

Architecture: Distinguished or ordinary network agents in the field of its representation

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Abstract

This study will focus on the representation of Architecture with a capital A by questioning the phenomenon of ordinariness, starting with the question of where in the representations of Architecture can we trace the phenomenon of ordinariness?

The paper goes on to disclose the paradoxical relationship between distinguishedness and ordinariness. Bourdieus concepts of habitus and field are specified as methodological tools to analyze this paradox within the following two themes (i) the representation of architecture and architects as related to the social classes to which they belong (habitus) and (ii) the influence of architectural institutions and their network agents on architecture as they are socially represented (field). The concept of habitus, will help us to understand the social mechanisms of architecture and architects as distinguished and/or ordinary phenomena, while the concept of field will help us to analyze the operative principles of representational mechanisms.

The field of architectural institutions (as understood of Bourdieusian term) descriptive phrases stated by the institutional actors will be taken as major data to examine this paradoxical mechanism. They will be represented by network maps to discuss which mechanisms structure the representational field of Architecture with a capital A whether as a distinguished and/or ordinary phenomenon.

Keywords

Architecture with a capital A, Representational mechanisms of architecture, Habitus, Field, Ordinariness.



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1. Introduction

Representation of architecture as a mechanism is a vast topic to be discussed that includes architectural design, architectural object, architectural concept and even architects. In time, these mechanisms have been operated by intermediary firms, actors, institutions, the media, architects and in some cases the architectural object itself. Whenever the definition of architecture has changed, its representation has also extended its limits. However, one phrase is used exceptionally that differentiated from all. It is called "Architecture with a capital A", Architecture for the purposes and remainder of this article. This phrase seeks to structure an architectural field where Architecture and architecture are separated from each other. It is a contemporary phrase that refers both to distinguished buildings and revolutionary definitions of profession, while architecture (with small a) is left to refer merely to ordinary buildings in which most of the population live and work. We find Architecture in the historiography of architecture, in books on the subject and in architectural magazines but generally not in everyday life.

This binary statement in which Architecture is simultaneously defined and circumscribed, inevitably determines the knowledge and the epistemology of the field. Therefore, the representation mechanisms of Architecture become inherently different from the representation of architecture which is placed outside the field of interest, and therefore from its knowledge. Hence, so-called distinguished buildings and architects have become separated from ordinary buildings and architects.

This study starts with the question of "where in the representations of Architecture can we trace the phenomenon of ordinariness?" It may be thought that the phenomenon of ordinariness can only appear in the absence of representation mechanisms, and therefore 'the representation of ordinariness' is an oxymoronic phrase. Here, however, it is useful to recall the example of the avant-garde movement which criticized the aesthetic taste of elites and the noble representation of art and ar-

gued that the ordinariness of an everyday object could raze the image of art as a distinguished phenomenon to the ground. Duchamp's urinal (Fountain) is accepted as the major example of this protest with, as Baudrillard states, Duchamp turning ordinariness into a special occasion by exhibiting the urinal as an art object (Nouvel, Baudrillard, 2011). The question provoked by Duchamp's work is then, can the urinal remain ordinary once it has caused a revolution in art? A similar question can be asked concerning architecture; even the phenomenon of ordinariness, when defamiliarized, could act as a discourse to gentrify the representation of Architecture. This is what we mean by the paradox of Architecture which we explore in this study.

It is proposed that the operative and marketing principles of representational mechanisms in architecture have caused that paradox and turned ordinariness into a distinguished phenomenon. To analyze the operative principles of representation mechanisms and their actors, it is important to understand who creates these mechanisms and how they operate in Architecture. Bourdieu's concepts of habitus and field help us to understand the underlying motivation behind the process by referring to cultural capital, institutional representation, and to their actors as network agents. To discuss these concepts, the structure of the article is constructed as (i) the representation of architecture and architects as related to the social classes to which they belong, by referring to the concept of habitus, and (ii) the influence of architectural institutions and their network agents on architecture as they are socially represented, by referring to the concept of field.

2. Habitus, field and their network agents

Habitus and field are core concepts of Bourdieu and applicable to many professions related to social representation, including architecture. These concepts are also founding ideas within the field of Cultural Studies and, are frequently used to isolate and analyze cultural tendencies and the consumption features of social classes. Accord-

ing to Bourdieu, class conflict and the dynamics of power are based on the relationships between social classes, which are conditioned by the relative distribution of capital (Bourdieu, 1986). The concept of capital includes economic capital, social capital and cultural capital in Bourdieu's theory. This study mainly focuses on cultural capital which Bourdieu identifies as including educational qualifications, informal interpersonal relationships and abilities, lifestyles and cultural tastes. When cultural capital cooperates with economic and social capital, it frequently comes in three forms, as embodied, objectified, and institutionalized (Bourdieu, 1986). The institutionalized form of cultural capital which is taken as the major theoretical case for this study, refers to hierarchically institutionalized forms of educational and cultural institutions.

Habitus refers to basic cultural tendencies of individuals and or social agents which help to guide their behaviors in society. It is not an innate ability; it is a structure and structured structure (Bourdieu, 1977) that is largely inherited from the social class to which the individual belongs (Swartz, 2011). The concept of taste is representative of this "structuring structure", and inherited trace revealing the social pattern of classes rather than an idiosyncratic pattern emerging from the individual actor, and its effectiveness conditions the symbolic values between classes (Lury, 2011; Bourdieu, 1985). Bourdieu mostly emphasized the role of education in structuring a habitus when understanding the relation between cultural capital, social classes and cultural tastes. According to him, education systems tend to promote the children of high classes and lead them on to success, as a cyclical mechanism which works to reinforce existing class structures. Thus, educational institutions formalize class distinction, cultural capital and habitus (Grennfell, 2008; Bourdieu, 1986).

Moving on to professions, not only educational institutions but also all types of institutionalization help to identify the field of a profession, and DiMaggio, who also refers to Bourdieu's concepts, has argued that the re-

lationship between institutionalization and cultural capital is at its most visible within the art industry. DiMaggio determines the effects of institutionalization on art by focusing on museum institutions, and calling out the most significant of them as 'field-wide professional organizations'. This type of organization, according to DiMaggio shapes the cultural taste of the habitus they focalize and sets the institutions and their actors as the referees of the field (DiMaggio, 1991).

In Bourdieusian terms, field corresponds to unique and distinct arenas upon which all forms of practices play out. Each field has its particular set of rules, epistemology and forms of capital according to its genre. Field structures the habitus while habitus structures the field. Habitus helps to connect fields to each other and the enterprisers of habitus regulate the continuity of fields. Hence, the cultural capital of habitus constitutes the borders of the field and the network agents develop their individual strategies to the benefit of the class to which they belong. Practice is the whole of the relations between habitus, field and forms of capital (Swartz, 2011) as Bourdieu (1986: s.101) equated as;

$$[(\text{habitus}) (\text{capital})] + \text{field} = \text{practice}$$

From this point of view, architecture has its own field(s) and a particular habitus structures that field. By referring to Bourdieu's discourse on education and institutional form of cultural capital, and DiMaggio's field-wide professional organization, the gentrifying architectural mechanisms are determined as architectural schools, institutions and their award mechanisms, architectural biennials and their representation in media platforms. To discuss the paradoxical relationship between the phenomenon of distinctiveness and ordinariness in the field of Architecture, we must first understand how institutions and field-wide professional organizations effect and/or construct this paradox.

Institutionalization has a kind of paradoxical relationship in itself. According to institutional critique theories, cultural institutions have the power to exploit every antagonist concept against themselves. Daniel Buren

argues that, if institutional critique plays a part in institutions, this dilutes the power of critique and destroys the effects of antagonist concepts (Graw, 2016). David Harvey also elaborated on this paradox, stating that these institutions deliberately create a dilemma concerning the uniqueness of the cultural object. Upper-class individuals and their habitus tend to expect uniqueness and aesthetic pleasure from a cultural event and/or object; however, institutions are much more interested in an object's market value while representing them as an elite occasion. The more institutions commercialize culture, the more the culture is deteriorated, but at the same time, institutions increase culture's visibility and access. Therefore, cultural institutions need some discursive moves to deal with cultural capital, economic capital and symbolic capital simultaneously (Harvey, 2013).

When the topic is Architecture and its representational field, operative principles and marketing strategies of architectural institutions could be the starting points, and we can follow a similar pattern to that of Bourdieu and DiMaggio. Thus, architectural institutions, their representative principles and (st)architects as related to the social classes to which they belong, will all be interpreted as allies of the field.

3. Habitus of architects and field of architecture

To follow Bourdieu's methodology, firstly it is important to discuss the habitus of architects. The reputable definition of architects' dates back to the origin of architecture. From the iconic edifices of Ancient Egypt up until today, architecture has been established as one of the most honorable professions and architects publicly accepted as influential persons (Kostof, 1977). According to Jean Nouvel, architects have perceived themselves a God-like figure for centuries and only recently they have dreaded only losing that power (Nouvel, Baudrillard, 2011). Even as the roles of architects have changed throughout the ages, their representation as distinguished identities has not. Once, they were second only to the King of Egypt, then

they were honored as eminent persons building for nobles in the Renaissance, and later they became the saviors and the founders of the new world in Modernism (Kostof, 1977; Karatani 1995). However, Modernism could be interpreted as the first breaking point in the field. As the related habitus of architecture has changed, borders of the field have also widened. Architects as actors in the field, started to design for the everyday population. However, it is important to emphasize that even as the related habitus of architecture changed, the habitus of architects was still covered by the high class of society. The image of the profession was still prestigious and the cost of an architectural education was still expensive. For this reason, architects have historically been and continued to be the children of elites, graduating from highly ranked architectural schools (Johnson, 1994).

Before Modernism, the field of architecture matched up with the habitus. In Modernism, the field of architecture collided with the new habitus of the society. According to Modernist architects, architectural products should be involved in mass production and this was the only possible way that architecture could help create a new world which served for all social classes. As a consequence, with Modernism the representation of architecture attained a greater prestige, and architects attained a greater sense of social duty than at any other time in the field's history. The field of architecture represented itself as emanating from the habitus of the middle and lower social classes while its actors and products remained distinguished. This can be interpreted as the first paradox of distinguished and/or ordinary representation of architecture and representational field of it.

Between Modernism and the contemporary world of architecture, the field of Architecture has evolved. As Harvey argues, capitalist and post capitalist production systems and media institutions have consolidated the marketing strategies of cultural objects. A cultural event or object has turned to a sign of high culture and the habitus of high culture demands to have it registered in a distinguished and unique

way. Hence, the product is represented and commercialized by elite events such as festivals, certification programs, etc. with the help of institutions that have sponsored them (Harvey, 2013). The representational mechanism of Architecture which has also been accepted as one of cultural occasions, has also widened. A complex network of relations including institutions, media, PR agencies, the advertising sector, the fashion sector etc. have all contributed to the representational field of it.

Today, the distinguished representation of Architecture generally relates to distinguished representation of architects who are supported by architectural institutions. Indeed, some of the contemporary architects have even a unique denotation as Starchitects. While the Starchitects and their architectural works do not correspond to the most sizeable part of the profession, however, we can argue that the phenomenon of Architecture is represented most cogently by them. Further, it is possible to suggest that a new epistemology of architecture is also being generated, in part by the representation of Starchitects (Basyazici, Uluoğlu, 2017). According to Sklair, Starchitects are also a kind of by-product of institutionalization and marketing mechanisms (Sklair, 2005). If some architectural institutions constitute the main mechanism of representational field of Architecture, Starchitects are the main actors in that field. They are the agents of these networks and determine the borders of the field. Their position in representation mechanisms also makes them pioneer actors in discussing the paradoxical portrayal of architecture as a distinguished and/or ordinary phenomenon. However, it is important to locate wherein and how they act as network agents in the field of Architecture. Are they the agents of architectural institutions or only skillful architects? More importantly, how do they represent Architecture and how do they deal with the phenomenon of ordinariness?

To understand these questions, and drawing on Bourdieu, DiMaggio and Harvey; the concept of the institutionalization mechanism should be understood as the cornerstone of the field.

4. The field of architectural institutions and their operative principles

Architectural institutions could be grouped in many different ways according to the scope of the research. Here, we have grouped them according to their gentrifying mechanisms of architecture and their effects on the field of Architecture. Architectural schools are related to this field through their effective discourses on architectural epistemology and their prestigious images in terms of academic ranking. They help us only to understand the habitus of network agents (architects in this case) and their representations while other institutional mechanisms help us to interpret the operative principles in the field.

Complementing the effect of education and educational institutions on architecture, one of the main actors in the field is the award-giving mechanisms. There are many world institutions that award architectural prizes, however, for the purpose of this study, the reputation, prominence and the fame of an award was considered crucial to understanding the effect field-wide. Therefore, the most prestigious award in architecture, the Pritzker Architecture Prize, awarded by the Hyatt Foundation is determined as one case of the study.

4.1. The Pritzker Architecture Prize

The Pritzker Architecture Prize is bestowed by the Hyatt Foundation and is accepted as the “the Nobel Prize in architecture” (Britannica, 2018). It was inaugurated by Jay Pritzker, the founder of the Hyatt Foundation, and his wife, in order to compensate for the absence of architecture within the Nobel Prize categories (Mun-Delsalle, 2017). Since 1979, the foundation has annually honored an architect “whose works demonstrates a combination of those qualities of talent, vision, and commitment, for his/her contribution to the profession” (Pritzker Architecture Prize, 2017). Pritzker laureates are understood to have received the highest honor in the profession.

To analyze the influence of the Pritzker Architecture Prize on architecture as it is socially represented, it is im-

portant firstly to rethink the habitus and practices of the Hyatt Foundation. According to Forbes Magazine, the Pritzker family is one of the richest families in the USA (Britannica, 2017). In addition to creating the Pritzker Architecture Prize and the Hyatt Foundation, they have supported many civil society initiatives and founded several educational and cultural institutions. The jury of the Pritzker Architecture Prize includes architects, experts and businessmen from a variety of fields including art, education and technology. However, the social standing of the jury is striking in terms of its cultural habitus. Architect jury members are generally one of the Starchitects and previous or future laureates of the prize, while the experts and/or businessmen occupy to a similarly high-browed habitus. For example, the directors of the National Gallery of Art and the National Gallery of Great Britain, the chairman of the IBM Corporation, Lord Rothschild, the deans of Harvard University Department of Architecture have at various times participated in and chaired the jury. Another matter of debate is the laureates; are they already a Starchitect when they are given the Pritzker Architecture Prize or does the prize itself help to establish them as Starchitect? It is an open question and there is not a certain answer. However, it is significant that today all Pritzker laureates are known as Starchitects.

The presentation of the medal is another representational mechanism of the prize. The ceremony is always held in a significant global landmark in order to “reinforce the importance of the built environment” (The Pritzker Architecture Prize, 2018). It is an invitation-only ceremony and attended by jury members, mayors of the chosen cities, members of the international press, businessmen, academics, chairs of art galleries and museums, members of the Hyatt Foundation, the Pritzker Family and on occasion, the President and Prime Minister of the host country. The chairman of the Hyatt Foundation announces the winner and the recipient gives an acceptance speech. The ceremony is one of the most eminent and newsworthy events of the architectural calendar, and recently

has been broadcast live on the Internet and on TV. This prestige and attention awarded to the prize ceremony itself suggests that not merely architects and Architecture but also the Pritzker Architecture Prize is celebrated and consecrated via the event.

Another institutional mechanism that works to consecrate the representation of architecture, and which also intersects with the Pritzker Architecture Prize is the Venice Architecture Biennale, our second case study.

4.2. Venice Architecture Biennale

As with award mechanisms, cultural institutions could also be grouped in many different ways according to the scope of the research. The Venice Architecture Biennale, here, is determined as the second case that gentrifies the field of Architecture, due to its public recognition and focus on contentious topics in the world of architecture.

The Venice Biennale is self-declared as “one of the most prestigious cultural institutions in the world for over 120 years” by the biennale foundation (La Biennale di Venezia, 2018). And Paolo Baratta, its current president, having served between 2000-2004 and subsequently again since 2008, recently called the Venice Architecture Biennale “the most important event in the world for Architecture” (OMA, 2017). The Venice Architecture Biennale has been part of the Venice Biennale since 1980. It has been successively curated by architects chosen by the president of the architecture biennial and by the biennial foundation. Since its inception, it has been accepted as the major architectural event for contemporary discussion in the world. However, the architecture or Architecture, which has been represented there is also one of the major questions considered in this article.

The institutional history of the Biennale is significant. In the beginning, the Venice Biennale was a state-run event financially supported by Italian government. All the curators and pavilions were also Italian. In 2004, the Biennale transformed into a foundation and has been supported by both private investors and the government ever since (La

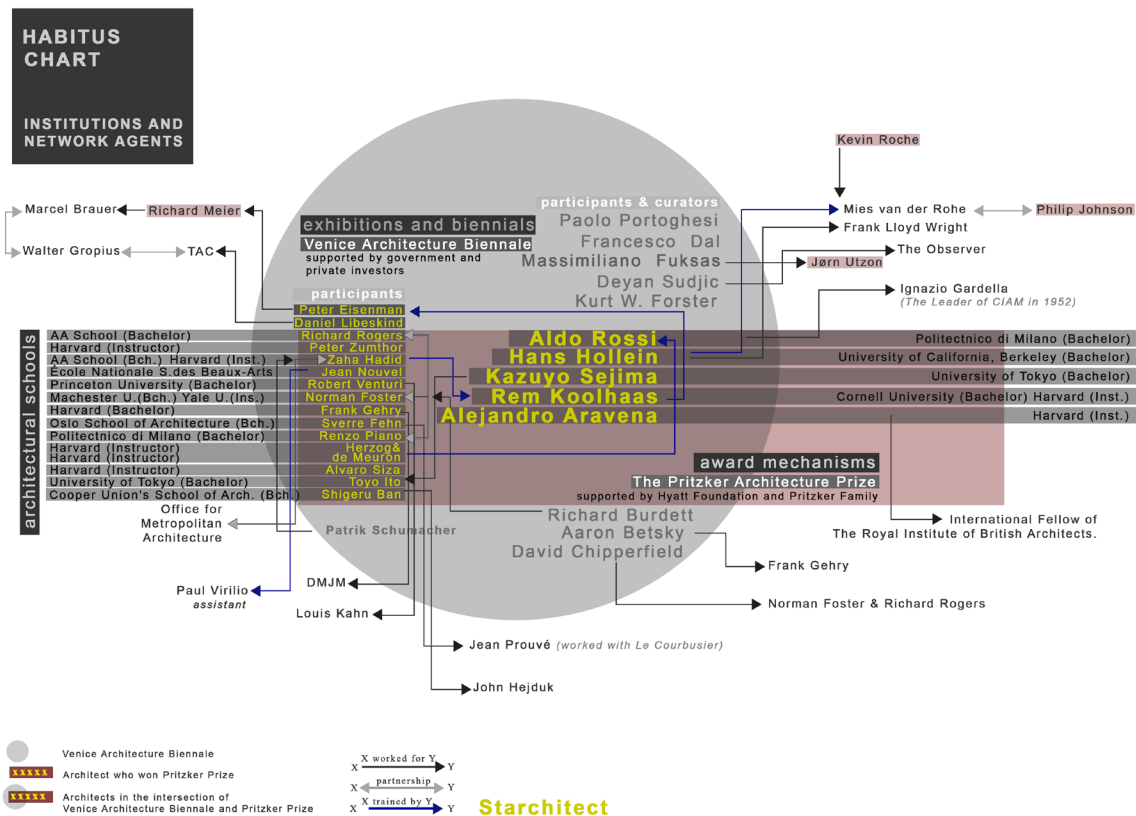


Figure 1. Habitus of Starchitects in the field of architecture.

Biennale di Venezia, 2017). Although the existence of financial supporters has liberated the scope of the Biennale, it is believed that they also exercise influence over the design and representation of the national pavilions and even the curators. Nevertheless, it can be interpreted as a win-win situation; while the marketing strategies match with the cultural representation of the private corporations, the curators and participants also enrich their pavilions with their financial support (Stalabrass, 2016).

The Venice Architecture Biennale has a parallel historiography in terms of institutional background. First five biennales were curated by Italian architects and they were also only state-run events. The sixth biennale, which was curated by Hans Hollein, was the first biennale curated by a non-Italian architect. The curators of the National Pavilions are generally selected by a national jury of the relevant country, but curators have the right to invite independent architects themselves. Notably, the majority of these independent architects are recognized Starchitects, most of whom have already received

the Pritzker award. This prompts a further question; is the Venice Architecture Biennale monopolized by Starchitects, or does the institution seek to use those architects for its own purpose? This brings us again the field of architectural institutions and their relation with the habitus of high culture.

The diagram below displays the field of intersection between The Pritzker Architecture Prize and Venice Architecture Biennale as two main institutional arenas, and their network agents as Starchitects. Following Bourdieu, and examining the habitus and the field of Architecture, architectural schools (as another gentrifying institution) and the professional relations between Starchitects are also attached to the diagram.

This diagram shows both the field and habitus of architects as they operate within the most prestigious representation mechanisms of Architecture. It is seen that the Venice Architecture Biennale and Pritzker Architecture Prize are cross-populated with familiar architects. They are the network agents of these two institutions. While those architects are generally in contact with

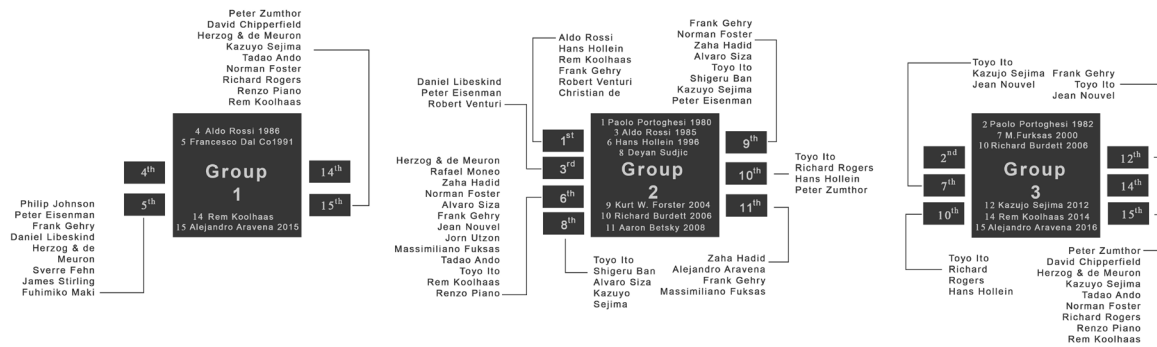


Figure 2. Groups of themes in the Venice Architectural Biennale and Starchitects as participants.

most prestigious architectural schools of the world, they are also related with each other as partners, mentors or employers-employees. To be more precise, the habitus of architects who represent Architecture is structured by high-ranking architectural schools and the professional relationships of network agents. Their social class background here is unimportant; rather, in terms of the field of architecture, their social and cultural habitus refers to a high-level representation.

The arenas where they work their “magic” and represent their architecture – the Venice Architecture Biennale and the Pritzker Architecture Prize in this case– is the field of Architecture. This field also prompts questions surrounding power, such as; Who represents Who? Is this a mutual relationship wherein both field and network agents represent themselves reciprocally? Or are those architects in fact by-products of these two architectural institutions? Finally, what do they represent and what does it take to affect change in architecture?

To deepen these questions, the architectural discussions initiated by the Venice Architecture Biennale should be taken into consideration. The themes of the biennales could be taken as focal points of architectural problems, and also as related to how the curators define architecture and architectural problems in the world and what they represent as architecture. In order to approach these issues, this study groups the themes into three main headings; architecture as a contemporary event that also evolves with its history (Group 1); architecture as a dominant and leading event in contemporary life (Group 2); and, archi-

tecture as an interdisciplinary event that is related to social problems and everyday man (Group 3).

5. The paradoxical nature of the field of architecture

The third group of themes in the Venice Architecture Biennale can help us discuss the paradoxical nature of the field of Architecture. We will focus on 12th biennale; “People meet in Architecture”, 14th biennale; “Fundamentals” and 15th biennale “Reporting from the Front”, which were curated by Kazuyo Sejima, Rem Koolhaas and Alejandro Aravena respectively, in order to understand this paradox.

The common focal point of these biennales is that architecture is defined as a mundane event rather than a spectacle occasion within a different context. While Sejima emphasized the relation between architecture and common people, Koolhaas criticized the spectacle image of architecture and proposed a rethinking of its fundamental elements. Finally, Aravena “pitched activism against starchitecture” as The Guardian mentioned, and viewed architecture as a tool to contribute to the life of the lower classes, as he emphasized in Pritzker Architecture Prize acceptance speech. These themes caused some unconventional discussions for the Venice Architecture Biennale and sparked debates in architectural world by igniting the fuse of the paradox. While all three curators are Pritzker Architecture Prize awarded architects, they foregrounded the architecture of the mundane in the most spectacular architectural showcase in the world. It is important to highlight that what it is called architectural world here also contains the distinguished field of Ar-

with common people, Betsky (2014) argued against them and claimed that architecture has always been a spectacle event rather than a building, which is why it is called architecture.

Sejima curated biennale has been generally honored in discussions for its modest approaches. However, Kurt Forster issued a cautionary note, arguing that while the “People Meet in Architecture” biennale was gracious in intent, target group of the Venice Architecture Biennale, meant that it registered rather like “architects meet in architecture” (Forster, 2010). Aravena curated biennale occupies a more significant position in this field, however, as his definition and suggestions for architecture are still being argued out in the architectural media. Schumacher (2016) criticized Aravena to be ringing in the changes for Architecture by promoting a humanitarian architecture with both the Pritzker Architecture Prize and the Venice Architecture Biennale. Nevertheless, his intent was met with criticism from some commentators who questioned whether Aravena’s definition of architecture had been unduly influenced by interested developers and politicians, Rowen Moore (2016) said. Similarly, the journalist Mimi Zeiger (2016) asked “Is architecture as guileless as Aravena’s biennale suggests?” Betsky (2016), however, considered the debate from a different angle, arguing that Aravena’s biennale showed that the beauty and pleasure of architecture can only be possible to construct for the wealthy. In case of Aravena, it seems that he doesn’t have a kind of paradoxical relationship between his theoretical approaches and practical career like Koolhaas. Yet Aravena is also a Pritzker award winner, has been chosen as a member of the Pritzker Architecture Prize jury for eight years and is an instructor at Harvard’s Faculty of Architecture.

These are leading opinions of architects and/or architecture critics who are depicted in this network map. Following opinions for the 14th and 15th biennales and curators’ Pritzker award in many articles or reader columns abound in the architectural media. This platform shows that the phenomenon of ordinariness could be interpreted

as apprehending a loss of power for the distinguished representation of Architecture, which has historically been taken for granted by some architects (Baudrillard, 2011). Rather, it also suggests that even being mundane and/or ordinary can be a representation tool in the field of Architecture. It presents a kind of network for the phenomenon of ordinariness that shows who represents ordinariness, with whom and where.

6. Conclusion

This study discusses the representational mechanisms of Architecture by referring to Bourdieu’s concepts of habitus and field. In order to define the field of Architecture, it is important to discuss the representational field of architectural institutions and the habitus of those architects who participate in these institutions. While every architectural institution has its own mechanism to represent architecture, some undoubtedly hold greater sway over the field than others. The Pritzker Architecture Prize and the Venice Architecture Biennale have been studied as major cases representing Architecture due to their significance and influence on the field. Although these two cases share neither a common aim nor scope, intentionally or not both cases are instrumental in the construction of the field of Architecture. As we have seen, the Pritzker family has created the most prestigious medal in the profession in order to honor the achievements of living architects in a spectacular ceremony. In case the of the Venice Architecture Biennale, it cannot be proposed that Venice Architecture Biennale acts as a gentrifying agent for the representation of architecture in *prima facie*; however, as we have seen before, due to its esteemed standing in the world of architecture, may have undertaken every theme and curator involved in the biennale as part of a gentrifying process.

At this juncture, the distinguished field of these organizations in their definitive context is also important as it leads us to the habitus of architects. The Pritzker family and Hyatt Foundation are firmly located in the field of wealthy institutions while habitus of

the family also belongs to high culture. Hence, even if they are not an architectural institution, the high-cultured habitus of family and the jury members that they choose also define the field of the Pritzker Architecture Prize as one of high status and prestige. This is borne out by the fact that despite there being many institutional awards, none of them are named as the most respected medal in the profession except the Pritzker Architecture Prize.

The Venice Architectural Biennale could be interpreted in two ways: the field of the sponsorship networks and the field and habitus of the biennale's curators. The financial support of the Italian government, which is itself an institution of major kind, helps to define the Biennale as an Italian occasion: Being the sole funder at its founding, it meant that the Biennale has always been seen as part of an act celebrating the Italian artistic culture. However, with the participation of private investors, the biennale also became a part of the marketing arena for those companies and other cultural institutions that have gone on to help build the cultural capital the Venice Architecture Biennale has today. At the same time, those companies and institutions undoubtedly capitalize their association with the Venice Architecture Biennale for their corporate image. As for the biennale's curators, they have always been selected from among the most notable architects in the world, whose reputation and contribution to the profession is globally recognized. They are the provokers of the most important discussions that determine the key topics of the architectural discourse as they are the leaders in the field of Architecture. Hence, if we ask the question "is it architecture or Architecture that is exhibited in Venice", the answer to be expected must be Architecture, despite contrary claims implied by themes of the recent biennales.

This study overlaps these two distinguished representation mechanisms to understand the field of Architecture via two network maps. These network maps show that some architects take place in both events, or that those events use those architects in their own self-representation. Following Bour-

dieu and Di Maggio, the architects at the intersection point of the two events are understood as network agents, as they are present at both occasions and thus help form the social context in which the field operates. We have shown that they are representative of a high-cultured habitus in architecture with their educational background and professional relations with each other.

Upon these grounds, then, we would expect the phenomenon of ordinariness to have no representative place within Architecture. However, the 12th, 14th and 15th biennales did attempt to problematize Architecture's privileged positioning. Their limited success in terms of critical reception suggested that "the war" against Starchitecture. Our intention is not to argue that ordinariness is not possible because architecture gentrifies every phenomenon as such. Ordinary and functional buildings can be seen everywhere and contain an aesthetic value in themselves. Rather, the fact that we entitle these buildings as ordinary, mundane or common demonstrates that they do not belong to the field of Architecture. These are the buildings not mentioned in architectural books or magazines, not known all around the world and they are not designed by Starchitects. Koolhaas and Aravena's attempt to provoke a critical conversation about ordinariness in architecture, however, perhaps suggests that Architecture's privileged position is ripe for its destabilization.

Koolhaas and Aravena share common and unique positions in this field. First and foremost, both architects demonstrate paradoxes inherent within their relative positions and their artistic approaches; and, both turned ordinariness into a cause celebre via their association with the Venice Architecture Biennale. Can their attempts be likened to Duchamp's urinal as he attempted to unmask this paradox at the heart of the art industry? Perhaps, but our study suggests rather that the two share more in common with Walter Benjamin's assessment of Baudelaire as a secret agent of his social class, criticism of the class to which he belonged (Benjamin, 2006). Koolhaas and Aravena could also be interpreted as secret

agents of their habitus in the field of Architecture.

Recalling David Harvey's argument, cultural institutions function by turning ordinary things and events into distinguished ones by attributing noble meanings to them, even if economic interests are absent and the process is not intentional (Harvey, 2013). Thus, in raising the question of ordinariness, the Venice Architecture Biennale initiates structuring of a field, following Harvey, regarding whether the ordinary can exist in Architecture. In this way, since those biennales which have brought the ordinary on stage, and with the intervention of the Pritzker awarded Starchitects, the phenomenon of ordinariness has become a discussion topic worldwide.

Returning to our original question, "where in the representations of Architecture can we trace the phenomenon of ordinariness?", our study has suggested that the answer we must expect is, within distinguished architectural institutions. However, the notion of ordinariness as a mindset, which takes place in representations of Architecture within its present field, cannot be identified as the ordinary in ontological terms. Ordinariness itself becomes a distinguished ordinariness once all the eyes are on it. While the ordinary is in essence still located in the field of architecture (with a small a), ordinary becomes extra-ordinary when it is found located within the field of Architecture. The epistemological tendencies of high-cultured habitus in the field of Architecture turns the unconventional nature of ordinariness to a cause celebre via conventional methodologies. While its inclusion is expected to deconstruct and problematize the distinguished field of Architecture, ordinariness in fact lies to incorporate into the field and thus turns out to be another of Architecture's lodestars. Leading approaches with leading actors turn epistemology of architecture into a vicious circle and inevitably construct a paradoxical field. This study shows that the phenomenon of ordinariness has a potential power of resistance when included within the field of Architecture. It needs another habitus of actors and structural mechanisms of field to do

this. Within its present position, it is not possible to represent ordinariness thru the representation tools of Architecture and it cannot be conceptualized within the field of Architectural discourse. It needs a different methodology which is expected to have the potential of creating an alternative theory.

This study is intended to be a first step towards seeking an alternative methodology to deal with phenomena which are outside of the conventional in Architecture; or rather, outside of conventions of Architecture. We believe that this will open the way to a fertile ground to explore and re-problematize the profession and its episteme.

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