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Architecture in Neoliberalism

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Architecture in Neoliberalism

by
Ben J. Kunz

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Abstract

Neoliberalism, as a form of capitalism that redistributes wealth to existing accumulations of money, has reorganized our society around market relations resulting in extreme inequality. Architecture has been both captive and complicit in this process because it relies on the largess of its clients who benefit most from the process of neoliberalization. We must dissolve the dogma of architectural practice, and become free entrepreneurial operators in a neoliberal society with architecture as a core skill set, able to operate on risk and its dimensions of time, space, and money without the servitude to our risk ordered professional relationships in order to deploy active forms that dismantle neoliberalism from within. The project explores new models of architectural practice that constitute greater agency than the standard client service model as a point of departure to devise a series of projects representing deployable active forms that drive wedges in the cracks of neoliberalism. The project aims to contribute to an architecture of and against neoliberalism amongst an interdisciplinary resistance.
Thesis Position

Neoliberalism, an economic and ideological concept, frames the operation of contemporary society. The term does not explicitly describe a particular group of individuals but it does describe a set of malignant, non-partisan, and deceptive ideals that has come to dictate the way in which we frame societal issues by masquerading as common sense itself.¹ While few publicly identify with the term, all are influenced by its core tenet: that free markets should be fostered because of their alleged intrinsic logic in organizing all human activity.² This is the foundation of an incredibly resilient form of capitalism and associated pervasive ideology organizing the bulk of our contemporary society.³

The idea has its roots as early as Adam Smith’s 18th century idea of the ‘invisible hand’ at play in a natural market state. In the early 20th century, Friedrich Hayek recognized that a free market was not a natural state but something that must be intentionally brought forth. He saw its potential akin to a collective mind containing knowledge no one mind could contain but to which individual actors contributed fragments of knowledge. At the time, Hayek’s ideas lost out to John Maynard Keynes’s theories on consumerism and social welfare. When Keynesianism began to waver in the 1970s, Hayek’s neoliberal ideas were co-opted and raised up to the predominant socio-economic framework by several voices, most notably Milton Friedman, Ronald Reagan, and Margaret Thatcher.⁴

While the neoliberal agenda purports a democratizing effect through the great equalizer of the free market, the ultimate aim of those who fund its think tanks, is a project in

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¹ Ben Breheny, Architecture Against Neoliberalism, Internet, issue.com (October 6, 2017) 4.
⁴ Metcalf, “Neoliberalism.”
Under Keynesian policy in the post-war period, America enjoyed a high degree of stability and asset growth for the common citizen. It offered a steady debt to asset arc embedded in the establishment of the 30 year mortgage as well as a public safety net consisting of programs such as pensions, social security, Medicare and in some cases 401k programs. This system allowed comfortable retirements for many. Ultimately, this utopian model of society dependent on consumption, failed in the 1970s. It also left many in society out of its purview focusing primarily on white middle class families.
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In the 1970s, American capitalism shifted to a neoliberal system. Deregulation and the loosening of credit markets in the following decades eased the symptoms of Keynesianism's slowed growth and the off-shoring of production by allowing Americans to kick their problems into the future with personal credit. As a result, society now maintains high levels of student, car, home, and credit card debt. Simultaneously, social safety nets have eroded leaving many without hope for retirement. The stability and democratization of asset growth of yesteryear has invoked nostalgia in some and progress in others brought to a head by the uprising of Donald Trump and Bernie Sanders.
NEOLIBERAL CAPITALISM

In the 1970s, American capitalism shifted to a neoliberal system. Deregulation and the loosening of credit markets in the following decades eased the symptoms of Keynesianism’s slowed growth and the off-shoring of production by allowing Americans to kick their problems into the future with personal credit. As a result, society now maintains high levels of student, auto, home and credit card debt. Simultaneously, social safety nets have eroded leaving many without hope for retirement. The stability and democratization of asset growth of yesteryear has invoked nostalgia in some and progress in others brought to a head by the uprising of Donald Trump and Bernie Sanders.
wealth redistribution towards existing collections of money.\textsuperscript{5} The means to the neoliberal end is the adoption of “new political, economic, and social arrangements within society that emphasis market relations [market logic], re-tasking the role of the state, and individual responsibility.”\textsuperscript{6} These means impose a political climate of austerity that encourages deregulation of markets, the corporatization of public services, and the privatization of public assets.\textsuperscript{7} According to Douglas Spencer, the market logic of neoliberalism requires “the production of subjectivity and the legitimating functions of truth games”\textsuperscript{8} through the market process Patrik Schumacher explains as an operation of mutation (trial and error), selection and reproduction.\textsuperscript{9} This operation is how Neil Brenner defines neoliberalism: an increasingly global urban process.\textsuperscript{10} He reports that neoliberalism has never operated in a pure form but that it takes on many brands because “when it collides with an inherited institutional landscape (whether of Keynesianism, developmentalism, state socialism or otherwise), the outcomes are necessarily conditioned by specific contexts, institutional legacies and struggles.”\textsuperscript{11} The 2008 financial crisis illustrated the illogic of the process by which it is intent on explosive unsustainable growth,\textsuperscript{12} ‘irrational exuberance’. According to Sam Jacobs, deregulated finance has allowed money to beget money, freeing it from time and space and consequently its

\textsuperscript{5} George Monbiot, “Neoliberalism - The Ideology at the Root of All Our Problems,” The Guardian, April 15, 2016.
\textsuperscript{6} S. Spring et. al., The Handbook of Neoliberalism, New York: Routledge (2016) 2.
\textsuperscript{7} Jamie Peck et. al. “Neoliberal Urban Redux?” International Journal of Urban and Regional Research 37, no. 3 (May 2013) 1092.
\textsuperscript{9} Spencer, Architecture of Neoliberalism, 68.
\textsuperscript{11} Brenner, “Neoliberalisation,” 17.
correlation with raw materials, labor and fixed real estate.⁷³ Speculative sub-prime real-estate lending ultimately resulted in a crisis that strengthened neoliberalism’s position by exposing regulatory “failures to open up political and institutional space for additional rounds of neoliberalisation.”⁷⁴ Neoliberalism, because its operation does not require a pure form and because it is perpetuated by its own failures, is incredibly pervasive and resilient.

But what does it look like? Douglas Spencer points to works by practitioners including Koolhaas, Hadid and Schumacher, Lynn, Zaera-Polo and Moussavi when describing the architecture of neoliberalism.⁷⁵ Their projects are examples of so called ‘good’ neoliberal architecture. Good because they take on a spectacular quality in a sea of Junkspace. Koolhaas’s Junkspace is an apt description of neoliberal architecture: “there was once a polemic about the right angle and the straight line, now the ninetieth degree has become one among many.” “Instead of design, there is calculation: the more erratic the path, eccentric the loops, hidden the blueprint, efficient the exposure, the more inevitable the transaction.” “[In Junkspace,] forms search for function like hermit crabs looking for a vacant shell.” “Building materials have become more and more modular, unitary, and standardized.” “[Junkspace is] simply applied - mostly in stucco - as ornamental afterthought on hurriedly erected superblocks.” “[It is] additive, layered, and lightweight, not articulated in different parts but subdivided, quartered the way a carcass is torn apart.” “Transparency only reveals everything in which you cannot partake.” “Aging in Junkspace is nonexistent.” Mirroring the process of neoliberalism, Junkspace “[has] no form, only proliferation... Regurgitation is the new creativity; instead of creation, we

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honor, cherish, and embrace manipulation."\(^{16}\) At times, ‘good’ neoliberal architecture rises above the Junkspace in what Spencer describes as providing the ‘neoliberal eye’ a “field of vision [that provides] the sensuous freedoms.”\(^{17}\) In other words, the ‘good’ neoliberal architecture distracts us from the real implications of the capital that built it. According to Ellen Dunham-Jones, neoliberal architecture “provide[s] the New World Order with the appearance of progressive change without the need for any real commitment.”\(^ {18}\) However, neoliberalism can easily do without the progressive forms, perhaps preferring homely, reassuring, and traditional forms.\(^ {19}\) The neoliberal architecture seeks simply to mirror the complexity and natural emergence of logics,\(^ {20}\) but, “change has been divorced from the idea of improvement.”\(^ {21}\) Utopian ideals in architecture have subsided, “modern architecture remains essential, but only in its most sterile manifestation, High Tech.”\(^ {22}\) According to Christina Contandriopolus, the notion of utopia fell in the 70s when leading theorists such as Jameson, Jencks, and Tafuri declared modernism dead\(^ {23}\) almost in lock step with the rise of neoliberal ideologies, and for both, the symbolic moment may have been the theatrical implosion of building C15 of the Pruitt-Igoe complex on April 21st, 1972.\(^ {24}\) Utopia was replaced by complacency, what has been labeled the post-critical. The Avant Guard has been

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17 Spencer, Architecture of Neoliberalism, 158.
20 Spencer, Architecture of Neoliberalism, 69

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Fig. 6 (left): Saint Louis: Pruitt-Igoe Housing Project: in the process of destruction. 1956, demolished 1973. Designed by Hellmuth, Leinwever, and Yamasaki.
rebranded to service the society of the spectacle.\textsuperscript{25} Under neoliberalism, according to Koolhaas, architecture has become a ‘cherry on the cake affair’, assigned a new role and limited its range.\textsuperscript{26} Koolhaas is right, the profession, has marginalized itself. Architects often operate on unthinkably low profit margins\textsuperscript{27} to which insurance lawyers must advise the minimization of risk, the neoliberal legitimator of authority. The neoliberal Architect-Client-Contractor relationship is defined by risk. The architect works with the contractor via the client to limit risk. Consultants are hired as experts to pass on risk. Architects even make the disclaimer that their drawings represent the intent of the work and include intentional vagueness in specifications and details to limit technical risk of suggesting an inappropriate solution and pass it on to the contractor. The AIA says one of its roles is to help architects “understand the many risks we face, how to avoid them and how to deal with them successfully.” Conversely, contractors and clients approach risk as an opportunity absorbing huge risks. Clients, who are taking the bulk of the risk, are deciding project scope, type, location, and program mix well before the architect usually gets involved because they are interfacing with the risk equation and producing what neoliberalism demands: financial legitimacy. Contractors are garnering an ever increasing role in the design process as they have more and more say in final resolution of detailing, product selections, assemblies and value engineering. In this model, neoliberalism legitimizes the risk takers who can objectively engage in the risk equation.

With limited range and without larger social implications, what is the value of architecture? Kevin Gray reports no convincing studies proving architecture’s design role in adding value to rents or property value.\textsuperscript{28} Gensler has

\textsuperscript{25} Dunham-Jones, “Irrational Exuberance.”
\textsuperscript{26} Dunham-Jones, “Irrational Exuberance.”
“Architecture makes unique objects—like stones in the water—while a constant flow of repeatable spatial formulas constructs a sea of urban spaces.”
-Keller Easterling
attempted to prove the 'design premium' but is relegated to admitting it is marginal, only appears in some cities, and is in fact hard to isolate from other trumping factors such as location and developer expertise.\textsuperscript{29} Gray goes on to say that for architecture to move beyond a development cost item, it must quantify its effect on profit; this will be done through Net Operating Income (NOI) calculations.\textsuperscript{30} According to members of Gerald Hines Development, ‘world-class’ architects add value to their buildings not by fetching higher rents but by cultivating higher demand in downturns if they “intensively manage the entire development process: by watching every penny.”\textsuperscript{31} Architecture’s value under neoliberalism is unclear, though decidedly marginal and possibly even a mere regulatory hurdle at risk itself of being deregulated.

If architecture can only prove it has marginal monetary value, than in a neoliberal construct it is only marginally valuable, however it has more to contribute than money. Architecture has historically had value in fostering progressive societal change. Contandriopoulos points to the rise of a new form of criticality, not utopian itself, but not complicit either.\textsuperscript{32} It has been called visionary, a speculation on the after, or the trajectory of society, but it is challenged by a lack of purchase in erecting change. Jack Self suggests a new trajectory, one which does not require the totalitarianism implicit in utopian theory nor complicit in the evils of neoliberalism and goes further than visionary awareness. It deploys new formulas that act on and within the neoliberal process itself, incrementally putting pressure on it until it may give way to an after-neoliberal. In Extrastatecraft: The Power of Infrastructure Space, Keller Easterling depicts existing spatial formulas in a global system in which free trade zones,

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{30} Gray, “Value Proposition,” 152-154.
\item \textsuperscript{31} Hasty Johnson and Jerry Lea, Interview by Perspecta 47, Perspecta: the Yale Architectural Journal 47: Money, no. 1 (2014) 107-111.
\item \textsuperscript{32} Contandriopoulos, “Architecture and Utopia,” 3-4.
\end{itemize}
“I’m profoundly skeptical of anyone with such limited vision as to think ‘grass-roots’, ‘community’, or ‘crowd-sourced’ design could be agents for meaningful social change in the face of such a venerable, hyper-stable opponent. Nor should this architecture be based on charity, political exceptions or fragile litigious loopholes. It must simply exploit, or re-deploy pre-existing financial conditions for social ends. The only indisputable requirement, of course, is that this architecture, which is capable of restructuring power relations, must be financially profitable.”

-Jack Self
as a system of infrastructure space, get repeated throughout the world with similar spatial results every time. She points out a flaw within the discipline with a metaphor: “Architecture makes unique objects—like stones in the water—while a constant flow of repeatable spatial formulas constructs a sea of urban spaces.”33 What she describes are spatial formulas of an operating system that replicate themselves across the globe. She suggests that if architects can hack into this system of active forms that we can begin to create effective spatial activism.34 Jack Self supports this urging in a discussion of the potential of what he calls “derivative architecture”:

If the promise for an architecture capable of these things precludes ideological regime change (revolution, mass protest, dissolution of national and global order), then it must also preclude the gewgaws of ‘participatory’ architecture. I’m profoundly skeptical of anyone with such limited vision as to think ‘grass-roots’, ‘community’, or ‘crowd-sourced’ design could be agents for meaningful social change in the face of such a venerable, hyper-stable opponent. Nor should this architecture be based on charity, political exceptions or fragile litigious loopholes. It must simply exploit, or re-deploy pre-existing financial conditions for social ends. The only indisputable requirement, of course, is that this architecture, which is capable of restructuring power relations, must be financially profitable.35

34 Easterling, Extrastatecraft, 471-476.
Neo-Liberal Architect
Where will these formulas be most impactfully applied? “Excluded social forces, whose consent has not been won, whose interests have not been taken into account, form the basis of counter-movements, resistance, alternative strategies and visions...and the struggle over a hegemonic system starts anew.” These new architectural formulas must target neoliberalism’s disenfranchised, the extreme losers of neoliberal inequality, as their base of wealth and power redistribution reversal. However, they must also “come from within the existing ideological, juridical and fiscal frameworks of neoliberalism itself...must emerge from latent conditions that are already suitable for manipulation.” It must follow neoliberal logic to its most illogical ends. “Wherever the globalist system is forced to violate its own rules, there is an opportunity to insist that it follow those rules. To demand consistency at strategically selected points where the system cannot afford to be consistent is to put pressure on the entire system.” That is to be both Baudelaire’s ‘victim and executioner’. This architecture seeks to change the world through an insurgency fueled by the very power of the neoliberal hegemony it critiques.

In order to deploy these ambitions, We must dissolve the dogma of architectural practice, and become free entrepreneurial operators in a neoliberal society with architecture as a core skill set, able to operate on risk and its dimensions of time, space, and money without the servitude to our risk ordered professional relationships in order to deploy active forms that dismantle neoliberalism from within.

Precedents
Precedents

Selected case studies may be pertinent to enhancing architecture’s understanding of a new role in resisting neoliberalization. The Homestead Act of 1862 distributed assets to lower income classes of society and influenced wealth inequality. “It represented a consensus culminating from a larger dialog concerning the rights of citizenship... and whether an opportunity should be provided for persons other than the wealthy to own properties in the Western territories.” Homesteaders were allowed to claim 160 acres of land at their local land office after which they had six months to move onto it. After five or more years, if they met property improvement benchmarks, they could settle their claim and possess full title over the land. The act allowed people with little wealth to acquire crops, land, and financial independence largely through a mechanism of ‘sweat equity’. It also became a durable asset that for many built intergenerational wealth. However, although the land itself was relatively free, there were many hidden costs associated with homesteading. Homesteaders had to have enough capital to stock up on supplies, travel, buy seed, and sustain themselves through the first harvest. Even after the first harvest, a bad growing year without much reserves could put a homesteader far behind. If the homesteader desired to take out a loan to make ends meet, most frontier lenders charged exorbitant interest. Although the act distributed wealth generally, it lacked specific equality. Population groups with low capital, namely the recently freed slaves, had a difficult time participating in the opportunity. Ultimately the act settled an otherwise vacant territory, gave many access

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to the predominant agricultural economy and provided intergenerational ownership of assets that nearly a quarter of today’s population still benefit from. ²

The Ingot is a conceptual formulaic model proposed by Jack Self. It attempts to combat neoliberalisation’s inequality and provide working class housing in central London. It finds itself enmeshed in the logics of two goals. Firstly, the ‘specific goal’, is to create more housing without interfering with liberating people from the burden of debt. Secondly, the ‘general goal’, is ‘to extract property from the chaos and danger of the market cycle, in which the decisions of a few dictate the fortunes of the many.’ ³ Self first reconsiders the role of architects. He identifies the allocation of debt (involving time, space, and money) ethics with originators of debt and suggests that architects may gain agency by incorporating this into their practice: ‘architect-as-financier’. From this position he projects the possibility of using bond financing to support low cost housing. This presents several challenges accompanied by several advantages. The first challenge is to keep the interest rate down; this requires trust in the entity repaying the bond. The project achieves trust through forced demand via rents at 46% of market rate (affordable to a living wage worker). To secure against a cataclysmic event that might undercut the forced demand, gold, which has an inverse correlation with economic instability, is electroplated onto the facade. In the bond structure, the property it is secured against cannot be sold, meaning tenants cannot own their own unit, but it does shelter the project against speculative boom and bust cycles in the market for the 50 year term of the loan, effectively rent control. The biggest potential is at the end of the loan term when the building could be sold to residents, refinanced to build similar projects, or freed up cash flow could be directed at resident welfare, amenities, or community improvement. ⁴

Kevin Cavenaugh of Guerrilla Development, an architect trained developer in Portland, Oregon, is meeting inequality as it intersects with urban real estate. His primary two efforts involve crowd funding and his theory of ‘enough’. In 2012 the SEC began lowering the minimum investment threshold, allowing people to invest that were not accredited investors. Cavenaugh gained SEC approval to commence a crowd funding campaign for his building, the Fare Haired Dumbbell. He cites two main objectives of this process: first, to reduce the trend of wealth inequality by allowing more people to invest in these projects, and second, to dilute the control of the few wealthy investors on the look of a city. Second is his theory of ‘enough’. Through crowd funding or ‘enlightened capital’ on his Atomic Orchard Lofts he can agree on a lower rate of return and offer several lofts for one third of market rate, or even give a few of them away. Cavenaugh’s efforts put pressure on neoliberalism by harnessing something market logic can’t quantify: people not pursuing self-interested actions.
**ECONOMIC GROWTH**

Buildings become bigger requiring more materials and range of services thus a more diverse collection of expertise.

**CRAFTSMEN | AMATEURS**

Craftsmen transition to the role of master builder architects. Buildings become to diverse and technical for the craftsmen method. The focus becomes organizing work. Continue to emerge from the trades until 1900.

Embraced taking interest in speculative real estate projects as well as finding materials and were described as “engrossing the whole business [of building] into their own hands.” Focused on promoting rather than serving as the way to transcend the petty scale and chaos of the building trades.

**MASTER BUILDER | PROFESSIONALS**

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**ARCHITECT AS GENERALIST | ARCHITECT AS ARBITER**

Amateurs transition to professional Architects. Became the first specialized architects in a continuous process of fragmentation and diversification in building organization. Not enough large buildings to sustain professionals, continuing the practices of property management, surveyor, and supplier. Successful Architects shed these ancillary duties as quickly as possible in favor of the more gentle art of design. Estate or district planning was desired for steady income.
THOMAS JEFFERSON
Thomas Jefferson builds his home, Monticello, and becomes a self proclaimed [ammeter] architect.

CHARLES BULFINCH
The first Boston architect practices as a developer until the Tontine Crescent goes sour in 1796.

BENJAMIN HENRY LATROBE
One of the first formally trained Architects in the United States, he emigrates to Virginia quickly moving to Philadelphia where he spawns the first enclave of professional Architects in the United States. Shortly after in 1803 he becomes the Surveyor of the Public Buildings of the United States and spent much of his effort on the new capital of Washington D.C.
Focused on commissioned buildings, avoiding speculative projects or interest in a project. Valued being an impartial agent between client and builder, intended a gentlemen profession.

**RIBA AND PROFESSIONALISM**

Professional builders, engineers, cabinet makers, and real estate brokers encroach on the design of buildings.

**MASTER BUILDER | PROFESSIONALS**

**ARCHITECT AS GENERALIST | ARCHITECT AS ARBITER**

John Nash’s public 1830 failure marks the beginning of the end for the generalist architect. His failure fortified the professionals’ opinions in favor of the impartial agent architect. However, other less visible factors lead to the decline by promoting competitors. These include the rise of the modern master builder focused on managing a wide range of expertise, accessible capital, better means of creating contracts, and the decline of apprenticeship in the building industry due to early industrialism. Architects continued to take interest in speculative projects well into 1850 but with diminishing frequency.

The Institute of British Architects was founded in 1834, royally chartered in 1837, to defend the profession from other encroaching trades. They identified art as the distinguishing difference between architects and other practitioners, something that had been implied with the ammeter architect and the gentile of the profession. They even go so far as to recommend the separation of the art-architect and the superintendent-architect. The up tick in building codes reinforced the architect as paper shuffler because builders were generally illiterate and clients were not well versed in jargon in addition to their monopoly in the planning offices. Additionally, further fragmentation of building systems necessitated the role of off-site coordinator.
TOWN AND DAVIS
The first professional architecture office in New York City. Immediately after forming, Town visited Europe and imported new ideas, setting them apart from other architects and providing them higher renumeration and commissions.

AIA AND PROFESSIONALISM
1837 marks the first attempt by New York and Philadelphia architects to form a professional organization in an attempt to tame the wild west nature of the building industry. By 1840, the New York City architects had formed the first professional organization followed in the decade by Boston architects along with the founding of MIT to formally train architects and the first architectural journal: Ecclesiastical Society.

AIA FEE SCHEDULE
The AIA releases a suggested fee schedule of base 5% then 6% later releasing up charges for industries and project size in 1861, 69, 71. Complaints included the loss of negotiating power of architects win a flattened market.

AIA COMPETITION EMBARGO
AIANew York chapterunitesinanembargoagainstthecompetition for a new city post-office. Unpaid competitions were common at the time but the AIA began a program against competitions.

THE PROFESSIONAL FIRM
Richardson firm survives him as the partnership of Shepley, Rutan, and Coolidge. This marks a shift from sole proprietorships and independent enterprises.
ARCHITECTURE A PROFESSION OR AN ART

The debate on registration and thus the further institutionalization of the profession is marked by the thus titled book but RIBA would not require registration until 1931.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MASTER BUILDER</th>
<th>UNREGISTERED</th>
<th>REGISTRATION</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>T. G. Jackson</td>
<td>Older supporters were the art-architects who thought that art and profession did not mix and saw it as further industry fragmentation. Younger supporters were hoping to diversify with the Arts and Crafts movement.</td>
<td>Older supporters were professionals in the largest firms proficient at the consultant role and saw registration as self-defense. Younger supporters had already registered and wanted their effort to carry meaning.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Norman Shaw</td>
<td>W. H. W. Macvittie, Robert Lethaby, John Ruskin, William Morris</td>
<td></td>
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NEBRASKA STATE CAPITAL

The competition for the Nebraska State Capital was phrased to select an architect, not a design. Thus the expectation was for rough drawings not a developed design and that the design could change after selections were made.

SMALL HOUSE SERVICE BUREAU

1920-1934, the AIA backs an effort to engage the small housing market by selling architect only plan sets. This ends in 1934 when it is determined that the bureau competes with full service small house architects and the Institute puts all its wait in full services.

SKIDMORE OWINGS & MERILL

As the building industry continues complexify, professionals attempt to return to a more unified and efficient system. SOM forms to incorporate all professional services in one entity for efficiency and profitability.
THE STOCK COMPANY
Practitioners in several cities formed municipal corporations in which the local proprietors formed a loose corporation in pursuit of government work. An individual could not get the project type but a collection of the locals was unrefusible. The model was successful but cut short when the AIA board banned it.

AIA CODE OF ETHICS
It was declared improper to...
1) Engage in building.
2) Guarantee an estimate.
3) Accept payment from non-clients.
4) Pay for advertising.
5) Participate in non-AIA approved competitions.
6) Pursue competition projects outside of being a competitor.
7) Influence the awarding of a competition.
8) Accept work from a competition after being an advisor.
9) Falsely injure reputation of fellow practitioners.
10) Undertake work with unsettled claims.
11) Supplant architects already engaged.
12) Compete on the bases of fees.

INTEGRATED PROJECT DELIVERY
In the 1960s, the AIA which had previously banned taking equity in projects opened its doors to such project types as well as other delivery methods, most significantly integrated project delivery. IPD sets cooperative incentives rather than adversarial incentives between the client, architect and constructor. It also opens the door for other innovations on the practice model of architects.

DESIGN/BUILD
As construction management becomes a professional service in itself, construction firms begin hiring architects for the convenience of their clients who who are allowed to have only one primary contract and a smaller managerial role.
FULL SERVICE REQUIREMENT

The Institute attempts to enforce a full service only approach to the small house market.

BUSINESSMEN

After WWII architecture fully resembles a business of professional services. Entities have been separated as a risk management strategy and specialization is embraced as a value proposition. The construction manager is also hired by the client not by the architect, passing risk through the client.

JONATHAN PORTMAN

Jonathan Portman goes into business with Griffith Edwards with the intention of branching into real estate. He quickly finds the prospect to be profitable and becomes a major proponent of the business model. Eventually in the 1960s, the AIA allows equity projects and other innovative delivery methods. Portman’s enterprise goes on to include real estate, property management, restauranteur, engineer, architect, supplier, and hotelier. His diverse organization of practices gets limited initial followers.
JONATHAN SEGAL

Jonathan Segal iterates on Portmans model with a more art-architect take and invokes a romanticized notion of the master builders of old. He combines the scholarly and art focused contemporary architect with the shrewd jack of most trades builder of the past.

SHOP ARCHITECTS

SHoP Architects experiments with the notion of true generalist profession. The hire many disciplines and explore work from many different angles.
Fig. 9: Collection of Architect Arrangements.
Investigation
Fig. 10: Future Value Now. Net Operating Income (NOI) have the potential to bring the future value of space into the present. These calculations are applied to commercial properties, which in residential terms applies to groupings of 5 or more units. This calculation has the potential for ‘forced appreciation’ through the increasing of income for owners wanting to sell, but it could also be used to reduce on paper value for owners intending to hold. Lastly the valuation is then submitted to a multiplier known as the cap rate which can be artificially moved up or down depending on its purpose. The increased level of owner control might hand over agency to homeowners if they have the opportunity to engage ownership models that group 5 or more units together.
Asphalt Shingles

- Cost: $100 per Square
- Lifespan: 25 Years
- Yearly Cost: $4 per Year per Square

Cedar Shingles

- Cost: $500 per Square
- Lifespan: 35 Years
- Yearly Cost: $14 per Year per Square

Clay Tiles

- Cost: $700 per Square
- Lifespan: 100 Years
- Yearly Cost: $7 per Year per Square

Slate Tiles

- Cost: $1500 per Square
- Lifespan: 250 Years
- Yearly Cost: $6 per Year per Square

Standing Seam Copper

- Cost: $750 per Square
- Lifespan: 125 Years
- Yearly Cost: $6 per Year per Square
### Tesla Solar Tiles

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cost:</th>
<th>$2100 per Square</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lifespan:</td>
<td>35 Years</td>
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<tr>
<td>Yearly Cost:</td>
<td>$60 per Year per Square</td>
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<tr>
<td>Energy:</td>
<td>$2000 per Square</td>
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<td>Yearly Cost:</td>
<td>$3 per Year per Square</td>
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<tr>
<td>Replacement:</td>
<td>35 x 2 Years</td>
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<tr>
<td>Cost:</td>
<td>$100 x 2 per Square</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yearly Cost:</td>
<td>$2.85 per Year per Square</td>
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</table>

Fig. 11: Material vs. NOI. This numerical analysis tests the value of various residential roofing materials. While most of these materials are uncommon because of their high cost, the question became one of value, not cost. To do so the analysis operated under the Net Operating Income (NOI) calculation. The results show that asphalt shingles are the cheapest year over year although other materials are not as far behind under a value analysis. If labor could be streamlined, other materials have the potential to match the value of asphalt shingles with less maintenance. There was one exception: Tesla Solar Tiles. When the value calculation added the energy production for a house in Nebraska, the valued cost was lower than asphalt. The lifetime tile warranty yielded a small additional reduction.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>5 of 30 yrs.</th>
<th>7 of 30 yrs.</th>
<th>7 of 7 yrs.</th>
<th>12 of 12 yrs.</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>% Equity</td>
<td>% Equity</td>
<td>% Equity</td>
<td>% Equity</td>
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<tr>
<td>% Interest</td>
<td>% Interest</td>
<td>% Interest</td>
<td>% Interest</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Size</td>
<td>Size</td>
<td>Size</td>
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</tr>
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</table>

**30 Year Mortgages**

**Life Phased Mortgages**
Fig. 12: Amortization vs. Life. This numerical analysis sheds light on the result of discrepancies between typical home mortgages amortized over 30 years compared to the average 5-7 year frequency that Americans move homes. After 30 years of homeownership one would have paid more than the value of their home in interest and have less than half the value in equity. If mortgages can be phased to life patterns with the same monthly payments the results are much different. While there would be an initial sacrifice in space, at the end one would have full equity on a larger home having paid a fraction of the interest.
Fig. 13: Student Housing. A system of seller financing beginning with the Architect-Financier then transferring to graduating students allow small 4-5 year pay downs for current students and residents. Each segment of ownership will be at various stages in the 4-5 year cycle. The individual dorms posses exclusive usary rights but the hall, restrooms, and community spaces are held in common. Common areas would be managed through a student board on a floor by floor basis offering leadership outlets for students and an opportunity to customize common spaces for resident desires. This proposal suffers from several issues that have yet to be resolved including a high resident turn-over rate, exposure to market speculation and inflation, and an unstable financing mechanism.
Fig. 14: Homeless Sheltering. This project questions the discrepancy between public funding for parking infrastructure compared to homeless housing. It identifies underused space within the city’s parking infrastructure: parking garages that only reach capacity during a few events a year. A shelter is assembled in typically vacant stalls that takes advantage of the existing infrastructure of the parking garage. In order to sell the idea to parking officials, the shelter folds up into the space between beams on the occasions when the garage reaches capacity. Additionally, the shelters target the working poor and charge an extremely low nominal rent that adds to a portion of the city’s balance sheet that is otherwise vacant. This project suffers from issues such as the ethics of such temporary and unplumbed shelter, transience or potential disobedience of residents, as well as publicly perceived safety of the garage.
Design
Design

The first experiment is in a Lincoln neighborhood riddled with mid-century “slip-ins”. The current owner has extracted enough equity to move on to a larger property but in order to evade capital gains taxes must sell and buy the next property within 45 days in what is known as a 1031 exchange. As such the property is listed at a discounted rate, 65% off of the equivalent single family square footage. This discount is where the resistive opportunity resides for the architect. In this case, the architect purchases the property with investor funds, and private loans. In return, residents redirect a portion of their wages to pay for unsecured usury rights, or rent. In lieu of continuing this extractive exchange, the architect-owner offers the units for sale to the residents as 5% tenants in common with specified usury rights to their unit secured by a deed. Units are kept affordable by offering prices with mortgage payments equal to the affordable rents.

The difference between the discounted selling price and the sum of the affordable mortgages allows for improvements on the property. The improvements provide increased outdoor living amenities including roof decks, and enhanced patios, balconies, and outdoor community spaces. They also provide additional southern exposure, in addition to light, volume and ventilation. At the same time they provide extra square footage on a third floor. All of this is achieved through a structural saddle system comprised of Structurally Insulated Panels resting on underpin footings and replacing the aging, under insulated roof.

Tenants will be offered right of first refusal but for those who don’t exercise it the units will be put on the open market allowing for various potential combinations of units. Stacked vertically they could take on a townhouse like quality. Side by side could produce a large first floor flat for a family with disabilities. Further amalgamations may fit ever divergent
contemporary households. In addition to the possibility to combine units, ownership frees residents from the homogenizing rules of tenant-hood.

Upon completion of the improvements, the architect retains air rights over the parking court, the value of which has appreciated after the improvements, which is used to secure a construction loan on two new spec units. The units are elevated to maintain ground level open space as well as parking for residents. These are then sold and the proceeds are kept as the architect’s profit.

As the renovation rebrands the ugly slip-in as an urban potential, similar projects would begin to seep across a neighborhood. Liberating numerous renters and transforming a neighborhood “blighted” by previously unwelcomed infill.
The quonset house experiment attempts to employ the sweat equity of future residents and the understanding of alternative building systems on an infill site in the Lincoln Near South neighborhood. The quonset system is a series of 2 ft arch panels in 10 ft increments. Invented during world war two it is versatile, robust, quick and easy to assemble, the quonset hut is now commonly a cheap agricultural building shipped as a DIY kit. It can be assembled with only a wrench, ladder, rope and hooks. Arches are bolted together on the ground, hoisted in place, and then secured to the previous arch with more of the same bolts.

The system has a clear span allowing for flexibility on the end walls but requires more tact in introducing fenestration along the sides. The most successful strategies avoid penetrating the structural shell. This 800 sqft prototype, through the use of the quonset and resident sweat equity, costs approximately $90,000 including the architect-developer’s profit margin of $20,000. That is $112 per square foot compared to the Lincoln going rate of around $200 per square foot for new homes and includes a level of architectural consultation that most home buyers do not receive.

To mitigate the cost of the lot, the home is small enough to be built at the back of the site under the designation of ADU. Building the ADU first brings up many gray areas in the city code regarding them. In this ambiguity the project has the potential to open up leftover space in the city to more widespread, affordable ADU homes with a more liberal consideration for property division and ownership regarding ADU’s in which the ADU sits on an easement within the main property which is then sold off as a standard single family house, freeing it from the limiting aspect of ownership laws and size percentage limitations of the main building.
The WareHouse experiment seeks to exploit the ubiquitous big box construction system to deliver affordable modern homes. Through its post and beam construction it offers a free plan and non-bearing walls. It also strives to supply the infrastructure for residents to add their own spaces. It begins by offering the most difficult spaces such as kitchen, bathroom, and shell. From there, residents are encouraged to fill out the void spaces as they need while the post and beam system frees them from primary structural concerns and over delivered infrastructure reduces the burden of weatherization.

In order to achieve the budgetary advantages of the big box system, the project hacks the subdivision development process to scale up the individual house to a spec neighborhood. In this south east Lincoln scenario, an architect contractor could reserve lots with a subdivision developer and offer for sale affordable new modern homes every 250’. By scaling up to multiple lots the economy of scale present in the big box store can be applied towards the homes. The homes could be delivered at the top range of big box stores around $75 per square foot, or around $100,000. Additionally once the homes, smaller than their typical counterparts, become more commonplace, they could be deployed on smaller lots at denser rates to help pay off the site infrastructure, potentially paying for new types of shared suburban community spaces.

Typically these projects would not normally be available for architects. When the architect takes on more roles, projects can be born of self-initiative rather than client ambition. It allows the architects to select the site of progressive change they wish to pursue. If even only some architects take up self-initiated practice models, it will effectively reduce competition between architects raising profitability across the profession as well as increasing the pace of built iteration and innovation, revaluing our role in the city.
CONCLUSION

Neoliberalism has reorganized our society around market relations resulting in extreme inequality. Architecture has been both captive and complicit in this process because it relies on the largess of its clients who benefit most from neoliberalization. This project seeks out models of practice that constitute greater agency than the standard client service model as a point of departure to devise a series of projects representing deployable active forms that drive wedges in the cracks of neoliberalism. The project aims to contribute to an architecture of and against neoliberalism amongst a larger interdisciplinary resistance.
Works Cited


