⁵³ He argued that such a model allowed for a more complicated understanding of how technologies perform in different cultures, as opposed to, say, technological determinism: "the ecological model should alert us to the dangers of complete surrender to the media or to a new technological innovation as a characteristic cultural response." Susman's approach also encouraged a richer understanding of how media are received and acted upon by audiences:

Too many contemporary culture critics assume that audiences give way before every new technology and are easily manipulated by powerful media... There is often resistance both to new technologies and to what the media propose... when this audience resistance is analyzed along with the modifications required because of existing cultural patterns, a very different story often surfaces from the one that historians of communications like to tell.⁵⁴

Susman's ideas dovetail nicely with those of Carolyn Marvin, who provided some of the most engaging language for understanding new media as sites of social, cultural, and technological negotiations. In her book, *When Old Technologies were New*, Marvin explained how "the introduction of new media is a special historical occasion when

patterns anchored in older media that have provided the stable currency of social exchange are reexamined, challenged, and defended.”⁵⁵ Do these “historical occasions” indicate a rupture in the status quo, or consensus, similar to what Thomas Kuhn identified as accompanying a “paradigm shift” in scientific thought?⁵⁶ Lisa Gitelman answered that question in her book, *Always Already New*: “The introduction of new media...is never entirely revolutionary...New media are less points of epistemic rupture than they are socially embedded sites for the ongoing negotiation of meaning as such.”⁵⁷ For Gitelman, these negotiations address the very nature of representation. Insofar as “media represent and delimit representing,” Gitelman argued, “new media provide new sites for the ongoing and vernacular experience of representation.”⁵⁸ Less concerned with representation as such, Marvin stressed these negotiations as concerning social and cultural issues:

The early history of electric media is less the evolution of technical efficiencies in communication than a series of arenas for negotiating issues crucial to the conduct of social life; among them, who is inside and outside, who may speak, who may not, and who has authority and may be believed.⁵⁹

As designers worked to repackage architecture for television audiences, they encountered a platform that required adjustments to their professional assumptions about authority, including attention to language, attitude, and personality. Marvin’s words suggest the importance of making these adjustments in order to participate in new media environments as they take hold in society.

Henry Jenkins, in his book *Convergence Culture: Where Old and New Media Collide*, provided an updated approach to the media environment as one of convergence,

participatory culture, and collective intelligence. Jenkins defined convergence as the “flow of content across multiple media platforms, the cooperation between multiple media industries, and the migratory behavior of media audiences who will go almost anywhere in search of the kinds of entertainment experiences they want.”⁶⁰ He argued against convergence as simply a technological process, focusing instead on the social and cultural processes at work:

Convergence does not occur through media appliances, however sophisticated they become...it occurs within the brains of individual consumers and through their social interactions with others. Each of us constructs our own personal mythology from bits and fragments of information extracted from the media flow and transformed into resources through which we make sense of our everyday lives.⁶¹

Jenkins’s understanding activates the “older notions of passive media spectatorship” by arguing that media producers and consumers both make meaning out of popular culture.⁶² The result of this participatory media culture is a collective intelligence. I adopt Jenkins’ model of media convergence “as a process, not an endpoint,” in my discussion of architectural applications of television.⁶³ If architects participated more actively in the mechanisms of popular culture, would the public respond? Would most Americans’ relationship to their built environment be different? Such questions hang in the air of this history.

The work of McLuhan, Williams, and Jenkins allows me to theorize architecture as a complex system of communication models within a media environment.⁶⁴ What Beatriz Colomina referred to as “a series of overlapping systems of representation,” I extend to include models of communication central to the practice and popularization of

architecture. Architects are responsible not only for designing buildings and representations of buildings, but also communicating the meanings of architecture itself to various audiences, ranging from fellow design experts to uninformed general publics. Media, then, are the socially constructed environments through which and within which these meanings are made.

The history of “architecture by television” demonstrates the discursive implications of what O’Doherty described as an iterative process—of the circling back between media and the arts. It provides a new way to understand architecture not only as a text, image, or built object, but also as a system of communication unique to the Television Age. To televise something is to render it graphically, or to introduce a second network of representations unique to the technological and cultural context of the medium. Gitelman described this as the “job” of media, which she described as “so integral to a sense of what representation itself *is*, and what counts as adequate—and thereby commodifiable—representation, that they share some of the conventional attributes of both art historical objects and scientific ones.”⁶⁵ When architecture is translated into content for television, it requires a reworking of the representation, communication, and organization of design ideas. Such a process changes the very nature of architecture, not only for the public, but also for design experts grappling with larger concepts of modernity and postmodernity.

Six Convergences

This dissertation presents six thematic chapters, each of which explores a different intention and context for using television as an architectural medium: publicity, representation, framing, participation, education, and branding. The stories that follow provide a rebuttal to the two persistent biases against television and reveal, instead, the technological and cultural convergences between television and design practice during the last seventy years. Moreover, they emphasize ongoing debates regarding professional practice, communication, and design practice that characterize American architecture.

Chapter One discusses how architects used early television to promote their profession under the auspices of public relations. As architects struggled to justify their social value within an expanding postwar building industry, the American Institute of Architects (AIA) instructed them to engage popular culture and its mechanisms of media and publicity. The AIA encouraged local chapters to use television to educate the general public on the architect: how he was trained, what he did, and why he should be hired. By 1953, at least three chapters of the AIA had produced local television series, including *So You Want to Build* in Dallas, Texas, and *The Roof over your Head* in Rhode Island. The Northern California chapter worked with the San Francisco Museum of Art to produce the episode “How to Build a House,” as part of the Museum’s series *Art in your Life*. I discuss how, during the early 1950s, before networks and their advertisers held a monopolistic reign over the television industry, the medium offered architects a new way to engage the public, bolstering both their design authority and voice within consumer culture. These appearances on the small-screen required specific negotiations for the

architect, who was never to sacrifice professionalism to join the ranks of lowbrow entertainers or salesmen.

Chapter Two describes the usage of television as a design tool. I describe a design studio at the University of Nebraska in 1966, and as a cultural counterpoint, an experiment in Glasgow, Scotland in 1967, where architects used closed-circuit TV to create motion-based visualizations of special sequences. As designers like Kevin Lynch and Philip Thiel tapped into new cultural understandings of spatial experience and sequential form, architects sought representation systems according to standards of realism, temporal continuity, and cybernetic integration. This chapter identifies how, for a brief period, television rivaled film and computer animation as a tool for architectural representation.

Chapter Three identifies how, during the 1970s, city planners and officials used television to construct a positive image of their city in order to improve public opinion on urbanism. This chapter looks at the work of William Harris and Robert Hollister, two designers who argued that television's negative coverage of cities diminished public confidence in urban living and contributed to the urban decay of American cities in the 1960s and 1970s. In response, they designed TV projects to test the power of television to influence popular opinion in support of urban living. This chapter asserts the mutability of television as an influence on public opinion and perception in terms of urban living and planning. These examples demonstrate that there were as many applications of television as there were opinions on the best way to address urban planning. Indeed, under the expanding theories on communication and information in the 1970s, they were

one and the same.

Chapter Four discusses how architects used television to encourage citizen participation and community activism. Starting in the 1960s, architects sought ways to position themselves as public agents of social reform; they did so by experimenting with new communication models and technologies, and by looking to popular culture for new formal vocabularies. I look at three case-studies demonstrating separate approaches to participatory television methods. The first, that of Jerome Aumente and the Urban Communications Teaching and Research Center at Rutgers University, exemplified a community-based, non-commercial use of cable and video technologies to encourage local participation. The second, the Regional Plan Association's "Choices for '76" project, was a multi-media adaptation of the democratic process, based on presenting information to large groups of citizens and inviting them to 'vote' on their preferences. For the final case study, I examine a series of live television specials organized by the architect Chad Floyd in collaboration with Charles Moore between 1976 and 1984. Called "design-a-thons," the projects merged programming formats from telethons, game shows, and talk shows to publicize the architectural profession, elicit public participation, and garner support for civic building projects in six small US cities. In all three of these projects, designers and planners recreated the town hall meeting using television. I discuss these efforts to recast television viewers as active citizens within the broader context of alternative media and design movements.

Chapter Five investigates the PBS documentary as a didactic use of television, arguing that it exists within the gap between scholarship and popular culture. As case

studies, I look at two mini-series that aired on PBS during the 1980s: *Pride of Place: Building the American Dream* (1986) and *America by Design* (1987). The programs presented the personal views of their respective hosts Robert Stern and Spiro Kostof. Adapting the hosts' expertise for television proved difficult, though, as some critics disliked Stern's postmodern erudition and Kostof's emphasis on cultural generalizations. I investigate how these programs functioned didactically for academic and non-professional audiences. Billed as "TV Worth Watching," both series aligned with PBS's commitment to social edification through educational and cultural programming. The AIA encouraged its local chapters to use the programs as instruments for public engagement; viewing guides and companion books by the hosts further encouraged audience participation.

Chapter Six presents HGTV as a lesson in media convergence for the architecture industry. HGTV, as an omnimedia brand, disseminates contemporary ideas of design and taste based on corporate sponsorship and do-it-yourself rhetoric. HGTV openly flaunts its corporate sponsorship and relies on serialized reality television tropes and "you can do it too" commercial rhetoric. As a result, architectural professionals tend to dismiss or mock this expression of architectural production instead of seeking to understand its underlying ideologies. I draw from Henry Jenkin's ideas of cultural convergence to identify the complex cultural and technological processes that affect how meaning is made, how ideas 'spread', and how design taste takes shape in the form of HGTV.

The technological and cultural shift from television to digital media provides a conclusion for my study. The history of "architecture by television" reveals a narrative of

successes and failures on the part of the design professions to engage the public in ways both commercial and popular. In the Conclusion, I extrapolate lessons from the Television Age for the practice of architecture within our current digital media environment. Today, architects are faced—as is everyone—with the challenge of marketing themselves on social networking websites, interactive online communities, and crowdsourcing outlets in the pursuit of social relevance. I conclude by focusing on praxis as an offer of hope to offset the tendency for anxiety—and the authoritarian urge towards artistic purity—in the face of new media.

Television as Archive: Towards a New Method

This dissertation is the first architectural history to rely extensively on televisual materials as archival evidence. Television provides us with a largely untapped archive of architectural images, texts, and sound-bites. In looking at this “invaluable archive,” I am charting a new field of data for the study of architecture.⁶⁶ In 1997, Ernest Pascucci provided one of the clearest and most compelling arguments for looking to television as a source for architectural identity, representation, and understanding: “While the television camera has frequently directed its gaze at architecture, architecture as a discipline has generally proven itself to be incapable of even looking at television.”⁶⁷ In response, Pascucci called for historians to overcome their “fear of television” seeing as how “such a phobia literally prevents scholars from looking at television’s invaluable archive.”⁶⁸ As noted above, few historians have done so with much success.

One of my primary methods is to analyze the content, form, and intent of programming on architecture. I do so by examining the programs themselves, including a frame-by-frame analysis to identify what the programs communicated about architecture through visual tropes and camera and editing techniques, and a textual analysis, drawing on transcripts, program summaries, press releases, and newspaper and magazine articles. Information on project budgets and audience statistics help me determine the quantitative scope of a project's production and reception. I also reconstruct personal and institutional collaborations by considering architectural and administrative archival materials, including drawings, correspondence, photographs, meeting minutes, and ephemera. Newspaper editorials and reviews provide me with insight into the critical reception of programs, and trade journals report on technological changes, advertising strategies, management methods, and regulatory developments.

The use of television records as a source on the history of American architecture requires a research approach unique from that executed by scholars of print and visual materials.⁶⁹ For one thing, television is not a fixed medium, but a large system of communication based on changing technologies. Whereas early television production relied on a few prominent commercial networks, later cable-based programming offered hundreds of networks targeting niche audiences. Auxiliary media, including videotape and portable camcorders, and television systems like closed-circuit and community antenna (or cable) television, have expanded the technological limits of the medium beyond that of only broadcasting. Any study of television must account for the technological specificity of each case study.

The televisual record also speaks to the slippery nature of archives and cultural assumptions. Since the primary object of my study—TV programming—is ephemeral, I am working to rediscover and reconstruct material that was once seen, sometimes by millions of viewers, but can no longer be revisited in its original context. I have tried, whenever possible, to locate original records of the programs and their production. Many times the footage is lost, and every time the original situation—how the program fit within its original “flow” of programming—is beyond reconstruction. This has necessitated a “catch as catch can” approach to primary sources, wherein I piece together lost and forgotten objects through a variety of sources: textual, moving image, first-hand accounts, etc. I write about some shows, for instance, that I have never seen but know existed because of scripts, news coverage, and published ratings. Other series only remain as footage with little or no supporting documentation. I have accommodated for this situation by approaching my subject thematically. My themes do not represent an exhaustive accounting for this history, nor are they meant to tell a single narrative. I present, instead, multiple perspectives on a few themes, using, whenever possible, the words and ideas of those who first investigated them.

When *Architectural Record* reported on the WRGB broadcast (“Imagine architects explaining their designs before the eyes and ears of the world...!”) the promise of television was one of communication, or of the opportunity for designers to share the message of their value with the public. This dissertation recounts how some designers set out to make that possibility into a reality.

Chapter One

Television And Public Relations for the Architecture Profession

I am certain that many of you have wondered what an architect does, so that is going to be the topic of today's program. We are going to see how the house belonging to Mr. and Mrs. Archie Leonard of Menlo Park was designed and built with the aid of an architect.

- Robert Anshen on *Art in Your Life*, 2 March 1952

The architect has two important jobs which shape his public relations. He must *perform* and he must *communicate*. One cannot choose between the two and discard one. To talk without having anything to say is a waste of time. To perform well without letting people know about it is a waste of opportunity.

- Robert Denny in the *Journal of the A.I.A.*, 1957¹

By the middle of the twentieth century, architects faced an image problem in an America increasingly concerned with appearances. In the October 1951 issue of the *Journal of the A.I.A.*, the Connecticut architect Donald Tarpley questioned the situation: "It is surprising how little the American public knows or cares about the architects who create their public buildings. Is it just a matter of indifference, or are the architects themselves partly responsible?"² Tarpley noted a disparity between public knowledge of architects compared to other creative professionals: "Ask any person who is not an architect, and whom you consider generally well informed, to name four American architects, living or dead and identify them with buildings they have designed."³ The person, Tarpley claimed, would struggle to think of anyone besides Frank Lloyd Wright and Stanford White, two architects who received as much press coverage for their

scandalous personal lives as for their buildings. However, Tarpley believed that person would have “no trouble naming four American authors, actors, painters, sculptors or musicians and identifying what they have produced.”⁴ Authors and artists prominently signed their works, thereby creating a connection between their names and their products that the public could easily recall. Accordingly, Tarpley called for the American Institute of Architects (AIA) to enforce a standard whereby architects would be expected to sign their buildings.⁵

That in 1951 architects had to be told to sign the main product of their business — their buildings — typified their predicament as a profession out of touch with current trends; any architect who thought signing his building would satisfy the demand for public relations was already in trouble. The immediate postwar years saw the rise of an empowered consumer culture that prioritized the availability of mediated goods and services. As information became measured by its success (or failure) as media content, radio, magazines, and television became the sites where meaning and value took shape at a mass scale. In this context, the majority of Americans looked to merchant builders—who defined their profession by standards of salesmanship—and shelter magazines to satisfy their architecture needs. Architects encountered a misinformed (or generally uninformed) public that knew little about what services they offered and assumed they only attended to an elite clientele.

If architects’ position as the experts of modern building had become precarious, the fault was their own. Having, in the nineteenth century, allied their professional standards with those of doctors and lawyers, architects adhered to outmoded codes of

conduct that rejected methods of communication deemed too commercial or lowbrow. As a result, the profession had continually struggled to engage the public in ways both popular and meaningful. However, as the media historian Carolyn Marvin has argued, “the introduction of new media is a special historical occasion when patterns anchored in older media...are reexamined, challenged, and defended.”⁶ Faced with the postwar mass media environment, architects began to reexamine the detachment from consumerism that had long inflected their professional ethics.⁷ Considering the speed with which society was changing, the learning curve had become alarmingly steep.

The AIA helped the profession come to terms with their situation. Following its “unification movement” in the 1940s, when membership increased significantly, the AIA became the official mouthpiece of the profession.⁸ As such, the national organization sought ways to modernize the profession. During the early 1950s, the AIA formed its first Public Relations Committee to spearhead the profession’s first national public relations campaign. In 1953, the Committee released a *Public Relations Handbook for the Architect*, which opened with a harrowing observation: “The Architect has too often found himself lost behind his own professionalism, unwittingly allowing himself and his profession to be misconstrued, if not forgotten by the community he serves.”⁹ In response, the AIA encouraged architects to use popular communication technologies, including radio and television, to inform the public of what architects did, who they were, and why they were socially relevant.

It was as a tool for public relations that architects first looked to use television. In the decade following World War II, television became the single most popular

communication medium in America. As such, the medium offered design professionals a new way to engage the public by bolstering their design authority within consumer culture. By 1953, at least three chapters of the AIA had produced local television series, including *So You Want to Build* in Dallas, Texas, and *The Roof over Your Head* in Rhode Island. The Northern California chapter worked with the San Francisco Museum of Art to produce a four-episode series on the built environment as part of the Museum's series *Art in your Life*. These television programs provided design advice; *The Roof Over Your Head* included episodes on "How to Make a House a Home" and "How to Know a Good Building When You See It."¹⁰ Most importantly, these television programs presented architects as source for professional design services. This chapter will examine early uses of television in the name of public relations, or in broadcasting terms, "public interest." These projects, which combined educational, cultural, and commercial ambitions, provide evidence of how architects navigated the postwar media environment in pursuit of an interested public.

"The Architect's Program" and Public Relations at a National Scale

Some architects found in radio an indication of the media age that would distinguish the second half of the twentieth century. In 1940, the State Association of California Architects (SACA) sponsored two radio series in an effort to educate the public on the architectural profession. Starting in April, the Southern Section produced "The Architect's Program," a fifteen-minute educational feature that aired every Sunday morning.¹¹ The program was broadcast by the CBS station KNX out of Los Angeles and

averaged an audience of 300,000 listeners.¹² Walter Hagedohm, the President of the SACA Section, wrote the scripts and organized the campaign with a budget of \$250.00 a week. Hagedohm explained how, since “the largest percentage of the public has the wrong idea of the duties, the qualifications, the services the architects can render,” the program, which was originally called “What? No Architect?,” would improve public opinion of the profession through corrective information and increased visibility.¹³

Hagedohm encouraged architects to embrace the use of radio to communicate their social value. Broadcast directly into people’s homes, the medium offered the best outlet for disseminating information to the largest possible audience. “Public education is accomplished,” wrote Hagedohm, “by a gradual wearing down of the dullness and resistance by a continuous application of facts and truths—liberally sprinkled with homely similes, and pictures of discomforts suffered due to poor construction.”¹⁴ Hagedohm hoped his pilot series would become the prototype for a national radio campaign: “The ideal program would be a coast to coast half hour program sponsored by the Institute and State Associations.” Hagedohm reasoned that if a national public relations campaign could be set up using radio, then “the public will become acquainted with the architect—will accept as natural his employment as the guiding hand in all construction problems.”¹⁵

The Northern Section of the SACA produced a similar program, the title of which is now unknown, on the KSFO radio station in San Francisco.¹⁶ In the pilot broadcast on 4 August 1940, the station announcer explained that while they had introduced their listeners to “almost all kinds of people and nearly all types of ideas,” they had never

before met an architect. Since, “in their minds was a good deal of mystery about what the architect is and how he works,” the series hoped to introduce listeners to the profession, including how and when to hire an architect, and what he provide for his fees.¹⁷ It did so by presenting reenactments between clients and architects. In one sequence, a female narrator was heard expressing her desire for a new house and how she “had been told that an Architect was an expensive luxury, only possible for rich people’s mansions.”¹⁸ In response, “The Architect” explained “his long special training in ways to save money, advising about methods of building-finance, as a real friend of his client, and of his only charge—a modest fee for services, no profit from real estate, materials or labor.”¹⁹ He further described the training and education requirements of the profession and noted that “architect’s services were not a luxury but a necessity for protecting his client’s interests.”²⁰

Another reenactment followed the actions of a family as they worked with an architect to acquire a new house. Tom, the husband, called on the architect first. Uncertain and suspicious of what he would find, he became curious after seeing photographs of the architect’s projects in the reception area (“his own hobby is amateur photography”), and inquired about the expense of a small house built for a young family. In response to Tom’s financial trepidations, the architect explained that his houses have architectural character, giving them value at a low cost. The architect described the home-building process as one of establishing mutual trust and satisfaction, telling the wife: “Architects are like baby-doctors. A woman wants to ask somebody all sorts of fool questions that are bothering her, and she realizes the baby-doctor is the right man, and

when people start to build a home, an Architect's the same way."²¹ Having persuaded Helen, the three were heard discussing Tom and Helen's income, savings, and current rent payments to determine what kind of home they could afford. Like "The Architect's Program," each episode of the KSFO program concluded by inviting the audience to write to the SACA Chapter with questions and offering to send the name and address of a local architect to any interested listener.

As experiments in public communication, the SACA radio programs represented a new form of architectural communication — in effect, an architectural theater designed to dramatize the profession and its processes.²² Hagedohm hoped his series would become the prototype for a national radio campaign. "The ideal program," he explained, "would be a coast to coast half hour program sponsored by the Institute and State Associations."²³ He reasoned that if a national public relations campaign could be set up using radio, then "the public will become acquainted with the architect—will accept as natural his employment as the guiding hand in all construction problems."²⁴

Hagedohm's vision of a national public relations campaign using radio did not materialize. His view of communication was probably too revolutionary for a profession that still considered the use of print advertising "taboo" and needed, nearly ten years after Hagedohm's radio program, to publish articles espousing the value of signing buildings.²⁵ When the AIA started instructing architects on the methods of public relations, it treaded carefully with popular media. Television, which supplanted radio as the most popular medium during the 1950s, challenged architects' contradictory model of professionalism

— identified by a “gentlemanly” detachment from the low world of commerce alongside a desire to succeed within a growingly commercial and mediated society.

The Ethics of Public Relations

Architects were grappling with ethics and codes of conduct rooted in professional standards of the nineteenth century. In 1857, a group of architects met in Manhattan to establish the American Institute of Architects, which has remained the leading professional organization for architects.²⁶ One of the tenets of setting up a profession was to differentiate what it was from what it was not.²⁷ For architects, in addition to first defining their codes of conduct and setting price schedules and competition guidelines, this meant educating the public of the value of their professional skills. As Henry Saylor explained in his history of the AIA, “it was taken for granted by the public that architectural service was a commodity to be bought and sold in the market place on the same basis as meat or clothing or a piece of land.”²⁸ In response, architects distanced themselves from the commercial methods of merchants and aligned themselves with the standards of doctors and lawyers.²⁹ As Kate Holliday explains this period, the result was an “inherent tension in elevating the status of the architect but also finding a way to make the public embrace this elevation.”³⁰ This tension played out largely in the form of ongoing debates over the roles of education, advertising, and public relations.

Advertising was seen as one of the main threats to the profession.³¹ The AIA’s 1909 “Circular of Advice Relative to Principles of Professional Practice” explained how “advertising tends to lower the dignity of the profession and is therefore condemned.”³²

However, the *New York Times* differentiated between advertising and publicity: “an architect will not advertise for the purpose of self-laudatory publicity, but publicity of the standards, aims and progress of the profession is to be commended.”³³ Architects struggled to identify the line of demarcation between these two acts. At the 1919 convention, the Committee on Advertising tried to clarify that publicity on the standards and progress of the profession was acceptable, but paid advertising was prohibited.³⁴ In the face of imprecise definitions, architect-sponsored advertising became, as Andrew Shanken has argued, a professional taboo instead of a hard-and-fast rule.

In his article, “Breaking Taboo: Architects and Advertising in Depression and War,” Shanken identified the 1920s to the 1940s as a significant period of transformation for American architects, during which they became more conspicuously involved in consumer culture, their role in society came into question, and public relations became central to their practice.³⁵ Following the AIA’s “unification movement” in the 1940s (led by the Committee on Unification of the Profession), membership increased significantly (Figure 1.1). The unification of local and state chapters turned the AIA into the official mouthpiece of the profession.³⁶ Shanken concluded his article where this period began: “AIA unification would eventually provide the economic means to carry out the agenda that the Depression and war helped forge.”³⁷ As architects became more closely connected to the corporate world, the professional detachment from consumerism that had inflected their professional ethics since the nineteenth century became less viable. With the American marketplace growing louder and more complex, architects set out to

have their voices heard in ways that would resonate with the public. This meant embracing new standards of ‘public relations’ and popular communication media.

The architect Edmund Purves took the lead in helping architects package themselves in these years (Figure 1.2). In 1949, he was promoted from the AIA’s Director of Public and Professional Relations (a position he had held since 1945) to its Executive Director.³⁸ Purves treated public relations as a pragmatic and necessary part of the professional agenda. He delivered speeches and published essays questioning, as the fundamental issue, whether or not the architect would retain his leadership position in the American construction industry that had expanded in the war and postwar years to include competing interests from builders, speculators, and developers.³⁹ Purves, and the AIA at large, saw public relations as vital to the continued prominence of the architect as the design expert in America. “We are not quite in the same position as the doctor and lawyer whose services are in constant and automatic demand,” Purves explained in 1962. As a result, he wrote, “the architect must still seek continually the engagement of his services and make a case for good design.”⁴⁰

After assuming the role of Executive Director, Purves went to work to instruct architects on the practices of public relations. In 1949, the AIA released two publications on the subject: *The Architect and His Public: A Primer of Public Relations for the Practicing Architect* and *How to Tell your Story: Public Relations Handbook for Chapters and Societies of the American Institute of Architects*. In his foreword of the *Handbook*, Purves explained that the material had been prepared “in a ‘timeless’ fashion”

so as to “assist chapters regardless of geographic dispersion, local problems or future developments.”⁴¹

Both publications set out to define public relations as part of professional practice. The *Primer* defined it as “the gaining and maintaining of a favorable public opinion toward your work and your activity.”⁴² Architects who thought their designs and buildings were enough to establish a practice were instructed that “in our contemporary civilization, ironical as it may seem, one must not only be good, but must appear to be good.”⁴³ Public relations was to be seen as an ongoing performance of professionalism, of the architect “acting in such a manner as to merit, assure and safeguard a favorable public attitude towards an institution, or organization or program or idea.”⁴⁴

The AIA struggled to explain what did not fall under the category of public relations:

It is not press agency in the theatrical sense of the phrase, the devising and carrying out of stunts which will attract attention in the press. It is not publicity, the telling of one’s story through the various media of communication, although publicity is a powerful tool of public relations when properly handled. It is not lobbying, although a public relations program may be aimed at influencing legislation and legislators. Nor is it advertising, although advertising may be employed as one of its implements.⁴⁵

In light of such contradictory language, how were architects to approach public relations? The primer attempted another definition: “The ethics of the profession and the canons of good taste preclude an architect from advertising or blatant publicity. But he has the right and the duty of serving as a source of correct information about his work and profession.”⁴⁶ The distinction was small, but significant: the duties of public education and edification justified the architect’s forays into the realm of publicity.

Blatant advertising or commercialism, however, was to be rejected as unbecoming a professional.

Among the methods for creating an image of professionalism, the *Primer* and *Handbook* recommended public exhibitions, community involvement through speaking engagements at schools and local clubs and organizations, and publications. As examples of the latter, the handbook listed a number of recent publications: *Presenting your Architect*, a pamphlet prepared by the Florida South Chapter; *You Need an Architect*, a pamphlet by the New York Chapter; and *When you Build*, a booklet by the Southern California Chapter. As the titles suggested, such print materials took didactic, or instructional tones when addressing the public.

The *Primer* described the value of public relations in strengthening relationships not only with the public, but with other professionals in the building industry. In dealing with real estate dealers, banks, lending institutions, and attorneys, the architect was encouraged to “emphasize, in casual conversation and in serious business talks” his role and “how he enhances the financial stability of the community.”⁴⁷ In dealing with contractors, engineers, artists, and others in the building trades, “the worth of the architect needs constant re-emphasis.”⁴⁸

The 1949 publications identified the changing culture of communications technologies as further necessitating a shift in professional practices. The *Primer* warned: “It is no longer true, in our complex world of high-speed communications and constantly changing technology, that the world beats the path to the door of the man who invents the best mousetrap.” Instead, the architect needed to “package that mousetrap, offer it in

competition with others and demonstrate to his fellow men that it is worth using.”⁴⁹ *How to Tell Your Story* laid out “practical methods for achieving public relations goals” using newspapers, radio, and even television. Nevertheless, the publications emphasized print media: “No single activity which will be undertaken by the Public Relations Committee of your chapter can be more important than a smart, well-handled newspaper publicity program.”⁵⁰ The *Handbook* included a sample press release for local chapters to follow.

As Hagedohm had described in 1941, radio was valuable in its popularity as a personal medium— one invited into people’s homes like an old friend. The *Handbook* similarly explained how radio “gains importance as a communication medium through repetition,” but as a “medium both of information and amusement,” it was to be treated more cautiously than newspaper publicity.⁵¹ The lines between public information and advertising-based entertainment were less distinct for radio content. The *Handbook* informed architects that all stations were required, by the FCC, to “devote a certain portion of their time to sustaining programs of avowedly educational nature as a public service.” Architects were to pitch their programs as serving the public interest by educating listeners of the benefits of the architecture profession. In light of the national building boom that followed World War II, the handbook explained “there is tremendous popular interest in new materials and technical developments in building.” The architect could reinforce his social importance by becoming the spokesman for these advancements.

The *Handbook* advised architects on how to do this for radio. Architects received no formal training in public communications, so the handbook explained the process

using fitting metaphors: “Plan a series as a building would be planned—thoroughly and step by step.” One approach was to develop the story line chronologically, walking the audience through the process of working with architects to building a home: “selecting a building site, fitting the building to the site, financing the home, zoning laws and building codes, how much should it cost?, exterior design—traditional and contemporary, interior design, living spaces, dining spaces, sleeping spaces, the kitchen and bathroom, heating, lighting, use of color, solar houses, safety measures, landscaping, how about tomorrow?” In writing the scripts, they were to “keep them light, non-technical and informal.”⁵² The difficult balance between a didactic and informal tone was integral to competing with entertainment programs that could be found with the flip of a switch.

The AIA’s first mention of television appeared in the *Handbook*, which devoted two paragraphs to the new medium. The “relatively new medium of entertainment and information presents its own problems,” explained the authors, “but promises to be one of the most rapidly growing means of ‘letting the people know’.”⁵³ The AIA approached television with some apprehension, instructing chapters to produce a single telecast or a series “with the knowledge that such a project will require an expenditure of infinitely more time and energy than other public relations techniques.”⁵⁴ Architects had three presentation methods on television: a live show, a motion picture, or a combination of both. The handbook offered information on the challenges of presenting architecture on television, which at the time was confined to cramped studios and limited by the quality of broadcasting signals and home-set receivers. The architects needed to find ways to define, for an uninformed audience, what the camera was seeing. Props, including

drawings, models, and sketches, and other visual materials were necessary to relate the described material to the actual object. Film allowed producers to include secondary information, including footage of the construction, exteriors, and interiors of actual buildings. The advice provided in the 1949 public relations primers on television, though minor, proved to be resilient and perceptive of the workings of the medium.

In the 1950s, the AIA pushed its public relations agenda.⁵⁵ In 1952, the AIA established its first Public Relations Committee (previously the Committee on Public Information), and at the convention that year, charged the group with organizing a three-year national PR campaign. To support these new publicity efforts, AIA membership dues increased by from forty to fifty dollars a year. The campaign followed a three-step approach: first, to distribute information on best practices for all members of the AIA; second, to publish a handbook, the *Public Relations Handbook of the Architect*, released in 1953; and third, to produce a documentary film, tentatively called “The Architect and His Place in Society.”⁵⁶ Though the film never materialized, the first two steps created momentum around the importance of public relations and the profession in the 1950s.

The *Public Relations Handbook for the Architect* consolidated the information from the AIA’s previous 1949 *Primer and Handbook* and provided architects with up-to-date methods for publicity. To encourage architects to use the source in their everyday office practices, the AIA published it as a folder of loose-leaf pages, easily filed for quick reference. The publication was divided into sections on: Policy and Public Relations; Community Relations; Client Relations; Publicity; Press; Magazines; Radio; Television; The Speech; and Advertising. In the first section, the authors identified the problem

facing the profession: “The Architect cannot expect an ever-changing public to respect his profession or understand his services unless he makes a concentrated and well planned national effort to bring about this understanding.”⁵⁷ The solution offered by the AIA was a national campaign towards public relations, defined for architects as “doing good work and taking credit for it.”⁵⁸ Architects were told what to avoid: “public relations is not: Press-agentry or the building or encouraging of “notoriety” for the Architect; a concentration on selling something to someone or advertising something to someone; a devotion to keeping certain Architects’ names before the public.”⁵⁹

In contrast to the two paragraphs devoted to television in 1949, the 1953 *Handbook* devoted one of its largest sections to the medium. Architects were told how reports projected that by 1956, seventy-nine percent of American homes would have a television set and ninety-five percent of all homes would be in broadcasting range.⁶⁰ “The new medium of television is big,” wrote the authors, in somewhat of an underestimation.⁶¹ The section advised architects to seriously consider television to promote their work to the public. Those interested in opportunities were encouraged to first watch their local channels, searching for programs that might use personal interviews or discussions on the subject of architecture. They were then counseled to develop the outline of a program “on the Architect, his professional usefulness and his role in community betterment” and to consult a station program director.

The AIA offered advice on presentation style: “do not ‘talk down’ to the public and keep copy simple but informative.”⁶² Titles, they advised, should be inviting and simple. As an example, the *Handbook* included a script of the show “How to Build a

House,” from the series *Art in Your Life*, produced by the San Francisco Museum of Art in collaboration with the Northern California Chapter of the AIA. The script was reproduced in full as an example. The 1953 *Handbook* also recounted the production of a completed series on architecture, the Dallas-based show *So You Want to Build*: “The experience of the Dallas Chapter with its TV series seems well worth passing on so that other chapters, certain to meet many of the same problems, may be better prepared to cope with them.”⁶³ For years, the 1953 *Handbook* was the most comprehensive source of information on public relations, and especially on the subject of television, for architects.

A flurry of interest in public relations surfaced around the AIA centennial in 1957. In January of that year, the AIA hired the Washington D.C. advertising agency, Henry J. Kaufman & Associates, as counsel for “a new, aggressive public relations program” intended “to educate the nation to the indispensability of the architect and to the depth and scope of his services.”⁶⁴ Then, beginning in October, the *Journal of the AIA* published an eight-part series written by Robert R. Denny, the public relations director at Kaufman. In his first article, Denny explained how, “from the public relations standpoint, architecture is more than a matter of designing a building which produces an effect which we can call beauty...In our view, architecture is much more than art, even great art, and it should not be confined to the art section at the back of the magazine or newspaper.”⁶⁵ Throughout his series, Denny tried to get architects to understand that architecture was not only a design problem, but also as a public relations challenge: “The architect has two important jobs which shape his public relations. He must *perform*, and he must *communicate*.”⁶⁶ In outlining these two objectives, Denny demonstrated how, when

approached as part of the design profession, public relations offered a new perspective for understanding the practice and product of architecture. It was best understood, and practiced, as the product of various communications systems within a larger popular culture.

Architecture for the “Public Interest”

The growing supremacy of television culture put architects in a compromising position: they needed to communicate their value to the public, but were loath to sacrifice professionalism and join the ranks of entertainers and salesmen. They found a solution in the very nature of the medium itself. The American broadcasting system was established as a trusteeship, meaning that the broadcasting spectrum was seen as a limited resource belonging to the public and regulated accordingly. As a result, the broadcasting system became an “amalgam of commercial free enterprise and limited government regulation.”⁶⁷ The Radio Act of 1927 established the five-member Federal Radio Commission (FRC) as a temporary regulating body until the Communications Act of 1934 put into place the permanent regulating body, the Federal Communications Commission (FCC). As the federal regulator, the FCC grants broadcasting licenses to serve the “public interest, convenience, and necessity,” a principle dating to early US utility laws and put into place as a clause (section 4) of the Radio Act to protect the balance between public interest and commercial enterprise.⁶⁸

Industry insiders found it difficult to define the “public interest” standard. In a statement released on August 23, 1928, the FRC announced the basic principles and

understanding of the “public interest, convenience, or necessity” clause: “Since the number of channels is limited and the number of persons desiring to broadcast is far greater than can be accommodated, the commission must determine from among the applicants before it which of them will, if licensed, best serve the public.”⁶⁹ Their basic understanding of the principle was technical in nature: the FRC was entrusted to allot a substantial band of frequencies exclusively for broadcasting stations, maintained for the best possible quality of broadcasting reception, and fairly distributed to account for different types of service. They listed as part of this principle the goal of avoiding “stations which give the sort of service which is readily available to the public in another form,” emphasizing the unique potentials of broadcasting media.⁷⁰ The FRC also addressed their responsibility to regulate the quality of content: “The emphasis must be first and foremost on the interest, the convenience, and the necessity of the listening public, and not on the interest, convenience, or necessity of the individual broadcaster or the advertiser.”⁷¹ Under the standard of “public interest,” the airwaves were ideally suited to the objectives of educators and professionals as they too worked to inform the public.

Before the networks and their advertisers achieved a monopolistic reign over content and set the tone of the new medium, museums and professional associations regularly experimented with television as a platform for cultural edification. “Not since the invention of the printing press,” exclaimed Lynn Poole in 1949, “has the art educator had such an exciting medium for promotion the arts, as he has with television.”⁷² Poole spoke from experience as the host and producer of the science television show *The Johns Hopkins Science Review*, a live, weekly program broadcast on the DuMont Network from

1948 to 1955.⁷³ The program regularly featured guest scientists— often faculty from the university— who would discuss and demonstrate science knowledge; the first episode was called “All About the Atom” and featured the physicist Franco Rasetti.⁷⁴ As Patrick Lucanio and Gary Coville explained in their book *Smokin’ Rockets: The Romance of Technology in American Film, Radio and Television, 1945-1962*, “the rules for early television production were being written as the medium advanced, so by default Poole found himself creating his own set of rules.”⁷⁵ Poole encouraged art educators to do the same.

Public relations experts similarly stressed the appropriateness of broadcasting media for architectural communications. In the fourth article of his public relations series, Robert Denny discussed radio and television. Despite the popularity of both media by the late 1950s, Denny observed that “the utilization of radio and television as AIA chapter public relations outlets is too often neglected. Sometimes this occurs because of lack of understanding of how to cope with the twin ‘air’ mediums; sometimes because of timidity, and sometimes because of just plain inertia.”⁷⁶ Nevertheless, the potential of radio and TV participation superseded such deterrents. Denny explained that AIA chapters could obtain air time in the form of twenty- or sixty-second “spot” announcements, live panel discussions, guest appearances on interview shows, or half-hour public service programs.

The latter, the public service program, represented the greatest convergence of the interests of architects and the needs of television producers. Referring to the “public interest” standard carried over from the FRC, Denny explained how “every applicant for

a radio or television license is required to state in his application to the Federal Communications Commissions that his station will devote part of its time to the public service.”⁷⁷ Broadcasting stations came under regulatory review every year, during which they were required to demonstrate how a portion of their programming satisfied the public interest. The distinction came down to intention more than content. Denny explained that outright advertising, like the “promotion of a building product or breakfast cereal,” was not a matter of public service: “Generally speaking, information which enlightens and educates the public with the purpose of improving its welfare represents the broadcasting meaning of the phrase ‘public service.’”⁷⁸ Architects could use this federal regulation of the broadcasting industry as justification to showcase their contributions to society. In other words, the guise of “public interest” would help architects eschew the danger of advertising. Denny advised chapters of the AIA to contact a local broadcasting station and suggest a collaboration that benefited both industries.

Art in Your Life, San Francisco, 1952

In 1951, the San Francisco Museum of Art (SFMA) began presenting *Art in Your Life*, a biweekly museum television program produced by the young assistant curator Allon Schoener.⁷⁹ Operating on the belief that “television, a new visual medium of mass communication, is ideally suited for the dissemination of art information,” Schoener covered topics on painting, sculpture, and architecture.⁸⁰ As such, *Art in Your Life* redefined the methods of public arts and architecture education. The series aired every

other Sunday at 1:30 pm on the commercial station, KRON-TV. *Art in Your Life* was categorized as a public service program (or as serving the public interest), meaning the station provided the museum the airtime free of charge and without commercial advertising. KRON-TV even provided cameras and technical support, but the museum was responsible for the production; Schoener had a budget of up to \$200.00 per episode.⁸¹

As the only museum staff member fully engaged in the program, Schoener worked as the announcer, master of ceremonies, program planner, and script-writer. The *Public Relations Handbook for the Architect* outlined his process for putting together a show:

The general idea is discussed at a luncheon meeting. Mr. Allon Schoener, of the museum and producer, makes an outline script, gathers necessary props, except those provided by the participants. There is one rehearsal lasting for two or three hours, on which the participants would elaborate on lines from the outline script and the production is timed bit by bit. Schoener as M.C. and key person either cuts or draws out the presentation as he sees necessary.⁸²

Schoener was a member of the young arts and architecture scene in San Francisco, and the SFMA program became his outlet for creativity and collaboration: “I was in the course of establishing my own identity, so I became involved with filmmakers, photographers, city planners, architects.”⁸³ Schoener knew most of the faculty in the University of California, Berkeley’s department of architecture, and in 1952, he met Charles and Ray Eames. The three developed a close friendship; Schoener stayed with the couple when he traveled to Los Angeles. Charles Eames’s work with media became a

source of inspiration for Schoener's explorations with media: "I learned a lot about communications theory from Charlie Eames...it was the beginning of cybernetics. There was a lot of discussion about that, information technology, the beginnings of computers."⁸⁴

Within the San Francisco art community, Schoener also befriended the architect Robert Anshen (1909-1964), who became the regular host of *Art in Your Life*. Starting in 1940, Anshen was a principal partner, with Steve Allen, in the design firm Anshen & Allen.⁸⁵ Both men had studied architecture at the University of Pennsylvania, and after graduating in 1936, the two friends had traveled through Europe and Asia with money from scholarships. One year later, they ended up in San Francisco, penniless and charmed by the California culture. As historian Paul Adamson describes it, "California represented a culture accepting of fresh ideas...California architects didn't feel burdened by the intellectualism of the East Coast, where architects tended to feel beholden to Europe's cultural hegemony."⁸⁶ Anshen, whom Schoener described as "very glib and animated," was known to have a lively, theatrical personality — qualities becoming a host for an educational arts program.⁸⁷

In 1952, *Art in Your Life* presented four episodes devoted to the subject of architecture. Each episode included a guest design expert, including an architect (Program 17: "How to Build a House"), landscape architect (Program 18: "Design in Your Garden"), city planner (Program 21: "How City Planning Affects Your Life"), and interior designer (Program 23: "Good Design in Your Home").⁸⁸ The first program, "How to Build a House," introduced viewers to the benefits of working with an architect

by presenting an interview between Anshen, the architect William Corlett, and his clients Archie and Ann Leonard as discussed Corlett's design for the Leonard's house in Menlo Park, California, completed in 1948.⁸⁹

The program recreated the story of the Leonard's experience in having their house designed and built by Corlett. It was divided into eight sections (or theatrical acts):

"Opening," wherein Anshen introduced the topic with a film of the Leonard house; the opening credits; "Introductions," during which the guests were presented; "Selection of an Architect," where the Leonards told Anshen why and how they selected their Corlett; "Story of Building the House," the longest sequence, was a step-by-step explanation of the client's needs, the design and details of the house, and then its construction; a "General Discussion" showed the guests seated and answering final questions; and then a brief "Closing." The program was only interrupted for a "Museum Commercial" before the General Discussion.

Much of the dialogue emphasized how the services of an architect were beneficial to the general public. In the opening, Anshen spoke directly to the camera, telling the audience, "The subject of our *Art in Your Life* program today is one in which I am vitally interested; it is going to be architecture, and as you know, I am an architect. I am certain that many of you have wondered what an architect does so that is going to be the topic of today's program."⁹⁰ After introducing the guests, Anshen asked first about the cost of an architect's services: "Many people believe that an architect is too expensive. That is not true. We would like to show you that an architect definitely earns his fee."⁹¹ During the "General Discussion," Corlett presented three services architects could provide: "An

architect earns his fee because: 1.) He designs the house to fit the budget. 2.) He protects the client against inferior work and materials. 3) He improves the resale value of the house.”⁹² While Corlett spoke, the camera panned to the three services written onto large posters.

Schoener understood that television was a new visual medium requiring original techniques of presentation. “Standard museum educational procedures, such as lectures and gallery talks have no place in television,” he argued.⁹³ Audiences familiar with such presentations were already interested in art and visited museums on their own. A television viewer, on the other hand, was “first interested in being entertained and, only secondarily, in being better informed.”⁹⁴ As a result, he worked to utilize the visual and narrative strengths of television in presenting art and architecture.

“A fundamental consideration,” explained Schoener, “is the fact that television is primarily a visual medium and that which is seen takes precedence over what is heard.”⁹⁵ The small size of early television sets posed a specific challenge. In her 1940 essay on “Television and the Arts,” Nancy Newhall identified this problem. About the screen, she wrote “it is so small that looking at it from a proper viewing distance is equivalent to looking at a magazine illustration six feet away.”⁹⁶ *Art in Your Life* was made using Kinescope film, a method of recording live video by filming it directly from a monitor during playback. Before videotape, Kinescope was the standard way for stations to record and preserve live broadcasts. The picture quality was notoriously poor, appearing grainy, fuzzy, and often times distorted. Newhall argued that such visual liabilities work in favor in the presentation of architectural subject matter. Since early television receivers

accentuated “essential shapes, masses, and value patterns,” she argued that “large bold objects which are easily understood” and “plentifully supplied by architecture...” would make ideal content.⁹⁷

The visual setbacks of early television also inspired producers to emphasize the dynamic qualities of the medium. Camera techniques helped to reinforce the visual effects of design as a process. “A good television presentation,” explained Schroener, “must be visually exciting and based on movement because television is a medium of time and motion.”⁹⁸ Schoener used a combination of medium close-ups on speaking figures and tight close-ups on visuals and props, including a drawing board, a floorplan drawing, and a model (Figure 1.3). He understood how television cameras could distinctively focus the eye on the important object of study, using vocals as supporting evidence. Gilbert Seldes, the Director of Television Programs for CBS in the early 1940s, described the effect this way: “Television has the advantage of provoking in the spectator a concentration of purpose and attention closely parallel to that of a gallery visit.”⁹⁹

The visual subject matter emphasized the processes of architecture. At one point in the program, in the segment on “The Story of Building the House,” the camera closed in to capture Corlett drawing and diagramming on a large board. The sequence visibly identified the architect— especially his hands— as the source of design ideas being generated instantaneously on the screen. The close-up on Corlett’s drawings then transitioned into a tight close-up on an enlarged floorplan of the house, which Anshen used to identify parts of the design as Corlett described them. Anshen then introduced a five and a half minute film: “We had a film made showing the Leonard’s house under

construction to show how the architect serves his client.” The guests narrated what was being seen on the film. This brief sequence, taking the viewer from Corlett’s hands to the construction of the house itself, created a visualization of the seemingly linear process from design, to construction, to complete home. It also worked to situate the architect as the source and facilitator of the process.

The “Museum Commercial” sequence offered resources for interested viewers. Acting as the announcer, Schoener told viewers: “If you are thinking about buying or building a new house and want more detailed information, here are some guides which we will send you on request...”¹⁰⁰ He then presented the sixty-page booklet, “Things to Know About Buying or Building a Home,” published by a San Francisco bank with information on financing, planning, building materials, and equipment. Viewers could also write to the museum requesting listings of homes in the Bay Area, prepared by the AIA and made available free of charge: “You’ll probably be driving around looking at houses on Sunday afternoons, and these lists will guide you to homes you ought to see.”¹⁰¹ The “commercial” ended with an invitation to write the museum with comments or suggestions for *Art in Your Life*. Restating the value of the program they are currently watching, Schoener told viewers, “Remember, *Art in Your Life* is a public-service program for you and it’s up to you to tell us how you like it and what you would like to see on future programs.”¹⁰²

Schoener believed his program provided a model for other non-network producers: “The fact of not being located in a television centre can be an advantage for many museums in this country.”¹⁰³ Indeed, by the early 1950s, there were television

programs produced by art, anthropology, and science museums in Washington D.C., Baltimore, Philadelphia, Minneapolis, Detroit, and Dallas, in addition to the television centers of New York and Los Angeles.¹⁰⁴ The Museum of Modern Art in New York had been presenting itself on television since 1939, when Alfred Barr and MoMA president Nelson Rockefeller appeared in the first program discussing Constantin Brancusi's *Bird in Flight*.¹⁰⁵ Lynn Spigel, in her book *TV by Design*, includes a chapter on MoMA's efforts to use television to make art education entertaining.¹⁰⁶ These programs, according to Spigel, were "part of a much larger cultural initiative — waged by traditional institutions of the arts — to make art appealing to the growing ranks of television watchers, and especially to housewives."¹⁰⁷ Such examples of art programming during the early years of television present us with an alternative understanding of television as a commercial medium. As Spigel writes, this history "asks us to rethink the binary logic that pits television against art, domesticity against publicness, and entertainment against education."¹⁰⁸ For museum producers like Schoener who saw in television an opportunity to educate, the results were often complex representations of design practice that tapped into a growing audience's interest in a subject like home design.

So You Want to Build, Dallas, 1952

The Dallas AIA chapter showed a similar willingness to rethink media applications in the pursuit of public interest. "The best way to show what an architect does is to put a camera on him while he does it," wrote Patricia Swank, the executive secretary for the chapter, in *Progressive Architecture*.¹⁰⁹ That is precisely what Swank

and the AIA chapter did to create *So You Want to Build*, a thirteen-part AIA-produced television series that aired in the spring of 1952 on the Dallas station WFAA-channel 8.¹¹⁰ In an advertisement, the *Dallas Morning News* asked readers, “Are you interested in a new home?” On *So You Want to Build*, they could “follow Pat and Bill Morgan...and their architect...as they plan a new home...Watch them choose a lot, make a floor plan, organize a model kitchen, and select materials for their construction needs” (Figure 1.4).¹¹¹

As advertised, the show depicted the process of home design and planning by following the experiences of a fictional couple—the Morgans— working with an architect to build their modern house. Patricia (Patsy) Swank, the executive secretary of the AIA chapter and wife of Texas architect Arch Swank who in 1951 was president of the chapter, performed the part of Mrs. Morgan. William Shepard, a former radio actor, played her doctor husband. The Morgans had two children who were never shown. The local Dallas architect Ralph Bryan performed the architect character, named Ralph Bowen. Swank described Bryan as “one of Dallas’ best-known and most affable architects.”¹¹² Louis Fuertes, another Dallas architect who worked for Mark Lemmon, played Bryan’s assistant. *So You Want to Build* aired after *Meet the Press* and before *Super Circus* and *Roy Rogers*, an ideal slot for capturing the interests of the entire family.¹¹³

So You Want to Build was most likely the idea of Patricia Swank; she provided the essential connections between Dallas’s media and architecture industries to carry out this type of project. Over her life, Swank had a long career in media as a cultural

journalist and reporter.¹¹⁴ She started her professional career in the early 1940s at the *Dallas Morning News*, where she worked with the arts editor John Rosenfield. The newspaper and WFAA-channel 8 were partner media services owned by the A.H. Belo Corporation. Through her newspaper connections, Swank would have been able to make contact with the station's producers. In 1952, WFAA carried entertainment programming from the NBC, DuMont, and ABC networks; a program produced locally would have satisfied the "public interest" requirement by providing educational content on local issues at little station cost. The program did not have an outside sponsor other than the AIA, though Swank encouraged other chapters to find one for their projects.¹¹⁵

Swank's connections to the architecture culture of Dallas came through her marriage to Arch Swank and her work as executive secretary for the AIA chapter. Ralph Bryan was a close friend to both Patsy and Arch and had stood as a groomsman in their wedding. That Bryan played the architect role tells us how *So You Want to Build* was a labor of love for Swank and her friends. Indeed, she took the lead in producing the shows. The performers did not use a script; instead, they determined the points to be covered and the time intervals during rehearsals. Swank would then write the announcer's copy and a basic shooting script with time markings and cues for the director. She estimated that the group devoted about four hours each week to the project.¹¹⁶

The first episode opened on a domestic tableau: Mr. and Mrs. Morgan were shown sitting in their living room, she reading from a pile of magazines and he, seated opposite, from a newspaper. The wife paused to "glance relentlessly" at her husband

before expressing her desire for a new house. Over her husband's objections, she insisted that they could afford an architect.¹¹⁷ The series proceeded to track the couple's interactions with an architect as they faced different decisions. In the April 27th episode, the architect presented the couple with three possible floor plans.¹¹⁸ The question of style came up in another episode as a debate between the husband and wife; he preferred traditional houses, while she wanted something "contemporary."¹¹⁹ The goal of the show, in contrast to something like a shelter magazine, was not to push for a certain type of modern design aesthetic. Instead, the focus was on the process of architecture as a professional service. The episode on June 29th dealt with the matter of financing. Aubrey Costa, president of the Mortgage Bankers Association of America appeared as a guest.¹²⁰ The couple was also shown examining materials and talking about air-conditioning, heating, and kitchen arrangements. Arthur Berger, a Dallas landscape architect, appeared on one episode to discuss landscaping options.

The program represented a unique type of architectural theater, wherein the television production process blurred the borders between reality and fiction. Most of the fabrications — including the changing of Ralph Bryan's name— protected the chapter from charges of advertising or competition between designers. As the AIA had stipulated, the goal of public relations was to inform audiences about how architectural services improved the community, not to praise any one designer over another. The AIA itself received credit as the source for the show, evidenced by the fact that each episode opened on the seal of association's seal.

The most significant half-fiction was the Morgan's house, which was eventually built as the "Vacation Home" model in the Dallas suburb of Wynnewood (Figure 1.5). "Our first idea had been to show simply how the architect works," explained Swank, "But it seemed silly to set up a situation and then fake plans for it. Why not build the house?"¹²¹ The AIA chapter worked with Angus Wynn to have the house built in his new suburban development, Wynnewood. The television team selected the site for the eventual house, at 526 Bizerte Street, but most of the design plans seen on the series were only preliminary. In reality, a team of Dallas architects, led by the young designer Bud Oglesby, designed the house to be built by the American Home Realty Company.¹²² "The Morgans may be make-believe but their house most certainly is not," reported the *Dallas Morning News* on the package promotion.¹²³ One year later, when the model opened to the public, it was further publicized in an eight-page spread in the *Dallas Morning News*.¹²⁴ The section featured an article reiterating the value of an architect's services, called "Custom Planning Produces Homes People Dream About."

So You Want to Build? presented the architect as an integral member of the postwar building industry and as the primary collaborator in the American process of homebuilding and ownership. For example, the opening scene set up, in a matter of seconds, a few important associations between architects and postwar society. The wife and husband were shown reading a magazine and newspaper, respectively, in a nod to the prominence of these media forms as the sources of information on modern living. The implication, however slight, is that much of the Morgan's desire for a new home was rooted in their role as consumers of information through various media sources.

Swank acknowledge that the scene was designed to mirror the setting of their television audience. “When she spoke,” Swank wrote of the Mrs. Morgan character, “everyone in the Dallas area who was watching his television set that April Sunday afternoon in 1952, felt at home. Her problem was universal. She wanted a house.”¹²⁵ With *So You Want to Build*, the AIA attempted to offer a solution to this “universal” American problem by demonstrating that the professional architect could provide the modern dream home. “The things that were right about” the show, Swank explained, “were very right. Primarily it put a working architect into the living room...of a great many people who did not even know how to pronounce the word.”¹²⁶

So You Want to Build represented a convergence of the responsibilities Robert Denny had identified for the architect: to *perform* and *communicate* good design.¹²⁷ The *Dallas Morning News* reported that the Vacation Home model marked “the first collaborative planning project ever to be undertaken by the Dallas chapter” of the AIA.”¹²⁸ It would be more accurate to describe that honor as belonging to the television program, which required a great deal of collaborative planning between media and design experts. The project also demonstrated the complexities of the postwar media environment. The Dallas AIA chapter promoted itself through various media: television, newspapers, and a three-dimensional advertisement, the model house. In *Little White Houses*, Diane Harris discussed this process as “the accretive impact of multiple media forms operating simultaneously” to form cultural notions of American identity.¹²⁹ The media scholar Henry Jenkins has provided a richer model for understanding this type of trans-media storytelling as “convergence culture,” wherein multiple media industries

collaborate to spread content across various platforms, both old and new.¹³⁰ Patsy Swank encouraged architects to take on this type of communications program: “If you can do all this, keep an eye on everyone, stay on schedule, keep the director and sponsor happy and see that everyone likes the design of the house, you are obviously miracle workers. In any case, happy video!”¹³¹

Ongoing “Advertising Angst”

Postwar efforts to use television in promoting architecture received very little coverage in other media outlets. Other than Swank’s one page article in *Progressive Architecture*, there was no mention of *Art in Your Life* or *So You Want to Build* in the architecture and building journals. Only one mention of the series produced by the Rhode Island chapter, entitled *The Roof Over Your Head*, survives today, in the *AIA Handbook* from 1953.¹³² Additional examples of locally produced shows may continue to surface, but the dearth of preserved records for AIA-related projects—very few local chapters maintain any archival records—and the general lack of coverage in magazines and books mean that this history goes undetected by architectural historians. However fragmentary the record, television was part of the larger postwar media environment, including also shelter magazines, housing shows, photographs, and advertisements, which transformed the public relations practices of the architect.

Public relations escalated as a hot-button issue for architectural professionals in the 1960s and 1970s as figures like Marshall McLuhan popularized the study of media and communications. The period even saw a rise in handbooks on the subject, starting

with Weld Coxe's *Marketing Architectural and Engineering Services* in 1971.¹³³ A former journalist, Coxe started the Coxe Group, Inc., a management consulting firm for architectural firms that counted as its clients Venturi, Rauch and Scott Brown.¹³⁴ On understanding the use of media in marketing, he wrote about the usefulness of different media for specific tasks: "mass media techniques and mass media are used only for the projection of images (brand names) while selective techniques and media are used to close sales."¹³⁵ Television epitomized the media of mass coverage, but by the 1970s, the industry had stabilized around commercial interests with fewer options open to ancillary subject matter. Coxe told his readers that while television reached the largest total audiences, the selectivity of its content was lower than other popular media: "This is why broadcast advertising is limited to brand names and mass sale products."¹³⁶ Compared to Denny's approach to television in the late 1950s, which had been more accepting of it as a platform for education and cultural improvement, Coxe treated television largely as a commercial medium with little potential for promoting architectural services.

This understanding of television did not preclude the architect from using it, but the possibilities were limited. According to Coxe, the publicity for the professional was generally limited to news broadcasts, and "because of the nature and pace of broadcast news," such publicity was of very limited value.¹³⁷ Moreover, the public interest demand persisted, and professionals were in demand to appear on "public service" programs. On those, Coxe wrote: "Many public service programs are very seriously conceived and could produce valuable communication for a professional if it were not for their doubtful

audience.”¹³⁸ Television stations generally aired their public service programs early in the morning, late at night, or on the weekends to the smallest audiences.

Apart from Coxe’s brief mention of the medium, architects received little encouragement to embrace television for professional development. A second book on the subject — Gerre L. Jones’s *How to Market Design Services* from 1973, left out the broadcast medium entirely from its list of promotional tools and strategies. Gerre only mentioned the use of closed-circuit televisions and videotape in presentations, concluding that “immediacy is one of the advantages of closed-circuit TV; the small receiver screen size is a disadvantage of the medium.”¹³⁹

In June 1977, the Supreme Court decided on *Bates v. State Bar of Arizona*, upholding the right of lawyers to advertise their services and effectively upending the longstanding tradition against advertising in the profession. The ruling demonstrated faith in advertising as a means of providing information for consumers. One year later, the AIA responded to the litigious culture at the time and similarly revised its ethical rules on advertising.¹⁴⁰ The decision kept the AIA out of the courtroom, but the revision was mostly in name only. The primary rule allowed members to purchase “dignified” advertisements and listings in newspapers, periodicals, and directories. Any print-based ads were required to indicate the architect’s or firm’s name, address, contact information, descriptions of field of practice, and cost of basic services. Testimonials, photographs, drawings, and comparative references to other designers were not allowed.¹⁴¹ The 1980s saw a proliferation of instructional articles on the subject of publicity. They consistently

encouraged print-based marketing techniques: mailers, newspapers, magazines, and brochures.

The AIA made a few more attempts to use television in the promotion of the architecture profession. In 1995, the organization commissioned a large print campaign, including four full-color advertisements printed in business and shelter magazines. In his article “Advertising Angst” in *Architecture* magazine, Bradford McKee reported “many architects thought those spots did the trick.”¹⁴² However, when faced with the possibility of seeing ads on television, sandwiched between car commercials or movie trailers, McKee was less enthused: “The driving idea behind the ad campaign— that design services can be sold commodity-style, like eggs, meat, and milk (“where’s your mustache?”)— is laughable.” He questioned the percentage of people watching TV who undertook construction projects, or at least had any hope of hiring an architect to do so. He concluded with an appeal to high taste: “good architecture isn’t generic, and the kind of architecture that is generic isn’t worth pushing on TV.”¹⁴³ At the 1997 convention, a motion to collect from members one-hundred fifty dollars over three years to be used for the production of a national television advertising program failed to gain approval. Instead, the delegates resolved to fund, with a one-time ten-dollar charge, a higher level of strategic planning on public relations (that the increase was the same as that in 1952 shows how the regard for public relations had not improved).

In March 1999, the AIA launched “Building on Your Vision,” a three-year communications campaign including two television ads.¹⁴⁴ The spots, one set in a school and the other in a corporate office, aired during *NBC Nightly News*, *CBS Sunday*

Morning, and *Larry King Live* on CNN. By May of that year, the television campaign had cost \$1.1 million and was expected to reach \$2.4 million.¹⁴⁵ The campaign also included print ads in *Newsweek*, *Forbes*, and *Business Week*.¹⁴⁶ Like every national publicity campaign before it, “Building on Your Own Vision” came in response to fears that the profession was becoming marginalized socially.

Televising the Profession

This history reveals two persistent themes concerning the importance of publicity in the architecture profession. The first relates to the paradoxical and sometimes arbitrary delineations between acceptable and unacceptable forms of communication. While architects tried to resist the use of paid advertising and commercially sponsored promotional material, as their professional code of ethics stipulated, determining what qualified as ‘professional’ became a challenge. Mass media (e.g., newspapers, radio, and television) were not, in themselves, vulgar and unprofessional outlets. The AIA, in its handbooks from 1949 and 1953 and in the pages of its *Journal*, encouraged architects to use such media to reach the public. However, the question of distribution was vital to the professionalizing agenda. The use of media to reach mass audiences was seen as unbecoming the American architect.

In 1957, Robert Denny denounced indiscriminate mass marketing.¹⁴⁷ Acknowledging that architects could loosely interpret his term in their favor, Denny put it into perspective: “Do you think a brochure describing the work and organization of an architectural firm should reach the desk of a stranger—albeit a prospective client—in the

same stack of promotional mail from vendors or nuts and bolts, electrical appliances, and prefabricated ‘we’ll solve your building problems’ schools?” Denny did not question the use of a brochure per se, only its being distributed as a common mailer. To his question, Denny answered: “I hope not. The architect who places himself in the position of a vendor is committing professional suicide.”¹⁴⁸ Differentiating between advertising and public relations was integral to how architects defined themselves within the complex marketplace of commercial services and ideas. In general, actions in the interest of the public, including those serving a didactic, instructional purpose, and those that emphasized the benefits of the profession and the architect’s place in society, were seen as acceptable forms of public communication. Outright selling, self-praise, or anything lending to a competitive culture of practice was prohibited as bad taste.

How could radio and television hold up against Denny’s condemnation? Both technologies epitomized the idea of mass media, their content being broadcast “indiscriminately” into the homes of anyone within range. Whereas newspapers had classifiable readerships, making it easier to separate the respectable papers from the rags, pre-cable television had no such audience identifiers. Architects responded by sticking close to the jurisdiction of “public interest” broadcasting, required by the FCC as a main service of the broadcasting trusteeships. Architecture in the form of a museum-sponsored arts program could clearly be justified in the public interest.

What, though, could be said of the Dallas AIA show, which aired before *Super Circus* and *Roy Rogers* (Figure 1.6)? That the AIA’s sponsorship of *So You Want to Build* could be seen alongside such commercially sponsored programs speaks to the complexity

of professional negotiations. Was it not comparable to a brochure ending up in “the same stack” as commercial mailers? Perhaps the Dallas chapter bypassed such concerns by legitimizing the project through expert guest appearances and the actual construction of the house as a promotional tie-in with a newspaper and building development. The show also followed *Meet the Press*, which demonstrated the capacity for television to disseminate serious news, something Swank, herself a journalist, no doubt found mitigating.

The second theme that emerges from this chapter concerns the question of presentation and its relationship to representation. Television culture forced architects to reconsider the narratives of their profession, and the story of American architecture as a whole, “with more appreciation and understanding of the popular touch.” For one thing, television’s emphasis on sound-bites and engaging dialog challenged architecture’s dependence on jargon and technical language. In presenting himself and his profession to an unknown public, architects needed to evaluate their reliance on obtuse and technical pedantries; to embrace the language of theory was to associate oneself with an elitist, exclusionary, and snobbish agenda (a fact some architects revealed in). In 1940, Newhall had predicted that television audiences would avoid elitism: “Americans will shy away from dry discussion and the affected sensibilities of artistic snobs.”¹⁴⁹

Television also placed new demands on the visual story of architecture. In 1964, Marshall McLuhan wrote on the unique visual power of television: “The continuous scanning action of the TV camera provides, not the isolated moment or aspect, but the contour, the iconic profile and the transparency.”¹⁵⁰ Schoener understood television to be

the medium of continuous time and motion. For *Art in Your Life*, he used props and camera work to show the architect drawing and directing viewers through renderings; supplemental film presented the process of construction. Likewise, Denny instructed architects to include such presentation techniques: “Television requires the kind of visual action that is satisfied by use of charts, photographs, slides, three-dimensional models—better still, chalk-talks and on the spot drawings.”¹⁵¹ These considerations were basic guidelines in the ways to communicate architectural ideas and processes to the public.

The earliest uses of television as an architectural medium were couched in terms of public relations, or as efforts to educate the public in the services of the professional architect. By collaborating with the early television industry, figures like Allon Schoener and Patricia Swank ingratiated themselves to the mechanisms of popular culture in hopes of redefining the place of the architecture profession within society. That Schoener was a curator and Swank a journalist and architect’s wife shows how early experiments with television often came from the peripheries of architectural practice. Such figures were more willing to modify the ethics of professionalism within the face of a changing American society. As the next chapter will demonstrate, some architects had to bring television into their prescribed world of practice—into their design studio—in order to see its potential as an architectural medium.

Chapter Two

Simulating Space: Television Enters the Design Studio

The TV image is not a *still* shot. It is not photo in any sense, but a ceaselessly forming contour of things lined by the scanning-finger. The resulting plastic contour appears by light *through*, not light *on*, and the image so formed has the quality of sculpture and icon, rather than picture.

- Marshall McLuhan, 1964¹

Wanted: a good inexpensive technique of simulating and recording movement through space. Such a tool, which would record both visual and acoustic impressions, would help architects anticipate the 'feel' of their designed spaces in 4-D and encourage them to think in those same 4-D terms.

- Stuart Rose and M. Scheffel Pierce, 1966²

Writing in a special issue of *Architectural and Engineering News* on "Architecture and Motion," Stuart Rose and M. Scheffel Pierce expressed their desire to create a new technique for simulating and recording movement through space. Both men worked at the University of Nebraska — Rose an assistant professor of architecture and Pierce the faculty coordinator for instructional television at the university station KUON-TV. They proposed closed-circuit television as the platform for their technique, arguing that the medium could "record both visual and acoustic impressions" that would help architects "anticipate the 'feel' of their designed spaces in 4-D and encourage them to think in those same 4-D terms."³ As a point-to-point transmission system, closed-circuit television relays its signals via coaxial cable between a camera, a receiver/recording unit, and a monitor.⁴ The system allows users to watch on the monitor 'live' footage of what

the camera captures while also recording it onto video.⁵ In 1965, Rose and Pierce led a design studio to test their hypothesis that the immediacy and realism of closed-circuit televisual simulations could promote a level of empathy between the architect and his designs surpassing traditional representation techniques.

Rose and Pierce's experiment was part of a larger period of investigation and debate concerning the use of new technologies toward visualization techniques. In 1968, Allen Bernholtz, an assistant professor of architecture and computer technology at Harvard University, explained what was at stake for architects: "If we continue to build without a means of pretesting our environments according to some goal or standard, the possibility of unfulfilled human potential greatly increases."⁶ Increasingly, designers' standards for communication came from fields other than architecture. In the late 1940s, Norbert Wiener had originated 'cybernetics' as the study of communication and control systems wherein actors transmit information as messages and receive feedback. Wiener's ideas were foundational to a generation of media theorists, including Marshall McLuhan, whose thoughts on media and visual culture became popular after the publication of *Understanding Media: The Extensions of Man* in 1964. As designers adopted emerging concepts of spatial experience, they sought representation techniques that satisfied goals of realism, temporal continuity, and cybernetic integration.⁷

Toward those ends, architects proposed competing representation methods and technologies. Bernholtz, for example, advocated the use of computer simulations and role-playing games to "pretest" design ideas and study real world situations.⁸ Such techniques, he argued, would provide "a feedback loop to upgrade the investigation,

evaluation, and selection capacities of the creative designer.”⁹ Earlier in the decade, Philip Thiel and Kevin Lynch presented models for sequential notation systems meant to improve representations of sight and experience.¹⁰ Ultimately, the projects that received the most attention took place at east coast universities, where they benefited from the backing of affiliated research centers and publishing houses. The most well-know of these included, along with Lynch, Nicholas Negroponte’s work at MIT’s Media Lab; Christopher Alexander’s research at Harvard University; and Robert Venturi, Denise Scott Brown, and Steven Izenour’s “Learning from Las Vegas” studio at Yale University.¹¹

This chapter discusses the technical application of television to the design process, and in so doing identifies two experiments that have previously gone unnoticed. The projects were Rose and Pierce’s studio at Nebraska and a similar design studio organized at the Mackintosh School of Architecture in Glasgow, Scotland. In both situations, interdisciplinary groups of faculty and students used closed-circuit television to create motion-based visualizations that augmented static representations.¹² These teams intended to use televisual techniques in the design process as a way to improve both the process and the final product, and to be able to communicate architectural ideas to outside audiences, including clients. Even though the experimenters acknowledged, a few years after their initial projects, the superiority of computer technologies for spatial simulations, for a brief historical moment television rivaled other media as an ideal tool for architectural representation.

The Nebraska Experiment, 1965-66

“Wanted: a good inexpensive technique of simulating and recording movement through space.”¹³ With those words, Stuart Rose and M. Scheffel Pierce introduced their experiment to simulate space using new media. They explained how “such a tool would record both visual and acoustic impressions” as a means of helping “architects anticipate the ‘feel’ of their designed spaces in 4-D and encourage them to think in those same 4-D terms.” The tool they settled on, however briefly, was television, and in 1965, the two men design an experiment at the University of Nebraska to use it, along with video, in the visual simulation of architectural space.

Their experiment—funded by the College of Engineering and Architecture—brought together an interdisciplinary group of participants, including undergraduate architecture students, graduate students from the music department, a large television production team, engineers, graphic artists, and a perceptual psychologist from the psychology department.¹⁴ The goal of the experiment was to design, record, and analyze spatial sequences using closed-circuit television and videotape.

Their interest in spatial visualization coincided with larger efforts of architects and planners, over the 1950s and 1960s, to develop complex graphic systems for representing spatial experiences in two dimensions.¹⁵ Rose acknowledged the influences of Lawrence Halprin, Kevin Lynch, and Philip Thiel on his own understanding of space and simulation.¹⁶ Halprin had started writing about the “choreography” of landscapes in the 1950s, and in the early 1960s he had developed a shorthand notation for the synchronization of water effects in fountains.¹⁷ In the 1964 book, *The View from the*

Road, Kevin Lynch, along with Donald Appleyard and John Myer, discussed the visual experience of high speed travel by car and argued for “the promise of the new world of vision inherent in our speed of movement.”¹⁸ The three MIT professors presented “a technique of recording, analyzing, and communicating” the visual sequence of the road; their goal was to establish the driver’s view as the de facto perspective for road planning and design.¹⁹ The following year, in 1965, Halprin published his first statement on “Motation,” his method for scoring movement through space and time, developed in collaboration with his wife, Ann.²⁰ In that same year, Rose completed his thesis at the University of Washington, Seattle, entitled “A Method for Describing the Quality of an Urban Street Space.” Like Halprin and the MIT group, Rose classified the physical qualities of an urban street space using mathematical and statistical processes.

The first published system for an architectural space-time notation came from Philip Thiel. In the April 1961 issue of *Town Planning Review*, Thiel outlined his system of graphic notation for continuous representation of architectural and urban spaces.²¹ Thiel intended his system as a new tool for architects and planners. He explained that, whereas musicians and filmmakers already had methods for scoring and representing their temporal sequences, “the architect and designer for their part have either only a series of perspective sketches, or orthographic projections; neither of which are adequate for the job.” Perspectival sketches, he explained, were “most commonly discontinuous eyelevel representations from successive discrete points of view,” and orthographic projects created “fragmented representations of spatial aspects ‘seen’ from a viewpoint at

an infinite distance.”²² In their place, Thiel proposed a notation system that allowed an observer to record spaces dynamically from their ground-level vantage point.

Thiel’s system relied on the abstraction, through hand-drawn diagrams, of “light-defined relationships between positions and qualities of Surfaces, Screens and Objects.”²³ These three entities became the basic components of what Thiel called the “anatomy of space.” By describing the position of such components as “over,” “side,” or “under” in relation to their own body, an observer could capture the sequential relationships along their line of movement. In the notation, the line was divided into time intervals corresponding to space zones (Figure 2.1). In his 1962 analysis of a Japanese house and garden, Thiel added photographs to supplement his graphic notation.²⁴ In its ability to “capture” motion through new diagrammatic modes, Thiel’s system supplanted traditional representational techniques that presented space from arbitrary and fragmentary perspectives. It also represented another mediated expression of experience.

With the idea of sequential form, designers attempted to extend the very process of vision and experience beyond traditional representation methods. The MIT group adapted Thiel’s notation to their study of the “system of movement in a city.” As they explained it, “the traditional way of managing a sustained temporal continuity is to set in motion a drive toward a final goal.” The drive, they noted, might be “interrupted, prolonged, and embellished at rhythmic intervals,” but it was, nevertheless, propelled by forward momentum toward its destination, or “climax.”²⁵ Traditional ways of understanding temporal continuity were often tied to preexisting media perceptions. For example, when representing the experience of driving on a highway, the linear path of

temporal continuity could be entered and exited at each driver's discretion, resulting in a sequential form "more like a magazine serial, in which an underlying total development depends on separate episode, each with a self-contained form of its own." The ultimate goal for road design was to create a "fascinating book to read on the run."²⁶

Rose's experiment with television was motivated by a similar interest in the relationship between new mediations and new design ideas. He and Pierce hypothesized:

if a method could be developed for simulating the scanning of space and the motion through a sequence of spaces, and if that method were immediate in its application, it would appear like that the architectural student could develop a considerably greater awareness of spatial characteristics and space relationships than is possible within the scope of present methods of instruction.²⁷

Their objective was to improve the architect's ability to see architecture as a dynamic and changing experience—a way of thinking that underpinned much of the criticism being aimed at Modernism's static monumentality. While acknowledging how "contemporary technology has provided several possible methods for the four dimensional simulation of space," the two men initially concluded that television—more than film or computer simulations—was the key to activating Thiel's space-experience notations.²⁸ Closed-circuit television and its resultant video output recreated the eye of a moving observer according to principles of immediacy and realism.

Their experiment at Nebraska involved the televising and recording of design study models for four spatial types: rectangular spaces; angular spaces; curvilinear spaces; and rhythmic, or undulating spaces.²⁹ Groups of students began by preparing a storyboard for the sequence of visual impressions they wanted to capture for each spatial

type based on movement through models along a single path. The students continued to adjust the sequence after meeting with the television crew and becoming more familiar with the studio and equipment. For the project, the crew used two orthicon closed-circuit cameras, which let the students review the footage as they captured it and make real-time adjustments. Each sequence was recorded for further viewing and analysis; students also created notations to record movement during the experiments (Figure 2.2).

The design students constructed three cardboard model types, all with the goal of easy access and mutability for the quick test of spatial effects. They built the first model type, “the fold-away,” with hinged portions that could be removed easily from the camera’s path. They also used “breakaway models,” in which portions or segments could be “instantly removed so as not to impair a changing line of sight or actual camera movement.” This type also accommodated for the large camera lens moving into small model spaces. They used the final type, “the duplicate segment model,” when it was necessary to switch the image from one camera to another. If two models were going to be filmed as one continuous shot, the group would set up identical segments in each model so the final image on the first camera could be matched, through a match-dissolve editing technique, with the first image on the second camera. The three model types allowed the team to create a seamless, continuous shot through each of the four space studies.

The models themselves could be moved and adjusted in real time. Students would tilt and rotate parts of the models in response to the movements of the camera (Figure 2.3). The crew used these techniques to compensate for perspectival problems. For

example, when the model space was fully closed to the camera, such as with a tower or underground well, the team compensated by rotating the enclosed space off of its base in front of the lens, which produced the visual effect of looking up into the tower or down into the well.³⁰

Efforts were taken during the filming process to create an effect of realism. In order to convey a natural impression of ‘walking’ through the spaces, the cameras were set at the height of ‘observers’ within the models. The cameras moved at a slow pace meant to approximate the speed of a leisurely walk. This was meant not only to facilitate visual scanning of the spaces but also “to allow time for the establishment of a psychological reaction to each space.”³¹ The adjustable model types allowed the crew to react with various camera techniques for simulating motion, including, zoom, focus, tilt, and pan. The team discovered, for instance, that the use of a zoom lens to narrow the angle of view through the length of a long confined space effectively conveyed the sense of motion. They also placed, as props, figures throughout the model to create a sense of scale and to give the camera operators a point of reference while moving through the spaces (Figure 2.4). The props also enhanced the sense of motion, or the simulated effect of walking through the spaces.

Graduate students from Nebraska’s music department scored the recordings in an effort to facilitate a realistic viewing experience. “Simulations of space in total silence or with whatever random noises may have occurred in the viewing situation,” explained Rose and Pierce, “were thought to be an unnatural condition.”³² Working with the

architecture students in the early stages, the music students “interpreted and translated the four impressionistic sequences into four complementary sequences of sound.”³³

Since the project objectives were focused on the simulation of spatial configurations, model building and camera sequencing took priority over lighting considerations.³⁴ Nevertheless, some degree of lighting was necessary to create the perception of depth and to differentiate model surfaces, as all of the materials were of the same value and texture: cardboard. The team’s solution was to flood the studio with diffused lighting and let “the shapes of the interior space respond with whatever shading the models provided without specific light direction.”³⁵ The crew further used special lamps mounted close to and parallel to the camera lens in order to directly illuminate the small model spaces. The resulting lighting effects were dramatic and moody.

As the final products, the team produced separate video presentations for each of the four spatial types and presented them to a panel of architects and non-architecture faculty critics.³⁶ Each video ran for five minutes. Opening first with a series of informational slides (a test pattern, the class title, instructor, and student names), the video faded from black onto the first view of the model. The video then captured the movement through the modeled spaces, meant to represent the visual impression of “an observer seeing the spaces in sequence for the first time.” The students showed each video twice: first without any audio track and then with the audio produced by the music students.

On the pedagogical effectiveness of the project, Rose and Pierce reported that it provided “the student with an exposure to a procedure requiring a more exacting

methodology than that to which he was before accustomed.” The experiment, they believed, had successfully introduced their students to new sequential methods and allowed them “to gain an understanding of the effects that could be possible in the design of architectural space by variation of the spatial configurations.” Furthermore, it had provided students with a new way of visualizing the architectural experience. Of their typical student, they wrote: “He may...be made aware of the means by which spaces are experienced to the point of considering these factors of scanning and motion sequences in his design work.” Rose and Pierce reported that the videos received positive feedback on their ability to simulate space realistically. “In talking of the sequences,” Rose and Pierce said, “no one on the panel referred to the simulation of models as actual models or as model materials.” Both men concluded that, ultimately, the “empathy of the simulation medium was achieved.”³⁷

Rose and Pierce noted that refinements needed to be made before television could be more easily used as a simulation tool in design studios. “The medium must be examined to see if it can accurately simulate various specialized illumination and color conditions.”³⁸ Simpler techniques were also needed for the construction of models, both to reduce time and increase flexibility. The men postulated that special television equipment accessories could be developed to adapt the medium to an architectural application. Rose even proposed the development of a special television simulation kit that could be made available within the budget of architectural design offices. He hoped to standardize the use of television in such a way that it would be “simply used as a normal piece of design equipment.”³⁹

TV vs. Film vs. Computers

Rose and Peirce's objectives were pedagogical: "The purpose of the study was the preliminary development of a method which simulates space in a more realistic and efficient manner than is presently employed by the student of architecture and which is as immediate and flexible as his pencil and paper."⁴⁰ Though the men also considered the use of film and computer graphics towards this end, they initially concluded that television satisfied the direct needs of architecture students. The most important of these needs was the idea of immediacy. Rose sought a design tool that provided a "rapid process of simulation indication, evaluation, and alteration or refinement" in real time—the pencil and eraser being the most emblematic of these types of tools. An advanced level of realism also factored into their choice of medium. According to Rose, the "nearer the simulation can come to portraying the real experience, the more valuable that method becomes to the student."⁴¹ The televisual experience most closely resembled his understanding of the real experience of space as one of scanning: "Man visually perceives the world around him by scanning and, often, while in motion."⁴² They further described how humans perceive space in one of two ways: all at once ("A space may be considered as an entity in itself and may thereby be experienced visually by the scanning method."), or sequentially ("It may also be viewed as an element, or component, within a sequence of spaces...").⁴³ Of the traditional representational methods, perspective drawings and scale models also provided these types of simulations, but they required more construction time and, as static methods, were limited in their recreation of

sequential experience. Rose and Peirce believed television surpassed these older visualization techniques in its ability to satisfy both criteria.

Appleyard, Lynch, and Myer had argued for the use of motion-picture film to improve the sense of reality in simulating space. In *The View From the Road*, they concluded that conventional methods for creating a visual sequence, including maps, photographs, perspective sketches, oblique drawings, and scale models, all presented the material “as a static, over-all pattern rather than a dynamic sequence.”⁴⁴ Alternatively, they felt the use of motion pictures added the missing element of movement, and it did so in a way already accepted by most people.⁴⁵ By the late 1960s, most everyone in America was adept at watching and understanding information presented in the form of film. As a result, the men were “tempted to go to motion pictures” for recording highway sequences “in a permanent form that can be shown to large groups of people.”⁴⁶ Lynch had been using film to capture footage from the road since the 1950s.⁴⁷ They found, however, that a motion picture camera did not fully reproduce the view of the eye. The human eye has a small angle of acute vision and a broad angle of hazy vision; it perceives details by scanning a visual field to sense spatial relationships. The film camera, on the other hand, had a uniformly acute field of vision: “It records too much...its center of attention does not leap from object to object as does the eye.” The men noted how filmmakers had developed their own techniques for overcoming these disparities, including the panning shot, the close-up, and the dissolve.⁴⁸ Rose and Pierce used the same techniques to simulate the scanning motion with television cameras.

According to Rose, the primary reason to use television instead of motion-picture film in the design studio was its allowance for immediate feedback. The delay needed to develop and edit film, he determined, “causes the process to be too slow for use in evaluation, alteration or refinement of space and repetition.”⁴⁹ Thiel similarly dismissed film as a user-friendly simulation medium: “the motion-picture camera is of course a possibility, but reasons of cost and lack of an objective *rationale* for its use in this service limit its usefulness.”⁵⁰ Rose’s rationalization for using television was based on more than technical impetus. For him, the medium offered architects a simulation in real time-- the sense of “live-ness” achieved with a closed-circuit system was central to the experiment.

In comparison, the filmic image was hindered by what Roland Barthes called photography’s ‘that-has-been effect.’⁵¹ William Kaizen, in his essay, “Live on Tape: Video, Liveness and the Immediate,” described this effect: “photography and film generate their affect by returning the dead to life. Live television, on the other hand, operates in the present tense. It says about what it shows: ‘this-is-going-on’. Compared to film, it seems even more alive.”⁵² Rose and Pierce attempted to apply the ‘liveness’ of television to the reiterative processes of architectural design. Their use of videotape in conjunction with closed-circuit television cameras provided an “instant replay system for instant review” that could be studied either simultaneously via the live feed on the monitor or at a later time on the video footage. This system gave designers greater flexibility in evaluating and revising their spaces.

By 1967, graphics generated by computer may have satisfied the criterion for immediacy, but not the standard for realism. Rose acknowledged that designers could use

new computer technologies, including Perspective Incorporated's Illustromat 1100 or light-pen consoles like that used by IBM in their System 360, to create immediate perspective and orthographic simulations. However, such computer simulations lacked a high quality reproduction of light, surface texture, and color. "At the present stage of computer graphics development," Rose and Pierce concluded, "the reality of the simulation is not equal to that of either the motion picture or television media."⁵³

Within only a few years, however, Rose conceded that computers had become the better platform for design representations. In 1968, after leaving Nebraska to teach at Michigan State University, Rose published his article "On Beyond Models: Notation System Simulates Space" in *Architectural & Engineering News*.⁵⁴ In it, he explained the use of computers over television as a simple case of translation: "television cameras pick up images from physical elements at the studio, convert them into electronic impulses and transmit those impulses to the receiving units which revert them into images seen on the television receiver screen."⁵⁵ Television, like film, was a two-part method of simulation, and the time required to build and manipulate the models "lessened the 'immediacy' of the simulation."

Rose's solution was to find a one-part system that removed the need for an original: "If...the same electronic impulses could be produced by artificial means, the same image would appear on the receiver screen without the need for the original physical elements."⁵⁶ His article included a notational sequence of a 15-block journey through Seattle, which Rose visualized with photographs, perspectival sketches, and Thiel's notational diagrams (Figure 2.5). Rose's goal for the notational sequence was to

produce a set of data intended as input into a computerized simulator. “Once the simulated images can be induced artificially,” Rose explained further in his 1968 manuscript *A Notation/Simulation Process for Composers of Space*, “the stimulus could be designed to be received from notational symbols rather than from three dimensional coordinated point notations...It is conceivable that the computer could be instructed to ‘read’ simple notational symbols and convert them into realistic images...”⁵⁷ The hardware needed for this type of simulation existed in the form of computer-aided consoles; the Boeing Company and Ford Motor Company were already using computer graphic equipment for design purposes. Rose predicted they could “eventually be available for about \$50,000” and could be purchased by design firms and schools.⁵⁸

Rose’s comments revealed the basic mechanical qualities of television as a two-part representational medium, wherein the object of study had to exist before it could be translated into content. Even still, television offered a viewing experience unique from film or photography. “Television is a tele-technology,” Kaizen explained, comparing it to the telegraph, telephone, and radio as a “machine used for the real-time representation of an event with an unlimited distance between the event and its reception.”⁵⁹ Rose and Pierce first appropriated this tele-technology for architectural means, replacing events with spatial sequences as the subject to the camera eye. After the emergence of computer technologies, Rose and Pierce’s experiment with television seemed especially cumbersome, especially considering their use of a full studios, two large cameras, and a crew to produce only twenty minutes of video. Rose’s switch from the primacy of

reproductive media to generative computer graphics represented a much larger shift in practice of architecture.

The Glasgow Experiment, 1967-70

Between 1967 and 1970, a group of researchers at the Mackintosh School of Architecture in Glasgow, Scotland, conducted an experiment similar to that of Rose and Pierce.⁶⁰ John Maxwell Anderson, a Glasgow architect and Director of Studies at the School, spearheaded the three-year project, the object of which was to use closed-circuit television “to help overcome some of the shortcomings of the traditional presentation by drawings and models.”⁶¹ Like Rose, Anderson and his team were interested in questions of immediacy and realism in presentation, but whereas Rose had focused on the designer as the main audience for simulation studies, the Glasgow team sought a representational method that could also communicate design ideas to other users (i.e., clients) and the public at large. According to Anderson, the original objectives of the experiment were to provide “the designer with another, possibly better and more stimulating, means of displaying the visual implications of his spatial concepts, first of all to himself, then to the ‘design team,’ and finally to his client, the general public, and any other interested or affected body.”⁶²

As at Nebraska, the Glasgow experiment was a critical reevaluation and questioning of conventional design practices. Anderson wrote of the need to expand upon the traditional means of representing space, including orthographic projection, perspectival drawing, and model-making: “As long as they remain the only basis for

representing and evaluating (sic) spatial concepts...they continually tend to assume too much importance in the designer's processes. He...is influenced too much by the inherent rigidity of technical drawing, the static viewpoint of perspective, and the sculptural 'outside-in-ness' of most architectural modelmaking." Traditional representational methods, he felt, failed to offer insight "into our completely new types of built environment." As an example, Anderson referenced Reyner Banham's book, *The Architecture of the Well-Tempered Environment*, a groundbreaking study of complex building systems and technologies. Anderson argued that the changing nature of building toward larger systems approaches, identified in Banham's writings, necessitated a new approach to the design process, including representation standards. As architecture and urban design became more complex, Anderson argued that "if the handling and development of such concepts are every really to become 'team' operations, then examination and explanation of all aspects—including the purely visual—are going to be more and more necessary."⁶³ Television offered a new means of examining and explaining the complex aspects of the design process among different design participants. As such, it prefigured the emergence of Building Information Modeling (or BIM) technologies, including software and hardware that are central to the practice of architecture today.

In cooperation with the university television service, Anderson supervised a team of faculty and students to study how television could capture the complexity of design culture. Anderson identified three justifications for the use of television, including two reasons shared with Rose's use of the medium: immediacy of feedback (a term rooted

firmly in the language of cybernetics) and flexibility in application. Anderson's third reason, that "it would take advantage of a 'popular' technology," showed his team's awareness in the cultural value of the medium. Television, Anderson noted, had become "a universally accepted 'viewing' technique with a well know framework of conventions by which...one can isolate, magnify, or reduce images without losing the viewer's personal involvement."⁶⁴ The Glasgow group enhanced this televisual quality by using a modelscope, which allowed the team to move the camera lens more carefully around the modeled space. Appleyard, Lynch, and Myer had similarly described how a motion-picture camera coupled with a mobile periscope would aid in simulating "the view of the pedestrian...along any trajectory and at any velocity."⁶⁵

The Glasgow group designed, as a new filming apparatus, a table with a modelscope lens fixed in the center (Figure 2.6). The set-up allowed them to rotate their models (constructed without bottom planes) around the modelscope lens, thus creating the visual effect of "getting into" the space. The team conducted a series of tests using this set-up. In the early stages, their goal was to study basic spatial simulation techniques. The first test included small shoebox models with graphics placed on walls and floor for scale (Figure 2.7).⁶⁶ The second series of tests focused on simulating more specific types of architectural spaces, including the lighting effect from windows in a four-bed hospital ward and the layout of a room-divider design (Figure 2.8).

Anderson and his team understood that their simulations provided something distinct from the actual, or lived, experience. According to Anderson, the group was concerned "not with recreating that experience of space which people gain by a

combination of their senses, but with the development of another means of representing and evaluating space before it has actually been created.” Their emphasis was on the technique itself and its ability to provide a new representation. It was important for the team, however, to “be reasonably sure that the system was not ‘lying’ in what it fed to the viewer.”⁶⁷

For the third simulation experiment, the team tested the veracity of the television camera. They wanted to determine, when using television, the ability to give an impression of scale and proportions, to focus interest, and to allow “the same sort of sampling of visual stimuli as one gets from real space.”⁶⁸ To do so, the experimenters guided three groups of Glasgow students through three different experiences of space: 1) an actual, or physical tour of a space; 2) a to-scale model of a space; 3) and a televised tour of the model of a space. Each group of about eight students started by closely studying one of three different spaces in the Mackintosh building at the School of Art.⁶⁹ Putting in approximately 200 student hours, each group measured their space and constructed an accurate scale model. As a result, each group became personally familiar with one of the three spaces, satisfying the first and second classifications of experience. The test then set out to have the members compare their first-hand experience with a televisual simulation of one of the other, less familiar spaces. Members of the groups were introduced to the other two spaces through two separate methods: they were taken on a guided tour of one space and were shown on television a simulated tour of the model of the third space.

Each student completed a questionnaire designed to determine the viewer's estimations of size and proportion (by asking them to guess the length, width, and height of each space) and points of interest (asking them to identify a dominant feature and to sketch the wall they found most interesting) in the spaces. As Anderson explained it, the test "provided us with six sets of results, three sets relating to the real spaces and three sets relating to the viewed model spaces."⁷⁰ The results to the Mackintosh Room indicated a similarity between the viewer's readings of the real space and the model spaces seen on television (Figure 2.9).⁷¹ Reportedly, when the experimenters showed videotape footage of the three model spaces to a separate audience that had no knowledge of the experiment, the viewers generally believed they were watching televised film of real spaces. The high level of verisimilitude reassured the team of the value of their method.⁷² Rose had found problematic television's two-part process of simulation, requiring that first the scale model be created before the camera lens could capture it. In contrast, the Glasgow group celebrated the medium's value as an alternative means of representing and evaluating space during the design phase.

Televising Space: The Medium is the Message

There is no evidence to suggest that Anderson and his Glasgow colleagues had any contact with or knowledge of Rose and Pierce's parallel experiment in Nebraska. It is more likely that their projects were examples of the multiple discovery concept in scientific research, wherein ideas and inventions are made independently and simultaneously.⁷³ For these teams, the use of television offered an expansion of

traditional representational methods, which both groups saw to be overly reliant on orthographic, two-dimensional forms. As Rose and Pierce put it: “Television is not only the most powerful medium of communication that our age has produced, it is also the most flexible.”⁷⁴ As such, their experiments speak to the cultural importance of television as a technology that had begun to fascinate artists, theorists, and designers alike. The Nebraska and Glasgow experiments with television pre-dated the efforts of video artists, including Nam June Paik and Dan Graham, to apply television and video technology to the creation of new media environments.⁷⁵

In 1948, the *New York Times* critic Jack Gould made one of the first arguments for television’s artistic value. Accepting television as an extension of early media, Gould also understood that the medium offered a totally new visual experience: “Television combines the close-up of the motion picture, the spontaneity of the living stage and the instantaneousness of radio.” Gould argued that in fusing these elements, which he called the “trinity of staging techniques,” television was “wholly apart and unique.”⁷⁶ Even though Gould was writing about television broadcasting into the home, his early theorizing on the medium’s artistic value applies directly to Rose and Anderson’s architectural application. Gould noted how the “intensity of the television eye in grasping detail...speeds up enormously the viewer’s absorption” of the visual field.”⁷⁷ Rose and Anderson applied those visual and psychological qualities to architectural practice by emphasizing what Gould called the “trinity of staging techniques:” close-up footage, spontaneous action, and instantaneous feedback. In using the camera as a scanning eye to

move through spaces and create a virtual representation, the Nebraska and Glasgow experiments tapped into the artistic qualities at the core of television.

Not until the 1960s did television become the subject of rigorous, ‘serious’ study by academics and theorists, including most notably Marshall McLuhan. In their handling of television, the Nebraska and Glasgow researchers evoked one of McLuhan’s most influential adages: “the medium is the message.”⁷⁸ In a 1966 interview on the television series *The Open Mind*, McLuhan explained his oft-misinterpreted idea: “What I am asking is that he [the researcher] set up a dialogue with these media, that he fight back, that you should not sit there watching TV, that you should have a real dialogue with it and explain to it what it is, and that you are not going to be taken in by it one little bit.” McLuhan was making an argument for the research and study of television as a unique medium, with its own formal and technical languages, and he was calling for an engagement with media that went beyond content and looked at television’s ability to create new environments—visual, cultural, psychological, and spatial.

In his 1964 book, *Understanding Media*, McLuhan offered one of the first theoretical examinations of the televisual experience as one unique and worthy of study. On the unique message of television, the media theorist wrote:

The mode of the TV image has nothing in common with film or photo, except that it offers also a nonverbal gestalt or posture of forms. With TV, the viewer is the screen. He is bombarded with light impulses...The TV image is not a *still* shot. It is not photo in any sense, but a ceaselessly forming contour of things lined by the scanning-finger. The resulting plastic contour appears by light *through*, not light *on*, and the image so formed has the quality of sculpture and icon, rather than picture.⁷⁹

For Rose and Anderson, this televisual quality—that of a ceaselessly forming contour of things lined by the scanning finger—justified the use of television as an architectural tool. Their experiments demonstrated the mutability of television as a communication technology. More than a mere broadcasting technology, television offered designers a means of visualizing architectural space that accurately simulated the sense of motion, or scanning, that epitomized the time-sequence studies becoming more popular in the 1960s. Rose and Pierce asserted, as one of television’s key features, its “ability to emphasize, through time and motion, the relationship between the spaces to allow the student to sharpen his awareness of the sequential experience of space.”⁸⁰ Both the Nebraska and Glasgow teams emphasized television’s high quality of realism in simulating spaces; the latter group’s use of a modelscope further improved the scanning effect.⁸¹

In lauding televisual simulations as new abstractions of reality altogether, and not mere reflections of it, the Nebraska and Glasgow researchers showed a discerning understanding of the television process.⁸² The media scholar John Fiske, in his seminal book *Television Culture*, explained how television “presents itself as an unmediated picture of external reality,” and is typically “seen either as a transparent window onto the world or as a mirror reflecting our own reality back to us.”⁸³ Televisual “realism does not just reproduce reality, it makes sense of it,” argued Fiske:

The essence of realism is that it reproduces reality in such a form as to make it easily understandable. It does this primarily by ensuring that all the links and relationships between its elements are clear and logical, that the narrative follows the basic laws of cause and effect, and that every element is there for the purpose of helping to make sense: nothing is extraneous or accidental.⁸⁴

Rose and Anderson took great lengths to facilitate this type of realism in their experiments, including their use of models, camera techniques, and supplemental elements (like props). Anderson even tested the camera's verisimilitude to determine how the simulation of a room using television compared to the "authentic" experience of the space in person. In creating televised simulations, the researchers provided representations that, while distinct from the actual, or lived experience, would still provide a sense of realism that could inform the design process in direct ways. As such, their visualization became a new way to 'make sense' of sequential forms.

Both Rose and Anderson's experiments used television's 'live' quality to the benefit of the architectural process. The teams used closed-circuit television to transmit and receive images simultaneous to their production. For drawings and models to provide a similar quality of realism would require a prohibitive amount of construction time. In his book *Visible Fictions: Cinema, Television, Video*, the media scholar John Ellis argues that "immediacy is the effect of the directness of the TV image, the way in which it constitutes itself and its viewers as held in a relationship of co-present intimacy."⁸⁵ While Ellis was talking about the importance of the 'direct address' method of delivery on broadcast television, the principle applies similarly to the video images created by Rose and Pierce. The instant feedback that they received on the monitors (and then again on the recorded video) facilitated a new form of intimacy between the designer and their ideas — one that allowed the designer to revise his ideas in real-time. This process, which is common today because of the availability of computer software, represented the

normal tendency to appropriate new technologies for conventional methods. In these cases, the instant revision usually facilitated by pencil and eraser was applied to the fourth dimension of moving through modeled space.

According to McLuhan's assertions, it was logical for architects to experiment with the visual potential of television: "TV is so difficult a subject for literary people that it has to be approached obliquely...Painters and sculptors, however, can easily understand TV, because they sense how very much tactile involvement is needed for the appreciation of plastic art."⁸⁶ Like painters and sculptors, architects rely on the process of representation to communicate their design ideas. The experiments discussed in this chapter illustrate how designers sought to accommodate the quickening pace of technological development with responses deemed appropriate and progressive, while still maintaining the traditions of a profession in flux. Negotiations between old and new representational media have continued to define the practice of architecture, especially as computer technologies have supplanted longstanding graphic expressions like drawing and direct modeling.⁸⁷ Television may have been a short-lived option for architectural simulation in the late 1960s, but as practitioners question the implications of widespread computer usage today, the quest continues for a method of design visualization that creates an empathetic connection between designer and process.⁸⁸

Chapter Three

Shaping Television's Image of the City

Are you tired of hearing only the bad news about Boston? Are you beginning to feel that the media portrays like in Boston as just an ugly web of taxes, crime, and insoluble problems? Well, we here at Channel 7 know there is another side to Boston, a good and positive one. The program you are about to see is about that positive side.

– Jim Coppersmith on *Jamaica Plain: Options in the City*, 1976¹

Television affects planners' and designers' work indirectly, but substantially, through its continuous influence on the climate of public opinion. News, public affairs and entertainment programs not only shape viewers perceptions of cities, they also contribute to people's concepts of what is environmentally desirable and possible.

– William Harris and Robert Hollister, 1978²

In April 1978, the Association of Collegiate Schools of Architecture published a special issue of the *Journal of Architectural Education* (JAE) on the theme, “Designing with Communications: How Architects and Environmental Designers Use Media in Shaping the Built Environment.” In his prologue, guest editor Ronald Thomas explained how the urgency behind the theme was tied to professional development, telling architects: “We are more and more being excluded from the design process... Surely we still get to pick the colors, specify the materials and make ‘art,’ but generally we are excluded as irrelevant by both the political-economic body and the general public.”³ Thomas identified the cause of the problem as one of communication: “We have not communicated; we are not now communicating.”⁴ He went on to identify four key types of communication designers needed to engage more fully: interpersonal, print, electronic

media, and mass media. He encouraged designers to identify communications opportunities within existing cultural systems. Although mass media industries had their own professional codes, interests, and objectives, Thomas noted “a great willingness of the media to be included as a public observer in the planning and design process.”⁵ Collaboration between architecture and media industries could prove to be mutually beneficial: design practitioners would learn how to better communicate their social value and would have an opportunity to elevate public interest in the issues they cared about; and media industries would prove to sponsors, audiences, and the FCC that their companies provided socially valuable programming.⁶

In the *JAE* article “The New Uses of Television by Design Professionals,” William Harris and Robert Hollister argued that the subject matter and production quality of television programming raised major issues for design professionals interested in communication.⁷ Hollister was an assistant professor in the MIT department of Urban Studies and Planning; Harris, who had recently finished his PhD at MIT under the supervision of Hollister and Kevin Lynch, was the executive director of a non-profit consulting and production firm called Public Interest Communication Services, Inc. Both men were concerned with the growing complexity of urban planning, as evidenced by the continuing economic and social hardships facing city districts. They argued that for planners, whose primary concern was to alleviate the urban problems, television needed to be taken seriously as more than a harmless entertainment medium: “Television affects planners’ and designers’ work indirectly, but substantially, through its continuous influence on the climate of public opinion.”⁸ News reports, public affairs shows, and

entertainment programs had a hand in shaping popular concepts of what was desirable by building “popular associations with various building types and physical forms.”⁹

Observing that more Americans were getting their information from the small screen than ever before, Harris and Hollister were concerned with the types of messages being circulated on American cities.

By the 1970s, television culture permeated every facet of information exchange in America. The foundation had been laid in the preceding decade, when CBS and NBC expanded their evening news shows from fifteen to thirty minutes and established newsmen Walter Cronkite, Chet Huntley, and David Brinkley as trusted sources for information.¹⁰ By 1970, over sixty million American households had at least one TV set, and viewership was popular among both urban and suburban residents.¹¹ According to a Roper survey in 1974 (the year President Richard Nixon delivered his resignation speech), the average metropolitan viewer spent more than three hours a day watching television. Of those polled, 65% stated they received most of their “news about what’s going on in the world today” from TV; and 36% admitted to relying on television as their primary source of information on current affairs. Of those viewers, over 50% were “inclined to believe” television more than competing media.¹² In April of that same year, the *US News and World Report* polled 500 U.S. leaders to rank—on a scale of one to ten— organizations and institutions “according to the amount of influence for decisions or actions affecting the nation as a whole.” Television ranked number one with a score of 7.2, followed by the White House and the Supreme Court.¹³ In light of television’s sway

over public opinion, architects, planners, and other design professionals became increasingly concerned with the quality of architectural coverage on television.

Part of the problem facing American cities, as Harris and Hollister saw it, was a profusion of negative reporting on urban issues on television. They identified two popular urban crime dramas, *Kojak* and *The Streets of San Francisco*, as examples of the types of shows that “have communicated to millions of viewers a sense of constant struggle in dense, central city environments.”¹⁴ Harris and Hollister argued that if coverage of urban decline motivated negative opinions of city living, then the medium—itsself an objective tool—could be repurposed to create positive publicity, or as they put it, “boost the city’s image.”¹⁵ To test their theory, they worked with a Boston network affiliate station to produce three local public affairs programs, airing between 1974 and 1977, that highlighted the desirable conditions of living in Boston. Produced as part of a government-funded neighborhood revitalization project, the programs presented favorable aspects of the city and promoted what could be possible for the future.

Harris and Hollister’s treatment of television asserted the mutability of the medium as an influencer of public opinion. Moreover, their experiments demonstrated how there were as many uses for television as there were opinions on the best way to address urban planning. Indeed, under the expanding theories on communication and information in the 1970s, they were potentially one and the same.

Televising the City in Crisis

By the 1970s, American inner cities were seen to be in a state of crisis. A mass suburbanization and deindustrialization of inner cities occurred in the two decades following World War II, when a large number of white upper and middle class families and business owners moved into the suburbs (the occurrence is often referred to as ‘white flight’). Those who remained in the inner-city neighborhoods, including mostly African American and Latino populations, represented the county’s poorest demographics. Social unrest festered within the “ghettoization” of inner cities and prompted a myriad of urban renewal ‘solutions,’ including slum-clearance initiatives wherein existing neighborhoods were demolished to make way for large housing projects. Infrastructure often isolated these areas from the city fabric and reinforced racial and class-based segregation. As Steve Macek argued in his book, *Urban Nightmares: The Media, The Right, and the Moral Panic over the City*, “the growing economic marginalization of an entire generation of black youth together with an increasingly militant black leadership gave rise to an escalating wave of inner-city riots and violent protests that rocked America’s cities every summer from 1964 through 1972.”¹⁶ One early estimate put the number of riots between 1964 and 1968 at over 300, encompassing thousands of rioters in 257 cities.¹⁷ News coverage of minority rioters clashing with white policemen, destroying storefronts, and looting set up visual associations between cities and crisis (Figure 3.1).

Anxieties over urban conditions seeped into popular culture in the form of urban-based television programming.¹⁸ Even fictional series tapped into the drama of city living. Comedy shows did so by celebrating the triumph of protagonists in the face of

daunting situations—as in the success of single women in the big city (e.g., *The Mary Tyler Moore Show*, *Laverne and Shirley*) or the gritty humor of working class families (e.g., *All in the Family*, *Taxi*). Set in Queens, *All in the Family* depicted the lives of a working class family, including the racist and brusque patriarch Archie Bunker. The show was the most watched television series—according to Nielsen ratings—every year from 1971 to 1976. During the decade, Primetime Emmy Awards for comedy series regularly went to shows focused on urban themes: *All in the Family* (1971-1973; 1978), *The Mary Tyler Moore Show* (1975-1977), and *Taxi* (1979-1981).

Television documentaries and news reports regularly addressed city problems. Harris and Hollister even coined a new term to describe the programming: “urban crisis genre.” They used the term to describe news and public affair shows that reported on undesirable and scandalous subject matter, such as crime, housing deterioration, fires and other disasters, racial conflict, and governmental misconduct. This type of coverage appealed to the “right to know” consumer culture; it also made for better TV according to media insiders. The television newsman David Brinkley is reported to have stated, “Placidity is not news. News in the unusual and the unexpected. If an airplane departs on time, it isn’t news. If it crashes, regrettably, it is.”¹⁹ Conflict and crisis became the bread and butter of television news.

Many news reports took the form of documentaries filmed in the observational style of *cinema verite*. The resulting programs were often bleak presentations of urban living conditions. One of the most influential was Alan and Susan Raymond’s 1977 documentary *The Police Tapes*, which followed the experiences of police officers in the

44th Precinct of the South Bronx. The area had the highest crime rate in New York City, and the Raymonds captured its nightlife with televisual urgency. The program was the first independent production by the filmmakers, who had received critical acclaim for their public television series *An American Family* in 1973. For *The Police Tapes*, they rode along with the officers and collected over forty hours of footage between April and June of 1976. The final ninety-minute program aired first on public television (WNET/Channel 13) on 3 January 1977, and then on ABC as a one-hour special. The program provided a first-hand account of “what it’s like to be a policeman” and captured the officers as they found a dead body at a social club, rescued a mother from her deranged son, stopped a car thief, talked with street gangs and rapists, and arrested an elderly woman who had assaulted her daughter with an ax.

The Police Tapes surprised viewers with its depressing content and raw filming techniques (Figure 3.2). The Raymonds used handheld Portapak video cameras to record onto half-inch tape. A special Nuvidon tube in the camera allowed them to shoot footage at night without the need for extra lighting. As a result, they were able to minimize their presence as onlookers. Their voyeuristic filming style, combined with the use of handheld cameras, created a sense of realism, immediacy, and personal involvement. In the absence of a voice-over narration, the police officers and other subjects spoke directly to the camera at times. In his review for the *New York Times*, John O’Connor described the program as “a startlingly graphic and convincing survey of urban crime, violence, brutality and cynical despair.”²⁰ The program received two Emmy Awards and a Peabody Award and became an influential source for gritty urban crime dramas to follow,

including most notably the show *Hill Street Blues* (1981-1987; Emmy Drama Winner: 1981-1984).

Harris and Hollister argued that “urban crisis genre” programming, found at the national and local levels, “repeated ad nauseum the same analysis of what was wrong” with cities and offered “the same prescriptions for change and improvement.”²¹ The men hypothesized that such programming, when understood as an accretive process over years of exposure, had the power to encourage associations between physical forms, including building types, and negative behaviors. The 1970s saw a profusion of scientific research studies on the psychosocial and behavioral affects of television on viewers. Studies on the positive educational effects of television shows like *Sesame Street* were only recently been published, and the period saw a rise in federal studies on the negative effects of television violence.²²

In 1974, Harris was a doctoral student in MIT’s Department of Urban Studies and Planning. As a Boston resident, he observed how many neighborhoods that had previously been considered stable were experiencing what he called a “loss of confidence,” evidenced by major financial disinvestment and declining resident numbers. In response, the Boston Redevelopment Authority had implemented a District Planning Program geared at stabilizing and revitalizing such neighborhoods.²³ Harris argued that television had a primary role in communicating negative images of cities. He hypothesized that negative coverage may have “a detrimental effect on the level of confidence viewers have in cities,” the dangers of which could be felt at economic, social, and cultural levels. A diminished level of confidence in America cities could

potentially “discourage present and potential residents from living, working and/or investing in the city.”

Harris designed an experiment to test the power of television to influence popular opinion in support of urban living.²⁴ He produced the public affairs program, *Jamaica Plain: Options in the City*, to “augment the viewer’s level of confidence” by presenting a positive story of the Boston neighborhood. Moreover, Harris designed a research approach—using quantifiable and qualitative methods—to measure the effects of his program on its viewers. He was motivated by a desire to contribute to the dearth of information on urban conditions and their factors. His goal was to test the purposive use of television, which he defined as the “use of the medium to achieve specific, predetermined goals.”²⁵ In an article for the *Public Telecommunications Review*, Harris described this as a remobilization of the medium.²⁶

Harris understood that, in studying effect and influence, it was impossible to isolate the role of one medium from the total mass media environment. Media industries operate together within larger cultural systems to reinforce their own status as sources of information. In the introduction to his dissertation, Harris noted the difficulty of determining “the extent to which television contributes to people’s attitudes towards the cities...since these attitudes are formed by a variety of social, cultural, economic and personal factors.”²⁷ Hoping to approach the question of influence at a smaller scale (this was his dissertation project, after all), Harris measured the effect of local TV: “I decided...to develop a project that would attempt to determine if a locally produced, public affairs television program, designed to augment viewers’ confidence in a particular

Boston district could have a positive effect on the viewers' confidence in that district."²⁸

The goals of his program were twofold: to reinforce local residents' pride in their home district of Jamaica Plains; and to increase non-city residents' knowledge of and interest in the possibility of moving to the city.

Televising Options in the City

Harris produced his first television program while teaching the class "Urban Media" at in the School of Public Communications at Boston University in the spring of 1974. He led a team of students in the design of a public affairs television program about Codman Square, a neighborhood in Boston. In hopes of having the program televised, Harris met with an executive at WGBJ-TV, one of Boston's public TV stations.

According to Harris, the executive met his proposal with trepidation. Citing limited station funds and airtime, the man also told Harris his "idea was not very interesting because its 'urban planning' subject matter would be too difficult to translate into 'good' television programming."²⁹ Harris was told that his project was better suited for a UHF station rather than their VHF "because most of the producers at the station wanted the VHF air time for themselves and would be reluctant to turn it over to 'outsiders'."³⁰

However, Harris found that his next meeting, with William Hahn, the Vice President for Community Relations at WNAC-TV, was more successful. WNAC-TV, or Channel 7, was an RKO station and the CBS affiliate for the Boston area. As a commercial station, it was bound to FCC regulations requiring a certain amount of "public affairs" programming—the same classification of programming that architects

were instructed to appeal to in the 1950s as representing something alternative to the usual commercial fare. It was decided that Harris's Codman Square program would air as a part of an already existing public affairs program called *Bostonia*. Harris agreed to abide by the station's rules, regulations, budget, and union responsibilities; moreover, the series producer, Marc Hamilton, had final say on whether the program aired at all.

During the fall 1974 semester, Harris and his students spent over one thousand hours in Codman Square conducting preliminary research for their program. They interviewed local residents, business owners, and members of local institutions like the police station, schools, and health care facilities. In November, the group produced a video of some of the interviews as an "audio-visual sketch pad" for Hamilton of what they wanted the program to depict— personal stories and experiences of locals who loved their neighborhood. Hamilton worked with Harris to determine who would appear in the program and gave him a production schedule and crew. Harris supervised the field arrangements; the filming and editing was done in less than a week, and "Codman Square" aired as part of *Bostonia* on December 30, 1974 at 8:30 pm.

Harris's experience with the Codman Square project helped the young planner form a method for using television. "I learned how to produce a television program about a neighborhood and how to work with station personnel to get a program of this kind on air," Harris reported. "I learned what was realistic to expect for a program in terms of quality...I learned I could get access to local air time on a commercial television station..."³¹ The project also made it easier for Harris to secure work again with WNAC-TV to produce his next program: *Jamaica Plain: Options in the City*.

Harris produced *Jamaica Plain* with another group of students from his “Urban Media” course. He decided on the Jamaica Plain neighborhood under advisement from John Weis, director of District Planning of the Boston Redevelopment Authority (BRA). Wies suggested four areas of the city of Boston that were identified as potential sites for homesteading grants from HUD. Harris selected Jamaica Plain as a neighborhood with racial, ethnic, and economic diversity and one of the strongest business districts in the city. The area was experiencing a soft housing market, including nearly 20% of units in need of at least \$1,000 worth of repairs, and a concentration (over 15%) of elderly people over the age of sixty-five.³²

As they had with Codman Square, Harris and his students used a variety of information gathering techniques to get a sense of the community before they decided what to depict on television. They collected data from census data, newspapers, historical records, government documents, surveys, and interviews. The team also attended community group meetings and conducted windshield surveys and walking tours of the area. They used questionnaires to gauge public opinions of Jamaica Plain, both before and after the broadcast date. Their methodology helped the group establish and maintain credibility with the community, the city, and the station.

Jamaica Plain: Options in the City aired on 6 January 1976 at 7:30pm—the time slot usually filled by the *New Candid Camera*. The project took advantage of a new FCC regulation called the “Prime Time Access Rule” (PTAR). Passed in 1971, the PTAR limited the amount of primetime programming a network could produce to three hours (four hours on Sundays). By the mid 1960s, the viewing hours of 7:30 to 11:00 had

become locked up by local and national news programs and network programming; the PTAR was intended to open a slot for local and independently made programming within the hours when most people were watching. The three main networks opened up the 7:30-8:00 time slot as a non-rated period for alternative programming. The PTAR provided an opportunity for Harris's type of program to air in primetime.³³

Harris designed the program "to leave the maximum number of viewers with an overall impression that Jamaica Plain was a vital and viable district of Boston in which to live."³⁴ The team decided to structure the program in the style of a low budget documentary, which allowed them to film on location in the neighborhood and present positive footage of people and places directly to the viewers. They decided against the other popular option—the talking head studio show— because, as Harris explained, "television audiences generally prefer programs which utilize a variety of visual images..."³⁵ The station provided them with a director and cameraman, who also acted as the soundman and editor. The team had three days for filming, two days for editing, and a limited amount of film stock. They shot approximately 200 minutes of film, which were edited down to 27 minutes. Harris acted as the interviewer and narrator of the program. The decision to have Harris host was based on his knowledge of the project—he had built credibility during the extensive information gathering stage— and his ability to speak to issues of urban planning.

The show followed a typical commercial program structure: three nine-minute segments and two commercial breaks. It opened with a message from station manager Jim Coppersmith: "Are you tired of hearing only the bad news about Boston? Are you

beginning to feel that the media portrays city life in Boston as just an ugly web of taxes, crime and insoluble problems?” he asked directly into the camera, “Well, we at Channel 7 know there is another side to Boston, a good and positive one. The program you are about to see is about that positive side.” Harris wrote Coppersmith’s lines to provide a hook in the opening seconds of the broadcast; the questions were meant to “involve the viewer in a thinking process that would encourage him/her to stay tuned for some answers.”³⁶ The next shot showed Harris on top of a high-rise building overlooking the neighborhood. Speaking directly into the camera, Harris defined the geographical borders of the neighborhood, in part he said, to point out its proximity to the affluent neighborhood of Brookline. He then explained the transportation advantages of Jamaica Plain and mentioned some of the popular attractions: “You’ve been in Jamaica Plain if you’ve travelled by car on the Jamaicaway, visited the Arnold Arboretum, the Children’s Museum or Jamaica Pond.”³⁷ The subsequent three segments each made an argument in support of Jamaica Plain as a viable place to live.

The first segment included interviews with three resident families. The first, the Hagerty family, was shown sitting at the dining room table. The matriarch, Mrs. Grimes, began by explaining her experiences living on Orchard Street for 45 years; her son-in-law Frank Hagerty followed with a discussion of his activities as President of the Jamaica Plain Community Council, including a fundraiser dance to support the renovation of a local First Baptist Church (B-roll showed the exterior of the church). Frank’s son Tim was interviewed next with his wife Mary. “I’ve always considered Jamaica Plain...to be the center of our family,” Tim said, emphasizing further the familial nature of the

community.³⁸ Harris explained that he chose to highlight the Hagerty family for four reasons: 1) they were a three generation family all still living in the area; 2) they represented the Irish-American population of Jamaica Plain; 3) they had a well maintained home; 4) and they were active within the community.³⁹

The first segment also included interviews with Mary Cover, the matriarch of a three-generation Italian-American family who had lived in Jamaica Plain for thirty-three years, and Nobel Garcia, a recent homeowner and businessman who lived with three generations of his Cuban-American family. Garcia's store was shown along with a "montage of exteriors of other Hispanic business."⁴⁰ The first segment communicated the ethnic diversity of the neighborhood, as well as the stability and continuity implied by three multi-generation families.

The second segment differentiated the urban neighborhood from the suburbs. It focused on the Kerles family: husband Fred, wife Cindy, and two children shown sitting in their living room with their pet parrot. The young family had recently moved out of the suburb town of Roslindale into Jamaica Plain (Fred's father was raised "in the working class section of Jamaica Plain" before moving to the suburbs to raise his family). Fred explained the benefits of living in the city: "Things are less expensive, your rent and everything is just fantastic and your accessibility to all the things of the city... We live in the city at country prices." Cindy then described her thoughts on living in the city while footage of the family walking down a busy street and into a grocery store played: "I really like the feeling that I get from Centre Street...there's a lot of people there that really know me and recognize me...I get this real sense of having a personality of my

own...that people really care about me.”⁴¹ Cindy compared her experience to the alienation she felt from her neighbors in the suburbs. In the footage, the family was shown having a pleasant encounter with a Santa Claus on the street before entering a candy store.

The family also discussed the benefit of public transportation, in contrast to their reliance on a car in the suburbs. Cindy told viewers: “I actually got out there to take public transportation without a car and I became shocked that people were riding it on Saturday night...Normal, not perverted, not people that are high or anything, just normal everyday people that are doing things, that are riding on the MTA.”⁴² Her reluctance to ride public transportation, Cindy explained, was a result of negative media: “I really got ‘mediarized’ to the point where there was so much crime in the city that nobody was on the MTA anymore...” (Harris credits Cindy with spontaneously coining the word “mediarize”).⁴³ The second segment concluded with information on real estate options in the area. Harris interviewed Ron Hafer, executive director of the non-profit housing corporation Urban Edge, while the two drove around the neighborhood in a car. Hafer described some housing options and exterior shots of houses were shown.

Harris designed the final segment to end the program on an optimistic note. It showed different people in the process of buying a home in Jamaica Plain. Bunny and John Meyer explain that they moved from the suburbs in order to buy a house and be nearer more amenities, including museums, the symphony, and the arboretum. Another couple, the Henders, explained that they too moved to the neighborhood from the suburbs and now owned a triple-decker with two rental units for extra income. The segment

closed with an African-American family, the Gearins, who were shown to have moved into their home only one month before the show.

In the final segment, Harris provided some thoughts on the future of Jamaica Plain. He included, as positive examples of growth, the rise in public and private investment, personal home improvements, transportation options, and thriving cultural and commercial options. Harris also presented some of the problems in the neighborhood, showing as an example the Bromley Heath Housing Development, a 20-acre tract of public housing built in the 1950s according to the modernist “tower in the park” scheme. Over a long shot of the development, Harris explained that despite “many of the problems associated with public housing,” the Bromley Heath community had recently organized a theatrical group and was the “first public housing development of its size under tenant management.” Harris concluded: “I’m optimistic about the future of Jamaica Plain. The people we have met here, and the commitment that they have exhibited, assure its vitality and continued growth.”⁴⁴ Coppersmith appeared again to close the program by inviting viewers to call city hall to provide feedback on the program and to receive a copy of a Jamaica Plain poster (“an attractive composite of scenes and information...”) designed by the BRA.

Measuring Television’s Effect

Designing the television show was only part of the experiment; Harris and the research team also designed a method to collect data on audience reception. The ability to measure public response to the show became central to Harris’s experiment: “Since we

could not prove that television was a part of the problem, we sought to prove that it could be part of the solution.”⁴⁵ Immediate feedback came in the form of television ratings. The Jamaica Plain program was aired on a non-ratings night, meaning that it was not subject to Nielsen measurement standards.⁴⁶ Nevertheless, the station requested a secondary ratings report, an overnight television survey called an ARB. For an ARB, Arbitron (a competitive research company with Nielson) conducted telephone surveys by calling a sample of residential numbers from the city directory; they determined whether there was a TV in the house, if it was on, to which channel and program, and the number, sex, and age of the viewers. The ARB reported that 153,000 homes had their sets tuned in to view *Jamaica Plains: Options in the City*.⁴⁷ The ARB further reported an audience of 1.8 viewers per set, or a total of 275,000 people. This accounted for a 17% “share,” meaning that 17% of all television sets in the area were tuned into the program—reportedly the second highest number of viewers for the time period. The ARB also provided an audience composition breakdown: 31% men; 58% women; 9% teens; 2% children.⁴⁸

Public affairs programs usually attracted less than half as many viewers. The research team attributed the program’s ratings success to the station’s promotion of the program beforehand. In the four days leading up to the airdate, WNAC-TV had broadcast twenty-eight advertising spots on the program. At thirty-seconds each, the total amount of commercial time equaled 14 minutes, nearly half the actual broadcast. The station predicted that the spots, which aired at various times of the day and night, were exposed to over one million homes, or 2.5 million people.⁴⁹ Harris estimated that the market value of the commercial time given to his program exceeded \$12,000. The station provided it

free of charge in order to “buy” an audience for the program. This process demonstrated the reflexive nature of television as a commercial medium, for it must advertise itself as much as any other product. Moreover, the program had been listed in the *TV Guide*, and the day it aired, the *Boston Evening Globe* published a positive review of the program with a three star headline. The team also built up anticipation for the program through word-of-mouth promotion among Jamaica Plain residents. That the leading competitor, *Happy Days* on WCVB-TV, was a repeat that night also probably encouraged more viewers to tune in.⁵⁰

The invitation for viewers to call into city hall for a complimentary poster on Jamaica Plain made at the close of the program also set up a system for receiving direct feedback. Workers from the Jamaica Plain Little City Hall, producers of the program, and some community residents worked as volunteers answering the phones. The team received over 180 calls that night, and after a few days a total of 474 inquiries were logged of people asking for posters.⁵¹ Of those who called in for a poster after watching the program, about half were Jamaica Plain residents (51.7%), 16.9% were residents of other Boston neighborhoods, and 30.8% resided outside of city limits.⁵² Harris designed a caller information form to be used by the phone operators that identified the name and address of the caller and asked them “Would you be willing to be called back for further information—for research purposes?” and “By the way, what did you think of this show?”⁵³ Around 75% of the callers were willing to be called back.

Within two weeks, the research team sent out 452 questionnaires to the people who had requested posters; by March, over 33% of them had been returned. They

provided the team with information on the audience, including age, marital status, family size, occupation, education, and income. With over 40% of the respondents having graduated college, Harris acknowledged that their sample was not representative of the general population (but much more indicative of the general audience for ‘public affairs programming’).⁵⁴ The form also solicited longer responses to the program (What do you remember about the television program? What did you learn about Jamaica Plain from the television program?) and general opinions on Jamaica Plain (would you ever consider moving into the city of Boston? If an out-of-town person were to ask “What would Jamaica Plain be like as a place to live?”, how would you answer?”).⁵⁵

The group received multiple commendations for showing something positive about the city on television. One resident commented: “If people on television and in the newspaper would stop being so negative about the city, this city would live...I would like someone to do a show on the myths of suburbia...”⁵⁶ Others criticized the program as too positive: “You make it appear a nice place to live which is a lie. You didn’t show the rotten elevated trans structure, a blight in the neighborhood.”⁵⁷ Still others reported an increased interest in the city after watching the program. Harris corroborated his quantitative findings by conducting post-air interviews with local real estate brokers, bankers, and the Boston city government.⁵⁸ The latter expressed their interest with working further with Harris as part of a \$278,000 grant proposal submitted to HUD in May of 1976.

As a result of the various information gathering methods, Harris concluded that evidence supported his “hypothesis that a locally originated public affairs television

program can reinforce some resident viewers' pride and confidence in their neighborhood as well as increase some non-resident viewers' knowledge of and interest in moving into the target area."⁵⁹ Harris's use of non-specific terms, like "*some* resident viewers" spoke to his larger awareness that the direct affects of the program were incredibly difficult to measure because, quite simply, it was impossible to isolate the source of knowledge to one medium. "The fact remains," Harris wrote, "that this half-hour television program was aired only once within the context of a week of over two thousand half-hours, a year of fifty-two weeks, and in an environment of other mass media, including newspapers and radio."⁶⁰ At the scale of popular culture, Harris's experiment represented a minor blurb in the endless flow of American television broadcasting. However, at a local scale, the program had a measurable effect. As such, its history presents a more nuanced understanding of television as a mass medium.

Television as a "Mass Educator"

The program demonstrated the inherent weaknesses of television. He noted that the medium required a certain amount of superficiality: "A 26 minute and 40 second program cannot address all of the complexities in a district with over 45,000 inhabitants."⁶¹ Professional politics also factored into the process. Harris observed a "natural state of tension between the outside producers of a project and the station personnel assigned to the production of that project."⁶² Team priorities were not always aligned between the professions. Whereas Harris was focused on one program, the

production crews were responsible for creating multiple programs. And ultimately, as a commercial station, WNAC-TV had to strive for the largest possible audience.

Despite such limitations, Harris argued that the inherent strengths of television made it uniquely suited to his objective, namely his interest in positively influencing public confidence in Jamaica Plains as a nice place to live. Television, as a “mass educator,” was the most efficient medium for reaching large numbers of people in a target audience with a single message.⁶³ The “audio-visual nature of the medium”—specifically its reliance on close-up shots, direct address, and voice over matched with B-roll footage—allowed the team to bring viewers into the homes and lives of Jamaica Plain residents. Harris included a number of interior and exterior shots of the community, including showing interviewees in their personal homes, workplaces, and on the street. He also used the three-part structure of the commercial time-slot to his advantage, focusing each segment on a different theme while still reinforcing common ideas: community identity, transportation, city vs. suburban living, etc.

Harris’s project plugged into systems of popular communication that were already in place: “The program was produced, researched, and aired under “existing institutional arrangements with negligible incremental costs for any of the parties concerned.”⁶⁴ The obligation of television to operate “in the public interest” meant that Harris could take advantage of the resources already in place at the station. He also collaborated with teachers and students at Boston University and officials at the City of Boston who were already studying the problems of the city. These kinds of collaborations, Harris argued, could easily be repeated in other markets.

Neighborhood Confidence Project

Harris was part of a larger planning culture in Boston that became interested in stimulating neighborhood confidence.⁶⁵ Starting in 1976 and running until 1978, the City of Boston conducted a research and demonstration program on “Public Information and Promotional Strategies in Support of Neighborhood Perseveration” as part of a HUD Innovative Projects grant.⁶⁶ The project was commonly called the “Neighborhood Confidence Project,” the “Neighborhood Marketing Project,” or “Living in Boston.”⁶⁷ It was intended to “stimulate positive self-fulfilling prophecies” in three residential sections of the city: Dorchester, Roxbury, and Jamaica Plain. All three neighborhoods were transitional areas with high rates of abandonment and mortgage foreclosures. Specifically, the project had three goals: to 1) encourage tenants of those three neighborhoods to stay; 2) to encourage people, including other city residents and outside residents, to buy homes in the three neighborhoods, and 3) to change the attitudes and actions of “key actors” in the neighborhoods, including bankers, municipal officers, real estate brokers, and media personal.⁶⁸ The project represented a larger scale application of Harris’s *Jamaica Plains: Options in the City* model.

As with Harris’s work using television, the research question concerned the influence of popular media on the perceptions of residents and outsiders concerning different city neighborhoods. The Neighborhood Confidence Project focused on the reversal of negative effects by identifying positive aspects of local neighborhoods and communicating them to residents. They began with a major survey of residents concerning their perceptions of the neighborhoods and the coverage of them in media

outlets. For the first phase of the survey, the team interviewed 376 residents of the neighborhoods; the second phase included 40 follow-up interviews.⁶⁹ In response, the team organized a series of interactive community activities and resources, including written forms (two brochures, pamphlets); graphics (posters); meetings, conferences, and neighborhood tours; the development of an “informal network of residents, neighborhood organizations, and key actors”; and a television special.⁷⁰

Dorchester: A View from Melville-Park aired on Channel 7 (WNAC-TV) on Friday, 3 June 1977 at 8:00 pm. Hollister designed the hour-long special as an extended news report; it included taped interviews, panoramic footage of the Melville-Park neighborhood, and live segments filmed outside a historic house in the area. The live segments included interviews of local residents with the host Ted O’Brien. As with Harris’s Jamaica Plain program, viewers were provided a phone number and encouraged to call for a poster highlighting the advantages of Dorchester. The television program was co-produced by Public Interest Communications Service and WNAC-TV.

The television listings in the local newspaper described *Dorchester: A View from Melville-Park* as “a look at the history, changes and life of the neighborhood with live on location conversations with area residents to show that America’s cities can be desirable places to live.”⁷¹ It aired at the same time as *Sanford and Son*, an ABC movie called “Strange New World,” and *Rockford Files*.⁷² Hollister reported feedback consistent with those of Harris’s experience the year before. While most public reaction was positive, some viewers found it too positive (“It gave a Pollyanna type neighborhood image”) or too biased (“It was presented from a white person’s viewpoint”) in its representation of

the city.⁷³ One viewer response revealed the ephemeral nature of the projects: “It was interesting. They should do one on Jamaica Plain.”⁷⁴

Shaping or Selling the City?

By the time they wrote their *JAE* article in 1978, Harris and Hollister had set up a method for using television purposely to “bring the built environment broad attention.”⁷⁵ Acknowledging the power of television as a trusted source of information, especially for a generation of middle-class professionals who had been raised on the medium, Harris and Hollister argued for its relevance to planners in shaping public opinion. Their approach to communication also showed a willingness to find and promote what worked in cities instead of focusing only on what seemed to fail.⁷⁶ Harris and Hollister argued that, in part, it was an issue of perception: “Why not get away from the old urban crisis mentality by stepping into the new ‘cities are wonderful’ chic?”⁷⁷ Their suggestion that the urban crisis ‘mentality’ was in need of rebranding spoke to the degree with which they still understood television as a commercial medium. In the *JAE*, the men reported how “municipal governments in several cities have taken to the airwaves to ‘sell’ their downtown districts and neighborhoods to potential shoppers and residents.”⁷⁸ If the goal was to improve confidence in the city in order to increase home sales, why not use television as an outright advertising medium?

Seattle was one municipality that approached urban renewal as a matter of selling, or advertising, the city. In 1969, the city established its Department of Community Development (DCD) to spearhead the development and improvement of Seattle’s

downtown in response to a declining population. In 1976, the DCD, under director Paul Schell, funded six televised public service announcements (PSA) intended to apply advertising techniques to the promotion of the city. An equal number of spots were also produced for Seattle radio. The commercials were produced for less than \$2,000 in public money and a reported “minimum of staff time.” The 30-second spots aired between fall 1976 and spring 1977 on the Seattle’s three major commercial TV stations. As PSAs, the spots ran free of charge.⁷⁹

Schell and the DCD intended the television spots as positive counterpoints to the typical negative media coverage of cities. Echoing Brinkley’s definition of news, a memo from the DCD explained that “The dramatic news is presented rather than the mundane, so we hear more about the Madrona rapist than the Madrona picnic.”⁸⁰ As was the case with Harris and Hollister’s television projects, the DCD commercials worked to adjust media practices in regards to public service programming and urban affairs subject matter. They also demonstrated an effort to compete with merchant-builders and developers who had mastered the business of suburban marketing: “Private developers in the suburbs pick names from historical English novels, hire good public relations firms that produce ads showing ducks on a serene pond and that is their image.”⁸¹ The DCD saw such practices as a seduction of the public: “If you don’t hear the good things about Seattle while you’re being seduced into the suburbs, this city can seem comparatively less attractive.”⁸²

The DCD commercials focused on the “good things” of Seattle, including the city’s diversity “in types of houses and the character of its people.” They highlighted the

city's landmarks, including Pioneer Square, the Pike Place Market, and the International District, in an effort to establish positive associations with such places. They also emphasized the negative aspects of suburban living. One spot depicted a rush-hour traffic jam of commuters leaving the city. After 23 seconds of silence, the voice-over said, "If you lived in Seattle, you'd be home by now" and the word "Seattle" appeared on the screen.⁸³ The PSAs represented the appropriation of an existing commercial form. *Advertising Age* reported that the spots had an "impact on the media themselves and their handling of news about the city. They are a much more intelligent way to use public service time, more subtle... They have touched a sensitive place with the news media and the discharge of their responsibility to the community."⁸⁴ As Schell explained it, the DCD promoted Seattle "like they do the suburbs, sell it like soap."⁸⁵

The Boston and Seattle projects represented differing efforts to turn television against itself, or to recast the negative attention of cities as positive publicity. Harris and Hollister focused on the format of news reporting and documentary filmmaking; the Seattle DCD participated more closely with the commercial structure of television by attempting to 'sell' a positive image of the city in 30-second spots. Both methods tapped into existing media structures under the guise of "public interest" or "public service" programming; their shared objective was to shape popular messages to the advantage of planners and designers. If new media represents, as Carolyn Marvin has suggested, "a series of arenas for negotiating issues crucial to the conduct of social life; among them, who is inside and outside, who may speak, who may not, and who has authority and may be believed," then the projects discussed in this chapter show an attempt on the part of

planning professionals, first to accept the influential role of media, and then to affect positive change from inside the media system.⁸⁶

Chapter Four

Interactive Television and Participatory Planning

A system of order is developed not by the planner nor by the community, but as a product of the interaction between each that is sufficiently attuned to prevailing community values...

- Edmund Bacon, 1968¹

No other public forum offers so useful a variety of communication techniques as television. The modern lens can widen in one second to encompass a city district and in the next second can fill the screen with the picture of an architect's hand... designing. The age of TV is upon us and waiting to be employed.

- Chad Floyd, 1984²

Starting in the late 1960s, architects and planners looked to interactive communication models to fulfill the mandates of social relevance. In 1968, the editors of the Harvard magazine *Connection* wrote of the situation: "If architecture is not developing at the same rate as our society, it is not the fault of architecture in the abstract, but rather the fault of the men who make it."³ In their view, the design profession, with its reliance on outmoded standards of communication, had become a "technological anachronism."⁴ That year, the Philadelphia planner Edmund Bacon described how an interactive relationship between the designer and the public could produce more valuable projects.⁵ Bacon proposed a cybernetic design method based on "hypothesis formation, its injection into the tumult of democratic dispute, the generation of feedback, and the restructuring of the hypothesis in the light of that feedback."⁶ Due to the iterative nature

of the process, Bacon argued that “after the fourth or fifth trip around the cycle the elements that pass through the screen of democratic approval accord more and more closely with the value system of the people in the community.”⁷ The acceptance of “democratic dispute” into the planning stages of a project would also transform the thinking process of the architect and planner: “The idea formulator himself has been tempered by the heat of his confrontation with his peers, and he himself, perhaps unwittingly, has become a more sensitive instrument more closely attuned to community values.”⁸ In the quest for socially valuable design ideas, participatory communication methods had the potential to circle back and transform the profession itself.

In July 1969, the planning consultant Sherry Arnstein published a scheme for evaluating the legitimacy of participatory design methods in the *Journal of the American Institute of Planners*.⁹ Arnstein identified eight levels of participation, arranged in a “ladder” structure “with each rung corresponding to the extent of citizens’ power in determining the end product.”¹⁰ Her levels—manipulation, therapy, informing, consultation, placation, partnership, delegated power, and citizen control—demonstrated the complexity of participatory design processes. It was important, she argued, for designers to develop standards of criteria for evaluating how they were communicating: were their planning efforts only propagandistic, or could they facilitate collaboration? “There is a critical difference,” she wrote, “between going through the empty ritual of participation and having the real power needed to affect the outcome of the process.”¹¹ Arnstein stressed that the goal was not only public education, but also a mutual respect for separate forms of knowledge. Bacon and Arnstein’s ideas were part of a larger

movement in planning and design during the 1960s and 1970s towards participatory and collaborative methods.¹²

An alternative television movement paralleled the participatory design movement, both of which became characterized by their quest for socially relevant interaction between publics, professions, classes, and taste cultures. Members within each movement looked to emergent communication models, including cybernetics, semiotics, and systems theory, to create new social environments. The period saw a marked interest in challenging the "one way" quality of television by using public access channels and "two way" or interactive technologies.¹³ Planners, artists, and social activists used emergent television technologies, including videotape recorders and community-antenna television (cable TV), to expand the commercial broadcasting model. In 1970, the editors of *Radical Software*, an underground magazine devoted to alternative media, described it this way: "Television is not merely a better way to transmit the old culture, but an element in the foundation of a new one."¹⁴ The California activist H. Allen Frederiksen, who went by the name Johnny Videotape, similarly explained how: "The promise of TV as a marketplace of ideas remains unfulfilled."¹⁵ Alternative media experiments employed television as a platform for interactivity and community engagement.

Media corporations also made efforts to expand the communication potential of television during these years. In 1977, Warner Cable Corporation (a subsidiary of Warner Communications) began testing a two-way viewing system combining cable television with computers. Known as the "Qube," the system let viewers "vote" on information presented to them on television by pressing buttons on in-home terminals. Essentially an

instant polling device, the Qube tallied the results of surveys and display them on the television screen in seconds. The system was tested on residents of Columbus, Ohio. In a *TV Guide* article entitled “Will it Play in Columbus?” David Lachenbruch described the Qube as a “marriage between television and the computer” and explained how users were able to “give elected officials their opinions, take college-course quizzes at home, compete from their living rooms against game-show contestants...order merchandise from stores—all by pushing little buttons on their home terminals.”¹⁶ From mainstream corporations to emergent local video groups, the nature of television’s technologies, audiences, and social status were in flux.

This chapter will discuss three experiments in interactive design using television. Members from each project used television in unique ways with the hopes of creating the type of democratic planning environment described by Bacon and Arnstein. Starting in 1969, Jerome Aumente, a journalist, educator, and community activist, encouraged planners and designers to use newly available video recording and cable television systems to affect change at the local community level. In the early 1960s, and then again in the early 1970s, the Regional Plan Association used mass media outlets, including television, newspapers, and paperback books, to create town hall meetings at the scale of the New York/New Jersey/Connecticut metropolitan region. Between 1976 and 1984, a team of architects and planners from the Connecticut firm Moore Grover Harper used live television to elicit community participation in planning projects for six mid-sized to small US cities. In the quest to align professional methods with larger ideas of social interaction and media engagement, each of these experiments tested the technological,

social, and metaphorical limits of television and architecture alike. The resulting convergences represented both a new television experience and a new planning method.

Jerome Aumante and the Video Movement

In the late 1960s and early 1970s, the media theorist Jerome Aumante (b.1938) encouraged planners and designers to engage their local communities using video and cable technologies. Aumante had graduated from Rutgers University and the Columbia Graduate School of Journalism before working as a reporter for the *Newark Evening News* and spending time as a freelance writer in Europe. In 1965, at the age of twenty-seven, he became a reporter at *The Detroit News*, where he wrote a series on urban challenges, called “Can the Cities Survive?”¹⁷ Aumante gathered data on Detroit, Cleveland, Indianapolis, Chicago, and Milwaukee for the series. He toured the cities and interviewed more than 120 key figures, including mayors, municipal officials, educators, politicians, businessmen, law enforcement officers, and citizens. The process introduced him to the political complexities of urban renewal programs and the everyday struggles of city residents and inspired him to become an advocate for design and planning based on community involvement. As a non-designer, his perspective was unclouded by professional expectations.

In 1968, Aumante was a Fellow of the Nieman Foundation in Journalism at Harvard University, where he focused on the study of urban and cultural affairs. While there, he contributed an essay, “Places without People,” to the Harvard magazine *Connections* in which he made an impassioned argument for new communications

standards among design professionals.¹⁸ The crisis of American planning, Aumante argued, resulted from a lack of meaningful interaction between designers and the people they served. He attributed this distance— what Nan Ellin later called the “the gap”— to the professional training of students in design school.¹⁹ Aumante investigated the culture of design education at Harvard and at MIT much as he had that of cities; using his investigative reporting skills, Aumante observed how school culture inculcated professional assumptions and habits. In response, he argued that “students must learn to get better feedback from the public,” after which they needed to ensure that such information “gets into their plans and designs.”²⁰

If designers could communicate better, Aumante argued, they could cultivate higher expectations for design quality in the public. More than a matter of setting trends as ‘taste-makers’, Aumante argued that designers needed to hone their “critical weapons of evaluation and debate,” because “someone must help the public sort the good from the mediocre.”²¹ The way to do this, he believed, was by participating in the public discourse already in place: “If there is to be any major shift in popular and political momentum for a better environment, it must occur in large part from the pressure of the press, magazines, radio and television.” Aumante saw such media systems as platforms for real change at a popular level, whereas professional journals only talked “to the people who are already convinced.”²²

Aumante put his ideas into practice when he joined the faculty of the School of Communication and Information at Rutgers University in 1969. There he developed programs in urban communication studies and community development and planning at

the undergraduate and graduate levels. Most notably, he founded the Urban Communications Teaching and Research Center (UCTRC), located within Livingston College. As director, Aumente supervised collaborative efforts between Rutgers planning, design, and community development students and community groups in the New Jersey area. The UCTRC focused on three avenues of research: establishing the Plainfield Communications Center (PCC), which focused on local access cable programming; environmental documentation using videotape; and a media training program for urban minority populations.

In a 1972 *Design and Environment* article entitled “VTR and CATV for Designers,” Aumente argued designers should communicate with local audiences through videotape and cable television technology.²³ As an emerging media option, cable television was still in the process of adapting to larger television industry standards while forging its own alternative status. Cable television allowed for direct dissemination of locally produced programming separate from the commercial broadcasting system. In 1970, Ralph Lee Smith called this new environment “the Wired Nation,” and explained how as a result of cable technology: “television can become far more flexible, far more democratic, far more diverse in content, and far more responsive to the full range of pressing needs in today’s cities, neighborhoods, towns and communities.”²⁴ The television historian Thomas Streeter has explained how “a new, hopeful view of cable television echoed throughout the policy arena in the late 1960s and early 1970s, appearing in numerous articles, studies, hearings, and journalistic publications.”²⁵ The

resulting “discourse of the new technologies” suggested that cable television could empower TV’s passive audiences.

For Aumente, video and cable went hand-in-hand as democratic and flexible media. He encouraged designers to purchase the Sony Video Rover II, an ensemble of camera, recorder, and accessories that cost around \$1,700. The hand-held camera weighed only eight pounds and included a built-in microphone with automatic volume control; an extra hand microphone could also be used for directional pickup. A person could use the camera to capture up to thirty minutes of sight and sound footage that was stored in an 18-pound videotape recorder carried in a shoulder bag. Videotape was very flexible and allowed for a faster production schedule. Unlike film, it was processed by the recorder and could be played back immediately. Tape, which sold for about \$40 per hour of footage, could be reused and edited using dual editing decks, monitors, and cables. Aumente estimated that a person could have a full half-inch video production system for \$6,000 — a significant sum of money.²⁶ He included sketches to show how CATV (Figure 4.1) and videotape recording devices (Figure 4.2) allowed architects to “communicate with highly pinpointed local audiences.”²⁷

One of the key objectives of the UCTCR was to produce programming for New Jersey cable providers. The UCTRC established the Plainfield Communications Center (PCC), housed in a local non-profit organization called Community Action Plainfield. The PCC originated programming on local events and information, including community culture, health services, and housing needs. Their intention was to make visible community problems and challenges in order to stimulate public interest in local planning

policies. For example, Aumente reported that a planner from the Cape May County Planning Board in New Jersey asked the UCTRC to produce a videotape of waterfront sites that had once been recreational areas but had become blighted with oil storage depots and industrial waste. The tape was used at community forums and broadcast over the Cape May cable TV stations, in the hopes that it would “help the resort communities to see the full implications of current federal proposals to develop extensive off-shore services for ocean-going oil freighters.”²⁸ Rutgers’s Art Department co-sponsored many of the UCTRC’s environmental documentation projects.

The UCTRC supervised other projects to provide video recording equipment for neighborhood assessment projects, some under governmental HUD funding. Many of those projects focused on empowering local residents as amateur filmmakers.²⁹ Aumente encouraged the use of portable video as a tool for self-exploration and analysis at the community level. The Center’s media training program for minorities further sought to empower underrepresented communities with information outlets.

“This decade will see these communication tools reach full maturity,” he predicted of video and cable during the 1970s. Aumente encouraged designers and planners to “act now to understand their potential and use them effectively.”³⁰ As a news reporter, media scholar, and activist, Aumente believed that emerging media technologies could be used to reverse the discontent he had observed in the Harvard design culture.³¹ He recommended that planners, architects, and designers familiarize themselves with the latest equipment capabilities for video recording as part of their training. He also encouraged them to get to know their local cable television operators and the “growing

number of underground and over-ground videotape groups,” seeing them as potential collaborators.³² One resource on the subject was *Radical Software*, a magazine produced by the alternative media collective known as the Raindance Corporation. Barry Orton, a graduate student in city and regional planning at Rutgers, wrote an article on the UCTRC for an issue of *Radical Software* devoted to groups and individuals working with video.³³ As Orton described them, the UCTRC’s experiments with video and local programming aligned with larger activist television undertakings, including those of the Raindance Corporation.

Raindance was an alternative media collective organized by a group of media savvy filmmakers and journalists.³⁴ The group drew heavily from Marshall McLuhan, Norbert Wiener, and Buckminster Fuller’s ideas on media, cybernetics, and ecology. In the first issue of *Radical Software*, the editors expressed their belief that “power is no longer measured in land, labor, or capital, but by access to information and the means to disseminate it.”³⁵ The invention of the first mass produced video camera, the Sony Video Rover, in 1967 represented an opening up of the television system. In his 1971 book *Guerrilla Television*, Michael Shamberg explained the power behind alternative media: “Portable video systems offer decentralized production while alternative distribution technologies like cable-TV and videocassettes mean that small-scale, non-mass market information flow can be supported directly by the end user.”³⁶ Raindance worked to create a network for emerging video artists and activists, including the orchestration of video banks and sharing systems.

To the little degree anything has been written, historians of architecture and alternative media have mostly focused on the projects of Raindance (and its offshoot Top Value TV, or TVTV) and the group Ant Farm.³⁷ Chip Lord and Doug Michels founded the latter in 1968 as a group of artists working out of San Francisco. As Felicity Scott described in her book *Architecture or Techno-Utopia: Politics After Modernism*, Ant Farm acquired their first Portapak in the summer of 1970 and began working as “architects of the image” (their term, not hers). Ant Farm’s work, Scott argued, “demonstrates a type of architectural knowledge about new relations of production and new forms of power as they emerged in Media America.”³⁸ Ant Farm’s engagement with television came in the form of their Media Van (1971) and the 1975 *Media Burn* performance. For the former, the group dressed as astronauts and drove a Cadillac through a wall of burning television sets.³⁹

Aumente’s approach to media aligned with the “guerrilla television” agenda of Raindance. Calling guerrilla television “grassroots television,” Shamberg explained how it “works with people, not from up above them. On a simple level, this is no more than ‘do-it-yourself TV.’ But the context for that notion is that survival in an information environment demands information tools.”⁴⁰ Aumente’s application of media to architecture came from a nuanced perspective of both fields, which had been honed by his experience as a journalist and design outsider. After having observed, as an urban affairs reporter, the complexity of American cities in crisis, he hoped to empower designers and planners with “information tools” befitting their broader “information environment.” In arguing for the use of video and cable television, Aumente offered an

early and unique model for community engagement in the name of participatory information exchange. The scale of his ideas, however, remained localized to Rutgers, the UCTRC, and New Jersey local cable access.

The Regional Plan Association’s “Choices for ‘76”

The Regional Plan Association (RPA) organized one of the most comprehensive projects for “mobilizing mass media for two-way communication on public policy” in the 1960s and 1970s. In the spring of 1973, after over a decade of participatory design pilot projects, the RPA launched “Choices for ’76,” a large-scale planning campaign intended to present information on over fifty policy choices to residents of the New York/New Jersey/Connecticut metropolis region.⁴¹ The titular “choices” covered various policy and design topics within five planning themes: housing, transportation, environment, poverty, and cities and suburbs. “Choices for ’76” sought to involve citizen feedback on local issues through various media platforms, including television, newspaper, radio, paperback book, and group meetings. The *New York Times* reported the “hopeful products” of the project to include the “ferment that it should stir up, the focusing of public interest, the informed discussion of pressing issues.”⁴² In name, “Choices for ‘76” referenced the impending celebration of America’s bicentennial—a fitting occasion to apply democratic methods to urban planning at a mass scale.

The RPA started in 1922 as a volunteer citizens’ research organization focused on the study and improvement of the urban regions of New Jersey, New York, and Connecticut. As the country’s oldest metropolitan planning association, RPA was

supported by private and government grants, individual memberships, and corporate subscriptions. In the 1920s, the Russell Sage Foundation provided more than one million dollars to fund the RPA's first comprehensive research project, which collected data from more than twenty-two counties within the three states, an area populated by over ten million people. The findings were released in two volumes; the first report was the *Regional Plan of New York and its Environs*, published in 1929. Robert Fishman credits RPA's 1929 plan as the "most comprehensive analysis of a great industrial region ever published."⁴³ The RPA published its second volume in 1931, and in the following years released eight surveys that further documented the region's history, geography, population, transportation, and social services.

The RPA first used television as a tool for regional planning in the 1963 project "Goals for the Region." The project was meant to collect preliminary data on the general living and working conditions as part of the RPA's Second Regional Plan, which centered on creating projections for what the region would be like in twenty-five years under the existing policies and trends. The RPA hoped to generate an open forum of information exchange at every stage of the planning process instead of simply conducting research autonomously and releasing the findings in a publication or report, as they had done in the 1920s. "Our regional plan will not go on the shelf," explained one progress report for the second plan, "because it will already be in the blood stream of the Region's decision-makers before it is published."⁴⁴

For "Goals for our Region," the RPA produced a series of half-hour shows that aired on the independent channel WPIX.⁴⁵ The programs reportedly reached an audience

of 85,000 (including the 5,600 meeting in RPA groups).⁴⁶ They depicted some of the issues faced by those living in the region by capturing footage directly from cities in the region. One episode highlighted transportation concerns by following a “public relations man” on his commute from Waldwick, New Jersey to Manhattan (Figure 4.3). Another episode presented the challenges of bridging the divide between wealthy and poor housing by showing a renewal project in Manhattan’s West Side where low-income and upper-income housing was built on the same site (Figure 4.4). Another program discussed the desirability of recreational and service amenities in different regional hubs, comparing the downtown district of White Plains, New York to the Garden State Plaza shopping center in Paramus, New Jersey (Figure 4.5).⁴⁷

Voluntary participants in “Goals for the Region” were invited to watch the shows and return an anonymous questionnaire to the Bureau of Applied Social Research at Columbia University, where they were coded and analyzed.⁴⁸ The project also included a series of meetings (April 2, 16, 23, 30 and May 7, 1963) where small groups would gather in homes, churches, or other public places to provide feedback. The groups would receive booklets with background information about ten days before each meeting; upon meeting, the group would watch one of the shows covering the same topic as in the reading and then a panel would present further on the subject. Afterward, for over an hour the group would discuss key questions listed in the booklet before filling out the questionnaire in person. Over 5,600 people participated in at least one of the weekly meetings; over 600 groups met every week. Over 4,000 questionnaires were reportedly returned to RPA either at these meetings or via mail.⁴⁹

“Choices for ’76” reached an audience twelve times the size of “Goals for the Region.”⁵⁰ In the name of public participation, the 1973 project represented a comprehensive use of mass media, including every television station in the region (all six commercial stations in New York), more than six newspapers, two radio stations, and a prominent paperback publisher. “Choices” retained the general structure of the “Goals” project from a decade earlier: The RPA invited the public to respond to information as it was disseminated— this time via television programs, newspaper articles, and a paperback book— by discussing the issues in small groups at informal meetings (Figure 4.6). Participants were then asked to formally submit their reactions and opinions by way of printed ballots available at public institutions, including banks and libraries, and printed in nearly all of the region’s newspapers. In 1974, the RPA reported “Choices for ’76” had reached ten percent of the twenty million people living in the greater New York region.⁵¹

Television was the primary component that brought the multimedia elements together. The RPA produced five hours of programming for “Choices for ’76”— one hour-long episode for each planning theme. The association secured a commitment for five hours of free programming on six commercial stations and seventeen other independent and local stations in the region.⁵² In total, “Choices for ’76” aired on every television station in the tri-state area. An average of 600,000 households tuned in to each of the five programs, representing one out of every eleven households from the region’s total population.

RPA planner William Shore attributed the motivation for this ambitious planning approach to the contribution of Michael McManus. A news reporter who had worked for *TIME* magazine, McManus envisioned the large-scale use of every media outlet to create a twentieth-century town hall meeting. Shore explained how McManus, much like William Harris in Boston, had grown frustrated with negative media coverage: “He felt that the mass media had contributed to social problems by focusing its attention on the problems, neglecting almost entirely to report on possible solutions.”⁵³ McManus’s solution was to present the public with public policy choices as potential solutions. The “Choices for ‘76” presentations included “enough information on the pros and cons of the options for the citizen to be able to make a judgment on where his community ought to be heading.”⁵⁴ In an attempt to infuse public policy choices with more input from citizens, the RPA incorporated the feedback into their planning recommendations to politicians and decision-makers. As a result, the RPA argued that their recommendations were indicators of a larger public opinion.

The RPA model for participation borrowed from the American political system. Just as citizens received information on political candidates before cast their ballot vote, “Choices for ‘76” acted as a system wherein participants could vote their preferences for the planning of their cities. A letter to HUD, signed by six senators representing the RPA region, celebrated the project’s ambitions accordingly: “It addresses two of the nation’s most critical needs: improving the way our larger urban areas are developing and improving the democratic process itself.”⁵⁵ Specifically, the RPA approach to participation accounted for how “personal choices are not simply a matter of readily

discernable tastes,” but are, instead, a “conglomerate of public decisions and private preferences.”⁵⁶ Simply asking people what they wanted, or why they made the choices they did was not enough to justify some planning recommendations over others. RPA concluded that “the kind of guidance from public opinion that seemed to make sense...was continuous response to the planners’ research as it went along.”⁵⁷ Their use of a comprehensive media campaign encouraged feedback from informed publics with varied levels of involvement and interest.

“Design-a-thons” and Live TV

Between 1976 and 1984, Chad Floyd and a design team from the Connecticut firm Moore Grover Harper organized a series of television specials called a “design-a-thon.” Using live television, and merging techniques from games shows, news programs, telethons, and talk shows, the design-a-thon team created a televised charette. Floyd introduced his idea to televise the design process in a 1975 planning proposal for the city of Dayton, Ohio. Voters had recently rejected the city’s attempt to redesign their downtown Miami River-front district, so administrators stipulated that the winning entry for a new design competition would need to incorporate citizen involvement as a central feature.⁵⁸ Intent on winning the commission and securing work during an economic recession, Floyd proposed live television as the key element of a participatory design approach. Over the following eight years, the design team worked with local television stations to produce twenty-two hours of primetime programming in five more U.S. cities: Roanoke, Virginia; Watkins Glen, New York; Springfield, Massachusetts; Indianapolis,

Indiana; and Salem, Virginia. In each case, the city hired Moore Grover Harper to plan a modest urban intervention, from downtown district revitalization projects to riverfront parks. Most of the projects were funded by the government's Urban Development Action Grant program and were part of the urban renewal campaigns of the 1970s.

The novelty of the design-a-thons as urban renewal initiatives was in the interactive process they facilitated. *Architectural Record* predictably evoked McLuhan in its report on the projects: "In the sixties, Marshall McLuhan predicted that television would make us a 'global village.' In the late 1970s, Charles Moore and urban designer Chad Floyd are demonstrating, with a slightly more modest reach, that interactive television can recreate the town meeting in the modern city."⁵⁹ Moore and Floyd both had prior experience with participatory planning projects. Moore (a partner in the firm) regularly collaborated with Lawrence Halprin, the landscape architect who involved communities through his "Take Part" workshops.⁶⁰ Floyd had worked with David Lewis, the Pittsburgh designer whose firm, Urban Design Associates, pioneered citizen involvement in city planning. As a result, both men were comfortable incorporating a number of participatory design features into their winning competition entries for Dayton.

For each project, the lead designers established a full-time presence in the community. The principal designers started by taking up temporary residence in the city so as to reduce the public perception of them as community 'outsiders.' They also established a public hub for the project by opening a storefront office in a popular part of town. In Dayton, for instance, they rented a former health food store in the city's Arcade shopping center (Figure 4.7). Large display windows encouraged passersby to observe

the architects working inside; the storefront office in Roanoke showcased a drawing table where architects would work in public sight (Figure 4.8). The architects also kept an open-door policy and invited passersby to step inside the office to share their thoughts. As they talked, the designer would record any new ideas and display them in the window or the walls of the office to encourage other responses. The team reportedly collected thousands of ideas this way.⁶¹ In this way, the storefront office helped the team emphasize design as a public ‘performance’ of collaboration. According to Floyd, the office also helped the architects assimilate into the cultures of the city:

We found that by opening the shop and sharing downtown retailers’ chores such as sweeping the pavement, worrying about trash pickup, deciding whether to stay open on Thursday nights, or debating how much to spend on Christmas window decorations, we got to know downtown businessmen pretty well and earned their respect.⁶²

The storefront office idea was not original to the design-a-thons. In 1970, the architect Evans Woollens opened an office in a shop while he worked on redesigns for a district, community center, and market in Cincinnati. As Woollen explained it, “architectural scale models were placed in the store window where once sausages had been displayed.”⁶³ That same year, Jules Gregory, of the New Jersey firm Uniplan, opened the East Orange School Design Center in a storefront on the main street of East Orange, New Jersey while working to design the local middle school.⁶⁴ Non-profit Community Design Centers appeared across the US in the late 1960s and 1970s as part of a larger move towards interactive planning initiatives for distressed and underrepresented communities.⁶⁵

The design-a-thon team organized a series of focus groups to provide feedback during the planning stages. The Design Workshop for the Roanoke project included fifty people selected by the City Council and City Manager.⁶⁶ The workshop had three functions, as described by Floyd: “first, it was our resource for community attitudes, second it was our design review committee, and third—at the project’s end—it was our lobbying agent.”⁶⁷ The architects held six workshops with the group, including a downtown walking tour, role-playing sessions, plan-drawing exercises, and design reviews (Figure 4.9).⁶⁸ The Steering Committee was another civic group that worked with the architects in a more traditional capacity. Convened by the City Council, the committee’s members usually included bank presidents, retailers, businessmen, and civic leaders. They met every other week to discuss key issues.

In the quest for interaction at a mass level, the reach of recognized participatory design techniques—such as workshops and storefront offices—was limited. Floyd credited them with operating “only on a symbolic level.”⁶⁹ The necessity for a more inclusive communications effort was seen as central to a successful project: “Their inability to create broad public involvement can translate into lack of public support when money must be raised and, worse, suspicion that deals are being made behind the scenes.”⁷⁰ Television offered the best possibility for what the team sought: “massive popular participation.”⁷¹ Moreover, by using live television to create an interactive system of communication, Floyd and this team hoped to facilitate a planning model based on near simultaneous presentation and feedback.

In his 1984 appearance on the interview television show, *American Architecture Now*, Charles Moore explained why the design-a-thon team looked to television: “Mostly we were trying to get the job away from Larry Halprin and RTKL, who were also trying to get that job, we figured they would think of most other things, but...never TV.”⁷² In order to secure the Dayton commission, which stipulated a guarantee of community support, over competing design submissions from Halprin and the Maryland firm RTKL, the team added television. The idea to use television came from Floyd, who having been born in 1944 was a self-described “TV native” and had participated in theater production at Yale University as an undergraduate before receiving his graduate degree in architecture from the same institution.⁷³

Floyd credited Phil Donahue with inspiring his move to put architecture on television. Donahue had originated his talk show, *The Phil Donahue Show*, on WLWD-TV in Dayton in 1967. Susan Murray, in the *Encyclopedia of Television*, explained that in order to overcome the disadvantages of a low budget and geographic isolation from main entertainment cities, Donahue focused his show “on issues rather than fame.”⁷⁴ His program was the first to encourage audience members to call in on the telephone and participate in the discussion. More importantly, Donahue may have been the first television host to not only allow participation but actively seek it out, as evidenced by the regular sight of the host, microphone in hand, running through the aisles to reach an audience member standing with a comment. Donahue’s program was nationally syndicated starting in 1970 and relocated to Chicago in 1974. *Donahue* (as the show became called after its move to Chicago) became the precursor to the daytime talk show

format that became popular in the 1980s and 90s.⁷⁵ Floyd found that Dayton's "history with Donahue allowed" the design-a-thon team "to imagine that this [televising the planning process] would work."⁷⁶

In addition to the new talk show genre, the design-a-thon (as its name would suggest) incorporated elements of the telethon, including the method of direct address to the audience and the invitation to call into the program via a phone bank. Typically a fundraising broadcast event, telethons dated back to the late 1940s. Milton Berle hosted the first telethon in 1949, a sixteen-hour event that raised \$1,100,000 for the Damon Runyan Memorial Cancer Fund.⁷⁷ Jerry Lewis began hosting his long-running telethons in 1966. Typically, telethons featured performances and appearances by celebrities making pleas for monetary donations towards a "non-profit" cause. Celebrity hosts and a manned phone-bank were regular features of the telethon format, which emphasized the live quality of television programming and the personal quality of transmitting directly into the homes of the public.

The design-a-thon team borrowed from existing television formats as a way to "approach the public on a popular level by making ourselves accessible and our work entertaining."⁷⁸ The first design-a-thon was called "Riverdesign Dayton" (Figure 4.10). It included six hour-long specials that aired on Sunday and Wednesday evenings (7:00-8:00) on a local PBS affiliate station (WOET, channel 16).⁷⁹ Three years later, Floyd and his partners organized the "Roanoke Design 79" project for a business redevelopment plan of downtown Roanoke. The four, sixty-minute Roanoke design-a-thons were carried

live over a local CBS affiliate, and aired after the Walter Cronkite News Hour. The Roanoke shows reportedly reached 90,000 viewers weekly.⁸⁰

In 1980, the crew organized two design-a-thons for projects in Massachusetts and New York. The first, “Riverdesign Springfield” was a three-part series, aired on a CBS affiliate, for a downtown riverfront project in Springfield. For the programs, Floyd and his partner Mark Simon used the “centering effect of an anchor desk.”⁸¹ The second 1980 project, “Watkins Glen Tomorrow,” included four, hour-long shows on a local NBC affiliate in the Finger Lakes region (Figure 4.11). In 1981, the team organized a design-a-thon for the White River Park project, a study to plan a civic park on the Indianapolis riverfront. Instead of airing live, the workshops were pre-taped; they included appearances from architects Cesar Pelli and Charles Moore. The last design-a-thon was in 1984. The “Explore Project” was for a master plan of a state park in Salem; the shows aired on the CBS affiliate that had worked with the crew for “Roanoke Design ’79.”

The format of the programs remained fairly consistent. Each show was broadcast about thirty days apart and corresponded to a phase of the design process followed progressively. The first show was the public call for ideas, where the architects introduced themselves and the project. Phone calls were taken from the public and interviews were conducted with local key figures. The second show was as a “presentation of planning concepts.”⁸² In Roanoke, a questionnaire was published in the local paper on the same day as the second show, inviting viewers to select their preference for one of the proposals and mail them to the storefront office; around 300 questionnaires were reportedly returned.⁸³ For the third show, the architects presented the

favorite design concepts in model form. By that point, they had integrated the feedback from previous shows, mail-in questionnaires, office walk-ins, and Design Workshops and Steering Committees. The last shows included a presentation of the final scheme, including implementation strategies and a development cost schedule. Sometimes the final shows featured a studio audience of people who had participated in the project.

The designers noticed immediately that their presentations needed to be tailored for the small screen.⁸⁴ For one thing, they had to adapt their design language for nonprofessional audiences. Television's emphasis on sound-bites and narrative dialog challenged the designers' dependence on jargon and technical language. Instead, they adopted a casual and informed tone. The architects took pride in their ability to translate design this way, writing in the Dayton project report that "professional jargon, unintelligible to most people, was discarded, design demystified."⁸⁵

Television also placed new demands on the visual presentation of architecture. Props, drawings, and diagrams helped clarify complex planning ideas, but the materials had to be made to appear on television screens. Design renderings had to be painted, not drawn, in brilliant hues with flat paints (Figure 4.12). The values had to be distinct enough to appear on black and white television sets, and the flat paint prevented glare under studio lights. The team used auxiliary technologies to supplement their models and renderings with new visual information. They used videotape to capture footage of the locations under review and was shown to clarify the topic of discussion. Slide and film projectors allowed the integration of photographs and transparencies. Producers also used computer character generators to integrate text into the broadcast; superimposed titles,

subheadings, and comments added layers of information to the experience. The resulting product was a complex translation of architecture into television content. One popular editing technique was the lap-dissolve from photograph into sketch; the transition encouraged audiences to visualize the implementation of design ideas in real-time (Figure 4.13).

As with the storefront office, the actions of the designer were on display for public reception. Architects were shown sitting at drawing boards, where they instantly visualized the callers' ideas with sketches (Figure 4.14). The presentation of architects as in service to the public was new. Moore described it this way: "We all sat and acted like architectural short order cooks drawing up whatever anybody called in."⁸⁶ The architects also used models with movable parts to reconfigure the compositions as they received feedback (Figure 4.15). According to Moore, "people would call up and say, "Get that high rise right out of there, I hate it!" and we'd pick it up and yank it out."⁸⁷ Open lines of communication were further signified through phone banks and in-studio message carriers; caller ideas were posted on the studio walls or shown on screen (Figure 4.16). The flexibility of the design process, paired with the seemingly instantaneous transmission of live television, turned the act of planning into a shared, public experience. *Architectural Record* reported: "Idea-by-idea, sketch-by-sketch, the people and their architects built up an image of their city as it should be."⁸⁸

The design-a-thons epitomized the social fervor of the 1970s, when architects and planners explored the mechanisms of pop culture to fulfill the mandates of social relevance. For the designers involved, publicity became a form of social due diligence.

They used various methods to establish a public identity, to solicit feedback, and to raise interest in the project. “We went on the radio at the drop of a hat, ingratiated ourselves with local talk show hosts, and took care always to be newsworthy,” Floyd wrote of the team’s public efforts, “If anyone needed a dinner speaker at the last minute, we were the one. We took ads in papers, gave interviews in magazines, and set up “idea tables” on the street.”⁸⁹ The designers embraced the use of old and new community platforms, ranging from the CBS Morning News to booths at local street fair (Figure 4.17).

The design-a-thons were sanctioned by the FCC as public affairs programs because they addressed local issues from an educational perspective. As such, television station managers were usually eager to work with the team, going so far as to provide commercial free airtime.⁹⁰ To cover additional equipment and production costs, the team secured local sponsors, including municipal organizations and governing bodies. As a result, the design-a-thon circumvented charges of advertising and “selling” by appealing to the ‘public interest.’ As one architect explained it: “With far stranger sights than ours to be observed at the mere flick of a switch, our material was comfortably uncontroversial.”⁹¹ Moore, on *American Architecture Now*, described architecture to be most useful “not as a composition of shapes, but as a choreography of the familiar and the unfamiliar.” The former was necessary, he said, to get people involved, whereas the element of surprise made the familiar evident and added excitement to an idea. As a televised expression of the design process, the design-a-thons similarly merged familiar television tropes with unexpected and playful sights. As a postmodern communication model, the results were exceptional.

Interactive Television as Design Process

Different motivations prompted the applications of television to interactive planning projects. As a design outsider trained in journalism, Jerome Aumente responded to a professional stagnation he saw pervading architecture schools. He argued that local-level activism using video and cable television could reestablish the designer as a public servant. The Regional Plan Association hoped to identify metropolitan trends in public opinion in order to affect change at the policy level. “We do not expect unanimous approval of our recommendations,” the association stated in its 1966 progress report, “We shall, however, have a large working consensus. And we will know who disagrees and why they disagree and how serious the opposition is.”⁹² Chad Floyd and his design team were prompted by economic necessity to reimagine urban planning as an open and public service. Their design-a-thons reconceived of architecture as “the practice of design professionals made visible to the viewing public, on screens and in storefronts, both of which become sites of knowledge exchange.”⁹³

In their quest for participation at the local level, these projects combined old and new communication models in ways unique to the television culture of the late 1960s and 1970s. As such, they were firmly rooted in their cultural moment, characterized by the transition from revolutionary upheaval in the late 1960s toward a search for social inclusion in the 1970s. That the RPA aligned their largest planning project with America’s bicentennial exemplified the pursuit of democracy and community place-making in ways uniquely American.

In the 1980s, however, defunding for urban projects and broadcasting deregulations under the Reagan administration severely limited experiments for planning using television. Writing in 2001, Floyd acknowledged that after “the Reagan administration removed most of the funding vehicles that had been in place for public projects under Jimmy Carter...communities literally stopped planning.”⁹⁴ Under massive FCC deregulations that allowed commercial success to speak for public interests, ‘public service’ television programming all but disappeared and local programming became further relegated to the periphery of the network system.

More than economic or industry changes, however, “the biggest obstacle to widespread use of television in design,” Floyd argued was “the straight-laced self-image architects seem to have of themselves.”⁹⁵ In 1979, a CBS news correspondent asked Floyd if architecture schools would need to start offering courses in how to be anchormen. When he tried to conduct a design studio on the subject of television and participatory design at Yale University around that time, Floyd found that “the majority of the faculty there viewed the topic as inappropriate.”⁹⁶ Ingrained professional attitudes and policies seemingly prevented many architects from turning to television in order to engage the public. Since the 1980s, those who tried have gone through one of the remaining outlets sanctioned for cultural and educational programming: PBS.

Chapter Five

“Personal Views” of American Architecture on PBS

Admirable single programs on the design arts exist, but not a recent major series. Creating such a series is, we feel, a highly important task. There are many who believe the design arts cannot be brought successfully to television. We do not share that belief.

- Brian O’Doherty and Michael John Pitts, NEA, 1980¹

Television is the educated man’s whipping boy. It’s blamed for declining readership, shrinking attention spans — and other such threats to civilization. But it doesn’t have to be so. In fact, television can entertain and instruct. It can bring great novels to the attention of a TV audience — and encourage people to read the books and watch the programs. It can inform viewers about history, science and other fields of knowledge.

- Herbert Schmertz, “The Smart Medium,” ca.1986²

In his review of the 1986 PBS mini-series *Pride of Place: Building the American Dream*, Paul Goldberger called the program an architectural achievement: “After years of waiting for architecture to come to television...finally, a major, splashy public-television series, not about the cosmos or wild animals, but about the buildings of America.”³ Of course, architecture had already “come to television” in multiple formats, including special interest programs, telethons, Public Service Announcements, and news coverage. Still yet, Goldberger was correct to acknowledge *Pride of Place* as one of the first national, multi-part, educational programs to focus on the story of American architecture. Under the supervision of Herbert Schmertz, who saw cultural programming as a form of cultural advocacy, the Mobil corporation bankrolled the eight-part documentary series.

South Carolina Educational TV (ETV) produced the series, which aired on PBS stations in April and May. The American architect Robert Stern acted as the script supervisor and host. Publicized as his “personal view,” *Pride of Place* presented a subjective and polemical view of postmodern design in America.

The following year saw the broadcast of another major PBS series on American architecture: *America by Design*. The series was backed by a grant from the National Endowment for the Arts, as part of the organization’s initiative to “bring the non-performing arts to the broadest possible public.”⁴ This time, the personalized view belonged to architectural historian Spiro Kostof, who emphasized a humanistic understanding of American buildings and landscapes. If Stern had performed the part of polemical architect-host, Kostof’s didactic tone made him the professor-host. The AIA co-sponsored *America by Design*, encouraging its chapters to use the series as a springboard for community engagement and design activism.

The PBS mini-series would have seemed an appropriate platform for the communication of architectural ideas. PBS was founded in 1969 as an alternative to the “vast wasteland” of commercial television. As a result of industry changes in the 1980s, commercial networks could claim programs with the highest ratings served “the public interest.” According to media historian Heather Hendershot, “the deregulation of the broadcast industry by Reagan’s FCC is typically cited as the moment when the concept of “public service” began to rapidly decline, finally all but disappearing.”⁵ Within this context, PBS became the *de facto* channel for “educational” and “cultural” programming.

In 2014, the non-profit corporation still described itself as “America’s largest classroom, the nation’s largest stage for the arts and a trusted window to the world.”⁶

In 1981, twenty-six million viewers tuned in to the PBS broadcast of *The Shock of the New*, an eight-part program on modern art produced and broadcast by BBC the previous year.⁷ As the host, Australian art critic Robert Hughes offered his insight on a broad survey of Western art and architecture.⁸ John O’Connor, in his review of the program for the *New York Times*, described Hughes’s presentation style: “Brandishing his Australian accent almost like a lethal social weapon, he leaves no doubt that his regard for most hallowed establishments is minimal. . . . Every once in a while, he inserts a vulgar words or phrase. . . . for no other discernable reason than to tweak the stiffly proper.”⁹ Hughes’s delivery contrasted the image of documentary host as elegant and refined, a trope established by Kenneth Clark in the 1969 BBC documentary *Civilization: A Personal View*, regarded as the first major television enterprise in art criticism.¹⁰

The documentary mini-series format offered Stern and Kostof—and their sponsors—a special opportunity to present their “personal views” on American architecture “to the broadest possible public.” In so doing, the two men offered distinctive perspectives that characterized their respective roles as an architect and a historian. This chapter focuses on the ‘educational’ stories of American architecture presented in *Pride of Place* and *America by Design*. Through a discussion of the intention, production, and reception of these programs, this chapter demonstrates how television documentaries operated within the gap between scholarship and popular culture.

Mobil's Cultural Advocacy

Pride of Place was made possible by a grant from the Mobil corporation. Under Herbert Schmertz, the Vice President of Public Affairs, Mobil implemented an aggressive use of media outlets that blended the borders between public relations, patronage, and propaganda. Each week, Schmertz and his office produced an op-ed “advocacy advertisement” in *The New York Times*. Schmertz explained his decision to use print instead of television as the primary medium for Mobil’s advertising was due to “the major networks’ refusal to accept advocacy commercials.”¹¹ Taking up valuable print page space, the op-eds promoted Mobil’s stance on political and social issues, such as deregulation of the oil and natural gas industry and corporate patronage. *New York* magazine called them “Mobil’s best-known weapons,” and credited them with having “wheedled, cajoled, and admonished readers of the *Times* every Thursday.”¹²

For Schmertz, corporations had a social responsibility to shape public discourse surrounding not only issues that affected their business (such as energy regulation), but also cultural matters. Schmertz likened corporate sponsorship with “participating in the debate,” which he explained, “broadened the spectrum of facts, views, opinions and philosophy available to the general public and to the special publics where decision-making takes place.”¹³ Being able to use media to one’s advantage was central to public affairs management. Schmertz called public relations “the art of creative confrontation” and equated his work for Mobil to managing “an ongoing political campaign.”¹⁴ For his efforts, *New York* magazine called Schmertz “the most powerful and successful corporate-public-relations man in the world.”¹⁵

In his presentation to the Board of Directors in 1982, Schmertz discussed Mobil's desire to "play an active role in the private sector's support and development of the cultural life of this nation" and explained why the company became involved with public television:

One emerging institute to which we thought we could provide very significant assistance was public television and the biggest thing public television needed in those days was a larger audience. While many attempt to denigrate Mobil's support of public television by characterizing it the "Petroleum Broadcasting Service," any fair minded history of the last 12 years would show that Mobil's leadership has caused a very large increase in viewership of public television.¹⁶

Mobil was a leading patron of public television, having worked in 1971 to bring the BBC program *Masterpiece Theatre* to America.¹⁷ *Upstairs, Downstairs* followed, as did a number of documentaries and other British programs. In 1986, *Business* magazine wrote that Mobil "brought culture-starved American viewers thousands of hours of excellent British television fare."¹⁸ One of the biggest motivators for Schmertz to involve Mobil with public television was his admitted scorn for the commercial network system and television news, which he believed represented a limited application of the medium.¹⁹ In an unpublished paper called "The Smart Medium," Schmertz expressed his belief in the potential of television as a tool for cultural literacy: "Television is the educated man's whipping boy. It's blamed for declining readership, shrinking attention spans—and other such threats to civilization. But it doesn't have to be so." Referring to Mobil's fifteen-year experience sponsoring *Masterpiece Theatre*, he offered an alternative opinion: "Television can entertain and instruct. It can bring great novels to the attention of a TV

audience—and encourage people to read the books and watch the programs. It can inform viewers about history, science and other fields of knowledge” (emphasis his).²⁰

Whereas the *New York Times* op-ed pieces were more easily defined as propaganda (the wheedling, cajoling, and admonishing of the public), the Mobil-sponsored public television programs worked more subtly to ingratiate the company name into public consciousness. Schmertz insisted that support for cultural institutions like public television was separate from his politicized advertising in print: “Cultural excellence goes hand in hand with corporate excellence.”²¹ The words that opened every Mobil-backed television program, “This program is made possible by a grant from Mobil,” Schmertz claimed to “stand, perhaps more than any other, for the sponsorship of quality programming.”²² They also delivered, into the homes of millions of Americans, the message of Mobil’s philanthropy.

Robert Stern credited Schmertz with the idea to produce a public mini-series on American architecture. In the acknowledgements to the companion book, *Pride of Place*, Stern explained how it was Schmertz who “proposed that I shape and present a personal view of American architecture in a television series.”²³ Stern’s first meeting with Schmertz took place in October 1982 and two years later filming began under the supervision of Sandra Ruch, Mobil’s manager for cultural programming. When the program aired in the spring of 1986, the ‘personal view’ belonged to Stern, who supervised the script and story, in collaboration with Ruch and Michael Gill, the executive producer with Malone Gill Productions. W. A. Murray Grigor acted as the director. Stern called Grigor, who had directed the architectural films *Mackintosh* (1967),

Hand of Adam (1975), and *The Architecture of Frank Lloyd Wright* (1983),

“architecture’s most sympathetic cinematographic interpreter.”²⁴

“The Search for a Usable Past”

Pride of Place was not so much an architectural history as it was a visual essay on Stern’s view of postmodernism. The program and companion book mirrored each other in structure; each episode had a corresponding chapter. Indeed, much of the script was reproduced word-for-word in the book. The first episode, entitled “The Search for a Usable Past,” introduced the larger themes of the series; the following seven episodes focused on typological themes: academical villages, houses, suburbs, resorts, grand rooms, towers/skyscrapers, and cities. Stern stressed, as the central theme of the story, the importance of history (and historical revivalism) to the identity of American architecture.

The first episode, “The Search for a Usable Past,” set up a personal affair between Stern as a young wide-eyed boy and the New York City he envisioned from the 1920s. Over establishing shots of the city skyline, Stern explained his origins: “I became an architect because of the architecture of my city...As a child, my pleasure was to wander among the skyscrapers of Manhattan’s manmade canyons...To me, these skyscrapers were the stuff of dreams.”²⁵ A combination of high angle views of skyscrapers, including the Woolworth Building and the Chrysler Building, provided examples of Stern’s iconic buildings and placed the viewer in a similar position of “wandering” among the city (Figure 5.1). Stern continued: “American architecture, like American culture, has always been defined by its search for a usable past. American architecture, at its best, has

dreamed of the past, creating a sense of place.”²⁶

Stern’s romanticized treatment of American history was the thematic arc of *Pride of Place*. The closing shot of the final episode showed Stern walking over the lawn of Stony Brook, a small hamlet town in New York. In voice-over, Stern told viewers that his interpretation of America ended where it began: in the east, facing the Long Island sound, a location that evoked, for him, the words of F. Scott Fitzgerald from *The Great Gatsby* (1925):

Like Gatsby, I believe in the green light, the orgiastic future that year by year recedes before us. It eluded us at the dawn of our Republic, it eludes us now, “but that’s no matter—tomorrow we will run faster, stretch out our arms farther...and one fine morning—So we beat on, boats against the current, borne back ceaselessly into the past.”²⁷

By associating himself with Fitzgerald’s titular character, a man whose dreams made him incapable of distinguishing between the real and the romanticized, Stern revealed a great deal about his own perspective on architecture.

In 1985, Stern was a practicing architect in New York, as well as a professor of architecture and Director of the Temple Hoyne Buell Center for the Study of American Architecture at Columbia University. Stern had already published numerous books on American architecture, including monographs on George Howe and Raymond Hood, as well as a history of New York City in the first decade of the twentieth Century.²⁸ He had also authored monographs of his own design work, much of which included upper-class houses in New England.²⁹ In the 1970s, Stern had been one of “the Grays,” a collective of postmodern architects (including also Charles Moore, Jaquelin Robertson, Allan Greenberg, and Romaldo Giurgola) who criticized the work of “the Whites,” or the “New

York Five:” Peter Eisenman, Michael Graves, Charles Gwathmey, John Hejduk, and Richard Meier.³⁰ Though Stern’s alliances shifted by the time he hosted *Pride of Place*, his “personal view” was still entrenched behind a postmodern agenda.

The first episode set up *Pride of Place* as story of personal redemption for Stern and American architecture. Within the first five minutes of *Pride of Place*, Stern offered his critique of the International Style, describing prewar modernism as “an architecture that we very nearly lost.”³¹ The “Search for a Usable Past” was Stern’s personal journey: “Growing up in the 1950s, I was completely dismayed by the direction architecture was going. My dream of Manhattan was comprised by a new kind of architectural composition. Instead of the proud towers of the 1920s...we got a new kind of building.” The next few shots set up the ubiquitous glass skyscraper as the villainous counterpart to Stern’s “dream” of New York’s past. Stern explained that “these Bland boxes of the 1950s were inspired by the so-called International Style, a style which argued that buildings should be machines for the universal man,” before directing viewers to “look at these slabs. See how they clog the landscape. How the proud mountain range of Manhattan has been impacted.” To enhance the villainous character of the buildings, the camera panned over surfaces of non-descript curtain walls and the musical score became low and threatening (Figure 5.2). By instructing viewers how to “look” at buildings, Stern established himself as the arbiter of the American dream. “These boxes seem to me... to be the empty cartons that my dream buildings had come in,” he said of the Miesian glass box. The words, matched with views of glass surfaces reflecting the Chrysler Building and the Empire State Building, reinforced Stern’s argument that the future of American

architecture was to be found in the past, not the shallow surfaces of Modernism (Figure 5.3).

The next segment of the first episode moved to the campus of Yale University, where Stern told viewers: “It was against this background of so-called modern architecture, of buildings without any dream, that I left New York in the 1950s to study architecture in New Haven.”³² The program introduced his former professor Vincent Scully, whom Stern described as having seen “beyond the dogma of the International Style.”³³ The two walked along the peripheral wall of Yale’s Gothic Revival buildings as Scully explained their “humanized scale;” he and Stern observed people sitting and enjoying the “civilized” built-in benches. Reinforcing Stern’s narrative, Scully offered his own attack of the Modern Movement: “I have a feeling that the way the International Style had development was so reductive in terms of what you knew in history and what you could do in terms of drawing, that these people had a vested interest in incompetence.” Stopping next at Louis Kahn’s Art Gallery (1953), Scully described the building as Kahn’s attempt “to try to understand what a classical building in a town is.” Paul Rudolph’s Yale Art & Architecture Building (1963), the final stop on the Yale campus visit, Scully called “a good example of trying to invent a language when there is no language.”³⁴

The next segment of the introductory episode took place on the construction site of one of Stern’s building projects, further reinforcing how the “search for a usable past” was his own. “Since leaving Yale in 1968, I have endeavored to design new buildings that combine pragmatism and myth. I believe in an architecture of dreams,” he told

viewers over footage of him inspecting the house and looking over drawings with the building supervisor. “I’m quite concerned about those headers up there...and about those joists,” Stern told the foreman in an awkward bit of canned dialog. Following the scene at Stern’s work site was footage of construction on a heavy timber frame, recreating colonial building traditions. Altogether, the segment placed Stern’s design work within the same trajectory of Kahn and Rudolph, as his immediate predecessors at Yale, and all the way back to the earliest American building traditions.

The remaining segments of the first episode focused on buildings that Stern described as part of America’s “usable past.” Examples included George Washington’s Mount Vernon estate (1757); Thomas Jefferson’s Monticello (1772), where Stern chatted with the architect Jaquelin Robertson; and Frank Lloyd Wright’s Taliesin (1911) and Taliesin West (1937). To this predictable lineage of American architecture, Stern added Theodate Pope Riddle’s Hill-Stead House (1901), which he described as “perhaps the most powerful interpretation of Mount Vernon.” In the segment on Riddle, Philip Johnson joined Stern to discuss her house and the design for Westover, a girls’ school in Connecticut. Shown walking around the campus, the men observed Riddle’s manipulations of geometry and scale and her juxtaposition of forms (including a medieval gable capped by an American eagle finial). Stern described the resulting composition as an American form of German Expressionism. On where Riddle may have been exposed to such forms, Stern said: “she may have gone to the movies and seen *The Golem* or the *Cabinet of Dr. Caligari*,” to which Johnson added “Or Hansel and Gretel.”

Stern also identified some “false starts” in the “search for a usable past.” The first

example, Richard Meier's Hartford Seminary (1981), Stern criticized for "refusing to engage in a dialog between the past and the present." He described Meier's building as "sleekly detailed like a 1920s ocean liner," but ultimately "stranded in suburbia" with "no connection to the seminary's gothic past." The program also showed Charles Gwathmey and Robert Siegel's Whig Hall (1972) on the Princeton campus. Stern said of the architects' decision to retain the surviving Greek Revival temple front for the otherwise Modernist building: "What might have been a conversation across time ends up a confrontation." A second example from the Princeton campus followed: Gordon Wu Hall (1983), designed by Venturi, Rauch, and Scott Brown as part of their plan for Butler College. Stern described the designers as conducting "a witty conversation, invoking the university's traditional forms and symbols" in reference to their use of iconic (and ironic) gestures to Elizabethan forms. "But architecture must go beyond sly ironies in its search for a usable past," Stern stated. In the book, he described the work of Venturi and his partners as looking "at the past with a twisted smile."³⁵

The first episode closed with praise for two of Stern's contemporaries: Michael Graves and Philip Johnson. He complimented Graves's skillful use of historical references in his San Juan Capistrano Library (1982) in California. Stern explained how the Graves building "took its cue from the nearby 18th century mission," referring to the San Juan Capistrano Mission, and that the library's design was "inspired" by the mission's cloistered courtyard. As a result, Stern deemed Graves's design "highly personal and inventive."³⁶

Having already appeared as a guest, Johnson became the savior of American

architecture in Stern's story. Over establishing shots of Johnson and Burgee's PPG Place (1984) in Pittsburgh Stern proclaimed: "The skyscraper thrills of my youth are back again." PPG Place, Stern explained, "recaptures the optimism of the proud towers that I loved. Glass, traditional form, traditional urban space...all brings back a sense of urbanism, of power, of towers that dominate and aspire." As he applauded the architects' use of "modern materials of glass and steel" to create "dreams of gothic towers," the camera panned over the black reflective surfaces of the PPG curtain wall. "The sculpted surface makes the building a mirror and a mask," Stern said of the neo-Gothic skyscraper.

"The Search for a Usable Past" concluded with an answer to the crisis of modernism. "In New York, my city," Stern said, "I had despaired that there would never be an end to the high-rises that blocked off the towers of my Manhattan dreams." The camera slowly tilted up to reveal Johnson and Burgee's AT&T Building (1984) as a triumphant answer to Stern's despair (Figure 5.4). Described as a "turning point" in American architecture, Stern described the postmodern landmark as "the first New York skyscraper in forty years to proudly inhabit its height." In his closing words to the first episode, Stern announced American architecture saved: "Once again, our architecture amuses us. And challenges us. Once again, it represents our pride of place."³⁷ The first episode provided a clear introduction to Stern's personal brand of postmodernism. The architect highlighted examples of historical buildings he deemed valuable (New York skyscrapers from the 1920s being one), criticized examples of contemporary buildings he saw as less successful in evoking "a usable past," and endorsed those he liked.

Missing the Mark

Critics panned *Pride of Place* as a failed experiment in architectural history for television. In her *Wall Street Journal* review, Ellen Posner noted how the program “begins to fall apart in the first few minutes, becomes increasingly awkward, confused and unconvincing, and never provides any real history of or insight into its subject.”³⁸ Most of the blame fell squarely on the shoulders of the host. “He is not a great speaker,” Goldberger observed of Stern in *The New York Times*, “and often comes off as a bit prim, like a schoolboy reading from prepared lines...” In his review for *Architectural Record*, Roger Kimball argued Stern’s “reedy, high-pitched voice, energetically distracting hand movements, and reluctance to take his eyes off the teleprompter... make his performance comically wooden.”³⁹ Critics also reprimanded Stern for failing to temper his expertise for lay audiences. Stern often used unexplained architectural jargon and references to principal figures, including Andreas Palladio, Giovanni Battista Piranesi, Le Corbusier, Louis Kahn, and Ludwig Mies van der Rohe, without explanation.

Critics also found Murray Grigor’s handling of the subject matter to lack any real visual interest. “We’re sitting here, missing “The A-Team” in hopes of seeing *buildings*,” wrote Sarah Booth Conroy in the *Washington Post*, but instead all one gets to see are “bits and pieces.”⁴⁰ Grigor often captured tight shots of building features by panning and tilting the frame across facades and details. Even though most buildings received an average air time of two minutes, the effect was often fragmented and hurried. Of the result, Conroy quipped, “Too often you can’t see the buildings for the trees, or the garbage trucks, or the bicycling children or the cars.”⁴¹

Goldberger also found *Pride of Place* lacking as a televisual expression of American architecture, concluding that the “grand tour of spaces and places misses the mark.”⁴² He questioned whether or not television could be an effective platform for architectural representation:

Architecture is an art of movement...though buildings stand still, we must move through them to understand them. It would seem, then, that film would be the ideal medium to capture architecture. With motion pictures, we can walk through buildings, and not simply look at them as static objects fixed in space as we do with still photography. On film, we ought to be able to feel the interior space that is so essential to the experiment of being within a building. We ought to, but we cannot. This is but one of the conclusions one reaches after viewing “Pride of Place.”⁴³

Goldberger also questioned the subjectivity of Stern’s “personal view.” After appearing as a guest on the sixth episode, “The Place Within,” Goldberger explained in his review that the narrative viewers saw belonged to Stern only: “neither I nor any of the other guests had any role in putting together the series.”⁴⁴ Goldberger’s critical objectivity was in tact, allowing him to note the program’s narrative shortcomings: “Mr. Stern’s revisionist history has a bit too much revising...Modernism has been played down to the point where it now seems more like architecture’s party pooper than a genuine body of ideas.” Goldberger also rightly questioned whether or not Stern’s criticisms towards his contemporaries was professionally ethical: “Given that Mr. Stern is a practicing architect in competition with the very architects he criticizes, there seems reason to question fairness here—should he be wearing a critic’s hat when he presents the work of his competitors on national television?” In light of AIA standards of professionalism that prohibited the appearance of competition between architects, Stern’s

displays of favoritism could rightly be called into question.

The consensus among most critics was that Stern's "personal view" was one of revisionism and favoritism. "There is a certain cattiness in his way of dealing with contemporaries in his profession... you get a strong feeling of who his friends are," Frank Peters wrote of Stern in his review for the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*.⁴⁵ Stern's biases called into question the arbitrariness of his design judgments. Peters, in a review entitled "A Narrow Anti-Modernist's View of American Architecture," questioned Stern's judgments: "It is not easy...to predict from the look of a building how Stern will judge it." As examples, Peters referred to Stern's consideration, in the seventh episode, "Proud Towers," of two modernist towers: the IDS Center in Minneapolis and the World Trade Center twin towers in New York. "Both buildings serve their constituencies, as far as I can determine, to full satisfaction," Peters wrote, "Yet to Stern one is good, the other bad. It helps to know that the good one, IDS, is the work of Postmodernism's eminence grise, Philip Johnson, while WTC was designed by Minoru Yamasaki."⁴⁶ In his review for the *Chicago Tribune*, Paul Gapp also highlighted Stern's bias, which he felt reflected "the tastes of New York's rather snobbish architectural elite."⁴⁷ Writing for Midwest newspapers, and as residents of St. Louis and Chicago respectively, Peters and Gapp represented critical voices from the 'periphery' of Stern's east-coast constituency.

The most scathing review of *Pride of Place* (and Stern's involvement in it) came from the art critic Roger Kimball. His essay appeared in *The New Criterion* as "Making a Spectacle of Architecture on PBS," and in *Architectural Record* as the abridged "Pride Misplaced: Stern Lessons in American Architecture."⁴⁸ In both pieces, Kimball's biggest

gripe was with Stern's performance as a historian: "The real problem with *Pride of Place* is its failure as an exercise in architectural history." In what he called "simply a failure of communication," Kimball derided Stern's reliance on undefined references and architectural jargon. Focusing in on Stern's preference for postmodernism at the expense of the Modern masters like Mies van der Rohe and Louis Kahn, Kimball accused the host of being "utterly incapable of distinguishing real history and superficial parody of history."⁴⁹

Kimball's ten-page criticism acted as a counterpart to *Pride of Place*; the two mediations entered into a dialog over contested architectural affinities (or snobberies), with Kimball coming down against Stern's brand of postmodernism. "What we see throughout *Pride of Place*," Kimball wrote, "is the same arbitrary, deeply ahistorical approach to history and tradition that characterizes postmodernism itself."⁵⁰ The critic derided postmodernism as a way of thinking that was dependent on packaging and decoration.⁵¹ Whereas Stern had praised the postmodern 'mask', for Kimball, the concepts of myth and history were "little more than a kind of costume."⁵² As demonstrated by Kimball's reviews, *Pride of Place* became a site of debate over larger ideas of architectural theory and taste.

America by Design

Nearly two years after *Pride of Place* aired on PBS, a second mini-series on American architecture premiered: *America by Design*. The architectural historian Spiro Kostof acted as host; Werner Schumann was director; and Guggenheim Productions

oversaw production for the Washington D.C. station WETA-TV. Funding came from an NEA grant allocated for the production of a public television series on architecture. The five-part program aired Monday nights on most PBS stations starting 28 September 1987. The program's secondary backers, the AIA and the furniture manufacturer Haworth, Inc., orchestrated an elaborate public relations campaign for the series, including a premier viewing party at the National Gallery of Art's Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts.

In January 1980, the NEA's departments of Design Arts and Media Arts issued a Request for Proposals for a "television series on architecture/design" to be produced by an independent production company and broadcast on PBS. The NEA had already supported the production of programs focused on the performing arts, including *Live from Lincoln Center* (1976), *Dance in America* (1976), and *Live From the Met* (1977). As part of an "initiative to bring the non-performing arts to the broadest possible public," the NEA intended to award \$700,000 for a program devoted to design.⁵³ Specifically, the government agency requested proposals for programs focused on architecture and city planning, which were seen as inherently controversial: "from different perspectives, the same new building or design complex can appear as a brilliant new solution to design problems, or an irresponsible answer to other overriding imperatives."⁵⁴ The RFP stipulated that funding would go to a series that addressed the "definition of what is good architecture" by asking the following questions:

What constitutes good design? How is this judgment made? How does the environment get built and through whose decisions? How are these decisions affected by aesthetics judgments, political forces and economic reality? How does a building or a design

become socially acceptable and for how long?...Do architects, physical planners and designers significantly affect the building of the environment?...What role do or can citizens play in determining the quality of their environment?⁵⁵

The NEA stipulated that, in answering these questions, the new design program “not be constructed as a history, an exposition of great buildings or an exclusive view of an architect’s and designer’s specialized problem solving.”⁵⁶ Toward that goal, WETA and the producer Charles Guggenheim (of Guggenheim Productions) organized *America by Design* thematically, devoting each of the five episodes to a building category: “The House,” “The Workplace,” “The Street,” “Public Spaces and Monuments,” and “The Shape of the Land.” In the grant proposal, they described the reasoning behind their episode choices: “They are designed to teach Americans how to look at and experience the buildings and spaces they inhabit...To engage the largest possible audience we will start with their most immediate experience.”⁵⁷ Even though the NEA had not required that the program focus on American architecture, the producers decided to focus on the US “to increase the sense of immediacy and personal reference” for the intended program audiences.⁵⁸ In an attempt to personalize the series further, WETA described its intention to create an engaging story: “Design solutions are not abstract entities but classical adventure stories...We want to show the biography of architecture, the anecdote of design; to bring drama to the clash between the talents of the designer and the forces that shape the design product.”⁵⁹

When *America by Design* aired seven years later, the storytelling came from host Spiro Kostof. In the grant proposal, WETA explained the importance of a host whose

reputation “combined unquestionable scholarship with the talent to hold and inspire an audience,” citing examples of Kenneth Clark in *Civilization: A Personal View* and Jacob Bronowsky in *The Ascent of Man* (1973).⁶⁰ Both BBC series hosts were prominent scholars, Clark an art historian and Bronowsky a mathematician and historian of science. Their “personal views” adopted a professorial type of intellectualism, characterized by self-confidence, precise storytelling, and exhaustive research. As host of *America by Design*, Kostof was no exception. At the time of the grant proposal, in 1980, WETA had already secured the University of California- Berkeley professor to host and assist with research and script preparation. The final series bore the mark of the professor.

When Kostof died in 1991, the *New York Times* obituary identified him first by his appearance on *America by Design*.⁶¹ The goal of the show, the article explained, was “to introduce laymen to architecture, landscape and urban planning by taking viewers on a wide-ranging tour to locations as diverse as urban centers, small villages, dams and strip mines.” On Kostof as an educator, the newspaper described his rejection of “the traditional art historian's method of explaining architecture as a series of important buildings in a sequence of historical styles in favor of an approach that looked at architecture as a social and political act.”⁶² Only two years before *America by Design* aired, Kostof published *A History of Architecture: Settings and Rituals*, a survey textbook still used in classrooms twenty years later.⁶³ As the subtitle suggested, Kostof considered the relationship between physical and human environments across cultures and argued that all buildings, not only monuments, were worthy of study.

True to Kostof's professional agenda, *America by Design* emphasized building as

a social act and downplayed the significance of individual architects and designers (as the NEA had originally requested). “There’s more to American architecture than meets the eye,” an anonymous voice-over told viewers before the opening credits.⁶⁴ Kostof emphasized the social, cultural, and technological settings of building practices over aesthetic ones. If Stern had been too forthright in discussing architects, including himself and his contemporaries, Kostof nearly overlooked them altogether.

America by Design did not include an introductory episode. Nevertheless, the first episode, “The House,” characterized Kostof’s handling of the subject and established the tone he would keep in the remaining episodes.⁶⁵ Opening with an establishing shot of the hills of central California, “The House” introduced viewers first to Hearst Castle (1919-1947), the estate designed by the American architect Julia Morgan for the media magnate William Hurst. While the camera showed the elaborated grounds of the estate, including the pool and sculpture gardens, Kostof attributed the building project to a team of workers: “For 27 years, a small army of workers and artisans toiled hard to make it happen... They hauled up iron, cement, and wood, cut stone and finished it, carved moldings and laid tile.” The camera slowly moved over details of doorways, grillwork, and stone carvings before tilting up one of the tiled towers. Kostof first appeared standing on the steps of the Casa Grande, where the bearded professor—shown wearing glasses, a sports jacket, and tie—described the building as “one of the great epics of American architecture... launched by one man, a man in search of his dream house” (Figure 5.5). Crediting only Hearst and the “army of workers and artisans,” Kostof made no mention of Morgan, a curious omission considering Morgan’s role as the first female student of

the Ecole des Beaux Arts in Paris and as one of the most prolific American architects, male or female, in history.

Morgan's history did not factor into Kostof's goal for the opening segment, which was to establish a concept of "house" unique to America. To do so, he set up a visual and narrative comparison between Hearst and the PBS viewer. "This is how one American lived earlier in the century," Kostof said of Hearst Castle while views of the interior grand hall were shown. Over wide shots of the dining room, Kostof explained how "Hearst dined in state with the famous of his day, surrounded by masterpieces from abroad that expressed the values he held dear." The next interior shown was the library: "In these rooms he rested and studied and enjoyed the intimacy of close friends." Kostof emphasized the everyday customs occurring inside the house, instead of the design of the ornate spaces, because he meant to draw a parallel with the domestic environments of his viewers. As Kostof told viewers, "These domestic rituals, all of us hold in common, far removed as our lives may be from the likes of Hearst or our houses from the splendors of the enchanted hill," the view cross-faded from the Hearst living room to that of a typical suburban home (Figure 5.6). Inside the modest house, the camerawork mirrored that of the Hurst interiors (slow panning motion sweeping from left to right and right to left); the similar visual treatment reinforced Kostof's comparison between the two accommodations. Kostof called domestic rituals a common ground for all Americans: "Every house is for its occupants a private sanctuary and a public stage. It projects our identity and self worth. Gives us a chance to express ourselves." Through careful voice-over and camera work, the opening segment conflated Hearst's quest for a domestic

identity with that of the average American.

In less than five minutes, the Hearst Castle segment established the driving story of *America by Design*. Kostof ignored the role of the architect in favor of acknowledging the role of “workers and artisans” and the patronage of Hearst.⁶⁶ Moreover, in mirroring the living spaces of the middle-class, suburban Americans (presumably the audience of PBS) with that of a billionaire tycoon, *America by Design* eschewed the ‘great man’ narrative of architecture for a populist view. Kostof’s language, especially his focus on rituals, commonalities, identities and expressions, reinforced the democratic premise. Kostof’s use of the first personal plural in addressing viewers (“a chance to express ourselves”) contrasted Stern’s first person singular (“New York, my city”). *America by Design* offered the ‘personal view’ of its audience and replaced ‘architecture’ with *building* as a cultural, social, and personal ritual.

America by Design fit within Kostof’s professional agenda, which differed from Stern’s aim with *Pride of Place*. Whereas the New York architect had a personal stake in endorsing architecture as art, Kostof’s motivation was historiographical and methodological. By adopting a material culture approach to architecture, the professor echoed the argument of his textbook *A History of Architecture*, specifically that all buildings were worthy of study as products of social, political, and technological forces. In *America by Design*, Kostof showed no interest in presenting examples of design success or failure. He provided little architectural description when presenting buildings and sites; used few vocabulary terms or design buzzwords, made little mention of materials or details, and provided no stylistic analysis.

America by Design often showed Kostof in settings that reinforced his academic viewpoint (Figure 5.7). He visited libraries and archives, where the camera framed his hand moving over archival drawings as he instructed viewers what to notice. Kostof's wording was slow and deliberate, his tone philosophical. Throughout the program, the professor posed questions to viewers. As a result, *America by Design* simulated a university lecture series for television audiences. "The entire effort," Daralice Boles wrote in her review for *Progressive Architecture*, "carries the unmistakable stamp of the classroom."⁶⁷

TV Worth Watching?

"Good teaching doesn't necessarily make good television," Boles continued in her review. Kostof's facts were solid, his integrity as a scholar undeniable. However, Boles found his delivery and methodology lacking for the small screen. "All five segments are made needlessly confusing by Kostof's rather cavalier approach to chronology and his occasional failure to identify filmed buildings or sites."⁶⁸ Boles also found his sweeping generalizations concerning the nature of American identity tired and lacking innovation: "He adheres to the slightly outmoded belief that for every effect there must be a cause."⁶⁹ Kostof may have opened the architecture canon to include more stories, but his treatment of the content still felt traditional.

The *Los Angeles Times* design critic Sam Hall Kaplan described the resulting effect as boring and tedious. "What we have is a history professor giving an ambitious, illustrated history lesson," Kaplan observed, "trying to capture the sweep of the country

in sweeping terms and sweeping scenes and getting lost in the clouds of words and pictures.”⁷⁰ Kaplan identified the resulting “lessons” as more pedagogic than entertaining. “Watching the series,” he wrote, “would be a good homework assignment for a high school history or civics class or an introductory college course. But it would be work.”⁷¹ Like Boles, Kaplan’s main critique of *America by Design* was Kostof’s evocation of a populist story without the follow through: “While Kostof talks a lot about we, the people...the series is devoid of people. It is, in a word, dry.”⁷² Dull was the word *Chicago Tribune* architecture critic Paul Gapp used to describe the “most excruciatingly consistent characteristic” of *America by Design*.⁷³ In his review, “America by Design Needs Redesign,” Gapp described Kostof as an “amiable and reassuringly authoritative figure” whose line-readings were “unrelievedly dry and humorless.”⁷⁴

Goldberger, in his *New York Times* review, noted presentation style as the main difference between *America by Design* and its predecessor: “‘Pride of Place’ was really the architectural gospel according to Stern...There is no such eccentricity in “America by Design.”⁷⁵ In the end, Goldberger found Kostof’s treatment no better for TV than Stern’s dogma: “I respect Mr. Kostof’s desire to take a less prejudicial tone than Robert Stern, but as the hours of “America by Design” march on, that desire...dances on the edge of the banal.”⁷⁶ Like Boles and Kaplan, Goldberger lamented the didactic tone of *America by Design*, closing his review with “If only the series did not sound, so often, like an eighth grade civics textbook.”⁷⁷

America by Design had, in fact, been designed as an instructional series. The AIA provided an eight-page Viewing Guide for professors at design schools to encourage the

use of *America by Design* as a teaching tool.⁷⁸ For each episode, the Viewing Guide provided a content overview and synopsis along with discussion questions and activities for “getting involved.” For “The House,” viewers were encouraged to take a walking tour through two residential areas near their homes. Using a form provided in the Guide, they could “keep track of...observations regarding the types of structures” (the form identified apartment houses, town or row houses, farms, single-family detached houses, mobile homes, stores, and offices) they saw on their walks (Figure 5.8).⁷⁹ For the episode on “The Workplace,” the Guide provided two gridded plans, one a square and the other an L-plan, and tasked viewers with designing the workspace for three employees by configuring the space (solid lines represented full walls; broken lines, wall dividers) and drawing in elements (desk, work table, bookcase, desk chair, visitor’s chair, and file cabinet) (Figure 5.9).⁸⁰ The activity for “Public Spaces and Monuments” encouraged viewers to conduct research on landmarks in their area by consulting the National Register of Historic Places at their local library and visiting the sites.⁸¹ In a section on Resources, the Guide listed sources for further reading and encouraged viewers to “continue your exploration...by reading Spiro Kostof’s lavishly illustrated companion book.” Educators could also obtain the entire series on videocassette for \$395 (or \$99 for a single episode) from PBS Video.⁸²

The AIA also sent out promotional packets to its local chapters, encouraging them to use the program to create public interest in outreach projects. In a press release, Ray Rhinehart, the AIA Senior Director of communications, explained to architects how “America by Design gives you a five-week long window into the homes of millions of

Americans.”⁸³ However, as Rhinehart explained it, the program was not meant to replace local publicity efforts: “Don’t think for a minute that the series removes from you the obligation and challenge of a first-class, long-range local outreach effort. It is a vehicle to get from where you are now to where you want to be vis-à-vis visibility in your community.” The promotional packet included content for press releases, publicity photographs and biographies on the producers, brochures, and “tune-in” mailer cards. Through such efforts, the sponsors tried to facilitate a participatory approach to viewership.

Promotional materials touted the program as “TV Worth Watching,” setting it up as a higher quality of television than viewers would find elsewhere (Figure 5.10). Television scholars have explained such claims of “quality television” as symptomatic of competing taste cultures associated with separate viewership models. Michael Curtin argued in his history of documentaries that the act of watching educational television was characterized as “productive labor” in contrast to the perceived “passive consumption” of commercial television.⁸⁴ Likewise, Laurie Ouellette, in her book *Viewers Like You? How Public TV Failed the People*, explained how PBS was founded on the rhetoric of “worthwhile watching,” an ideology of media consumption set up in opposition to the mindless viewership of commercial television by mass audiences.⁸⁵

Televising the “Personal View”

Critics commended *Pride of Place* and *America by Design* as significant efforts to televise architecture, even if they were less pleased with the individual outcomes. Of

Pride of Place, Goldberger concluded: “It is conceived and produced out of love for both architecture and the American place, and it cannot but deserve a high place among those efforts, too few in our time, to explain to the public something of what the passion of architecture actually means.”⁸⁶ When he reviewed *America by Design*, Goldberger took the arrival of two mini-series in such a short timespan as a sign of increased public interest in the subject: “it [*America by Design*] further confirms what last year's series made clear - that the public no longer considers architecture an irrelevant or academic discipline, but a subject of wide appeal.”⁸⁷ Both series reached audiences numbering in the millions (*Pride of Place* totaled nearly 6.3 million viewers in the top six markets).⁸⁸ However, the production of *Pride of Place* and *America by Design* owed little to an assumed public interest in architecture and more to an effort, on the part of their respective sponsors, to ‘cultivate’ the masses through educational programming. As an alternative to explicit commercial programming, or as “TV Worth Watching,” the PBS mini-series was one of the only remaining platforms for sponsors and professionals to engage (and educate) television publics.

Some critics assumed *America by Design* had been produced as a reaction to *Pride of Place*. In the *Raleigh News & Observer*, Steven Litt reported on how “among some Raleigh architects, Kostof’s program is eagerly awaited as an antidote to what many viewed as Stern’s highly personal view of American architecture.”⁸⁹ Goldberger mused that *America by Design* seemed “almost to have been created as a conscious response to the Stern series.”⁹⁰ In reality, the production schedule for *America by Design*

predated *Pride of Place*; WETA had submitted its grant proposal to the NEA two years prior to Stern's first meeting with Schmertz at Mobil.

The programs were not intentionally designed as competing views of American architecture. Instead, they reflected discrete production settings: the partnership between Mobil's Schmertz and Stern resulted in *Pride of Place's* polemical treatment of the subject matter, wherein Stern based his criteria of judgment on personal experiences and opinions. *America by Design*, the product of an NEA initiative to bring architecture to television, adopted a populist and generalizing approach, delivered by Professor Kostof as a series of informative but dull lessons. Ultimately, Stern and Kostof performed their respective professional roles: the dogmatic architect and the didactic historian.

Chapter Six

Beyond TV: HGTV as Media Convergence

Cultural revolution involves a democratization of taste, a spread of knowledge about non-material developments, and a shift of authority about manners and morals from the few to the many. In the United States, the business of designing and decorating homes is no longer the exclusive prerogative of architects and designers, but is shared by the professionals with millions of laymen of varying degrees of technical competence and aesthetic awareness.

- Edmund Burke Feldman in *Arts & Architecture*, 1957¹

From television viewer to online user to consumer and back again. That is the powerful HGTV.com circle that brings a pre-qualified audience face-to-face with the advertiser. More than just a design resource, HGTV.com is an integral component of the HGTV brand promise. It sparks creativity in viewers' homes and self-empowerment in their lives, linking them to all of HGTV's outstanding brand touchpoints.

- HGTV.com, 2014²

Professional designers interested in public engagement in the twenty-first century can learn from the way Home and Garden Television (HGTV) courts its audience. Established in 1994 as a basic cable and satellite television channel, HGTV typified the shift from a broadcast television-dominated culture to one of digital and online platforms. Writing in 2004, media scholar Lynn Spiegel described the resultant period as “the phase that comes after “TV.”³ As evidence of the transition, Spiegel identified “the demise of the three-network system in the United States...the rise of multichannel cable and global satellite delivery...Internet convergence...and innovation of digital television systems like

TiVo.”⁴ Within the new technological and cultural context of the twenty-first century, HGTV became a powerful media brand— one that defined American design through total commercial dominance extending beyond television to include old and new media alike.

Like many architectural projects, HGTV started as a conceptual drawing. In 1992, Ken Lowe, then a young broadcasting executive at the EW Scripps Company, pitched the idea of a cable network devoted to the American home by drawing a house and identifying how each room could become the subject of a television show. According to Lowe, the idea grew out of his aspirations to become an architect (he had worked in construction with his uncle, a builder) and his experience as an amateur filmmaker. After observing how his fellow baby-boomer friends talked about home building and design issues—of the “who’s your builder?” variety—Lowe started conceiving of a niche cable network that could do for home design what MTV had done for music.⁵ Executives at Scripps invested \$75 million in Lowe’s idea, and in 1994, the HGTV network premiered to six million households.⁶ By 2014, HGTV was reaching over 99 million American homes and 170 different countries worldwide. Growing circulation numbers provide one measure of HGTV’s cultural power; the brand defines what is desirable for the majority of American design consumers.⁷ As design journalist James McCown put it in 2011, “The most influential source for popular design education is not a school, but a television network.”⁸

At the core of HGTV’s popularity is a mastery of multi-media merchandising that elicits a form of participation more complex than is typically attributed to consumerism. On 5 December 2013, HGTV hosted an “Open House Pin Party” to promote its 2014

Dream Home contest on Pinterest, an interactive website that allows users to customize their own digital “idea board.”⁹ The HGTV Pin Party recreated a traditional real estate “open house” by facilitating an online tour of the 2014 “Dream Home”— a 3,200 square-foot vacation getaway house built in Lake Tahoe, California. Liz Gray, a blogger for HGTV.com explained how, during the Pin Party, visitors could “relive the Dream Home building process, then see photos of the amazing finished product and chat with fellow fans about your favorite features.”¹⁰ As HGTV staffers uploaded photographs and videos of the house to the Dream Home Pinterest board, they encouraged visitors to comment and “repin,” or bookmark, what they liked to their own accounts. For anyone unfamiliar with Pinterest, HGTV provided a “primer on how to get involved.”¹¹

What started as a broadcasting idea for a niche cable market has become, twenty years later, an omnimedia global brand spanning television, publishing, product tie-ins, and online communities. New media platforms like Pinterest encourage audiences to act as stewards of their own taste cultures, whereas old media, including the model house, bolster HGTV as a source for modern products and ideas. The network’s “design talent” bolster HGTV’s communicative effect. Prominent network spokespersons run the professional gamut, from licensed architects and interior designers to unlicensed decorators and network personalities. Criteria of design “expertise” collapse into the HGTV brand, which disseminates contemporary ideas of modern living based largely on corporate sponsorship, entertaining story structures, and product placement.

HGTV provides lessons in media convergence for the architecture industry. Henry Jenkins defined media convergence as “the flow of content across multiple media

platforms, the cooperation between multiple media industries, and the migratory behavior of media audiences who will go almost anywhere in search of the kinds of entertainment experiences they want.”¹² Convergence refers to complex cultural and technological processes that affect how meaning is made, how ideas ‘spread’, and how taste takes shape in our contemporary society. The complexity of its convergent media brand makes HGTV very appealing to advertisers. To attract potential sponsors, HGTV describes its audience in terms of media convergence: “From television viewer to online user to consumer and back again. That is the powerful HGTV.com circle that brings a pre-qualified audience face-to-face with the advertiser.”¹³ After introducing the specific viewing experience found on the network, this chapter examines the topic of convergence as it occurs within three examples of HGTV branding: the television show *HGTV Design Star*; the “HGTV Dream Home” contest; and *HGTV Magazine*.

Watching HGTV

HGTV first built its consumer base as a television network; its secondary media projects (including HGTV.com) work to reinforce television programming as the core of the brand. As a niche cable network, HGTV programs focus on home improvement and real estate investments. They follow formulaic television tropes. Episodes typically present design issues as “human interest stories,” organized according to a basic arc of problem, conflict, and resolution. The storylines stay contained to each half hour or hour-long episode, and the use of block programming, or the scheduling of multiple episodes

of the same program back-to-back, rewards a specific type of viewership based on uninterrupted watching.¹⁴

A look at the schedule for a typical mid-week day of programming gives some clue to the type of programming and the structure of the viewing experience found on HGTV (Table 6.A). By scheduling blocks of the same program to air for long uninterrupted periods (on 6 March 2013, *Income Property* aired from 1:00 pm until 8:00 pm), HGTV encourages the practice of settling on the channel throughout the day. Often, the block of programs heralds the premier of a new episode in primetime; commercials promote the upcoming new episode and build anticipation throughout the day. This technique creates a viewing momentum that carries daytime audiences into the more competitive primetime period.

Even the formulaic nature of the programs rewards a binge-watching approach to HGTV viewing. The following synopses, published on HGTV.com, describe the types of stories airing on 6 March 2013:

“A Grown Up Dining Space,” *Color Confidential* (6:30 AM): “In Patricia and Karl's home, every room is a playroom, much to their chagrin. They need Jane to help their dining room grow up into the adult space they dream about.”¹⁵

“Searching for a New Family Home,” *Hidden Potential* (7:30 AM): “After an opportunity to move to South Africa fell through, the Burke family found themselves without a permanent home and back to square one in their search for a home in Charlotte. The Hidden Potential team helps them envision a place that's suitable for the whole family.”¹⁶

“A Nightmare of a Triplex...”, *Income Property* (1:30 PM): “Fernando and his partner David have a lot of taste and energy. They bought a neglected triplex with the intention of painstakingly renovating every nook and cranny. Unfortunately, they ran out money and now the energy is going too.”¹⁷

“Single Dad’s Solution,” *Income Property* (2:30 PM): “It took a year-and-a-half for divorced dad Kerry to find a house that could be a home to share with his two children and would also have a rental unit to provide extra income to fund the kids' expensive sporting activities... With a demanding, full time job and many extracurricular kids activities, this devoted dad has no time to finish the basement apartment renovations and needs help.”¹⁸

The design challenges in these four programs cover a limited range of issues: interior design and renovation projects; the real estate market; and investment planning and budgeting. These types of stories provide the foundation of all HGTV programming.¹⁹ As the synopses suggest, the episodes were designed as basic “human interest stories,” establishing the emotional motivation of a design problem before presenting a resolution, often in the form of advice for modest interventions provided by the design hosts.

Of note is the variety of family groups depicted on HGTV; the four episodes described above portrayed a single-parent family, two nuclear families, and one same-sex couple.²⁰ The journalist Mary Elizabeth Williams argued, in the *Chicago Sun Times*, that HGTV’s inclusion of “alternative” family groups indicated an effort at “broadening its base and appealing to a wider demographic” as well as a basic attempt to reflect the changing “reality of contemporary America.”²¹ The sociologist Herbert Gans described the latter, that of reflecting changing social realities, as the function of popular culture. In his 1974 book *Popular Culture and High Culture: An Analysis and Evaluation of Taste*, Gans explained how Americans accept popular culture in line with their value systems, and reciprocally, define their values and expectations in response to popular culture.

“Together with gossip,” Gans wrote, “human interest stories may be the prime unofficial guide to changing social norms than people ever receive.”²² Instead of a binary model of high vs. low culture, Gans treated American society as a series of taste publics and their subsequent taste cultures, all of which, he argued, were worthy of study.

HGTV rewards viewers’ desire to express their own tastes in contrast to others. The example of *House Hunters* is telling in this regard. The program focuses families, individuals, and couples in the market for new real estate. After introducing the buyers, each episode follows as a real estate agent shows them three different properties. The buyers walk through the spaces, discussing what they like and dislike. Each episode concludes (after a cliffhanger “which one will they pick” commercial break) with the buyers making an offer on one of the three properties; episodes close with a visit to the homeowners in their new residences. *House Hunters* is one of HGTV’s longest lasting programs, having started in 1999 and still running in 2014; a spin-off called *House Hunters International* started in 2006. HGTV typically schedules *House Hunters* for the noon timeslot and *House Hunters International* from 12:30 (in addition to airing at other times of day), most likely to encourage viewers to tune in on their lunch breaks to watch the popular series.

Watching *House Hunters*, though, is less about learning the steps of the real estate market than it is an exercise in passing judgment. While viewers get to know the budgets of prospective shoppers and are shown examples of what that money can buy in different parts of the country (or world), the formulaic structure of each episode offers few insights into the real estate market. Instead, *House Hunters* rewards a voyeuristic type of viewing

experience, during which the audience can judge, often with eye-rolling exasperation, the poor choices of the homebuyers. After repeated viewings, it becomes obvious that the stereotypical white, middle class family from the suburbs will select the gated-community condominium with a pool (essentially the same property they already own) for their retirement house in the exotic location. Homeowners will also never fail to find fault with issues, like paint color or furnishings, that should not factor into their selections.

Unrealistic homeowner expectations have become a source for parody within popular culture. In a 2012 episode of the NBC sitcom *30 Rock* entitled “Idiots Are People Two,” the main character Liz Lemon expressed her frustration with HGTV homebuyers, saying “I have a lot of imaginary arguments with the couples on *House Hunters*. Why can’t people look past paint color?”²³ The website “Funny or Die,” features multiple comedy videos spoofing *House Hunters*.²⁴ One video from 2013 entitled “House Hunters Idiots: Park Slope” portrays a married couple seeking a new apartment in Brooklyn, New York.²⁵ They find fault with each of the properties based on absurd expectations and misunderstandings. At the first apartment the couple shows confusion over how they could use the bathroom with the toilet lid down. They are distracted at the second property by photographs of the existing homeowners. “We’d want pictures of people that we know,” says the wife, to which the husband adds, “for that price we shouldn’t feel like strangers in our own home.” They refuse to enter the final property because the front steps are covered with snow, which they describe as a “deal-breaker.” The parody ends by visiting the couple three months later to find them still living in their old apartment

and “searching for that perfect place that has everything no rational human being can provide or possess.” The ability to pass judgment on the taste cultures depicted on HGTV is central to the viewing experience.

Stylistic concerns and formal analysis do little to understand HGTV as a television experience. In an essay for *Dwell* entitled “The Renovation will be Televised,” Cathy Lang Ho argued that HGTV worked to shore up audience loyalty by offering a simple message: home improvement is self-improvement. “In the end, the most consistent message that emerges from these programs is not tied to any particular design idea or philosophy. In fact, styles vary wildly across the various shows or even within the same program,” Ho observed, “What links them all together is the empowerment message: you can do it... The shows are about not just home improvement but self-improvement, a form of mass therapy for people in search of confidence and comfort.”²⁶ McCown similarly observed the lack of stylistic concerns on the network. “What’s especially noticeable throughout HGTV is how rarely “high design” comes into play,” McCown wrote, “there’s hardly a reference to Mies van der Rohe, Marcel Breuer, or any of the rest of the Modernist pantheon, let alone well-known current practitioners.”²⁷ Less surprising, he added, was the absence of “well-known academics” whose messages are often less palatable than those of architects. Instead, what HGTV programming offers is a message of improvement and do-it-yourself know-how— a message made stable through a formulaic and tested approach to storytelling. The persistence of tropes also allows for a type of audience participation wherein predictable behaviors become the source of

parody and mockery. For HGTV, criteria of “good design” submit to standards of “good TV.”

HGTV Design Star

In July 2006, HGTV began producing *HGTV Design Star*, a reality competition show wherein designers of various backgrounds and training compete for a contract to host their own show on the network. The program represented the network’s foray into the booming market of reality competition shows, which included versions for singing (*American Idol*, Fox, 2002); fashion design (*Project Runway*, Bravo, 2004); and cooking (*The Next Food Network Star*, Food Network, 2005).²⁸ Such programs focused largely on their contestants competing to out-do each other by performing a talent or skillset under extreme time constraints and challenging tasks. Only *American Idol* relied on amateur contestants who were seeking their “big break” in the form of record contracts; the other programs showcased professional designers and chefs competing along with novices.

The contestants on *HGTV Design Star* represented a range of “expertise” based on experience and education. Season one’s group of ten designers included David Bromstad, a former Disney animator and eventual season winner; Alice Fakier, an interior designer trained at Louisiana Tech University’s School of Architecture; twin designers, Teran and Teman Evans, who both studied architecture in Harvard University’s Graduate School of Design; and Ramona Jan, owner of an industrial art boutique store in Pennsylvania.²⁹ Later seasons included a similarly diverse range of designers: licensed interior designers, others decorators, small-business owners, painters, stylists, and architects.

The structure of *HGTV Design Star* (called *HGTV Star* since 2013) remained fairly consistent. A winner was selected each season by a process of elimination, with one or two designers removed from the competition each episode. Every episode focused on one design challenge, which the contestants worked to complete either in teams or individually. In the third episode of season one, “Wild Card Design,” the eight remaining contestants designed a space using only items purchased from one of four stores: automotive, beauty, pet, and camping.³⁰ The designer was paired with his or her store randomly and had one hour to shop for materials with a \$500 budget. The challenge showcased the contestants’ abilities to reconfigure unorthodox materials into interior design elements. Each contestant had eleven hours over two days to compete the task.

Like every other episode, “Wild Card Design” ended in the *HGTV Design Star* “studio,” a soundstage where a panel of judges critiqued the results of the design challenge. The judges included Vern Yip, an HGTV designer who started his television career on *Trading Spaces* (TLC, 2000-2008); the fashion and interior designer Cynthia Rowley; and Martha McCully, Executive Editor of *InStyle* magazine. The choice of judges created specific criteria of design quality; Yip, who holds a professional architecture degree from the Georgia Institute of Technology, combined a professional background with an established television personality. Rowley and McCully were HGTV outsiders, but they tied the competition directly to the established fashion market and the industry of magazine publishing. McCully’s inclusion specifically demonstrated a commitment to evaluating design based on its quality as media content, either in magazines or on television.

For the evaluations on “Wild Card Design,” the three judges did not visit the design projects; instead they watched footage of the “before” and “after” views of each room (Figure 6.1). Each designer also explained the reasoning behind their design ideas, after which the judges would provide general feedback of elements they thought successful or weak. In other episodes, the judges visited the rooms and conducted a walk through in order to assess the design first-hand. They also often required the contestants to record short practice hosting monologues, which they would evaluate as evidence of the contestant’s potential quality as a television host.

The crowned ‘Design Star’ was one who could successfully translate their design talent and personality for television. In the judging room, each designer was represented by their name and face on a television screen; the screens of those eliminated turned off to show how, as host Clive Pearse explained, “when your screen goes out, your show has been canceled” (Figure 6.2). Winners of the challenge were “safe” for the next round, whereas the losers were removed from the competition. “You do not have what it takes to be the next design star,” Pearse told those leaving, “Your show has been canceled. Please exit the studio.”³¹

HGTV Design star provided a much more complex representation of design expertise than initial observation would assume. The program decentralized the criteria for who can be a designer, replacing it with a different set of standards, the most important of which may actually be the ability to be telegenic and to design spaces that work on television. Moreover, the program acted as the ultimate “behind the scenes” access point into the HGTV brand. And by inviting viewers to see the makings of a

design star—not just a designer, but one made for television, HGTV recast the set of criteria for what it meant to be a popular designer in America today.

HGTV's representation of professionalism has concerned design experts tasked with policing the field.³² Lucinda Kaukas Havenhand, in her article "A View from the Margins: Interior Design," argued that HGTV, along with fictionalized representations of interior designers, including *Designing Women* (1986-1993, CBS) and *Will and Grace* (1998-2006, NBC), "perpetuate the image of a feminized, self-expressive, decorative, and superficial kind of interior design..."³³ Havenhand believed such representations reinforced boundaries between architecture and interior design, often identified by gender stereotypes and binaries like "structure vs. decoration."³⁴ Design challenges on *HGTV Design Star* ranged from cosmetic, or superficial "decorative" treatments of spaces, to comprehensive overhauls, including wall demolitions and modest additions. In "Wild Card Design," the judges responded favorably to designers who disassembled and reconfigured their furniture pieces, or succeeded at what Fakier described as her goal: "to design, not just display."³⁵

Lisa Waxman and Stephanie Clemons, two interior design professors, argued that the popularity of design-related television shows might distort the perceptions of prospective design students. In their article "Student Perception: Debunking Television's Portrayal of Interior Design," published in the *Journal of Interior Design* in 2007, Waxman and Clemons described a series of focus groups they conducted with their own students (Waxman teaches at Florida State University, Clemons at Colorado State University). The authors both admit going into the study "possessing predominately

negative opinions of design-related shows,” but reported that their goal was to “explore the attitudes of the students, not force our opinions on them.”³⁶ They found that over 90% of their students reported to watching design-related shows at least once a week; when asked about what factors determined their choice of degree major, 53% of freshmen identified design-related shows as having some influence.³⁷ Student focus groups identified positive responses to the programs, including some observations on their presentation of creative solutions to common design challenges, along with negative feelings (identified as coming mostly from the upper-level students) concerning the programs’ inaccurate depiction of the design process.

For Waxman and Clemons, the negative effects of design-related shows outweighed the positive. They saw, as the most concerning effect, the conflation of design expertise. “Many students, educators, and practitioners face a public that still does not distinguish between interior design and interior decoration,” the authors wrote, “To further confuse the issue, mixed messages are being sent to the public about the profession.” The authors identified how “a recent design show featured “designers” pasting straw to a wall” as a direct devaluing of licensing and health and safety issues.³⁸ The incident they were referring to appeared on *Trading Spaces* in 2002 and the designer in question was Hildi Santo-Tomás — an interior decorator who majored in industrial relations and economics and the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.³⁹

Waxman and Clemons conclude their article by calling on professional designers to “continue to speak up for the profession” and to “continue to explain the value of well-designed spaces to the public.” However, they did not see television as a platform for

such communications effort, viewing it only as a mechanism (and culture) that had to be counteracted. They warned educators of the need to “address the student perception of the profession during orientation sessions” and directed them to use the career website created by the Interior Design Educators Council.⁴⁰ Waxman and Clemons’ study showed awareness for how media convergence was not primarily a technological process, but a personal one that had serious implications for the boundaries of professionalism and expertise. “Entertainment content isn’t the only thing that flows across multiple media platforms,” wrote Jenkins of the media environment. “Our lives, relationships, memories, fantasies, desires also flow across media channels. Being a lover or a mommy or a teacher occurs on multiple platforms.”⁴¹ The same can be said for being a designer in America.

“HGTV’s Dream Home”

The “HGTV’s Dream Home” contest demonstrates the extent to which HGTV, as a convergence of producers, advertisers, and consumers, circulates across media borders. Started in 1997, the annual sweepstakes centers on a new model house, built each year in a different location in the U.S., and fully stocked with ready-to-move-in amenities.⁴² Contestants enter their names for the chance to win the house; the 2014 contest marked the first time they could also enter to win any of the individual products used within the house. The creative merchandising technique capitalized on existing sponsor relationships, including Sherwin Williams and Shaw Carpets, both of which have HGTV branded lines of products.⁴³ The product placement of the Dream Home campaign

underpins HGTV's network brand, the goal of which is to provide a reliable platform for advertisers.

"HGTV's Dream Home" fits into a long history of cross-promotions between media companies and model houses. The most well known were *Art & Architecture's* Case Study House Program and *House Beautiful's* Pace Setter House Program from the 1940s and 1950s. Both campaigns were the products of the magazines' editors, John Entenza and Elizabeth Gordon, respectively. They centered around the use of architect-designed prototype houses meant to serve the magazines' advertisers, including material manufactures, electronics companies, and department stores. Most of all, the model houses worked to advertise the magazines (and their editors) as authorities on American home design and building.

Another precedent to "HGTV's Dream Home" was the lesser-known model house program, "The House that *Home* Built" (HTHB). The namesake to this campaign was NBC's morning television series, *Home*. The program, which aired between 1954 and 1957, had strong advertising connections to shelter magazines, including *House and Home* and *Better Homes and Gardens*. In her book *Little White Houses: How the Postwar Home Constructed Race in America*, Dianne Harris described how *Home* came to sponsor a model house program.⁴⁴ In 1954, an NBC executive named Joe Culligan suggested *Home* promote its own home-building program in conjunction with the National Association of Home Builders (NAHB). For each HTHB model, builders would pay for the plans and agree to invest their own money in building the house; they needed to use products produced by *Home's* commercial sponsors and to follow NBC standards.

The NAHB commissioned the architects and worked to create the complete house plans to be disseminated to builders. Harris noted an important distinction between the HTHB program and other model house promotions: “Unlike the Case Study Houses, which remained largely singular experiments that never reached a mass audience, the HTHB houses were relatively more numerous constructed...and made available to the middle-class public.”⁴⁵

The most innovative aspect of the HTHB project, according to Harris, was its media convergence (though she did not use Jenkin’s term). On the houses themselves, Harris wrote, “there was actually nothing particularly innovative about the HTHB houses—their designs were no more novel than those found reproduced in the popular and shelter magazines.” The same can be said of HGTV’s Dream Home contest. Not only is it not intended as a home-building package—its plans are not for sale, nor are builders expected to reproduce it across the country—the HGTV models usually conform to standard canons of design taste found in builder’s magazines. “What made these houses seem special,” wrote Harris of the HTHB models, “was the medium through which they were represented and displayed to the public. Television, for the first time, brought the house design and construction process to life for an estimated 3.5 million viewers, all watching at the same time.”⁴⁶ What makes the HGTV Dream Home contest special is the way it uses not only television but also a full media environment to facilitate a complex form of audience participation. Henry Jenkins described the type of participation unique to convergence culture:

Convergence occurs within the brains of individual consumers and through their social interaction with others. Each of us constructs

our own personal mythology from bits and fragments of information extracted from the media flow and transformed into resources through which we make sense of our everyday lives. Because there is so much information on any given topic than anyone can store in their head, there is an added incentive for us to talk among ourselves about the media we consume. This conversation creates buzz that is increasingly valued by the media industry. Consumption has become a collective process...⁴⁷

HGTV facilitates this collective process by way of interactive online platforms. For each photograph of the “Dream House” on HGTV.com, viewers are able to print, post to Pinterest, Twitter, or Facebook with one click. By 17 December 2013, over 17,000 people had “liked” the main 2014 Dream Home webpage; 1,068 people had shared the page on their Twitter accounts.⁴⁸ From the “HGTV Dream Home” webpage, visitors were invited in a side panel to “Create Your Own Dream Space.” Below, links directed them to photograph portfolios of various HGTV designers; from there, visitors could search for photographs of designed rooms according to style. Another link invited visitors to “Post Pics of Your Rooms,” or to upload photographs of their personal interiors that would then be rated by others using a five star scale. These “sharing” options not only worked to spread the HGTV brand, they allowed consumers to construct—through varying degrees of interaction and investment— their own perception of the HGTV product from, as Jenkins noted, “bits and fragments of information.”

“HGTV Dream Home” concludes where it started, on television. The winner of the sweepstakes is usually announced in a one-hour program on the first day of the year. For the 2013 Dream Home announcement, HGTV designer/host Monica Pederson was shown surprising winner Carole Simpson of Columbia, Tennessee on the porch of her

modest ranch home. The visibly shocked Carole admitted to having entered the contest everyday for the last four years. “We know this is going to change your life,” Pederson told Simpson as she presented a check for \$500,000. “I just thought it was an ordinary everyday day,” Simpson told the cameras, “and it’s far from it.”⁴⁹

HGTV Magazine

When *HGTV Magazine* premiered in the fall of 2011, the “home lifestyle” brand banked on its built-in television audience. After the initial print run of 300,000 sold out faster than expected, the first issue went back to print for an additional 135,000 copies.⁵⁰ By summer of 2012, the magazine boosted a circulation of 450,000.⁵¹ *Ad Age* declared it the “launch of the year.”⁵² Published by Hearst Magazines, which had similar success with the *Food Network Magazine* in 2008, *HGTV Magazine* exemplified HGTV’s trans-media branding.

In terms of contemporary media culture, HGTV’s move into print was fairly outmoded. Magazines have long been a staple of the American shelter industry, dating back to the turn of the twentieth century. The earliest examples, *Ladies Home Journal* (1883), *House Beautiful* (1896), and *House and Garden* (1901), focused on combining lifestyle branding with design and architecture trends. In the years after World War II, interior decorating and domesticity magazines proliferated in the U.S. As readership grew, advertisers tapped into the specific market of mostly female, white middle-class consumers.

HGTV Magazine editor-in-chief Sara Peterson classified the brand as “home lifestyle,” which she described as “between broad lifestyle like *Real Simple* or Martha Stewart, and shelter.”⁵³ On the risk of taking on a magazine based on a popular television network—like *O*, the Oprah magazine and *Food Network Magazine*—Peterson said, “I had to make sure I understood what people enjoyed most about HGTV—then translate that into a print magazine.”⁵⁴ Part of the answer, she found, was to embrace the similarities between the two industries. “Magazine editors and TV producers think alike. We both tell stories visually,” Peterson said of the need to create content for media endlessly hungry for it.⁵⁵ “We work with the same talent—all the HGTV and DIY Network stars—so it’s fun and helpful to brainstorm ideas together.”⁵⁶

Just as with “HGTV’s Dream Home” campaign, HGTV products always come back to television as the nexus of the brand. Even *HGTV Magazine* became the subject for a one-hour special entitled *HGTV: Making of Our Magazine*.⁵⁷ The program was hosted by designer Genevieve Gorder, formerly a designer on TLC’s *Trading Spaces* who moved to HGTV as the host of her own program, *Dear Genevieve*, and as a judge on *HGTV Design Star* (starting in season four). Gorder opened *HGTV: Making of Our Magazine* by asking viewers: “Ever wonder what it takes to create a magazine from scratch? Now one of the leading home and lifestyle brands will make its debut in print, and we will follow the process from beginning to end.” The goal of the partnership between HGTV and Hearst, Gorder explained, was “to take all the design, real estate, and landscaping content you see on HGTV programming and transform it into a groundbreaking total home-focused magazine.”⁵⁸ Gorder’s comments encouraged

viewers to see HGTV as a singular brand vision; they were invited to move seamlessly between print, television, and online platforms in pursuit of the information and entertainment they wanted.

The program introduced the editorial staff, including Peterson, and followed them as they produced the premiere issue of *HGTV Magazine*. In one scene, Peterson was shown scouting new home products with the magazine's Style Director at Lillian August Furnishings + Design in New York. "The magazine will provide insider tips, current trends, and insight from top leaders in home design," Gorder explained in voice-over. The program also showed footage of the prop closet and the layout wall. "Much as a script fine-tunes a television show, in the magazine world the layout wall is mandatory," Gorder explained, again drawing parallels between HGTV's television and print production. In one of the final scenes, Peterson was shown tearing up and reconfiguring a spread (Figure 6.3). "Is it a pleasurable reading experience?" she asked of the final magazine.

HGTV: Making of Our Magazine emphasized how, in addition to serving as a new home lifestyle periodical, *HGTV Magazine* "supplements the network's top shows with everything you don't see behind the scenes." The show made it very clear that *HGTV Magazine* would provide, as Gorder explained, "unprecedented access into the network's shows. Getting up close and personal with each of its stars. Revealing what it takes to produce a show...from start to finish." One segment of the program took place on the set of the Gorder's series, *Dear Genevieve*, where the host described how her producers filmed the "grand reveals" that closed each of her shows. Cameras captured Gorder

practicing her monologue for the program and delivering it into another camera (Figure 6.4). The magazine, the viewers were told, would provide the same type of “behind the scenes” access to the network. As a vital part of its brand, HGTV often ‘pulls back the curtain’ and shows audiences its various sites of production.

Ellen Levine, the editorial director for Hearst Magazines, explained how *HGTV Magazine* was intended to appeal to existing network viewers. To do so, Levine said, the editorial team had to ask, “what is the essence of a particular brand? What is HGTV?”⁵⁹ Peterson explained elsewhere in the program that the HGTV brand was about creating an emotional response to modern living; in designing the magazine, the editorial team stressed the importance of an ‘easy,’ ‘fast,’ do-it-yourself type of comfort and decorum. The cover they decided upon for the premier issue had as its headline “Fun, Fast Makeovers,” and Peterson explained that they select, as the cover image, a photograph of a couch with throw-pillows to demonstrate how a homeowner could ‘fun up’ their room in as little as fifteen minutes (Figure 6.5). HGTV is undoubtedly associated with a specific image of contemporary living; but more than that, it has branded a desirable form of image-making.

HGTV Magazine and the program *HGTV: Making of Our Magazine* demonstrate the degree to which the HGTV brand relies on a process of multimedia iteration: each platform works to reinforce the brand identity via repeated exposure and continuity of message. The HGTV logo, for example, is used as a digital on-screen graphic, meaning that it is found as a watermark in the corner of all network shows. It is also used as the masthead to *HGTV Magazine*. In *Making of Our Magazine*, Peterson and her staff were

shown wearing T-shirts with the logo to the Hearst gym (Figure 6.6). The HGTV brand is also embodied by the regular cast of performers, or ‘design talent.’ In addition to hosting their own programs, many of the designers contribute text to the magazine and serve as guests or judges on other programs, such as *HGTV Design Star*. “All of the best home experts in the world live on HGTV,” Peterson boasted on *Making of Our Magazine*. One segment of *Making of Our Magazine* showed Peterson attending for the first time the annual “Wine and Design” press event, where other members of the network welcomed her to the company.

Decorating for Dummies?

The examples of *HGTV Design Star*, the HGTV Dream Home, and *HGTV Magazine* (and its television special *HGTV: Making of Our Magazine*) demonstrate the extent to which HGTV operates as convergence culture in the emergent media environment of the twenty-first century, or of what Lynn Spigel called the “phase that comes after TV.” The stability of the brand across media makes it more appealing to advertisers, investors, and audiences. It also creates a complex design culture that has far reaching consequences for questions of professionalism, representation, and public engagement within American society.

Architecture professionals have been hesitant to take HGTV seriously as design culture. The most telling evidence of this is the lack of coverage on the media company in leading scholarly and professional journals. A search in February 2014 of HGTV (and “Home and Garden Television”) in the Avery Index to Architectural Periodicals yielded

only six results.⁶⁰ A similar search in JSTOR, narrowed by discipline to Architecture & Architectural History, yielded one.⁶¹ When design professionals discuss HGTV, they usually offer criticisms of the network's unrealistic and overtly commercialized depictions of design practice.

In his 2005 essay, "Decorating for Dummies: Why HGTV is bad for Design, and Why it May be Our Own Fault," designer Greg Blonder asked:

Why should anyone pay for an original sculpture or hire a qualified architect when Home Depot is down the street and a builder can stretch a roof over a floor plan? There is nothing wrong with craft masquerading as art, except when it trains the public to confuse hamburger with steak. And McMansions with Mies. Must design be a slave to entertainment?⁶²

In 2008, the media and architectural historian Mitchell Schwarzer delivered a paper, "House Clickers," for a symposium at Syracuse University's School of Architecture. After opening his presentation with a video clip from an HGTV program on kitchen "backsplashes," Schwarzer shared an anecdotal story of how his friends admitted to enjoying HGTV as a "guilty pleasure." At the conclusion, Schwarzer lambasted the constructed nature of the programs and criticized their tendency to contribute "to an increasingly passive manner of dwelling, more about entertainment than use."⁶³

Both men acknowledged the power of media to shape public opinion, or as Blonder put it, to "train the public." However, their comments exemplified the type of anxiety commonly felt toward television as an architectural medium. Both Blonder and Schwarzer reinforced an understanding of television as a commercial medium delivering shoddy and lowbrow content ("hamburger" instead of "steak") to easily confused masses. Schwarzer saw television audiences as so passive he feared the medium exerted power

over not only how they consumed information but also how they lived. Blonder's alarm at the confusion resulting from "craft masquerading as art" similarly revealed a larger concern over the defense of the fine arts in the face of cultural democratization.

In 1957, the art theorist and critic Edmund Burke Feldman described the democratization of design as a "cultural revolution" rooted in the political transformations of the eighteenth century and realized at a mass scale in post-World War II media culture. Writing in *Arts & Architecture*, Feldman defined the transformation as "a democratization of taste, a spread of knowledge about non-material developments, and a shift of authority about manners and morals from the few to the many."⁶⁴ With regards to housing specifically, Feldman argued "shelter, which began as a necessity, has become an industry, and now, with its refinements, is a popular art." He identified, as central to this process, the proliferation of "decorating periodicals," which "serving as an educational and promotional medium, offer each month an immense bulk of technical and aesthetic judgment." He credited the producers of shelter magazines: "one cannot fail to be impressed with the competence of their contributors and especially with their ability to adapt the findings of science to the needs of art," but underlying Feldman's critique was a distrust of their growing power as tastemakers.

Underpinning Blonder and Schwarzer's observations regarding HGTV was the same concern Feldman shared regarding the postwar shelter industry. "The reader of the housing literature," Feldman wrote, "is the civilized person who finds himself fascinated by style but unable to judge whether one style or another is appropriate to his own situation." The loss of cultural discernment was tied to the disruption of established

criteria for design judgment in the wake of mass popularization. “The modern consumer, who is over-fed on appealing facts, needs as every serious artist does, the benefit of responsible criticism from disinterested sources.”⁶⁵ Feldman’s concern was over the loss of knowledgeable guides who could assist the public in recognizing good taste. For Feldman and likeminded stakeholders in high-culture, the question of seriousness became an important bastion against the triviality of pop culture.⁶⁶ In 1947, the art critic Clement Greenberg warned that, as a result of the “leveling of our culture...it becomes increasingly difficult to tell who is serious and who not.”⁶⁷

Is HGTV serious? Blonder and Schwarzer were right to observe HGTV’s blatant commercialism. Yet, as Henry Jenkins noted of similar criticism directed at the singing competition show *American Idol*, their “moral outrage doesn’t take us very far toward understanding its appeal to the networks, advertisers, or consumers.”⁶⁸ Indeed, understanding HGTV’s performance as media before critiquing its content allows design scholars to substitute criteria of communication and participation for traditional distinctions of “seriousness” based on aesthetic and cultural hierarchies. What results is a richer appreciation for HGTV as part of a powerful value construction system at work in American society.

Marshall McLuhan offered one of the earliest arguments for studying the *how* of media before making judgments on the *what*. In a televised interview in 1966, McLuhan explained his oft-misunderstood adage, “the medium is the message” by saying: “a medium is a message in the sense that it creates a totally new world and a totally new psychic outlook for populations.”⁶⁹ When Eric Goldman, the host of *The Open Mind*,

responded by asking “does this mean the content doesn’t matter at all,” McLuhan answered: “Much less than they imagine.” To further clarify the way media operate to create a new environment, McLuhan used a metaphor: “It’s like changing the temperature in a room. It doesn’t matter what’s in the room at all, or what pictures are on the wall, or who is in the room. If the temperature drops forty degrees suddenly, the effect on our outlook, our attitude, is profound.” In light of McLuhan’s words, to focus on the type of design presented on HGTV without first understanding how the media brand has changed the ‘temperature’ of design culture is to misunderstand the complexity of how media operate in American culture.

What does it mean to focus on the way that HGTV represents media convergence instead of its specific representation of design? McLuhan clarified that his insistence on taking new media seriously and not dismissing them outright as a degraded form of old media (or fine art) was not the same as endorsing the content. His intention was to establish a way of understanding how things work within media systems. When Goldman asked McLuhan, “If people will understand this process that’s going on and carry out the dialogue which you are calling for, they can control the thing?”, the theorist answered, “Yes, they can program their world.”⁷⁰

Jenkins described his work on new media as having a similar agenda. “We accept as a starting point,” Jenkins wrote with his co-authors of *Spreadable Media: Creating Value and Meaning in a Networked Culture*, “that the constructs of capitalism will greatly shape the creation and circulation of most media texts for the foreseeable future and that most people do not (and cannot) opt out of commercial content.”⁷¹ To focus only

on the failures of the larger commercial system is to miss the smaller, and more complex, ways value and meaning are made with and within media.

HGTV, in particular, has created a brand of media convergence based on 1) multiple points of entry, wherein old and new media are used to control access for audiences as consumers and participants; 2) controlled transparency, emphasizing “behind the scenes” access that reinforces the DIY ideology; and 3) the substitution of expertise with “advice” that can be reworked and personalized by interested consumers. As a result, HGTV facilitates a complex type of consumer participation and engagement, wherein the audience moves “from television viewer to online user to consumer and back again.”⁷² HGTV’s convergence culture not only appeals to advertisers, who get access to audiences across media platforms, it also emboldens a type of cultural democracy that supplants tired binaries: highbrow vs. lowbrow; serious vs. commercial; expert vs. novice; active vs. passive.

In light of HGTV’s power to construct value in American design culture, the question of architectural expertise becomes one of perspective. What is the “center” of the design industry in America? Is it the professionalizing institutions, including the licensing boards and universities, or is it HGTV as a multi media brand? Blonder saw HGTV as being bad for design, but he attributed part of the blame to design professionals: “We speak in an arcane, formal language alienating the public from the profession. And we spend too little time reaching out to the community—when is the last time you sat at Home Depot offering a free “ask the designer” tutorial?”⁷³ Perhaps Blonder should also have asked whether or not Home Depot (one of HGTV’s biggest

advertisers) would want an architect to do such a thing when one of HGTV's "design talents" would probably attract a larger crowd.

Conclusion

Popular Media and Design Practice

However we conceive the arts...that small screen is going to convey them to huge audiences in ways that will circle back to touch on the nature of the arts themselves and how we receive them.

- Brian O'Dorherty, NEA Media Arts Program, 1980¹

At the middle of the nineteenth century, American architects distanced themselves from the commercial marketplace. In what seemed like a necessary move at the time—in order to differentiate the quality of their services from that of competitors and to avoid the overt commodification of design—the profession created a gap between itself and the consumer public. Nearly a century later, in 1953, the AIA wrote of the repercussions: “The Architect has too often found himself lost behind his own professionalism, unwittingly allowing himself and his profession to be misconstrued, if not forgotten by the community he serves.”² That the AIA had led the way in distancing the profession by prohibiting practices seen as too commercial was an irony lost on them at the time.

In an effort to offset the threat of social irrelevance—a charge that would continually be aimed at the profession over the following sixty years—the institute encouraged architects to see public relations as central to the practice of architecture. Robert Denny told readers of the *Journal of the A.I.A.* in 1957: “The architect has two important jobs...He must *perform* and he must *communicate*.”³ The AIA had hired Denny, the public relations director at the advertising agency Henry J. Kaufman &

Associates, to publicize the profession and ensure architects' place within postwar society as experts of design and building. As an ad man, Denny had no obligations to architecture as a noble art. Underlying his comments was an indictment: if the public did not understand or value architecture, the fault belonged to architects and their inability to communicate the significance of their work.

Questions of social accountability and engagement came to a head for the design professions during the second half of the twentieth century. As the value of information became measured by its performance as media content, "high" and "low" cultures converged in ways that made critics nervous. Television, as a technology and cultural form, offered new opportunities for public engagement to designers interested in social relevance. However, to use television as an architectural technology was to question the nature of architectural practice itself. The technology historian Carolyn Marvin explained how new media often work in this way, as "arenas for negotiating issues crucial to the conduct of social life; among them, who is inside and outside, who may speak, who may not, and who has authority and may be believed."⁴ For architectural professionals, these issues included: debates over ethics of professionalism within media and consumer culture; experiments in how to appropriately use TV for architectural representation; anxieties over ideas of community and public identity; concerns over the narrative of American architecture; and hesitations over the public role of architects as facilitators, collaborators, and celebrities.

Each of the chapters in this dissertation presents a specific purpose and context for the application of television to architectural practice. These histories demonstrate how

the design professions responded to larger value-making systems that were in place, and arguably, more powerful than architecture at shaping public opinions, interests, and tastes. Ultimately, Patricia Swank, Stuart Rose, Charles Moore, and the others in these chapters looked to television for the same reason their contemporaries Denise Scott Brown and Robert Venturi took architecture students to Las Vegas in 1968, or that Reyner Banham declared his love for Los Angeles in 1972: they sought to transform the practice of architecture by opening it to popular culture in new ways.

From the outset, television offered architects a new way to engage the public to bolster their design authority and voice within consumer culture. As explained in Chapter One, architects first used television to promote their profession under the auspices of public relations. In an attempt to justify their social value within an expanding postwar building industry, the American Institute of Architects (AIA) instructed them to engage popular culture and its mechanisms of media and publicity. Under the AIA, the ethics of public relations were unclear and convoluted. Two television programs produced by local chapters—*So You Want to Build* in Dallas, Texas (1952) and *Art in your Life* in San Francisco, California (1952)—reveal how the shift in media culture at midcentury had direct implications for professional design practices.

Architects and planners have become skilled at using specific visualization tools—including computer-aided design and geographic information systems—to communicate with each other. Chapter Two showed why practitioners should question such technological specificity and its limits on the communicative potential of design. The chapter described a design studio at the University of Nebraska in 1966, and as a

cultural counterpoint, an experiment in Glasgow, Scotland in 1967, where architects used closed-circuit TV to create motion-based visualizations of special sequences. These experiments were part of a larger cultural shift, wherein designers sought representation systems according to new standards of realism, temporal continuity, and cybernetic integration. Television offered a visual means of studying and explaining the complex aspects of the design process. As such, it prefigured the emergence of Building Information Modeling (or BIM) technologies, including software and hardware that have become central to the practice of architecture in the twenty-first century.

Chapter Three identified how, during the 1970s, city planners and officials recognized the ways television culture permeated every facet of information exchange in America. In response, some of them attempted to align themselves with extant media systems in order to affect change from inside. William Harris and Robert Hollister were two such designers; they argued that television's negative coverage of cities diminished public confidence in urban living and contributed to the urban decay of American cities in the 1960s and 1970s. In response, they designed local Boston projects to test the power of television to influence popular opinion in support of urban living. Their stories provide models for the purposive use of popular media to align public interests with those of design professionals.

At the beginning of the twenty-first century, the search for an interactive relationship between the designer and the public is as strong as it was in the 1960s and 1970s. Pro bono work, service to underrepresented communities, and “public interest design” often fall under the imperative of sustainable design, a field that seeks to expand

the borders of traditional architecture to be more inclusive and engaging. Chapter Four presented three case studies demonstrating the use of interactive television towards citizen participation and community activism. The first, that of Jerome Aumente and the Urban Communications Teaching and Research Center at Rutgers University, exemplified a community-based, non-commercial use of cable and video technologies to encourage local participation. The second, the Regional Plan Association's "Choices for '76" project, was a multi-media adaptation of the democratic process, based on presenting information to large groups of citizens and inviting them to 'vote' on their preferences. The final case study, the "design-a-thons," merged programming formats from telethons, game shows, and talk shows to elicit public support for civic building projects in six small US cities. In all three of these case studies, designers and planners used television technologies to reimagine the town hall meeting.

For architectural professionals, the public lecture and personal monograph are still very common platforms for public engagement. The quality of such story-telling models, though, is often untested, and the scope of their audiences limited. Chapter Five investigated the PBS mini-series genre as a didactic use of television according to standards of "quality television." It looked at two mini-series that aired on PBS during the 1980s: *Pride of Place: Building the American Dream* (1986) and *America by Design* (1987). The programs aligned with the professional agendas of their respective hosts Robert Stern and Spiro Kostof and tapped into the culturally edifying agenda of PBS. In discussing the limitations of these "personal views" on American architecture, this

chapter showed how the gap between scholarship and popular culture requires careful navigation.

We are now living in what Lynn Spigel called the “phase that comes after TV,” wherein the broadcasting system has been supplanted by one of media convergence.⁵ In this context, it is not enough for interested parties to look to a single medium (like television) to engage the public. Chapter Six presented HGTV as a lesson in media convergence for the architecture industry today. As an omnimedia brand, HGTV disseminates contemporary ideas of design and taste based on corporate sponsorship and do-it-yourself rhetoric. HGTV openly flaunts its corporate sponsorship and relies on serialized television tropes and “you can do it too” commercial rhetoric. The stability of its brand across media makes HGTV appealing to advertisers, investors, and audiences. It also creates a complex design culture that has far reaching consequences for questions of professionalism, representation, and public engagement within American society. Understanding HGTV’s performance as media before critiquing its content allows design scholars to substitute criteria of communication and participation for traditional distinctions of “seriousness” based on aesthetic and cultural hierarchies.

The history of “architecture by television” demonstrates how opportunities for public engagement occur at the intersections of binaries that have characterized architecture for too long: high vs. low; public vs. private; academic vs. commercial; professional vs. novice. Professionalism rarely sits on one end of a spectrum. To engage the American public is to sell, to promote, to represent, to persuade, to collaborate, to teach, to learn, and to share. Ignoring the value of engagement is a privilege no longer

afforded architects; whether it is motivated by a utopian form of social service or a capitalist pursuit of money, relevance is the currency of professionalism in America. As such, time spent policing traditional binaries would be better spent learning how mechanisms work to spread ideas within society.

In America, value is made and moves within systems of popular culture, including mass media, advertising, and social networks. Americans seek out the type of information they want (on design, politics, and most things) by moving through the media environment as Henry Jenkins, Sam Ford, and Joshua Green have described it:

This shift from distribution to circulation signals a movement toward a more participatory model of culture, one which sees the public not as simply consumers of preconstructed messages but as people who are shaping, sharing, reframing, and remixing media content in ways which might not have been previously imagined.⁶

As our understanding of new media and participatory culture change within the digital culture of the twenty-first century, so too must our definitions of architecture. New media rarely “destroy” old media in the way Victor Hugo suggested print culture would change architecture; instead, they become opportunities for reworking existing habits, beliefs, and social processes. The work of people who act as bridges to media industries, exemplified in figures like Patricia Swank and Jerome Aumente, remains invaluable to this process, as does the pioneering spirit of designers like Chad Floyd and Charles Moore who found applications for architecture in alternative systems.

We can extrapolate from the history of television a series of media lessons for the practice of architecture today. The most important lesson centers on the idea of participation: the circulation of design knowledge depends on professionals’ participation

in cultural practices that exist outside of architecture and its institutions. The architecture industries continue to prioritize the print media of glossy magazines and monograph publications over moving-image platforms. Moreover, design schools emphasize certain forms of communication — namely those of graphic representation — at the expense of others: interpersonal, social, and public. As a result, architects struggle to incorporate new communication platforms for outreach and engagement. For example, online crowdfunding platforms could be used to raise awareness and financial backing for projects, especially those based on community participation or “public interest design.” How, too, are designers and design firms situating themselves online through social media sites like Instagram and Twitter?

The question is not whether or not Americans care about design; HGTV has shown that they will seek it out across media platforms. The question, then, is whether or not architects will take notice and participate. If so, a media brand like HGTV may provide lessons for designers interested in expanding architecture by: utilizing old and new media alike to create multiple points of access; presenting a degree of transparency by sharing parts of one’s work; and relinquishing some of the control inherent to “expertise” and allowing design to become reworkable in the hands of other audiences. New media can provide platforms for these types of explorations into practice and process, but technologies themselves have no agency — they require the intentionality of designers to have any bearing on the profession.

Endnotes

Introduction Notes

¹ "A Profile of Marshall McLuhan," *The Open Mind* (WNBC Television, hosted by Eric F. Goldman, 19 May 1966).

² Carolyn Marvin, *When Old Technologies were New: Thinking about Electronic Communication in the Late Nineteenth-Century* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988), 4

³ "Architecture by Television," *Architectural Record* (March 1944): 10.

⁴ Helen Ross and Mary Trevy Wilcox, both students at the University of Pennsylvania, shared first-place prizes; the second-place medal had been awarded to Ildefonso Aroztegui, a post-professional student at the University of Illinois.

⁵ WRGB was a fitting site for this presentation of design knowledge. As the oldest television station in the US and one of only two commercially licensed stations operating outside of New York City at the time, WRGB operated out of a new studio building designed by W.K. Harrison and J.A. Fouilhoux specifically for the production of television programming ("Broadcasting Studios, Schenectady, USA," *Architect & Building News* (21 July 1939): 84-85).

⁶ "Class A Problem 1: A Television Broadcasting Studio," *The Bulletin of the Beaux Arts Institute of Design* 20.1 (February 1944): 1.

⁷ "Overview," Scripps Networks Interactive, accessed on 26 February 2014, <http://www.scrippsnetworksinteractive.com/our-brands/hgtv>; and Claire Atkinson, "Reviewing Scripps: Food Network Ebbs as HGTV Grows," *New York Post* (3 May 2013), accessed on 26 February 2014, http://www.nypost.com/p/news/business/rewriting_scripps_vfiWojj9PgpsyUqjXmnnJ

⁸ Marvin, *When Old Technologies were New*, 4.

⁹ Lynn Spigel, *Make Room for TV* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago, 1992), 3-4.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 3.

¹¹ Andrew Shanken argues this point in his book, *194X: Architecture, Planning, and Consumer Culture on the American Home Front* (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 2008). For more on the origins of the architecture profession in America, see Mary Woods, *From Craft to Profession: The Practice of Architecture in Nineteenth-Century America* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, CA: University of California Press, 1999).

¹² My handling of television resembles that of Alison Perlman, who in her recently completed dissertation discussed how American reformers collaborated with the television industry in the pursuit of having mass-mediated culture reflect their moral and political beliefs. Perlman focuses on reform campaigns for civil rights activists, feminists, conservatives, the progressive left, and educational groups. Alison Perlman, “Reforming the Wasteland: Television, Reform, and Social Movements, 1950-2004,” (PhD Diss., University of Texas at Austin, 2007).

¹³ Daniel Boorstin, *The Americans: The Democratic Experience* (New York: Random House, 1973), 118.

¹⁴ Marshall McLuhan, *Understanding Media: The Extensions of Man* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1994), 3.

¹⁵ Martin Pawley, *The Private Future: Causes and Consequences of Community Collapse in the West* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1973), 160.

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ Karsten Harries, “The Ethical Function of Architecture,” *JAE* 29.1 (September 1975): 14.

¹⁸ Nan Ellin, *Postmodern Urbanism* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton Architectural Press, 1996), 125.

¹⁹ Mitchell Schwartz, *Zoomscape: Architecture in Media and Motion* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton Architectural Press, 2004), 262.

²⁰ Herbert Gans, *Popular Culture and High Culture: An Analysis and Evaluation of Taste* (New York: Basic Books, 1974).

²¹ Theodor Adorno and Max Horkheimer, “The Culture Industry: Enlightenment as Mass Deception,” in *Dialectic of Enlightenment: Philosophical Fragments*, edited by Gunzelin Schmid Noerr, translated by Edmund Pephcott (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2002), 97.

²² Peter Sobchak, “Rating Design TV,” *Canadian Interiors* 26 (November/December 2004): 27.

²³ Greg Blonder, “Decorating for Dummies: Why HGTV is Bad for Design, and Why it May be Our Own Fault,” *I.D.* (September/October 2005): 30.

²⁴ Mitchell Schwartz, “House Clickers,” paper presented at the “Televisuality” symposium held at Syracuse University (11 April 2008).

²⁵ Brian O’Doherty, “Media Arts: Film/Radio/Television,” National Endowment for the Arts Annual Report 1980 (Washington, D.C.: NEA, 1980), 141.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 141.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 145.

²⁸ Andreas Huyssen made a similar argument in his study of television programs on the Holocaust in Germany. “Certain products of the culture industry and their popular success,” he wrote, “point to shortcomings in avant-gardist or experimental modes of representation which cannot be explained away by the standard reference to television as an instrument of manipulation and domination” (Andreas Huyssen, *After the Great Divide: Modernism, Mass Culture, Postmodernism* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1986), 97).

²⁹ Laurie Ouellette, *Viewers Like You? How Public TV Failed the People* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002), 14. This treatment of taste also draws on the work of Herbert Gans and Pierre Bourdieu.

³⁰ Colomina, *Privacy and Publicity: Modern Architecture as Mass Media* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1996), 13.

³¹ Colomina, 14.

- ³² See Colomina, *Privacy and Publicity; Domesticity at War* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2007); and “Media as Modern Architecture,” in *Architecture: Between Space and Use*, ed. Anthony Vidler (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008).
- ³³ Colomina, *Privacy and Publicity*, 50.
- ³⁴ Beatriz Colomina, “Johnson on TV,” in *Philip Johnson: The Constancy of Change*, ed. Emmanuel Petit (New Haven and New York: Yale University Press, 2009).
- ³⁵ Reinhold Martin, “Atrocities; Or, Curtain Wall as Mass Medium,” *Perspecta* 32 (2001): 66-75.
- ³⁶ Schwarzer, *Zoomscape*, 12.
- ³⁷ Schwarzer incorrectly dated the airing of *America by Design* (265) and *This Old House*, and the origins of HGTV (265).
- ³⁸ For more on famous sitcom houses, see Mark Bennett, *TV Sets: Fantasy Blueprints of Classic TV Homes* (New York: TV Books, 1996).
- ³⁹ For more on set design, see Michelle Jones, “Design and the Domestic Persuader: Television and the British Broadcasting Corporation's Promotion of Post-War 'Good Design',” *Journal of Design History* 16.4 (2003): 307-318; and Jenny Tobias, “Truth to Materials: Modernism and US Television News Design Since 1940.” *Journal of Design History* 18.2 (Summer 2005): 179-190.
- ⁴⁰ Kevin Dowler, “Television and Objecthood: The ‘Place’ of Television in Television Studies,” *TOPIA* 8 (Fall 2002): 43-60.
- ⁴¹ Spigel, *Make Room for TV: Television and the Family Ideal in Postwar America* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992); *Welcome to the Dreamhouse: Popular Media and Postwar Suburbs* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2001).
- ⁴² Anna McCarthy, *Ambient Television: Visual Culture and Public Space* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2001). See also, McCarthy, “From Screen to Site: Television’s Material Culture, and its Place,” *October* 98 (Autumn 2001): 93-111; and “‘The Front Row is Reserved for Scotch Drinkers’: Early Television’s Tavern Audience,” *Cinema Journal* 34.4 (Summer 1995): 31-49.

⁴³ Lynn Spigel, *TV by Design: Modern Art and the Rise of Network Television* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008), 2

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 299. Spigel included a chapter on CBS's Hollywood headquarters, Television City, built in 1953 by the design firm William Pereira and Charles Luckman. On the project, she wrote: "This made-for-TV city reveals just how important modern architecture was to network executives at the time" (110).

⁴⁵ Henry Jenkins, *Convergence Culture: Where Old and New Media Collide* (New York, NY: New York University Press, 2006), 13-14. Jenkins was paraphrasing the definition of media offered by Gitelman in her introduction to *Always Already New*: "I define new media as socially realized structures for communication, where structures include both technological forms and their associated protocols, and where communication is a cultural practice, a ritualized collocation of different people on the same mental map, sharing or engaged with popular ontologies of representation" [Lisa Gitelman, *Always Already New: Media, History, and the Data of Culture* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2006), 7].

⁴⁶ "A Profile of Marshall McLuhan," *The Open Mind* (WNBC Television, hosted by Eric F. Goldman, 19 May 1966).

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*

⁴⁸ In 1971, the NBC research chief Paul Klein had made the similar argument that television itself was the draw for its massive audiences, who tuned in to "view TV regardless of its content." In his essay, "Why You Watch What You Watch When You Watch," published in *TV Guide*, Klein asserted "despite the lack of quality content, the visual medium is so compelling that it attracts the vast majority of adults each day to a progression of shows that most of these people would ignore in printed form." He proposed that, as a result of their love of watching TV, viewers would settle on the program that was "least objectionable" to their tastes and interest levels. It was, he concluded, the medium itself, and the viewing experience it offered, that met the taste of audiences: "People love TV. They love the ease of viewing and the ease of distribution;

video pictures delivered right to the home” [Paul Klein, “Why You Watch What You Watch When You Watch,” *TV Guide* (24 July 1971)].

⁴⁹ Raymond Williams, *Television: Technology and Cultural Form* (London: Fontana, 1974), 39. Of these forms, Williams identified the “drama-documentary” genre of storytelling, the idea of “education by seeing,” “innovations in styles of discussion,” and features that “combines and extends elements of the essay, the journal and the film documentary” (69-74).

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 86-91.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 75.

⁵² See John Ellis, *Visible Fictions: Cinema, Television, Video* (London: Routledge, 1982) and John Fiske, *Television Culture* (London and New York: Methuen, 1987).

⁵³ Warren Susman, “Culture and Communications,” in *Culture as History: The Transformation of American Society in the Twentieth Century* (Washington D.C., Smithsonian Institution Press, 2003), 253.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 255-56.

⁵⁵ Marvin, *When Old Technologies were New*, 4.

⁵⁶ Thomas Kuhn, *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1962).

⁵⁷ Gitelman, *Always Already New*, 6.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 4.

⁵⁹ Marvin, 4.

⁶⁰ Jenkins, *Convergence Culture*, 2-3.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 3-4.

⁶² Consider Richard Sennett’s 1974 book *The Fall of Public Man*, in which he described the communication potential of mass media as paradoxical. “The mass media infinitely heighten the knowledge people have of what transpires in the society, and they infinitely inhibit the capacity of people to convert that knowledge into political action. You cannot talk back to your TV set, you can only turn it off” (Sennett, *The Fall of Public Man* [London, Cambridge University Press, 1974], 283). Jenkins described media reception as

one of active fandom and participation (see, Jenkins, *Textual Poachers: Television Fans and Participatory Culture* [New York, NY: Routledge, 1992]).

⁶³ My treatment of media resembles that of Tamara Chaplin in her book, *Turning on the Mind: French Philosophers on TV*. Combining media studies and cultural history, Chaplin examines the use of television in popularizing philosophy in postwar France. She argues that philosophy had a visual dimension that translated well on television for French audiences and helped restore national identity by converging high and low culture. Chaplin studies the form and content of specific programming, drawing from hundreds of hours of television footage. My goal is to create an architectural history that, like Chaplin's work, draws on innovative archival materials and employs methods from television studies, cultural history, and popular culture. In her introduction, Chaplin describes her intention "to engage a wide range of scholarship that has to date remained largely disconnected." I, too, have set up a similar study, for in what follows, I draw together historical remnants that have not only been disconnected, but in some cases, have gone unobserved since their first airings (Chaplin, *Turning on the Mind: French Philosophers on TV* [Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007]).

⁶⁴ When I presented this research at the Buell Dissertation Colloquium at Columbia University (April 2013) Gabrielle Esperdy explained how "few of us working as architectural historians today believe it's necessary to privilege the tangibility of architecture as a material object, and we've turned to productive explorations of the diverse *architectures* that structure our social and cultural practices..." In my paper (and that of my fellow presenter Rafico Ruiz), Esperdy found "ample evidence of just this sort of productive exploration, in which architecture is not bound by the four walls of a building, but exists as in and *as* media." Esperdy concluded "that there is still much we can learn by accepting architecture as a media event, both literally and figuratively" (Gabrielle Esperdy, 2013 Buell Dissertation Colloquium Respondent Comments, Columbia University, New York, 6 April 2013).

⁶⁵ Gitelman, 4.

⁶⁶ On the relationship between archives and architectural history, see the papers delivered in the session “Architectural Archives and the Practice of History,” which I co-chaired with Kathryn Pierce at the 2013 annual conference of the Society of Architectural Historians (Buffalo, NY, 26 April 2013).

⁶⁷ Ernest Pascucci, “Intimate (Tele)Visions,” in *Architecture of the Everyday*, eds. Deborah Berke and Steven Harris (Princeton, NJ: Princeton Architectural Press, 1997), 39-54.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 40.

⁶⁹ For an example of recent innovation in the study of print sources, see Andrew Shanken, *194X: Architecture, Planning, and Consumer Culture on the American Homefront*. Gabrielle Esperdy praised Shanken for his study of advertisements found in architectural journals as evidence of American architecture. “Until Shanken came along,” she wrote in her *JSAH* review of his book, “the majority of this work was hiding in plain sight: drawings, models, and photo-collages reproduced in advertisements on the pages of popular and professional magazines.... Shanken's accomplishment is to refocus our gaze, making the supposedly peripheral absolutely central” (Gabrielle Esperdy, “Review: Andrew M. Shanken; *194X: Architecture, Planning, and Consumer Culture on the American Homefront*; Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2009,” *JSAH* 69.3 [September 2010]: 455-456).

Chapter One Notes

¹ Robert Denny, “Public Relations—a Problem in Design,” *Journal of the A.I.A.* (October 1957): 336.

² Donald G. Tarpley, “Architects Should Sign All Public Buildings,” *Journal of the AIA* (October 1951): 187.

³ Both Wright and White had scandalous personal lives that were regularly covered in the popular press.

⁴ Tarpley, 187-188.

⁵ The AIA's 1909 Code of Ethics had condemned the signing of buildings until their completion (AIA, "A Circular of Advice Relative to Principles of Professional Practice and Canons of Ethics" (1909), reproduced in Weld Coxe, *Marketing Architectural and Engineering Services* (New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold Company, 1971), 173.

⁶ Carolyn Marvin, *When Old Technologies were New: Thinking about Electronic Communication in the Late Nineteenth-Century* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988), 4.

⁷ Shanken argued this point in his book, *194X: Architecture, Planning, and Consumer Culture on the American Home Front* (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 2008).

⁸ Henry Saylor, *The A.I.A.'s First Hundred Years* (Washington, D.C.: American Institute of Architects, 1957), 26-27.

⁹ American Institute of Architects, *Public Relations Handbook for the Architect* (Washington, D.C.: AIA, 1953), 1.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 8.2.

¹¹ "The Architect's Program" aired at 10:00 am and then 2:30 pm during the winter months.

¹² Walter Hagedohm, "The Voice of the Architect: Radio Program of Southern California Architects," *Weekly Bulletin for the Michigan Society of Architects* 15.31 (5 August 1941): 1, 4.

¹³ Walter Hagedohm, "Radio as the Keystone for a Coordinated Public Relations Program for the Architect," *Weekly Bulletin for the Michigan Society of Architects* 15.26 (1 July 1941): 1. Listeners interested in "The Architect's Program" could request a bulletin and contact information for an architect in their area. After the first year, Hagedohm reported that over \$2,000,000 worth of leads had been distributed to California architects (*Ibid.*, 4).

¹⁴ Andrew Shanken has explained that "public information" was the prevailing genre of publicity employed by architects as a means of protecting themselves against accusations of self-laudatory advertising and defamation of character (Andrew Shanken, "Breaking

the Taboo: Architects and Advertising in Depression and War,” *Journal for the Society of Architectural Historians* 69.3 [September 2010]: 406-429).

¹⁵ Hadedohm, “Radio as the Keystone for a Coordinated Public Relations Program for the Architect,” 4, 6.

¹⁶ “The Architect Speaks,” *Architect and Engineer* (September 1940): 47-48.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 47. The host, known only as “The Architect,” described architecture as the art and science of building; he then recounted a list of important monuments, including “the Egyptian pyramids, the Parthenon, the Coliseum, the Cathedrals, the Renaissance, and our own Colonial and Mission periods.”

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 47.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 46.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 47.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 48.

²² The SACA was not the only architectural institution interested in radio. In late 1941, the Albany branch of the AIA organized a program called “Walls Tell a Story” (Giles Yates van der Bogert, “Walls Tell a Story: An Experiment in Public Education,” *Journal for the Society of Architectural Historians* 2.1 [January 1942]: 34-35). The program was conceived of by the Committee on the Preservation of Historic Monuments of the AIA chapter in collaboration with Dixon Ryan Fox, President of Union College. “Walls Tell a Story” aired on the General Electric Company’s Schenectady station WGY. The series had ten programs per season; there were at least two seasons, airing on Saturdays in early 1943 (“Radio Programs,” *Schenectady Gazette* [27 March 1943]: 7; and (“Radio Programs,” *Schenectady Gazette* [15 May 1943]: 7). Each broadcast featured a guest speaker, usually an historian or architect, presenting on a different historical subject. Guests included the architectural historian Roger Newton, who discussed nineteenth-century hotels in Saratoga, and the first female director of the Vanderbilt Mansion. *Variety* magazine included a review of the program on 15 April 1942, concluding that if the series were “written and delivered with more appreciation and understanding of the popular touch, appeal probably would be wider.” The magazine attributed the problem to

stuff academics on radio: “Unfortunately, college professors seem inclined to be dry, technical, detailists when they get on the air” (*Variety* (15 April 1942).

²³ Hadedohm, “Radio as the Keystone...,” 4, 6.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 4, 6.

²⁵ See Shanken, “Breaking the Taboo,” 406-429.

²⁶ For the seminal work on the AIA and the origins of the profession, see Mary Woods, *From Craft to Profession: The Practice of Architecture in Nineteenth-Century America* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, CA: University of California Press, 1999).

²⁷ Consider the title of Architect. The first attempt to organize a professional association for architects occurred in 1836, when twenty-three architects met at the Astor House in New York to form the American Institution of Architects. These men worked to reserve the title Architect for those who satisfied criteria, including education, training, and ethics. Men like Thomas U. Walter and William Strickland represented the interests of office-trained architects, while men like Asher Benjamin, Minard Lefever, and Ithiel Town practiced as master builders, or gifted artisans. In the antebellum period, all could call themselves architects. According to Woods, “Professionalism simultaneously associated them with their middle- and upper-class clients and distanced them from militant trade unionism” (Woods, *From Craft to Profession*, 30).

²⁸ Saylor, *The A.I.A. 's First Hundred*, 2.

²⁹ The question of professional ethics became contested from the beginning. The AIA had no written code of ethics in its early years and relied, instead, on the men’s “moral relations to each other” (Quoted in Woods, *From Craft to Profession*, 46).

³⁰ Kate Holliday, “The Architecture Profession and the Public,” Leopold Eidlitz’s ‘Discourses Between the T-Squares’,” *Journal of Architectural Education* (September 2007): 32.

³¹ “A Scandal to the Profession,” *American Architect and Building News* 52 (2 May 1896): 47-48.

³² AIA, “A Circular of Advice Relative to Principles of Professional Practice and Canons of Ethics” (1909), reproduced in Weld Coxe, *Marketing Architectural and Engineering Services* (New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold Company, 1971), 173.

³³ “Architects Draft New Code of Ethics,” *New York Times* (4 September 1927): E2.

³⁴ Saylor, *The A.I.A. 's First Hundred Years*, 105.

³⁵ Shanken, “Breaking the Taboo,” 406.

³⁶ Saylor, 26-27.

³⁷ Shanken, 427.

³⁸ Edmund Purves (1897-1964) received his BS from the University of Pennsylvania in 1920 and practiced architecture in Philadelphia (firms: Day & Purves; private practice; Purves, Cope & Stuart) until moving to Washington D.C. in 1941 to serve as a representative for the AIA before becoming Director of Public and Professional Relations, and then Executive Director in 1949. For a brief biography on Purves, see “Edmund Randolph Purves, F.A.I.A.,” *Journal of the A.I.A.* (September 1952): 127-128. His records can be found in the Edmund Randolph Purves papers, 1916-1964, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress.

³⁹ See Edmund Purves, “Our Profession—Its Place in America’s Future, Part I,” *Journal of the AIA* (December 1955): 267-273; “Our Profession—Its Place in America’s Future, Part II,” *Journal of the AIA* (January 1956): 34-39; “The Image of the Architect,” *Architectural Record* (May 1959): 159-177; “The Architect and the Superman Myth,” *Architectural Forum* (March 1962): 102-105.

⁴⁰ Purves, “The Architect and the Superman Myth,” 104.

⁴¹ American Institute of Architects, *How to Tell your Story: Public Relations Handbook for Chapters and Societies of the American Institute of Architects* (Washington D.C.: AIA, 1949), 1.

⁴² American Institute of Architects, *The Architect and His Public: A Primer of Public Relations for the Practicing Architect* (Washington D.C.: AIA, 1949), 1.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 3.

⁴⁴ *How to Tell your Story*, 2.

⁴⁵ Ibid., 2.

⁴⁶ *The Architect and His Public*, 13.

⁴⁷ Ibid., 9.

⁴⁸ Ibid., 10.

⁴⁹ Ibid., 3-4.

⁵⁰ *How to Sell Your Story*, 7.

⁵¹ Ibid., 13.

⁵² Ibid., 16.

⁵³ Ibid., 17.

⁵⁴ Ibid., 17.

⁵⁵ Shanken, in “Breaking the Taboo,” provided more on the publicity campaigns leading up to the 1940s. He discusses the work of James T. Grady, who worked as the AIA publicist from 1918 until 1945. “The static, news-based campaigns maintained by him and the AIA in the 1930s and 1940s could not compete with the advertising and public relations campaigns of that day,” Shanken writes of Grady (427). During the 1950s, the AIA hired multiple PR firms, including Campbell-Ewald (1946), Ketchum, Inc. (ca. 1953) and Henry J. Kauffman & Associates (1957). For more on the Ketchum, Inc., see two company histories: Chauncey Morley, *History of Ketchum* (Pittsburgh, PA: Ketchum Communications Inc., 1968) and Lu Donnelly and Carol Bleier, *The Ketchum Spirit: A History of Ketchum Communications Inc.* (Pittsburgh, PA: Ketchum Communications Inc., 1992).

⁵⁶ Proceedings of the 84th Convention of the American Institute of Architects, 24-27 June 1952, New York City, AIA Archives, Record Group 505, Series 3, Box 3.

⁵⁷ AIA, *Public Relations Handbook for the Architect* (1953), 1.1.

⁵⁸ Ibid., 1.2.

⁵⁹ Ibid.

⁶⁰ Ibid., 8.1.

⁶¹ Ibid.

⁶² Ibid., 8.2.

⁶³ Ibid., 8.1.

⁶⁴ Proceedings of the Centennial Convention of the American Institute of Architects, 13-17 May, 1957, Washington D.C., Report of the Board, 22.

⁶⁵ Robert Denny, "Public Relations—a Problem in Design," *Journal of the AIA* (October 1957): 337.

⁶⁶ Ibid., 336.

⁶⁷ Frank J. Kahn, Preface, *Documents of American Broadcasting* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1984), xv.

⁶⁸ "The Radio Act of 1927," in Kahn, *Documents of American Broadcasting*, 42-43.

⁶⁹ "FRC Interpretation of the Public Interest, in Kahn, *Documents of American Broadcasting*, 62.

⁷⁰ Ibid., 60.

⁷¹ Ibid., 62.

⁷² Lynn Poole, "The Challenge of Television," *College Art Journal* 8, no. 4 (Summer 1949): 299.

⁷³ For more on the *John Hopkins Science Review*, see Sue de Pasquale, "Live from Baltimore—It's the John Hopkins Science Review," *John Hopkins Magazine* (February 1995), accessed 12 November 2013, <http://www.jhu.edu/jhumag/295web/scirevu.html>; and Marcel Chotkowski LaFollette, *Science on the Air: Popularizers and Personalities on Radio and Early Television* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2008), 216-221.

⁷⁴ Patrick Lucanio and Gary Coville, *Smokin' Rockets: The Romance of Technology in American Film, Radio and Television, 1945-1962* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Company Inc., Publishers, 2002), 109.

⁷⁵ Ibid.

⁷⁶ Robert Denny, "Public Relations—TV and Radio," *Journal of the AIA* (January 1958): 9.

⁷⁷ Ibid.

⁷⁸ Ibid., 9-10.

⁷⁹ Schoener (b.1926) was twenty-six at the time.

⁸⁰ Allon Schoener, “An Art Museum’s Experiment in Television,” *Museum: A Quarterly Review* 5.4 (1952): 239.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 243.

⁸² AIA, *Public Relations Handbook for the Architect*, 8.2.

⁸³ “SFMOMA 75th Anniversary: Allon Schoener,” interview conducted by Lisa Rubens, 2007 (Regional Oral History Office, The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley, 2009), 19.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 16.

⁸⁵ In 1949, Anshen + Allen became the principal architects for the California builder Joseph Eichler, a partnership that yielded the prototypical modern California suburban house. For more on Eichler, see Annmarie Adams, “The Eichler Home: Intention and Experience in Postwar Suburbia,” *Perspectives in Vernacular Architecture* 5 (1995): 164-178; and Jerry Ditto, *Eichler Homes: Design for Living* (San Francisco, CA: Chronicle Books, 1995).

⁸⁶ Paul Adamson, *Eichler: Modernism Rebuilds the American Dreams* (Salt Lake City, UT: Gibbs Smith, 2002), 55. Anshen followed the work of Frank Lloyd Wright, no doubt for the same reasons. Adamson calls him an admirer of Wright (Eichler, 55). Kevin Starr calls him a disciple of Wright (*Golden Dreams: California in an Age of Abundance, 1950-1963* [New York, NY: Oxford University Press], 47).

⁸⁷ “SFMOMA 75th Anniversary: Allon Schoener,” interview conducted by Lisa Rubens, 18. See also, Dave Weinstein, “Eichler Architect, Bob Anshen: Self-Made Man,” EichlerNetwork.com, accessed 27 November 2012, <http://www.eichlernetnetwork.com/article/eichler-architect-bob-anshen-self-made-man>.

⁸⁸ “How to Build a House” aired on 2 March 1952 and featured the architect William Corlett. “Design in Your Garden” aired 16 March 1952 and featured, as guest, landscape architects: Leland Vaughn, Robert Royston, Lawrence Halprin, and Ted Osmundson. “How City Planning Affects Your Life” aired on 11 May 1952 and featured Paul Opperman (Director of Planning for the City and County of San Francisco). “Good

Design in Your Home” aired on 8 June 1952 and featured the interior designer Maurice Sands.

⁸⁹ In November 1948, the *Princeton Alumni Weekly* reported that Leonard’s house had “just been completed” (*Princeton Alumni Weekly* Vol. XLIX [26 November 1948]: 24).

⁹⁰ “How to Build a House” script, reproduced in *Public Relations Handbook for the Architect*, 8.3.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, 8.4

⁹² *Ibid.*, 8.7-8.8.

⁹³ Schoener, “An Art Museum’s Experiment in Television,” 241.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 241.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 241.

⁹⁶ Nancy Newhall, “Television and the Arts,” *Parnassus* 12.1 (January 1940): 38.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*

⁹⁸ Schoener, “An Art Museum’s Experiment in Television,” 241.

⁹⁹ Harry D.M. Grier, “The Museum’s Television Program,” *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 36.7 (July 1941): 148.

¹⁰⁰ “How to Build a House” script, 8.7.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, 8.7.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, 8.7.

¹⁰³ Schoener, “An Art Museum’s Experiment in Television,” 243.

¹⁰⁴ The San Francisco Museum of Art’s program *Art in Your Life* represented a departure from other museum programs in its attempt to “create a living museum without walls” (Schoener, “An Art Museum’s Experiment in Television,” 241). For more on museum arts programming, see Grier, “The Museum’s Television Program,” 147-151; and Newhall, “Television and the Arts,” 37-38.

¹⁰⁵ Lynn Spigel, *TV by Design: Modern Art and the Rise of Network Television* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2008), 145.

¹⁰⁶ Spigel, “Live from New York—It’s MoMA!,” in *TV by Design*, 144-177.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, 145.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid., 146.

¹⁰⁹ Patricia Swank, “So You Want to Build...(On Television),” *Progressive Architecture* (April 1954): 85.

¹¹⁰ Evidence shows that it was rebroadcast in the fall, starting in August (*The Billboard* [16 August 1952]: 12).

¹¹¹ Series advertisement, *Dallas Morning News* (13 April 1952): V.7.

¹¹² AIA, *Public Relations Handbook for the Architect*, 8.1.

¹¹³ WFAA-TV advertisement, *Dallas Morning News* (13 April 1952): VII.10. *The Billboard* categorized the show as children’s programming, but the show was intended for family audiences (*The Billboard*, [16 August 1952]: 12).

¹¹⁴ After she and Arch Swank married, Patsy worked as a correspondent for *Time* and *Life* magazines while raising their four children. In the 1970s, she was an arts and environmental reporter for KERA-TV in Dallas; she even hosted her own shows, *Swank in the Arts* (1978) and *Portfolio* (1980). For more on Patsy Swank, see Joe Simnacher, “Patricia Patsy Peck Swank, Arts Supporter, Former Journalist,” *Dallas Morning News* (11 February 2006): 12B; and “Patsy Swank,” Texas Visual Arts Association, accessed 26 February 2014, <http://tvaa.org/1389/uncategorized/patsy-swank/>.

¹¹⁵ Swank, “So You Want to Build...(On Television),” 85.

¹¹⁶ Ibid.

¹¹⁷ Ibid.

¹¹⁸ “Televiews: Bishop Sheen’s Program to Have Local Premier,” *Dallas Morning News* (27 April 1952): VII.4.

¹¹⁹ “Channel 8 Program is Aid to Builders,” *Dallas Morning News* (6 July 1952): III.4.

¹²⁰ “Televiews: Hope’s Year Ends Sunday on Channel 8,” *Dallas Morning News* (29 June 1952): VII.5.

¹²¹ AIA, *Public Relations Handbook for the Architect*, 8.1.

¹²² Participating architects included Enslie “Bud” Oglesby, Ralph Bryan, Louis Fuertes, James Wiley, William Hidell, Howard Decker, Harold Jones, Arch Swank, Clifford Lane, Eugene Gamble. Oglesby and Wiley completed the working drawings and specifications

(“Architects of Dallas Collaborate on Plans,” *Dallas Morning News* [24 May 1953]: 8.2.). See also, Ron Emrich, “Wynnewood: ‘A Tonic to the Shelter-hungry Nation’,” *Legacies: A History Journal for Dallas and North Central Texas* 14.2 (Fall 2002): 47.

¹²³ “Channel 8 Program is Aid to Builders,” *Dallas Morning News* (6 July 1952): Part III, p. 4.

¹²⁴ *Dallas Morning News* (24 May 1953): Part VIII, pp. 1-8. Over 15,000 people visited this model house when it opened to the public in Dallas, Texas on 24 May 1953. It remained open for two weeks and reportedly attracted over 100,000 total visitors (Swank, “So you Want to Build,” 85).

¹²⁵ Swank, “So You Want to Build...(On Television),” 85.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*

¹²⁷ Robert Denny, “Public Relations—a Problem in Design,” 336.

¹²⁸ “Architects of Dallas Collaborate on Plans,” *Dallas Morning News* (24 May 1953): 8.2.

¹²⁹ Diane Harris, *Little White Houses: How the Postwar Home Constructed Race in America* (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 2012), 260.

¹³⁰ See Henry Jenkins, *Convergence Culture: Where Old and New Media Collide* (New York, NY: New York University Press, 2006).

¹³¹ AIA, *Public Relations Handbook for the Architect*, 8.2.

¹³² The *Handbook* mentions “Rhode Island Chapter’s award-winning series *The Roof Over Your Head* with typical program titles like “How to Make a House a Home,” and “How to Know a Good Building When You See It” (AIA, *Public Relations Handbook for the Architect*, 8.2).

¹³³ Weld Coxe, *Marketing Architectural and Engineering Services* (New York, NY: Van Nostrand Reinhold Company, 1971).

¹³⁴ Edward Keegan, “Weld Coxe, Hon AIA, Dies at 81,” *Architect: The Magazine of the American Institute of Architects* (March 18, 2011), accessed 3 December 2012, <http://www.architectmagazine.com/business/weld-coxe-hon-aia-dies-at-81.aspx>.

¹³⁵ Coxe, *Marketing Architectural and Engineering Services*, 56.

¹³⁶ Ibid., 59.

¹³⁷ Ibid.

¹³⁸ Ibid.

¹³⁹ Gerre L. Jones, *How to Market Design Services* (New York: McGraw Hill, 1973), 105.

¹⁴⁰ Arthur Kornblut, “Advertising and AIA Ethics: For All the Activity, No Early Resolution is in Sight,” *Architectural Record* (May 1977): 73.

¹⁴¹ Proceedings of the 1978 Convention of The American Institute of Architects, 22-24 May 1978, Dallas, Texas. Report of the Board, 3.

¹⁴² Bradford McKee, “Advertising Angst,” *Architecture* 86.9 (September 1997): 172.

¹⁴³ Ibid.

¹⁴⁴ Michael Neiderer, then Associate Creative Director of the Baltimore communications firm Richardson, Myers & Donofrio, created the campaign, for which he received a Graphis Ad Annual Award. Neiderer states, on his resume, that the campaign “led to 200% increase in site traffic.”

¹⁴⁵ Minutes of the Annual Meeting of the Institute, 8 May 1999, Dallas, Texas, 8.

¹⁴⁶ Camille LeFevre, “Image Polishing,” *Architecture Minnesota* (May/June 1999): 23.

¹⁴⁷ Denny “Public Relations—and Professional Ethics,” 389.

¹⁴⁸ Ibid.

¹⁴⁹ Newhall, “Television and the Arts,” 38.

¹⁵⁰ McLuhan, Marshall, *Understanding Media: The Extensions of Man* (New York: McGraw Hill, 1964), 188.

¹⁵¹ Denny, “Public Relations—TV and Radio Publicity,” 11.

Chapter Two Notes

¹ Marshall McLuhan, *Understanding Media: The Extensions of Man* (New York, NY: McGraw Hill, 1964). My quotations are taken from the 1994 reprint (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1994), 312-313.

² Stuart Rose and M. Scheffel Pierce, "Simulating Space," *Architectural and Engineering News* (August 1944): 46.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Some closed-circuit television signals can be broadcast on a limited frequency (microwave), a coded signal, or a very limited range broadcast antenna.

⁵ See Skipwith W. Athey, "Closed-Circuit Television," *Architectural Record* (May 1956): 232-234; Doyle Munson, "CCTV," *Architectural and Engineering News* (March 1966): 44-49; and M. Scheffel Pierce, "Closed-Circuit Television as a Teaching Aid," *The Journal of Higher Education* 31.8 (November 1960): 451-454.

⁶ Allen Bernholtz, "Some Thoughts on Computers, Role Playing and Design," *Environmental Design Education* (Winter/Spring 1968): 88.

⁷ Design practitioners also adopted the language popularized by Thomas Kuhn in his 1962 book *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions* to describe their situation as one of 'crisis' and 'revolution.' Bernholtz paraphrased Kuhn to describe the state of design practice: "the proliferation of competing articulations, the willingness to try anything, the expression of explicit discontent, the recourse to philosophy and to debate over fundamentals, all are symptoms of a transition from 'make do' professionalism to extraordinary service" (Bernholtz, 91).

⁸ Ibid. See also, Bernholtz, "Computer-Augmented Design," *Design Quarterly* 66.67 (1966): 40-51.

⁹ Bernholtz, "Some Thoughts on Computers, Role Playing and Design," 89.

¹⁰ For examples, see Philip Thiel, "A Sequence-Experience Notation," *Town and Planning Review* (April 1961): 33-52; and Kevin Lynch, *Image of the City* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1960).

¹¹ Each of these projects became the subject of one or more publications: Lynch, *Image of the City*; Lynch, *Site Planning* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1962); Lynch, Donald Appleyard, and John Myer, *The View from the Road* (Cambridge, MA: MIT, 1964); Nicholas Negroponte, *The Architecture Machine: Toward a More Human Environment* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1970); Negroponte, *Soft Architecture Machines*

(Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1975); Christopher Alexander and Marvin Manheim, *HIDECS 2: A Computer Program for the Hierarchical Decomposition of a Set with an Associated Linear Graph* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1962); Alexander, *HIDECS 3: Four Computer Programs for the Hierarchical Decomposition of Systems which have an Associated Linear Graph* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1963); Alexander, *Notes on the Synthesis of Form* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1964); Robert Venturi, Denise Scott Brown, and Steven Izenour, *Learning From Las Vegas* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1972).

¹² For other examples showing the use of television and video in space simulation experiments, see Janet Reizenstein Carpman, Myron Grant, and Deborah Simmons, "Hospital Design and Wayfinding: A Video Simulation Study," *Environment and Behavior* 17.3 (May 1985): 296-314; Michel Cunningham, John Carter, Carter Reese, and Bruce Webb, "Toward a Perceptual Tool in Urban Design: A Street Simulation Pilot Study," in *Environmental Design Research*, Wolfgang F. E. Preiser, ed. (Stroudsburg, PA: Dowden, Hutchinson, and Ross, 1973): 62-71; Harold Linton, *Color Model Environments: Color and Light in Three-dimensional Design* (New York, NY: Van Nostrand Reinhold, 1985); and Tom Porter, *How Architects Visualize* (London, Studio Vista, 1979).

¹³ Rose and Pierce, "Simulating Space," 46.

¹⁴ Stuart Rose and M. Scheffel Pierce, "Television as a Design Tool," *Journal of Architectural Education* 21.3 (March 1967): 4.

¹⁵ Divya Rao Heffley, "Vision in Motion: Architectural Space Time Notation and Urban Design, 1950-1970 (PhD Dissertation, Brown University, 2011).

¹⁶ In the acknowledgements of his MA Thesis, Rose states that Thiel provided assistance during the formative stages of his project. In his 1968 book, Rose also credited the influence of Kevin Lynch, Donald Appleyard, and John Myer's book *The View from the Road* and Lawrence Halprin's studies of movement, notably his article "Motation" in *Progressive Architecture* (July 1965): 126-33.

¹⁷ Lawrence Halprin, "The Choreography of Gardens," *Dance Magazine* (July 1953): 33; "Choreography in the Landscape," *Student Publication of the School of Design, North Carolina State University* (Spring 1955): 40-44; "High Speed Parks," *Architectural Forum* 108.5 (May 1958): 172, 174; "Structure and Garden Spaces Related in Sequence," *Progressive Architecture* 39.5 (May 1958): 95-103; and "Score Systems for Fountain Notations," in Halprin, *Notebooks of Lawrence Halprin, 1959-1971* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1972): 71-72.

¹⁸ Kevin Lynch, Donald Appleyard, and John Myer, *The View from the Road*, 63.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 19.

²⁰ Lawrence Halprin, "Motation," *Progressive Architecture* 46.7 (July 1965): 126-133. For more on Halprin's scoring process, see Eva Jessica Friedberg, "Action Architecture: Lawrence Halprin's Experiments in Landscape Design, Urbanism, and the Creative Process" (PhD Dissertation, University of California, Irvine, 2009); Alison Bick Hirsch, *City Choreographer: Lawrence Halprin in Urban Renewal America* (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 2014); and Hirsch, "Scoring the Participatory City: Lawrence (and Anna) Halprin's Take Part Process," *JAE* 63.2 (March 2011): 127-140.

²¹ Philip Thiel, "A Sequence-Experience Notation for Architectural and Urban Spaces," *Urban Planning Review* 32.1 (April 1961): 33-52.

²² Thiel, "A Sequence-Experience Notation," 34.

²³ *Ibid.*, 35.

²⁴ Thiel, "An Experiment in Space Notation," *Architectural Record* 131 (May 1962): 326-329. See also Thiel, "To the Kamakura Station," *Landscape* 11.1 (Autumn 1961): 6-10; and "An Old Garden, A New Tool, and Our Future Cities," *Landscape Architecture* 52 (July 1962): 226-232.

²⁵ Lynch, Appleyard, and Myer, *The View from the Road*, 18.

²⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁷ Rose and Pierce, "Television as a Design Tool," 4.

²⁸ *Ibid.*

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 5.

³⁰ Ibid., 6.

³¹ Ibid., 7.

³² Ibid., 6.

³³ Rose and Pierce, “Simulating Space,” 52.

³⁴ The men identified lighting as an independent variable that had to be eliminated (Rose and Pierce, “Television as a Design Tool,” 6).

³⁵ Ibid.

³⁶ Ibid., 7.

³⁷ Rose and Pierce, “Simulating Space,” 53.

³⁸ Ibid.

³⁹ Ibid.,

⁴⁰ Rose and Pierce, “Television as a Design Tool,” 4.

⁴¹ Ibid.

⁴² Ibid.

⁴³ Ibid.

⁴⁴ Lynch, Appleyard, and Myer, *The View from the Road*, 19.

⁴⁵ For more on film and urban planning, see Leonie Sandercock and Givanni Attili, eds., *Multimedia Explorations in Urban Policy and Planning* (New York, NY: Springer, 2010);

⁴⁶ Lynch, Appleyard, and Myer, *The View from the Road*, 20.

⁴⁷ Lynch’s 1958 film short “View from the Road” is available online through the MIT Library (<http://mit150.mit.edu/multimedia/view-road-1958-kevin-lynch>).

⁴⁸ Lynch, Appleyard, and Myer, *The View from the Road*, 20.

⁴⁹ Rose and Pierce, “Television as a Design Tool,” 5.

⁵⁰ Thiel, “A Sequence-Experience Notation,” 34.

⁵¹ Roland Barthes, *Camera Lucinda: Reflections on Photography*, Richard Howard, translator (New York: Hill and Wang, 1981), 77.

⁵² William Kaizen, "Live on Tape: Video, Liveness and the Immediate," in *Art and the Moving Image: A Critical Reader*, ed. Tanya Leighton (London, Tate Publication, 2008), 258- 272.

⁵³ Rose and Pierce, "Television as a Design Tool," 5.

⁵⁴ Stuart W. Rose, "A Method for Describing the Quality of an Urban Street Space," (MA Thesis, University of Washington, Seattle, 1965); "On Beyond Models: Notation System Simulates Space," *Architectural & Engineering News* (January 1968): 36-39. In 1968, Rose also published a book-length manuscript on the subject, *A Notation/Simulation Process for Composers of Space* (East Lansing, MI: Michigan State University, College of Education, 1968).

⁵⁵ Rose, "On Beyond Models," 37.

⁵⁶ Ibid.

⁵⁷ Rose, *A Notation/Simulation Process for Composers of Space*, 36-37.

⁵⁸ Rose, "On Beyond Models," 39.

⁵⁹ Kaizen, "Live on Tape," 262.

⁶⁰ For information on the Glasgow project, see Ali Ali Hussein Suleiman al Amaireh, "The Use of the Modelscope Technique in Examining the Legibility of Architectural Interior Space and as a Tool in the Architectural Design Process," (PhD Diss., University of Glasgow, 1989); John Maxwell Anderson, "Simulating Space," *The Architect's Journal* (December 1972): 1325-1329; and Anderson, "A Television Aid to Design Presentation," *Architectural Research and Teaching* (November 1970): 20-24.

⁶¹ Anderson, "A Television Aid to Design Presentation," 20.

⁶² Ibid., 24.

⁶³ Ibid., 20.

⁶⁴ Ibid.

⁶⁵ Lynch, Appleyard, and Myer, *The View from the Road*, 20.

⁶⁶ Anderson, 21.

⁶⁷ Ibid., 22.

⁶⁸ Ibid.

⁶⁹ The spaces included the original Board Room (the Macintosh Room), one of the painting studios; and the hallway on the top floor.

⁷⁰ Anderson, 23.

⁷¹ Anderson reported that the “other sets of results are similar in all significant respects” (Anderson, 23).

⁷² Anderson, 23.

⁷³ For more on this concept, see David Lamb and Susan Easton, *Multiple Discovery: The Pattern of Scientific Progress* (Avebury Publishers, 1984).

⁷⁴ Rose and Pierce, “Television as a Design Tool,” 4-8.

⁷⁵ Nam June Paik bought his first Sony video recorder in late 1965. Paik and Andy Warhol are credited with originating video art in America. See, John Allan Farmer, *The New Frontier: Art and Television, 1960-65* (Austin, TX: Austin Museum of Art, 2000); Branden W. Joseph, “Nothing Special: Andy Warhol and the Rise of Surveillance,” *Ctrl Space: Rhetorics of Surveillance from Bentham to Big Brother*, Thomas Y. Levin, Ursula Frohne, and Peter Weibel, eds. (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 2002), 236-251; Michael Rush, *Video Art* (New York: Thames and Hudson, 2003).

⁷⁶ Jack Gould, “Matter of Form: Television Must Develop Own Techniques if it is to have Artistic Vitality,” (*New York Times*, 31 October 1948) reprinted in *Watching Television Come of Age* (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 2002), 36.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 37.

⁷⁸ McLuhan first introduced this phrase in 1964 in his book *Understanding Media*.

⁷⁹ McLuhan, *Understanding Media* (1994), 312-313.

⁸⁰ Rose and Pierce, “Television as a Design Tool,” 7.

⁸¹ For more on modelscopes, see Ali Ali Hussein Suleiman al Amaireh, “The Use of the Modelscope Technique in Examining the Legibility of Architectural Interior Space and as a Tool in the Architectural Design Process.”

⁸² French philosophers Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattari explained how “the diagrammatic or abstract machine does not function to represent, even something real, but rather constitutes a real that is yet to come, a new type of reality” (Deleuze and

Guattari, *A Thousand Pieces*, trans. Brian Massumi [Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 1987], 157).

⁸³ John Fiske, *Television Culture* (London and New York, NY: Routledge, 1987), 21.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 24.

⁸⁵ John Ellis, *Visible Fictions: Cinema, Television, Video* (London: Routledge, 1982), 132.

⁸⁶ McLuhan, *Understanding Media* (1994), 165.

⁸⁷ For examples of similar studio experiments that worked to negotiate old and new media, see Carmen Corneil, “The Building Store: Direct Modeling as a Studio Process,” *JAE* 41.1 (Autumn 1987): 46-53. Between 1981 and 1987, Carmen and Elin Corneil led a series of five studios, first at MIT and then the University of Toronto, wherein students focused on techniques of ‘direct modeling’ using materials from “The Building Store,” a stockpile of selective building parts. See also, Carmella Jacoby Volk and Anat Messing Marcus, “Haptic Diagrams: From Cinematography to Architectural Performance,” *JAE* 62.3 (February 2009): 71-76. Volk and Marcus directed a workshop wherein students analyzed and mapped different cinematic performances (including music videos and a scene from the 1999 movie *Fight Club*). They created time-sequence notations of two-dimensional paths and transferred them, using computer software, into three-dimensional spatial fields.

⁸⁸ For discussions of computer usage and its implications for design process, see Alfredo Andia, “Reconstructing the Effects of Computers on Practice and Education During the Past Three Decades,” *JAE* 56.2 (November 2002): 7-13; Alan Balfour, “Architecture and Electronic Media,” *JAE* 54.4 (May 2001): 268-271; Ned Cramer and Anne Guiney, “The Computer School,” *Architecture* (September 2000): 92-107; Nigel Cross, *The Automated Architect* (London: Pion, 1977); Scott Johnson, “The Slow and Incremental ‘Revolution’,” *JAE* 56.2 (November 2002): 49-54; Brian Lonsway, “The Mistaken Dimensionality of CAD,” *JAE* 56.2 (November 2002): 23-25; Alberto Perez-Gomez and Louise Pelletier, “Architectural Representation Beyond Perspectivism,” *Perspecta* 27 (1992): 20-39; R.A. Reynolds, *Computer Methods for Architects* (London: Butterworths,

1980); Warren K. Wake and Sally L. Levine, “Complementary Virtual Architecture in the Design Studio,” *JAE* 56.2 (November 2002): 18-22.

Chapter Three Notes

¹ *Jamaica Plain: Options in the City*, WNAC-TV (Boston, MA: WNAC-TV, 6 January 1976).

² William W. Harris and Robert M. Hollister, “New Uses of Television by Design Professionals,” *JAE* 31.4 (April 1978): 20.

³ Ronald Thomas, “Designing with Communications,” *JAE* 31. 4 (April 1978): 1.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ *Ibid.*, 2.

⁶ Lynn Spigel identified the desire to bolster “their reputations as public servants” as having motivated networks to broadcast programs on the arts (Spigel, *TV by Design: Modern Art and the Rise of Network Television* [Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2008]). In the 1960s and 70s, media industries faced their own ‘crisis’ in the backlash over low quality programming and its ‘brainwashing’ effects. For examples from the 1970s, see Douglass Cater, ed., *Television as Social Force: New Approaches to Television Criticism* (New York, NY: Praeger, 1975); George Gerbner, *Trends in Network Television Drama and Viewer Conceptions of Social Reality* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania, 1978); Rose K. Goldsen, *The Show and Tell Machine: How Television Works and Works you Over* (New York, NY: Dial Press, 1977); Lauren Sass, ed., *Television: the American Medium in Crisis* (New York, NY: Facts on File, 1979); and Gerald Wheeler, ed., *Taming Your TV and Other Media* (Nashville, TN: Sothern Publication Association, 1979).

⁷ Harris and Hollister, “New Uses of Television by Design Professionals,” 20-22.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 20.

⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰ ABC did not expand its news show until 1967; it also struggled to find a regular host. For more on the popularity of news reporting, see Ron Powers, *The Newscasters: The*

News Business as Show Business (New York, NY: St. Martin's Press, 1977). Lynn Spigel and Michael Cutrin, in their introduction, state that "by 1960 television was the country's dominate form of entertainment and information" (Spigel and Cutin, eds., *The Revolution Wasn't Televised: Sixties Television and Social Conflict* [New York, NY: Routledge, 1997], 2).

¹¹ Edward J. Rielly, *The 1960s* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2003), 193-194

¹² Burns W. Roper, *Trends in Public Attitudes Toward Television and Other Mass Media, 1959-1974* (New York, NY: Television Information Office, 1975), 3-6.

¹³ *U.S. News and World Report* (April 1974).

¹⁴ Harris and Hollister, "New Uses of Television by Design Professionals," 20. *Kojak* (CBS, 1973-1978) and *Streets of San Francisco* (ABC, 1972-1977) followed the work of police detectives in New York and San Francisco, respectively. *Streets of San Francisco* was filmed entirely on location, adding to its authenticity as an urban crime drama.

¹⁵ Harris and Hollister, "New Uses of Television by Design Professionals," 21.

¹⁶ Steve Macek, *Urban Nightmares: The Media, The Right, and the Moral Panic over the City* (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 2006), 52. For more on the political and social factors that led to the "urban crisis" in America, see Macek's first chapter, "The Origins of the Crisis"; and Thomas J. Sugrue, *The Origins of the Urban Crisis: Race and Inequality in Postwar Detroit* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1996).

¹⁷ Joe Feagin and Harlan Hahn, *Ghetto Revolts: The Politics of Violence in America* (New York, NY: Macmillan, 1973), 102.

¹⁸ For more on television and social change in the 1960s and 1970s, see Christine Acham, *Revolution Televised: Prime Time and the Struggle for Black Power* (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 2004); Elana Levine, *Wallowing in Sex: The New Sexual Culture of 1970s Television* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2007); Josh Ozersky, ed., *Archie Bunker's America: TV in an Era of Change, 1968-1978* (Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois University Press, 2003); Lynn Spigel and Michael Curtin, eds., *The Revolution Wasn't Televised: Sixties Television and Social Conflict*; John Sumser,

Morality and Social Order in Television Crime Drama (Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 1996).

¹⁹ Robert Baker and Sandra Ball, *Mass Media and Violence, A Report to the National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence* (Washington, D.C.: The United States Government Printing Office, 1969), 139.

²⁰ John O'Connor, "Documentary on Police Strips Away any Glamour," *New York Times* (2 January 1977): 73.

²¹ Harris and Hollister, "New Uses of Television by Design Professionals," 21.

²² For examples, see George Comstock, *Television and Human Behavior* (New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 1978); Robert Baker and Sandra Ball, "Mass Media and Violence: A Staff Report to the National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence" (Washington, D.C.: United States Government Printing Office, 1969); and "Television and Growing Up: The Impact of Televised Violence," Report to the Surgeon General (Washington, D.C.: United States Government Printing Office, 1972); Samuel Ball and Gerry Ann Bogatz, *The First Year of Sesame Street: An Evaluation* (Princeton, NJ: Educational Testing Service, 1970); Gerald Lesser, *Children and Television: Lessons from Sesame Street* (New York, NY: Random House, 1974); Herman W. Land, *The Children's Television Workshop: How and Why it Works* (Jericho, NY: Nassau Board of Cooperative Educational Services, 1972).

²³ By 1976, Rolf Goetze reported that the population had not only stabilized, but there were upward trends in populations in the 25-to-34 year old group, many of whom were young professionals working in the city and interested in the lifestyle afforded by central city amenities (Rolf Goetze, *Building Neighborhood Confidence: A Humanistic Strategy for Urban Housing* [Cambridge, MA: Ballinger Publishing Company, 1976]).

²⁴ In 1977, Harris successfully defended his dissertation, entitled "Television's Image of the City: The Jamaica Plain Case," (PhD Diss., MIT), which outlined his efforts to produce television programming that positively influenced public opinion.

²⁵ Harris, "Television's Image of the City: The Jamaica Plain Case," 186.

²⁶ William W. Harris, “A Nice Place to Visit, But...:Television’s Image of the City,” *Public Telecommunications Review* 4.3 (May/June 1976): 7.

²⁷ Harris, “Television’s Image of the City: The Jamaica Plain Case,” 11-12.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 12.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 30.

³⁰ *Ibid.*

³¹ *Ibid.*, 32.

³² *Ibid.*, 36.

³³ *Ibid.*, 24. Commercial stations were also more inclined to donate airtime during the months of January, July, and August because they were less desirable to advertisers. January was seen as a slack period after the holiday season, and both July and August had smaller audiences because of longer summer days and vacations (*Ibid.*, 152).

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 44.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 51.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 65.

³⁷ The *Jamaica Plain: Options in the City* script is reproduced in Harris, “Television’s Image of the City: The Jamaica Plain Case,” 64-106.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 73.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 69-70.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 76.

⁴¹ Cindy is describing the type of neighborhood experience praised by urban activist Jane Jacobs in the early 1960s. See Jacobs, *Death and Life of Great American Cities* (New York: NY: Random House, 1961).

⁴² Harris, “Television’s Image of the City: The Jamaica Plain Case,” 82-83.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 82.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 100.

⁴⁵ Harris, “A Nice Place to Visit, But...”12.

⁴⁶ Non-ratings nights provided stations an opportunity to air alternative programming, like public affairs programs, without needing to “compete” with other stations. Non-

ratings nights and times were generally known by all stations and advertisers, but rarely to the public.

⁴⁷ The program received a 9 on the ARB scale. One rating point was equal to one percent of the homes in the coverage area; 1,700,000 homes in Boston television coverage area equaled 17,000 homes per rating point.

⁴⁸ Harris, "Television's Image of the City: The Jamaica Plain Case," 109.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 111.

⁵⁰ This viewing pattern would follow Paul Klein's "Least Objectionable Program" theory of television viewing, which states that viewers watch TV regardless of its content—they tune in to watch TV itself and will settle on the content that offends them the least. See, Paul Klein, "Why You Watch What You Watch When You Watch," *TV Guide* (24 July 1971).

⁵¹ Harris, "Television's Image of the City: The Jamaica Plain Case," 115.

⁵² *Ibid.*

⁵³ Harris included a copy of the caller form as appendix D in "Television's Image of the City: The Jamaica Plain Case," 195.

⁵⁴ According to the 1970 census, the percentage of college graduates in Boston was 15.8 (Harris, 124).

⁵⁵ Harris includes a copy of the questionnaire as appendix E in "Television's Image of the City: The Jamaica Plain Case," 196-201.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 133.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 133.

⁵⁸ The real estate agent reported that one person who called in for a poster following the program eventually bought a house in Jamaica Plain (*Ibid.*, 141).

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 156.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 43.

⁶² *Ibid.*

⁶³ *Ibid.*, 163.

⁶⁴ Harris, “A Nice Place to Visit, But...,” 12.

⁶⁵ Hollister had been a committee member on his dissertation, which reported the finding of the Jamaica Plain project.

⁶⁶ Robert M. Hollister, *Measuring Neighborhood Confidence* (Boston, MA: Boston Redevelopment Authority, 1978).

⁶⁷ Hollister called in the Neighborhood Confidence project (Measuring Neighborhood Confidence); Elizabeth Emerson Hershey called it the Neighborhood Marketing Project (Emerson Hershey, “An Inquiry into Group Self-Assessment” (MS Thesis, MIT, 1978); and William Wendel reported that it was known as the Living in Boston project (Wendel, “Marketing the Great House Sale” (MS Thesis, MIT, 1983).

⁶⁸ Hollister, *Measuring Neighborhood Confidence*, 183.

⁶⁹ Nearly 80 percent of all the residents the team survey watched local television news regularly (Ibid., 175).

⁷⁰ Hershey, “An Inquiry into Group Self-Assessment,” 93.

⁷¹ “TV Tonight.” *Biddeford Journal* (3 June 1977): 10.

⁷² Ibid., 10.

⁷³ Hollister, *Measuring Neighborhood Confidence*, 186.

⁷⁴ Ibid.

⁷⁵ Harris and Hollister, “New Uses of Television by Design Professionals,” 20.

⁷⁶ Their approach to urban planning aligned with the ideas of Jane Jacobs, who in her seminal book on ‘postmodern’ planning, *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*, described the city as an “immense laboratory of trial and error, failure and success, in city building and city design.” Jacobs called for designers to reject the abstractions of orthodox modern planning and use the city to learn, form, and test their theories (Jacobs, *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*, 6).

⁷⁷ Ibid., 21.

⁷⁸ Ibid.

⁷⁹ “Odds & Trends,” *Time* (20 December 1976).

⁸⁰ “‘Seattle’ Public Service Announcements,” memo, Department of Community Development, October, 1976 (Seattle Municipal Archives, Seattle, Washington). Schell similarly used the rapist vs. picnic—this time in the Mount Baker— comparison when talking to reporter Les Ledbetter (“Seattle Turns to TV Ads to Lure Suburbanites Back to City Living,” *New York Times* [6 December 1976]).

⁸¹ Les Ledbetter, “Seattle Turns to TV Ads to Lure Suburbanites Back to City Living,” *New York Times* [6 December 1976].

⁸² “‘Seattle’ Public Service Announcements,” memo, Department of Community Development, October, 1976, Seattle Municipal Archives.

⁸³ Ledbetter, “Seattle Turns to TV Ads to Lure Suburbanites Back to City Living.” This traffic-jam spot was also reported on in “Odds & Trends,” *Time*.

⁸⁴ *Advertising Age* (21 February 1977).

⁸⁵ Ledbetter, “Seattle Turns to TV Ads to Lure Suburbanites Back to City Living.”

⁸⁶ Carolyn Marvin, *When Old Technologies Were New: Thinking about Electronic Communication in the Late Nineteenth-Century* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988), 4.

Chapter Four Notes

¹ Edmund Bacon, “Urban Process,” *Daedalus* 97.4 (Fall 1968): 1170-71.

² Chad Floyd, “Giving Form in Prime Time,” in *The Scope of Social Architecture*, ed. C. Richard Hatch (New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold Company, 1984): 289.

³ “Designer vs. Design: The Problems of Change,” *Connection* (Winter Spring 1962): 58. The special double issue of the Harvard magazine offered multiple perspectives on environmental design education in America; Reyner Banham, Robert Hollister, and Robert Gutman all weighed in on the subject.

⁴ “Designer vs. Design: The Problems of Change,” *Connection* (Winter Spring 1968): 58.

⁵ Bacon, “Urban Process,” 1165-1178. It was published the following year in *Architectural Record* (“Urban Process: Planning with and for the Community,” *Architectural Record* [May 1969]: 129-134). Bacon, an influential architect and planner,

worked as the Executive Director of the Philadelphia City Planning Commission from 1949 to 1970. For Bacon's work, see Bacon "Architecture and Planning," *American Institute of Architects Journal* 35 (June 1968): 68-90; *Design of Cities* (New York, NY: Viking Press, 1967); "Downtown Philadelphia: A Lesson in Design for Urban Growth," *Architectural Record* 129 (May 1961): 131-146; "The City Image," in *Man and the Modern City*, edited by Elizabeth Green, Jeanne Lowe, and Kenneth Walker (Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh, 1963); For more on Bacon, see Sebastian Haumann, "Modernism was 'Hollow': The Emergence of Participatory Planning in Philadelphia, 1950-1970," *Planning Perspectives* 26.1 (January 2011): 55-73; Gregory L. Heller, *Ed Bacon: Planning, Politics, and the Building of Modern Philadelphia* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania, 2013); and Scott Gabriel Knowles, *Imagining Philadelphia: Edmund Bacon and the Future of the City* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009).

⁶ Bacon, "Urban Process," 1169.

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ Sherry Arnstein, "A Ladder of Citizen Participation in the USA," *Journal of the American Institute of Planners* 35.4 (July 1969): 216-224. This essay has been reprinted over eighty times and translated into multiple languages. Arnstein was a consultant on urban affairs, a former Chief Advisor on Citizen Participation in HUD's Model Cities Administration, and a staff consultant to the President's Committee on Juvenile Delinquency.

¹⁰ Ibid., 217.

¹¹ Ibid., 216.

¹² For more on participatory design in the 1960s and 1970s, see Peter Marris and Martin Rein, *Dilemmas of Social Reform* (New York: Atherton Press, 1967); Michael Fagence, *Citizen Participation in Planning* (New York: Pergamon Press, 1977); Edmund M. Burke, *A Participatory Approach to Urban Planning* (New York: Human Services Press, 1979).

¹³ John Carey, "A Primer on Interactive Television," *Journal of the University Film Association* 30.2 (Spring 1978): 35-39.

¹⁴ Editors' Note, *Radical Software* 1.1 (1970): inner cover.

¹⁵ H. Allen Frederiksen, *Community Access Video* (Menlo Park, CA: Nowels Publications, 1972), inner cover.

¹⁶ David Lachenbruch, "Will it Play in Columbus," *TV Guide* (24 December 1977): 3-5.

¹⁷ The series was published as a book in 1967, Jerome Aumente, *Can the Cities Survive?: A Thorough, Constructive Series of Reports on 1967 Big City Problems* (Detroit, MI: The Detroit News, 1967). The title mirrors that of Jose Luis Sert's *Can Our Cities Survive? An ABC of Urban Problems, Their Analysis, Their Solutions* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1942), though it is unknown whether or not this was a conscious decision by the editors.

¹⁸ Jerome Aumente, "Places without People," *Connections* (Winter/Spring 1968): 73-75.

¹⁹ Nan Ellin, *Postmodern Urbanism*, 241-247.

²⁰ Aumente, "Places without People," 73. Aumente reported that he saw a changing spirit in the air, one based on new concerns for social relevance and technologies. He writes of one classroom discussion that he observed: "It was the end of semester, when a Harvard professor cautioned his students: 'Unless somehow the planner can get the support of the public he is disarmed, and he deserves the current criticism that he is irrelevant to the solution of urban problems'" (73). He also reported on a speech delivered by Nathan Smith to the Boston Society of Architects during their centennial celebration in 1968, quoting Smith as saying, "Architects are obsolete. No one consults with the people. All we are, are big artists. Throw away your T-squares, move out of your ivory tower and set up a storefront somewhere and see how the people feel" (73). Smith's comments mirror those of Whitney Young Jr. delivered at the national AIA conference that same year.

²¹ Aumente, "Places without People," 75.

²² Ibid.

²³ Jerome Aumente, "VTR and CATV for Designers," *Design and Environment* 3.4 (Winter 1972): 38-39; 49-50.

²⁴ Ralph Lee Smith, "The Wired Nation," *The Nation* (18 May 1970). Smith published a longer version of his cable treatise as *The Wired Nation. Cable TV: The Electronic Communications Highway* (New York, NY: Harper & Row, 1972), 8.

²⁵ Thomas Streeter, "Blue Skies and Strange Bedfellows: the Discourse of Cable Television," in *The Revolution Wasn't Televised: Sixties Television and Social Conflict*, eds. Lynn Spigel and Michael Curtin (New York: Routledge, 1997), 221-244.

²⁶ Aumente, "VTR and CATV for Designers," 49.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 38.

²⁸ *Ibid.*

²⁹ Barry Orton, "The Urban Communications Teaching and Research Center," *Radical Software* 2.4 (1973): 41-42.

³⁰ Aumente, "VTR and CATV for Designers," 38.

³¹ Just as Rose and Anderson believed television systems could transform what they saw to be the tired design traditions related to representation and space studies.

³² Aumente, "VTR and CATV for Designers," 50.

³³ Orton received a Master's degree in city and regional planning in 1972 and a PhD in urban planning and policy development in 1980. He worked as a research associate at the UCTRC from 1974-1979.

³⁴ The founding members of the Raindance Corporation included Frank Gillette, Michael Shamberg, Ira Schneider, Lous Jaffe, and Marco Vassi. For more on Raindance, including a digital archive of all issues of *Radical Software*, see the website www.radicalsoftware.org.

³⁵ Beryl Korat and Phyllis Gershuny, *Radical Software* 1 (1970): inside cover.

³⁶ Michael Shamberg, *Guerrilla Television* (New York, NY: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1971), 33. As an appendix to *Guerrilla Television*, Shamberg included the transcript from his time at Washington University in St. Louis, where he entered as an architecture student. He received C-grades in Intro to Architecture and Studio Workshop before switching his major to Liberal Arts.

³⁷ See Deirdre Boyle, "Subject to Change: Guerrilla Television Revisited," *Art Journal* 45.3 (Autumn 1985): 228-232; Boyle, "From Portapak to Camcorder: A Brief History of Guerrilla Television," *Journal of Film and Video* 44.1/2 (Spring/Summer 1992): 67-79; Paul Ryan, "A Genealogy of Video," *Leonardo* 21.1 (1988): 39-44; Felicity Scott, *Architecture or Techno-Utopia: Politics After Modernism*, 209-245; Scott, Mark Wasuiuta and Paul Ryan, "Cybernetic Guerrilla Warfare Revisited: From Klein Worms to Relational Circuits," *Grey Room* 44 (Summer 2011): 114-133.

³⁸ Scott, *Architecture or Techno-Utopia*, 220, 240.

³⁹ For more on Ant Farm, see Constance Lewallen and Steve Seid, *Ant Farm, 1968-1978* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2004); and Felicity Scott, *Living Archive 7: Ant Farm* (Barcelona, Actar, 2008).

⁴⁰ Shamberg, *Guerrilla Television*, 8.

⁴¹ The RPA began promoting "Choices for '76" in late 1972 ("Urban Choices for '76," *New York Times* [28 November 1972]: 44). For more on "Choices for '76," see Christopher Arterton, "Political Participation and 'Teledemocracy'," *Political Science and Politics* 21.3 (Summer 1988): 620-627; Willis Goldbeck, "Choices for '76: A Metropolitan Experiment in Resident Education and Communications," *Public Administration Review* 35.1 (January/February 1975): 74-76; and Erasmus H. Kloman, "Public Participation in Technology Assessment," *Public Administration Review* 34.1 (January/February 1974): 52-61. The Regional Plan Association Records, including holdings on "Goals for the Region" and "Choices for '76," are held in the Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University, New York.

⁴² "Urban Choices for '76," *New York Times* (28 November 1972): 44

⁴³ Robert Fishman, "The Metropolitan Tradition in American Planning," in *The American Planning Tradition: Culture and Policy*, edited by Robert Fishman (Woodrow Wilson Center Press, 2000), 73.

⁴⁴ Progress Report, 31 December 1966 (excerpted in William Shore, *Public Participation in Regional Planning: A Report of the Second Regional Plan* [New York, NY: Regional Planning Association, 1967], 21).

⁴⁵ WPIX debuted in 1948 as New York's second independent television outlet. Owned by the Tribute Company, the studios and offices are located in the Daily News Building in New York City; its transmitter is located atop the Empire State Building.

⁴⁶ William Shore, *Listening to the Metropolis: An Evaluation of the New York Region's Choices for '76 Mass Media Town Meetings and Handbook on Public Participation in Regional Planning* (New York, NY: Regional Plan Association, 1974), 27. Louis Schlivek and William B. Shore, Information Director for the RPA, produced the shows.

⁴⁷ For more on the information presented in "Goals for the Region," see Shore, *Public Participation in Regional Planning*, 33-63.

⁴⁸ RPA reported on the scientific rigor of the process, which was developed in collaboration with Joan Gordon, a sociologist and professor at Columbia University, and David B. Rauch, then Director of Adult Education for the Great Neck public school district. It had been tested on three pilot groups in different types of communities in New Jersey: an old city (Newark), an old suburb (Great Neck), and a growing suburb (New York City) (Shore, *Public Participation in Planning*, 23).

⁴⁹ Shore, *Public Participation in Planning*, 23.

⁵⁰ "Choices for '76" reached 600,000 households compared to 50,000 for "Goals of the Region" (*Listening to the Metropolis*, 27).

⁵¹ "The Metropolis Speaks: A Report to the New York Region on its Mass Media town Meetings, Choices for '76," *Regional Plan Notes* 95 (August 1974): 1.

⁵² These programs satisfied the FCC demand for public interest programming, meaning that the stations donated the commercial-free air-time.

⁵³ *Listening to the Metropolis*, 9.

⁵⁴ Ibid.

⁵⁵ Letter from US Senators James Buckley (C/R-NY), Clifford Case (R-NJ), Abraham Ribicoff (D-CT), Lowell Weicker, Jr., Jacob Javits (R-NY), and Harrison Williams (D-NJ) to Harold Finger, Secretary for Research and Technology at HUD, 26 April 1971 (published in *Listening to the Metropolis*, 23).

⁵⁶ Shore, *Public Participation in Regional Planning*, 14.

⁵⁷ Ibid., 14.

⁵⁸ Chad Floyd, "Making Television Useful," in *The Enthusiasms of Centerbrook*, ed. John Morris Dixon (Mulgrave, Victoria: Images Publishing Group, 2001): 212.

⁵⁹ "Designing on TV: Charles Moore and Chad Floyd Prove it can be Done," *Architectural Record* (December 1979): 101.

⁶⁰ Barbara Goldstein, "Participation Workshops," *Architectural Design* XLIX.4 (1974): 207-212.

⁶¹ In Roanoke, they collected over 3,000 ideas at their storefront office. Floyd, "Giving Form in Primetime," 288.

⁶² Ibid.

⁶³ "Pilot Center, Cincinnati, Ohio," *Process: Architecture* 3 (1977): 51. For more on Woolen and the project, see Robert Benson, "An Architecture of Engagement: The Work of Evans Woollen," *Inland Architect* 31 (July 1987): 49-57; "Pilot Center: Filling in Over-the-Rhine," *Architectural Record* (October 1975): 81-86; and Evans Woollen, "Towards and Architecture of Process," *Arts + Architecture* (1985): 65-67.

⁶⁴ For more on the Hart School project, see "By the People," *Progressive Architecture* (February 1972): 88-95; and "A Second Look: Hart Middle School," *Progressive Architecture* (December 1976): 56-58.

⁶⁵ For more on community design centers, see "Advocacy: A Community Planning Voice," special issue of *Design Quarterly* 82/83 (1971): 1-61; Philip Arcidi, "Architecture's Alternative Vanguard: The Evolution of the Community Design Center," *Crit* (April 1988): 4-7; Bruce Bonine, "Six Years of Community Involvement: The St. Francis Vestpocket Community Center," *Architectural Design* 45.3 (March 1975): 182-184; Jack B. Fraser, "People Are the City: How Can Architects (Through Community Development/ Design Centers) Help Return It to Them?" *Vital Questions AIA* (1969): P13; "Getting Involved," *Architectural and Engineering News* 11 (December 1969): 28-37; Leon Harney, "Community Design Centers in the 70s: A Status Report," *AIA Journal* 67.13 (November 1978): 54-56; Karin Parry, "From Design to Development: The Los Angeles Community Design Center," *L.A. Architect* (July 1985): 6-7; and Paul Sachner,

“Still Planning with the Poor: Community Design Centers Keep Up the Good Works,”
Architectural Record 171 (June 1983): 126-131.

⁶⁶ Floyd, “Giving Form in Primetime,” 288.

⁶⁷ Ibid.

⁶⁸ Ibid.

⁶⁹ Ibid.

⁷⁰ Ibid.

⁷¹ Ibid., 286.

⁷² Charles Moore on *American Architecture Now* (1984), Diamonstein-Spielvogel Video Archive, Duke University, accessed 26 February 2014,
<http://library.duke.edu/digitalcollections/dsva/>.

⁷³ Chad Floyd in discussion with the author, 14 July 2011.

⁷⁴ Susan Murray, “Phil Donahue, 1935—,” *The Encyclopedia of Television, Volume 1*, edited by Horace Newcomb (Chicago, IL: Fitzroy Dearborn Publishers, 2004), 750-752.

⁷⁵ For more on *Donahue* and the talk show genre, see Donald Carbaugh, *Talking American: Cultural Discourses on Donahue* (Norwood, NJ: Ablex Publishing, 1988); Julie Engel Manga, *Talking Trash: The Cultural Politics of Daytime TV Talk Shows* (New York, NY: New York University Press, 2003), 24-28; Kathy Haley, “From Dayton to the World: A History of the Donahue Show,” *Broadcasting* (2 November 1992); Patricia Priest, *Public Intimacies: Talk Show Participants and Tell All TV* (Cresskill, NJ: Hampton, 1996); Bernard Timberg, *Television Talk: A History of the TV Talk Show* (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 2002); and Frank Tomasulo, “The Spectator-in-the-Tube: The Rhetoric of Donahue,” *Journal of Film and Video* 36.2 (Spring 1984): 5-12.

⁷⁶ Chad Floyd in discussion with the author, 14 July 2011.

⁷⁷ Michael Kassel, “Telethon,” *The Encyclopedia of Television, Volume 1*, edited by Horace Newcomb (Chicago, IL: Fitzroy Dearborn Publishers, 2004), 2298-2299.

⁷⁸ Chad Floyd, "Process: The Architect as Celebrity," Riverdesign Dayton Report, Unpublished, 1977. Box J5, Centerbrook Architects and Planners Records (MS 1844), Manuscript and Archives, Yale University Library.

⁷⁹ Calendar, "Dayton River Design" Folder, Box E8, The Charles W. Moore Archives, Alexander Architectural Archive, University of Texas Libraries, The University of Texas at Austin.

⁸⁰ Floyd, "Making Television Useful," 214.

⁸¹ Ibid.

⁸² Floyd, "Giving Form in Primetime," 291.

⁸³ Ibid., 294.

⁸⁴ Ibid., 286.

⁸⁵ Riverdesign Dayton Report (1977), Box J5, Centerbrook Architects and Planners Records (MS 1844), Manuscript and Archives, Yale University Library.

⁸⁶ Moore, "Building Club Sandwiches," 49.

⁸⁷ Ibid.

⁸⁸ "Designing on TV: Charles Moore and Chad Floyd Prove it can be Done," 101.

⁸⁹ Floyd, "Giving Form in Primetime," 288.

⁹⁰ This also helped the architects bypass the AIA's codes of conduct against advertising and publicity. The first chapter of my dissertation presents the relationship between public relations and the architecture profession in American. For more on the subject, See Andrew Shanken, "Breaking the Taboo" *JSAH* 69.1 (September 2010): 406-438; and Jay Wickersham, "An Architectural Revolution: The Transformation of Architectural Ethics in the 1970s," paper presented at the annual meeting of the Society of Architectural Historians, New Orleans, April 2011.

⁹¹ Riverdesign Dayton Report, Box E8, Charles W. Moore Archives, Alexander Architectural Archive, University of Texas Libraries, The University of Texas at Austin.

⁹² Shore, *Public Participation in Regional Planning*, 21.

⁹³ Gabrielle Esperdy, comments in response to my paper (“Design-a-thon: Architecture Made for TV”), delivered at the 2013 Buell Dissertation Colloquium Columbia University, New York, 6 April 2013.

⁹⁴ Floyd, “Making Television Useful,” 216.

⁹⁵ Ibid.

⁹⁶ Ibid.

Chapter Five Notes

¹ O’Doherty was Director, Media Arts: Film/Radio/Television, and Pitts was Director, Design Arts for the NEA. National Endowment for the Arts, “Request for Proposals for a Television Series on Architecture/Design,” (January 1980), 1. Charles W. Moore Archives, Alexander Architectural Archives, University of Texas at Austin Library.

² Herbert Schmertz, “The Smart Medium,” unpublished paper in ExxonMobil Historical Collection, The Dolph Briscoe Center for American History, The University of Texas at Austin.

³ Paul Goldberger, “A Grand Tour of Spaces and Places Just Misses the Mark,” *New York Times* (30 March 1986): H25.

⁴ NEA, “Request for Proposals for a Television Series on Architecture/Design,” 1

⁵ Heather Hendershot, *What’s Fair on the Air: Cold War Right-Wing Broadcasting and the Public Interest* (Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press, 2011), 18-19.

⁶ “Join the PBS Family,” PBS.org. Accessed 21 February 2014, <http://www.pbs.org/about/careers/>.

⁷ PBS reported that the American broadcast of *The Shock of the New* was “seen by 26 million public TV viewers in the U.S., and by comparable audiences in Britain and his native Australia” (“Robert Hughes, Writer and Host,” *Australia: Beyond the Fatal Shore* (<http://www.pbs.org/wnet/australia/bio.html>, accessed 17 February 2014)

⁸ Like Stern and Kostof, Hughes published a book by the same name as the mini-series: Robert Hughes, *The Shock of the New* (New York, NY: Alfred A. Knopf, 1980).

⁹ John O'Connor, "TV View: A Provocative New Series on Modern Art," *New York Times* (11 January 1981): D25.

¹⁰ Peter Lipman-Wolf described Hughes and Clark as such in his review for the companion book *The Shock of the New* (*Leonardo* 16.2 [Spring 1983]: 147).

¹¹ Herbert Schmertz, "Advocacy has its Rewards," *Communicators Journal* (May/June 1983): 18.

¹² Bernice Kanner, "Oil Slick: Mobil's Herb Schmertz is the Lord of P.R.," *New York* (31 March 1986): 49.

¹³ Schmertz, "Advocacy has its Rewards," 18.

¹⁴ Herbert Schmertz and William Novak, *Goodbye to the Low Profile: The Art of Creative Confrontation* (Boston, MA: Little, Brown and Company, 1986), 17.

¹⁵ Kanner, "Oil Slick: Mobil's Herb Schmertz is the Lord of P.R.," 47.

¹⁶ Herbert Schmertz, Presentation to Mobil Board of Directors (30 April 1982), ExxonMobil Historical Collection, The Dolph Briscoe Center for American History, The University of Texas at Austin.

¹⁷ For more on Mobil and public television, see Schmertz and Novak, *Goodbye to the Low Profile*, 221-233.

¹⁸ "The Business 500," *Business* (October 1986): 131.

¹⁹ Schmertz explained his problems with television news in chapter five of his book (with Novak), *Goodbye to the Low Profile*, 98-102.

²⁰ Herbert Schmertz, "The Smart Medium," unpublished paper (undated), ExxonMobil Historical Collection, The Dolph Briscoe Center for American History, The University of Texas at Austin.

²¹ Schmertz, "The Smart Medium." Mobil also supported public teaching initiatives, museums, and zoos. For more on Mobil's public programs, see Schmertz and Novak, *Goodbye to the Low Profile*, 212-215.

²² *Ibid.*

²³ Robert Stern, "Acknowledgements," in *Pride of Place: Building the American Dream* (New York, NY: American Heritage, 1986), 334.

²⁴ Ibid.

²⁵ “The Search for a Usable Past,” *Pride of Place: Building the American Dream*, South Carolina Education TV (Columbia, SC: ETV, 29 March 1986).

²⁶ Ibid.

²⁷ “The Garden and the Grid,” *Pride of Place: Building the American Dream*, South Carolina Education TV (Columbia, SC: ETV, 17 May 1986).

²⁸ Robert Stern, *New Directions in American Architecture* (New York, NY: Braziller, 1969); *George Howe: Toward a Modern American Architecture* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1975); with Deborah Nevins, *The Architect’s Eye: American Architectural Drawings from 1799-1978* (New York, NY: Pantheon Books, 1979); *Raymond Hood* (New York, NY: Institute for Architecture and Urban Studies, 1982); *New York 1900: Metropolitan Architecture and Urbanism, 1890-1915* (New York, NY: Rizzoli, 1983).

²⁹ Robert Stern, *Robert Stern* (London: Architectural Design, 1981); *Robert A.M. Stern, 1965-1980: Toward a Modern Architecture after Modernism* (New York, NY: Rizzoli, 1981); *The Residential Works of Robert A.M. Stern* (Tokyo: A+U Publishing Co., 1982).

³⁰ See *Five Architects: Eisenman, Graves, Gwathmey, Hejduk, Meier* (New York, NY: Wittenborn, 1972); and “Five on Five,” *Architectural Forum* 138.4 (May 1973): 46-57. For more on the whites and the grays, see Paul Goldberger, “Should Anyone Care About the ‘New York Five? Or About Their Critics, the ‘Five on Five’?” *Architectural Record* 155 (February 1974): 113-116; and Nadia Watson, “The Whites vs the Grays: Re-Examining the 1970s Avant-Garde,” *Fabrications: The Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians, Australia and New Zealand* 15.1 (2005): 55-69.

³¹ “The Search for a Usable Past.”

³² Ibid.

³³ In 2010, Scully became the subject of a documentary, *Vincent Scully: An Art Historian Among Architects*, produced by Checkerboard Films. Filmed mostly on the Yale University campus in New Haven, the documentary presented Scully’s views on

University landmarks and testimonials from some of his students, including Stern and Goldberger.

³⁴ “The Search for a Usable Past.”

³⁵ Stern, *Pride of Place*, 35.

³⁶ “The Search for a Usable Past.”

³⁷ Ibid.

³⁸ Ellen Posner, “TV: Exploring American Architecture,” *The Wall Street Journal* (31 March 1986): 16.

³⁹ Roger Kimball, “Pride Misplaced: Stern Lessons in American Architecture,” *Architectural Record* (May 1986): 77.

⁴⁰ Sarah Booth Conroy, “Architecture on the Run: ‘Pride of Place’: Fleeting Glimpses,” *The Washington Post* (24 March 1986): C4.

⁴¹ Ibid.

⁴² Paul Goldberger, “A Grand Tour of Spaces and Places Just Misses the Mark,” *New York Times* (30 March 1986): H25.

⁴³ Ibid.

⁴⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁵ Frank Peters, “A Narrow Anti-Modernist’s View of American Architecture,” *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* (16 March 1986): B5. Peters was a Pulitzer Prize winning (1972, for music criticism) critic and editor for the *St. Louis Dispatch*.

⁴⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁷ Paul Gapp, “Architecture Series Travels Across the US,” *Chicago Tribune* (30 March 1986): 6.

⁴⁸ Roger Kimball, “Making a Spectacle of Architecture on PBS,” *The New Criterion* (May 1986): 25-34.

⁴⁹ Kimball, “Making a Spectacle of Architecture on PBS,” 30.

⁵⁰ Ibid., 31.

⁵¹ William Curtis offered a similarly scathing critique of postmodernism in his essay “Principle v Pastiche: Perspectives on Some Recent Classicisms,” *Architectural Review* 176 (August 1984): 10-21.

⁵² Kimball, “Making a Spectacle of Architecture on PBS,” 32.

⁵³ NEA, “Request for Proposals for a Television Series on Architecture/Design” (January 1980). In 1980, the NEA doubled its budget for programming in the arts; it was also the year the NEA provided a \$10,000 Media Arts Grant to the ETV Endowment of South Carolina to acquire *Shock of the New* for broadcast on PBS (Brian O’Doherty, “Media Arts: Film/Radio/Television,” *National Endowment for the Arts Annual Report 1980* [Washington D.C.: NEA], 141-145; 149.

⁵⁴ NEA, “Request for Proposals for a Television Series on Architecture/Design.”

⁵⁵ Ibid.

⁵⁶ Ibid.

⁵⁷ Greater Washington Educational Telecommunications Association, “Organization Grant Application for National Endowment for the Arts,” undated, Charles W. Moore Archives, Alexander Architectural Archives, University of Texas at Austin Library. WETA initially proposed an episode on “The Car” that became replaced by “Public Spaces and Monuments,” mostly likely because the subject matter of “The Car” overlapped with that of “The Street” and because an episode on monuments showcased some of America’s largest tourist attractions and national landmarks.

⁵⁸ Ibid.

⁵⁹ Ibid.

⁶⁰ Ibid.

⁶¹ The first line read: “Spiro Kostof, an architectural historian who was the host of the five-part series “America by Design” on public television in 1987, died on Saturday at his home in Berkeley, California” (“Spiro Kostof, Professor, is Dead; Architectural Historian was 55,” *New York Times* [10 December 1991]: B20). The *Los Angeles Times* obituary similarly noted how Kostof was “known to most Americans for the ambitious five-part

1987 public TV series” (Burt Folkart, “Spiro Kostof; Architectural Historian, Design Scholar,” *Los Angeles Times* [11 December 1991]: 22).

⁶² “Spiro Kostof, Professor, is Dead; Architectural Historian was 55,”

⁶³ Spiro Kostof, *A History of Architecture: Settings and Rituals* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 1985).

⁶⁴ *America by Design*, Greater Washington Educational Telecommunications Association (Washington, D.C.: WETA, 1987).

⁶⁵ “The House,” *America by Design*, Greater Washington Educational Telecommunications Association (Washington, D.C.: WETA-TV, 28 September 1987).

⁶⁶ Later in “The House,” when Kostof identified the forces responsible for constructing the American idea of housing, he again diminished the role of architects: “How did we come to create this domestic idea for ourselves? It was certainly not accidental or natural. It was in the making for 200 years; the handicraft of a broad consensus of ministers, politicians, reformers, of builders and architects, of average Americans themselves.”

⁶⁷ Daralice Boles, “America by Design: Weekly Assignments by Spiro Kostof,” *Progressive Architecture* (October 1987): 27.

⁶⁸ Ibid.

⁶⁹ Ibid.

⁷⁰ Sam Hall Kaplan, “Television Reviews: American by Design,” *Los Angeles Times* (28 September 1987): 12.

⁷¹ Ibid.

⁷² Ibid.

⁷³ Paul Gapp, “America by Design Needs Redesign,” *Chicago Tribune* (28 September 1987), accessed 14 January 2014, http://articles.chicagotribune.com/1987-09-28/features/8703130727_1_five-part-public-television-series-america-dams.

⁷⁴ Ibid.

⁷⁵ Paul Goldberger, “Architecture View: American Architecture and How it Grew,” *New York Times* (27 September 1987): H34.

⁷⁶ Ibid.

⁷⁷ Ibid.

⁷⁸ American Institute of Architects, “America by Design: Viewing Guide,” (Washington, D.C.: American Institute of Architects, 1987), Charles W. Moore Archives, Alexander Architectural Archives, University of Texas at Austin Library.

⁷⁹ Ibid., 3.

⁸⁰ Ibid., 4.

⁸¹ Ibid., 6.

⁸² Ibid., 8.

⁸³ Ray Rhinehart, “America by Design Promotional Materials” packet, (7 July 1987), Charles W. Moore Archives, Alexander Architectural Archives, University of Texas at Austin Library.

⁸⁴ Michael Curtin, *Redeeming the Westland: Television Documentary and Cold War Politics* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1989).

⁸⁵ Laurie Ouellette, *Viewers Like You? How Public TV Failed the People* New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 2002).

⁸⁶ Goldberger, “A Grand Tour of Spaces and Places Just Misses the Mark,” H25.

⁸⁷ Goldberger, “Architecture View; American Architecture and How it Grew,” H34.

⁸⁸ Pride of Place Publicity and Advertising Report, Box E133, ExxonMobil Historical Collection, The Dolph Briscoe Center for American History, The University of Texas at Austin.

⁸⁹ Steven Litt, “All-American Designs: A Populist Look at Architecture,” *The Raleigh News & Observer* (25 September 1987).

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Chapter Six Notes

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² “Audience Profile,” HGTV.com, accessed 6 March 2014,

<http://www.hgtv.com/advertise-with-us-audience-profile/package/index.html>.

³ Lynn Spigel, "Introduction," in *Television after TV: Essays on a Medium in Transition*, eds. Spigel and Jan Olsson (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2004), 2. For more on the idea of "television after TV," see Graeme Turner and Jinna Tay, eds., *Television Studies after TV: Understanding Television in the Post-Broadcast Era* (London, Routledge, 2009).

⁴ Spigel, 2.

⁵ Rick Bird, "A Decade of HGTV," *Cincinnati Post* (December 2004).

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ HGTV audience demographics (as reported in 2010 and available on HGTV.com in 2014) are: Median Age: 48; Median Household Income: \$70,907; 60% own a residence ("Advertise with Us," HGTV.com, accessed 6 March 2014, <http://www.hgtv.com/advertise-with-us-audience-profile/package/index.html>).

⁸ James McCown, "I Saw it On HGTV," *Architecture Boston* (Winter 2011): 35.

⁹ Paul Sciarra, Evan Sharp, and Ben Silbermann launched Pinterest in March 2010. Users of the website can upload, organize, and share media content onto their "boards" and bookmark, or "pin," online content they want to save. In February 2013, Pinterest had 48.7 million users globally. For more on Pinterest, see Nicholas Carlson, "Inside Pinterest: An Overnight Success Four Years in the Making," *Business Insider* (1 May 2012), accessed 2 March 2014, <http://www.businessinsider.com/inside-pinterest-an-overnight-success-four-years-in-the-making-2012-4>; Josh Constine, "Pinterest Hits 10 Million U.S. Monthly Uniques Faster Than Any Standalone Site Ever," TechCrunch, (7 February 2012), accessed 2 March 2014, <http://techcrunch.com/2012/02/07/pinterest-monthly-unique/>; and Glendon Mellow, "The Promise and Perils of Pinterest," *Scientific American Symbiartic Blog* (16 March 2012), accessed 1 March 2014, <http://blogs.scientificamerican.com/symbiartic/2012/03/16/the-promise-and-perils-of-pinterest/>.

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¹⁴ This type of viewing is increasingly known as "binge-watching." See, Nolan Feeney, "When, Exactly, Does Watching a Lot of Netflix Become a Binge?" *The Atlantic* entertainment (14 February 2014), accessed 6 March 2014, <http://www.theatlantic.com/entertainment/archive/2014/02/when-exactly-does-watching-a-lot-of-netflix-become-a-binge/283844/>; John Jurgensen, "Binge Viewing: TV's Lost Weekends," *The Wall Street Post* (13 July 2013), accessed 6 March 2014, <http://online.wsj.com/news/articles/SB10001424052702303740704577521300806686174?mg=reno64-wsj&url=http%3A%2F%2Fonline.wsj.com%2Farticle%2FSB10001424052702303740704577521300806686174.html>; Jim Pagels, "Stop Binge-Watching TV," Slate's Culture Blog (9 July 2013), accessed 6 March 2014, http://www.slate.com/blogs/browbeat/2012/07/09/binge_watching_tv_why_you_need_to_stop_.html.

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¹⁸ “Single Dad’s Solution,” HGTV.com, accessed 4 March 2014, <http://www.hgtv.com/income-property/single-dads-solution/index.html>.

¹⁹ Cathy Lang Ho argued that design-based television content could be loosely grouped into three genres: the tourist, the learning annex, and the game show (Ho, “The Renovation will be Televised,” *Dwell* [June 2003]: 102). Lang Ho, educated in economics and mass communications at the University of California Berkeley, is an independent architecture and design journalist and curator, having worked as the founding editor-in-chief of *The Architect’s Newspaper*, and the lead curator of the US Pavilion at the Venice Architecture Biennale in 2012.

²⁰ Another same-sex couple was shown that day in the episode “James and David” of *Income Property* (9:00 PM and 12:00 AM).

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²⁴ For examples of user uploaded videos see, “House Hunters Serial Killer Edition,” *Funny or Die* (12 February 2013), accessed 7 March 2014, <http://www.funnyordie.com/videos/c40e4730e5/house-hunters-serial-killer-edition>; “Homeless House Hunters,” *Funny or Die* (9 February 2010), accessed 7 March 2014, <http://www.funnyordie.com/videos/86c15ed8d8/homeless-house-hunters>; and House Hunters: Desperate Housewife Edition,” *Funny or Die* (31 August 2010), accessed 7 March 2014, <http://www.funnyordie.com/videos/86c15ed8d8/homeless-house-hunters>.

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²⁶ Ho, 104.

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²⁸ Scripps Network Interactive acquired the Food Network in 1997.

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³⁰ “Wild Card Design,” *HGTV Design Star*, Home and Garden Television (Knoxville, TN: HGTV, 13 August 2006).

³¹ *Ibid.*

³² See C.S. Martin, “TV Design Myths,” *Midwest Home & Garden* (August 2004): 159-163. Martin identifies six “myths” about the profession as portrayed on TV and compares them to the “realities” of practicing interior design.

³³ Lucinda Kaukas Havenhand, “A View from the Margin: Interior Design,” *Design Issues* 20.4 (Autumn 2004): 33.

³⁴ *Ibid.*

³⁵ HGTV *Design Star*’s representation of gender is worthy of more study. Only two of the first eight *Design Star* winners have been male: season one’s David Bromstad and season four’s Antonio Ballatore, both of whom stayed with HGTV as hosts of their own programs. For more on home improvement television and gender, see Madeline Shufeldt Esch, “Renovating Television, Remodeling Gender: Home Improvement Television and Gendered Domesticities 1990-2005,” (PhD Dissertation, University of Colorado, 2009).

³⁶ Lisa Waxman and Stephanie Clemons, “Student Perception: Debunking Television’s Portrayal of Interior Design,” *Journal of Interior Design* (2007): viii.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, viii.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, x.

³⁹ “Oakland: Webster Street,” *Trading Spaces*, The Learning Channel (Silver Spring, MD: TLC, 8 March 2002).

⁴⁰ Waxman and Clemons, x. The website they referenced was “Careers in Interior Design,” accessed 8 November 2013, <http://www.careersininteriordesign.com/>.

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⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 256.

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⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*

⁶⁰ Greg Blonder, "Decorating for Dummies: Why HGTV is bad for Design, and Why it May be Our Own Fault," *I.D.: Magazine of International Design* (September/October 2005): 30; Ken Coupland, "Home Rooms: Student Designers Tackle Their Toughest Assignment: Reality TV," *Metropolis* 23.9 (May 2004): 48; Stephen Henderson, "Leap of Faith: While Designing his Los Angeles Lofe, HGTV's Kenneth Brown Relearns Some of his own Lessons," *House Beautiful* 147.6 (June 2005): 124-131; "The HGTV Effect,"

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⁶⁵ Ibid.

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Conclusion Notes

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Figures

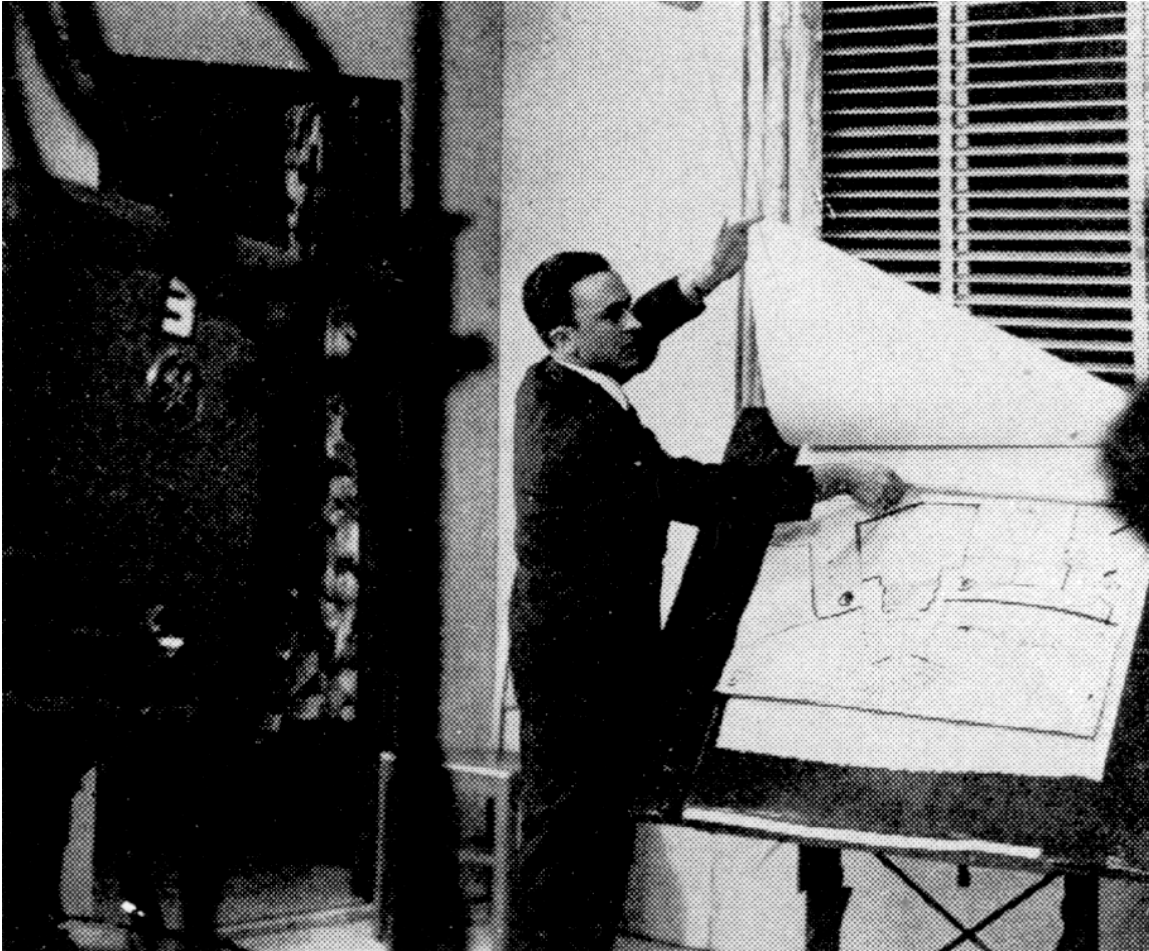


Figure I.1. Ildefonso Aroztegui, an architect from Montevideo, Uruguay and post-professional student at the University of Illinois, presents his plans for the “television studio of tomorrow” for the cameras on WRGB Schenectady, February 1944 (*Illinois Technograph* [February 1944]: 16).

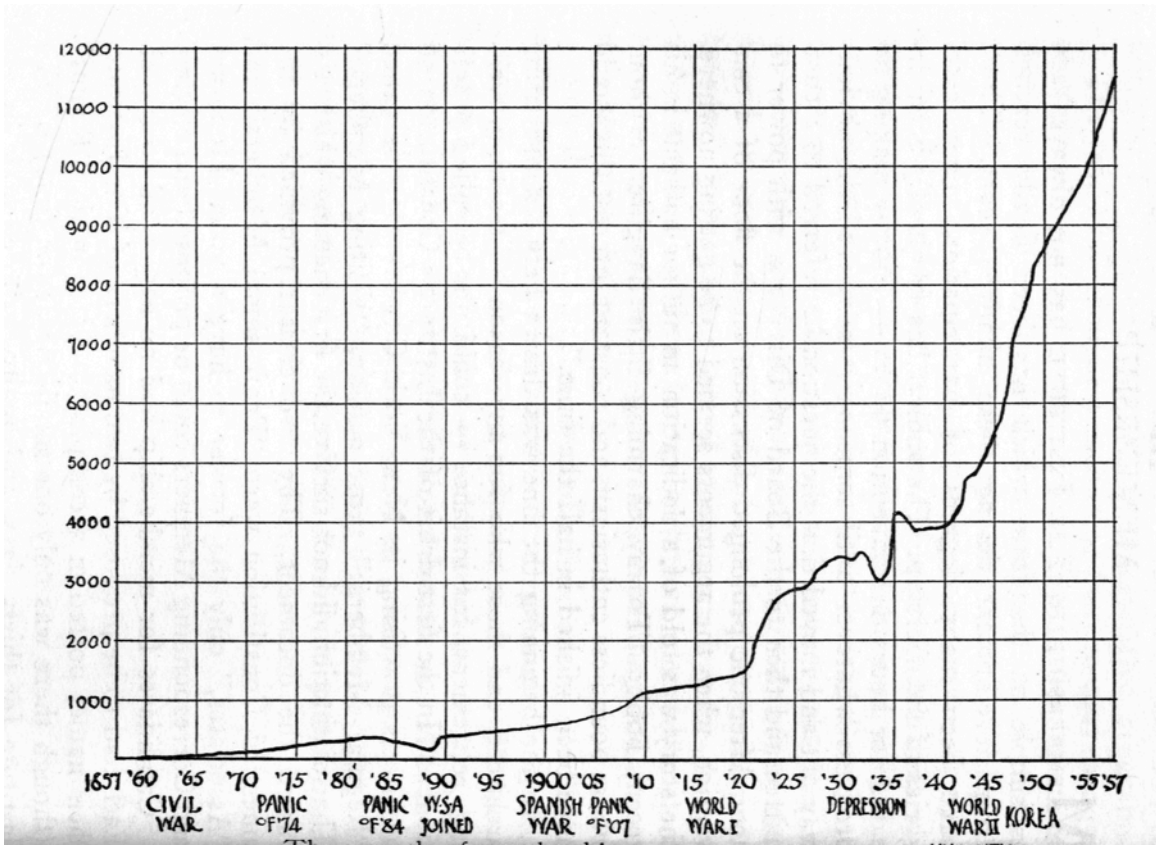


Figure 1.1. Chart showing AIA membership increases (Henry Saylor, *The A.I.A.'s First Hundred Years* [Washington, D.C.: American Institute of Architects, 1957], 30).

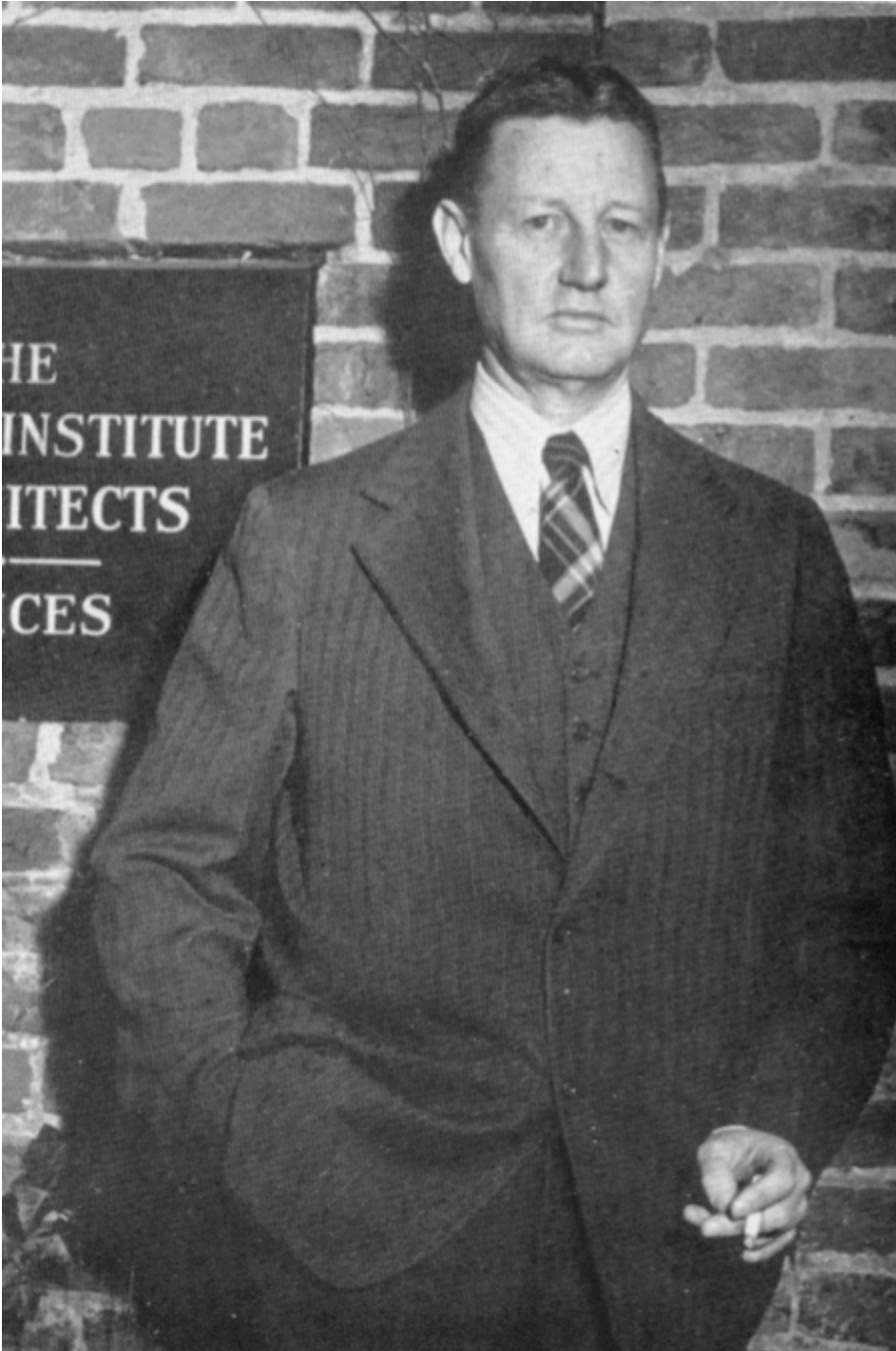


Figure 1.2. Edmund Purves, Executive Director of the American Institute of Architects, 1952 (*Journal of the A.I.A.* [September 1952]: 126).



Figure 1.3. Landscape architect Robert Royston (left), shown with Leland Vaughan (center) and Robert Anshen (right), explains his work in the episode “Design in Your Garden” of *Art in Your Life* (Allon Schoener, “An Art Museum’s Experiment in Television,” *Museum: A Quarterly Review* 5.4 [1952]: 340).

**Are You Interested
In a New Home?**



**Tune In
WFAA-TV—Channel 8
Sunday, 3:30-4:00 P.M.**

**"SO YOU
WANT TO BUILD"**

**Follow Pat and Bill Morgan . . .
and their architect . . . as
they plan a new home . . .
Watch them choose a lot, make
a floor plan, organize a model
kitchen, and select materials
for their construction needs.**



Presented in Cooperation with

**THE DALLAS CHAPTER
The American Institute of
Architects**

Figure 1.4. Advertisement for *So You Want to Build* (*Dallas Morning News* [April 13, 1952]: V.7).

Vacation Home...designed and built for gracious, carefree family living the year 'round...

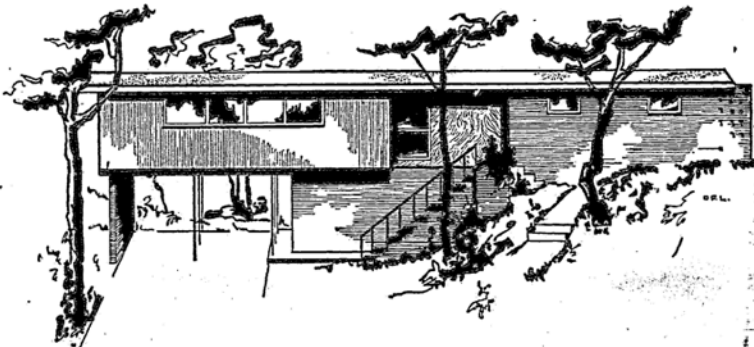
The American Home Realty Company is honored to have been selected to build Vacation Home for the Dallas Chapter of the American Institute of Architects.

Here, in Wynnewood, possibly more than any other urban development in the nation, the value of sound architectural planning has been thoroughly demonstrated and proven. Wynnewood as it stands today did not just happen... it has been carefully planned to grow and develop into the "city within a city" that it now is. Sound architectural counsel and services have played an important part in each phase of the progress of Wynnewood.

Vacation Home represents another chapter in the long association of the American Home Realty Company and the Dallas chapter of the American Institute of Architects. We believe that in Vacation Home the Dallas chapter of A.I.A. has created an entirely new trend in contemporary home design and planning.

The American Home Realty Company, as developers of Wynnewood, Wynnewood Village and Wynnewood North are doubly pleased that Wynnewood North was selected as the ideal site for Vacation Home. Often referred to as Dallas' finest residential area, Wynnewood North will soon add over 100 beautiful, spacious, wooded lots to its area. In highly restricted Wynnewood North, just a few minutes away from busy downtown Dallas you can enjoy all the luxuries of the country with the convenience of city living.

An 8-day, all-expense-paid tour to Havana for two via Braniff International Airways will be given to the purchaser of completely furnished and equipped Vacation Home. Vacation Home with all furnishings and equipment, as it is on display, will sell for \$55,000. For further information ask any American Home Realty Company representative at Vacation Home, or call our brokerage office at Winfield 0351.



AMERICAN HOME REALTY CO.

developers of

Wynnewood

2311 SALERNO DRIVE, DALLAS, TEXAS, Winfield 0351

Figure 1.5. Advertisement for the Vacation Home model (*Dallas Morning News* [May 24, 1953]: 8.1).

Are You Interested
In a New Home?

Tune In
WFAA-TV—Channel 8
Sunday, 3:30-4:00 P.M.

**"SO YOU
WANT TO BUILD"**

Follow Pat and Bill Morgan . . .
and their architect . . . as
they pick a new home . . .
Watch them choose a lot, make
a floor plan, organize a model
kitchen, and select materials
for their construction needs.

Presented in Cooperation with
THE DALLAS CHAPTER
The American Institute of
Architects

TONIGHT

**ED SULLIVAN'S
TOAST OF THE TOWN**

That grand entertainer
SOPHIE TUCKER
last of the Red Hot Mammals

Internationally-acclaimed
**SADLER'S WELLS
THEATRE BALLET**

MICKEY DEEMS
that funny funnyman

TUSKEGEE CHOIR
Stirring Choral Music

MONTEZ DE OCA
*Spanish Circus Duo in a
Thrilling New Trampoline Act*

BROUGHT TO YOU BY YOUR
LINCOLN and MERCURY DEALER

KRLD-TV
CHANNEL 4
7:00 P.M.

**TUNE IN, PARTNERS!
NEW WESTERN TV SENSATION!**

"Cowboy Classics"

**WFAA-TV 2 to 3 P.M.
SUNDAY**


SPONSORED BY THE
BAKERS OF

**WONDER
BREAD**

The Bread That Helps Build
Strong Bodies 8 Ways

**THIS WEEK'S
FEATURE**

**BUSTER CRABBE
IN
"BORDER
BADMEN"**



Continental Baking
Company, Inc.

Figure 1.6. Advertisement for *Cowboy Classics* seen next to ad for *So You Want to Build* (*Dallas Morning News* [April 13, 1952]: V.7).

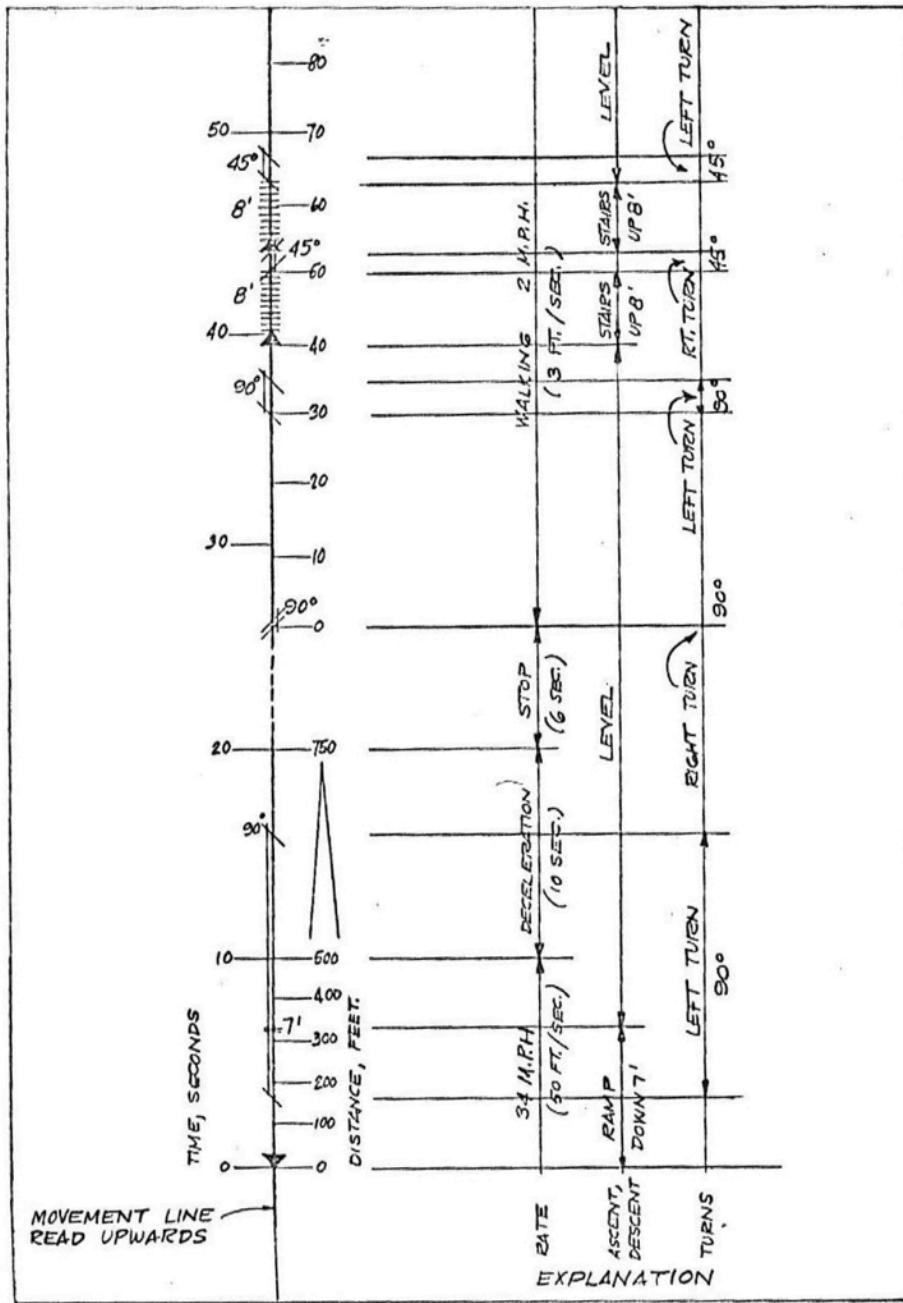


Figure 2.1 Philip Thiel, movement notation, 1961 (Thiel, "A Sequent-Experience Notation for Architectural and Urban Spaces," *Urban Planning Review* [April 1961]: plate 5).



Figure 2.2. Movement notation made as part of an experiment using television to simulate space at the University of Nebraska in 1965 (Stuart Rose and M. Scheffel Pierce, “Simulating Space,” *Architectural and Engineering News* [August 1944]: 47).

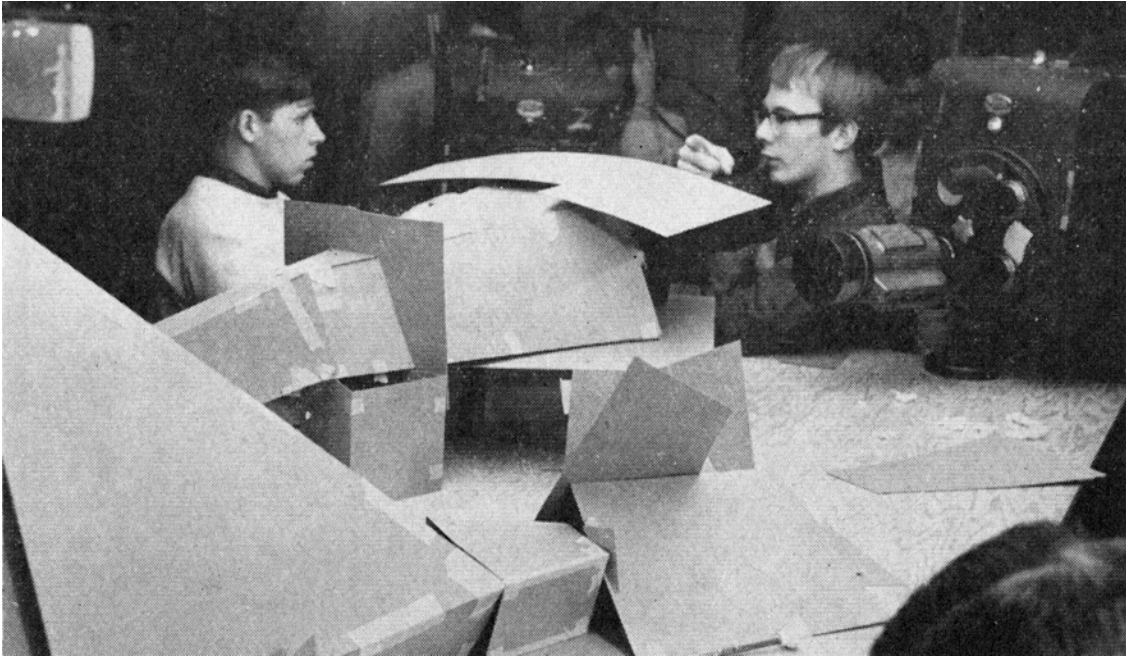


Figure 2.3. Students use two television cameras and break-away cardboard models to create space simulations, as part of an experiment at the University of Nebraska in 1965. Footage can be seen on the monitor to the left (Stuart Rose and M. Scheffel Pierce, “Simulating Space,” *Architectural and Engineering News* [August 1944]: 47).

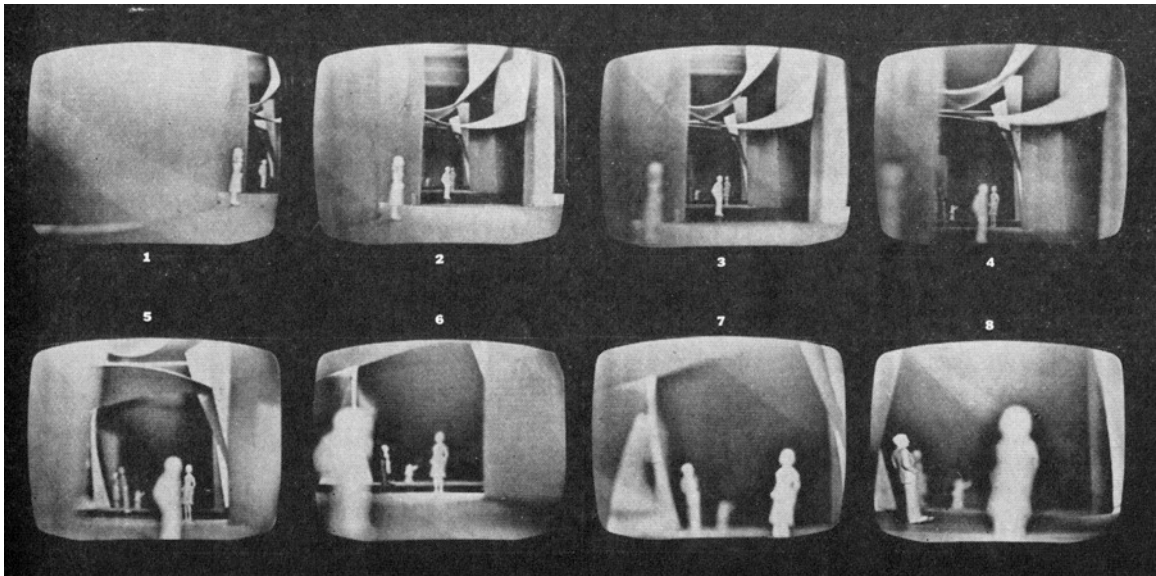


Figure 2.4. Screen captures of television simulation for ‘curvilinear space,’ created as part of an experiment at the University of Nebraska in 1965 (Stuart Rose and M. Scheffel Pierce, “Simulating Space,” *Architectural and Engineering News* [August 1944]: 47).

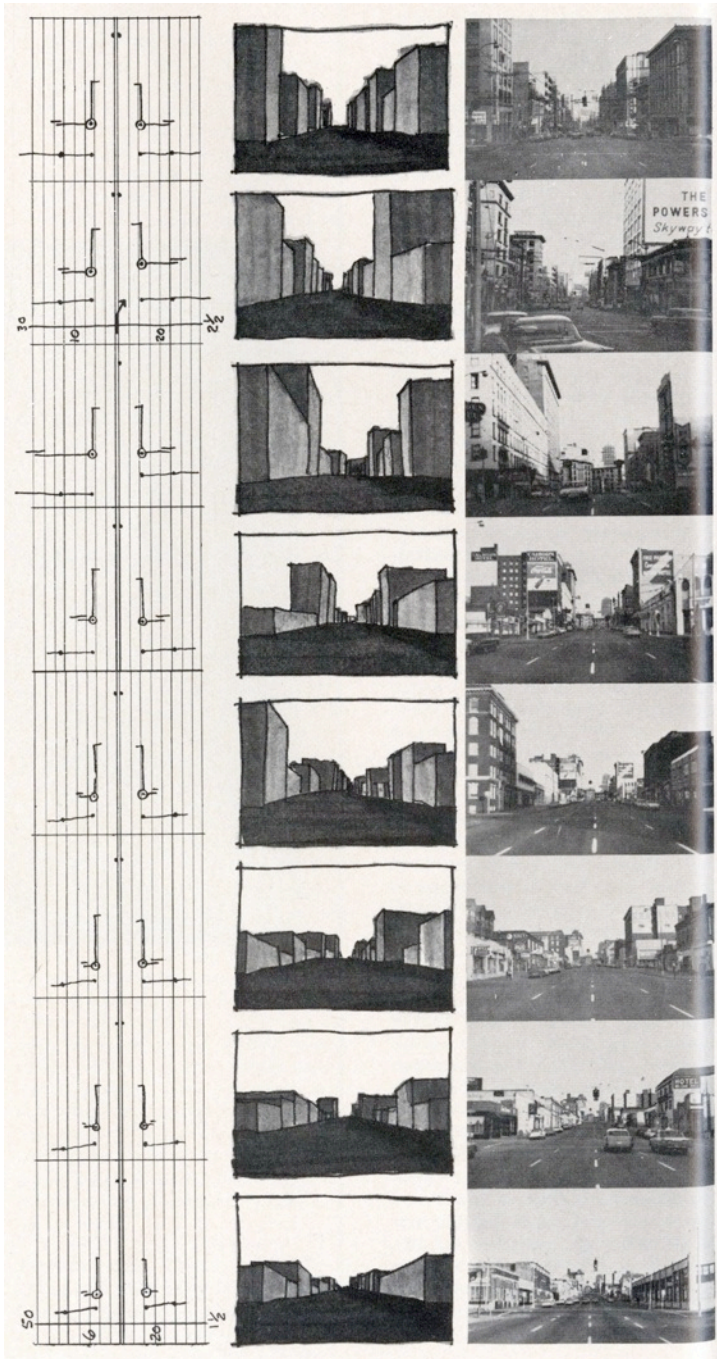


Figure 2.5. Stuart Rose’s system for recording movement, using notations, sketches, and photographs, 1968 (Stuart Rose, “On Beyond Models: Notation System Simulates Space,” *Architectural & Engineering News* [January 1968]: 36).

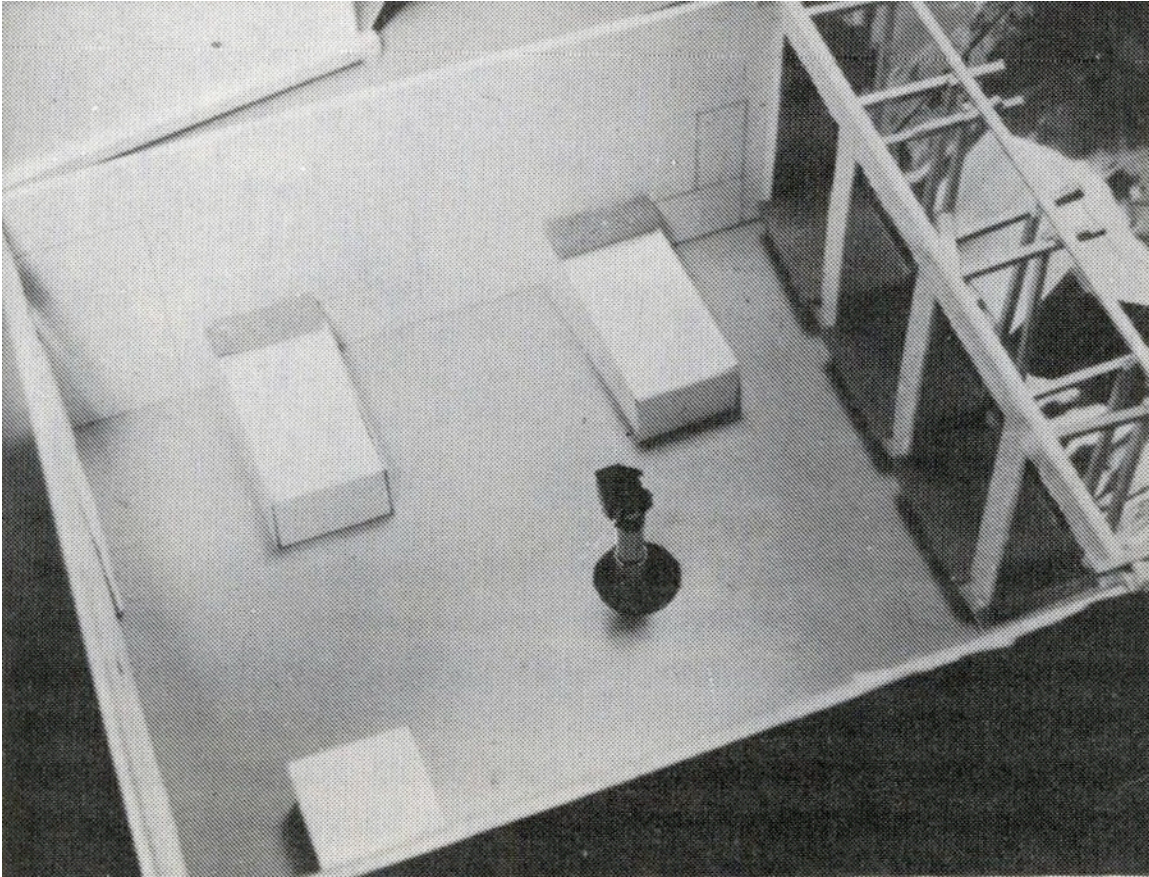


Figure 2.6. Model with modelscope at center as part of set-up used for an experiment with television at the University of Glasgow (John Maxwell Anderson, “A Television Aid to Design Presentation, *Architectural Research and Teaching* [November 1970]: 22).

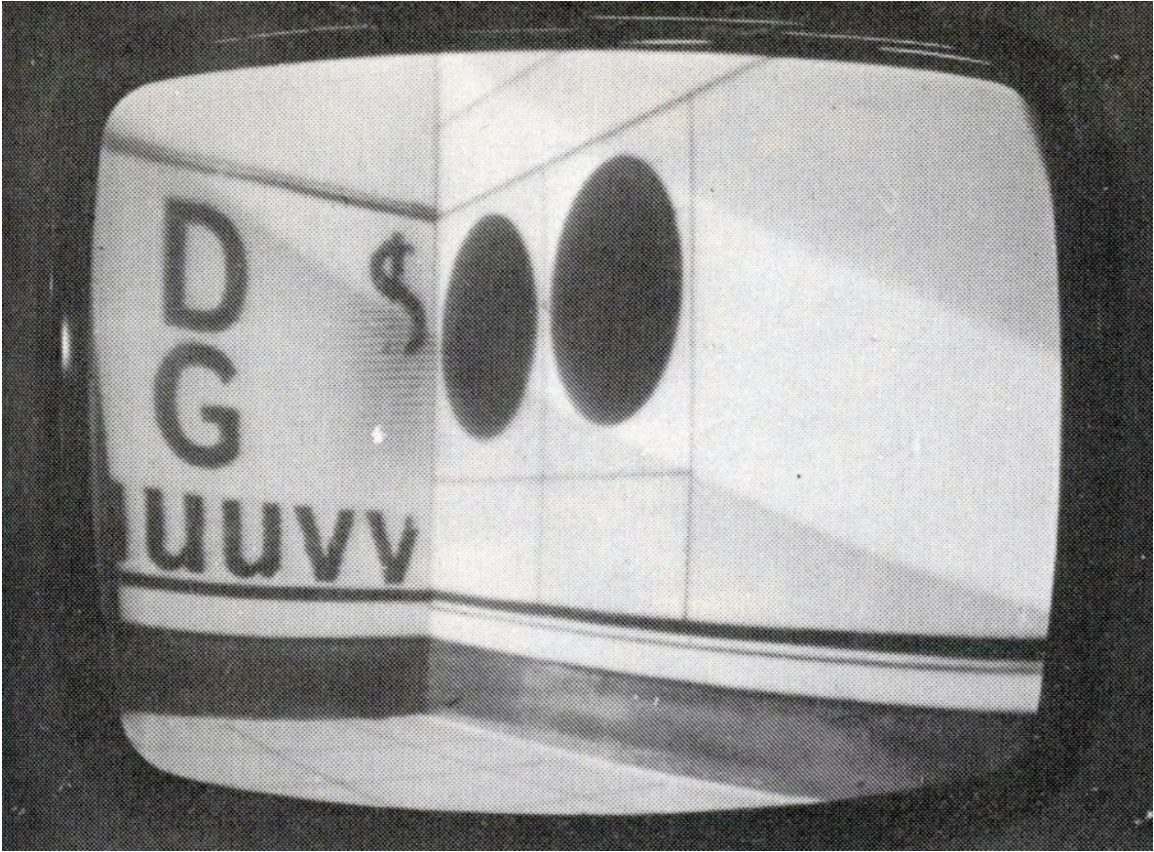


Figure 2.7. Screen capture of a basic interior space created as part of an experiment to use television at the University of Glasgow (John Maxwell Anderson, “A Television Aid to Design Presentation, *Architectural Research and Teaching* [November 1970]: 21).

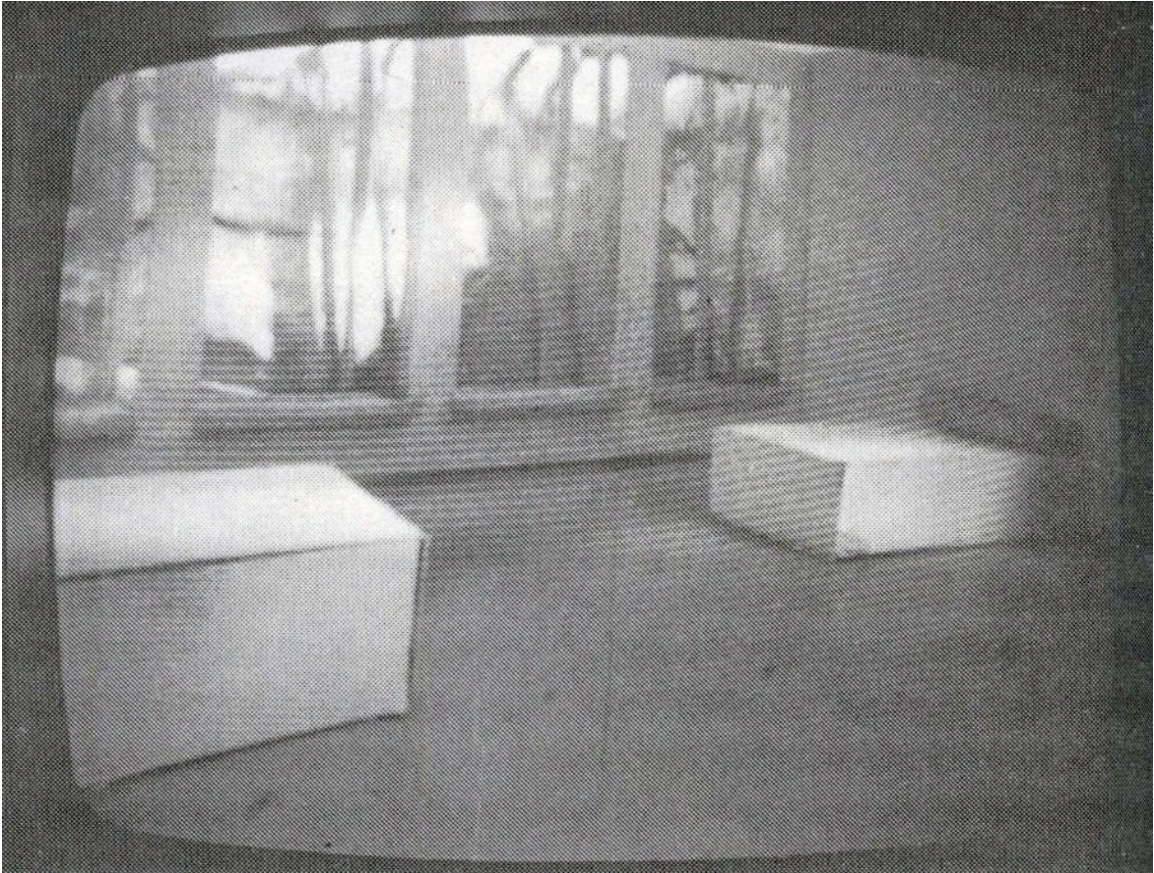


Figure 2.8. Screen capture of a modeled hospital ward created as part of an experiment to use television at the University of Glasgow (John Maxwell Anderson, “A Television Aid to Design Presentation, *Architectural Research and Teaching* [November 1970]: 22).

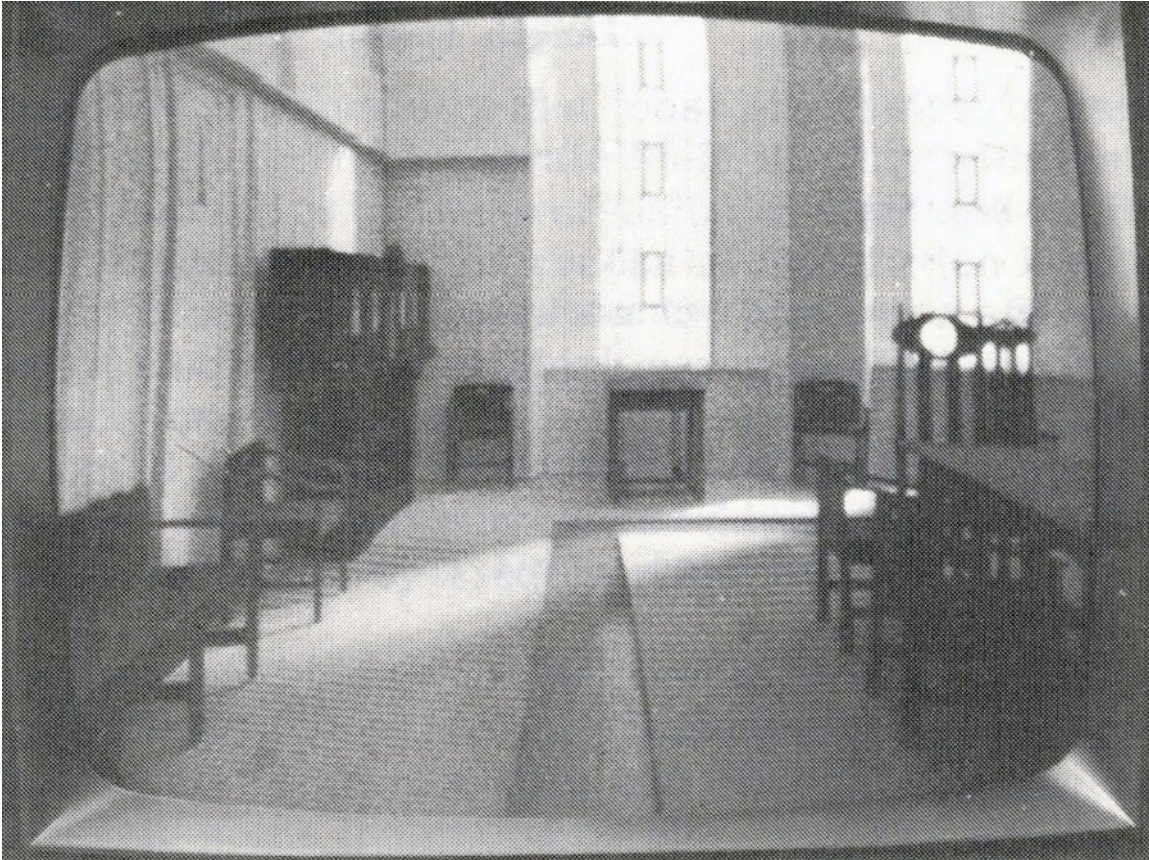


Figure 2.9. Screen capture of a modeled version of the Mackintosh Room created as part of an experiment to use television at the University of Glasgow (John Maxwell Anderson, “A Television Aid to Design Presentation, *Architectural Research and Teaching* [November 1970]: 23).



Figure 3.1. Screen captures from news footage showing Detroit riots in 1967 (Detroit, MI: WXYZ-TV7, 1967, Archives of Michigan, Michigan Department of Natural Resources, accessed 2 February 2014, <http://vimeo.com/5337314>).



Figure 3.2. Screen captures from *The Police Tapes*, 1976 (Alan and Susan Raymond, *The Police Tapes* [WNET/Channel 13, 3 January 1977]).

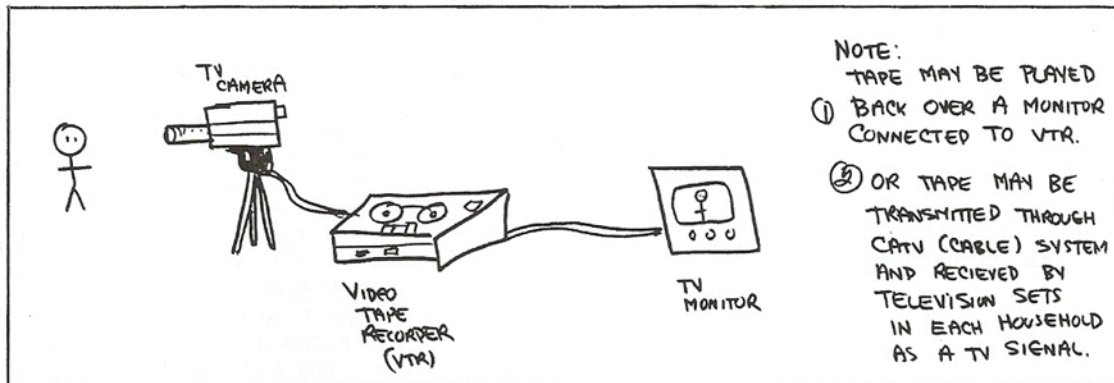


Figure 4.1. Jerome Aumante drawings showing the video tape recording (VTR) system (Jerome Aumante, “VTR and CATV for Designers,” *Design and Environment* 3.4 [Winter 1972]: 39).

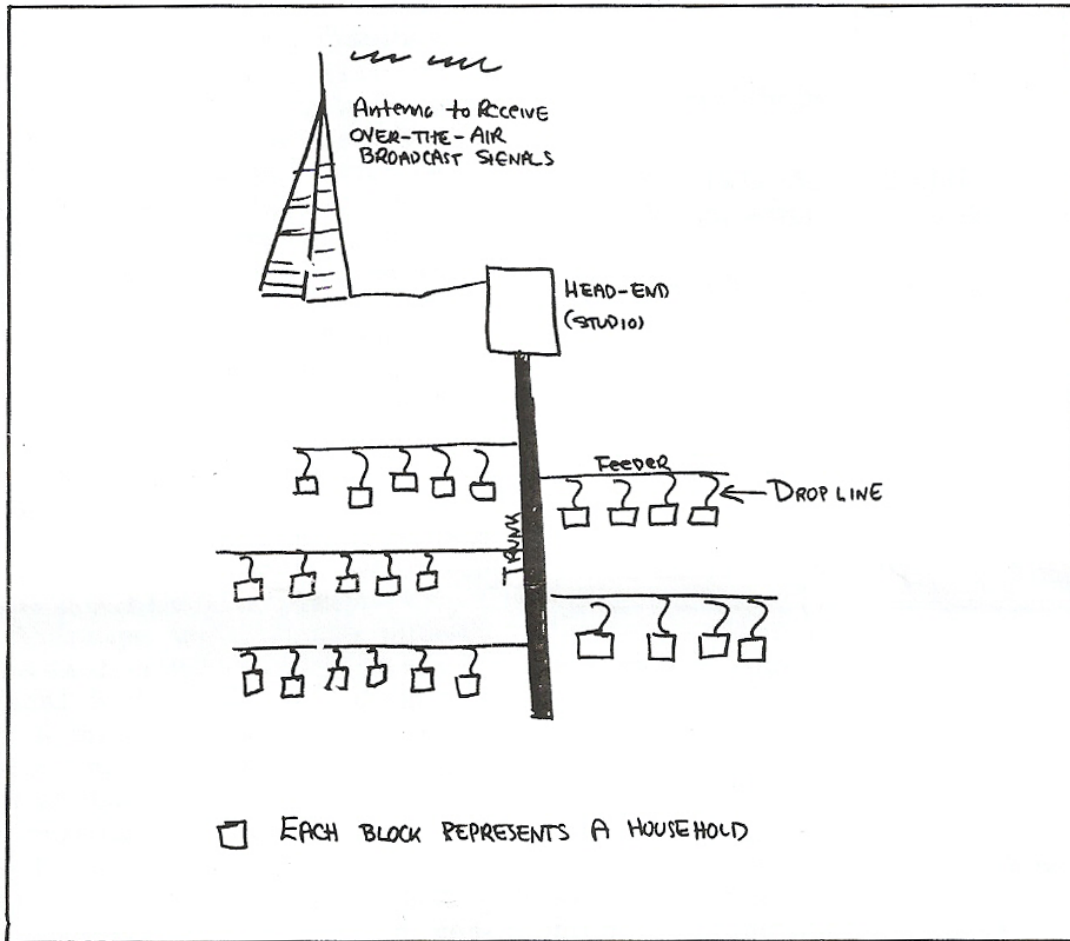


Figure 4.2. Jerome Aumente drawing showing cable television (CATV) system (Jerome Aumente, "VTR and CATV for Designers," *Design and Environment* 3.4 [Winter 1972]: 39).



Figure 4.3. Screen captures from “Goals for the Region” showing the commute of a “public relations man” from Waldwick, New Jersey to Manhattan (William Shore, *Public Participation in Regional Planning: A Report of the Second Regional Plan* [New York, NY: Regional Planning Association, 1967], 34).



Figure 4.4. Screen captures from “Goals for the Region” showing housing projects in Manhattan (William Shore, *Public Participation in Regional Planning: A Report of the Second Regional Plan* [New York, NY: Regional Planning Association, 1967], 43).



Figure 4.5. Screen Captures from “Goals for the Region” comparing the “downtown activities” of White Plains, New Jersey to the Garden State Plaza shopping center in Paramus, New Jersey (William Shore, *Public Participation in Regional Planning: A Report of the Second Regional Plan* [New York, NY: Regional Planning Association, 1967], 36-37).

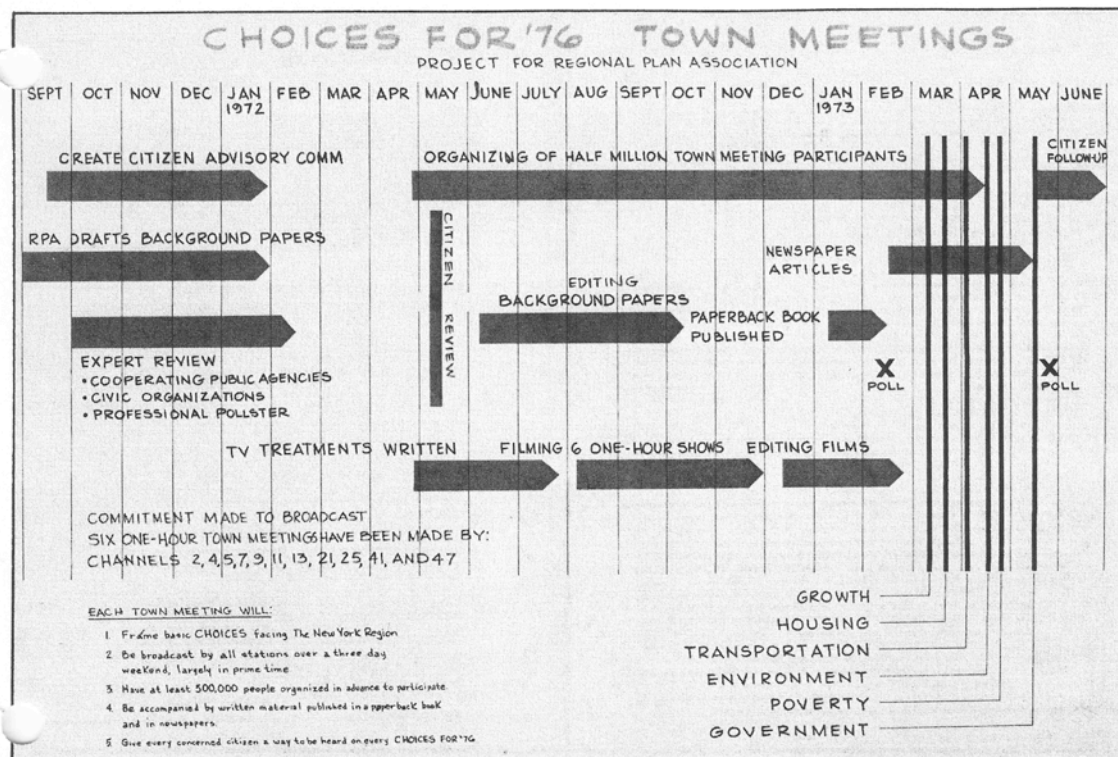


Figure 4.6. Calendar showing “Choices for ‘76” events, including preliminary committee meetings and research, production and broadcasting of television programs, and polls (William Shore, *Listening to the Metropolis: An Evaluation of the New York Region’s Choices for ‘76 Mass Media Town Meetings and Handbook on Public Participation in Regional Planning* [New York, NY: Regional Plan Association, 1974], 89).



Figure 4.7. “Riverdesign Dayton,” Storefront office in Dayton, Ohio, 1976 (Centerbrook Architects and Planners Records, MS 1844, Manuscript and Archives, Yale University Library).



Figure 4.8. Local news reporting on the storefront office, with architect Trip Wyeth seen inside, in Roanoke, Virginia, 1978 (Centerbrook Architects and Planners Records, MS 1844, Manuscript and Archives, Yale University Library).



Figure 4.9. Design workshop drawing activity in the storefront office in Springfield, Massachusetts, 1980 (Centerbrook Architects and Planners Records, MS 1844, Manuscript and Archives, Yale University Library).



Figure 4.10. Studio view of “Riverdesign Dayton,” 1976. Gordon Morioka, photographer (Centerbrook Architects and Planners Records, MS 1844, Manuscript and Archives, Yale University Library).



Figure 4.11. Studio view of “Watkins Glen Tomorrow,” 1980. (Charles W. Moore Archives, Alexander Architectural Archive, The University of Texas at Austin).



Figure 4.12. Screen capture from “Roanoke Design ’79” showing colorful models, 1979.

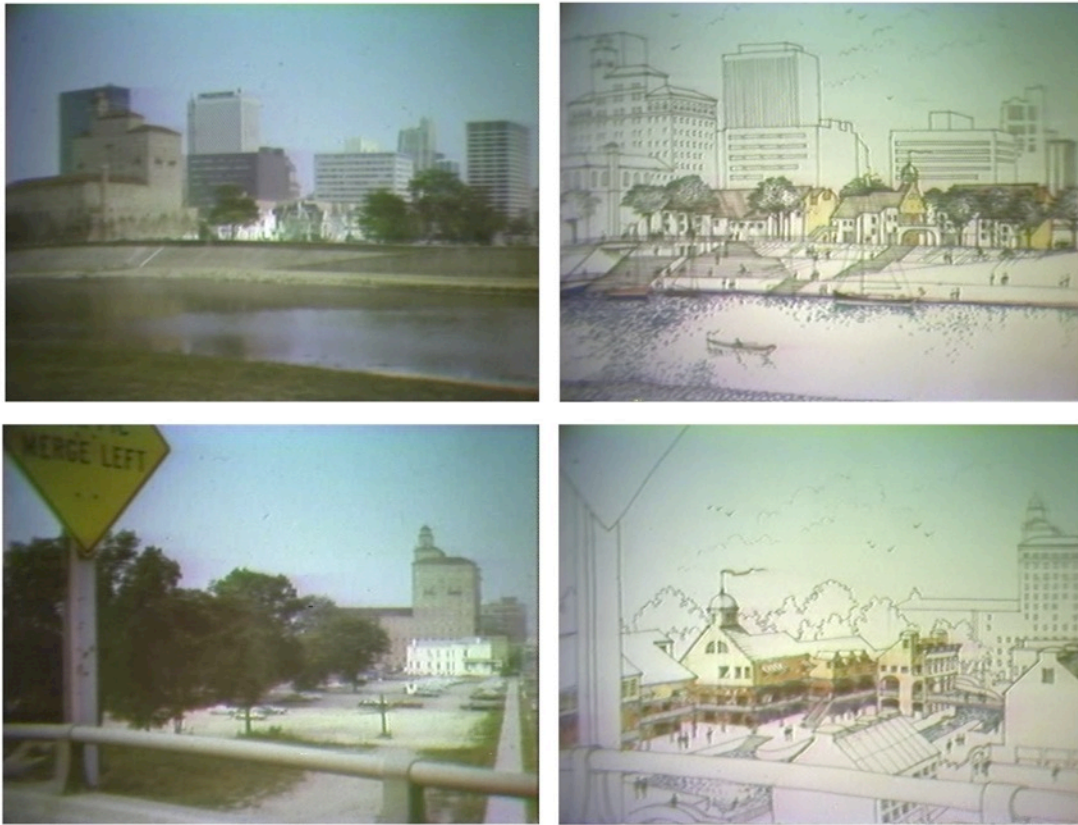


Figure 4.13. Screen captures from “Rivderdesign Dayton” (episode four) showing the lap-dissolve transition from photographs to drawings, 1976.



Figure 4.14. Studio view of “Riverdesign Dayton” showing Charles Moore at a drawing table, 1976 (Centerbrook Architects and Planners Records, MS 1844, Manuscript and Archives, Yale University Library).

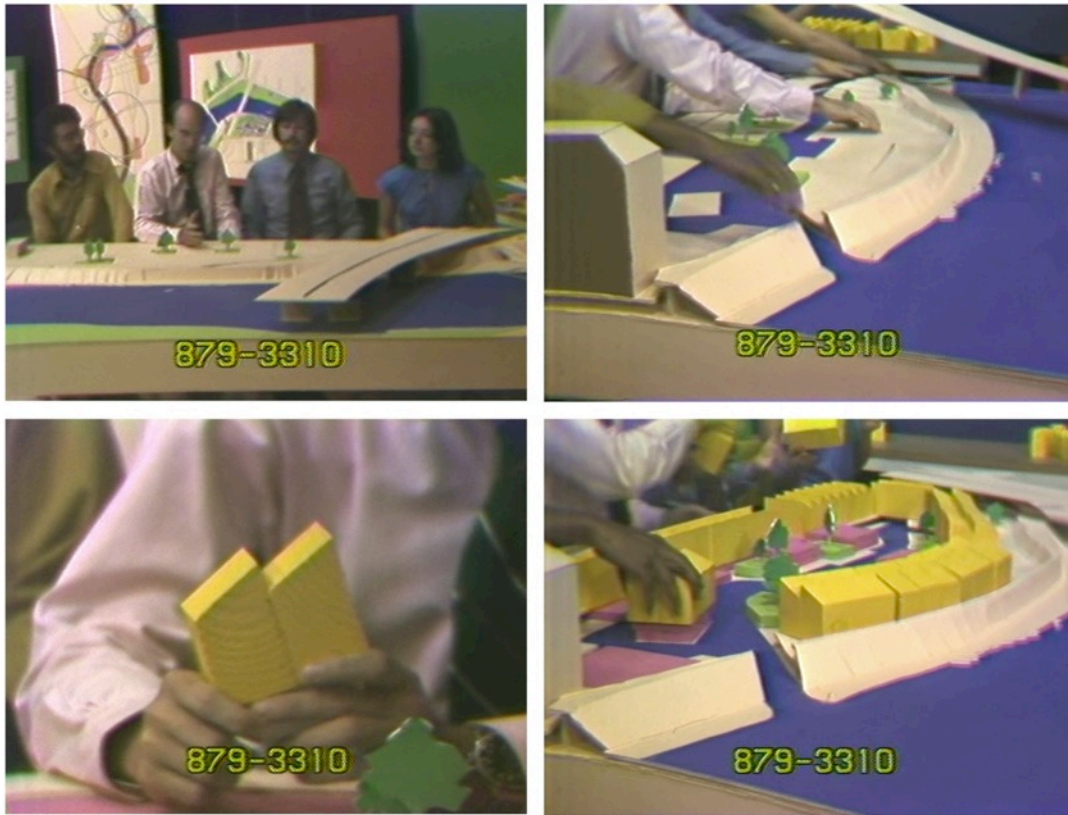


Figure 4.15. Screen captures from “Riverdesign Dayton” (episode four) showing the use of interactive models, 1976.



Figure 4.16. Screen capture from “Riverdesign Springfield” showing an idea, or “River Vision,” from Pauline and John Hoener, residents of Springfield, 1980



Figure 4.17. Chad Floyd at a fair showing residents a map of the riverfront area under consideration as part of “Riverdesign Dayton,” 1976 (Centerbrook Architects and Planners Records, MS 1844, Manuscript and Archives, Yale University Library).

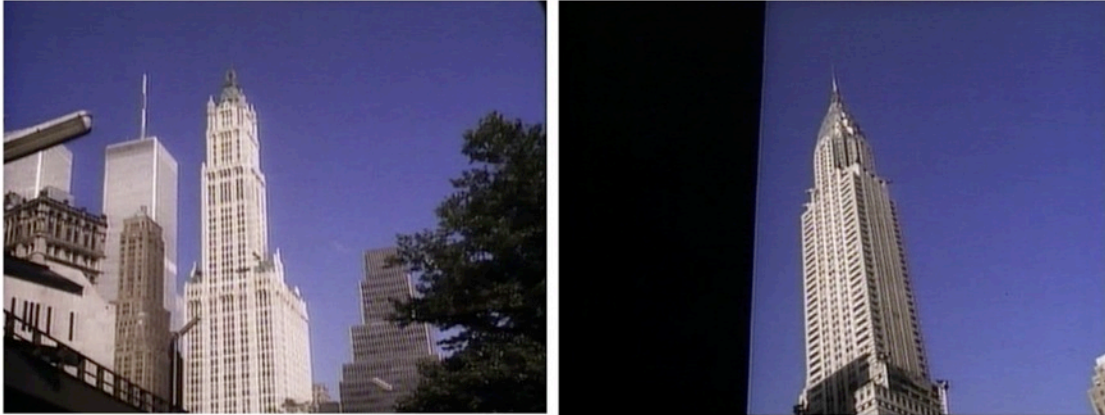


Figure 5.1. Screen captures from *Pride of Place* showing the Woolworth Building (Cass Gilbert, 1913) and the Chrysler Building (William Van Alen, 1930), both of which Robert Stern described as “the stuff of dreams” (“The Search for a Usable Past,” *Pride of Place: Building the American Dream*, South Carolina Education TV [Columbia, SC: ETV, 29 March 1986]).



Figure 5.2. Screen capture from *Pride of Place* illustrating the New York buildings Robert Stern described as “big, impersonal...the most anonymous kind of architecture” (“The Search for a Usable Past,” *Pride of Place: Building the American Dream*, South Carolina Education TV [Columbia, SC: ETV, 29 March 1986]).

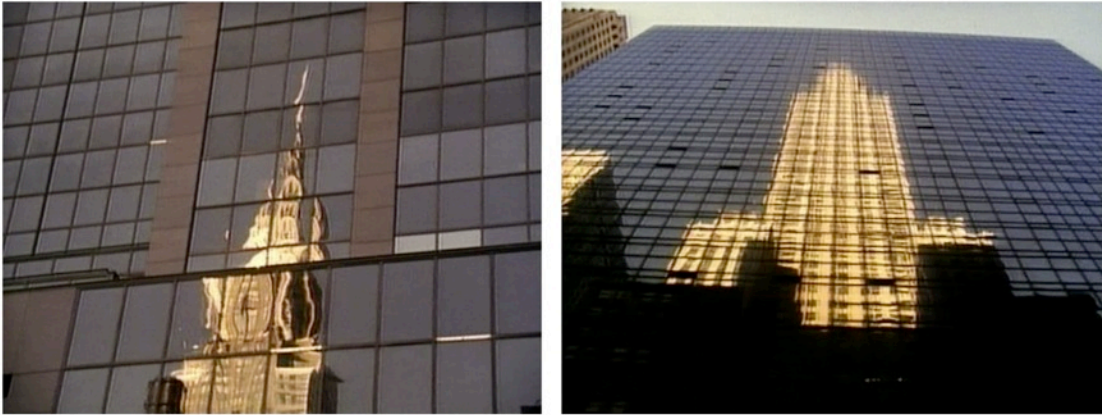


Figure 5.3. Screen capture from *Pride of Place* showing reflections of the Chrysler Building (William Van Alen, 1930) and the Empire State Building () in the curtain walls of “anonymous” International Style buildings (“The Search for a Usable Past,” *Pride of Place: Building the American Dream*, South Carolina Education TV [Columbia, SC: ETV, 29 March 1986]).



Figure 5.4. Screen capture from *Pride of Place* showing the AT&T Building (Philip Johnson and John Burgee, 1984) (“The Search for a Usable Past,” *Pride of Place: Building the American Dream*, South Carolina Education TV [Columbia, SC: ETV, 29 March 1986]).



Figure 5.5. Screen capture from *America by Design* showing Spiro Kostof on the Casa Grande at Hearst Castle (Julia Morgan, 1919) (“The House,” *America by Design*, Greater Washington Educational Telecommunications Association (Washington, D.C.: WETA-TV, 28 September 1987).

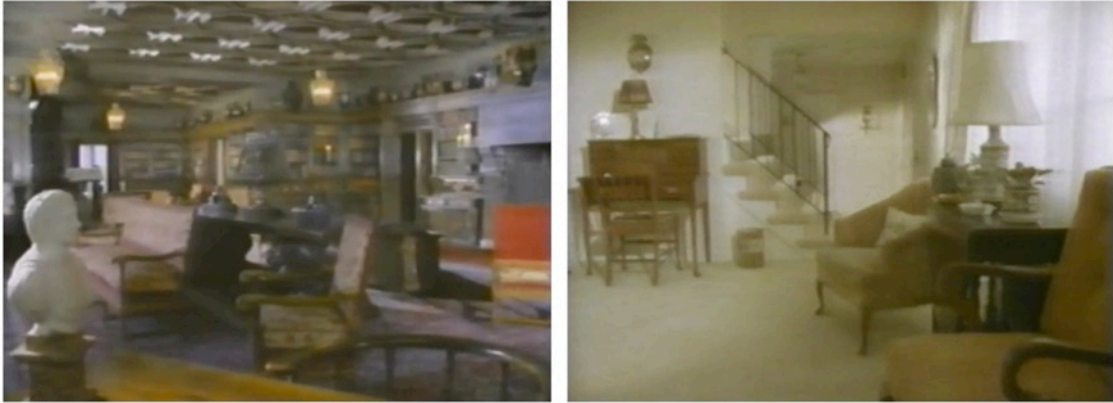


Figure 5.6. Screen captures from *America by Design* showing the transition from inside Hearst Castle to the interior of a living room seen as typical to the PBS audience (“The House,” *America by Design*, Greater Washington Educational Telecommunications Association (Washington, D.C.: WETA-TV, 28 September 1987).

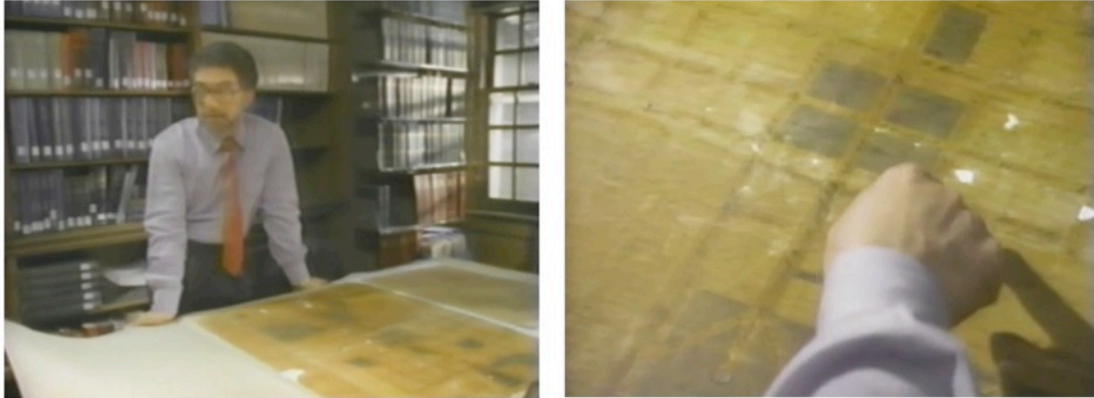


Figure 5.7. Screen capture from *America by Design* showing Spiro Kostof directing viewers' attention to a drawing of the main avenue in Williamsburg, Virginia ("The House," *America by Design*, Greater Washington Educational Telecommunications Association (Washington, D.C.: WETA-TV, 28 September 1987).

GETTING INVOLVED

Directions: Select two distinct residential areas for a walking tour of approximately 10 blocks or one-half mile. Use the form below to keep track of your observations regarding the types of structures that you observe.





	AREA 1	AREA 2
   	Apartment Houses _____ Town or Row Houses _____ Farms _____ Single-family Detached Houses _____ Mobile Homes _____ Stores _____ Offices _____	_____ _____ _____ _____ _____ _____ _____
	<p>Research: Determine what zoning regulations affect the areas you have selected and research when they were adopted and whether they are currently being challenged.</p> <p>Discuss: What does the mix or lack of mix of housing types and commercial structures suggest about the social values of these communities? What does it suggest about the social/ethnic/gener-</p>	<p>ational mix of individuals in these communities? What did you observe about the building materials and age of the structures? What did you observe about the type of people populating these neighborhoods?</p> <p>Followup: Write an advertisement characterizing the neighborhoods.</p>

Figure 5.8. “Getting Involved” activity from the “Viewing Guide” for the episode “The House” of *America by Design* (American Institute of Architects, “America by Design: Viewing Guide,” [Washington, D.C.: American Institute of Architects, 1987], 3).

GETTING INVOLVED

Directions: The shapes below each represent the area of an office space that is 600 square feet. Imagine that three employees will work in each space. Each employee has a desk, a bookcase, a work table, a desk chair, a visitor's chair, and a file cabinet. Show how you would divide the space so that these employees are related yet each has a clearly defined personal space. To show a full wall (one that goes to the ceiling), use a solid line. To show a space divider that does not go to the ceiling, use a broken line. Indicate what elements you would include to increase personal satisfaction and comfort. You may add any additional possessions you think each employee might have.

- DESK**
- WORK TABLE**
- BOOKCASE**
- DESK CHAIR**
- VISITOR'S CHAIR**
- FILE CABINET**

Scale: 1/8" = 1'-0"

Discuss: Which shape did you find most difficult to work with? What problems did you encounter? Which space would you most prefer to work in? Why? How do you think the design would change if the workers were manufacturing cars rather than working at desks?

Followup: Plan your own ideal work space.

Figure 5.9. “Getting Involved” activity from the “Viewing Guide” for the episode “The Workplace” of *America by Design* (American Institute of Architects, “America by Design: Viewing Guide,” [Washington, D.C.: American Institute of Architects, 1987], 4).



Figure 5.10. *America by Design* tune-in mailer card (Haworth, Inc., Holland, MI, 1987).



Figure 6.1. Screen captures from “Wild Card Design” showing before and after views of the winning design by David Bromstad on *HGTV Design Star* (“Wild Card Design,” *HGTV Design Star*, Home and Garden Television [Knoxville, TN: HGTV, 13 August 2006]).



Figure 6.2. Screen capture showing the *HGTV Design Star* contestants' screens, which signify their placement in the competition ("Wild Card Design," *HGTV Design Star*, Home and Garden Television [Knoxville, TN: HGTV, 13 August 2006]).



Figure 6.3. Screen captures from *HGTV: Making of Our Magazine* showing Sara Peterson (editor-in-chief) working with the *HGTV Magazine* layout-wall (*HGTV: Making of Our Magazine*, Home and Garden Television (Knoxville, TN: HGTV, 24 September 2011)).



Figure 6.4. Screen capture from *HGTV: Making of Our Magazine* showing Genevieve Gorder on the set of *Dear Genevieve* (*HGTV: Making of Our Magazine*, Home and Garden Television (Knoxville, TN: HGTV, 24 September 2011).



Figure 6.5. Cover, *HGTV Magazine*, October/November 2011.



Figure 6.6. Screen capture from *HGTV: Making of Our Magazine* showing Sara Peterson (editor-in-chief, *HGTV Magazine*) and Brett Hill (Executive Editor, *HGTV Magazine*) brainstorming at the Hearst gym while wearing HGTV T-shirts (*HGTV: Making of Our Magazine*, Home and Garden Television (Knoxville, TN: HGTV, 24 September 2011).

Tables

Table 6.A. Program schedule for Home and Garden Television on 6 March 2013
(Knoxville, TN: Scripps Network Interactive, 2013).

<u>Time</u>	<u>Program</u>	<u>Episode</u>	<u>Episode Number</u>	<u>Synopsis on HGTV.com</u>	<u>URL Link</u>
MORNING					
6:30 AM	Color Confidential	"A Grown Up Dining Space"	HCCON-612	In Patricia and Karl's home, every room is a playroom, much to their chagrin. They need Jane to help their dining room grow up into the adult space they dream about. After relocating the toys, the only other issue will be where to put the guinea pig.	http://www.hgtv.com/colour-confidential/a-grown-up-dining-space/index.html
7:00 AM	Bang for your Buck	"Three Master Suite Renovations in Boulder"	HBFYB-202H	Designer Sabrina Soto and a local real estate expert compare \$90,000 master suite renovations in Boulder, Colorado. They look at a traditional master suite in a historic home, a chic contemporary master suite with striking views and a traditional master suite in a ranch home just north of the city.	http://www.hgtv.com/bang-for-your-buck/90000-master-suites-in-boulder/index.html
7:30 AM	Hidden Potential	"Searching for a New Family Home"	HHDPO-904H	After an opportunity to move to South Africa fell through, the Burke family found themselves without a permanent home and back to square one in their search for a home in Charlotte. The Hidden Potential team helps them envision a place that's suitable for the whole family.	http://www.hgtv.com/hidden-potential/searching-for-a-new-family-home/index.html
8:00 AM	House Hunters: Great Escapes	"House Hunters: Great Escapes"	HHHS4-E11H	House Hunters: Great Escapes follows seven different buyers from across the country as they each search for their dream home getaways. Follow a family looking to escape from the hustle and bustle of Chicago to the peaceful countryside in Wisconsin; a couple trading in the city life of San Francisco for a vineyard view in Napa Valley; a couple in pursuit of an eco-friendly home in the Pacific Northwest; to a young family leaving Philadelphia behind for a life in small-town Georgia. Tour great out-of-the-way homes, and see lakes and pastoral lands from coast to coast, in this maxed-out House Hunters special!	http://www.hgtv.com/house-hunters-great-escapes/house-hunters-great-escapes/index.html

10:00 AM	Love It Or List It	"Hazardous Household"	HLILI-601H	Impeded by inaccessible walkways, hazardous stairs and an unsafe, unsightly basement, Rob and Laura are no longer in love with their laborous living space. Arriving right on cue are Designer Hilary and Realtor David. Hilary and her team will renew and rectify this residence to perfectly suit this pair and make them love it again. While David will coax this couple into comfortable and suitable spaces to call home. In the end, Rob and Laura will have to decide if they can love their home again or if they'll list it.	http://www.hgtv.com/love-it-or-list-it/hazardous-household/index.html
11:00 AM	Love It Or List It	"A Budget for Abatement"	HLILI-602H	When Mike and Kathy first bought this city home, they thought it was the perfect place for their family. But now that their two sons are grown and still living at home, they've come to realize it's just not working any more. Designer Hilary and Realtor David are here to help, but when Hilary and her team start the renovation, the home reveals a hidden secret: asbestos, and lots of it. Meanwhile, David looks for other homes that can make this family happy again. After Hilary makes their home safe and functional and David finds them a new potential dream home, Mike and Kathy will have to decide: will they love their home again or will they list it?	http://www.hgtv.com/love-it-or-list-it/a-budget-for-abatement/index.html
DAYTIME					
12:00 PM	House Hunters	"Brian Wants To Buy His Own St. Louis Condo Before He Starts His New Job and Opinionated Mom Is In Town To Help Him With The Search"	HNT-4710H	Even though he is only twenty-one and just out of college, Brian is convinced he would be better off buying a home than renting one - as long as he stays within his budget of \$100K - \$130K. Since he is new to St. Louis and new to house hunting, his mother Marion has come with him from New York to help him with his search. She has definite ideas of what he should look for and is not at all shy about voicing her opinions!	http://www.hgtv.com/house-hunters/brian-wants-to-buy-his-own-st-louis-condo-before-he-starts-his-new-job-and-opinionated-mom-is-in-town-to-help-him-with-the-search/index.html

12:30 PM	House Hunters International	"Jumping to Geneva, Switzerland"	HHINT-2613H	American Becky Hammel fell in love with England native Robert MacDonald and moved immediately to the UK. She's been a fish out of water in his world ever since. When Robert's company offered a position in their new office in Geneva, Becky jumped at the opportunity. It's an experience for the whole family. With the two kids in tow they're going to find a home for all of them, in the worlds Fourth most expensive city. Will they have enough money to find a place, or will they have to dig deep to meet their expectations? Find out as house hunters sets down in Geneva, Switzerland.	http://www.hgtv.com/house-hunters-international/jumping-to-geneva-switzerland/index.html
1:00 PM	Income Property	"A Renovated Duplex will Deliver David extra income and Free him up to do More Good in his Community"	HINPR-212H	David is a do-gooder attorney who knows his way in court but is lost in the world of renovation. He wants to spend more time working on causes that are close to his heart. So he bought a lovely urban duplex with a gorgeous upper apartment - and a lower apartment that's a disaster. It desperately needs a makeover. With the help of his mother and the ever-ready Scott, David will get his duplex ready for action so that he can worry less about the reno and more about his causes...	http://www.hgtv.com/income-property/a-renovated-duplex-will-deliver-david-extra-income-and-free-him-up-to-do-more-good-in-his-community/index.html
1:30 PM	Income Property	"A Nightmare of a Triplex is giving Fernando and David a Big Scare. Can they complete a challenging Reno without Breaking the Bank?"	HINPR-213H	Fernando and his partner David have a lot of taste and energy. They bought a neglected triplex with the intention of painstakingly renovating every nook and cranny. Unfortunately, they ran out money and now the energy is going too. What's more they've left the worst to last: a disgusting apartment that reeks of cats and cigarettes... Scott comes to the rescue with his team, and a stunning renovation plan.	http://www.hgtv.com/income-property/a-nightmare-of-a-triplex-is-giving-fernando-and-david-a-big-scare-can-they-complete-a-challenging-reno-without-breaking-the-bank/index.html

2:00 PM	Income Property	"Three Months Lost Rent"	HINPR-301H	<p>Jeremy and Angie thoughtfully planned out their choice for Angie to be a stay-at-home mom for their young son. They chose to settle down in a less expensive suburb and they bought a home that had an income suite in the basement. After renting the apartment for a year, their tenant moved out. They posted it quickly and started showing it to prospective new tenants. Three months have passed and no one is interested in renting the suite. Jeremy and Angie have come to accept they may have to invest some money into the space in order to get it rented. They have some ideas about what needs to be done but are worried about over-improving the space.</p>	http://www.hgtv.com/income-property/three-months-lost-rent/index.html
2:30 AM	Income Property	"Single Dad's Solution"	HINPR-312H	<p>It took a year-and-a-half for divorced dad Kerry to find a house that could be a home to share with his two children and would also have a rental unit to provide extra income to fund the kids' expensive sporting activities. He found a modest suburban bungalow with two units and snagged it for \$175,000. \$25,000 less than his budget. However, when it came time to take possession, Kerry discovered the tenants had trashed the house and both apartments would require a complete gut. The savings realized on the purchase was immediately devoured to make the main floor unit clean and safe so that it would be comfortable for his kids when they stayed over. Although the main floor has been finished for several months, the basement unit remains a disaster and that much-needed extra income is nowhere near his bank account. With a demanding, full time job and many extracurricular kids activities, this devoted dad has no time to finish the basement apartment renovations and needs help.</p>	http://www.hgtv.com/income-property/single-dads-solution/index.html

3:00 PM	Income Property	"Lisa & Matt need help to renovate their main floor apartment to allow her disabled brother comfortable visits as well as to generate untapped income"	HINPR-313H	Matt and Lisa and their two teenage children, live on the top two floors of their 3-story semi detached Victorian house. To subsidize their income, they rented out the main floor unit, but that didn't work out so well and they have left the space vacant since their last tenants left 2 years ago. The apartment is definitely suffering from neglect and now they're ready to upgrade it so they can put it on the short-term rentals market for part of the year and leave it available and wheelchair accessible for Lisa's brother who is paraplegic and visits for business and pleasure regularly. Lisa and Matt feel they have all the space they need in the upper unit and the lower one is wasted if left unrented. They're ready to invest in upgrading to attract the sort of tenant they'd like ? a professional short-term renter. As is, it feels more like student party headquarters than a visiting professor's charming pied a terre - it's wasted potential and lost revenue. They need Income Property's help!	http://www.hgtv.com/income-property/lisa-matt-need-help-to-renovate-their-main-floor-apartment-to-allow-her-disabled-brother-comfortable-visits-as-well-as-to-generate-untapped-income/index.html
3:30 PM	Income Property	"Retirement Reality Check"	HINPR-505H	Monica and Raphael have worked hard, saved and bought a modest home in a comfortable suburb. For years Monica wanted to buy an income property but there was never enough extra money to invest and Raphael was afraid of taking the risk. Monica recently discovered that according to their current financial statistics they need to work well into their retirement years, so she convinced her husband that it was time to take the plunge and use equity from their home to buy an income property to supplement their income now and into retirement. They looked hard for a building they could afford and finally found a rundown triplex on a busy street. There is lots of work to be done to upgrade the top floor unit and with an impossibly low renovation budget for the whole building they are going to have to invest some sweat equity into their property before they can attract the needed tenants.	http://www.hgtv.com/income-property/retirement-reality-check/index.html

EVENING

4:00 PM	Income Property	"Rosalina & Arun are burnt out & need to finish their basement renovation so they can concentrate on finishing their own living space for their family"	HINPR-506H	Rosalina and Arun bought a stunning 1897 grand detached Victorian home. In the past it has been a rooming house and a hair salon with residential units. Their initial intention was to live on the second & third floors and continue to rent out the main floor and basement separately and use the income to bring the house back to its original splendour. Fast-forward 5 years and major basement apartment issues later (flood, mould, asbestos, etc.), and Arun and Rosalina are exhausted financially and emotionally. Now with Arun's 3 kids moving in they need to maximize their living space and take over the main floor in addition to the upper two floors for everyone's sanity. They have lost their vision with the basement apartment due to all the setbacks. They need Income Property's help.	http://www.hgtv.com/income-property/rosalina-arun-are-burnt-out-need-to-finish-their-basement-renovation-so-they-can-concentrate-on-finishing-their-own-living-space-for-their-family/index.html
4:30 PM	Income Property	"A New Beginning for a Divorced Dad"	HINPR-612H	Rui is a divorced dad with two school age children who is now rebuilding his life after a significant business failure that set him back \$150,000 and left him with a tax debt. Rui and the kids moved in with a relative while he began to rebuild his life and stabilize his finances. About a year ago he was finally able to buy a nice bungalow in a suburban town outside of the city and got to work renovating the basement apartment where he and the children now live. He started tackling the 3-bedroom main floor apartment, but raising two children and trying to launch his fledgling IT support business is proving too much for the single dad. The rental income is essential to help Rui regain his financial stability, pay for the kids' expenses and eventually pay for their education. He's a handy guy and started the renovations upstairs but between raising his kids and nurturing his business, he has no time to finish the job that will help him get back on his feet. Rui needs Income Property's help.	http://www.hgtv.com/income-property/a-new-beginning-for-a-divorced-dad/index.html

5:00 PM	Income Property	"Basement Sacrifice Means a New Apartment and a New Home"	HINPR-604H	<p>Diana is a flight attendant and flying solo as a recently single parent to two boys. She'd been living in Costa Rica and has returned to Canada to raise her children. While she was still away she found this 1940s detached brick home and decided it would make a great home to raise her children in. Her parents scouted it, then Diana put in an offer and unexpectedly got it - sight unseen! Her parents have helped finance the purchase by providing a second mortgage. Diana's plan is to pay down the mortgages by creating a basement apartment where she and her boys will live for a year or two and rent out the two story, 3 bedroom home above. When her finances are more stable, she'll move back into the upper unit and rent the basement as a long term 2nd income. For the past two months, she's attempted some of the renovations and hasn't finished any single task except to completely gut what was a finished basement. Diana needs Income Property's help.</p>	http://www.hgtv.com/income-property/basement-sacrifice-means-a-new-apartment-and-a-new-home/index.html
5:30 PM	Income Property	"Lost Focus and a Stalled Renovation"	HINPR-611H	<p>Andrew is a single guy working full-time and going to school part-time to complete his Masters degree. When he graduates in a month, he'll have to begin paying back his \$80,000 student loan. That's not the only debt he's got to handle ? he bought a duplex from his grandparents 2 years ago. He rented the upper unit and moved into the main floor apartment which he started to renovate with an eye to recapturing the home's historic roots. When the upstairs tenant moved out a year ago he decided to convert the house back into a single family home and get room-mates to help cover the mortgage because he still needs the rental income. The entire house is now in various stages of renovation because he tried to do it all himself with help from family and friends to cut costs. He hasn't completed a single area because he's too busy with work and school. Now his big student loan is due on top of the mortgage and he urgently needs the extra income from renters that he was banking on - but the house is un-rentable! Andrew needs Income Property's help.</p>	http://www.hgtv.com/income-property/lost-focus-and-a-stalled-renovation/index.html

6:00 PM	Income Property	"Vacant Space Renovated into Rental"	HINPR-605H	<p>Susan bought this property, six years ago. This charming Victorian house suited her needs because it had already been duplexed and she could live comfortably in the one bedroom, second floor unit and could rent the main floor & basement apartment to bring in a second income. Two years ago she met Jeff and he moved in a year later. The main floor tenant moved out 8 months ago and the apartment has been sitting empty ever since. The place was renovated well when it was duplexed 20 years ago but now is in need of updating to meet its rental potential. Susan was collecting \$1450/mo and the 8 months of lost income have added up to thousands of dollars. Their dream is buy a new home together and Susan will keep this one as an income property. Susan and Jeff haven't had any time to work on the apartment and they're stuck, knowing it'll be months before they can get to it. They need to renovate and rent it so they can move forward with their property goals. Susan and Jeff need Income Property's help.</p>	http://www.hgtv.com/income-property/vacant-space-renovated-into-rental/index.html
6:30 PM	Income Property	"First and Second Impressions for a Newlywed Couple"	HINPR-608H	<p>Rita and Eric 'tied the knot' six months ago and have been living in the basement apartment at Rita's parents home. They've just bought a 1980s detached brick house nearby with its own 'in law suite'. Their first impressions of the house were great. They planned to move in upstairs right away and focus on getting the basement up, running and rented. However their second impression was very different. Once they took possession, they decided they could not live with the upstairs kitchen and tore it out. Without a kitchen in their new home, they are stuck at Mum & Dad's until it's finished. Renovating and renting this basement apartment will help them pay for the upstairs work and move into the house sooner rather than later. Renovating it into a safe suite is well beyond the skill sets of these newlyweds. Eric and Rita need Income Property's help.</p>	http://www.hgtv.com/income-property/first-and-second-impressions-for-a-newlywed-couple/index.html

PRIME-TIME 7:00 PM	Income Property	"No More Bathroom Blues for a Spacious but Dated Basement in a Newlywed Couple's Home"	HINPR-607H	Tiffany and Jamie have been living in Toronto for the past few years and were married last summer. They're an enterprising, ambitious young couple with dreams of interesting careers, and a house that will one day be a place to raise a family and bring in a second income as they go through their career and personal changes. They've just taken possession of a classic 50s bungalow in a leafy Toronto suburb. It fits their bill because it has a huge bright basement that offers income potential. The problem is they have no renovation experience what-so-ever. Tiffany and Jamie need Income Property's help.	http://www.hgtv.com/income-property/no-more-bathroom-blues-for-a-spacious-but-dated-basement-in-a-newlywed-couples-home/index.html
7:30 PM	Income Property	"Security Plan for an Out of Work Mom"	HINPR-610H	Josephine is a divorced, working mum with two teenagers at home. She has made lots of sacrifices over the years and managed on one income to buy a four-bedroom home to raise her kids. Josephine had a good job at a mortgage company but has recently been laid off. She'd has been planning to build herself a financial back-up plan in the form of a basement apartment, but didn't get around to it in time for this financial set-back. She has the financing in place and wants to move ahead with her plan, but she knows nothing about renovating. Her sister, Rita, supports the project and her big sis, but she knows even less than Josephine about renovating. Josephine needs Income Property's help.	http://www.hgtv.com/income-property/security-plan-for-an-out-of-work-mom/index.html

8:00 PM	Cousins on Call	"A Suit Surprise"	HCOCL-110H	Tara and Darren need a place to relax and escape from the stresses of the day. Darren commutes to Manhattan daily and Tara works from home. Their bedroom is the only sanctuary in the house except that it is outdated, has no closet space, a tiny bathroom with one sink and is attached to a room that the family never uses. So when Darren is at work, Tara calls in the Cousins to transform the space. The Cousins are just finishing their booming demo when Darren gets home to find his space turned into a construction site. Anthony and John promise to create the oasis that Tara and Darren need, complete with a massive closet and beautiful bathroom with a steam shower for Darren's bad back. Drawing inspiration from old style French luxury, the Cousins deliver on a dreamy master suite that goes above and beyond what Darren and Tara could imagine.	http://www.hgtv.com/cousins-on-call/a-suite-surprise/index.html
8:30 PM	Cousins on Call	"New Beginnings"	HCOCL-111H	When Hurricane Sandy hit, Anthony and John immediately jumped to action and gave back to their Jersey community by pumping water out of their neighbors' flooded homes. In the process, they met expecting parents Steve and Michelle, who had moved into their home only 45 days before the storm and are weeks away from having their first child. The entire lower level of their home was completely flooded. Learning the couples' story deeply moved them and the knew they had to help. The Cousins decide to completely revive the ravaged space and transform it into an amazing living area for this young couple, allowing them to get back in their home where they can begin again...all just before their due date!	http://www.hgtv.com/cousins-on-call/new-beginnings/index.html

9:00 PM	Property Brothers	"James and David"	HPBRS-309H	James and David are desperate to escape their nightmare townhouse, the one with mountainous stairs beside a stinky sewage plant. They want way more space, natural light and high ceilings, close to downtown. The Property Brothers come to the rescue helping them find a budget-friendly dream home that can be renovated on time. With a budget that doesn't match the couple's expectations, Drew and Jonathan struggle to sell the potential of a fixer-upper. The renovation is underway and James quickly gets swinging, with a sledgehammer, on their future dream home. That is, until control freak David becomes an interior design diva and makes life difficult for Jonathan with a growing list of expensive add-ons. Living under the renovation in the basement starts to wear on the couple, but it doesn't stop David from making one more adjustment to the plan. It's up to Jonathan to find a way to get the boys out of the house and stop the renovation madness!	http://www.hgtv.com/property-brothers/james-david/index.html
10:00 PM	House Hunters	"Young Couple Searches Grand Rapids For Vintage Charmer"	HNT-6812H	Michigan couple, Ray and Jenna, are about to be married and want to buy their first house before their wedding, which only leaves a few months to find the perfect starter home. They want to live in one of Grand Rapid's most desirable neighborhoods. With a long wish list and a tight budget, finding a home in East Grand Rapids is going to be a big challenge for this soon-to-be wed couple. They want an old home with character and charm, but also want the home to be move-in-ready with modern amenities. They'll have to decide if they'll settle for less in their desired area, or live farther out and get more house for their money.	http://www.hgtv.com/house-hunters/young-couple-searches-grand-rapids-for-vintage-charmer/index.html

10:30 PM	House Hunters International	"Hunting for an Historical Hungarian Home"	HHINT-5101H	<p>After being engaged in Turkey and married in Tanzania, travel loving Chicago couple Bill and Jamie are up for a new adventure. So when Jamie is awarded a Fullbright scholarship to teach and work in Budapest, Bill quickly finds a teaching job of his own, and they pack their bags. Once in Budapest they face an unexpected challenge. It's turning out to be harder than that thought to find a traditional Hungarian home without sacrificing comfort or blowing their budget. Will Jamie convince Bill to settle for a low cost but run-down apartment that will leave them with extra money to do the traveling they love? Can Bill convince Jamie that price is no object if they can live in an Historical abode on the banks of the Danube river? Find out when House Hunters International satisfies your hunger for Budapest, Hungary.</p>	<p>http://www.hgtv.com/house-hunters-international/hunting-for-an-historical-hungarian-home/index.html</p>
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LATE- NIGHT

11:00 PM	Property Brothers	"Matt and Krysten"	HPBRS-308H	<p>Matt and Krysten are trading in their condo for a large modern house where they can put down roots. Matt won't leave their pricy neighborhood, while Krysten would like to roam a little further and buy a little cheaper. But they agree on the essentials: open-concept, lots of character, and a fireplace. The Property Brothers come to the rescue helping them find a budget-friendly dream home that can be renovated on time. With a budget that doesn't match the couple's expectations, Drew and Jonathan struggle to sell the potential of a fixer-upper. And Drew must break out his mediation skills when Matt and Krysten get into a serious disagreement. But then trouble really strikes: an early shortcut leads to many unwanted discoveries, threatening the completion date. Krysten also gets some unexpected news that has the couple second-guessing their purchase. As Jonathan navigates these obstacles, Matt wants to celebrate with a budget-blowing present. Facing one issue after another, the couple's move-in date could hit a brick wall!</p>	<p>http://www.hgtv.com/property-brothers/matt-krysten/index.html</p>
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