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Architecture/Planning Paradigms: Beyond The Stars, The Wizard Of Oz And The Other

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Master of Architecture

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ARCHITECTURE/PLANNING PARADIGMS:

BEYOND THE STARS,
THE WIZARD OF OZ,
AND THE OTHER

by

Susan Dreier

THESIS

Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the
Requirements for the Degree of
Master of Architecture
in the Graduate School of
The University of New Mexico
Albuquerque, New Mexico

December, 1975

LD
3781
N563 D772
cop. 2

to my mother

who did not erase my pain

ARCHITECTURE/PLANNING PARADIGMS

BEYOND THE STARS,
THE WIZARD OF OZ,
AND THE OTHER

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ABSTRACT OF THESIS

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This thesis describes a process of investigation of the presumptions that structure the attitudes and interactions in the field of architecture/planning. Architecture/planning is described, in relation to defined criteria, as a system which maintains academic and professional hierarchies and which perpetuates itself and its self interests. The resulting definitions of problems, solutions and roles within the field are directly linked to the controlling social, political and economic interests that are the status quo. Certain mechanisms direct and maintain the activities of the field in the process of development. For example, the parameters of the low-income housing problem have been traditionally defined by the degree to which they are approachable by the expert, whose role is defined as designing and solving problems for people rather than facilitating the development of environments by people. Presumptions that structure the definitions for the actors and activities in architecture/planning are reflections of underlying value systems. The position of objectivity which is utilized to describe these value systems represents a basic value of separation, manifest in scientists' ability to separate their work from the social implications of that work.

The value placed on separation is part of a patriarchal value system, created and maintained by and for men. The male culture is rooted in false boundaries established by the male impulse, the most central of which is the false division of people - human beings - into the Selves, the masculine stereotype, and the Others, the feminine stereotype. These artificial boundaries deny whole human being and rationalize the controlling power of men, maleness, over women, femaleness. All

forms - institutions, philosophies, social systems - are rooted in this system of sexism. Ideologies, such as religion and psychology, rationalize and justify male supremacy.

The choices that remain in the wake of such analysis include a rejection of traditional roles as they are defined by a male culture. In reaffirming femininity, culturally and personally, people turn their backs on the false description that is patriarchy, and reject the definitions of selves and lives that are, in reality, only painful half-lives. In affirming that feelings, women's experiences and ontological reason must merge with rational thought, people can begin to create an androgynous and more whole human experience.

ARCHITECTURE/PLANNING PARADIGMS:

BEYOND THE STARS,

THE WIZARD OF OZ,

AND THE OTHER

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THE STARS

To do research, like undertaking inquiry of any other sort - film-making, art, political thought - is to go along a very black corridor, bumping from wall to wall, with the light hidden by a bend in the tunnel, thinking to set oneself a right question and at best finding out an answer to something else. ¹

I want a women's revolution like a lover.
I lust for it, I want so much this freedom,
this end to struggle and fear and lies
we all exhale, that I could die just
with the passionate uttering of that desire. ²

My friends, do we realize for what purpose we are convened?
Do we fully understand that we aim at nothing less than an entire subversion of the present order of society, a dissolution of the whole existing social compact? ³

I must make clear from the beginning that I see everything in relation to a basic perception: that the world is a patriarchy and a system of sexism; that all forms, institutions, words, concepts, philosophies and ideologies are contained within - and reflect the values inherent in - the patriarchy. My perception is partially the result of the processes I have encountered in my thesis preparation. My words will be an attempt to explain this process: to report what I saw, what I began to see, what I see now. My words will be my journey. My field of study is architecture/planning. I can not and will not discuss architecture/planning as my container, nor will I discuss it as a structure that must be reformed. I can only discuss this pre-defined field as part of the context of my life.

The system of sexism begins with the casting of Woman into the

role of the Other. It is a system in which men set up artificial boundaries between the Self and the Other:

The machismo ethos that has the human psyche in its grip creates a web of projections, interjections, and self-fulfilling prophecies. It fosters a basic alienation within the psyche - a failure to lay claim to that part of the psyche that is then projected onto "the Other." 4

In this system, the human being has been polarized into halves: into the One and the Other, or into the sex stereotypes. The masculine impulse identifies the feminine impulse as the inferior, or evil, Other.

"Feminine"...can be defined quite simply by those qualities that men despise in other men and in themselves. It implies a concern with things that are not "serious," a propensity to emotional response, rather than thought, a failure to grasp the "big picture," self-indulgence, limited ambitions, dependency, weakness. 5

This polarization does not exist in the sphere of sexual stereotyping only. Such dichotomizing is reflected in a mind-set that enables definitions to be made through the separation into parts instead of the connection of the whole.

Human characteristics belonging to the entire species have been crystallized out of the living flow of human experience and made into either/or categories. This male habit of setting up boundary lines between imagined polarities has been the impetus for untold hatred and destruction. Masculine/feminine is just one of such polarities among many, including body/mind, organism/environment, plant/animal, good/evil, black/white, feeling/intellect, passive/active, sane/insane,

living/dead. Such language hardens what in reality is a continuum and a unity into separate mental images always in opposition to one another. ⁶

Derived from this fundamental dichotomization are the forms that compose the world as we know it. We have the definitions of words such as "living," "woman," and "power." All form is created and maintained by the almost exclusive control of the male impulse, which is defined as "superiority."

Because masculine traits are now and have for so many years been the dominant ones, we have ample evidence of the danger the free play of such traits brings in its wake. By developing in men the ideal "masculine" characteristics of competitiveness, aggressiveness, and defensiveness, and by placing in power those men who most embody these traits, we have, I believe, gravely endangered our own survival. ⁷

I find that the whole process of writing a thesis involves a fundamental questioning of form, including a distrust of anything rigidly structured, and a refusal to accept traditional forms which "suggest a mold into which to cast women's experience."⁸ I reject depending on - or appealing to - traditional patriarchal forms of legitimization because they reek of hierarchy, objective delineation, and completely alien fields of definition, of both problem and solution. I also experience a terror of speaking from my woman's experience and beginning for myself the creation of an entirely new field of perceiving all definition.

In The Mission of the University, Ortega y Gasset speaks of reform:

Reform is always the creation of new usages; abuses are always of minor importance. For either they are abuses in the most natural sense of the word, namely, isolated, infrequent cases of departure from usage; or else they are so frequent and customary, so persistent and so generally tolerated, that they are no longer to be called abuses. In the first case, they will presumably be corrected automatically; in the second case, it would be futile to correct them, for their frequency and acceptance indicate that they are not exceptions to a rule, but manifestations of usages which are bad. It is something in the usage, the policy, and not the breach of it, which needs our attention.⁹

Sexism, male supremacy and women's oppression are not, as in the first case above, "departures from usage." Sexism is neither isolated nor infrequent: it is reflected in all cultural forms that have evolved through centuries of the patriarchal ethic. Sexism is most definitely a "manifestation of usage," a basic fundamental framework of the status quo.

To accept the field of architecture, the professional ethic, and the role identification created and maintained by and for the patriarchy as contexts is like discussing how women can be men. They never can be men, as Blacks cannot be Whites. Women may play the game, but they can never win. I do not want to fall right in to making an argument which calls attention to my ability to rationally and logically fuse together an intellectual abstraction of how and what sexism is. There is no objective delineation of the self; nor of the revolution toward being, androgyny, and the destruction of "maleness, femaleness, death."¹⁰ Of these things, there can be no proof.

I will mention some of the devices used to avoid facing the centrality of sexism as they are described by Daly in Beyond God the Father.¹¹ One of these is the "Universalization"¹² of the problem. This

rationale equates women as a group, along with Chicanos, Blacks and others, as "outsiders." This attitude effectively ignores the reality that women are a class within every class, and that there is no revolution or change in the replacement of a White sexist hierarchy with a black, brown or yellow one. Sexism is common to all struggles for liberation.

"Particularization,"¹³ another avoidance device, is the attempt to isolate one manifestation of sexism and to treat it as an "abuse," as Ortega y Gasset would say. The act of confronting sexism is reduced to a problem of women's rights in architecture, or the church, or the professions, or the availability of day-care. "Trivialization"¹⁴ is a third rationale, which argues that women are insane to maintain that sexism is a fundamental issue when there are so many other crucial issues, such as wars, environmental destruction and injustices to Blacks. I maintain that sexism is at the core of all rape; that the basic objectification of half of the human population is central to the rape of the Third World and the environment; and that this objectification is central to the objectification of all life.

The fundamental reality of sexism lies deep within those presumptions that cannot yet be seen or questioned. In order to approach the pervasiveness of male supremacy, I must begin with language itself: "Women are starting to know now the defects of language because it is not ours. It reflects the structures blessed by male religion."¹⁵ In accepting this form, I am accepting a language that is not mine.

Here too (in Academia), women have been entombed in imposed silence, in the gross and obvious way of simply being excluded 16 and in the more subtle way of only being allowed to echo male words.

...She saw this as an inherent defect of language, which is a poor medium for expressing emotions, ever-moving patterns, the ambivalencies and intricacies of inner experience, the interplay of feelings and thought, memories and echoes of memories." 17

I have no other language, and so must attempt to redefine some parts of this language as I move through the process of communication. My words begin in the patriarchal realm, but in the end will be somewhat redefined by what I say. Just as the definition of the human being has been divided into halves, so the semantic field of language must be divided into halves. Word meanings have come to represent the experiences of men. "Redefinition" will be the attempt to reintegrate the experiences of femininity and womanhood into the language, just as the feminine half, the Other, must be reaccepted by the man, the Self.

It would be a mistake to imagine that the new speech of women can be equated simply with women speaking men's words. What is happening is that women are really hearing ourselves and each other, and out of this supportive hearing emerge "new words." This is not to say necessarily that an entirely different set of words is coming into being, full blown, in a material sense - that is, different sounds or combinations of letters on paper. Rather, words which, materially speaking, are identical with the old become new in a semantic context that arises from qualitatively new experience...Moreover, this liberation of language from its old context implies a breakthrough to new semantic fields. The new context has its source and its verification in the rising consciousness women have of ourselves and of our situation. Since this consciousness contradicts the established sense of reality which is reflected in the prevailing social and linguistic structures, its verbal expressions sometimes involve apparent contradictions.¹⁸

What can I say? I have let others speak for me, partly because I am afraid to believe in my own experience, and partly because of my participation in a perpetual dialogue involving the discovery of meaning in the words of others. Both feelings are significant in the liberation I advance. They are concerned with a discovery of agreement rather than a formation of agreement; the discovery resides within one's own experiences.

"Craft" was once defined for me as the tool one uses to communicate one's personal message to an audience. "Craft" in my terms must then be the redefinition of language in the reaffirmation of my experience, and that of all other women.

The method of liberation, then, involves a "castrating" of language and images that reflect and perpetuate the structures of a sexist world. It castrates precisely in the sense of cutting away the phallogentric value system imposed by patriarchy, in its subtle as well as in its more manifest expressions. 19

That redefinition of words will manifest itself in a newness that will be the reflection of women's history, experiences, and feelings, which contradict the existing semantic field constructed on the myopia of the male impulse as a supreme and whole entity.

In order to say that women's speech breaks out of these bounds, I have called it silence. It is silence in the sense of going beyond inauthentic speech, but to those who know only inauthentic speech it is meaningless...To such persons who crush thought and language into patriarchal space and time past, the new sounds are unheard. 20

...the new sounds of free silence may be hard for many to understand. They are many-faceted. We speak forth shapes and colors, utter textures, flash forth to each other in a flow of understanding that is too awesome to be understood; our own self-birth in sisterhood. 21

This silence represents a choice. We women are asking people to listen to us and to take us seriously, rejecting predefinition and accepting redefinition. For a man, that means being open to himself, to the Other which is within himself and to his androgynous potential.

Male chauvinism has made us deaf; we do not listen to women. We talk to them, justify ourselves, explain that we don't mean any harm by our feelings, but their words do not reach us unless they're telling us what we want to hear, in our terms...We listen to them with our minds already made up; we have already categorized them before any communication can take place. We do not want to know, need to know, who they are, what they want...22

To hear new words is to seek new meanings within ourselves. We listen for the word meanings that have been ignored, denied or distorted because they came from women - from the Other.

and I will speak less and less and less to you
and more and more in crazy gibberish you cannot understand:
witches' incantations, poetry, old women's mutterings...

Alfred North Whitehead said once:

When you are criticizing the philosophy of an epoch, do not chiefly direct your attention to those intellectual positions which its exponents feel it necessary explicitly to defend. There will be some fundamental assumptions which adherents of all the various systems within the epoch unconsciously presuppose. Such assumptions appear so obvious that people do not know what they are assuming because no other way of putting things has ever occurred to them. 23

I began to question the assumptions that constitute the designed framework of architecture/planning. I set out to delineate the structure of this field and to expose the shield that the architect, like the "Wizard of Oz,"²⁵ uses to hold together the world picture and his/her place in it. Setting out with Thomas Kuhn's concept of the "paradigm,"²⁶ I began to explore.

In its broader sociological sense, a paradigm comprises "the entire constellation of beliefs, values and techniques" shared by the members of a particular scientific community. The components of this shared group commitment include "symbolic generalizations," "belief in particular models," "values" covering a broad philosophic and methodological spectrum and what Kuhn calls "exemplars" ("exemplars" are analogies which scientists apply in puzzle solving research).²⁷

The paradigm concept can also be illumined by the following description of the tyranny of method:

One of the false gods of theologians, philosophers, and other academics is called Method. It commonly happens that the choice of a problem is determined by method, instead of method being determined by the problem. This means that thought is subjected to an invisible tyranny...The tyranny of methodolatry hinders new discoveries. It prevents us from raising questions never asked before and from being illumined by ideas that do not fit into pre-established boxes and forms. The worshippers of Method have an effective way of handling data that does not fit into the Respectable Categories of Questions and Answers. They simply classify it as nondata, thereby rendering it invisible.²⁸

In the investigation that ensued, I uncovered a vast field of data and nondata. However, the concept of the "scientific paradigm,"²⁹ delineated by Kuhn and extended by others, was presented in a value-free framework established in the context of historical science.

Such paradigms were not tied to fundamental values, but shifted from one to the next in the isolates of science. I found myself confronted with basic questions: can there exist value-free form? Is it possible for a person to possess tools and to apply them without fitting into and supporting a system of values? Can an architect operate in a professional manner without being part of the problem? And, most significantly, can a person separate him/herself from values and then objectify value systems? Are not the lenses we use steeped in values?

Kuhn stimulated a process of questioning that led me to a confrontation with the naked patriarchy - a value system that is itself rooted in the notion of separation. Here I find the value that separates the one from the other, and my feelings from the objective structure of knowledge.

A major difficulty with all of this arises from the fact that the moral teachings designed to help the Christian in making prudential decisions have to a large extent been the products of technical reason; the capacity for "reasoning" about means for achieving ends, cut off from the aesthetic, intuitive and practical functions of the mind. As Tillich realized, when the reasoning process about means is cut off from the deep sources of awareness in the human mind (ontological reason), then the ends to which the means are uncritically directed are provided by other non-rational forces external to the self. Those may be traditions or authoritarian structures or ideologies that have become so embedded in the psyche that they have rendered themselves invisible.³⁰

The patriarchal split has left us with this value of "technical reason" which holds Kuhn and others in its grasp. We must leave the objective consciousness behind and seek the merging of feeling and thought.

"We are agreeing that it is no loss to the scientist personally or to the culture generally to strip human thought of its most intimate

personal qualities...its ethical vision, its metaphysical resonance, its existential meaning." ³¹ My process has been to begin to open my eyes and ears to the symbols and words that exclude women from humanity, and to question the fundamental structures in ourselves and in the world, rather than to accept form as neutral.

The oppressed suffer from the duality which has established itself in their innermost being. They discover that without freedom they cannot exist authentically. Yet, although they desire authentic existence, they fear it. They are at one and the same time themselves and the oppressor whose consciousness they have internalized. ³²

My method, then, is an expression of myself at the same time that it is a rejection of traditional form - of the male-definition of information, work, self, myself. I must redefine what is useful and essential; what is architecture/planning. I must choose the personal responsibility for my words, my work and my life. I must do my part in a revolution toward humanization, or I will support the raping to death of the person, and of all life.

THE STARS

FOOTNOTES

¹ Penelope Gilliatt, quoted by Joseph Cucchiara, "Housing Vs. Dwelling," Master of Architecture Comprehensive Examination, University of California, Berkeley, 1972, p. 24.

² Robin Morgan, Monster, Random House, Inc., New York, 1972, p. 82.

³ Elizabeth Oakes Smith, 1852, quoted by Mary Daly, Beyond God the Father: Toward a Philosophy of Women's Liberation, Beacon Press, Boston, 1973, p. 155.

⁴ Mary Daly, Ibid., p. 10.

⁵ Michael Korda, Male Chauvinism!, Berkeley Medallion Books, New York, 1973, p. 145.

⁶ Theodore and Betty Roszak, eds., Masculine/Feminine, Harper and Row, Publishers, Inc., New York, 1969; "The Human Continuum," by Betty Roszak, p. 304.

⁷ Carolyn G. Heilbrun, Toward a Recognition of Androgyny, Harper and Row, Publishers, Inc., New York, 1973, p. xvi.

⁸ Mary Daly, Ibid., p. 145.

⁹ Jose Ortega y Gasset, The Mission of the University, W.W. Norton Co., Inc., New York, 1944, p. 27.

¹⁰ Robin Morgan, Ibid., p. 85.

¹¹ Mary Daly, Ibid., p. 5.

¹² Mary Daly, Ibid., p. 5.

¹³ Mary Daly, Ibid., p. 5.

¹⁴ Mary Daly, Ibid., pp. 5 - 6.

¹⁵ Mary Daly, Ibid., p. 152.

¹⁶ Mary Daly, Ibid., p. 151.

- 17 Mary Daly, Beyond God the Father: Toward a Philosophy of Women's Liberation, Beacon Press, Boston, 1973, p. 152.
- 18 Mary Daly, Ibid., p. 8.
- 19 Mary Daly, Ibid., p. 9.
- 20 Mary Daly, Ibid., p. 152.
- 21 Mary Daly, Ibid., p. 151.
- 22 Michael Korda, Male Chauvinism!, Berkeley Medallion Books, New York, 1973, p. 218.
- 23 Robin Morgan, Monster, Random House, Inc., New York, 1972, p. 85.
- 24 Mary Daly, Ibid., p. 1.
- 25 L. Frank Baum, The Wizard of Oz, Random House, Inc., New York, 1950,
- 26 Thomas S. Kuhn, The Structure of Scientific Revolutions, 2nd. Edition, Revised 1970, University of Chicago Press, 1962, p. viii.
- 27 David M. Gordon, Theories of Poverty and Underemployment, D.C. Heath and Co., Lexington, Massachusetts, 1972, p. 17.
- 28 Mary Daly, Ibid., p. 11.
- 29 Thomas S. Kuhn, Ibid.,
- 30 Mary Daly, Ibid., p. 103.
- 31 Theodore Roszak, Where the Wasteland Ends, Doubleday and Co., Inc., New York, 1973, p. 146.
- 32 Paulo Freire, Pedagogy of the Oppressed, Seabury Press, New York, 1970, p. 32.

THE WIZARD OF OZ ¹

We do not see the contradictions between what we say and what we do. The built environment reflects the satisfaction of the parties involved, but we continue to criticize it as if it were defined, executed and used by inhabitants of another planet. Our environment, however, is what we are. To change this environment we must change ourselves, and to change ourselves we must understand what our needs are as whole and complete individuals. ²

I have already made clear my bias and my intentions. I will now document the process through which I have moved as a form of explanation.

Both planning and architecture include many underlying presumptions in their structures and roles. In my studies, I found that either I was always compromising myself, or I had a deep dissatisfaction with the role and the paradigms that I was supposed to accept. I chose to question the underpinnings of those roles and to look more closely at the attitudes and interactions within the architectural profession, and at the content of the professional role. I wanted to delineate the roles of the system, but also to explore the natures of people - whether or not there was a separation between personal and professional space, and, if so, the consequences of that separation. I began with Kuhn and his notion of scientific paradigms, ³ and moved through the extension of his models into Barnes' concept of social paradigms. ⁴ I initially saw planning as an isolated field akin to a natural science, where work was encapsulated and separated from social forces. It soon became clear to me that the paradigms I was seeking enveloped my field, and were inseparable from the social foundations and the basic values of my society.

Architecture/Planning, a Normal Science

My intention was to seek the similarities between Kuhn's observations of behavior in normal science ⁵ and that in architecture/planning. My basic question is: can Kuhn's model generate a useful perceptual basis for the field of architecture/planning?

A paradigm is a fundamental scientific achievement, and one which includes both a theory and some exemplary applications to the results of experiment and observation. More important, it is an open ended achievement; one which leaves all sorts of research still to be done. And finally, it is an accepted achievement in the sense that it is received by a group whose members no longer try to rival it or to create alternatives for it. ⁶

"Normal science" is a period of scientific development during which the primary actors "tend unthinkingly to accept the paradigm as true and limit themselves to developing and checking its implications. The paradigm generates a set of expectations about the natural world which the scientist seeks to confirm." ⁷ For example, there has traditionally been an attempt through the development of extremely sophisticated and complex technology to bring nature and theory closer together, as the development of the scintillation counter demonstrates the existence of the neutrino. ⁸ As a normal science, a field or a science consistently brings new problems back into its own paradigm. I set out to define that which constitutes the paradigms of architecture/planning: how problems are defined and dealt with.

Kuhn predicts:

When a science exists and is developing normally, it will be able to pass the following six tests: ⁹

1. The researchers, though they are widely scattered over universities and research institutes around the country or even the world, form a sort of invisible college, based on common interests, shared commitments, and frequent interaction.
2. Colleagues, members of a particular invisible college, are concerned to solve problems about the behavior of nature, and
3. the problems on which they typically work are problems of detail. An individual researcher is working at any one point in time on some relatively minor aspect of the science. He may be trying to improve somewhat the accuracy with which the value of some constant is known, or he may be trying to modify some portion of the theory to make it fit a new range of data. He will definitely not be seriously engaged in answering the question, "What's wrong with science X?"
4. Members of the invisible college are in general agreement as to what the main problems are that are suitable for research, and they are also agreed as to the general form that a solution should take. These agreements are a product of the similar training the scientists have received; the common body of theory, established fact, and laboratory procedure that they know. Of course there are many disagreements among scientists as well. But these tend to be limited by the vast lore they have in common. There may be several proposed solutions to a particular problem and disagreement as to which one is correct. But this is true only in a relatively modest number of places in the science, and even in such cases there will be pretty good agreement as to what sort of research in principle would resolve the disagreement. Indeed, this process of resolving disagreements among value systems parts of general agreement is the normal process of development of a science.
5. Only the judgment of colleagues is accepted as relevant in defining problems and solutions. If religious or political authorities who are not trained for membership in the invisible college interfere in its operation or are accepted as authorities higher than the college itself, normal science does not take place.
6. The system of problems of the science is self-sustaining; achieving accepted solutions in several areas does not reduce the number of unsolved problems of interest to colleagues. Without inquiring as to why this might be true, we may simply note Kuhn's example of a part of a science, geometric optics, that disappeared from science because it simply ran out of interesting problems. ¹⁰

The character of architecture/planning is much less rigid than that of natural science, particularly in the breadth of issues included. There is also the existence of multiple paradigms, which are generated by the core of the field and which continue to coexist with one another within the science as a whole. However, the concept of normal science and the six tests listed above provide a useful background framework for describing architecture/planning as a science.¹¹ It is not my intention to prove that this is or is not a normal science; I am interested in delineating a critical description.

Entrance into the invisible college of architecture/planning is managed by several variables.¹² First, there are the classical training programs in universities, established according to the standards of the National Architectural Accrediting Board (N.A.A.B.) and the state and national examining boards that control entrance into the profession. Secondly, there is contact with colleagues and the reinforcement of specialized interaction (provided by national teaching and professional conferences, E.D.R.A., A.C.S.A., A.I.A., A.I.P. and others), which helps to protect the traditions and rules of the science. Third, there is research which defines, by the rules of the fields, that which is a problem and that which constitutes a solution. This research acts as an umbilical cord which unites colleagues in a constant interaction and reinforces that which is considered relevant.

The invisible college is most easily identified in terms of the hierarchies that occur among institutions, fields and individuals. There is a commonly accepted hierarchy of institutions within the science of architecture/planning.¹³ The Cambridge-Berkeley circuit provides an example of this status element. It is responsible for

the core of the research: theory development, role innovation, paradigm redefinition, and all problematic and instructional models used by lower-level institutions. The middle level, which includes, for example, Washington University, offers a more limited program than does the upper echelon and generally teaches the professional skills, emphasizing regional or national planning. The lower-level institutions offer training oriented to the trade itself. They include such institutions as the University of New Mexico and emphasize physical design and interstate planning. At the lowest level are such institutions as Montana State University which primarily offers physical design, with a limited program in social planning and related fields. Lower-level programs are based on models generated from the top levels, however outdated these models may be. The University of New Mexico, for example, still teaches "Fundamentals of Design" in the manner generated by Berkeley in the early 1960's and abandoned by that institution in the late 1960's.¹⁴ Each level may use different paradigms (for example, the University of Oregon utilizes Alexander's Pattern Language¹⁵), but at the top level each paradigm represents but one contending point of view.

The higher echelon institutions attract and produce those people responsible for affecting the function of the science. The status and influence of a student, professor or researcher within the science is afforded by association with an institution such as M.I.T., Harvard or Berkeley. The lower levels produce the executive branch of the science: the designers, planners, professionals or, at the lowest level, the technicians who apply their knowledge in civic and regional arenas or teach the mental sets to lower echelon students. These

designers interact with the public from their own visible hierarchies as manipulators of space and form in cities. Researchers and generators of theory at the elite core of the science remain generally invisible to the public.¹⁶

There is also a more subtly visible hierarchy in the fields within the science. Planning has enveloped the arenas that were previously considered sources for programming by the architect in his/her design process. As the relevant areas of data, economics, social and political science and theory enlarged, they became the focus of practitioners. In the face of the complexities and the threatening aspects of these arenas, the architect has once again returned to the production of physical design. The high status product, in academia, is now theory and the creation of ideas which will become the research.¹⁷ The hierarchies within planning reflect the hierarchies within the institutions and their corresponding definitions of relevant research, or useful work. The levels, according to content, are:

1. Social policy and economics on a national, political and global level;
2. Regional planning and economics on a national level;
3. Metropolitan planning;
4. Urban design and landscape architecture.

The institutions at the upper levels include all arenas of design and theory and the lower levels include more limited arenas in their programs.¹⁸ The University of California at Berkeley offers theoretical generation and practical applications in global planning, regional (interstate) planning, national planning, regional (multistate)

planning, state planning, metropolitan planning, city planning, urban design, and a professional training program in architecture.¹⁹ It is a global as well as a national center: examples are John Dykeman's work in national planning for Yugoslavia and Richard Meier's research on social policy in Southeast Asia and China.²⁰ Washington University, on the other hand, is a regional center and includes regional planning, metropolitan planning, interstate planning, city planning and urban design and architecture in its program.²¹ The University of New Mexico, a state university, offers a new program that deals with issues primarily focused on the state and city scale. This program will emphasize physical planning rather than political economy or social policy.²²

In the upper echelons, the intent of the schools is more to focus on style - by asking questions, learning "what is wrong" with the field, and defining new roles and paradigms²³ - than to produce architects and physical planners for the status quo. Many of the best teachers, however, are produced at the upper levels and teach in the professional schools at the regional levels. Those at the top are defining the problems, the teaching methods and techniques, and the solutions, which are then handed down as models to be used in the lower-level schools. In the upper levels one does research as a requirement; the emphasis is upon publishing for purposes of status through theory development, rather than on teaching. An interesting puzzle that is being addressed by some within the science is how to transfer designers' tools by redefinition into different tools for non-professional users, through "cookbooks" and similar media.²⁴

A solution to this puzzle would create new roles - less monopolistic and less bourgeois - for designers, as well as new and more "convivial" tools.²⁵ This idea is most threatening to traditionalists who view themselves in terms of the dying paradigm of the small-office professional architect who monopolizes competence. There is a distinct awareness that the architect is being bypassed more and more frequently and the spectre of demystification is, at this level, a threat. Ninety-seven per cent of building is now done without architects, and the remaining three per cent is constructed primarily by corporate firms.²⁶ The new core of the science, which is social, physical and economic planning for nations and regions, is growing enormously in its intimate interdependencies as a brain trust for national and global interests.²⁷

The projects represented at this professional level include the total planning/design package, such as the project by the firm, DMJM (Daniel, Mann, Johnson and Mendenhall) of a community on 3550 acres near Santa Barbara. This is an isolated, self-contained, computerized, mechanized community of 7200 upper-income families; a concept which "transforms architecture into a computerized business operation."²⁸ Large firms are also planning regions and cities in North Africa, the Sudan, Southeast Asia and Latin America.²⁹ Lower-level practitioners of the science are rarely even aware of the large amount of theory being generated in the enclaves of the theorists. These theoretical issues are defined in an esoteric and specialized language and form by virtue of their all-inclusive nature. Each lower level of the science confronts only a portion of the conceptual frameworks set up at the top levels. The academic elite of the science cannot be

understood by many people, due to the specialized language and the extent of its theoretical issues. ³⁰

There is also a visible ranking of individuals. In the field of architecture, at one time, personal status was determined by that of one's employer or teacher. Now the universities provide containers for - and facilitate the activities of - esoteric research, and are therefore the controllers of influence, status, information and skills within the science. For example, the Ph. D. programs in architecture/planning, present and future, occur at the upper echelon level.

The influence of an individual in defining the science will be in direct relationship to his/her institutional affiliation. One's specialty, or focus, will also reflect the kind of work encompassed by one's university. In the top levels the work of an architect is defining the paradigms, rather than being trained to accept and fit into existing structures. In either case, at some point a person must invade the inner workings of the science in order to achieve personal status, and this entails passing through the doors of a high-ranking university. Jobs in the professional arena are also accorded in terms of institutional affiliation.

The public view of the science emphasizes the achievements of physical designers, whose products are the visible interface with the world. In the late 1950's and early 1960's, hierarchical status was awarded to the architects whose style communicated a personal translation of - or statement about - the users. Johnson and Gropius were among these. Now status is awarded more often to firms whose major design work in architecture is "corporate image-building."³¹

Examples are the Chase-Manhattan Bank Building and the Bank of America by Skidmore, Owens and Merrill. Harris Stone describes this sort of statement as a communication of a "false front" and as "anti-historical...it refers to neither the past nor the future, nor to workman, architect, user...(it) is architecture without content." ³²

The accepted rankings of institutions, fields and individuals is important because it exposes an underlying agreement as to what constitutes good-quality research and what defines the science. The Environmental Design Research Association (E.D.R.A.) Conferences provide a good illustration of the established and accepted hierarchies within the science. The conferences are organized by the Cambridge-Berkeley circuit; most of the speakers are members of those communities. ³³ The E.D.R.A. conference establishes, within a network of the entire science, a reinforcement of institutional and personal status. It also establishes that which is relevant - the topics, questions, issues and definitions that are presented by the elite core. Finally, it establishes a convenient reaffirmation of network contacts and status interactions, and relates the science to other arenas and sciences.

In a normal science there are disagreements with experts taking sides; but these arguments take place within a general framework of agreement, which includes the nature of the problem and the tests or methods used to resolve it. "The very nature of these disagreements implies that a way has already been found to prescribe the procedures for resolving the conflict among members of the scientific community that are generally acceptable to that community." ³⁴ Herein lies another important aspect of the E.D.R.A. conferences: they legitimize the

disagreements, which are originated or perpetuated in the published journals, in the public arena. At the same time, it is clear that there is a consensus on a more fundamental level. The consensus, which is implicit in the very existences and structures of such events as the E.D.R.A. conferences, is to maintain the system with the power elite in the academia. The question asked in planning is: how do we create processes, systems and tools to facilitate the process of sustaining, running, controlling and stabilizing the system without threatening the vested interests, which are our interests? ³⁵

The architect's profession - as all other professions - is defined and circumscribed by the proxy with which the institutions invest him to carry on a particular specialized activity for them, with the implicit commitment to accept their objectives in exchange for a relative freedom of choice with regard to the technical aspects of the problem with which he deals. The exercise of criticism is permitted as long as it remains in the system and does not corrode the foundations on which the system is based. ³⁶

I will demonstrate the content of the core of the science and its linkage with the political, social and economic interests of the status quo - corporate and/or public interests. ³⁷ My process will be to review the historical development of the science in the context of a "political economic" analysis ³⁸ of the forces, people and interests that structure the science. There are three primary questions: who is the architect/planner; what problems is s/he solving; and for whom is he solving them?

Historically, there have been shifts of research concerning what constitutes the core; these are paralleled in the theses and research at the upper echelon of the universities. ³⁹ The stages can

be roughly described as follows.

Before 1945, ⁴⁰ the emphasis was on physical design for the private, usually wealthy client. The architect/planner produced hardware in response to user demand. In the late 1940's, as a part of World War II reconstruction, ⁴¹ industrialized systems developed and the designer became an assembler of these hardware products, which belonged to the corporate interests and were domestically marketed. The emergence of systems design, with an emphasis on engineering and systems products, ⁴² turned simple hardware assemblage into systems facilitation. A turning point occurred during the period from the late 1940's to the early 1960's; ⁴³ the architect was no longer providing a skill service for user needs, but had rather become a handmaiden of the corporate producers of hardware and systems. ⁴⁴ During this period corporations also became interested in extending their markets into the exploitable Third World. ⁴⁵ The 1950's and 1960's represented a time when many of the Third World countries were beginning to be liberated. The model of economic interests in the Third World shifted from colonization to an encouragement of national planning through central power, influence and aid. The Alliance for Progress represented, in the late 1950's, a major organization of Latin American countries into coordinated national plans. ⁴⁶ The planner's skills became useful to the corporate interests in facilitating the development of markets. For example, the financing for the "International Design Competition to Design a Community of 3500 in Manila, Philippines" comes, for the most part, from construction-oriented private companies and their foundations: among these are Pittsburgh Plate Glass Foundation, Johns Manville Corporation, and the Austin Company. ⁴⁷

In the early 1960's, as the "radical fringe" began to recognize this relationship between the corporations' political and economic interests in the Third World and the planning policies and programs of the governmental and private interests, there was an upswing of anti-imperialism. A heightened social conscience eventually effected some changes in the form of various national liberal programs in social planning, such as the War on Poverty. These programs directly affected designers by creating a renewed interest in public housing and the advent of advocacy planning. There was also an increasing demand by minority groups to join the architectural profession and to attain positions of power as defined by professional roles. There existed a mythical hope of using the "neutral skills" of the profession to further the interests of oppressed minorities. ⁴⁰

In the late 1960's and the 1970's, the corporations began to move their entire operations into the Third World. No longer interested in mere market extensions, they began to produce production platforms in the Third World, acquiring control over resources, using the cheap and abundant labor without threats by unions, and gaining access to new tax shelters and higher profits. ⁴⁹ The issue was clearly how to move vast amounts of finance capital into the Third World, to set up operations and then to sell products back to consumers in the United States as well as to local Third world markets. ⁵⁰ The design issues moved into different arenas, such as planning cities which could then be built as screens to hide or justify extraction of resources. The Manila redevelopment project is a good example. ⁵¹ The stated liberal purposes of this project are to upgrade "extremely inadequate...housing conditions, health and welfare services, sanitation and utilities,

educational and community facilities, shopping and employment opportunities...with self-help software." ⁵² Hidden within these ideals is a plan to relocate people from land they have occupied for decades and may legally own. They will not be compensated for the land, and in addition will have to pay a government agency a fee for the right to build their own "self-help" housing. (presently seventy per cent of the families pay nothing for housing). The property they are to vacate is valuable coastal land. The government needs it in order to develop an industrial park and port offering considerable advantages to multinational export companies. The land these people are to occupy is presently below high tide, and consists of a "subdivision of marginal fishponds." ⁵³

Plans to sell hardware and software systems are woven into a screen of social planning and aid, with the planner legitimizing the user's interests. An example of this interaction in the present is the sale, by the Vinell Corporation to the Saudis, of a novel service: the training of their national guard. ⁵⁴ It is clear that there are values implicit in military training which are internalized, facilitating the absorption of other Western systems and products.

The 1960's and 1970's have seen a growth of Marxist analysis in the upper echelons of the science, and an attempt to analyze and promote recognition of the connections between the science and the political economic interests of multinationals. The American working class is becoming truly obsolescent as the nature and direction of multinational corporations becomes clearer. For example, corporations wishing to move out of the United States are interested in being released from their past contracts and responsibilities to Union workers

for whom they provide health care pension plans, unemployment relief and other benefits. They no longer need this country's inflated labor costs, and their interests are far better served by moving, often temporarily and without taxability, to locales that facilitate their profit-making interests by the unhindered consumption of resources and cheap labor. Therefore, they are lobbying to institute national health care and a public guaranteed income in order to spread their previous responsibilities to the general financial public, and also to guarantee themselves a market in the United States.⁵⁵ It is important to note that part of the obsolete working class are newly-trained minority designers who discover they have been handed a hollow prize. They have been admitted into the old paradigm of the profession at the same time that its tools are being redefined and made convivial, with the result that, since access to these tools will no longer be restricted to the professional, s/he will no longer be required. Those trained in the upper-level theoretical mindsets of the science tend to find that their place now lies in such arenas as planning cities for the oil barons, managing multinational planning projects, extending consumerism and generating ideas, theory or countertheory in the universities. Some minorities find that their training is most potent in annihilating their own cultures by definition, and preparing the culture for neo-colonial oppression.⁵⁶ The interests of the corporations no longer lie in the working class of this society; they now lie in the information, planning and management skills connected with the universities.⁵⁷

The professional relationship to job definitions as they are

generated by the monied interests is clear. As we have seen, the corporate firms have moved in to replace both small and large architectural firms of the past. Building is now a small area of the overall duties and the role of the planner, which is now more accurately described as a source to attract public funds. The designer can create a smoke screen by drawing up a social plan that will attract funds to the project. ⁵⁸ The following is a description, by a top Mexican administrator, of the legitimizing function of planning for the purposes of funding:

I will tell you why I favor the idea of planning. When governors come to my office to ask for more funds for education for this or that project, I am able to tell them: "Mr. Governor, did you know that in your state there are already X number of schools of the type you wish to build; the federal government is already spending so much for these schools; did you know that these schools satisfy the needs of such-and-such a percentage of the school-age population; and the project you propose is too large and would take care of a population that does not exist?"...In short, planners give me the facts and in this job one needs to have facts...The times have changed, you know; we cannot keep asking for more money without asking ourselves how we spend that money. Those union leaders just have to understand this. The politics of education today are not the politics of education of the past. Today you need facts: you need to have a basis for your arguments and planning gives us those facts. ⁵⁹

The corporate firms represent the service sector on a multi-national level; they create needs and facilitate markets and production platforms by generating the software supportive of multi-national activities. They attract public funds and support by their legitimizing screen-like social plans that obscure the primary exploitive interests of the multinationals. This example is an account by one expert on an international aid mission to advise on a large scale development project:

Our mission was received by the minister in the early days of our arrival. He told us in no uncertain terms the objective he was pursuing. He made quite clear the kind of report he expected. While he was very gracious, there was little doubt that we were expected to come up with figures to justify his project and the principal purpose of the project was to make him visible nationally or even internationally...The (sponsoring aid agency) was very excited by the project because of its international repercussions and the way it helps it get a foot in the door here. It made little sense to most of us; the costs were known to be high and the benefits most uncertain. We met every day at dinner time and argued what should be done. Some wanted to resign, but the mission was impotent - we knew the minister would go ahead anyway... For us to resign was no solution; it would only jeopardize our relation with (the agency) and make it difficult to serve again...⁶⁰

With the use of planners and social planning, the economic relationship between a Third World country and an entering corporation is: with an investment of 83 per cent public funds to 17 per cent corporate funds, there is 21 per cent public and 79 per cent corporate profit sharing.⁶¹

The role of the universities is tied into multi-national interests and the extensive service level of planning firms. The upper-echelon universities derive their problems of theory and practice from corporate-defined needs. This stimulates the theoretical puzzle-solving which is well funded by the same interests: for example, Chairs are being established around the world. There is a Volkswagen Chair of German at an English university,⁶² and there are numerous research competition fellowships and design competitions. In reverse, the universities need to extend their footholds in the Third World in order to follow the finance capital and the corporations, which are moving into those arenas.⁶³ Therefore, they must deal with new problems defined by the corporations and provide a resource brain trust at the top to solve the puzzles of exploitation. In this respect, they are

training more people from the Third World at the lower levels, who can return with the mental sets that are required both to stimulate the need for multi-national interests and plans and to provide local management skills. At the same time, there is a growing reluctance among the multi-nationals to hire graduates of the upper-level universities, due to their political "savvy."⁶⁴ Training and subsequent employment opportunities help to create the international status that the universities need in order to influence the flow of capital.⁶⁵ An appropriate description of this entire process is a vast and insidious form of "cultural imperialism."⁶⁶

One crucial decision facing the new government is whether to proceed with a visionary five-year, \$150 billion development plan that was lying on Faisal's desk when he was slain. The old man, for all his commitment to modernization, was reluctant to approve the proposal. He preferred to go slow, trying to accomodate both the fundamentalist views of the Muslim Ulama and the impatience of young Saudis returning home from U.S. colleges. If King Khalid approves the development plan, at least 150,000 Western technicians and skilled workers will descend on the country in the next couple of years. The infusion of this many Westerners into a feudal land of 4 million could change the social fabric of Saudi Arabia beyond recognition.⁶⁷

It is not hard to see that the architect who announces that his/her work entails working on the problems of housing in the ghetto - or the planner who announces that his/her work is designing a new experiment in building low-income housing solutions or towns for the new industrialized poor in the United States or the Third World - has not faced concrete reality. The architect may be aware of some of the negative implications of his/her role and still choose to work because it is the best s/he can do: this is the band-aid approach. If s/he made the choices within a predefinition of a professional

role, this represents a false consciousness. Often "doing good" can be done better outside of a professional predefinition. Clearly, architects for the ghetto should investigate whose problems they are solving and what those problems really are. For example, the ghetto architect is probably being paid by a sponsor-client, who may be a corporate foundation, a corporation or a state which is ultimately linked to the corporate interests by means of a pacification program, a lobbying force or public funds awarded to a profit-making venture.⁶⁸ The sponsor's interest will differ from the people's interest. It will be an interest in how to make use of the ghetto - how to maintain the ghetto as a supply of part-time cheap labor (the dual market theory of labor).⁶⁹ Additional interests are generally best represented as the financial ventures or liberal pacification programs exemplified in earlier references to corporate social planning.⁷⁰

The architect/planner is no longer the well-meaning artist who serves the client by the production of a designed environment. S/he became a handmaiden of the corporations in the 1960's, and the planning firm is becoming the service industry for the multi-national corporations, or a power in its own right, in the 1970's. The firms and their plans are used to screen the rape and exploitation of the world and to appease social conscience.⁷¹ The boundaries of the science are clearly defined by the status quo and the controlling interests of national and international political economy. The structure of the science is far from neutral.

It is clear from this sketch of architecture/planning that there is a sufficient fulfillment of Kuhn's criteria for the existence of a normal science to provide a useful critical framework with which

to redefine the content and roles of the science. The perceptual basis has proved useful in providing a delineation of the structure of the science as it links into a political economic context. The next section will be an extension of this framework into the specific control and organization mechanisms of the science as it relates to well-recognized issues.

Process of Development.

Following is a specific analysis of the process of development of architecture/planning. I use the basic model and framework that Ward has adapted from Kuhn, with "some shifts of emphasis and re-interpretation to accomodate the special situation of a social science."⁷²

The motivate-force for development is the emergence of puzzles, which in turn is caused by the proposing of solutions to previous puzzles, and by transforming the issues of the time into the language of (the) science. Constraints to the path of development come from the focusing devices, including the evolving tradition of acceptable stylized facts, the underlying world view (economists) have in common and the constraints imposed by power in the normal science social system and its environment.⁷³

It is important to consider that scientific development is probably not constant and that the assimilation of Kuhn's analysis has most probably affected that development by providing a new critical framework. In addition, the existence of multiple paradigms does not mitigate the usefulness of these conceptual tools, as defined by Ward, as each paradigm within the breadth of the science will tend to behave according to this model. Ward has outlined the development of the science in terms of puzzles, stylized facts, issues, power and the world view. The critical tools in this respect are the puzzles. The puzzles represent the constructs of competing paradigms, and serve as the major focusing mechanisms by asking the questions that define the boundaries of the paradigm.

Puzzles are problems which are recognized and legitimized by the invisible college. They are related to the concensus of relevant

issues, and are possible to solve. These puzzles have varying status. Obvious puzzles in architecture/planning are such issues as low-income housing, new towns, large scale physical design solutions including transportation systems, and revitalization of the inner city. Others include mobile homes and esthetics, energy conservation, and alternate energy systems and esthetics. Many of these puzzles have been relevant for a long time. Low-cost housing and modular housing are still issues of research in such places as the University of New Mexico by choice of students and faculty, even though published research from M.I.T., Harvard and other institutions from the 1940's and 1950's has redefined the problems. ⁷⁴ Ward suggests that, in economics, many of the puzzles are considered solved when a new and more sophisticated methodology is created. ⁷⁵ This may also be true in architecture/planning, since puzzles shift from one methodology to another.

The major role of puzzles is to focus the attention of practitioners and researchers on a particular problem definition. This concentrates the resources where they are needed by controlling economic interests; for example, spending money on revitalizing the inner city helps to bolster the tax base, prevents visual blight and creates jobs. This focusing also maintains consensus as to where the need is, and therefore provides individual incentives: solving more important puzzles generates higher status. However, the most important aspect of the puzzles is to focus energy away from issues that threaten the paradigm.

Low-income housing has been traditionally approached by the participants in the science as a physical problem. ⁷⁶ There has rarely been

an attempt to penetrate the linkages with the political, economic, social and psychological context. The issue has been approached in terms of new and different products, rather than in terms of a real process that is integral to poverty, human needs and the social system. The architect/planner has been the implementor of policies that do not confront the sources and causes of housing needs. We have seen that there are multiple paradigms within the science and that each paradigm defines differing puzzles. John Turner and the collective writers of Freedom to Build have offered another paradigm which re-defines the issue of low-income housing for the architect/planner. The science is in the process of shifting in a new direction: "housing" as a verb is to replace "housing" as a noun.⁷⁷ I will compare these puzzles as they reflect the paradigms that define them.

Historically, the source of the policies and mental sets that have perpetrated the programs and solutions for housing problems lies within the middle-class values that predominate in this system. The poorer one is, the more one's environmental decisions are made for one by centralized authorities who bespeak the middle-class values that are the backbone of the status quo. This value system views housing in a particular light - in terms of middle-class housing needs and priorities. Lisa Peattie delineates some of these assumptions:

- 1) that there is no tie to job locations;
- 2) that rent is an acceptable alternative because of stable income;
- 3) that home ownership is a capital investment secondary to skills and social position;
- 4) that a standard of living is important;
- 5) that slums represent a blight on the city, as opposed to bad

housing for people.⁷⁸ Also prevalent is the notion that the family unit is stable, with a man commuting to work and a woman staying home. The derived definition of housing, then, is ultimately a physical one with no recognition given to differing needs of different people. Housing in the ghetto is seen purely in terms of its physical manifestation, not in terms of the people who are living there.

Urban Renewal and Public Housing have been the two major programs emanating from this attitude. Urban Renewal proved to be more a product of corporate capitalism than a program representative of an architecture/planning ideal.⁷⁹ These programs represented a fascist restructuring of the city by the powerful at the expense of the powerless. The controlling interests were those business interests concerned with the preservation of central city land values. The programs swept away the blight of the ghettos and facilitated much production of hardware and design, resulting in the construction of business complexes and middle-class and luxury housing projects.⁸⁰ There was little concern for those who happened to be swept away. Redevelopment czar Ed Logue was responsible for the infamous Washington Park Project in Roxbury, which was most distinguished by its inadequacy of relocation plans and its absence of replacement units for the low-income displaced families. Quite a screen was erected to hide the realities.⁸¹ Also well-noted was the West End Project in Boston that was responsible for the displacement of several thousand lower middle-class White families. Chester Hartman pointed out that only 73 per cent of those families were able to move into standard housing entailing an average twenty per cent rise in their rental costs.⁸²

The Public Housing Program has been equally ineffective in confronting the problem of low-income housing. Public Housing has no more represented the interests of the poor than has Urban Renewal. This program was instituted during the Depression for the purpose of housing the temporarily homeless middle class.⁸³ Neither money nor will is sufficient to make Public Housing tenable. In the light of the constraints, design has little option or power. Government housing is seemingly inevitably standardized and prison-like due to several major considerations. First, the intention is to keep the poor out of sight because they depress property values.⁸⁴ Second, because the city has lost its affluent tax base, there simply is not enough money to produce anything but minimal-cost structures (privately constructed public housing has been determined by corporate profitability criteria; only large corporations could consider the project on a large enough scale and with sufficient public funds to make it a realistic alternative⁸⁵). The net result of government action on low-rental housing programs is that for every three housing units built for the poor, two others are destroyed.⁸⁶ With five million low-income families in uninhabitable housing (a conservative estimate), it would take 478 years to provide enough habitable housing if the policies and programs continued at the present rate.⁸⁷ An interesting comparison can be made with China, which has provided minimum housing for all its inhabitants in 25 years.⁸⁸

These policies are obvious manifestations of the middle-class values and corporate mental sets that control our political economy. They also represent the mental set of the architect/planner, who is either the creator or the implementor of such programs. It is

important to face the facts that are inseparable from the problem in order to unveil the new paradigm to which we are moving. Lisa Peattie points out:

- 1) that slum dwellers cannot afford more than they already pay for housing;
- 2) that the problem is poverty, not housing;
- 3) that the poor need better housing, health care, food and education;
- 4) that raising the standards of housing raises the rents and causes the poor to live beyond their means, which reinforces their entrapment in poverty;

5) that the poor are tied to their job locations.⁸⁹ Their employment is usually part-time or temporary work - a form of underemployment.⁹⁰ The issue of low-income housing in Watts, for example, has less to do with bad housing and more to do with the social, political and economic implications of an isolated ghetto people who have no mass cheap transit to the area of their employment opportunities.⁹¹ A similar model can be seen in Lagos, where squatters were moved from their chosen locations in rent-free housing into public rental housing on the outskirts of town. A disaster resulted, because the major elements of importance defined by the squatters' priorities were not recognized. Instead, the problem was solved by an objectification of the issues in terms of middle-class values.⁹² Harris Stone also points out some major facts that appear to him vital concerning the definitions of the low-income housing problem. First, Federal housing authorities have proved by documents dated from World War II that the housing problem lies in the relative accessibility of land and credit. Second, the economic aspects are ignored by means of techno-

logical fascinations. Third, the human aspects are ignored when the problem is reduced to terms such as "units" and "statistics."⁹³ It also remains a fact that eleven million households, or one-sixth of all households in the country, could not find adequate housing in 1970 (inadequate is defined as overcrowded, physically dilapidated or costly). It is also important to note that Blacks, on the average, pay more and receive less substantial housing⁹⁴ than do Whites.

In summary: the housing problem has been traditionally presented in terms of quantitative deficits and stated in terms of physical standards. This action directs attention to the end products and simultaneously diverts attention from the deficit in the process itself, reflecting the traditional paradigm.⁹⁵ "The most important product of any human activity is, of course, the satisfaction or frustration of needs."⁹⁶ Turner explains that the problem of low-income housing is found in the blockages of networks that control the accessibility of resources: primarily land and credit, but also tools, materials, labor and information. These networks are representative of the new definition of "housing" as a verb, where there is a recognition of the human aspects of housing which are non-quantifiable, such as identity, security, stimulus and opportunity; or housing as a means to human ends that are not specifications and material needs.⁹⁷ "Housing" as a verb is an encouragement of a basic, undeniable human activity that has been a "right" of the rich in their control of their environments, and that does not reduce the human being to the passive role of the consumer. Turner emphasizes a value on autonomous and initiated action as a human opportunity. The non-quantifiable benefits

include pride in achievement, a sense of competence and satisfaction.⁹⁸ The denial of this point of view is still manifest in the language used: "dwelling units" and "units of construction" have replaced "homes." "User " has replaced "person"; "people" have become "statistics." Language indicates conceptual frameworks.⁹⁹

As the blockages in networks are identified, it becomes obvious where the status quo - the vested interests - have entered into the obfuscation, by defining, of the problem of low-income housing. First, the standards are set according to middle-class values and an assessment of what people ought to have rather than what people have. These standards create a gap that cannot be closed between the effective demand and the investment required. The Government is unwilling to subsidize the difference.¹⁰⁰ Complex technologies, which increase the dependency on high-priced labor and raise housing costs to meet the higher minimum standards, begin to arise. The codes perpetuate an all-or-nothing licensing for repairs, inhibiting the use of obsolete urban housing, and they forbid incremental building in most areas. These kinds of standards limit home building investment in the private autonomous sector, as well as actually worsening the conditions of the poor. There has been much support of industrialized housing as a source of solutions for low-income housing. This is a prime example of the attempt to turn the problem into one with physical solutions. Cucchiara¹⁰¹ and Turner have pointed out that industrialized housing has created nothing new but the making of the parts in the factory. In the modular construction industry there is no visible improvement in cost, quality control, performance,

user control, increased choice or response to new lifestyles. This industry's products are also short-lived, difficult to maintain and expensive or impossible to alter.¹⁰²

Availability of credit is blocked by the reluctance of mortgager/bankers to fund self-help housing, especially projects in rehabilitation.¹⁰³ There is a large amount of discriminatory policy and practice in F.H.A. programs.¹⁰⁴ Access to information is blocked by factors such as discrimination and the protection of expertise as owned information. This issue is best exemplified by the designer who makes a basic decision as to whether s/he will help people to make their own decisions, or retain the right to make those decisions for them, thus perpetuating a state of dependency. In the definition of "housing" as a verb there is more value in the "specialist who enjoys a creative life through sharing his knowledge" and a commitment to user autonomy, than in the "professional mystery man...who enjoys power through his monopoly of knowledge."¹⁰⁵ Networks are destroyed by professional monopolists.

With the transformation of the puzzle from one of physical solutions and products to one of the facilitation of networks, it must be determined what the new requirements for the architect/planner will be. In many ways, an inversion of priorities is necessary. The institutionalization of the housing crisis does not serve the interests of society. It has masked the real sources of the problem, which are the underlying systems of oppression and exploitation, and it has facilitated the profiteering of the poor by political, economic, commercial and professional interests. It has aided in the maintenance

of a supplier-oriented economy.¹⁰⁶ All the policies have only served to retain the underlying causes intact. If there is to be a genuine commitment to facilitating networks and eradicating poverty, the denial of privilege is necessary. The financial top five per cent of all families in the United States receive almost as much income as the bottom forty per cent. The top one per cent of all adults own more than sixty per cent of the nation's corporate wealth.¹⁰⁷ The wealthy must take responsibility for their abusive consumption of resources; or, more realistically, their consumption must be limited. The professionals must reject their decision-making power as far as it maintains the system of expertise that robs the user of autonomy and self-competence. They must recognize that such expertise is self-serving. To provide the possibilities for self-improvement and to make that process viable for all, the few who own and maintain the power in this system will have to underwrite that ideal and redistribute their riches.¹⁰⁸ Such redistribution, incidentally, is a far cry from our present systems such as income taxing. In 1968 the total welfare cost, including bureaucratic costs, was \$26.9 billion. Let us suppose that the government taxed the richest twenty per cent - or one-fifth - of the population an additional \$26.9 billion and transferred every cent to the poorest one-fifth. The income of the richest one-fifth, even when so reduced, would total more than 150 per cent that of the next-richest one-fifth, and the poorest one-fifth, even with the additional income, would have only 75 per cent of the income of the next-poorest one-fifth.¹⁰⁹ The prospects of such values becoming realized in the professional arena are minimal. The politics of exper-

tise seem awesome. 110

The well-intentioned professional, schooled in the liberal authoritarian tradition of presumed superiority of the institutionally educated, is undoubtedly the most successful builder of hell-on-earth. The more the liberal or radical authoritarians persuade themselves (and their subjects) of the power of their pseudo-knowledge, the more power they have in political fact. By building "citizen participation" into legislation and through increasingly sophisticated "socio-physical technology," those who have great financial and institutional resources may indeed impose the designed city on man. 111

If people within the profession begin to ask what the deeper issues that they are confronting are, they will threaten the consensus and the framework. For it is not so long a jump from the assimilation of the systemic intricacies of poverty, as they relate to one's own vested interests and values, to a real questioning of the complicity of the professional in that system. 112 If the low-income housing puzzle is defined in such a way that the designer is faced with a clear choice of values in terms of the role s/he can play - for example, a priority in facilitating networks for people versus a value on designing environments for people - then the results will be hinged on a personal responsibility that becomes part of the redefinition of a new paradigm. That responsibility is not an issue in the traditional paradigm, which defines the role of the designer as providing a service for the poor and "doing good" when s/he designs a low-income housing system package. According to the traditional paradigm, access to tools, competence and control belongs, by definition, to the architect/planner. The client is assumed to be incompetent and dependent on the professional's expertise. Therefore, within the boundaries of archi-

itecture/planning, "people" cannot design/plan for themselves; only architects can design/plan for them.

Stylized Facts

"It is the existence of stylized facts that focus attention in precisely the opposite sense as puzzles: that is, these are false or at least exaggerated assumptions about some of the facts of the situation under study which are designed to get the researcher's attention away from these facts and onto others." ¹¹³ The stylized facts often are masks or smoke screens for anomalies or competing paradigms that are destructive to the consensus. One example is the stylized fact that the poor are subsidized for their housing and that the rich pay for their housing. In actuality the rich receive a considerably higher subsidy of their remodeling and building expenses through tax deductions. Other advantages for the wealthy are guaranteed mortgages and tax deductions of real estate and mortgage payments. Suburban developments and highways are subsidized through public funds, receiving as much as ninety per cent public monies. ¹¹⁴ Alvin Schorr specifies: "Housing subsidies in the form of tax relief to the middle- and upper-income groups amounted to about 3 billion dollars (in 1962) with...1.7 billion going to the richest 20% of the population. This 3 billion dollars is about 20 times the total federal subsidy for Public Housing for the poor." ¹¹⁵ It must also be considered that the poor must spend a higher percentage of their incomes on sales and excise taxes. ¹¹⁶

Another stylized fact is the "blaming the victim" attitude, in which the poor are blamed for their condition, thus taking the burden

from the rest of society. A basic illustration of this attitude is in the perception that certain character traits of the poor person, such as laziness and short-sightedness, are the reasons behind his poverty.¹¹⁷ There appears to be no awareness of the absolute contradiction between this theory and the observable fact.¹¹⁸ In the 1960's, this attitude was manifested by Oscar Lewis in the framework of his "culture of poverty" theory. This notion conveniently attributes the cause of poverty to the collective character traits of the poor in the sense of a cultural frame or value system, which is identified as different from the norm, and which maintains the state of poverty.¹¹⁹ The issue then becomes the reeducation of the culturally bound person as opposed to the real issue: the lack of opportunities and services. Schiller defines the causes of poverty in terms of economic necessity for the system:

Subemployment is determined in large part by the decisions society makes regarding the utilization of economic resources. Where a nonzero level of aggregate unemployment becomes part of society's goal structure, some individuals are simply prevented from working their way out of poverty.¹²⁰

Another stylized fact is the idea that one can design according to user needs. This fact ignores the issue of the relationships between the user, autonomous design and the presumptions implicit in the role of an expert who is "interpreting" user needs. Turner points out that the role of the expert perverts any real fulfillment of user needs, once those needs are redefined in human terms, by

virtue of the presumption that the designer is the best one to do it.¹²¹ The idea that the roles and skills of the professional are value-free is another stylized fact. This fact avoids the issue that forms are based in values which one must face and either refuse or accept.

Issues

In the normal science, there is a translation process which transforms the major issues of the time into those of the science and contains those issues in language manipulated by the values of the mind-set. The major concern here becomes how not to deal with the real problem, in order to generate work for the designer. I will refer again to the housing of the poor. Initially the problem was translated into one that could be solved within physical definitions, such as "low-cost" and "low-maintenance." The Pruett Igoe Project in St. Louis was a fine example of low-income housing with little thought given to the issue of poverty or to the people's needs.¹²² It failed because of its myopic focus on physical parameters of the design problem. On a larger scale, there is also a false consciousness of comprehensiveness concerning social planning. I have pointed out that there often is not a clear recognition of the identity of the client, and the planner does not penetrate to the actual activities or interests of the client.¹²³

Another issue is that of the energy crisis. The science approaches the energy problem with an attempt to generate technical inventions that will enable it to meet the rising costs and limited availability of fuel. The following is a course description from M.I.T.:

The studio is based on the premise that shortages and cost increases in both material and fuel will in the future demand high

levels of invention, ingenuity, and skill in the design of buildings to limit energy consumed and make effective use of available resources. The aim will be to provide architecture graduate students with the opportunity to select and pursue specific approaches to energy issues, ranging from adjustments in the building envelope and refinements in the mechanical system, to working with such new technologies as wind and solar power, and with the more subtle questions of acceptable comfort levels and building organization.¹²⁴

The energy crisis is approached as a problem in need of professionally designed, physical solutions, not as an issue of over-use and abusive consumption by a few versus the many. Nor is it focused on in relation to the inequity of consumption. In fact, one can only expect that the solutions, which are high-cost custom-designed products, will be owned primarily by the rich. This would invert the present priorities that favor high consumption. The fact that the United States is estimated to consume fifty per cent of the world's raw materials for its less than six per cent of the world's population¹²⁵ does not seem to affect fundamentally the full-scale definitions of the energy crisis and environmental problems. The emphasis is still on technical solutions. It is important to note that in China there is no space heating, there is no discomfort and there is no energy crisis.¹²⁶

Environmental issues are generally transformed into physically solvable problems. Essential issues, such as the relationships between the values of the capitalist system and the destruction of the environment, or the issue of world-wide starvation versus the illness of obesity in the United States, become nothing more to most professionals than puzzles solvable within the framework of the status quo. Any problem defined within the science can explode into basic large-scale issues that need to be confronted, but are avoided through

translation into stylized facts, puzzles or issues of the science. The problems then remain small-scale, and are often easier to solve.

Power

Ward has described the social science as behaving like a social system.¹²⁷ As a social system, architecture/planning influences the individual participant's choices and activities. According to Ward's analysis, there are several forces that channel participants. First is the desire of the person to improve the science through the conventional process of puzzle-solving. Alexander did this by integrating design process and mathematics into a new theory of design/method.¹²⁸ Second is the motive of ambition. The person chooses high-status puzzles in order to achieve recognition at a high level. The choice of high-status puzzles assumes entry into one of the research centers, which maintain the monopoly of status. A third force is the central control mechanism operating through the academic or training program:

For, as in all normal sciences, the entire academic program, beginning usually at the undergraduate level but certainly at the graduate, consists of indoctrination of the ideas and techniques of the science. As much as anything this is a self selection process. Those who do not accept the basic ideas of the science will not proceed very far with its study.¹²⁹

The academic training is centered around several important precepts. First, there is a common experience. The classical design process teaches the student what the problems are and what the solutions are: these are the boundaries of the science. On the professional level, these models are first concretized in the board examinations which control entrance into the profession. In the upper enclaves,

there are several competing paradigms of training, which are also represented at the separate lower levels. In architecture/planning, low-income housing is a commonly learned problem/solution. Most often, the problems that are dealt with involve defined problems of the sponsor-client.¹³⁰ There is usually no focus on the "user pays - user receives" model, because such a focus might challenge the presumption of expertise. Harris Stone points out that the good design student learns the current solutions to physical puzzles through examining the styles of current architects, and then copies the solutions, adding creative flourishes of detail to mark ownership.¹³¹ The student who attempts to work out an independent solution consistently fails. For example, in one of my basic design courses I programmed a software model that inadvertently eliminated the architect. The project was failed.¹³² Not only is the solution predefined, but in addition the process trains the student to think s/he is unique - one of the best and brightest - and inflates the designer ego to reinforce the assertion of expertise: that s/he is the best one to solve any problem.¹³³ Housing becomes a controlled activity of the expert as opposed to a positive and potential activity of the user. The designer must be trained to protect the vested interest of his/her role; this is the "monopoly of competence."¹³⁴ The designer is not trained to facilitate the development of environments for people. Nor is s/he trained to seek real alternatives in process or product that may threaten the role. Innovative software and economic, social and political data are only useful insofar as they can be assimilated into the professional paradigm.

The puzzles that are the focus of physical design courses are always objects. At the lower levels, these include museums, small office complexes, gas stations, banks, hospitals and apartments. Students learn to produce specific value-laden objects, and only at the top levels are they encouraged to seek true alternatives. There is a clear correlation between this type of training and the propensity of the designer to place these same objects in the Third World as a response to altogether different needs from those embraced by middle-class American standards. The absence of cost parameters in student projects adds to the academic fantasy wherein there is always an end product that is flexible in its design. The focus on the creation of objects and packages is reinforced by the emphasis on slick presentations and aids to the exclusion of deviant social or political economic solutions. A focus on networks would invariably encourage consciousness of issues permeating the system and might threaten the paradigm. As the student becomes more indoctrinated, s/he is apt to approach such issues as networks with a certain degree of blindness. The complex issues also tend to muddy or limit any technical solutions. "Architecture (has been) transformed from an unhealthy reliance upon design precedents taken out of the context of history to perhaps an even more unhealthy reliance upon technology taken out of the context of history." 135

There are hurdles present that aid in the exclusion of potential designers, established by the defined need. The classical training program was originally a five year program; it has now escalated to a four-plus-two year program in many schools. There have been proposals

to limit entry into the architectural profession to a four-plus-three year program.¹³⁶ National examining boards additionally limit the professionals to those competent in their eyes. State boards, in many cases, have retained different standards of requirement from those set at the national level. In addition, the content of the program affects the exclusionary aspects. The engineering required for physical design courses is based on a college-level aptitude in mathematics, although it becomes clear at the end of the process that all one is expected to know is how to use the manuals. One learns that one will depend on mechanical, electrical and structural engineers. This standard requirement mainly affects the aspirations of minorities and those prepared in "socially deviant" high school situations.

The A.I.A., A.I.P. represents power within the profession by acting as the public relations arm of the professional interests. A major function is to create market through legislation, either for specific contracts or for protection of the interests of expertise. Recently, in Albuquerque, a lobby of nursery owners, landscape architects and related groups attempted to introduce legislation which would define their professions by establishing a board to accredit and approve aspirants, as well as a seven-year landscape/architecture program at the University of New Mexico.¹³⁷

A reversed power control protects the interests of the planner/architect by virtue of the definition in which the designer represents user needs. This role definition renders the planner/architect indispensable to the corporate interests in their global plans as a screen for profit. Thus the designer is insured a place as the advertiser and social legitimizer of corporate profiteering. C. Wright Mills

describes the designer as s/he joins the "types (who) have developed their skills and pretensions in order to serve men whose God is the Big Sell:" 138

To the firm and and to its products he adds the magical gloss and dazzle of prestige. He plans the appearance of things and their often fraudulent packaging. He lays out the interiors and decorates the exteriors of corporate businesses as monuments to advertising. And then, along with his colleagues, he takes the history of commercial fraud one step further. With him, advertising is not one specialized activity, however central; with his capitalist advent, the arts and skills and crafts of the cultural apparatus itself become not only adjuncts of advertising but in due course themselves advertisements. He designs the product itself as if it were an advertisement, for his aim and his task - acknowledged by the more forthright - is less to make better products than to make products sell better. 139

Finally, the architect/planner is ruled and controlled by the definition that is derived from all these factors and interests. S/he is prepared to design stable, conclusive organizational systems and objects, and s/he identifies with that function and role. In addition, the "professional horizon does not extend beyond the circle of requests advanced by the institutions. The inclusion of collective participation would push him toward a sphere of criticism which is denied him by definition." 140 To work outside of that authoritarian mold - to become a true facilitator of autonomy and networks for people - is a boundary breakthrough that is powerfully prevented through the existing controls of the social system that is architecture/planning. The relationship of the individual to the professional role and its implications seems best illustrated by the following description of the physical designer:

The architect - more than any other professional - plans circumscribed and finished objects. His specific task is a function which he receives extracted from its context; he plans a structure suitable to its realization, within the limits of isolation from context, and shapes this structure into a physical form which represents the full context, giving it expression in physical space. But the procedure suffers at every stage from the abstractness accepted at the beginning when the activity was taken out of its context, cutting its ties with reality. The initial authoritarian decision reflects its burden of authoritarianism on the succeeding stages, which become in their turn authoritarian. The structures act as exclusive organizational systems; and the physical forms shape themselves as finished, inflexible representations, presumed to be that much nearer to aesthetic perfection the less space they leave for the accidental character of time and use. 141

The tyranny of method is implicit in the paradigms that direct our activities; the tyranny is of predefinition and presumption.

Social Paradigms and the Value of Objectivity

It appears that the science of architecture/planning is locked into a social system which is controlled by a series of complex social controls. ¹⁴² These controls are "afforded by stylized facts and the power of insiders to control the trajectory of the science by focusing practitioners' attention on areas that are consistent with the survival of the existing structure, social and substantive, of the science." ¹⁴³ These focuses, as we have seen, by virtue of the vested interest of the science for the status quo, are integrally related to political and economic determinants. However, this relationship is part of a "description" of a system that is determined by more fundamental beliefs.

Fundamental beliefs represent another dimension in the structure of the paradigms, or definitions, that I have analyzed. H.U.E. Thoden Van Velsen differentiates between the "metaphysical" and the "instrumental" dimensions of a paradigm. ¹⁴⁴ The instrumental dimension consists of the puzzle-solving explanatory devices, or the conceptual tools supplied by the paradigm. The metaphysical dimension is:

...composed of all statements or assumptions which reflect the world view of the practitioner. They are metaphysical because they either cannot be verified or because the adherent does not mean them to be verified. Many metaphysical statements have the nature of background assumptions which remain in "the background of the theorist's attention."...."Sub theoretical in character, background assumptions endow the stipulated theory with its appeal, its power, its reach." ¹⁴⁵

Barnes approaches these beliefs, or background assumptions, with an

extrapolation of Kuhn's notion of the paradigm. He extends the concept of the scientific paradigm to the concept of a "social paradigm." 146

The notion of a set of categories, theories and procedures learnt in connection with concrete examples, accepted by the entire reference group and applied to deal with problems in concrete situations can be extended, I think, to various beliefs held through whole societies. 147

Ward describes these beliefs as "values." Their fundamental relationship to the activity of social man is described by Barnes:

Social paradigms...tend to be extremely pervasive and to structure activities...which the individual is incapable of altering. Thus for the actor the social paradigm governs more action and more significant action than the scientific one. Abandoning, say, the molecular orbital theory of chemistry means a lot less than abandoning the notion of responsibility, or, for example, abandoning belief in poison oracles if you are an Azande. 148

The scientific paradigm, as originally delineated by Kuhn, is based on a relativism that ascertains that all paradigms are more or less of equal value. This relativism is, in part, based on the nature of a scientific paradigm which "governs activities of an esoteric and restricted nature and activities which have no bearing on the general pattern of the scientist's social life." 149 Here I will draw on an image that demonstrates the implications of these references to scientific paradigms in their separate realities. Let us consider the position of the nuclear physicist who is drawn into a well-defined scientific paradigm to do work that "has no bearing

on the general pattern of the scientist's social life." ¹⁵⁰ The point at which this scientist creates an atomic bomb has been a historical point of contention, in reference to values, within that community and without. Is the person, as a scientist, separate from the social implications of the weapon? Is he separate as a social man from those social implications? This image demonstrates that there is a fundamental and vital connection between the two spheres in every circumstance, whether it connects by conflict or by agreement in values, or by an agreement to separate spheres: the social and the scientific, the social and the personal, the scientific and the personal.

Ward demonstrates that there is a vital connection between the basic value systems (metaphysical dimensions or social paradigms) and the scientific paradigms that direct and define our social sciences. This connection is a proof that the framework of a science, such as, for example, economics, is not neutral or value-free, but rather is derived from the basic values that are at the roots of our social, psychological, economic and political concepts, and at the roots of our actions in the social sphere. Ward delineates the basic liberal philosophy in terms of three assumptions about the nature of man. He then demonstrates the manifestation of this philosophy in the choices and focuses of economics. ¹⁵¹

If in fact our scientific paradigms are structured from the basic values that control the social sphere of our experience, then is it possible to maintain a separation between our personal lenses and our scientific or social paradigms? I find that Kuhn, Ward and others presume to step outside the realm of value systems in order to discuss

the ultimate determinants, of and by those value systems, of all form, structure and paradigms. It seems that this action is based on that same value: the belief in separation, or ultimate objectivity.

Objective knowing gives a new assembly line system of knowledge, one which relieves us of the necessity to integrate what we study into a moral or metaphysical context which will contribute existential value. 152

Also:

...as the Baconian ideal would have it, science is not some one person's feeling or opinion. Rather it derives from a kind of knowing that has eliminated all elements of the knower's personality - taste or feeling, moral disposition or aesthetic temperament... 153

This value on - and belief in - the existence of an objective knowing, or of a value-free block of knowledge, allows the scientist to separate his ethical convictions from the work he does. It seems that he has given in to a false separation. This separation is most often masked as a blindness to the value-laden context that defines our useful work. However, it often exists blatantly, as in the case of the nuclear physicist, where the value-laden scientific paradigm is separated from the individual's value framework. The only alternative is a personal confrontation with the values inherent in the paradigms that we allow separately to exist and to define our work and ourselves. I must now cross that line in order to present a description of the value system that I must confront. This value system is the basis of all the foregoing paradigms, and is the con-

text of our professional mindsets and our social definitions. I must attempt to reject any pretense of objectivity.

What happens to people in any serious therapeutic exploration of their identity shapes the course of social change. Debating possible futures, discussing how we shall remake the world at large are unmotivating abstractions. They do not raise up the will to alter one's life; indeed, they may make personal decision seem puny in the great historical course of things and so encourage drift and adaptation. But to challenge people to set their own priorities, to confront them with the fears, hatreds and hangups that betray these priorities: this is where the politics of the visionary commonwealth begins. Its field of play is the individual soul. 154

THE WIZARD OF OZ

FOOTNOTES

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THE OTHER

"Toto, we must not be in Kansas any more, we must be over the rainbow." 1

We oppress by laying the dead weight of our masculinity on women, by involving them in the endless struggle to maintain our image, face, macho, by assuming that we can determine their relationship to the world at large, that the gift of their body to us gives us paramount rights. A man has only to sleep with a woman once to feel that he has earned the right to her loyalty, understanding and respect, that some part of his being is enshrined in her, that what happens to her affects him. If women are oppressed it's because we make them play so many roles in a psychodrama that isn't even theirs in the first place, linking those roles, enlarging them, developing them, until we are no longer capable of seeing the woman as a person at all. 2

And you, men. Lovers, brothers, fathers, sons.
I have loved you and love you still, if for no other reason than that you came wailing from the monster while the monster hunched in pain to give you the power to break her spell.
Well, we must break it ourselves, at last. 3

It is my conviction that we need a redefinition of "revolution."
We need to steer away from the realm of male power politics, which defines society and its human beings in terms of only half of the human race and half of human experience. We need to search in order to understand social paradigms and their metaphysical dimensions in terms of all human experience. We need to break out of all forms, theories and philosophies by renaming our experience.
Just as, as I have shown, only certain questions are allowed by the scientific paradigms, so only certain questions have been allowed by the social paradigms that control women and feed, support and lend

privilege to men - all men over all women. Women's new words are an attempt to ask those questions that are now non-questions: the illegitimate, the irrelevant and the trivial. Women cannot answer the questions that men are still asking or the forms that are still male vessels for life, change and revolution. We women must speak to one another now and learn to define our own experience: our own needs, relationships, politics, histories and lives.

In affirming our experience as real, as valid and as contrary to the definitions within which we have been condemned to live, we learn to see and to face the reality of the system of sexism. We learn to see how false descriptions encapsulate human people into half-lives and sex stereotypes. These stereotypes are the artificial division, by men, of the human being into the male Self and the female Other. We see and feel and experience the reality that not only is femininity denied legitimacy, respect and validity in this culture, but the whole human being is denied. We see how the system created by men designates power to maleness - all men - and oppresses femininity - all women.

I am one of the "man-haters," some have said.
I don't have time or patience here to say again why and how
I hate not men but what it is men do in this culture, or
how the system of sexism, power dominance and competition
is the enemy - not people, but how men, still, created that system
and preserve it and reap concrete benefits from it. 4

To see is to face the half-truths, the patriarchal ideologies, scientific, religious and personal, that rationalize the masks of sexism and our oppression. Seeing is opening up to the confirmation by

experience of our structural and personal oppression. "Male supremacy is neither a psychological set nor a meaningless abstraction that we feel, but cannot touch. Male supremacy is that total system which oppresses us in every aspect of our lives." ⁵ Seeing is the beginning of creation. In the affirmation of ourselves and our experience, in our surfacing into the recognition of the patriarchal world, we are affirming non-divided androgynous human being. Liberation, then, is the refusal of all roles: the refusal to be "good" or "healthy" by prevailing standards and the assertion of ourselves as whole human persons. For men, that refusal is a rejection of the power that is tied into your self-perception and that is your maleness, as the patriarchy has defined it. It is this power that you must deny in order to be free, although "...most of you will embrace death quite gladly rather than give up your power to hold power." ⁶

Patriarchy

I have tried to illustrate the point where I began and the point to which I have moved in my investigation of paradigms and their roots. This section will be an attempt to delineate the value system that has us in its grasp. I will question further the values and background assumptions that are basic to our struggle against oppression, pain, suffering and injustice.

As aliens in a man's world who are now rising up to name - that is, to create - our own world, women are beginning to recognize that the value system that has been thrust upon us by the various cultural institutions of patriarchy has amounted to a kind of gang rape of minds as well as of bodies. 7

My questioning must be of myself as it is of the world. I cannot separate myself from this all-pervasive framework; I can only respond and try to break through to human being.

The cutting away of this phallogocentric value system in its various incarnations amounts also to a kind of exorcism that essentially must be done by women, who are in a position to experience the demonic destructiveness of the super-phallic society in our own being. 8

There is a system of oppression; there are sexual castes that are the core of oppression. Women are an oppressed class; they form a class within all other classes and often are oppressed despite other class affiliation. Male supremacy is a political system, an economic system, a social system and an interpersonal system. All women suffer from political and economic exploitation, psychological deprivation,

and sexual objectification. Recognition of oppression has initially surfaced in three different classes (by the traditional definition).⁹ The working-class woman has experienced oppression primarily in terms of her employment opportunities, job security, discrimination and child care. Women, regardless of race, are more disadvantaged than are men in terms of employment and income levels.¹⁰ The middle-class woman, due to the beginning of the end of the suburban-ghetto-dream, has become aware of the limitations of psychological oppression and isolation in her experience of a so-called trivial life, defined through a man and his children. Young single women - students, for instance - have experienced the sexual objectification that is a fundamental reality between men and women in this culture. The bald truth surfaced in the "sexual revolution," a revolution of co-optation by men in which women's bodies and sexuality become openly accessible and free of charge to men. The supposed sexual freedom for women was just another false description of what we should feel. All women suffer in these forms of oppression. I refer to them mainly for a historical view of awareness.

Oppression is not class-correlated, although it has been primarily a middle class-affiliated women's movement. Minority women have begun to assert their communality with all women as they begin to see in minority men the same sexism of the ruling class; as they see that their men want everything the ruler has, on top; and as they see that class definitions are male definitions obscuring the reality of sexual caste.

In a capitalist society, all power to rule is imagined in male symbols and, in fact, all power in a capitalist society is in male hands...Women have become the largest oppressed group in a dominant, male, aggressive, capitalistic culture. 11

Women begin to unite across the class lines that have traditionally been defined by men and by their systems. Women are all calling for a repudiation of those privileges - economic, racial, educational or social - that divide women from each other. We, women, will deal with this among ourselves, as it is part of our socialization and as these privileges have been internalized and help to enforce the male-dominated hierarchies and our isolation from one another.

Even ruling-class women do not control the means of production. The identification of ruling-class women is false in that the power still belongs to men, as do the women. "Dominance hierarchies between women have reflected the hierarchies of their controllers thus facilitating the smooth working of the system." ¹² I am not denying the oppression that is supported and internalized by women of the upper classes. Nor am I denying that, in terms of economic or social class divisions, there exists relative oppression of women. But "class" has traditionally been used as a mask to obscure sexual castes, or to diffuse the centrality of a sexual caste. To be assigned upper-class status does not minimize the reality of our powerlessness, our social non-status or our non-identity in a system that identifies women as half-human, and that depends, for its existence, on the enslavement of half of its human beings - the women. That the upper-class woman does have time, money and freedom does not free her from rape by her husband, nor from the bond of oppression between her and

all women. To stop allowing oneself to be victimized cannot mean freedom to the unskilled, economically dependent woman when to say "no" to rape may mean the end of survival. The "upper class" woman is usually so labeled by virtue of the man through whom she is identified, not by her personal power, because it is not power that puts her into isolation in a vicarious life through men, that gives her consumer power to support capitalism, that makes her body the colony of men, or that isolates her from other women and from a clear recognition of her caste consciousness. She has no class and no social identity of her own. She is defined by him to whom she belongs or does not belong. She is an object rated by the class, status and other labels accorded to the man who rests beside her and who is her oppressor. She is accorded status precisely because it separates and divides her from other women, as well as because it supports the male hierarchies.

As men, we don't see how our behavior is oppressive, can't imagine what it's like to be alternately flattered and abused, to be a successful woman of fifty who can't go into restaurants alone because headwaiters quite often will refuse to give her a table, to be a woman of forty - one of whose daughters has been molested and who herself now carries around in her handbag a container of Mace. The sense of danger, the inexplicable insult, the sudden obscenity, the feeling that one hasn't been understood and isn't going to be - how can men feel what it's like? And if we can't feel what it's like how do we begin to treat women as equals? 13

Professional women are identified with the oppressor by men in the Left. Professional women tend to accept the patriarchal values, either because they distrust themselves or because it is threatening to their own vested interests to reject those values. ¹⁴ I have shown in the previous section the power of the professional paradigm to

capture its participants in their own consciousness. I cannot help but compare the alternatives a woman has to professional status. If she is not to be dependent on a man for her economic welfare, a woman can choose to be, for example, a barmaid, a waitress or a secretary, or she can attempt to learn a vocation. The options for men in the same situation are not comparable. As a waitress, a woman has to face the bald disrespectful reality of her oppression in the pinching, teasing, propositioning environment of Male Chauvinists. The option that moves one into a position where there can be some semblance of self respect, and where there is some screen against the objectification that is the reality of the patriarchal definition for women, is not quantifiable. Women will be better able to cope with the personal responsibility for their roles than men have been, as communal consciousness heightens. Most men are defined as human in their worlds. Even the man at the bottom of all social hierarchies is an oppressor, by definition, in the private sphere of his life. Frederick Engels has said that "regardless of her status in the larger society, within the context of the family the woman's relationship to the man is one of proletariat to bourgeoisie." ¹⁵

The social paradigms and their alternatives, which are the only visible realities in the existing male-dominated systems and theories, are bred and nurtured by sexism. Traditionally, there have been two models for the introduction of minorities into the power structure (although women cannot be defined as minorities or outsiders in the literal sense, we represent a class within every minority). One is the pluralist model. ¹⁶ This model assumes that groups achieve equality while retaining their essential differences; this is the salad bowl

image. The pluralistic model cannot be relevant because it assumes the false sex role segregation and identity differentiations that are the ideological bases for male supremacy produced by the current culture.¹⁷ Equality would entail the destruction of maleness and femaleness and of all artificial polarization that divides the oppressor from his object world.

The assimilation model entails the gradual integration of the oppressed into the system with a loss of identifying characteristics.¹⁸ This is the melting pot image, in which women become male. It is absurd to assume that women will accept the systems and institutions designed, defined and maintained by and for men, as if they were neutral. To accept the predefined male roles as human would be to agree that the world created by the White Anglo-Saxon male is the best of all possible worlds. The advances in women's rights are meaningless without a complete systemic change of attitude. This system of ours can now maintain itself and yet embrace a large degree of "equality" without real freedom. "We must distrust token victories within a societal and structural framework that renders them almost meaningless."¹⁹

The form was a dead shell, and the growth of the consciousness of women is an attempt to live without such shells...(anything else is) an attempt to put new wine, women's awareness, into the old skins of forms that kill female self-affirmation and turn female consciousness against itself.²⁰

Clearly, the form of our present social system must be radically changed if we are to confront the roots of sexism and of our oppression.

However, all alternative models, as all social theories, are based in sexism and created with patriarchal values. The tendency to view all societies in terms of interactions among men is a general problem. Thoden Van Velzen, in "The Big Man Paradigm," discusses the tendency in anthropology for societies to be defined in terms of the interactions between the strong men. The weak men and the women are relegated to secondary status as objects manipulated by the system of Big Men.²¹ Alice Singer discusses the androcentric viewpoint as a central problem in anthropology in that it focuses on men per se.²² She demonstrates the viability of an alternative analysis of the Nuer marriage payment customs as the exchange of men by women, instead of the opposite and classical interpretation.²³ She identifies this lens as the male bias: "Until now, anthropology has indeed been the study of man; the 'problem of women' is the 'position of women' in anthropological models."²⁴ She points out that the male bias in its language and constructs blurs human complexities, ambivalencies and motives, and implies that women are powerless, non-feeling, non-thinking people.²⁵ I feel that this perception is a central issue in any social theory.

Editors Theodore and Betty Roszak refer to "The Longest Revolution," by Juliet Mitchell, as presenting one of the "keenest analyses yet to appear of the way in which socialist theory has failed to make proper ideological sense of women's oppression."²⁶ According to Mitchell, the original weakness in the discussions of the problem was not that the problem was not stressed as important, but that it was not solved theoretically.²⁷ It remains unsolved. One clear weakness is often the theorist HIMSELF.

"Every socialist recognizes the dependence of the workman on the capitalist, and cannot understand that others, and especially the capitalists themselves, should fail to recognize it also; but the same socialist often does not recognize the dependence of women on men because the question touches his own dear self more or less nearly." 28

Mitchell also points out that the existing examples of socialism demonstrate their fundamental ingrained attachment to patriarchal values. She refers to the experience of the Soviet Union, where patriarchal institutions, such as marriage and non-access to divorce or abortion, were reinstituted shortly after the Revolution to protect the structure of a rapidly industrializing state. Women did retain the right to work, but were needed in roles related to the insurance of family and inheritance structures and similar positions. In China, the experience has been to emphasize the liberation of women in order to aid the national goals of production, concurrent with a repression of sexuality, or renewed puritanism. This ensures the availability of women for the economic sphere. 29 Clearly, these socialist forms do not represent any sort of resolution for women.

Historically male supremacy has gone through distinct stages. In most of these, such as slavery, feudalism and capitalism, a few men have dominated other men in some aspects of their lives as well as all men totally dominating women. Monopoly capitalism-imperialism is the current stage of male supremacy in our society; and socialism in, for example, Cuba, China and the Soviet Union is a more advanced stage of male supremacy in which the means of production and reproduction are owned by all men collectively. Both the bourgeois and Marxist social scientists have failed to produce any meaningful analysis of society because they have excluded over half the world's population and focused only on the fluctuating patterns of dominance and exploitation between men, rather than on the basic economic system which has remained remarkably stable for centuries. 30

I do not offer any comprehensive consideration of socialism or the socialist models that exist. The important issue to me is still the fundamental distortion of any theory or model that does not recognize the primacy of sexual caste. I do not deny or discredit that there has been more emphasis on the problem of women in socialist theory than elsewhere, nor do I claim that there are significant basic differences among the different socialist models; yet the importance of the attitude changes that are being confronted in China cannot be minimized. However, I want to emphasize the centrality of sexual caste, which is obfuscated by all patriarchal theory and form.

One direct result of male-oriented analysis and definition is that women are assigned the status of chattel in these paradigms. The issue is what happens between men - how they exchange and fight for power among themselves in their systems of hierarchies. Women are objects that live with the results. "In each historical stage of the system women have been exploited as labor and objects owned by men and thus divided." ³¹ When the fact that half of the human race can be objectified, their experience trivialized, their power stripped, their history ignored and their knowledge denied is a fundamental basis of all social systems, then the relationship to the rape of the environment and the objectification of the Third World becomes clear.

The hell with the simplistic notion that automatic freedom for women - or non-white peoples - will come about ZAP! with the advent of a socialist revolution. Bullshit. Two evils pre-date capitalism and have been clearly able to survive and post-date socialism: sexism and racism. Women were the first property when the Primary Contradiction occurred: when one half of the human species decided to subjugate the other half, because it was "different," alien, the Other. From there it was an easy

enough step to extend the Other to someone of a different skin shade, different height or width or language - or strength to resist. Goodbye to all those simple-minded optimistic dreams of socialist equality all our good socialist brothers want us to believe. How liberal a politics that is! 32

It has been the men in the "counterfeit male dominated Left" ³³ who think of women's liberation as a feather in their caps. It is they who destroy women with their denial of women's suffering and oppression. It is they who continue to oppress their wives, sisters, mothers, lovers and daughters and to resist giving up the privilege to hold power and to make revolutions.

No more well-meaning ignorance, no more co-optation, no more assuming that this thing we're all fighting for is the same: one revolution under man, with liberty and justice for all. No more. 34

It is unreal for women to deny that there is a need for radical change, or to expect that we cannot change within the system, just as it is unreal for men to deny that there needs to be a redefinition of revolution.

I have stressed already that the essential task of feminism is not to go looking around for a ready-made theory and then try to make it relevant to our (little?) "issue" or "problem." This is self-deprecating in the extreme, a fact that is obvious if one realizes that feminism is cosmic in its dimensions. There is a seductiveness about philosophies (even more than in the case of theologies) which use language that is not totally distorting, but which do not explicitly move out of patriarchal space... The essential thing is to hear our own words, always giving prior attention to our own experience, never letting prefabricated theory have authority over us. 35

Ideology

Ideologies are the major controls that support the subjugation of one group of human beings by another. Within every racism there is an ideological justification. The same process goes on in sexism: it is the same process that breeds racism.³⁶ For women, this ideology is rooted in such notions as Social Darwinism, the survival of the fittest, suggesting that people on top are superior and that those on the bottom are inferior by nature. These are the masks that obscure the reality from our eyes and maintain our blindness.

Male chauvinism is the system of beliefs or ideology by which men have rationalized their position of power and dominance and reduced the need for resorting to violence by defining the oppressed class in such a manner as to make the system appear to be an immutable law of nature.³⁷

Male chauvinism is an attitude that supports the reality of male supremacy. I have mentioned how the male-defined paradigm of human nature has divided human qualities into false sex stereotypes. These role definitions are the most basic rationale for inequality and oppression. The masculine stereotype is characterized by authority. It includes hyper-rationality, objectivity, aggression, the "possession of dominating and manipulative attitudes toward persons and environments, and the tendency to construct walls of separation, alienation, between self and the Others."³⁸ The feminine stereotype, the eternal feminine, is characterized by hyper-emotionalism, passivity and self-abnegation. All in all, the female is defined as the complement of

the Self-human-male, the eternal masculine. Woman is defined in derivation from man: wife, daughter, sister, mother.

The male definition or role is equated to "human," to "sanity" and to "power-controller" in our social system. The male is characterized by those superior qualities that are needed for ruling or for useful doing. By defining part of himself into an Other, a negative less-than-male, and by objectifying the Other as the feminine stereotype, he justifies his concepts of hierarchy, authority and class. The female role is, according to psychological standards, a modified definition of a hysterical personality.³⁹ Rubin delineates this profile: shallow relationships based "on security needs instead of the personality of the people involved,"⁴⁰ and an alienation from the body, which is perceived as an object. "Hysterical perception is perceived as vague, global, unanalytic, simplistic, emotive, non-intellectual."⁴¹ The hysterical person will always try to fulfill the role that is expected by others, without a real sense of self and self-communication of needs.

The basic psychological role definitions that divide human qualities into the good and the bad, the subject and the object or the subject and the complement are manifold in all the psychological and religious ideologies. It has been noted in the past that when women stepped out of their roles and tried to reach for power, they were punished by the religious institutions as heretics. In modern times the church, as an organized national power, has lost its grip, and psychology has replaced the role of the church as the major instrument of social control.⁴² The woman who was once a heretic is now a neurotic, and

she is punished. These are the definitions of the religions of patriarchy, "especially the Judeo-Christian tradition and its hideous blossom, Freudian theory..." 43

Historically the church and organized religion have provided the institutional support of male supremacy as the foundation of the Judeo-Christian ethic, with God the Father and God the Son at the seat of power. The church and its doctrine lend social control, both institutionally in the realm of public law, marriage and social definitions, and in the realm of private socialization of women and men in families.

...the entire conceptual systems of theology and ethics, developed under the conditions of patriarchy, have been the products of males and tend to serve the interests of sexist society. 44

Ethicists' arguments and philosophies all have been constructed one-dimensionally and have failed to take into account the experiences of women. The Divine Plan prevents questioning the suffering of women. God, as our judge, prevents deviance from proscribed expectations and supports by means of guilt and fear the righteousness of male institutions and roles. The institutions of marriage and the family and the role of the father and the husband, who is ordained head of the woman as Christ is head of the church, are justified by the existence of God the Father, Jesus the Son and the whole of the male-dominated hierarchical system of religion. This religion has killed women, men and children in the name of Peace and God, and has burned women for their struggle to define spirituality in terms of

their experience. This patriarchal religion is still denying women's participation in the priesthoods. "If god is male then the male is god." ⁴⁵ There is no place for women's experience in organized religion or in its definition of the universe, except as chattel to be exchanged between men, as containers for gods' sons and as the personification of the Other, of evil. Women have been the "primordial scapegoats" and the myth of feminine evil is a key foundation for "the entire structure of phallic Christian ideology." ⁴⁶ Women are charged with complicity in Original Sin: the punishment for this sin is "the inherited burden of being condemned to live out the role of the Other." ⁴⁷

The effects of this internalized definition of women are manifest in four primary aspects. First is psychological paralysis: hopelessness, guilt and anxiety over social disapproval. Second is feminine antifeminism: identification with the power structure and the concept of feminism as a threat. Third is false humility: lack of ambition, reluctance to rival the male ego, acceptance of the male definition of "woman's place," denigration of the female ego and fear of success. Fourth is emotional dependence. ⁴⁸ Daly presents a complete analysis of the function of Christian ideology in the oppression of women in Beyond God the Father.

I thank Thee, O Lord, that thou has not created me a woman.
- Daily Orthodox Jewish prayer. 49

Wives...submit yourselves unto your husbands...for the husband is the head of the wife, even as Christ is the head of the church.
- Ephesians 5: 23 - 24. 50

Take the snake, the fruit-tree and the woman from the tableau, and we have no fall, nor frowning Judge, no inferno, no everlasting punishment - hence no need of a Savior. Thus the bottom falls out of the whole Christian theology. Here is the reason why in all the Biblical researches and higher criticisms, the scholars never touch the position of women. 51

Feminists are not in any sense denying spirituality: we are denying institutionalized religion. We are discovering and exposing how the androcentricism of the male-god language serves to legitimize male supremacy. We are revealing the "poverty and idolatry" of words and symbols that should have been defined by communal experience, but have instead been defined by male experience. "We need to generate a new meaning context for God." 52 Feminism versus the church is manifested in the abortion issue and the hierarchical clarity of patriarchal ideology, which rationalizes the colonization of the female body versus the spiritual ambiguity in women's freedom to be ourselves. This is the "conflict between the ethic of patriarchal authoritarianism and the ethic of the courage to confront ambiguity." 53 The resolution of the conflict lies far outside the patriarchal duality of right and wrong, or of good and evil; it lies in the ethic that will be constructed out of the newly reclaimed experience of women - out of the whole human context.

Psychology is now a primary ideological support for sexism. In many ways, the social function of clergy as controlling agents has been replaced by that of the practitioners of psychology.

In modern times psychiatric ideology has to a large extent replaced theology as custodian of society's values. Clearly, the semantics of "good" and "evil" have been replaced partially by "health" and

"mental illness." 54

Again there is the simultaneous occurrence of public and private controls which help to weave an intricate web of male supremacy. Rubin points out the similarities of the psychologies used to rationalize racism and those used to rationalize the oppression of women. 55

The classical psychological profile of the Black, that has been used to justify his inferiority in the hierarchy of the White male, is strangely similar to the feminine psychological profile. Rubin points out that for the most part one can substitute "woman" for "Black" in these descriptions. The Black (or woman) is seen as less intelligent, which befits his (her) proscribed role, and as more intuitive, which is manifest in spiritual affinity. His (her) social role is characterized by smiles, laughter, downward glances, an assumption that the real feelings are hidden, and the use of his (her) wiles to "outwit white folks" (men). 56 There have been studies showing that girl children, like Black children, are socialized very early to have a low self-image, to be passive, non-initiating and non-motivated. 57 These psychological profiles are widely accepted and used to justify male expectations of women, and to explain the existence of class and the non-existence of caste.

"The girls Kissinger takes to Chasen's," wrote Hugh Sidey in Life magazine, "can't even imagine those endless, tedious hours of thinking, straining, groping for answers in a bewildering world." Repeat this phrase to yourself several times. If you are a man and it still seems to you a fair enough comment, one you might make yourself in a different context...then try substituting for the word "girls" the word "Negroes" or the word "Jews." Could you bring yourself to say, "The Negroes Kissinger talks to can't

even imagine those endless, tedious hours of thinking, straining, groping for answers in a bewildering world?" Would such a sentence be published in a national magazine?..Would you, at a large dinner party or a business meeting, argue that "Jews are bad drivers," or that "Negroes are too emotional to make first-class business executives?" 58

Why are you laughing?

Phyllis Chesler, in Women and Madness,⁵⁹ exposes the patriarchal myths in psychology and the shocking realities of the treatment of women and madness. Many women have outlined the myths as they appear in classical psychology. The Freudian myths of human sexuality are a good example of the psychologically damaging products of supremacist self-justification and protection. "Susan Lydon shows that Freud's pontifical speculations regarding female sexuality were scarcely sounder than Aristotle's concerning female denture...(he is) said to have concluded - on the basis of pure theory - that women have fewer teeth than men." 60 Freud profiled the woman as an incomplete man, struggling into an adult role, defined by the initial trauma of the discovered absence of a penis. This deduced castration is resolved by the woman by "accepting her punishment, her mutilation, with total resignation, and adopting the passive feminine role." 61

Naturally this castration was God-ordained and a basis for the myth of female biological inferiority. Consider this definition of women as castrated men congruently with that of the male fear of castration which is equal to death. The myth of vaginal orgasm defined female sexuality, once again in terms of male definition and experience and rationalization. These myths that are so blatant in their justification of patriarchal structural definitions are reflected in the

overall definitions of sanity and insanity.

Chesler examines the male definitions of sanity. We have seen that the normal female is defined as a near-hysterical personality. Chesler points out that "normal," for a woman, is defined in terms of the unemployed housewife in addition to the castrated male.⁶² Yet this role definition corresponds to the definition for madness in the overall psychologies. The female seeking to be a whole person is thereby abnormal and neurotic and, to be considered healthy, must learn to accept her half-human social role.

It is clear that for a woman to be healthy she must "adjust" to and accept the behavioral norms for her sex even though these kinds of behavior are generally regarded as less socially desirable... The ethic of mental health is masculine in our culture. This double standard of sexual mental health, which exists side by side with a single and masculine standard of mental health, is enforced by both society and clinicians.⁶³

Discussing the remarkably large proportion of women who are being lobotomized, Dr. Breggin explains that it is more socially acceptable to lobotomize women because creativity, which the operation totally destroys, is in this society "an expendable quality in women." (February 24, 1972 Congressional Record) A famous psycho-surgeon is quoted as saying that lobotomized women make good housekeepers.⁶⁴

Lesbianism is often equated with militant feminism. It has been a clinical description of the sexually "abnormal" woman. However, it has come to be used blatantly, where previously it was more of an internalized social control, to enforce sex-role conformation by women and our acceptance of fulfillment as sex objects for men. The label is often applied to women striving to break out of role stereo-

types.

Affixing the label lesbian not only to a woman who aspires to be person, but also to any situation of real love, real solidarity, real primacy among women, is a primary form of divisiveness among women: it is the condition which keeps women within the confines of the feminine role... 65

The label "lesbian," when placed on a person who rejects or expands beyond her role assignment, expresses the hostile reaction to the "threat" such a person represents to a system that has created power and control through the false delineation of sex-stereotypes. The threat, as it is internalized as a mistrust of other women and a fear of personality abnormality, also ensures a barrier to the development of political consciousness. The significant issue is not sexual preferences, but the dissolution of sex roles.

Lesbians may also be radical feminists, but the fact of choosing women rather than men as sexual partners does not of itself necessarily challenge sexist society in an effective way, any more than choosing men as sex partners necessarily supports sexist society. 66

It is fundamental to feminism that we reject all sex role stereotyping in our attempt to free ourselves from false boundaries and biological colonization. It is important that women learn to transcend those artificial separations among ourselves and begin to lift all our relationships out of the false frames of reference rooted in male-created sex stereotypes. We need to redefine homosexual as well as heterosexual, untying their semantic fields from the negative or positive contexts that are derived from patriarchal values.

Many women surfacing into this male-dominated culture who seek that qualitative difference in relationships without roles are finding more support as human beings in complete relationships with other women.

Women can be accepted by men - be they homosexual men or heterosexual men - as either "brains" or "cunt," as either "heart" or "cunt," as either "mother" or "cunt." Women are rarely accepted as emotional, intellectual, and sexual beings. Small wonder that women find it hard to develop all three capacities: with whom would they share them? Lesbians, particularly feminist lesbians who are trying to subdue their self-contempt, sexual timidity, and heterosexually modeled role-playing, feel that at this point in history only women can be midwife, mother, sister, daughter, and lover to the woman as human being. 67

The institution of psychotherapy is patriarchal, and is another force which isolates women from one another and reinforces the role stereotypes, as well as the "personal solution."

Both psychotherapy and white or middle class marriage isolate women from each other; both emphasize individual rather than collective solutions to women's unhappiness; both are based on a woman's helplessness and dependence on a stronger male authority figure...Each woman, as patient, thinks these symptoms are unique and are her own fault; she is "neurotic." She wants from a psychotherapist what she wants - and often cannot get - from a husband: attention, understanding, merciful relief, a "personal solution" in the arms of the right husband, on the couch of the right therapist. 68

In this sense, the church and state, by means of the institutions of marriage and psychotherapy, maintain a private isolation and reinforcement of role expectations for women. Contained by their own isolated socialization, many women are never able to free their vision

to confront the structural realities of their oppression. Social institutions maintain a reality composed of male experience and definition. The family structure breeds hysterical human beings: women move from dependence on a man-father, to a man-husband, to fulfillment in a man-son. "In order to be free we must seize power from men, in all aspects of our lives." ⁶⁹ It has too long been one of those artificial boundaries created by patriarchal values that has isolated women from our recognition of personal oppression in a political issue. Because we are intimate with our oppressors and isolated from one another, we have believed the lie that the solution to our personal relationships with men - to that suffering - is purely personal. "In reality, every such relationship is a class relationship, and the conflicts between individual men and women are political conflicts that can only be solved collectively." ⁷⁰ The lie of personal solution is apparent when men refer to consciousness-raising as "therapy." We can sometimes succumb to believing our oppressors; we have believed their definitions for centuries, but the lie is just another mask to hide the face of the sexual caste that is the reality. Caste consciousness will develop through our sharing of experiences on the personal levels as well as through our exposing of the sexist foundations of our institutions at the public level.

Those who lie in the arms of the "individual solution," the "private odyssey," the "personal growth," are the most conformist of all, because to admit suffering is to begin the creation of freedom. ⁷¹

Choices

I am left with a description of reality which could be interpreted as paralytic. In the first section of this paper, I delineated the implications of the professional and academic roles of planner/architects. My images of these roles are based in that context of controlling interests and power politics. It is clear to me that to accept the defined boundaries of the issues that are planning issues, or design issues, is to reinforce and protect the status quo. The defining and structuring of the problems and solutions is clearly based on a value system that supports the political and economic interests of the corporate and elite powers. I cannot rationalize stepping into roles that, by virtue of their definition, support and maintain a system of values which I personally reject. To approach the issue as one of the relative evils in the different predefined roles is, for me, a differentiation that is relevant only after one has made the choice to accept a professional role. I reject outright the traditional definition professions have of themselves as "occupations based on a unique, specialized, more or less scientific body of knowledge, and a societally sanctioned privilege of autonomy in the performance of their work." ⁷² Yet I am not at all convinced of the various schema presented to inject responsibility into a role that is, for me, based on the possession of such "loaded" skills, and is prederined so deeply by authoritarian values.

Cucchiara talks of professional responsibility in terms of a professional consciousness that is equally open to possibilities of non-roles or non-physical designs and to roles or physical designs, and

a consciousness that would reaffirm the importance of feeling and intuition in any design process. He suggests that our only insurance, as the professional ethic dwindles, is to separate the programming function from the implementing function. Perhaps it is too much to expect that a designer design his/her role out of a solution; however, Cucchiara's suggestion implies a radical deglamorization and redefinition of the role, of its indoctrination and of the sponsor-designer relationship. 73

I can conjure up new images when I consider a new role which has been stripped of vested interest and which acknowledges a higher value on facilitating people's autonomy in environmental design than on the maintenance of a system of professional expertise. But is that possible? There is still the reality of co-optation and choice. I think the important decision must concern being a professional at all, and that must be a personal choice inseparable from my needs, my circumstances and my convictions.

The corporate firms and political economic realities that are involved in a description of "how things work" are all extensions of our personal lives, how we live them and what our values are. Professional roles become more and more cloudy in their definitions, and people can easily disclaim personal responsibility for their professional actions. How can one take personal responsibility for the extended repercussions of his/her plans in terms of cultural imperialism and multinational long-term planning? For me, that is not a real dilemma. It implies that morality is some kind of supernuman intellectual ability to define more and more complex realities, farther and farther from the self, and to be able to grasp the implications, the interrelationships,

the dimensions of time and space necessary to make moral judgments. I do not feel that it is important to be aware of the functioning of a global political economy and to realize how one is involved in it. The global economy is real because it is an extension of ourselves, of our values and of our lives. The patriarchal polarization and objectivity that is a basic paradigm of our reality allows us to separate public and private spheres, until the global economy starts to take on a life of its own in our vision. The global reality is happening; it does exist, but only as we can see it, as an extension of that continuum which has been artificially separated into personal and public. The global economy cannot be objectified as a separate reality; it must be seen as an extension of our own personal reality.

Professionalism, to me, is an issue of personal responsibility in terms of rejection or acceptance. If we see that sphere as separate from our personal moral schema, then we can easily rationalize any form of oppression. If, however, we recognize it as an extension of the power politics that occur in our homes, in our bedrooms, then there can be no rationalization. Professionalism and the myth of expertise are inherent in those roles that maintain the system of patriarchy, the system of hierarchy and the system of oppression. I have personal circumstances and convictions that lead me to a rejection of those images of professional roles that I have had for myself, because of the non-separation between that external realm and my personal realm. I must still deal with survival: I must take responsibility for how I survive and at whose expense. No dogma can enlighten my political choices, be they in my kitchen or in the world. There

can be no answers for me that do not come out of my own experience. There is no purity.

The Wizard of Oz, ⁷⁴ behind his screen, maintained power and was able to fool himself and the rest of the world. When the little man emerged from the screen and was exposed, he had to do the best he could in that face-to-face responsibility. Still, he was revered: he was yet an expert to some who needed him to legitimize their knowledge and their courage. People need experts. They have been socialized to depend, in every sphere of their lives, on expertise. We must take responsibility for this false need and reject the privilege it rationalizes for us. That privilege of expertise is only as real as the diploma the Wizard gave to the Scarecrow. To step into a professional role is to step into a position that is a predefined part of the experts' package. We cannot continue to fool ourselves, through polarizations and false separations, into believing that we can defy our attachments to expertise, or to being men, or to being victims, and still remain in the roles which these define.

"The Great Refusal of rapism clearly means refusal to rape earth, air, fire, water, that is, refusal to objectify and abuse their power... This means that we will look upon the earth and her sister planets as 'with' us, not 'for' us. One does not rape a sister." ⁷⁵

THE OTHER

FOOTNOTES

- ¹ Dorothy, The Wizard of Oz, N.B.C. Movie, March 30, 1975.
- ² Michael Korda, Male Chauvinism!, Berkeley Medallion Books, New York, 1973, p. 224.
- ³ Robin Morgan, Monster, Random House, Inc., New York, 1972, p. 85.
- ⁴ Robin Morgan, Ibid., p. 83.
- ⁵ San Fransisco Redstockings, "Our Politics Begin with Our Feelings," from Masculine/Feminine, Betty and Pheodore Roszak, eds., Harper and Row, Publishers, Inc., New York, New York, 1969, p. 286.
- ⁶ Robin Morgan, Ibid., p. 83.
- ⁷ Mary Daly, Beyond God the Father: Toward a Philosophy of Women's Liberation, Beacon Press, Boston, 1973, p. 9.
- ⁸ Mary Daly, Ibid., p. 10.
- ⁹ Marlene Dixon, "The Rise of Women's Liberation," from Masculine/Feminine, p. 189.
- ¹⁰ Marlene Dixon, Ibid., p. 198.
- ¹¹ Patricia Robinson, "Poor Black Women," from Masculine/Feminine, p. 211.
- ¹² San Fransisco Redstockings, Ibid., p. 287.
- ¹³ Michael Korda, Ibid., p. 222.
- ¹⁴ Alice Rossi, "Sex Equality: The Beginning of Ideology," from Masculine/Feminine, p. 185.
- ¹⁵ Marlene Dixon, Ibid., p. 195.
- ¹⁶ Alice Rossi, Ibid., p. 173.

- 17 Alice Rossi, "Sex Equality: The Beginning of Ideology," from Masculine/Feminine, Betty and Theodore Roszak, eds., Harper and Row, Publishers, Inc., New York, 1969, p. 180.
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- 27 Juliet Mitchell, Ibid., p. 161.
- 28 August Babell, author of "Woman in the Past, Present and Future," quoted by Juliet Mitchell, Ibid., p. 161.
- 29 Juliet Mitchell, Ibid., p. 167.
- 30 San Fransisco Redstockings, "Our Politics Begin with Our Feelings," from Masculine/Feminine, p. 287.
- 31 San Fransisco Redstockings, Ibid., p. 287.
- 32 Robin Morgan, "Goodbye to All That," from Masculine/Feminine, p. 247.
- 33 Robin Morgan, Ibid., p. 242.

- 34 Robin Morgan, "Goodbye to All That," from Masculine/Feminine, Betty and Theodore Roszak, eds., Harper and Row, Publishers, Inc., New York, 1969, p. 242.
- 35 Mary Daly, Beyond God the Father: Toward a Philosophy of Women's Liberation, Beacon Press, Boston, 1973, p. 188.
- 36 Marlene Dixon, "The Rise of Women's Liberation," from Masculine/Feminine, p. 191.
- 37 San Francisco Reastockings, "Our Politics Begin with Our Feelings," from Masculine/Feminine, p. 286.
- 38 Mary Daly, Ibid., p. 15.
- 39 Gayle Rubin, "Woman as Nigger," from Masculine/Feminine, p. 232.
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- 41 Gayle Rubin, Ibid., p. 232.
- 42 Mary Daly, Ibid., p. 64.
- 43 Mary Daly, Ibid., p. 149.
- 44 Mary Daly, Ibid., p. 4.
- 45 Mary Daly, Ibid., p. 19.
- 46 Mary Daly, Ibid., p. 47.
- 47 Mary Daly, Ibid., p. 49.
- 48 Mary Daly, Ibid., p. 55.
- 49 Mary Daly, Ibid., p. 116.
- 50 Mary Daly, Ibid., p. 132.
- 51 Elizabeth Cady Stanton, quoted by Mary Daly, Ibid., p. 69.
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- 54 Mary Daly, Ibid., p. 64.
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- 60 Betty and Theodore Roszak, eds., editorial comment from Masculine/Feminine, p. 201.
- 61 Gayle Rubin, Ibid., p. 234.
- 62 Phyllis Chesler, Ibid., p. 59.
- 63 Phyllis Chesler, Ibid., p. 68.
- 64 Mary Daly, Ibid., p. 65.
- 65 Mary Daly, Ibid., p. 126.
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BEYOND

We have committed ourselves to a certain notion of what women should be, and the more apparent it becomes that we were wrong, the more necessary it is to pretend that we were right all along, that we can still impose our own order in at least this one area of the world (home). If we start taking the women in the office seriously, we may have to take our wives seriously, to listen to their ideas, accept their desire for change. Worse yet, we may have to accept the possibility that women, in searching for new roles and identities beyond the limits that men have imposed on them, may emerge as far stronger and more resilient people than men. 1

I asked him if women could be warriors. He looked at me, apparently baffled by my question.

"Of course they can," he said, "and they are even better equipped for the path of knowledge than men. But then men are a bit more resilient. I would say, however, that all in all, women have a slight advantage."

I said that it puzzled me that we had never talked about women in relation to his knowledge.

"You're a man," he said, "therefore I use the masculine gender when I talk to you. That's all. The rest is the same." 2

How much further we will have to go to create those profound changes that would give birth to a genderless society. Profound, sister. Beyond what is male or female. Beyond standards we all adhere to now without daring to examine them as male-created, male-dominated, male-fucked up and in male self interest. Beyond all known standards, especially those easily articulated revolutionary ones we all rhetorically invoke. Beyond, to a species with a new name, that would not dare define itself as Man. 3

An Image

Samoan men are tattooed at puberty or in early manhood. A considerable portion of the body from the waist to the knees is covered with intricate design. The process is lengthy and very painful and involves extensive bleeding and can lead to death. The tattooing artist has a male assistant and the man is encouraged by pretty girls who sing and make him comfortable. Strangers are kept away from the scene and afterwards the designs remain covered by clothing.

This event is a cultural reality for the Samoans. It represents a cultural answer to a natural riddle:

Why do women have children, with pain and at the risk of death?

Why do men have children, without pain and at no risk of death?

The riddle is answered in a myth which says:

(when) men grow up, they are tattooed;

(when) women grow up, they bear children.

a. It is a man who gives a woman her child.

It is a woman who gives a man his tattoo.

b. A child is a pain that man gives to woman, for man to enjoy.

A tattoo is a pain that woman gives to man, for woman to enjoy.

c. A woman is given the active help of women (midwives).

A man is given the active help of men (tattoo artists).

d. At childbirth a woman gets the moral support of a woman.

At tattooing a man gets the moral support of a man.

e. A woman is secluded at childbirth, and covers her pregnancy.

A man is secluded at tattooing, and covers his tattoo.

The function of tattooing, that is to say, is to restore the balance between the sexes. 4

Shirley Ardener, in "Sexual Insult and Female Militancy," ⁵ discusses the affirmation of "femineity" in certain primitive cultures relative to the possible existence of a universal feminist impulse. In the groups she describes, the women involved respond as an identifiable sexual caste to certain predefined insults.

Such insults concern not only the woman directly abused, but all women. Mandatory militant action follows which overrides allegiance to kin and tribal groups. Women demonstrate, not on behalf of the victim of the abuse, but on behalf of themselves as a sexual group. ⁶

Among the Bakweri, if a woman is insulted by any man - even a brother or a husband - in front of a witness, she calls out to the other women in the village and, donning vegetation for clothing, the women converge on the man and demand a recompense. They sing songs and make obscene gestures. All the other men "beat a hasty retreat, since it

is expected that they will be ashamed to stay and watch while their wives, sisters, sisters-in-law and old women join the dance." ⁷

Among the Balong, the same kind of sexual caste consciousness appears in the event of an abuse. If the man refuses the recompense, which is usually a pig, "...the women will send a young woman round the village with a bell to warn men to stay indoors. (The women) will be angry and they will take all their clothes off. They will shame him and sing songs." ⁸ Among the Kom there is "Anlu," which "traditionally referred to a disciplinary technique employed by women for particular offenses." ⁹ Included in these offenses is the abusing of old women and the impregnation of a nursing mother within two years after the birth of her child.

Anlu is started off by a woman who doubles up in an awful position and gives out a high-pitched shrill, breaking it by beating on the lips with the four fingers. Any woman recognizing the sound does the same and leaves whatever she is doing and runs in the direction of the first sound... ¹⁰

If the offender or others resist, they are ostracized, which in that culture is literally a fate worse than death. They are "prevented from attending public functions and ceremonies, funerals, childbirth feasts and cooperative farming units." ¹¹ In 1968, 7000 women rose up in Anlu.

Ardener is suggesting that this behavior is the assertion of a model of femineity:

If the models of a society made by most ethnographers tend to be derived from the male portion of that society, how does

the symbolic weight of that other mass of persons - half or more of normal human populations...express itself? 13

The tool for representing, or objectifying, one's experience in order to deal with it, culture, is so saturated with male bias that women almost never have a chance to see themselves culturally through their own eyes. 14

In our culture, the signals from direct experience that contradict cultural definition are almost always either perceived as heresy or neurosis, or they are repressed. Ardener suggests, on the other hand, that it is an attempt to define and maintain equal dignity, beauty or value in this part of human nature (femineity) that is expressed symbolically in these primitive cultures. "(Greer)...by an effort of the intellect, has raised to consciousness structures of thought of the set 'female' which the Bakweri...have intuitively perceived and expressed symbolically." 15

I find a direct correlation between this description of feminine activism and my own description within this culture. The use of obscenity and the priority of sexual caste, overriding all other ties and obligations, are signs of role rejection. The normal role affirms a conformity and submission to a social definition of interaction and civilization. The Anlu and other activities of these primitive women demonstrate a fundamental defiance and disrespect for the present order because it sanctions abuse. In an institutionalized way, these women affirm that the men no longer have any power over them or their behavior. They effectively dissolve social order until their dignity is reaffirmed. The power, importance and equality of women in the

Kom society are affirmed as the men retreat and are ostracized. The women are refusing to subscribe to or maintain the agreed-upon description of reality until their value as participants is reinstated. I feel that all women today are involved in a related activism. Feminism is that same defiance of a description that fails to affirm femineity and to describe the experience of femineity. It is a rejection of a social compact wherein women are denied humanity. Just as the primitive women rise up to recover a description that is threatened, so we rise up to redefine a description.

If questions about my description revolve around asking how I now act upon the reality which I have entirely discredited, I am saying that the "real world" is real because it is the way we have chosen to describe the world; and now we are faced with the idolatry of that description. Our world description, which has evolved from the male impulse, is created out of and emphasizes those qualities that have been defined as his: hyper-rationality, objectivity, aggression and polarization.¹⁶ The artificial boundary that has been drawn between him and the Other excludes the feminine qualities - intuition, feeling, emotion - from the theoretical models as well as from the men who made and maintain these models. The description of the world is male-defined, and it is maintained by reason and objectivity. That description is a cultural framework; it is not real to those of us who have had no part in it.

"We are perceivers. We are an awareness; we are not objects; we have no solidity. We are boundless. The world of objects and solidity is a way of making our passage on earth convenient. It is only a description that was created to help us. We, or rather

our reason, forget that the description is only a description and thus we trap the totality of ourselves in a vicious circle from which we rarely emerge in our lifetime."

"We are perceivers," he proceeded. "The world that we perceive, though, is an illusion. It was created by a description that was told to us since the moment we were born."

"We, the luminous beings, are born with two rings of power, but we use only one to create the world. That ring, which is hooked very soon after we are born, is reason, and its companion is talking. Between the two they concoct and maintain the world."

"So, in essence, the world that your reason wants to sustain is the world created by a description and its dogmatic and inviolable rules, which the reason learns to accept and defend." 17

These words of Don Juan to Carlos Castaneda are a description of the world of the normal man and are relevant to the conceptual framework that I am attempting to construct. The world of the sorcerer was one of the body and the mind, where reality was affirmed by the self and where reason was unable to unravel any explanation. Carlos Castaneda had real experiences that were inexplicable, and yet which he felt, in his body and in himself, as real. This kind of experience and its apparent contradiction are also part of the unification to which I am attempting to point. Yet, for the same reason that the sorcerer's world is not comprehensible by intellect or reason alone, the feminist reality, which concerns being woman and which is part of a new description of being human, is not an intellectual concept: it must be felt as well.

I already know that you think you are rotten...That's your "doing." Now in order to affect that "doing" I am going to recommend that you learn another "doing"...I want you to lie to yourself. Instead of telling yourself the truth, that you are ugly and rotten and inadequate, you will tell yourself that you are the complete opposite, knowing that you are lying and that you are absolutely beyond hope...It may hook you to another "doing" and then you may

realize that both "doings" are lies, unreal, and that to hinge yourself to either one is a waste of time, because the only thing that is real is the being in you that is going to die. To arrive at that being is the "not-doing" of the self. 18

The description that is our day-to-day structural reality is a patriarchal description. It lies within our institutions and within ourselves. I am a heretic, as a Bakweri is a heretic when she becomes wild and obscene, or as Don Juan was a heretic when he apologized and talked to the plants before picking them. I must defy my identified social role, the social compact that contains me within a perception and a description that is not from or about me, but from man about woman - the Other - the object.

Our fellow men are the black magicians. And since you are with them, you too are a black magician. Think for a moment. Can you deviate from the path that they've lined up for you? No. Your thoughts and your actions are fixed forever in their terms. That is slavery. 19

Deviation is not simple. To deviate is to face the experience of suffering in "slavery." Creation begins with the courage to face the deep hurt that is marked by the magicians, the ideologies and the socialization.

First, women must reclaim their power to name. "To exist humanly is to name the self, the world, and god." ²⁰ To name is to reclaim our experience as an instrumental basis for models, ideology, ethics, spirituality and life, and to no longer define and name ourselves according to the experience of men, by the description of men. To name is to dislodge the role of the Other. Our resource is ourselves,

and that which has primarily been an unheard oral tradition.

Our politics begin with our feelings. Feelings are a direct response to the events and relationships that we experience; that's how we know what's really going on. For centuries women's information has been categorized as magic, instinct, intuition, witchcraft, and more recently projections, distortions, personal hang-ups, and other variations on a theme designed to render our knowledge meaningless and empty. 21

We regard our personal experience, and our feelings about that experience, as the basis for an analysis of our common situation. We cannot rely upon existing ideologies as they are all products of male supremacist culture. We question every generalization and accept none that are not confirmed by our experience. 22

As we begin to develop our capacity to be aware of our feelings, of who we are and who we could become, we begin to see the structural reality that is the unmasked patriarchal description. As we begin to feel, we begin to experience the oppression that exists for us in these half-lives and in these patriarchal definitions that contain and manipulate us and divide us from one another and from ourselves. We must face the nothingness that is female, as it has been male-defined. The beginning of revolution is the opening of ourselves to experiencing our oppression, as it is part of the structural reality that does not allow us to be ourselves.

But to become a true revolutionary one must first become one of the oppressed (not organize or educate or manipulate them, but become one of them) - or realize that you are one of them already. No woman wants that. Because it is humiliating, it hurts...It hurts to try and change each day of your life, right now - not in talk, not "in your head" and not only conveniently "out there" in the Third World (half of which is women) or the black and brown communities (half of which are women) but in your own home, kitchen,

bed. No getting away, no matter how else you are oppressed, from the primary oppression of being female in a patriarchal world. 23

As we begin to see, we begin to unravel ourselves from the slavery of the patriarchal description.

Seeing means that everything changes: the old identifications and the old securities are gone. Therefore the ethic emerging in the women's movement is not an ethic of prudence but one whose dominant theme is existential courage. This is the courage to see and to be in the face of the nameless anxieties that surface when a woman begins to see through the masks of sexist society and to confront the horrifying fact of her own alienation from her authentic self. 24

The inauthentic self is the "non-being," the "nothingness which emerges when one turns one's back upon the pseudo-reality offered by patriarchy..." 25 Seeing is not intellectual or abstract: it is a confrontation with - and a defiance of - the oppression of the existing sexist description of the world, and in that painful turning-away is the beginning of a reaffirmation of human being in feminism. The change is total, not merely cerebral.

The beginning of a breakthrough means a realization that there is an existential conflict between the self and structures that have given such crippling security. This requires confronting the shock of nonbeing with the courage to be. It means facing the nameless anxieties of fate, which become concretized in loss of jobs, friends, social approval, health and even life itself. Also involved is anxiety of guilt over refusing to do what society demands, a guilt which can hold one in its grip long after it has been recognized as false. Finally there is the anxiety of meaninglessness, which can be overwhelming at times when the old simple meanings, role definitions and life expectations have been rooted out and rejected openly and one emerges into a world without models. 26

If you survive the shock, which I am sure you will, since you're strong and have been living like a warrior, you will find yourself alive in an unknown land. Then, as is natural to all of us, the first thing you will want to do is to start on your way back to Los Angeles. But there is no way to go back to Los Angeles. What you left there is lost forever. By then, of course, you will be a sorcerer, but that's no help; at a time like that what's important to all of us is the fact that everything we love or hate or wish for has been left behind. Yet the feelings in a man do not die or change, and the sorcerer starts on his way back home knowing that he will never reach it, knowing that no power on earth, not even his death, will deliver him to the place, the things, the people he loved. 27

As Don Juan tells Carlos Castaneda about the creation of a new description of the world, he describes the desertion of the real world as it has been agreed upon and lived "out there." The person who sees that the reality of his/her experience is in contradiction to those rules and laws can no longer go back and accept those definitions. Feminism is an identification of the reality that has been denied to women and which, in its affirmation, denies or invalidates the masculine reality within which we have lived. In that discovery is the beginning of the creation of an androgynous reality. Only in the face of non-being - of that role that is the inauthentic identity of the self - can the world be redefined and the reality of action and personal affirmation and responsibility become tenable.

With the renaming and the assertion of our experience and our knowledge; with our recognition of the male supremacy that exists and the ideology that supports it; and with the rejection of the "phantom personalities" ²⁸ that we have had to accept, we enter into a new space, where we are free to become who we are and where we can be ourselves."without the contortions of mind, will, feeling and imagination

demande of women by sexist society." 29

The new space is a boundary space. In redefining a description of the world, we are moving outside of patriarchal mindsets. We are moving the center of reality out of all that has been considered central and into a space that is unrecognizable to those who have locked themselves into patriarchal reality. Don Juan opens Castaneda to a reality of dreams, monsters, doubles and magic that is only seen by those who can open themselves to seeing. Power, humanity and morality are all redefined by the reintegration of femineity into the realm of the self, the identity and the world description.

But it is important to note that this space is found not in the effort to hide from the abyss, but in the effort to face it, as patriarchy's prefabricated set of meanings, or "nomos," crumbles in one's mind. Thus it is not set apart from reality, but from the contrived nonreality of alienation. 30

One woman remarked that the community of sisterhood, which has no hierarchy and no dogmas, involves a process which is the opposite (of this). That is, it expands by "incommunication." Those who discover the covenant find themselves in the new space. The old territory, then, is not encroached upon: one does not bother to invade nonbeing. Rather, it is left behind by those who follow the promise within, which is the promise of integrated, transformed, androgynous being. 31

In defying the description of the world and in attempting to become whole persons, feminists are challenging maleness, - a power structure - a whole culture. "The becoming of an androgynous human person implies a radical change in the fabric of human consciousness and in styles of human behavior." 32 The new space is god the verb, not god the noun; god that equals the "power of being acts as a moral power summoning

women and men to act out of our deepest hope and to become who we can be." ³³ The power to dismantle and collapse the world is the power that is recognizing that descriptions are transitory.

...It implies recognition of the fact that we have no power over the ultimately real, and that whatever authentic power we have is derived from participation in ultimate reality. This awareness, always hard to sustain, makes it possible to be free of idolatry even in regard to one's own cause, since it tells us that all presently envisaged goals, lifestyles, symbols, and societal structures may be transitory. This is the meaning that the question of God should have for liberation, sustaining a concern that is really open to the future, in other words, that is really ultimate. Such a concern will not become fixated upon limited objectives. ³⁴

Don Juan talks of seeing, and the transitory reality of any description of that which cannot be described. Power is not found in becoming slave to any vision.

"What stopped inside you yesterday was what people have been telling you the world is like. You see, people tell us from the time we are born that the world is such and such and so and so, and naturally we have no choice but to see the world the way people have been telling us it is...Yesterday the world became as sorcerors tell you it is. In that world coyotes talk and so do deer, as I once told you, and so do rattlesnakes and trees and all other living beings. But what I want you to learn is seeing. Perhaps you know now that seeing happens only when one sneaks between the worlds, the world of ordinary people and the world of sorcerors. You are now smack in the middle point between the two. Yesterday you believed the coyote talked to you. Any sorcerer who doesn't see would believe the same, but one who sees knows that to believe that is to be pinned down in the realm of sorcerors. By the same token, not to believe that coyotes talk is to be pinned down in the realm of ordinary men. ³⁵

The reality of our space is that our lives are tied psychologically, emotionally and socially to men's lives and our revolution will entail

a human revolution. The destruction of the eternal feminine will negate the false reality of the eternal and supreme masculine. We must let go of the images of masculine and feminine, which are images of alienation denying, through their false definitions, our sense of who we are and who we can become. The alienation of men lies in their imprisonment in "the bondage of an artificial duality." 36

And let's put one lie to rest for all time: the lie that men are oppressed, too, by sexism - the lie that there can be such a thing as "men's liberation groups." Oppression is something that one group of people commits against another group specifically because of a "threatening characteristic" shared by the latter group - skin color or sex or age, etc...Any master has the alternative of divesting himself of sexism or racism - the oppressed have no alternative, for they have no power - but to fight. 37

Male cooption has been quick to identify the objective system as the oppressor. Many Leftist males will not confront their power to hold power, their maleness, their oppression or their complicity in oppression. Institutions are not the oppressors. They exist as the concretization of the needs of a society; they are the tools of the oppressor. Men and women are not equally victimized. Men benefit from the oppression of women. "Any man is free to renounce his superior position provided he is willing to be treated like a woman by other men." 38 "...a fate worse than death." 39

There are the true male allies in the feminist struggle. Men who are fighting against their own roles, rejecting, by choice, their male privilege. Such men do not demand that we pity their "oppression" though they may ask that we respect their struggle. They understand that they do not need to invent a phony oppression to identify with the women's movement - morality is still an alternative, albeit seldom chosen, and such men may well recognize

that the retention of privilege is not worth the loss of humanity. 40

There can be no revolution until men are willing to struggle against the oppressors - who are male, who are in power in the home and in all aspects of their lives, who own and maintain the description that gives them power, who are themselves.

Male chauvinism is dead when we want it to be. All we need to do is to listen, to accept the fact that half of us have things to say which haven't been said, or have been dismissed, distorted, ignored, because they come from women. Perhaps we do not need to fight wars, to spend our best years toiling for an illusory security, driving ourselves to the coronary point in pursuit of wealth to placate the women we have married, then confined. We are willing to kill ourselves to show our strength, and that has always been the way of men. 41

Women are Something Else. This time, we're going to kick out all the jams, and the boys will just have to hustle to keep up, or else drop out and openly join the power structure of which they are already the illegitimate sons. Any man who claims he is serious about wanting to divest himself of cock privilege should trip on this: all male leadership out of the Left is the only way; and it's going to happen, whether through men stepping down or through women seizing the helm. It's up to the "brothers" - after all, sexism is their concern, not ours; we're too busy getting ourselves together to deal with their bigotry. So they'll have to make up their own minds as to whether they'll be divested of just cock privilege or - what the hell, why not say it - divested of cocks. How deep the fear of that loss must be, that it can be suppressed only by the building of empires and the waging of genocidal wars!

Goodbye, goodbye forever, counterfeit Left, counterleft, male dominated cracked-glass-mirror reflection of the Amerikan nightmare. Women are the real Left. We are rising, powerful in our unclean bodies; bright glowing mad in our interior brains; wild voices keening, undaunted by blood we hemorrhage every twenty-eight days; laughing at our own beauty, we who have lost our sense of humor; mourning for all each precious one of us might have been in this one living time-place had she not been born a woman; stuffing fingers into our mouths to stop the screams of fear and hate and pity for men we have loved and love still; tears in our

eyes and bitterness in our mouths for children we couldn't have, or couldn't not have, or didn't want, or didn't want yet, or wanted and had in this place and this time of horror. We are rising with a fury older and potentially greater than any force in history, and this time we will be free or no one will survive. Power to all the people or to none. 42

BEYOND

FOOTNOTES

- ¹ Michael Korda, Male Chauvinism!, Berkeley Medallion Books, New York, 1973, p. 160.
- ² Carlos Castaneda, Tales of Power, Simon and Schuster, New York, 1974, p. 144.
- ³ Robin Morgan, "Goodbye to All That," from Masculine/Feminine, Betty and Theodore Roszak, eds., Harper and Row, Publishers, Inc., New York, 1969, p. 247.
- ⁴ C.B. Milner, "Siamese Twin Birds and the Double Helix," Man, Vol. 4, No. 1, March, 1969.
- ⁵ Shirley Ardener, "Sexual Insult and Female Militancy," Man, Vol. 8, No. 3, September, 1973.
- ⁶ Shirley Ardener, Ibid., p. 426.
- ⁷ Shirley Ardener, Ibid., p. 423.
- ⁸ Shirley Ardener, Ibid., p. 427.
- ⁹ Shirley Ardener, Ibid., p. 428.
- ¹⁰ Shirley Ardener, Ibid., p. 428.
- ¹¹ Shirley Ardener, Ibid., p. 431.
- ¹² Shirley Ardener, Ibid., p. 429.
- ¹³ Edwin Ardener, "Belief and the Problem of Women," quoted by Shirley Ardener, Ibid., p. 434.
- ¹⁴ Shulamith Firestone, The Dialectic of Sex, Bantam Books, New York, 1970, p. 157.
- ¹⁵ Shirley Ardener, Ibid., p. 438.

- 16 Mary Daly, Beyond God the Father: Toward a Philosophy of Women's Liberation, Beacon Press, Boston, 1973, p. 15.
- 17 Carlos Castaneda, Tales of Power, Simon and Schuster, New York, 1974, p. 101.
- 18 Carlos Castaneda, Journey to Ixtlan Simon and Schuster, New York, 1972, p. 239.
- 19 Carlos Castaneda, Tales of Power, p. 28.
- 20 Mary Daly, Ibid., p. 2.
- 21 San Francisco Redstockings, "Our Politics Begin with Our Feelings," from Masculine/Feminine, Betty and Theodore Roszak, eds., Harper and Row, Publishers, Inc., New York, 1969, p. 285.
22. San Francisco Redstockings, "Redstocking Manifesto," from Masculine/Feminine, p. 274.
- 23 Robin Morgan, "Goodbye to All That," from Masculine/Feminine, p. 247.
- 24 Mary Daly, Ibid., p. 4.
- 25 Mary Daly, Ibid., p. 36.
- 26 Mary Daly, Ibid., p. 24.
- 27 Carlos Castaneda, Journey to Ixtlan, p. 312.
- 28 Betty Roszak, "The Human Continuum," from Masculine/Feminine, p. 301.
- 29 Mary Daly, Ibid., p. 156.
- 30 Mary Daly, Ibid., p. 156.
- 31 Mary Daly, Ibid., p. 169.
- 32 Mary Daly, Ibid., p. 15.
- 33 Mary Daly, Ibid., p. 32.

- 34 Mary Daly, Beyond God the Father: Toward a Philosophy of Women's Liberation, Beacon Press, Boston, 1973, p. 29.
- 35 Carlos Castaneda, Journey to Ixtlan, Simon and Schuster, New York, 1972, p. 299.
- 36 Betty Roszak, "The Human Continuum," from Masculine/Feminine, Betty and Theodore Roszak, eds., Harper and Row, Publishers, Inc., New York, 1969, p. 304.
- 37 Robin Morgan, "Goodbye to All That," from Masculine/Feminine, p. 245.
- 38 Robin Morgan, Ibid., p. 240.
- 39 Tommy Hill, comment on first draft of this thesis.
- 40 Karen Lindsey, "Compassion, Altruism - and Man-Hating," R.T.A. Journal of Radical Therapy, Vol. 4, No. 5, December, 1974, p. 10.
- 41 Michael Korda, Male Chauvinism!, Berkeley Medallion Books, New York, 1973, p. 234.
- 42 Robin Morgan, Ibid., p. 249.

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