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1 Karin Knorr Cetina, *Epistemic Cultures: How the Sciences Make Knowledge* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1999), 1.

2 See Joan Ockman, *Architecture School: Three Centuries of Educating Architects in North America* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2012).

3 Donald A. Schön, *The Reflective Practitioner: How Professionals Think in Action* (London: Temple Smith, 1983), 76–105.

4 Ockman, *Architecture School* (see note 2), 10

Interaction Rituals and the Role of the Crit in the Shaping of Studio Cultures
Kim Helmersen and Jan Silberberger

In her pivotal book from 1999, Karin Knorr Cetina formulates the notion of epistemic cultures to describe how different sciences produce and warrant knowledge. [1] In the educational context of architecture, the design studio and the crit in combination play a crucial part in upholding the unique features of the discipline's epistemic culture. The studio constitutes the "bounded space" that is home to the unique epistemic practices of design, and the crit provides a particular moment in the wheel of life of the studio when design objects become warranted as pieces of knowledge. In this article, we discuss the crit as a decisive moment in the continuous construction of the design studio as a learning space and a culture unique to architecture. This includes an effort to understand and conceptualize the crit as an interaction ritual, thereby providing a theoretical lens for analyzing and comparing the social features of crits and to evaluate their emotional intensity and impact on participants. However, before going deeper into the social fabric of crits, we want to introduce the reader to the studio and the crit, including existing literary accounts of these important social spaces of knowledge.

Judgment by Design
The most striking feature of the academic discipline of architectural design, the feature that distinguishes it from any other academic discipline, is the design studio. [2] This highly refined teaching format at the heart of architectural education can be understood as an effective educational environment characterized by collective action in which learning and teaching, thinking, and making merge into one experimental practice. [3] It is an arena where the "syncretic nature of architectural education," which combines "technics and aesthetics, sciences and humanities," is performed and actualized. [4]

Part of this sophisticated experimental set-up is that students are closely mentored. A variety of scholars have pointed to the intense interpersonal relationships between architecture students and their

instructors—and simultaneously criticized crit assessment (a key form of interaction) in an alarmingly concordant manner. [5] Kathryn Anthony, for instance, describes students leaving crits "distraught, humiliated"; Bernadette Blair sees students "literally frozen with fear"; while Richard Tucker and David Beynon observe students "vomiting, fainting through fear." [6]

The terrifying character of crits arises out of the fact that they are typically overloaded with requirements. [7] They constitute oral exams. At the same time, they are seen as learning environments and work meetings where projects are furthered and knowledge is imparted. Moreover, crits are often understood as simulations of architect-client interactions, where students train their "sales skills" (with teachers often displaying a "Here we are, now entertain us" attitude). What adds to student anxiety is that jury assessments are often inchoate. [8]

From 2017 to 2021, we conducted an extensive ethnographic study on the teaching of architectural design with a particular focus on methodologies of designing as they become apparent in teacher-student interaction. [9] Within this study we visited selected studios at the AA London, ETH Zurich, TU Delft, the Royal Danish Academy in Copenhagen, TU Munich, and the University of Stuttgart and observed a range of crits (from desk crits to large public ones) in which we played a variety of roles (from solely silent observers to active members of the jury panel directly involved in criticizing students' projects).

The crit format needs substantially more accountability. Students must be assessed in a reliable, predictable manner. At the same time, we see the danger of reducing crits to static exams. The expectation of certainty collides with an environment that encourages explorations and knowledge creation. Since judgment in architectural design per se combines objectivity with intuition, eliminating the subjective element is obviously not the way forward. Hence, instead of aiming at presenting unassailable verdicts, we should acknowledge intuitive statements.

Architecture competitions resemble studio courses in a variety of aspects. Just like contestants in architecture competitions, students are typically presented with a brief at the outset of a studio course. This brief, like any competition brief, features a more or less clearly defined building task enriched with contextual information. Furthermore, these specifications provide the criteria for assessment. Finally, a jury, a collective of distinguished peers, debates the quality of the presented design proposals.

The most prominent parallel is to be found in competition juries, which, just like their counterparts in crits, strive to position their judgment as unshakable expertise. If we compare so-called

[5] Kathryn H. Anthony, *Design Juries on Trial: The Renaissance of the Design Studio* (New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold, 1991); Bernadette Blair, "At the End of a Huge Crit in the Summer It Was 'Crap'—I'd Worked Really Hard but All She Said Was 'Fine' and I Was Gutted," *Art, Design and Communication in Higher Education* 5, no. 2 (2006), 83–95, https://doi.org/10.1386/adch.5.2.83_1; Richard Tucker and David Beynon, "Crit Panel," in Hedda H. Askland, Michael Ostwald, and Anthony Williams, eds., *Assessing Creativity: Supporting Learning in Architecture and Design* (Sydney: Office for Learning and Teaching, 2012), 133–56; Helena Webster, "The Architectural Review: A Study of Ritual, Acculturation and Reproduction in Architectural Education," *Arts and Humanities in Higher Education* 4, no. 3 (2005), 265–82, https://doi.org/10.117 7/1474022205056169.

[6] Anthony, *Design Juries on Trial* (see note 5), 4; Blair, "At the End" (see note 5), 89; Tucker and Beynon, "Crit Panel" (see note 5), 145.

[7] Jan Silberberger, "Introduction," in Jan Silberberger, ed., *Against and for Method: Revisiting Architectural Design as Research* (Zurich: gta Verlag, 2021), 1–16, here 12, https://doi.org/10.3929/ethz-b-000518312.

[8] Jan Silberberger, "What Can Possibly Go Wrong? Three Examples of Recurrent Deficiencies in the Teaching of Architectural Design," *International Journal of Art and Design Education* 41, no. 2 (2022), https://www.doi.org/10.1111/jade.12409.

[9] Silberberger, "Introduction" (see note 7).

jury reports (which are typically issued shortly after the competition to present and justify the jury's decisions) to the way jury deliberations actually unfold, we notice the systematic obliteration of ambiguities. Far from depicting jury work as knowledge creation, jury reports try to convey the impression of absolute stability of judgment to the public. In practice, when interpreting daring entries — that is, when making sense of unexpected solution proposals — competition juries often generate knowledge that leads them to an enhanced understanding of the problem. **10**

Such clumsy public relations tactics reflect a flawed understanding of accountability. Complying with public procurement law (which requires transparency of procedure, nondiscrimination, and equal information for competitors) does not necessarily entail reducing jury deliberations to static, pseudo-objective evaluations. On the contrary, jury boards would be in a much stronger position to convince people of their claims — as well as of the fairness of the procedure — if they transparently depicted the dynamic unfolding of their decisions.

10 Jan Silberberger, "Jury Sessions as Non-trivial Machines: A Procedural Analysis," *Journal of Design Research* 10, no. 4 (2012), 258—68, https://doi.org/10.1504/JDR.2012.051163; Jan Silberberger and Ignaz Strebel, "The Progressive Differentiation of Judgment Criteria," in Ignaz Strebel and Jan Silberberger, eds., *Architecture Competition: Project Design and the Building Process* (Abingdon, UK: Routledge, 2017), 87—102.

Ritual Intensity: The Social Impact of the Crit

It is the third week of December. The festive season is waiting around the corner, but overshadowing it are the final crits, a rite of passage. Under normal circumstances this means that department buildings are buzzing with excitement: student projects are exhibited throughout the department, and flocks of visitors are guided by hallway posters to various studios. These are times of heightened mutual awareness, and the teaching spaces are filled with the emotional energy that makes the architectural crit an indispensable part of the experience of becoming an architect. The intensity during this December week is extraordinary because multiple crits are taking place at the same time, in close spatial proximity. But let us focus our mutual attention on the activities taking place inside the design studios and not get lost in the hallways.

Wait, which hallways? We forgot to tell you our location. We are in the hallways of ETH Zurich's HIL building, which is at least locally infamous, not least for its labyrinthine system of inscrutably numbered rooms. In these rooms architecture students are made architects. Like rice in a cooker, they are kept on the heat until they have expanded their potential to the maximum, and the boiler knows it: it is time. The crit is a central element in this imperfect science of "making architects" and also helps bring it to a close. Creative processes can seem timeless, and so can student life in an architectural design studio, where days often merge with nights and reality with speculation. Crits punctuate the academic calendar, cutting the abstract

time of a semester project into smaller, more comprehensible pieces. They also provide a forum that collects all the participants of the studio, including the studio professors who are not necessarily around for the day-in, day-out teaching. Crits, in this way, are social events. They are settings where architectural knowledge is situated through a peer review process that varies in format. The frequency of crits—and the social rhythm this recurrence shapes—is one axis of variation.

A basic definition of the crit is given by Rachel Sara and Rosie Parnell, who argue that "the crit is the place where design work is shared, critiqued, reviewed and developed. The format usually involves one or more students presenting their work to a panel of critics who in response raise questions, develop an understanding of the design work and feedback their perspectives of the quality of the work." [11] To this definition, we would add a few notes on the social spaces that crits construct. Crits are not lonely creatures. They have a host in the design studio. And the design studio also wears different masks in varying educational contexts. The design studio might be more or less public, vary in scale, be more or less powerful (in relation to students and faculty), inhabit concrete physical or digital spaces, all of which frame the sociospatial conditions of the crit. Determining factors include—but are not limited to—the organizational structure of the institution, research interests within the studios, popularity among students, pedagogical approaches, layout of department buildings. Extraneous forces include technology and changes in the social, political, or economic environment—such as the COVID-19 pandemic and its consequences.

At ETH Zurich, many studios inhabit corners of open spaces, such that it is not always clear to a visitor where one studio ends and another begins. As a consequence, crits are open (or at least semi-open) events that can be discretely joined by outsiders to the core group of active students, the professor, assistant teachers, and invited critics. The constant flow of guests coming and going, the background noise of chairs being moved, of footsteps and whispering does not seem to disturb core participants, who (if they are not taking notes or are not in other ways preoccupied with their smart phones) attend to the scene in front of them. And when we say "in front of them," the phrasing is not coincidental, since the crit tends to play out in an arrangement whereby the object is placed at the center of attention, on stage, in front of the presenting student, who faces the audience consisting of core group and guests, following concentric circles of hierarchy ranging from the teachers seated in the front row, then students, then visitors in the back-row or

11 Rachel Sara and Rosie Parnell, "Fear and Learning in the Architectural Crit," *Field Journal 5*, no. 1 (2016), 101–26, here 102, https://www.field -journal.org/article/ id/61/.

12 See, for example, the Parity Group conference "Parity Talks V: Actions and Accountability," ETH Zurich, October 6–7, 2020, https://arch.ethz.ch/en/parity-diversity/Parity-Talks/pt51.html.

standing up. However, not all studios and not all crits look this way. In response to ongoing criticism of the crit, its traditional format has been played with by student and staff-driven initiatives (such as the Parity Group at ETH Zurich). **12** This work has resulted in the emergence of new crit morphologies.

Ideally, the crit is both an exhibition and an open and equal dialogue involving students, teachers, and peers. As a social event, it often comprises both informal and formal settings: loose boundaries to outsiders, participants' attention span decreasing toward the blurred edges of the event, people coming and going and engaging in small talk. At the same time, at its center, attention rises in accordance with the level of seriousness and emotional intensity. Research broadly emphasizes communication structures, the acculturation of the student, and the power dynamics playing out between crit participants, arguing that there is a discrepancy between the democratic ideal that has been set for the crit and the exercise of power that observably takes place. **13** Even the legitimacy and efficacy of the crit as a forum for assessing creativity has been questioned. **14**

13 See Webster, "A Study of Ritual" (see note 5), 265; Sara and Parnell, "Fear and Learning" (see note 12). See also Helena Webster, "Power, Freedom and Resistance: Excavating the Design Jury" *Journal of Art and Design Education* 25, no. 3 (2006), 286–96, http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/j.1476-8070.2006.00495.x; Helena Webster, "The Analytics of Power—Re-presenting the Design Jury," *Journal of Architectural Education* 60, no. 3 (2007), 21–27, https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1531-314X.2007.00092.x; Lindy Osborne and Philip Crowther, "Butterpaper, Sweat and Tears: The Affective Dimension of Engaging Students during the Architectural Critique," in L. Xu, H. Elkadi, and J. Coulson, eds., *Proceedings of the 2011 International Conference of the Association of Architecture Schools of Australasia* (Geelong: School of Architecture and Building, Deakin University, 2011), 235–45, https://eprints.qut.edu.au/46003/.

So, what is the crit even good for? In spite of criticisms, together with its host (the design studio), the crit forms the backbone of architectural design education internationally. It is a historical fact, a tradition of learning, a social event, and a space of knowledge. That which makes it inchoate also makes it emotionally dense and atmospheric. The crit has the potential to be exciting and engaging and anxiety-provoking and existential. As long as hierarchies exist in faculties, crits will be fraught with power, and Jürgen Habermas's "communicative action" will remain an ideal to strive for rather than a reality to be administered. **15** That said, efforts can be paid (and are being paid!) toward understanding more about how open dialogue can be enacted and power plays be reduced.

14 Tucker and Beynon, "Crit Panel" (see note 5)

15 Jürgen Habermas, *Theory of Communicative Action*, vol. 1: *Reason and the Rationalization of Society*, trans. Thomas A. McCarthy (Boston: Beacon Press, 1984).

More needs to be understood about crits as social spaces. What difference does size make? Social density and diversity? Geometry? The (studio) space itself and its boundaries? A cross-national and cross-institutional mapping of the crit would be an ideal way to understand the sociospatial topology of the crit, but for the moment we suggest turning to theory to look for concepts that could potentially support an empirical analysis.

We admit it. We are big fans of theory. We are big fans of asking a source of trust how the berries on the bush might taste before trying them out. When typing "theory of the architectural crit" into Google, one of the first relevant hits to come up will likely be an article by Rachel Sara and Rosie Parnell that opens with the following statement:

"The crit forms the primary narrative through which critical design thinking in architectural education is operationalized. The crit, 'design jury' or 'design review' inhabits a liminal space through which the process of learning architecture and development of professionalism are curated as a rite of passage." [16]

Describing the core of the crit as a social phenomenon and as a pedagogical space, Sara and Parnell adopt concepts (e.g., the "liminal space" and the *rite de passage*") often used in anthropology and sociology of religion to describe the peculiar and highly emotional situation in which students "stand at a threshold" between their previous identity and the next (professional) stage. [17] According to this view, what is up for debate is not simply the identity and meaning of the presented architectural object but also that of the student. Not only the object becomes epistemic but also the subject. [18] Various scholars have worked on the crit from a similar point of view, focusing on it as a rite of passage in a student's acculturation. One important example is Helena Webster, who has also investigated the crit from the viewpoint of students and staff. Webster claimed that "the review was experienced by the students as a frightening event in which staff used their power to coerce students into reproducing staff-centred constructions of architectural habitus." The influence of reproductive power goes way beyond the architectural project, extending to the cognitive and embodied aspects of how the students think, look, and behave; how they become "in tune" with a collective discourse. Similarly to Sara and Parnell, Webster describes the crit as an "important symbolic ritual in which 'apprentices' repeatedly present their habitus ... to their 'masters' for legitimization." [19]

In spite of the common invocation of ritual as metaphor, a thorough analysis of the structural elements of the crit that seriously addresses its ritual form has not yet been undertaken. During our fieldwork in various architecture faculties in Europe, we visited numerous crits in different institutions and countries and found that the crit is one of the most consistent elements in studio education. In spite of their superficial complexity, crits can be described by a relatively limited number of building blocks. In searching for these, we suggest going back in time to the roots of the sociology of religion and ritual theory—to Emile Durkheim.

Interaction Ritual Theory

Durkheim's thesis, presented in *The Division of Labor In Society* (1893), is that social solidarity is a modal phenomenon that manifests itself in premodern and modern societies as mechanical solidarity and organic solidarity respectively. [20] This theory, often criticized for determinism and Eurocentrism, belongs to his early

16 Sara and Parnell, "Fear and Learning" (see note 11), 101.

17 Sara and Parnell, "Fear and Learning" (see note 11).

18 Boris Ewenstein and Jennifer Whyte, "Knowledge Practices in Design: The Role of Visual Representations as 'Epistemic Objects,'" *Organization Studies* 30, no. 1 (2009), 7–30.

19 Webster, "Architectural Review" (see note 5), 265

20 Emile Durkheim, *The Division of Labor in Society* (New York: Free Press, 1984).

21 Marshall Sahlins, *Stone Age Economics* (London: Tavistock Publications, 1974); Stephen Adair, "Status and Solidarity: A Reformulation of Early Durkheimian Theory," *Sociological Inquiry* 78, no. 1 (2008), 97–120, https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1475-682X.2008.00223.x; Lasse Suonperä Liebst, "The Ritual Logic of Space: On the Micro-morphological Foundations of Randall Collins 'Interaction Ritual Theory'" (paper presented at the 26th Conference of the Nordic Sociological Association, Reykjavik, August 15–18, 2012).

22 Emile Durkheim, *The Elementary Forms of Religious Life* (New York: Free Press, 1995).

23 Randall Collins, *Interaction Ritual Chains* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2004).

24 Collins, *Interaction Ritual Chains* (see note 23), 47ff.

25 Collins, *Interaction Ritual Chains* (see note 23), 47ff.

26 Emile Durkheim, *Les formes élémentaires de la vie religieuse* (Paris: Quadrige IPUF, 1998), 51.

27 Collins, *Interaction Ritual Chains* (see note 23), 47ff.

writing, which is characterized by abstraction and generalization—what we could call "macro-sociology." 21 In Durkheim's later micro-sociology, he recalibrated his focus to analyze basic elements in the (re)production of social life. In *The Elementary Forms of Religious Life* (1912), Durkheim describes, based on his groundbreaking fieldwork in Papua New Guinea, how social solidarities (re)produce under different conditions. 22 On the empirical surface the rituals Durkheim observed were both context-dependent and unique, but he found that, sociologically, the complexity and variation could be described by combinations of a relatively small number of elements.
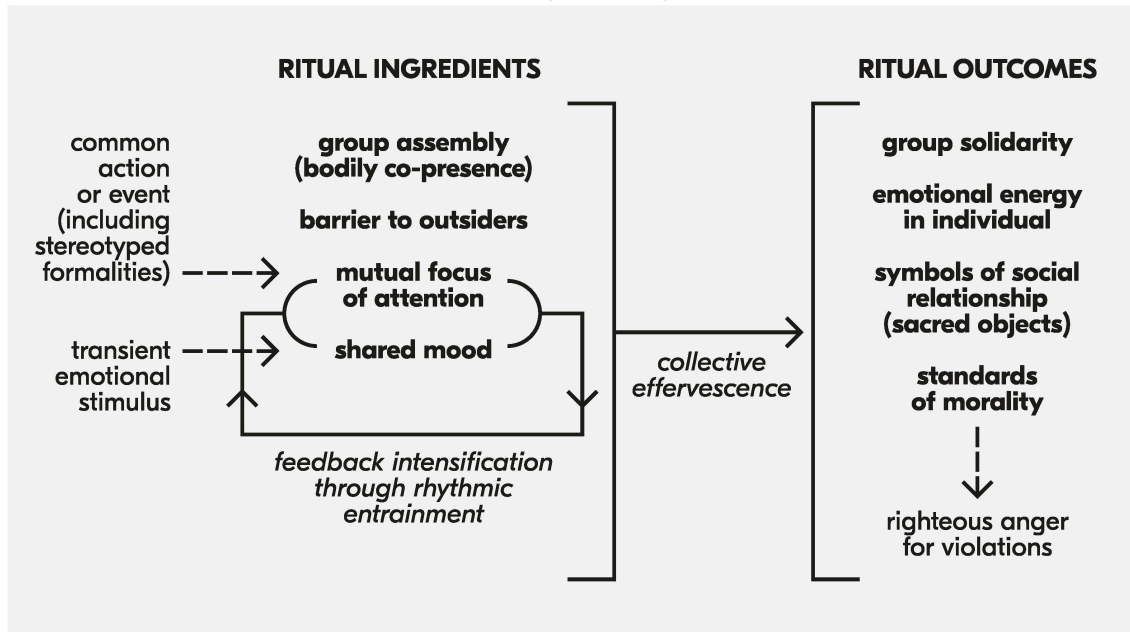
Randall Collins analyzed these basic elements and found that Durkheim's concept of ritual is characterized by three parts: the ingredients of ritual; the process by which a collective consciousness or effervescence is built up among the participants; and the products of ritual. 23 On the ingredients side, emphasis is placed on attunement, which results from the physical assembly of human bodies. The heightened intersubjectivity that may arise from this togetherness of bodies in space Durkheim calls "collective effervescence," and it comes about by the mutual reinforcement of shared awareness, shared emotion, and shared action. Momentary heightened intersubjectivity can be prolonged when it becomes embodied in symbols or sacred objects and in individual enthusiasm. 24 While the group is in fact concerned with its own feeling of intersubjectivity, it has no way of presenting this momentary feeling other than by representing it as embodied in an object, thus reifying its experience. Society thereby "becomes patterned by symbols, or more precisely by respect for symbols; but they are respected only to the extent that they are charged up with sentiments by participation in rituals." 25 That is, the attribution of the sacred status to this or that specific object has nothing to do with its material characteristics. Durkheim writes, "A cliff, a tree, a source, a small stone, a piece of wood, a house—in a word, all kinds of objects may be held for sacred." 26 fig.1

Based on the claim that Durkheim's intention was for his analysis of the components of social rituals to have a wide application, Collins formulated the (interaction ritual) model. The theoretical interaction ritual model, initially committed to explaining the myriad varieties of human social life, has been bolstered by empirical evidence from micro-sociology. 27 It attempts to clarify how different ritual ingredients and procedures produce the ritual outcomes of solidarity, symbolism, and individual emotional energy. To describe an individual's path through social life, Collins speaks of interaction ritual-chains formed and reformed by constant participation in interaction rituals that lead

to one another like pearls on a necklace. Collins divides his theory between a micro-level that concerns the single ritual and a meso-level that addresses chains of rituals. On the micro-level are two axes: ritual intensity and central/peripheral participation. [28] While ritual intensity (axis A) is a measure of collective

28 Collins, *Interaction Ritual Chains* (see note 23), 114–18.

RITUAL INGREDIENTS　　　　　**RITUAL OUTCOMES**

common action or event (including stereotyped formalities) ━ ━ →

transient emotional stimulus ━ ━ →

group assembly (bodily co-presence)

barrier to outsiders

mutual focus of attention

shared mood

feedback intensification through rhythmic entrainment

collective effervescence

group solidarity

emotional energy in individual

symbols of social relationship (sacred objects)

standards of morality

righteous anger for violations

effervescence overall, central/peripheral participation (axis B) measures individuals' location in the interaction ritual, how power and status are distributed among ritual participants, and therefore the variance in individual experience. Central/peripheral participation addresses the internal stratification of rituals on the meso-level. This dimension of status and power is described as who—in the particular group—are order-givers and who are order-takers.

　　Let us start with the group. Who is in, and who is out? During architectural crits these boundaries can be blurry, but not always. In the HIL building at ETH Zurich, crits often take place in large, open floors, as open events. Sometimes wooden panels help demarcate a semi-enclosed review space from the open studio space. Does the openness of these events result in a loss of social solidarity among group members? Visiting an open crit as an outsider, one is not always certain who belongs to the studio. Yet, in spite of occasional distraction among those who join the crit on the outskirts of this vaguely defined territory, the shared mood and the resulting atmosphere—or "collective effervescence"—rarely seem to falter. First, this is due to a densification of group members and of shared focus as we move closer to the ritual center: the stage. In addition, it is because of the social density of the group, measured on the meso-level as the time that group members have spent in one another's company in the studio. [29] The work culture of the

29 Randall Collins, *Theoretical Sociology* (San Diego: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1988).

architectural design studio—both inside and outside the walls of the academy—is a well-covered topic. [30] Design studios are a notoriously exhausting and rewarding part of the architectural curriculum, both socially and architecturally, and this doubtless contributes to the intensity of the crit. The crit is a particularly intense and thus impactful ritual in a longer chain of social interaction rituals that constitutes the total individual (emotional) experience of taking part in a design studio.

The relatively high amount of social density that exists in most design studios ensures that social solidarity persists through low-intensity periods. In this context the role of the sacred object becomes specifically important. A particularly resourceful student model or drawing achieves its seductive shine from its central position in the ritual and the intensity of the given ritual charging the object. Even on lonesome nights in the school, when the hallways are empty and the studios are more introspective than ceremonial, the sacred objects are still shining, demanding the students' attention. Even if the objects are interchangeable (and their power ultimately lies in their symbolic representation of the social group), the effect is experienced on a phenomenological level. To the individual, the charisma of the thing is a sensory experience located in objective qualities, not a mere abstract cognitive pleasure at identifying with a group's "brand."

Crits can be even more open than at HIL and still be recognized as crits. Take, for example, SCI Arc's 1907 building. [31] It has a slim, rectangular shape, which allows for a long open space that gets occupied by small circle-like enclaves of students and teachers performing crits. If you stand at one end of this space and look to the other, you see one crit next to the other, with the ones closer blending in with the ones farther away. From this extreme to another extreme: in the townhouses of the Architectural Association London, crits (here juries) typically take place in small (enclosed) rooms. As a visitor to a jury, you have to know where to go, because the building is labyrinthine and the chance that you might just "happen to pass by" is virtually nil. This difference in the conditions changes the sociospatial code of the ritual, with barriers to outsiders being much stronger, and this makes defining the group much easier. At the same time, students spend a whole year in their studios (here units), and they have the same studio teachers (here masters) throughout the year. The cohesion of unit members is thus high and the relationships tight. Pulling in the other direction, however, the condition of the crit is also shaped by a building that is actually too small to host students working on physical models. As a result, students (who also typically work individually) work much

30 See, for example, Daniel Willis, "Are Charrettes Old School?," *Harvard Design Magazine* 33 (2010), http://www.harvarddesignmagazine.org/issues/33/are-charrettes-old-school.

31 SCI-Arc, https://www.sciarc.edu/.

of the time from home, visiting the school only for classes, studio tutorials, juries, and social events. In Collins's view, this dispersal should result in a more distant relation to group symbols and a stronger sense of individuality. Finally, the class size of the studio has an influence on the ritual intensity as well. [32] Crits at ETH Zurich vary in size both because visitors encroach and because design studios are not uniform, ranging from fifteen to twenty students up to around forty. At the AA, crits typically comprise ten to twelve students, two to three studio masters, and a small number of guest jurors. The formula "the larger the volume, the bigger the spectacle" is not entirely true, since the impact of numbers is relative to the size of the space.

Different social and spatial conditions for forming rituals can also be found within faculties. For example, the ONA building in Oerlikon houses several of ETH Zurich's design studios, and its layout is quite different to that of the HIL building. In distinction to the open layout of studio spaces in HIL, in ONA you have to know where to go. That said, buildings do not determine the collective effervescence alone. We witnessed experimental crits in both ONA and HIL that reshuffled the traditional code both in terms of the social organization of the space and the unwritten rules regarding speech order and who is assigned to more central or more peripheral positions. For example, forming a single circle already undermines the sequential hierarchy of speech order. Without a "special" position in the space, the focus of attention is more transient. However, the circle forms a much more exclusive geometry, which can also create uniformity, and it offers smaller chances to—literally and metaphorically—hide behind other group members. "Opening up" to the group can reduce the distance between the individual and the group, with the symbolized morals and values of individual members and the group thereby converging. In Durkheim's theory, this is the condition known as mechanical solidarity.

Frieda Peatross and John Peponis demonstrate that differences in spatial layout allow for different social solidarities. [33] Their application of Durkheim to studies of the relation between social and spatial morphology follows in the tradition of Bill Hillier and Julienne Hanson's classic book *The Social Logic of Space*. [34] Hillier and Hanson argue that "Durkheim actually located the cause of the different solidarities in the spatial variables, namely the size and density of populations." Continuing from Durkheim's distinction between mechanical and organic solidarity, they find a duality in which society generates space and that this duality is a "function of the different forms of solidarity. ... One requires a strong control on boundaries and strong internal

32 Suonperä Liebst, "Ritual Logic of Space" (see note 21).

33 Frieda D. Peatross and John Peponis, "Space, Education and Socialization," *Journal of Architectural and Planning Research* 12, no. 4 (Winter 1995), 366—85, https://www.jstor.org/stable/43029178.

34 Bill Hillier and Julianne Hanson, *The Social Logic of Space* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1984).

organization in order to maintain an essentially trans-spatial form of solidarity. The other requires weak boundaries, and the generation rather than the control of events." **35**

35 Hillier and Hanson, *Social Logic of Space* (see note 34), 18.

Against Uniformity?

During our fieldwork we experienced teachers encouraging students to balance their education by "shopping" in different studio cultures so as to avoid excessive inculturation in a single approach. Adam Caruso similarly argues, "if students nowadays have Brandlhuber, 'Made In', and Emerson in second year and then me, they're bringing quite a diverse set of ideas and skills to the table." **36** Students thereby take on and discard habits, tools, and languages. They take old habits with them but leave some behind, learn, and unlearn. That said, we also heard studio teachers voice their frustrations with studio newcomers who leave just as they are about to get the hang of the studio approach.

36 Adam Caruso, "Teaching from the Head Rather Than from the Belly," in Silberberger, *Against and for Method* (see note 8), 262.

To be sure, possibilities for change relate to the dispositions of the various institutional frameworks of architectural faculties, but they also relate to the use of space and the layout itself. Collins argues that position in an interaction ritual decides the quality of the emotional energy produced in the individual. He explains this relationship with reference to Erving Goffman's dramaturgical concepts of front stage and backstage. After high-intensity rituals, the individual is not only strongly tied to the group but also to a certain status position within the group, although this position is always subject to change. **37** With this in mind, we find it is hard to imagine how the architectural crit could develop as an entirely power-free space, but perhaps that is not its aim. As long as some group members have more knowledge than others (which you would expect in an educational institution), they are able to take up status positions, while others prefer the more peripheral positions. If we can change the sociospatial organization of a crit, can we also change the social stratifications that weave into the organizational structure?

37 Collins, *Interaction Ritual Chains* (see note 23), 114–18.