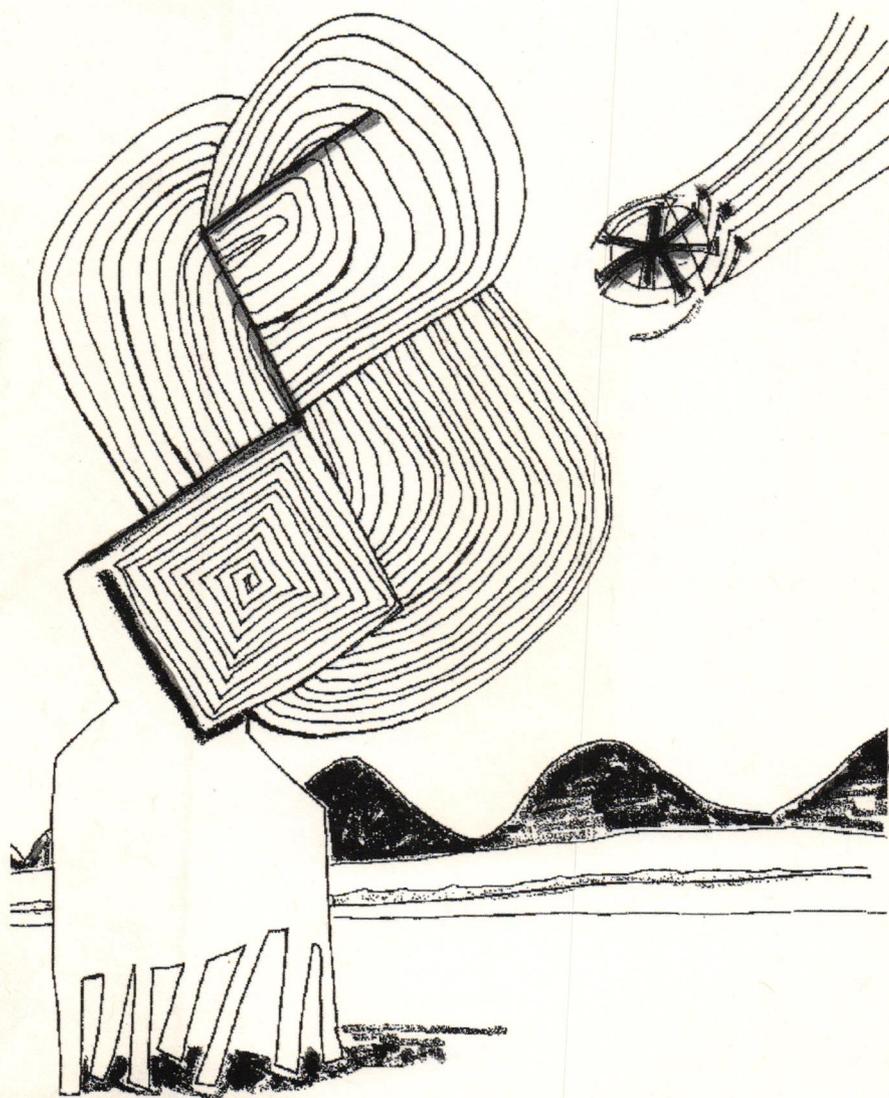


A R C H I T E C T U R E
CALIFORNIA





Frozen Attitudes in a Sea of Confusion, Ambivalent Voter Bombarded by an Easy Solution (cover), Sally Robison, 1995.

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From the Editor: The Future Is Now

In April, the Monterey Design Conference begins our countdown—1000 days until the 21st century. The global community will celebrate 2000 years of the “Common Era,” since the so-named *Anno Domini*. Travel advisors around the world are booking exotic venues from which to ring in the new millennium. I am as much a popular culture addict as anyone, and I tend to actually believe my fantasies are real. Therefore, I have already selected a flight that will let me circle the planet and bring in the new year twice. But what would I really be celebrating?

Like you, I’ve read several dozen millennial manifestos, including my own, and the righteous challenge to punctuate the turn of a century with self-reflection followed by jubilation is beginning to get old. As I face my own future, I realize that today is the measure of yesterday’s understanding of “the future.” To the extent that futuristics serves to frame our daily decisions within our responsibilities to coming generations,

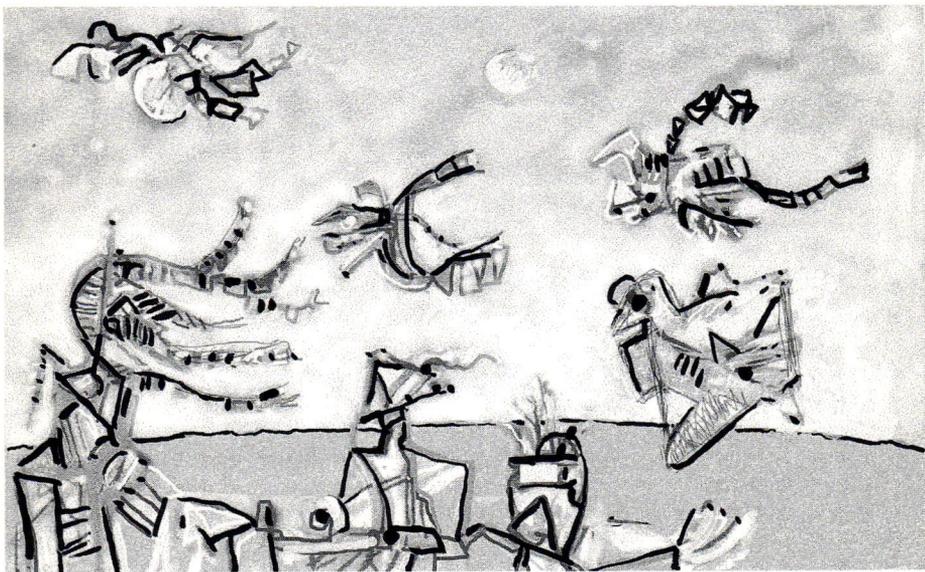
its practice serves us well. But the degree to which our millennial fever becomes a justification for anything and everything, it dangerously displaces our obligation to act responsibly today.

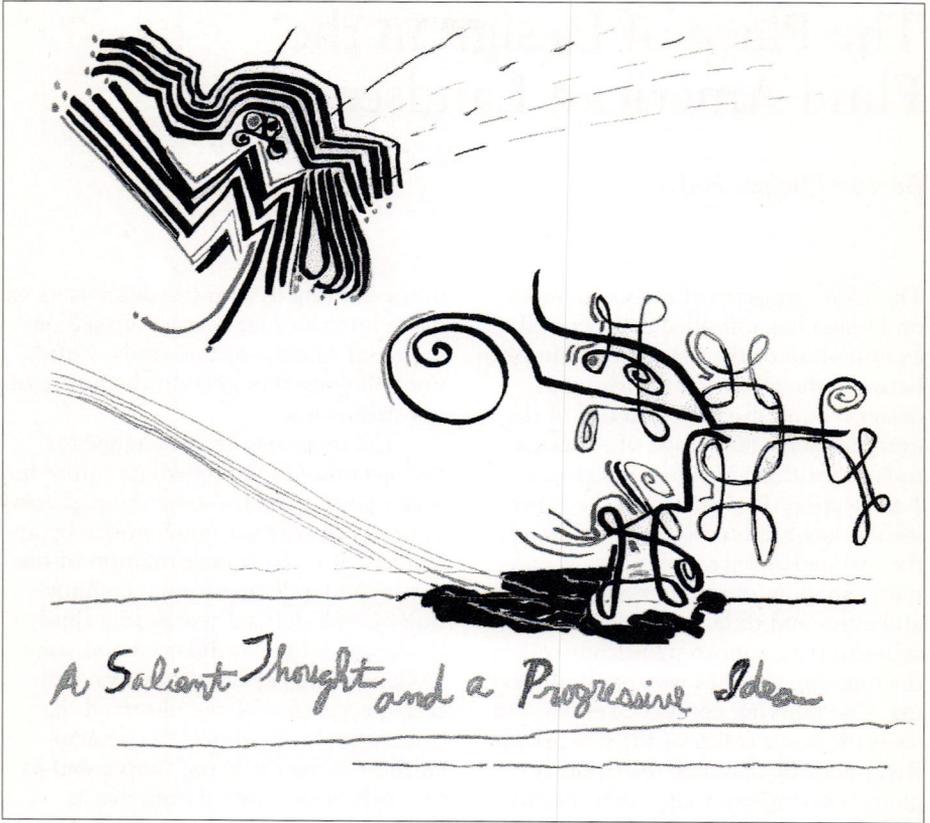
The articles that comprise “The Future of the Architecture Profession: Part Two,” therefore, have a somewhat different character than the first. They are selected to embody the future as it exists in our present, to encourage us to embrace the breadth of work and the variety of practices that already engage each other on the terrain of architecture.

When every computer clock in the world passes 11:59 pm January 31, 1999 and chaos reigns in our new information society, perhaps we will remember that our visions are always tested in real time, where history is now and our dreams, as lived, are revealed.

Mike Martin takes the helm with the next edition. It has been a pleasure serving as your editor.

Lian Hurst Mann, AIA





A Salient Thought and a Progressive Idea, Soapbox Oratory, Wishful Thinking and Impractical Ideas (opposite), Sally Robison, 1995.



The Place of Design in the Fluid American Landscape

Barton Phelps, FAIA

The 1996 program of the Committee on Design has unfolded a structured examination of the tenuous relationship between the efforts of professional designers and the look and feel of the everyday built landscape of America today. Entitled *Changing American Landscapes: the View from the River*, its aim has been to better understand the rational and irrational forces currently shaping our countryside, towns, and cities and to learn if and how design can play a more significant role in the ongoing changes we are all observing. The unifying context of these studies is the great valley of the Mississippi River and the distinctly different regions outlying three cities that display a built record of formative 19th century development followed in this century by differing physical responses to social and economic change, expansion, renewal, preservation, and the colossal overlay of modern infrastructure.

One focus of the program is on communities—neighborhoods, towns, new developments—as examples of change or continuity. Other studies include comparing old and new patterns of spatial use—both designed and “undesigned”—and examining relationships between architectural form and history, demographics, lifestyle, and national/regional mythologies and their expression in the built environment. Throughout the year we have examined what has been called the *fluid landscape* that has emerged across America, trying to understand what it produces and what it abandons, and asking how designers can participate more usefully

in the altering dynamic around us as we move into the 21st century. Based on the point of view of this study, I offer the following thoughts on the future of our profession.

The most significant change for architecture in the immediate future has taken place already—over the past forty years—and without much notice by architects. It is the transformation of the American landscape from a composition of well-defined spaces to a fluid landscape largely influenced and controlled by high-speed roadways. Cultural geographers have observed that orientation toward place as a socio-cultural definer is being supplanted by an orientation toward time that is marked more by how we spend it than where. The gradual disappearance of regional identity in the built landscape can be traced to the same sources as can the eclipse of architecture’s former symbolic functions as an influential expression of order and permanence. Much has already been written about the reasons for this—increased mobility, corporate media inundation, and the “Information Super-Highway” that has begun to produce what MIT Dean William Mitchell has described in a recent book on the spatial impacts of computer technology as “the City of Bits.” None of this is good news for traditional architectural practice.

One result is increasingly intense competition for a limited amount of planning and design work in controlled landscapes that, usually for symbolic reasons, continue to operate under traditional design principles—college cam-

puses, regulated urban streetscapes, historic public spaces, government buildings, etc. The parallel and often-cited demise of the general practice in architecture probably represents the beginning of the end for independent, private architectural practice as it is traditionally known.

Another aspect of the fluid landscape is the explosion in roadway-related design work that purists formerly might not have considered to be the realm of architecture. Now that most small town main streets have been economically evacuated by the shopping mall or the WalMart, the most influential anti-urban agents appear to be corporate-run, travel-related franchises and entertainment venues, frequently not related to gambling. Much of this construction is viewed as "temporary" by its developers, and it now occurs without traditional planning input. The eventual urbanizing of this new landscape will require public and private design and planning intervention.

The advanced state of decay in the building stock, both urban and rural, as well as much of the infrastructure produced in this century will, in the context of predicted slow economic growth and increasingly intolerable levels of poverty, eventually require a massive replacement response. Architects will probably play a larger role in both the public and private sector aspects of this. Prefabricated and mobile buildings and their incorporation into the landscape in a controlled way will be a significant part of this replacement.

An increasingly important attitude shift for architects will be to see their training and analytical/synthetic expertise in terms of its usefulness in the collective built environment rather than in terms of individual buildings for individual clients. This will allow observant designers to develop new roles for themselves in both the public and private sector as traditional practice disappears.

Such self-definition has in the past been relatively rare in this extremely normative profession. The shift from fixed, place-based political landscapes of the 19th and 20th centuries to the mobile, time-related, vernacular landscapes currently emerging in the United States will play an important role in redefining the work of designers.

Increasing diversity in client types is closely related to enormous diversity in architectural practice, and the range of services and delivery strategies continues to expand. One important gradient in this demand is cultural. It is exemplified by the differing urges of clients to see themselves, on one hand, as part of a permanent culture creating an appropriately permanent built expression of its history and, on the other, as part of the tradition of the Enlightenment economic philosophy of John Locke and the Frontier Thesis of Frederick Jackson Turner, to view the landscape as a temporary mechanism for the production of capital and, usually less consciously, as the traditionally American expression of its mythic domination by pioneers of one sort or another.

The service requirements demanded by these different orientations can differ greatly in speed of delivery and cost. A single client may embody either or both attitudes in response to a proposed project. An interesting demonstration of this duality can be found in the typically schizophrenic public approach to historic preservation in this country (we want to save it and we want to tear it down), and architects can usually be found to support either side. A critically important question is whether clients will continue to define the limits of architectural practice or will practitioners succeed in inventing their own significance and defining their own expertise in the future landscape.

Survival of the profession appears to have become an acceptable topic for conversation. It will be interesting to ob-

serve just how strongly architects want to preserve architecture as a distinct profession and how this will affect the ability of architects to continue to present even the modest attraction to clients that they traditionally have had in the United States. Many practitioners now speak with great enthusiasm about the effects of removing the word "architect" from their stationery because of its too-limiting and rigidly-stereotyped recognition among client types looking for flexible consulting and accommodating management expertise. Redefining the nature of architectural services and renaming the profession in response to client needs might be seen an overdue recognition of what economists have long characterized as the "elastic demand curve" for architectural services as distinct from more constant demands in law and medicine.

On another level, the emerging fluid landscape is not generally held to be beautiful, coherent, or meaningful in any complex way. It will probably fall to the civic and cultural motivations of designers, planners, and clients, working together, to perfect the new product and to give it expressive significance.

As in other professions, some of the most formidable barriers to change often come from within the mentality of the profession itself. One particularly arrogant tradition within the modern architectural profession is represented by the often heard urge to "educate the public." Most thoughtful practitioners have concluded that education between architects and clients or a larger public is, at least, a two-way street. Many recognized designers have built a reputation on their ability to make listening the basis of their design philosophy.

Changes in professional services offered by architects and emerging alternative roles for persons trained in architectural design suggest that at least some members of the profession are capable of shedding its traditional elitism.

A similarly erroneous projection can be found in the common complaint that "the schools are failing the profession." Clear-minded evaluations of recent graduates today suggest that they are as well or better trained than the graduates of a generation ago and in many cases now surpass their employers in technical skills. The recurrence of the denunciation of academic endeavor is perhaps more revealing about the profession than about the educational milieu.

The logic of such fallacies failing, it would appear that architects may need to become even more self-reliant in demonstrating the value of their services—they need to be better at what they do. This means that their work needs to be recognizably superior in some way, and also suggests that the internal development of professional skills is probably of equal or greater significance than external promotional efforts.

For example, it long has been recognized by many that the primary importance of professional awards and recognition programs is as a means for architects to share and compare their own professional accomplishments. The value of such recognition to the profession is directly dependent upon the full evaluation and discussion of award-winning work and the broad dissemination of this discussion to all interested professionals.

In the past, the profession has usually had to rely upon brief AIA announcements or the stilted promotional/editorial approaches of architectural magazines whose interests may be quite apart from demonstrating the true diversity of contemporary architectural practice or supplying thoughtful, constructive criticism.

Barton Phelps, FAIA, is 1996 Chair of the AIA Committee on Design and principal of the firm Barton Phelps and Associates.

The Future Belongs to the Integrator

Edward Friedrichs, FAIA

The California Council of the AIA organized a series of focus sessions in 1996 to discuss the Boyer Report. The series culminated in a summit held at California State Polytechnic University, Pomona, in November. The following text is based on comments made in the keynote address.

Gensler is a firm of 1000 people in 14 offices located throughout the United States, Paris, London, Hong Kong, and Tokyo. We are a global practice involved in serving clients and communities with complex service requirements. We don't do a lot of garage additions and certainly have done very few of the kind of projects the typical small practitioner does today. We are a single firm in multiple locations bound together by culture, technology and our clients. We are in the business of sharing knowledge in a way that will benefit our clients' enterprises.

What does this have to do with the development of teaching today? I believe it is everything. The way in which Gensler practices architecture has replicable characteristics that we believe are imperative not only for the academic curriculum but for the practitioner of any size. I will focus on the issues we see today not only in our practice, but through the eyes of the students that are joining our practice. I'll also talk about how our practice is received by our clients, or rather purchased by our customers. I hope to help take the wonderful survey of the profession in the Boyer report and extend its applicability not only for the practitioner but for the teacher as well.

Let me tell you what education looked like when I went to school. I graduated with my bachelors degree from Stanford in 1965 with my masters from the University of Pennsylvania in 1968; forever ago. The world has changed rather dramatically. I was told when I began my education that I was purchasing a valuable commodity, a degree and a body of knowledge that I would be able to apply throughout my career. It was expensive and supposedly had long-term value. Some fifteen year ago, a professor friend of mine suggested a different concept to me: the half-life of any piece of your education is only about ten years. In other words, half of what you've learned will become useless because of new knowledge within that period of time. I believe that the half life of education today is about five years. This changes our priorities about the way we acquire knowledge. It means that while we are in school we are in the business of learning how to learn so that in practice we can continue to learn and adapt to a changing world.

How often do you think about why you became an architect? Buckminster Fuller was an inspiration to me as a student. During a lecture, he said something I never forgot: "The old world of architecture was simply self expression. We have the task of making man a success." Much of the profession is still making urban sculptures as opposed to being practitioners of making humanity successful. I think of architecture as an art as well as a craft. Architecture has the ability to both sing for us as an art form at the same time

that we create rational, real-life functional places.

What should we do and teach in 1997? Can we respond to our changing society fast enough to meet the challenge of making man a success?

Remember it is not what we as architects want to do but what our clients want to buy that drives what we will be hired to do. Too many architects don't understand that aspect of our profession: that someone has to pay the bills before we can do something of merit. Numerous factors drive the demand for services.

Demographics: Population growth and composition is key. Schools ought to teach about demographic shifts.

Tax laws: In the eighties tax laws favored office construction. It certainly wasn't a true need for all that office space that drove the glut of construction in our urban cores in the '80s.

Technology: Driving service demand, it should be a major focus of our interest today both in academia and in practice. It is astounding how quickly we are replacing architecture with technology in the places of interaction. I spend a lot more time today interacting through technology by video, audio and data teleconference than I did in a conference room only a few years ago. Many things that I was doing that required space are being replaced by technology.

Now let's talk a bit about the practice of architecture today: Architecture today is truly a 100 percent leveraged business. What do I mean? There is nothing we do as practitioners that directly builds our work. Most of what gets built is not even fabricated from our drawings; it's completed from our drawings and submittals. We don't paint walls; we don't weld steel; we don't pour concrete. We give design drawings and construction specifications to a building industry that documents and fabricates what we design.

What are the implications of this process when we as a profession are held 100 percent accountable for the performance of the resulting building?

We have lost a tremendous amount of influence. A large part of what architects used to do as client representatives has been taken on by other consultants, many of whom were formerly architects. Program management, construction management and other pieces of practice that used to be part of full service architecture are now provided by others.

We are experiencing a dramatically shortened life cycle of the predictable use of the buildings we create. This shortened life cycle is occasioned by the rapidly increasing change in society's use of the places we create. It is rare that any tenant today wants to lease office space for more than a year or two because of uncertainty about their businesses. This short cycle principle applies to churches and schools, retail facilities and factories as much as it does to office buildings. This is reducing the perceived value of design to the consuming public. What has value is our ability to cause the design to become a reality more than the design itself. Design is looked at as a short term commodity which will change quite often. As a result, in a hyper-competitive environment for services, we are charging fees for the design portions of our work at half the level we charged for equivalent services ten years ago, even though our costs have increased dramatically. We have become more efficient, but even though the market is good today, we are feeling competition from other deliverers of buildings and spaces: design/constructors and other fabricators of predesigned buildings that are competitors to architects.

The impact of technology is critical. We are going through an automation of work that is causing another glitch: the loss of connectivity between

designers and those who understand the technology of how things get built. It's easy to assemble a credible set of documents without a thorough grounding in construction technology. And these documents are hidden from experienced eyes, those of the seasoned architect who used to look over the shoulder and onto the drawing of the young practitioner, because they're in a "black box" (or gray or beige as the case may be).

Architecture has become a capital intensive business. Today each seat represents about a \$12,000 investment in hardware, software, network connectivity, and training before anyone sits there. Small practitioners are facing this as well, a level of capital expenditure totally unlike when I was taught to practice architecture. Yet this technology is now essential to streamline our processes to allow us to meet competitive fee pressures.

Now let's look at the student base upon which our profession will depend in the very near future:

If you look at the AIA membership today there are about 52,000 architect members of the Institute. There are 35,000 students cycling through our architecture schools. Clearly, not all architecture students are going to become architects.

Starting salaries for architects are about \$28,000 per year. Construction tradesmen are making more than that. The average career aspiration for an architect nationally is only about \$55,000/yr. That's not enough to attract the brightest and best into our profession in the first place to say nothing of leading the brightest and best from each class into architectural practice. This can only be solved by us as a profession by enhancing the value we provide to our clients to the point that they will compensate us for what we deliver at a higher rate.

We took a brief survey in our office among young practitioners. They expe-

rience disillusionment with what they find when they enter the profession. They describe school as a place with all the focus on theory and design; the great opportunity to express themselves to the fullest. When they enter the profession they find time limits. They are told not to explore alternatives; to draw it up and get it out the door; that the client's budget absolutely precludes anything they might want to do. And most importantly they discover that there are only a handful of practitioners whose design talents are strong enough to find roles as designers in firms when in school only design was deemed a worthy career. Real life practice has meaningful and important roles for construction technologists, project managers and many other roles distinct and different from pure design. They finally begin to ask: "So why did I go into this profession?"

I think we do an enormous disservice to young practitioners by focusing on the theoretical without the constraints of reality; without sharing both the artistic and the craft side of our profession within the curriculum. In no way do I suggest that we should diminish the exploration, theoretically and passionately, of beauty. In fact, we need more theoretical dialogue in the offices, but we also need more reality in the schools: a closer match between the realms of study and practice.

Our young practitioners made a couple of suggestions:

1. Create a studio concept that allows the exploration of theoretical aspiration but at the same time introduces a number of pragmatic sketch studies which replicate what occurs in real practice: "The client just walked in and wants to explore one section of what you are doing a little bit differently with new constraints. You have 48 hours to explore a pragmatic solution." By using the intervention of sketch problems, theory and practice

could be mixed in a way that emulates real life practice while exploring broader issues.

2. Add a second crit. How about a second jury of contractors and engineers who say, "Okay, this is a great idea (no wet blanket comments like: 'we could never build that'). But if you were to build this, here is how we would do it. Let's explore together what it would take to make it a reality."

3. Finally, too much work in school focuses on urban form, as place-making for the sake of form (style and shape) devoid of the rigorous exploration of function (the people and use issues). Too much of the way architecture students are exploring work is based on doing things for the place's sake not for people's sake. If we do not focus on people, we miss the whole concept of why we do architecture, why we build buildings.

This relates to the kind of connectivity the Boyer Report suggests with allied professions. We need behavioral classes like sociology and anthropology to help us to be anticipatory of the socialization characteristics towards which society is evolving. It helps us to anticipate the way people are interacting with each other so we can create settings that enhance the kinds of experiences people are having. This has nothing to do with sculptural form but rather with behavioral science. I was taught that designing physical place is more than the creation of shelter, that its purpose is to enhance life. But who measures that?

Let me suggest some changes in the measurement of design success. For too long, architects have gauged success by their own judgment or that of other architects. The Golden Rule ("Do unto others as you would have them do unto you") is egocentric. Sounds like Howard Roark. If I think it's good, it's good! For architects, I would like to rewrite the Golden Rule so that it says

"Do unto others the way that they want to be done unto." This is a completely different way of conceptualizing the success of making architecture.

Today there are five "clients" for the work that we do, each of whom want to be "done unto" in a different way. Success is the reconciliation of each one's goals in a way that makes great design. One is the owner who signs our contract. There is also the user who may not be one and the same as the owner. Of course, the lender must accept the design since none of our clients today pay to construct the things we design out of their own pockets. Then there is the community. Every building is an act of social conscience that enhances or detracts from the aspirations of a community. The judgment of fellow professionals is last. Yes, we want our work to be admired by other architects, but until we satisfy the others, in today's world we will have no building to judge.

We must look at today's marketplace and begin to recast design. We need to look at what our clients value and what they will pay for. We want them to pay for design, but design is what we do. Design comes for free as part of the service; as far as a client is concerned, that's why they came to an architect in the first place. What they pay us for is leadership: leadership within a community, leadership with the lender, the building team or in the client's own organization

A very simple premise about leadership is "getting to yes." That's what we really get paid for: getting each of these judges of our work, lender, client and community, to say "yes." The building of trust which is the precursor to someone saying "yes" requires superb communication and leadership skills, our most important asset as professionals.

We need to reconceptualize our task as leaders of making the built en-

vironment, this recasts and recaptures value enhancement for our clients. We will not be compensated well unless and until we are thoughtful leaders of collaboration rather than providers of a plan. This is the only way our insights will have real value. We are not in the business of making plans. We are in the business of leading to a solution. The way we do this is by being a participant and collaborator with our clients, not a doer of drawings. Boyer put this well in the opening of his book: "The future belongs to the integrator."

Our role as individual practitioners and as a firm is to stimulate a dialog which continues to challenge the profession and help to define a strong future for architecture and design as a career and for our society.

Edward C. Friedrichs III, FAIA, is president of Gensler, Los Angeles.

Sentences: A Little Essay

Sigrid Miller Pollin, AIA

The other day when I was working in my architecture studio a construction framer friend of mine came in. While I was on the phone with the building department, he picked up the January 1996 issue of the *Journal of Architectural Education*, tossed back what was left of his hair and with a vibrant voice read from the first article he found, "Inhabiting the Chasm: The Dialogue of Lovers," by Clive R. Knights,

"The diminution of the phenomenon of architecture to the product of a formulaic enterprise of pragmatic problem solving is perhaps the single most destructive force contributing to the contemporary crisis of architectural reality."

Since I was on hold for the County planning department, my contractor said,

"Oh, another long-winded pompous puff-gut spreading his unappreciated little wings in print," and he slammed down a bottle of Grolsch.

When the County planner got on the phone he answered my drainage plan question by telling me to read the pertinent sentence from the plot plan review check list. That is:

"Primary exhibits shall include a conceptual drainage plan to control both on-site and off-site storm runoff; watercourses, channels, existing culverts and drain pipes including existing and proposed facilities for control of storm waters including dams,

retention basins, storm drains, culverts, brow and slope drains with type, including name, owner, capacity, grades, dimensions and easement or right of way widths clearly shown data as to amount of runoff and the drainage area in acres, points of concentration where off site runoff enters or discharges from the site and 100 year storm peak discharge at each point and name of proposed owner, or entity, who will be responsible for maintenance of each drainage facility clearly noted."

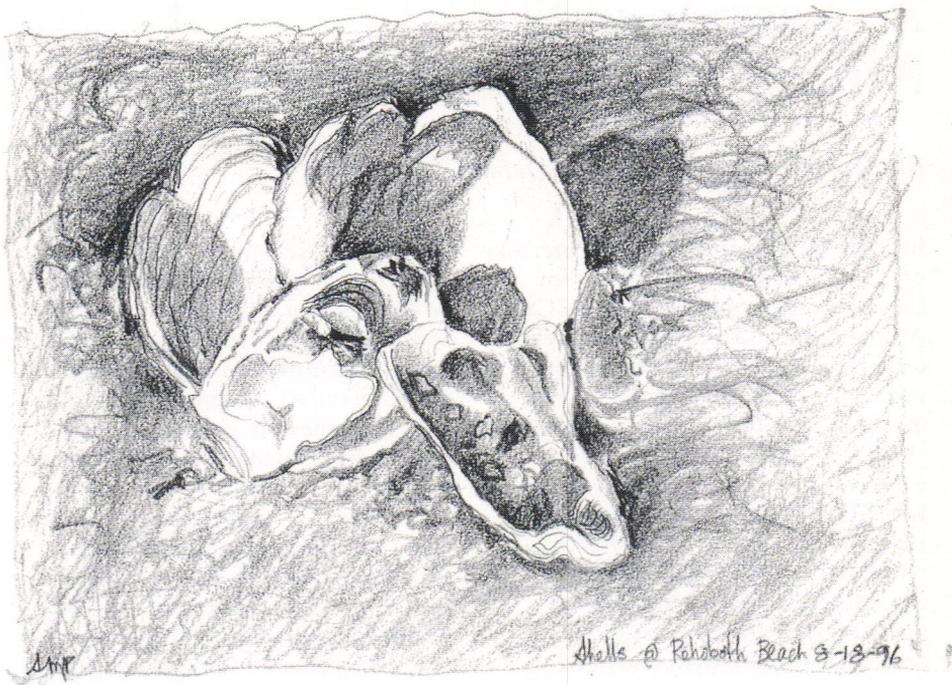
Well, that answered that.

My studio desk top is an archaeological dig site, all the layers of my life in education and practice settle and await my attention. Because I am getting licensed in a new state, a page of the Architects Practice Act—with rules and regulations for licensed architects—lay open on the top layer, I wanted a definition of a "licensed person" and I found it.

"'Licensed Person' means a natural person who is duly licensed under the provisions of the Business and Professions Code or the Chiropractic Act to render by the professional corporation of which he or she is or intends to become an officer, director, shareholder or employee."

So, now I really want to know: Am I now or have I ever been a Natural Person?

One of Anne Dillard's books *The Writing Life* was on my desk too.



With a fresh breath I read her lovely quote:

“A well known writer got colared by a university student who asked, ‘Do you think I could be a writer?’

“‘Well,’ the writer said, ‘I don’t know....Do you like sentences?’

“The writer could see the student’s amazement. ‘Sentences? Do I like sentences? I am twenty years old and, do I like sentences?’

“If he had liked sentences, of course, he could begin like a joyful painter I knew. I asked him how he became a painter. He said, ‘I liked the smell of the paint.’”

My point is that we live in all of these separate realms. And one is not always understandable to the other. That would be asking too much. But can’t we share a desire to understand how language repels us or binds us together, often at the same time.

Sigrid Miller Pollin, AIA is a principal of the firm Site Works and chair of the Department of Architecture, California State Polytechnic University, Pomona.

A Question of Status: African American Architects

Bradford C. Grant, AIA and Dennis Alan Mann

In 1991 we prepared the first *Directory of African American Architects* for Center for the Study of Practice (CSP). At that time African American architects represented slightly more than 1.0 percent of the 85,000 architects estimated by the American Institute of Architects (AIA) and by the National Council of Architectural Registration Boards (NCARB) to be licensed in the United States. The second directory published in April 1996 lists 1158 licensed African American architects among approximately 100,000, still only slightly more than one percent. Are these architects an "endangered species" as Robert Traynham Coles feared when he described their plight in an editorial for *Progressive Architecture* in July of 1989? In November 1994 *Progressive Architecture* still considered African Americans an under-represented minority in "A White Gentleman's Profession." Since little statistical data had been gathered, it has been impossible to paint an accurate picture of how African American architects are doing.

The 1995 study reported here resulted from a systematic survey designed and carried out based on pilot studies from informal questionnaires processed between 1991 and 1994. The 1995 surveys were sent to 980 licensed African American architects identified by the Center for the Study of Practice. 382 were returned, yielding a significant 39 percent response rate.

SURVEY RESPONDENTS

Of respondents to the survey, 64 percent are between 31 and 50 years old;

9 percent were women. Our 1996 *Directory of African American Architects* confirmed that only 85 African American women are licensed, only 7 percent of African American architects that make up only 1 percent of the profession, thus they are one of the most under-represented groups in the profession.

We find it noteworthy that 44 percent of respondents to the African American architects survey hold Masters degrees and 24 percent hold post-professional degrees. It is significant that 36.8 percent of first professional degrees granted to African American architects were granted by historic Black universities. This finding is supported by NAAB data that found 45 percent of African American architecture students attend the historic Black universities and, in 1995, 43 percent received their professional degrees from those schools. A separate study conducted for Howard University concluded that 19 percent of the African American architects who we list in our CSP directory have their first professional degree from Howard. There are many questions that this finding leaves unanswered and warrant further research.

Meanwhile, nearly all of the schools of architecture with predominately white student bodies continue to demonstrate a weak matriculation rate of African American students into their programs. Nevertheless, the largest numbers of African American architects responding to our survey have received their graduate degrees from the top programs. While all programs ex-

cept the University of Illinois and Tuskegee are in or near large metropolitan areas with a significant African American population, most of their programs draw students from a national and international pool. In the case of these schools, we feel safe in hypothesizing that it is the excellence of their programs and the reputation of their faculty, along with generous scholarship support, that draws students to them.

GENERAL PROFESSIONAL DESCRIPTION

The overwhelming majority of the African American architects who responded to our survey work in architecture/design-related firms, the next largest group being the 13 percent that work in public agencies. When asked slightly differently, 56 percent responded that they are firm owners, 20 percent private sector employees, 17 percent public sector employees, 4 percent full-time faculty, and 3 percent retired. Among private-sector employees, 64 percent of respondents work in firms of 20 employees or less. AIA statistics note that there are 15,000 firms owned by AIA members, and there are currently about 45,000 licensed architect members. This means that approximately 33 percent of AIA members are firm owners. What's more, 94 percent of architects who are AIA members work in firms of 20 or less.

The higher percentage of ownership among African American architects hints at the existence of a glass ceiling in firms classified as "majority-owned" where the route to ownership or partnership might be less possible for the African American architect. This is reinforced by the fact that the majority of African American architect employees work in firms with only a small number of African Americans (1-9); 22 percent of African American architects are the only Black employee in the firm. This could possibly set the

stage for an uncomfortable work place environment for the lone Black architect. Further research is needed here.

SALARIES

The average starting salary for architects in general continues to be low, especially when compared to starting salaries in engineering. The Center for the Study of Practice at the University of Cincinnati reported in their annual hiring and salary survey that the mean starting salary for architects was \$22,125. *Architectural Record* reported in September 1995 on an annual survey of principals' (partners) salaries conducted by Zweig White and Associates: the salaries of principals of architecture-only firms averaged \$80,000. *Progressive Architecture's* report on salaries in December 1995, drawn from AIA data, listed average partner's salaries as \$59,300. Most of the practitioners who returned our survey could be classified as architecture-only firms, and 37 percent of the principals' salaries of African American-owned firms are over \$70,000. As we might have expected, the majority of these are salaries of the few architects who have been in practice for more than twenty years and have well-established, highly-regarded practices.

AFRICAN AMERICAN-OWNED FIRMS

We find it particularly significant that 55 percent of African American architects surveyed are firm owners. Again, this may be explained by the many frustrations and difficulties that the African American architect faces due to a "glass ceiling" and to race-related incidents that they experience while working in majority-owned firms or while attending schools with predominantly white student bodies. We can only hypothesize at this point that many African American owners left other firms and founded their own firms as a means of having more control over

what they perceived as racially-based limitations in the professional environments in which they were employed. The very small number of African American senior partners in majority-owned firms further supports this hypothesis (we know of no more than ten such senior partners nationwide, eight of whom responded to our survey).

The 221 responses received from firm owners made it dramatically clear that an extremely large majority of African American firms (86 percent) are 100 percent African American-owned. These figures demonstrate that there are relatively few African Americans who are in an ownership capacity in either jointly-owned or majority-owned firms. These results seem to confirm that anecdotal reports of segregation in ownership is a fact.

Results also show that African American firm organization differs significantly from typical AIA member firms. AIA member firms are mainly small firms organized as proprietorships (52 percent) with the larger firms more likely to be organized as corporations (40 percent). African American firms are 60 percent corporations and 33 percent proprietorships, but similar to AIA firms in general, the smallest percentage are partnerships (7 percent).

Information gathered from the responding firms owners indicates that while 44 percent of AIA firms have been in existence longer than fifteen years, only 27 percent of African American firms have been in existence for the same period of time. This is not surprising given the relatively recent emergence of African American-owned firms into the private sector, generally within the last twenty-five years.

Regarding the geographical scope of work, African American firms are involved in national and international practices at a higher rate than AIA firms in general. We hypothesize from anecdotal evidence that the relatively

small number of average-to-large African American firms combines with emerging development in Africa, the Caribbean, and South America to prompt these firms to seek work in the international arena at a higher rate than AIA firms in general.

Billings appear to be split fairly evenly between public and private contracts. The majority of owner respondents indicated that less than 25 percent of their clients were African American (59 percent), yet 30 percent of the African American owners indicated that over half of their clients are African American, a significant number given the small size of the African American client base.

Regarding joint-ventures with non-minority-owned firms, the overwhelming conclusion to this query is that there is a very small amount of joint venturing between African American firms and majority-owned firms. Although we neglected to include a "zero percentage" option in our questionnaire, seventeen respondents hand wrote in "zero." Only 6 percent responded that they joint-ventured on 50 percent or more of their projects. When asked what percentage of joint-venture work with a majority firm placed the African American-owned firm as the prime partner, the majority of the African American firms that responded "fifty percent or more" were the larger firms that had been in existence for more than twenty years. At the other extreme, those firms that replied that they were "never" prime were the smaller firms that had been in practice for ten years or less.

PROFESSIONAL AFFILIATIONS

Significantly, 69 percent of the nearly 400 respondents said they are members of the AIA (while African American AIA members comprise less than 1 percent of the Institute's membership); 8 percent are Fellows. Of respondents,

48 percent are members of NOMA (National Organization of Minority Architects); 42 percent, NCARB members; and 13 percent, Construction Specifications Institute.

FURTHER DIRECTIONS

In response to our survey, numerous areas presented themselves for further research: the severe under-representation of African American women in the profession; the merits and the problems associated with the concentration of students in the historic Black colleges; the role of African American architects in international work; questions about the "glass ceiling" effect in majority-owned firms; dynamics of joint-venturing; the value of various professional affiliations.

Additionally, a number of people have been interested in knowing more about the current status of the so-called "pipeline"—the process by which African American students get into architecture school and through internship to actually become architects. The Center for the Study of Practice is currently undertaking a nationwide study to track 1996 graduates from schools of architecture and interior design. Respondents to both pilot and formal surveys have also expressed interest in learning more about Black architects in practice outside of the United States; in having a bibliography of published works of African American architects; in finding out more about buildings designed and constructed by African American architects prior to the establishment of registration laws; and in knowing more about African Americans who hold professional degrees in architecture but who are now working in other fields.

These questions which have been identified but not addressed by the scope of our survey provide clarity for further research directions. We encourage others who might be interested in

these questions to help contribute to the growing body of knowledge in this new area of research about African American architects.

NOTES

This short report compiled for Architecture California is drawn from the more extensive The Professional Status of African American Architects, Bradford C. Grant and Dennis Alan Mann, eds. (University of Cincinnati: Center for the Study of Practice, 1996). Also available from the same editors at the Cincinnati Research Center is the 1996 Directory of African American Architects. For readability of this short report, percentages are rounded to the nearest whole number. See the full report for statistical details. At the time that the surveys were mailed (Feb-May 1995) we listed 1060 licensed African American architects. Since that time 115 new names have been added to our master list. See the full report for statistical details. AIA statistics from The Architecture Fact Book, 1994 Edition.

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Habeas Corpus

Sylvia Lavin

I like transgressional boundaries, leaky distinctions, dualisms, fractured identities, monstrosity and perversity. I like contamination. I like miscegenation. I like a fly in the soup, a pie in the face. I like the territory of slapstick, where amidst general laughter neither death nor crime exists. I like the world of burlesque with its pure gesticularity. In this guiltless world, where everyone gives and receives blows at will, buildings fall down, bricks fly, the protagonists are immortal and violence is universal, without consequence.

Sherrie Levine

The first time I saw Sherrie Levine's new work, *Chimera*, I was reminded of a movie I once saw called *Fantasmia a Roma*. I tried to banish this apparently extraneous thought from my mind. Yet because Levine's work often involves some level of displacement or indirection, and provokes the sense that there is something lurking just beyond the edge of the frame, I decided that *Chimera* might have some underlying association with the film that I hadn't yet been able to identify.

Fantasmia a Roma is about an impoverished prince living in Rome during the 1960s in a shabby seventeenth-century palazzo that is inhabited by ghosts. When a developer attempts to demolish this palazzo in order to construct a twenty-story supermarket, the biggest in Europe, the ghosts devise a scheme to save the building that involves the services of a wild-eyed and cranky ghost named Caparra—an art-

ist. As the building is about to be razed, the attic is discovered to be completely covered in seventeenth-century frescoes. After the local art historian mis-attributes the paintings to Caravaggio (so enraging Caparra that he makes the historian trip and break his leg), the building goes on the register of historic monuments, with a plaque at the entrance announcing the Sala di Caravaggio. (I like to think it eventually becomes an erroneous Caravaggio museum, replete with gift shop enabling the prince to recover lost revenues.) The ghosts get to stay undisturbed.

The frescoes in *Fantasmia a Roma* may not be readymades in the Duchampian sense of the term, but they are readily made, at least, as well as made to order, and suspended in time and space in an exceedingly odd way: they are "original" seventeenth-century Caravaggios painted in the 1960s by the ghost of a mythical artist, Caparra. Perhaps they must be considered the first works of Conceptual art, since a ghost has no body, properly speaking, and his art must perforce be the pure issue of his mind. The ghosts are certainly the movie's heroes, and the viewer is asked to admire them for their faith in salvation through art. But *Fantasmia a Roma*, in its quirky little way, also raises questions about the autonomy and authorship of art, its status and agency in a world structured by capital. Most compellingly, the film introduces the rather charming idea that ghosts have been controlling the history of art all along. Perhaps there has ever been a secret and ghostly community guiding art's development, and this spectral sect is in fact

the spirit that Hegel sought, the energy motivating all those progressive and teleological histories of art that we know so well. For those who seek to find in art an escape from the mastery of the messy exigencies of the body, the ghost-artist must be the summum bonum.

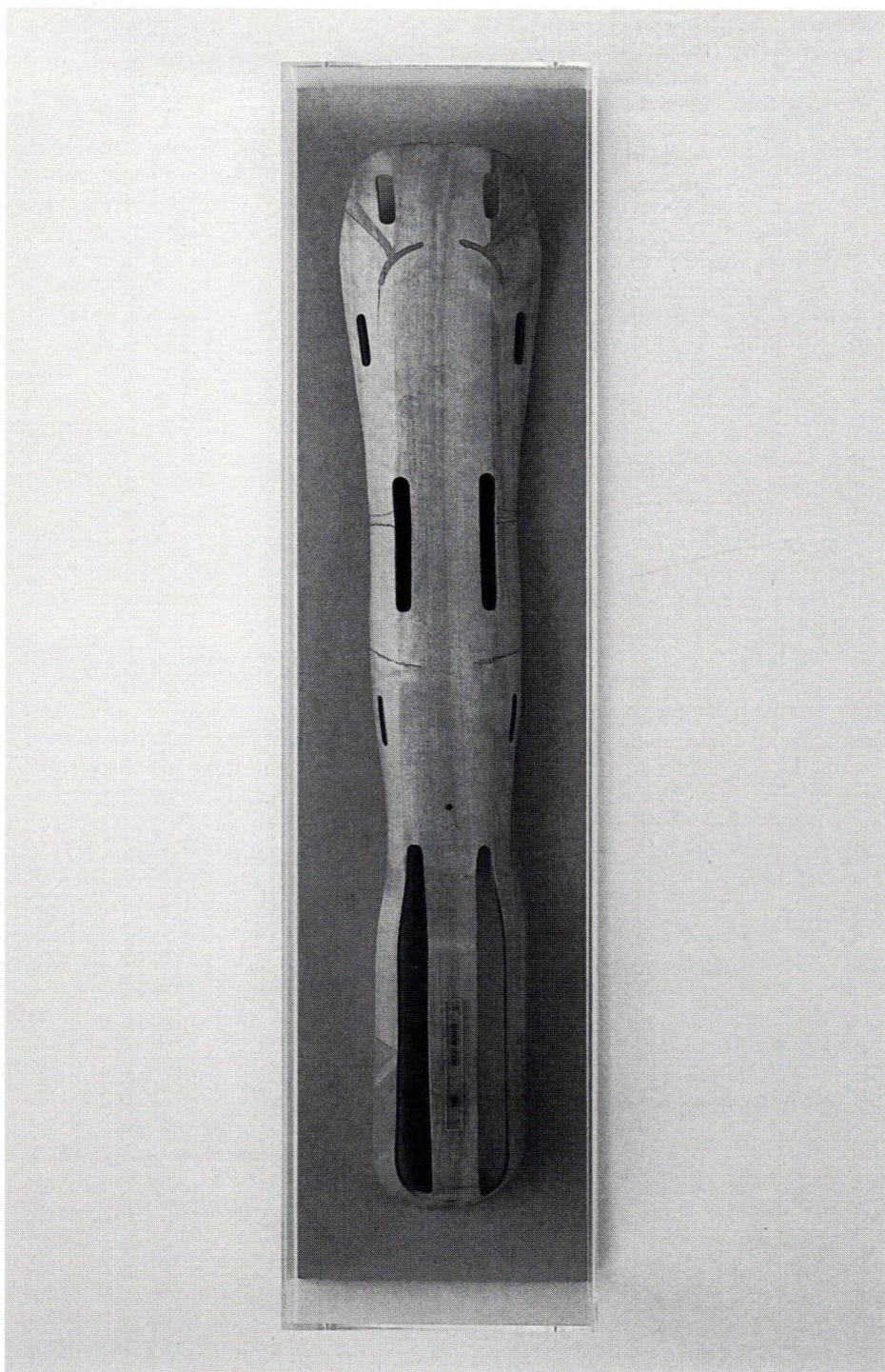
Is Sherrie Levine a ghost, or at least an honorary member of this artistic ghosthood? Certainly an outstanding feature of her work is the way it makes odd and unimaginable introductions between people, objects, and materials, as though she had her fingers on a Ouija board. With a little sleight of hand, she has made Weston live again, Duchamp collaborate with Brancusi, and has managed to shift the spatiotemporal coordinates, as well as the gender, of some of the most ponderous objects in the history of art. To alter the position of Duchamp's urinal, to gild that lily, is no small feat.

Most recently, if perhaps improbably, Levine has introduced Duchamp to Charles and Ray Eames, producing out of this admixture *Chimera: After a Broken Leg*, a molded piece of blond plywood mounted vertically in a plexiglass box, backed with linen, and hung on the wall. The thin sheet of wood forms a symmetrical yet irregular concave volume, as though it had been cast from an absent solid. With its elongated holes and openings, organic materials, and natural colors, *Chimera* peers frontally out of its box like an African mask stretched almost beyond recognition.

In considering this fantastical work, one almost cannot avoid day-dreaming a bit, fantasizing about the narrative that would end with this object as its denouement. Although the most immediate starting point is clearly Duchamp's *In Advance of a Broken Arm*, I like to think the story picks up speed when Levine causes its protagonist, perhaps just returned from shoveling snow, to fall into Duchamp's *Trap*

of 1917, the coat rack lethally moved from wall to floor. After organizing this accident, Levine repents and graciously helps the newly broken leg into a splint—one of those that Charles and Ray Eames designed and produced between 1941 and 1943. There may be a ghost behind this illusive and illusory story, a ghost that has put these narrative elements into tropic movement, but someone somewhere has to have once had a body, a real body that could break. Indeed, chimeras are not just ghostly dreams, but bodies, combinations of dissimilar bodies, genetically engineered organisms made by grafting, mutating, and mixing different cells and tissues. Levine is making monsters—maybe not grotesque combinations of lions, goats, and serpents, but an embodied mutant nevertheless, with a broken leg.

Who tripped, whose leg is broken, to whom does this absent body belong? At first glance, the answer would have to be none other than Charles Eames. The splints in question are the result of the Eameses' first successful foray into mass production. Before they started to make the furniture with which they are so inextricably associated, Charles and Ray worked in a Los Angeles garage concocting strange glues and methods with which to mold plywood, making a sandwich of sheets of Douglas fir, covered in veneers of mahogany and birch. The first objects they realized were free-standing biomorphic sculptures, little creatures that needed no help from plinths or struts to stand up. Quickly thereafter, these generically organic forms turned into the veritable shape of a leg, Charles' leg specifically. During the period when the Eameses were developing this inexpensive, flexible, yet strong material that could be molded to any shape, they learned that the army was experiencing difficulties with the straight lengths of metal normally lashed at that time to an injured



Chimera: After a Broken Leg (1994), plywood and plexiglass, 48"x12".

leg—these tended to cause gangrene. Consequently, they approached the military with the idea of producing a leg splint that was, in effect, figurative and isomorphic with the limb that it would immobilize. They also attempted to develop the idea further, fashioning prototypes of an arm splint and a full-body litter using the same molded wood. These latter devices never went into production, but in 1942 the U.S. Navy ordered 5,000 leg splints and, by 1943, 150,000 had been manufactured. The first furniture the Eameses made and mass-produced, then, was furniture of war, and the shape to which the limbs of all wounded soldiers would be molded was the leg of Charles Eames himself.

The story of the triumph of modernism in America is of course also the story of war, the machine through which the country was finally thoroughly industrialized, mechanized, abstracted, and reproduced. Much of America's postwar suburban landscape and many of its artifacts had their origins in the apparatus of war. Though we normally associate the Eameses with some of the most pleasurable domestic furniture of this century, objects that have become highly collectible, even fetishized (indeed Levine bought the splints she used in *Chimera* not in an army-surplus outlet or one of the thrift stores where she had found some of the earlier readymades she used, but in an antique shop), it should come as no surprise that they got their start with the military.

Is *Chimera* the memory, the reformulation, or the result of some historic assault? Much of Levine's oeuvre has engaged the subject of art history by aggressively if politely toppling its canons and hierarchies. Those who have constructed and protected these edifices have been singled out for special consideration in her skirmishes: with its complex artistic genealogies and

mindbending logical conundrums, Levine's work can perhaps be said to speak most intimately to art historians. Who but an aesthete, scholar, or furniture collector would be able to identify the Eames leg splints? They aren't Brillo boxes or soup cans, after all. The perfectly erudite art historian or critic may well be the ideal audience for Levine, but the perfection of their relationship with her is oedipal. Maybe out of chagrin, and like Caparra, Levine has finally just gone ahead and tripped one of them up.

Certainly both Duchamp and the Eameses were waging wars of a sort, battling the classification and inherited status of objects, engaging the art of contestation. When Duchamp made mass-produced objects into readymades, and when the Eameses designed utilitarian objects for mass production but considered them art, they managed to produce artifacts of ambiguous status—poor targets for return fire, as it were. The primary piece of work that elevated the Eameses from the status of designers and decorators into the loftier realm of architects was their house, built in 1949 in Los Angeles. This structure, number 8 in a series of Case Study Houses sponsored by John Entenza, editor of *Arts & Architecture* magazine, was meant to be a model of affordable postwar housing. Like a chimera, it was to be made from a kit of parts, an assemblage of off-the-shelf, readymade industrial components. It was intended, then, to be easily mass-produced, but the apparently machine-made and disparate elements had to be handmade. Asking to be mass-produced, and perhaps endlessly imitated and reinterpreted, it was never actually reproduced.

The status of chimeras is perpetually in doubt, in part because their vitalism is undercut by the fact that they are often sterile, intrinsically and genetically unable to reproduce. At least

from a certain point of view, the questions posed by the ways in which they are generated are less problematic than the matter of their agency. The interest in Duchamp's *Trap*, for example, lies not only in his aggressive impulse to trip someone, but in the vertiginous desire to fall that the trap evokes in the viewer—a desire defined by Edmund Burke as a quintessential feature of the sublime. When we view *Chimera*, we are also watching a giddy Levine hoping to fall into Duchamp's trap, a state that may well describe the predilection of much Conceptual art.

It's not a far leap to this conclusion, since much of Levine's work is characterized by an endlessly entangling identification with those whose work she borrows. But if it is Levine who has fallen, and if it is her broken leg that is now being placed in Charles' splint—her name, after all, is inscribed on a plaque attached to the face of the splint in the Plexiglas box—could her leg be mended and healed by the shape of his leg? The process of appropriation, as a strategy, seems to work smoothly enough until two actual body parts, one male, the other female, come to occupy a single site. When we arrive in the space of this object, designed by, for, and from the masculine leg, we see that this supposedly universal model of recuperation does not in fact fit everyone.

The absent body presenting itself has never been fully invisible in Levine's work: her early Westons were decidedly figurative, and her Schieles are, among many other things, images of highly sexualized bodies. More recently, in *Newborn*, the body, although immature and not fully formed, has even become three-dimensional. Yet as the infant sits atop the piano, its independence is compromised by its relationship to its support: the base, usually a minor and buttressing element in sculpture, has grown out of all proportion, threatening to engulf that to which it should be subservi-

ent. Similarly, if the splint in *Chimera* is an enabling, supplementary device without which the body could not stand and would not be whole, it is also a void and an absence, a mold of a figure no longer present. The prosthesis merges with the body it supports, literally giving it strength; at the same time, it comes after a broken leg. The absent body is keenly felt in *Chimera*, inducing the wrenching and haunted pain of a phantom limb.

The veil of modesty provided by the apparently disengaged and conceptual strategies of appropriation does not keep us from sensing, hovering in the shadows of *Chimera*, a figure that has always haunted Levine's work: the ghost of the body. In fact, the work arouses in the viewer the sense of Levine's sublime desire to fall bodily into the history of art, to hide and dispose of her body in its texts. If Levine has been deliberate in keeping this figure at bay, so have her critics. The avoidance of iconography in studies of Levine's work seems mostly an effort to recuperate and prop up its element of abstraction and thus, at least in part, to continue and indeed redeem the structures and principles of Modernism. And that is to fall into a trap. To believe that Levine can appropriate the speech of an other without engendering difference is to take the words right out of her mouth. Instead, I like to think of *Chimera: After a Broken Leg* as a body Levine has fashioned by joining bits and pieces of the male artists whose work she has purloined. Once consumed, these phantoms had to move through the places Levine haunts, the public spaces of museums, the trenches of war, the domestic space of the house, the architecture of the mind, and the channels of birth. As a result, while these body parts may have originally been attached exclusively to men, the Chimera that emerges from Levine appears to be a ghostly androgyne.

NOTES

1. *Fantasma a Roma* was directed by Antonio Pietrangeli in 1961. It stars Marcello Mastroianni, Vittorio Gassman, and Eduardo De Filippo.

2. For a brief summary of these splints, see John Neuhart, Marilyn Neuhart, and Ray Eames, *Eames Design: The Work of the Office of Charles and Ray Eames* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 1989), 28-35.

3. For a discussion of the Case Study Houses, see Elizabeth A.T. Smith, ed., *Blueprints for Modern Living: History and Legacy of the Case Study Houses*, exhibition catalogue (Los Angeles: Museum of Contemporary Art, and Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1989).

4. On Jacques Derrida's notion of the dangerous supplement, see his *Of Grammatology*, trans. G. C. Spivak (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1976). Mark Wigley, in his "Prosthetic Theory: The Disciplining of Architecture," *Assemblage 15* (1991):7-29, has developed this idea in an architectural context.

5. I am reminded of a statement made by Levine in 1979, after Alberto Moravia: "Since the door was only half closed, I got a jumbled view of my mother and father on the bed, one on top of the other. Mortified, hurt, horror-struck, I had the hateful sensation of having placed myself blindly and completely in unworthy hands. Instinctively and without effort, I divided myself, so to speak, into two persons, of whom one, the real, the genuine one, continued on her own account, while the other, a successful imitation of the first, was delegated to have relations with the world. My first self remains at a distance, impassive, ironical, and watching. I no longer paint faces, only scars, intimations, and signs."

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This for That: Venice, Shanghai, Lima

Victor di Suvero

Excursions into the ethos of a number of cities into which the author has gone with an eye to returning to share his impressions: A prose poem in progress, the sections presented here feature three cities in as many continents.

Venice, Italy—Adriatic jewel, gem of so many dreams and desires is a living, breathing, buying, selling, tourist serving, cultural repository and medieval artifact surviving because it continues to serve as a gathering place of exchanges. *This for that* has always been its reason for being—always the reason for all cities. Service for protection, the potentate's soldiers protect and the farmers come to market. Have a huge market and the buyers come from afar. Gather rich buyers and the merchants will come from India and China to serve their needs. *This for that*. In the beginning the refugees fled Aquileia, capital of the Roman province of Venetia Giulia, when the Goths came down into the plains in 460. These refugees ran out through the marshes to hide on the high ground of the island of Torcello in the northeastern corner of the Great Lagoon of Venice and began to build where the horses of the Goths could not follow. They built it up to house some 30,000 people in the next 500 years but the mosquitoes and the "malaria"—bad air made it difficult to stay, and in 926 they decided to move it out further into the Lagoon where a shoal and a high river—Ri'alto—had tides that ran hard and fast enough to change the water daily, there where there was an "aria sana"—healthy air—known as "sanaria" in the Venetian dialect, and they moved everything,

pots and pans and beds and books and even buildings, stone by stone and lintels and doorways and doors, a city of 30,000 people relocating in a dozen years. Torcello is proud of its Basilica, which was too big to move, its Baptistry—idem—a couple of restaurants with a few rooms for rent, and the Locanda Cipriani is proud of having had Hemingway and Churchill and the Queen of England as guests. Its vegetable gardens feed Venice now—the rest is a memory—while the legend planted in mid-lagoon flourished. 72 islands built up until it assumed its present shape in the late 14th century, when the function of its exchanges continued to blossom and enlarge until it reached its apogee in the 17th century with more than 600,000 inhabitants it served—*this for that*. Venice had nothing to begin with—except for its sand and the salt it harvested from its waters. The sand became glass and suitable for trade, so did the salt. *This for that*. The Venetian ships would sail down the Adriatic into the Peloponnese and return with silks and stone for the buildings, for the wharves and the sea walls. The merchants prospered, the Venetian way of doing things continued to make sense and the colonies and warehouses began to proliferate—Crete, Cyprus, Rhodes and even all the way to Constantinople. Always *this for that*—and it built a bridge between East and West. The Fondaco dei Turchi, Warehouse and a Trading Center of the Turks, still sits right by the Rialto Bridge—now mainly used as the Produce Market for Venice where the farmers from Torcello and from the mainland bring their fruit and their veg-

etables to sell, as do the fishermen and butchers, and the housewives and the cooks from the pensione and the restaurants still come to buy as they did five, six, and seven hundred years ago. *This for that.* And it's still a place rich enough to have a surplus and it's the surplus that nurtures art and there are museums to house it and feature it and present it in a continuing panoply that began with all the religious fervor of those early times. Art making itself manifest in the churches first and it is there to be seen still—the merchants' surplus becoming the gift to the Church, commissioning the paintings that became the entrance ticket to the best seats in the Heaven to come. *This for that.* The women more beautiful as the rich merchants kept choosing more beautiful wives. That Venetian skin, that coloring, Titian's women and that red hair that became almost a trademark at the time and, walking from the Rialto to the Piazza San Marco, one turns a corner and sees not one, not two, but three of the Angels that one first saw in one of the ceilings of Santa Maria del Giglio laughing, chatting and walking towards you with baskets in their hands and they smile at you and you nod and say "*buon giorno*" "good day." *This for that.* And more Art and more Music and Vivaldi performed in the church where he had taught the choir and played his brilliant *Seasons* right there on the Riva dei Schiavoni looking south towards San Giorgio, the monastery island where they also play his concerts in the summer evenings in the quiet cloister and the tourists come and listen, remembering forever after how it was that music filled them and the air and the old cloister and how it became part of their lives forever after. *This for that.* Music has its magics, but also theatre and not only the formalities of La Fenice with its boxes and brocades and now sadly and irreparably gutted but about to be rebuilt, also

the street theatre, the Commedia dell'Arte, the Harlequins and the Puleinelle and Columbine dancing in the piazze and the alleys through the narrow and winding ways while the ornate hotels with their concierges and their expensive manners care for and shield and protect the curious visitors who come in air-conditioned comfort to deal in the various specialties of the place, glass artifacts and chandeliers, fine leathers, gold and silver work, velvets and silks, today as they did so long ago, so that they can return to where they started from with their prizes and surprises still doing their showoff best. *This for that.* The gondoliers rowing the tourists so that the tourists will have their pictures taken in the gondola in the Grand Canal so as to remember when they get home as well as having their children remember when they had been there, and the photos taken in Piazza San Marco with the pigeons and the music from the bandstands in front of the cafes and all the other tourists as well as the Venetians crossing the Piazza in front of the Basilica with its four Byzantine horses in perfect gait captured by Byzantium and the huge flags on the tall flagpoles next to the Campanile, all to be painted and photographed, remembered, talked about all over the world with the stories ranging from the ones dealing with Desdemona's Palace and Peggy Guggenheim's, now a modern art museum, and then, yes, that's Palazzo Dario where the Doors used to hang out and someone died of an overdose there in the Seventies, scandalous of course, and the Shah kept an apartment complete with mistress at the Gritti as Iran was turning once again and as the Grand Canal turns toward Rialto there on the right one can see the plaque on the Palazzo where Lord Byron used to hang out with his retinue that included three monkeys, two mistresses, a bear and a blackamoor, and yes, they swear

it's true Byron would, after an all night party, swim the Grand Canal to get himself in shape for that swim he did across the Hellespont to get to the Golden Horn from Constantinople. This story for that one. City of Poets and Merchants, dealing always in the imagination of exchange. Marco Polo's house is there, around the corner from the restaurant where we had dinner last night and it's not true that Christo wants to wrap the Campanile this year, but perhaps, perhaps and there, just before the Bridge of Accademia where so many of the treasures, not only of Venice, but of the Western World are cloistered for viewing, on the other side of the Grand Canal is the Villa Rossa, where D'Annunzio wrote his *Francesca da Rimini* while planning to bring the Austrian Kaiser's Navy to its knees and where Wagner finished *Tannhauser* and then just a hundred yards towards San Marco where Stravinsky died and is now buried on the Isle of the Dead, the cemetery island with its cypresses where space is really at a premium and even death and burial are temporary—and then of course the other islands in the Lagoon tickle your curiosity so ways are found to go to Burano for Lace, to Murano for Glass, to San Giorgio Maggiore for the Cini collection, to the Giudecca and all the 32 other out-islands dotting the Lagoon harboring monastery and fishing village as easily as the gulls and the pigeons that punctuate the sky from the Lido to the Giardini, to the Piazza San Marco, on feast days and workdays, winter and summer each one with its festivals and terrors, from the charged energy of Carnevale to the dread and darkening of Good Friday, Venice inviting, seducing, promising, empowering and delivering all to all; managing its heritage so as to enchant, teach, trade, barter and make itself necessary to all who desire the marvelous and are willing to pay the price.

Shanghai—the invented, put-together city that came about only recently as far as cities go. At the beginning of the 1800s it was another slightly larger fishing village in a town upriver from Woosung about eighty miles into the delta of the Yang Tze Kiang. The old village was sheltered on one of the tributaries, the Whangpoo, whose meandering course in the flat coastal plain made it snake around in curves that at times almost touched each other. This Shanghai had grown around the old Chinese town after the Boxer Rebellion when the Europeans were successful in exacting “concessions” from the old Chinese Empire and its Empress Dowager. This meant that actual pieces of Chinese land around the old City were given over as territories to belong to the French and the English, the Italians, Russians, Germans and Austrians and even the Japanese for the damages that had been suffered by their nationals, mostly missionaries, during the troubles that climaxed in the Boxer Rebellion in 1906 when the Tai Ping Rebellion led by the Chinese Son of Heaven, Brother of Jesus, managed to terrify the country, killing more than 40,000,000 people in about ten years. I had grown up there in the early thirties, before moving up to Tientsin in 1936 and then on to San Francisco just before the War in 1941, and here I was back in Shanghai as a Merchant Seaman, a deckhand aboard an American Victory ship tied up at a dock near Yangtzepoo road, seeing the city from a completely different perspective than I had as the young son of an Italian Naval Officer turned into a representative of Italian industry in China—we had arrived with a cargo of UNRRA grain and the publicity pictures with Mme. Chiang Kai Shek coming aboard to receive the gift in the name of the grateful Chinese people was a publicity tour de force that was surprising in its professionalism and quite strange since

the Chinese appetite for grain seemed to be missing but then we were told that the grain would be milled into flour and then it would be usable; however, the problem seemed to be that the grain was going to be milled in a mill owned by the Chiangs and there to be mixed with Chinese Kao Liang yellow flour to permit a wider distribution of the American largesse while allowing a good portion to disappear into the black market for the benefit of someone one never knew or was supposed to know. All of this around the difference that existed between the 18-year-old's perception of a city and the child's as well as the difference between the prewar apparent calm and the post-war turbulence. Two different cities, but the Bund, the river front promenade that extended from the Soochow Creek Bridge to Nantao, approximately two miles upriver where the Western World had imposed its vision of reality on the river side, created an echo of London on the Thames. Empire had its uses and the stamp was visibly British while the Chinese crowds were as intense and involved as they had always been with the rickshaw traffic, automobile traffic, horse and human drawn cart traffic driving through a pedestrian mix as noisy as the inside of a bazaar. Again the reason for the city having become a city being the exchange of *this for that*. It had been a sheltered harbor, a way station from which the heartland of Great China could be reached easily, a place from which railroads could radiate South and East and North to bring stuff and to collect it. Oil for the lamps of China from Standard Oil of California in exchange for the silks and for the carved teak, the porcelain and the carpets and the skins. A central point on the coast accessible by water and one that attracted so many of the Chinese who were looking for work that paid, for whom there was no land, for whom

there were no other answers but to enter into the foreign devil's city place. And all the Chinese city dwellers became their own invention. The large department stores, Wing On's for one, had put themselves back together after the War and were even more crowded than they had been before, and the Racecourse where no horses ran because they had been eaten had become the place where the Shanghai Symphony played out in the open with the public seated in the stands. A confluence of energies, of nationalities, and at night, a sky that turned as red as a sky would above a volcano in the middle of a fierce eruption because of the Chinese discovery, love affair and wanton usage of red neon, advertising everything under the sun. That red had not changed, reflected in the almost ever-present low gray overcast that continues to be the signature of Shanghai. Six million people surrounding an enclave of perhaps 150,000 "foreigners" living in a city with French and Italian and English schools, with Japanese and Austrian and German Markets, with a French hospital and an Italian club, with the American Navy at anchor in the Whangpoo River and all the lawful, lawless, moral and amoral activities bouncing around each other as if they had been loose dice in a gigantic leather cup being passed from hand to hand by the Fates. The Sassoons, Jewish merchants from Persia by way of India, included Siegfried the Poet and Sir Victor knighted by George V. One branch of the Merchant Banking family had a daughter, Janet Sassoon, who went to the Russian Ballet School and then, after the war, became the star turn at the Berlin Ballet. Calcina, the Italian bullion dealer with his beautiful Marlis, whose history included deals with the pirates of Sumatra and Sarawak, Pere Van Dyke, the descendant of the Dutch painter became a friend of the family after having

been posted as a missionary in Mongolia for 20 years where he had invented the Catholic Holy Pictures with the faces of Jesus, Mary, Joseph, the Apostles and all the other saints and angels with perfect Oriental and appropriate physiognomies and all the fast deals, the quick deals, the Hong Kong and Shanghai Bank deals and the White Russian leftover from the Bolshevik Revolution deals, stateless along with the passportless hustlers and hookers, the fast talking ones and the ones bouncing back up to the top of Cathay Mansions trading the car and the chauffeur for the papers required to stay, to go, to find a way to the Philippines, to Singapore, all of them trading *this for that*, dealing in diamonds, and furs, white powders and gun powders with no pasts and no futures beached on a branch of a river that would and could lead to the sea and home for the ones that did not end up in Soochow Creek or the River, ones that ended up in the French cemetery with the Foreign Legionnaires themselves over the casket draped with the tricolor mimicking the scene at the British cemetery, at the Italian cemetery, at the German cemetery and on and on separate and distinct in death as everyone had been in life, trading *this for that* hope, this moment for that promise, while the starched uniforms of the governesses and the nurses pushed prams through the well-manicured hedges in the parks that were meant to be as unChinese as possible—yes even the legendary sign in the park at Soochow Creek and the Bund—Dogs and Chinese Keep Out—as if the dogs could read—and over and into everything the vague odor of cooking oil and garlic in the frying vats of the street peddlers, whose delicious tidbits later came into the U.S. as pot stickers there known as *giaotzu*, delicious on the street, not allowed to eat street goodies then and then to go back for the 50th High School reunion, with

me then saying to my 25-year-old son, “Yes, this was the school where I went, and this the hospital where the Japanese interned all those that were not as lucky as we were, the ones who did not get away in time, where Mrs. Pennell died where Doctor Morrison and Mr. Browne stayed after Pearl Harbor and that was the Italian Club where everyone was very serious, very Fascist and no fun at all and this is the place where the Dollar Lines fancy passenger office used to be, yes right here on the Bund next to where the busiest McDonald’s in China now stands next to the Bank of America Shanghai Main Office and that’s where your grandfather had his office” and then he would go down from there to the Astor House hotel over there for lunch with all the ladies with white gloves and the tall bearded turbaned Sikh policemen with their billy clubs moving everything along in a barrel of sound in dry weather totally different from the sounds of the city in the rain, modern, bright, no slack at all, hurrying from one expensive set of stuff into the world of electronics, Japanese technology and world class appetites not curbed at all by Mao and his red book whose lessons everyone had learned to ignore while moving at a great speed into tomorrow. This Shanghai that had itself become the prize in the ongoing push and pull of Chiang Kai Shek and Mao as it had between the Japanese and Chiang in 1933 when people could go out to the factories to see the embroidery work being done by 10 year old girls chained to their work benches where they would also sleep with a chamber pot that would be picked up once a day when the one meal of the day came round while the children of foreigners were taught to ride for the gymkhana and were taken out shooting by their fathers in blinds built on the edges of the rice fields beyond the City’s edge where the Catholic University taught future

Jesuits about heresies and the infallibility of the Pope in Rome. This Shanghai serving each one of its varied inhabitants because it worked, it made it possible to trade *this for that* in the '30s and again, after the War in the '40s and again after Mao in the '90s, still managing to change its colors but not its purpose and ability. Now my son tells me that Pierre Cardin and Gianni Versace have boutiques there and Barney's of New York is due to open an important store there while the Chinese rich get richer and the poor continue to drown newborn daughters off the sampans crowding round the Garden Bridge and the Chinese gamblers in the fancy cars ride down the Bund in a way that does not seem much different from the way it used to be. Sailors in their blues, uniforms of all kinds and the all pervasive feeling that tomorrow is not promised to anyone and it's just for now, but somehow it will manage to make it until the end.

Lima—with Callao as port—seaport and airport, now part of Lima, Peru eating up its environs in a continuing metropolitan surge similar to the drive driving Mexico City into its position as the world's number one, biggest, most this and most that city with its 20 million inhabitants, almost as many as in all of Peru, but Lima now is seven cities, seven municipalities with one half of the population of all of Peru. Formerly colonial then entrepreneurial and now driving force as well as driven by all the people who say YES to being there on the dry desert of the Peruvian coast with the few green green valleys in which the great waters of the Andes run down into the Western Sea. Lima is also the Modern Commercial City of today layered on top of the Mercantile City of the early 20th century on top of the Proud Capital of the Independent Nation of Peru of the 19th century on top of the Colonial Capital of the

Spanish Kingdom of the 16th, 17th, and 18th centuries, on top of the Inca Temple City of Pachacomac, all of it resting on top of the early Chimu and Mocha fisher settlements going back to the beginning of time—and all the layers visible and present as the layers of the wedding cake cut for the marriage of the original autochthonous indigenous cultures to the ones bearing the flags of Castile and of the world of modernity—television programs exploring the architecture of the Inca Palaces following the beauty pageant, the emollient commercials, the ads for Mercedes, Jeep, and Peugeot, the all expense paid tours to Hollywood and the flights to Lake Titicaca, to the North, to Amazonia and to Cuzco, itself a time capsule, an example of the way different realities co-exist successfully without suffering from civic schizophrenia even though, at 12,000 feet, one does not get acclimated instantly even with the benefit of the coca leaf tea or the mate they bring you when you've just come into your room with breath barely sufficient to mumble, not talk, and residual strength minimal. Florid Cuzco sits in a bowl surrounded by white topped mountains, red roofed, green forests with gray silver eucalyptus shadings softening the verticalities that lead the eye up to the intensity of bluer than mountain blue blue, place of gathering again, of bringing the low land produce to trade again, a case of *this for that*; this sugar cane for that weaving woven in the stone house on mountain side, this Sacrament for that one, this Body and Blood for the Inca sacrifice of the llama in the plaza that later became the Plaza de Armas, the central square of Cuzco with the Cathedral looming over it and over the small dark structure squatting by its side. That small relic of a structure being the four hundred year old headquarters of the Inquisition of the Kingdom of Peru. One could turn it

into a shop for the sale and disposition of S & M paraphernalia, another manifestation of that same lust that made the Penitentes invent self-flagellation as a proper element in the Adoration of the Lord—*This for That*. The Spanish Religious City wrapping the Inca Imperial City. The churches built on the foundations built by the ones that came before—the Incas and their predecessors—convents built out of old temples and today they take you by the hand and show you where the old stuff was that gave way to the New. Reinventing pecking orders, new players, old games, but always underlying everything the idea that there is something else Out There, celebrated still today—The Intirami—the Inca Spring Festival, the sacrifice and renewal, the Catholic Easter rituals, the sacrifice repeated annually and the secrets hidden in the language, the ceremonies, that which is sacred, for which lives are sacrificed, children dedicated, and entire communities held in thrall while the Inca Empire reached down to the tip of the continent and up to its waist controlling everything within a 3,000 mile stretch with roads as extensive as the Roman ones—*This for That*—Security for Control, Obedience for Comfort—the City manifesting the Power and the Power manifesting the City—as much in its center as in its hidden extensions all the way down to Macchu Picchu hidden for 600 years rediscovered with all its terraces frozen in time. Why there? Why at all? The City as ordered and as clear as the heart of old Athens in the heart of the Andes—Hitching Post of the Sun—so that the seasons and therefore the crops could be controlled. Functioning paradigm, ancient mysteries and then, after the tourist gangs left the place to the guard at the gate and to the lone wanderer. See the lone wanderer walk up to the guard at the gate who is reading a book of modern Quechua poetry ready to discuss

Imagination as a function of Spirit at the gate of the ruins of the Sacred City of Refuge, Macchu Picchu a city of 20,000 then, now only ghosts sighing in the clouds and tourists from eight a.m. to four p.m. some of whom stop at Ollaytaytambo, the Inca town still functioning after all these centuries, the running water running down from the mountain springs past the houses of the rich and powerful in the upper reaches running down to the Urubamba River past the houses of the less rich, less powerful, more given to serve each level washing in the waters used by those above then exchanging again this water for that security repeating the formula all the way to the other side of the Andes to Cajamarca, City of Sorrow, City of Rebirth where Atahualpa was traded for a roomful of gold to be killed as soon as the gold was delivered, a religion of mercy, of compassion, fierce to its enemies and kind to its believers, but the old stuff still goes on, with the new annealed to the old, working its way up to the mountains where the Q'ero still dance the Q'olloriti festival waiting for the beginning of the Age of Miracles, of Plenty and of the Evolution of the Spirit and the Icon of Christ Crucified is carried up to the glaciers where the sun rises out of the ice and all the colors are married. All the cities of these worlds of the Quechua and of the Aymara are really one city connected by visions, by dreams and by water, forever exchanging protection for power and dominion over the shape of this life for determination of blessings to come in that one to be. Shamans and gurus sharing powers with stockbrokers and bankers each one dealing with the movement of power as one threads back to Cuzco, the eye of the needle, then back to the complications of Lima, then back to the seashore and then back out to the Ocean having skimmed over the city which is country and then some all in

an hour and twenty five generations. Downtown the carved stone, the left-over whorls of the Baroque, gray, pink with the weight of all that is old as in so many parts of the South American continent—trading the past for the future, the large old villas torn down to build the high rise condos, the dark, heavy Museum of Anthropology with its mysteries, replicas of the Lord of Sipan, in his gold as rich as King Tut, the visions of the Nazca lines straight landing patterns for intergalactic travelers explained by a German visionary, the adobe city of Chan Chan and the ever-present sense of the gold that was taken and plundered, gold masks, face plates, ear tubes, breast plates, arm covers, helmets all hammered and shaped and this is all that is left, much of it initiated, beaten up tin, gilded and painted while outside across town the University students are ready to riot—on one side of the Plaza de Armas the Maundy Thursday procession is readying itself and its banners, its surpliced priests and embroidered believers with catafalques and standards and crosses and censers and purples and reds and brilliant blues and more purples, all proclaiming the doctrine the Catholic miracle to be, to believe and for ever and ever with the hundreds of school children all in their uniforms with white the predominant color, while on the other side the dun gray green column of tanks and armored vehicles, with trucks loaded with soldiers, all with guns loaded at the ready, ready to roll, ready to bring the power of the temporal to bear on the people, all the faces young and so serious knowing they would be killing their cousins if the orders would come, always in the name of the many, in the name of order and calm for the city, each face related to the faces seen in the museum's murals, seen in the paintings gathered in the Cathedral at Cuzco, seen in the frescoes and around the city on bill-

boards pitching all the consumer goods ever invented—those same faces that are all part of the story of the Lima of Bolivar, the Liberator, of Lima the modern metropolis with one half the population of the nation in its widening shanty towns its desperate suburbs through which the rich drive on their way to visit their horses, the incredible Peruvian Pasos whose gait is a relic of ancient disciplined endeavors capable of furnishing comfort for the rider for hours and hours as no other horse can and that horse became a symbol of Peruvian pride since the days of Pizarro who had ridden it down from the North to undo the Inca in 1532 and now celebrated, beloved by all, except by the remnants of the Shining Path guerrillas who had made the mistake of killing a few of them causing such anger among all of the people that it turned support for the Revolution into revulsion, confirming the eternal exchange, the deal of the City—protection in exchange for submission, order for chaos, bring your cars down from Detroit we'll ship you sugar, we'll ship you treasure, here is the hub of the Country, the City as Center making the deals that make it all possible, rich man and poor man, something for everyone in the heart of the City.

Poet Victor di Suvero's most recent volume naked Heart (Pennywistle Press, 1996) is a collection of poems which conjure the old street experiences of San Francisco as well as the sensual places we have learned to honor through love and time. As editor of Saludos! Poemas de Nuevo Mexico (Pennywistle Press, 1996) di Suvero, with Jeanie C. Williams, has gathered together a bilingual poetry anthology that captures the changing borderland.

Gated Communities: Where Property Reigns

Karin Aguilar-San Juan

Seated deep in the heart of Orange County—a hotbed of gated communities—is the city of Irvine, known for its posh and homogeneous neighborhoods. During a recent trip to Southern California, I drove around Irvine. Friends had warned me that life there is highly regulated: garage doors cannot be opened during certain hours of the day, unsightly vehicles may not be left in driveways, and only certain colors of house paint are allowed. I wondered what kind of unearthly place Irvine was, and I imagined my presence—as a brown skinned, single woman who was just nosing around—would be strictly prohibited. Amused by the thought of being escorted away from the city, I headed straight for it

My visit was brief but long enough to confirm an impression of a highly planned and sterile environment. The public landscaping was expansive and immaculate. Naturally, I was not privy to the interiors of the city's numerous gated enclaves. I saw more cars than people (in general, Orange County has a reputation for "antipedestrianism"). In one driveway, I spotted a diaper delivery truck, a sign of one household's environmentally safe practice—as well as its ample disposable income. The Irvine campus, a branch of the University of California, looked to me like an elaborate golf course. I couldn't picture humans living there, much less anything going awry. I certainly couldn't envision anything like the crime and violence that is a daily occurrence in other places.

Yet, only a few minutes' drive away, poorer cities harbor struggling

communities of native-born working class whites, Asians, and Latinos; Central American immigrants; and Vietnamese refugees. Community building among Vietnamese refugees in Orange County is a primary focus of my current research, so I have spent some months getting to know the area. With the exception of a few elite Vietnamese Americans who live in the nearby suburbs (including Irvine), the bulk of the Vietnamese community resides in Westminster, a city whose social distance from the gated communities of Irvine couldn't be greater.

What that trip (and subsequent ventures to other regions of the country) illustrates to me is that residential segregation is not just about the isolation of poor urbanites. But because poverty—rather than excessive wealth—is identified by mainstream politicians and news makers as a social problem, the physical separation of poor enclaves and ghettos from the rest of the city becomes a more likely topic of discussion than the physical separation of gated communities like the ones that characterize Irvine. That is a problem because the media has allowed to remain invisible an increasing tendency for wealthy suburbanites to close themselves off in zones designed purposefully to exclude poor people.

The growth of "postsuburbia"—decentralized regions characterized by an economic and cultural vitality originally associated with central cities gives more evidence that the spatial segregation of the haves from the have-nots is a widespread trend in this country. Postsuburbia is a term some urban so-

ciologists are using to describe areas like Orange County, Fort Lauderdale, Long Island, and northern New Jersey. Since the 1970s, the bulk of the nation's population has lived in postsuburbia, reversing a longtime trend of urbanization. Gated communities are an integral part of this picture. While suburbia is directly tied to downtown, postsuburbia has broken away, establishing its own sources of jobs, commerce, and cultural activities. For example, Orange County's recent bankruptcy, and its ongoing attempts to secede from Los Angeles, is first and foremost a repudiation of the larger community on behalf of its politically conservative middle- and upper-class residents. There, as in the rest of postsuburbia, "community" has become a euphemism for real estate, not a social or political ideal, a thesis advanced in *Postsuburban California: The Transformation of Orange County Since World War II* (edited by Kling, Rob, Olin, Spencer, & Poster, University of California Press, 1991).

ENCLAVES FOR THE RICH

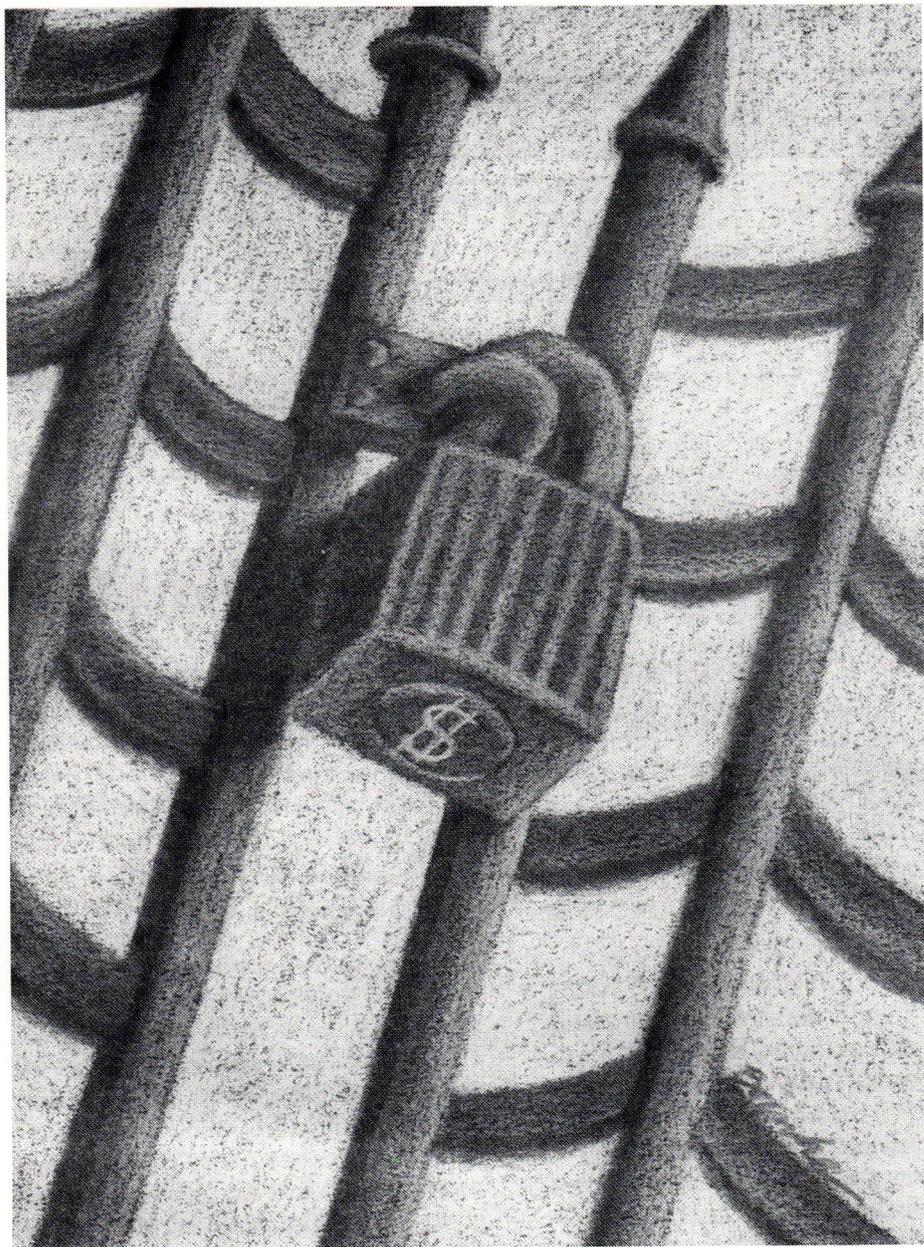
More and more, the affluent are cloistering themselves in luxury neighborhoods physically set off by intimidating and elaborate gates and walls. Inside these enclaves, the laws of capitalism and bureaucracy are pushed to the limit. Exclusion of undesirable outsiders—especially anyone who might tarnish the self-consciously created idyllic environment—is of utmost priority. The costs of security and maintenance of commonly owned land are distributed among the residents by a system of private taxation administered by homeowner's associations, a form of residential private government. These associations attach restrictive covenants to deeds that prevent future owners from putting the land to other uses. The rigid enforcement of these re-

strictions, designed to facilitate social order and conformity, sometimes mocks ordinary notions of justice. For example, one woman was fined by the homeowner's association for "kissing and doing bad things for over one hour" in her driveway.

Ironically, gated communities have a romantic heritage. As Evan McKenzie explains in his book, *Privatopia* (Yale University Press, 1994), the idea of a protected enclave emerged in the early 1900s, the historical period that marks the rise of the Western industrial city. Sir Ebenezer Howard, a British urban planner, coined the term "garden city" to suggest a utopian alternative to the nascent urban order. Howard envisioned clusters of self-managed, self-sufficient garden cities linked across the nation. But when Howard's vision crossed the Atlantic Ocean to the United States in the 1920s, its idealistic edge was lost. Among suburban gated communities—the American "garden city"—the highest social goal is the preservation of private property.

PRIVATE HEAVENS

Gated communities take to an extreme an impulse I have seen elsewhere, even among middle-class feminists, gays, and other radical activists. I call this the impulse toward a "private heaven," a desire for an exclusive residential environment where safety is guaranteed because nothing is subject to change or uncertainty. In this utopian world, "community" consists of people who think and act more or less the same way, so very little has to be negotiated or worked out. Occasionally, this impulse is momentarily actualized, as in the vacation meccas of Key West, Florida, or Provincetown, Massachusetts, where affluent gay men and lesbians spend the summers surrounded by their mirror images. Although no one explicitly intends to exclude, the situa-



tion can be exclusive nonetheless because of the time and money required to achieve this special moment.

To a certain degree, any attempt to build a residential community draws on an exclusive impulse. Indeed, sometimes only a fine line distinguishes the

desire for a sense of neighborhood community—which for some homeowners constitutes the full extent of their “political activism”—from the desire for a segregated and exclusive private heaven. My guess is that everyone wants some semblance of safety and

stability, but few would admit to the impulse to exclude. Unfortunately, drawing neighborhood community lines inherently cuts both ways: whenever we bring someone into our midst, someone else is left out.

But efforts to rebuild working-class neighborhoods that have been neglected by decades of urban disinvestment (such as the work of housing advocates in New York City's South Bronx) are not oriented toward the "private heaven" I am talking about. Similarly, efforts to build cooperative living arrangements in mixed urban areas (such as tile projects sponsored by the Boston-based Women's Institute for Housing and Economic Development) are less about constructing a "private heaven" than they are about securing a stable and affordable housing alternative for urban residents. In my mind, the crucial distinction between alternative housing efforts and the impulse toward a private heaven is that the former is grounded in principles of fairness and a preference for inclusion—while the latter is guided by an exclusive ideology that privileges privately held wealth.

PERVERSION OF AN IDEAL

Ultimately, luxury enclaves give the ethos of capitalism a tangible, concrete form. By building walls all around their collectively managed estates, residents of gated communities express their disdain for the neighborhood. The most pernicious aspect of gated communities is the idea that social responsibility begins and ends with private property. As the rich retreat into their conservative utopias, they claim for themselves valuable resources—clean air, land, schools, transportation, arts and entertainment that everyone needs.

Their move into private residential enclaves represents an abnegation of the social responsibilities that are a part of neighborhood community life. Yet the

walls the wealthy build are not meant to be 100 percent impermeable. Otherwise, how would the nannies, maids, cooks, gardeners, and drivers enter the premises? With the exception of live-in house help, such private employees often reside in urban neighborhoods where they need access to public transportation and other services to maintain their own households. Class, race, and gender divisions deepen as a consequence of the pursuit of suburban privilege and separate spaces.

When suburbanites fight to put caps on property taxes, the gap between suburban and urban life only widens. As the pool of property tax revenues shrinks, necessary public amenities located in urban downtown districts—libraries, schools, upkeep of roads and highways, public culture—falter. In the end, urban residents, especially the poorest ones, pay the price for the excesses of suburban life.

DISNEY'S GATED COMMUNITY

Leave it to Walt Disney to create a real-life housing development that draws on suburban fantasies of exclusion and prosperity. The Disney Development Company has begun its plans to build an actual town, Celebration, located twenty miles southwest of Orlando, Florida. A "regulated" community, Celebration, Florida, is supposed to recall a late nineteenth century village (*USA Today*, October 18, 1995). What exactly about that era is to be recreated I can only guess. Disney would probably like people to forget that the late 1800s were difficult times in the United States—tuberculosis was common, children worked in factories, freed slaves were subject to "black codes," anti-Asian prejudice was rampant (Chinese immigrants were simply excluded from the country), and white women were struggling for the right to vote.

Still, evoking nostalgia—regardless of time or place is one of the things Disney does best. Celebration is meant to be a “special place for families” (*New York Times*, November 16, 1995), a “inless city” (*Boston Globe*, February 26, 1996). Built on 4,900 acres of the 30,000 acre Disneyworld property, Celebration’s small-town life will certainly be special, maybe even dreamlike. A select population of 20,000 will be able to live, work, shop, and play within Disney’s utopian confines. In addition to 8,000 “community” homes ranging in price from \$127,000 to \$895,000 (for a custom design), Celebration will offer a real downtown, a public school, a post office, a town hall, a health center—and, naturally, a golf course.

When Disney announced its plans for Celebration in November 1995, thousands of hopeful people signed up on a waiting list several years long. But Celebration raises several burning questions in my mind. First, what kinds of people will be chosen to live there? Second, since Disney runs the town, will anyone else be able to participate in town government? Third, will Celebration’s highest social goal be the preservation of a small-town fantasy life? I can think of many reasons I would choose not to live in Celebration, despite the appeal of a “perfect” environment. Top on my list is my suspicion that neighborhood community life will be suffocated there. I’ve heard nothing suggesting that the makers of Celebration intend to bring in “diverse” families (read: nonwhite, nonheterosexual, or non-nuclear). But even if such families were welcome in Celebration, that would not be enough, because community requires much more than a physical site filled with warm bodies. As far as I am concerned, true community life consists in the possibilities for engaging in debate and dialogue among real-life commu-

nity members, something I doubt the Disney Development Company is interested in facilitating.

A DIFFERENT VISION

Gated communities represent the impulse of the rich to segregate themselves from the rest of society. For this reason, gated communities threaten utopian ideals of community based on principles of equal participation and social fairness. But some developers are working hard to create feasible alternatives to a life behind walls. For example, architect and urban planner Gwen Noyes, in collaboration with a group in Massachusetts called Cambridge Cohousing, envisions a mixed-income housing project that knits its residents into the surrounding urban fabric. The blueprint is designed to acknowledge—rather than neglect—the history, vitality, and advantages of the local environment. For example, residents will live within walking distance of public transportation. Instead of a high wall, homes will be set off by a hedge. Parking will be set “below grade” so as to enhance the availability of green space for everyone, residents and nonresidents alike.

Noyes and her associates hope that economic and social diversity will be explicitly acknowledged and encouraged by the physical arrangement of the townhouses and apartments. High-priced units will “subsidize” lower-priced ones by paying for a higher proportion of shared spaces. The site will have to be large enough to incorporate gardens, playgrounds, even a separate house reserved for group activities. Recycling, conservation, and other “environmentally friendly” practices are also part of the plan.

One hundred years ago, reformers like Ebenezer Howard would have drooled over Cambridge Cohousing’s insistence on “quality, simplicity, and

beauty” and on its commitment to the surrounding city. Indeed, for cynics like me, the project stands in direct opposition to the preference of gated communities for luxury and privacy and therefore hardly seems possible. But the main obstacle Noyes sees to the spread of similar housing arrangements is that many people think it’s just a “new-fangled commune.” Judging from the consequences of the rush into suburbia, it’s about time for some new-fangled alternatives.

Karin Aguilar-San Juan, a new resident of Southern California, grew up in small town New England. Her doctoral research looks at the creation of ethnic spaces among Vietnamese refugees in Boston and Orange County. Her article first appeared in Soujourner: The Women’s Forum (August 1996).

Women Write: The Shaping of American Architecture by Female Authors

Diane Favro

As the current raging discourses reveal, architecture is as much about words as actual buildings. From Vitruvius to Peter Eisenman architects have relied on texts to explicate their work, theories, careers, and lives, and to ensure a place in history. The written word reaches a far larger audience and endures far longer than place-bound buildings subject to the ravages of the elements, economics, and changing social needs. In the first 150 years of America's history, publications by architects proliferated.¹ For example, the gothic revival architect Ralph Adams Cram (1863-1942) founded or edited four well-known journals, wrote art criticism for the Boston *Transcript*, authored over 100 articles, and authored 24 books. The written voice of the American practitioner was decidedly male. Largely excluded from the profession, women took up the pen to air their concerns regarding the built environment.² The genderization of American architectural writing is well recognized and merits an extended cultural evaluation.³ A synoptic overview of the production and reception of writings by women reveals the full impact of gendered writing upon architecture and society at large. Authorship gave women the opportunity for autonomous creation within the field of architecture. Furthermore, the reception of women's writings had widespread implications ignored or minimized by the profession and the histories it condoned.

ARCHITECT AUTHORS

The earliest American texts relating to architecture were pragmatic "how to" books aimed at amateurs expanding the built environment of the new nation.⁴ In the later part of the nineteenth century, architectural designers began to define themselves as educated professionals, not builders. As a result, architectural writings changed character.⁵ Male architect-authors wrote to exalt themselves and the profession as a whole. They defined architecture as an art or science, and the architect as an independent genius-artist toiling to bring forth the truth. Professor and architect Paul Cret stated that architecture "has for its main object the development of the artist's personality."⁶ Style, meaning, philosophy, theory, and history supplanted applied and technical data in the majority of texts.⁷ Elevating the discourse, architects wrote for a select audience of their peers and the educated elite from which they hoped to draw worthy clients. The male voice was singular and headily self-promotional. Like artists, genius architects worked alone to create masterpieces. Thus, as authors they favored individualized products. Beyond articles in professional journals, the most desirable venues were monographs on an individual or a firm, and autobiographies.⁸ Cram, among others, wrote a biography, *My Life in Architecture* (1936). Architect Louis Sullivan, a prolific author, devised a new genre merging philosophy and life experience in *Autobi-*

ography of an Idea (1924). Naturally, individual authorship was important; few men published with coauthors or in anthologies. The architect might pass the pen to another, yet he was always careful to maintain some degree of control. The results were sympathetic biographies and commissioned or authorized monographs. For example, the prestigious Boston firm cooperated in the production of *A Monograph of the Works of McKim, Mead & White, 1879-1915* (1915).

In contrast to their male peers, women architects rarely wrote. Julia Morgan, one of the most prolific practitioners on the west coast with over 500 projects scrupulously avoided being what she disparagingly dubbed, "a talking architect." Not only did Morgan decline to write about her own work or ideas, she refused interviews and did not seek publication of her projects.⁹ Various rationales for such behavior are conceivable. First, self-promotion and advocacy of independent ideas were contrary to contemporary bourgeois ideas of femininity. Second, women architects had to work harder and longer than their male peers, leaving little time for authorship even if society would accept original ideas about a profession from female sources. Third, strong restrictions on the architectural education available to women gave them scant opportunity to develop the theoretical fluency necessary to participate in more avant garde architectural discourse. Fourth, women practitioners worked on the fringes of the profession, primarily designing houses (not monuments) and emphasizing social aspects of design and client satisfaction, topics of marginal interest to a profession concerned with the apotheosis of the genius architect.

Few female practitioners published in the professional press. Architecture journals only grudgingly accepted contributions by female writers. They naturally gave preference to the few women

who had acquired architectural training. Not surprisingly, activist articles promoting women's entry into the profession were infrequent in this venue. A female writer of the nineteenth century, whether trained as an architect or not, was most likely to have her article published if she promoted male achievement, the male vision of the profession, and women's traditional roles.¹⁰ The majority of articles dealt with sanctioned female subjects such as domestic design, the decorative and pictorial arts, and history. Women avoided monolithic, self-promotional venues. No female architect of the period wrote an autobiography.¹¹ The irony is that the broad popular audience in America readily accepted women as writers on architecture and was greatly affected by their output.

WOMEN WRITERS ON THE BUILT ENVIRONMENT

Nineteenth-century America identified writing as an appropriate endeavor for the genteel woman. It was clean, required no physical effort, and could be done at home (family duties permitting) isolated from the corrupting influences of the male business world. Like skill at painting, sewing, or gardening, writing helped prepare better wives and mothers. Considered a hobby, not an occupation, women's writing did not compete with male efforts. Those women who made writing a career operated in completely different spheres from male authors. With writing, as in all spheres, American women reacted, remained in the background (that is, the home), and denigrated or subsumed their own personalities for the good of others. As the emotional, nurturing sex, women wrote about feelings more than issues or ideas. They addressed audiences composed of other women or young people. Their topics were those socially identified as female: child raising (including education of the young), domesticity,

and other nurturing fields. Assuming the role of cultural custodians, women also wrote about the arts in America, delving into the fields of criticism and history.¹² Their written works were generally small in scale and intent: articles, short stories, diaries, letters, and pamphlets. They avoided monolithic, self-promotional venues. Often women published anonymously or in collections, with no one contributor dominant. The same generalities applied when women writers turned to architecture.¹³

Women writers' topical selection of the built environment emerged directly from broader interests in the home and its occupants, society and culture at large, and the preservation of American traditions. Since most of these women lacked professional training, they drew upon firsthand knowledge, as well as upon education in the arts, teaching, philosophy, and (eventually) in the new fields of home economics, and landscape design. The house dominated architecture in nineteenth-century America. The acknowledged realm of women, it was also the topic of greatest coverage by female writers. The Industrial Revolution fostered clear divisions of labor and a sharp distinction between work and living spaces. Assuming full responsibility for the domestic realm, women writers responded to the challenge of guiding women across America in their attempts to create comfortable, attractive homes. A spate of housekeeping books emerged. These texts focused on everyday strategies for running a home.¹⁴ In line with the professionalization of other fields, several writers identified housekeeping as a domestic science, in effect arguing for its consideration as a female profession. They advised on not only cooking, cleaning, and childraising, but also on design and technical aspects of heating, ventilation, plumbing, lighting, and construction. For example the much studied book by Catherine Beecher and

Harriet Beecher Stowe, *The American Woman's Home* (1869), explored the centralization of the kitchen and other mechanical services. The feminist writer Charlotte Perkins Gilman wrote on the physical organization of the home and apartment building, and socialization of house work in *Women and Economics* (1898) and *The Home: Its Work and Influence* (1903).¹⁵ Greta Gray published *House and Home* (1923) in the popular Lippincott's *Home Manuals* series. This text served as both a manual for women at home and as a textbook for students at the burgeoning teacher's colleges and other female-oriented institutions emphasizing domestic science and home economics.¹⁶ Concurrently, a number of home magazines aimed at a female readership appeared, many edited and staffed primarily by women (eg. *Woman's Home Companion*, founded 1873).¹⁷ These popular periodicals explored all aspects of domestic life, frequently juxtaposing fashions with house plans and information on house construction and maintenance.

A pervasive subtext in these publications was the raising of public consciousness not only about domestic science, but also about behavior and art. In 1831 the English writer Mrs. Frances Trollope caused an uproar with the book *Domestic Manners of the Americans*, in which she lambasted the coarse, immoral, and uncultured lifestyles of the citizenry, and the disgraceful architecture of major American cities. Women across the nation took up the gauntlet, publishing numerous books and articles on etiquette and the fine arts, all interwoven with moralism.¹⁸ Etiquette books told middle-class women how to act and underscored the significance of environments in the determination of actions. These culminated with the authoritative and comprehensive writings of Emily Post. In her columns, and especially in her popular book *The Personality of a*

House (1930), she dealt with interior design and environmental behavior. Post identified different aesthetic criteria and spatial relationships for the domestic spaces of men and women, advising that male environments should be based on the man's occupation while female environments should respond to how the woman looks.¹⁹ Along with interior design, women writers discussed landscape design as an integral part of the domestic realm.²⁰ They also logically incorporated historical developments, both to educate the female reader and to validate American achievements. Thus Post not only took a proactive stance regarding the creation of an ideal house, she also established a clear heritage by outlining the history of the American house in her etiquette books.

Acknowledged keepers of the communal hearth, women assumed responsibility for recording and preserving the past. Through the press, as well as through social clubs and community groups, women documented and promoted America's built environment. Sarah Hale, editor of *Godey's Lady's Book* magazine (1837-1877), led the successful campaigns to make Bunker Hill and Mount Vernon national monuments, acknowledging women's role as, "the preserver, the teacher or inspirer, and the exemplar."²¹ In 1854 she announced that the magazine would select projects only by American designers for the popular series, "Lady's Book Houses." Louisa Tuthill wrote the first book on American architectural history in 1841 (published 1848). In a letter to her publisher she explained, "The object of it is to improve the public taste by bringing the topic before readers of all classes, and furnishing correct models for imitation." In *History of Architecture, From the Earliest Times: Its Present Condition in Europe and the United States* she extolled the value of American architecture in comparison

with that of Europe.²² Throughout the text Tuthill championed the efforts of male architects, holding them up as geniuses and overtly portraying architecture as an elevated profession. Mariana Van Rensselaer penned the first significant monograph on an American architect, writing the sympathetic biography, *Henry Hobson Richardson and His Works* in 1888.²³ Other laudatory biographies were penned by Harriet Monroe on her brother-in-law John Wellborn Root, and by Ellen Susan Bulfinch on her grandfather Charles.

Expertise in etiquette and cultural history positioned women as arbiters of taste for a nation little interested in art. Van Rensselaer is identified as America's first professional female art critic, one of several who honed America's architectural acumen by evaluating art and the built environment for the general public.²⁴ She wrote for both popular magazines (*Century*, *Atlantic Monthly*) and professional journals (*American Architect*, *American Architect and Building News*). Self-conscious about her lack of architectural training, she compensated. For professional venues Van Rensselaer adopted a more technical and promotional tone, praising the profession and its practitioners.²⁵ Some of this approach spilled over into her more populist writings. In response, her publisher at the popular magazine *Century* requested Van Rensselaer write in a less technical manner. In the more refined *North American Review* she published "Client and Architect" in which she promoted the architect as a professional and called for clients to submit to his learned dictates. This article so closely captured the profession's vision of itself that the American Institute of Architects recommended it be distributed at the convention that year and made Van Rensselaer an honorary member.²⁶

The nineteenth century brought many changes to America. Industrial-

ization, urbanization, and social unrest, along with the Civil War, resulted in tremendous upheavals. Active in social causes, women writers directed their efforts towards the improvement of American community life. For example, the social worker and peace advocate Jane Addams addressed a national audience in her promotion of cleaner urban environments, healthy living and work environments, and improvements in urban design. Among her works were *Democracy and Social Ethics* (1902) and *Twenty Years at Hull House* (1910), an autobiographical account of an urban settlement house which became a classic of reform literature. The planner Catherine Bauer [Wurster] (1905-1964) capitalized upon the opportunities offered by the New Deal. In *Modern Housing* (1934) she analyzed the socialized housing experiments of Europe and promoted a human-scale American solution. Communitarianism also attracted women seeking non-patriarchal living alternatives. In the teens Alice Constance Austin wrote a number of articles in socialist publications on the design of an efficient, supportive, centralized socialist community, including a printing shop run by women. Gilman fashioned an entire feminist utopia in her novel *Herland* of 1915.²⁸

The social mores of early American society attempted to muffle the voice of women. They were not expected to speak, even when dealing with sanctioned female subjects. A manual of manners from 1837 told American women to work hard at household chores, but warned, "honorable as is the performance of these daily duties, it is bad taste to say much about them."²⁹ The Victorian female was programmed to assume the self-effacing and largely anonymous position of the woman behind the man, or the woman behind her country. In the late nineteenth-century female writers on the built environment readily subsumed their own identities to

champion the architectural achievements of individual practitioners and of America as a whole. They were relegated to the position of *adjuncts* to the profession, or *servicers*.³⁰ Contemporaries, especially professionals, viewed female architectural historians and critics as mere mediators between the profession and the public. Frederick Law Olmsted urged Van Rensselaer to write a biography of Richardson, "educative of the people—That means a book exactly in your accustomed current."³¹ Women writers who penned texts on domesticity and social reform likewise were seen as mere conduits for teaching other women how to address the concerns of the family and society. Their production was further devalued because it took the unmonumental form of small scaled works addressing primarily low status, female audiences.

CULTURAL IMPACT

Viewed from the masculinist perspective of the profession and its history, women writers did not fulfill Romantic notions of authorship. For over two centuries authorship was defined in Romantic terms as an autonomous creation by a stable individual. The more recently applied lens of post-structuralist and feminist literary theories focuses instead on cultural recognition, and the material and ideological conditions informing women's writing.³² While the architecture profession may have considered women's writings on the built environment as at best a promotional service and, at worst, frivolous, the cultural significance of these publications merits closer scrutiny. In the last two decades, reevaluations of the projects and careers of women architects have affirmed their societal and cultural value.³³ The writings by American women in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries are likewise undergoing the process of feminist valorization. In part because of their

marginalized position vis a vis the architecture profession, women writers were able to assume the role of autonomous authors, a role often denied them in other venues. In 1870 Sarah Hale wrote a description of Louise Tuthill's work that applies to those of other female authors on architectural subjects at the turn of the century, "All her writings bear the stamp of an earnest purpose to promote the best interests of society; she has read much and uses her knowledge of books skillfully to *illustrate her own views*" (my emphasis). Addressing non-professional, largely female audiences, operating in "female" fields, women authors felt free to state personal opinions and promote personal accomplishments. They proudly touted their publications and lives in strong, politicized terms.

While no female architects of the period wrote autobiographies, several reform authors penned boastful autobiographies, as for example *The Living of Charlotte Perkins Gilman*, published posthumously in 1935. The category of autobiography was also seized by other women who had taken activist, creative positions on the margins of the profession. Though women architects did not write about their lives, women who pioneered related fields did. Those who entered real estate and land development felt free from limiting discourses of identity. One example is telling. Genevieve Shaffer Parsons led an exciting life. She played on the stage with Mary Pickford, reported for the Hearst press, was one of the first female balloonists, and ran for the Lieutenant-Governorship of California. In addition, she developed a successful real estate business in San Francisco, and among other achievements relating to the built environment, pioneered the cooperative apartment idea on the West Coast. Unwilling to leave her fame to others, Parsons wrote an autobiography titled simply *Genevieve*, the cover emblazoned

with the phrase, "She builds skyscraper."³⁴

Texts by and about male architects are well known to everyone in the field and seem to dominate the professional discourse. Yet in their own time they reached a relatively restricted audience. The specialized topics in professional publications were of interest and comprehension primarily to other architects, a limited number considering that at the turn of the century America had approximately 10,600 architects.³⁵ The secondary targeted audience was significant potential clients, namely the educated elite; they too were limited in number. In contrast, women's magazines had enormous readerships. As early as 1849 *Godey's Lady's Book* magazine boasted 40,000 subscribers.³⁶ Many of the books by women authors were best sellers. Gilman's *Women and Economics* went through numerous printings, including translations into seven languages. Post's popular *The Personality of a House* was reprinted almost annually until 1939, and again in 1948. The nationally known publishers Houghton Mifflin widely distributed the three architectural biographies by women authors mentioned above. Success with novels and other types of writing often allowed authors to develop extensive constituencies.³⁷ Several of the female authors who dealt with the built environment gained national renown. Gilman had an enormous reputation in her lifetime; Addams was acknowledged internationally, winning the Nobel Peace Prize in 1931. Reaching a broad audience, these authors helped forge unified, distinctly American ideas about the house, the city, and architecture in general.

Such fame and wide distributions did not phase the ivory tower of the profession. Even though Beecher's work on the American house ran through multiple editions, her contributions to architectural theory and

technology were not generally recognized by male architects during her day. The profession adamantly distanced itself from any perceived popularization. As a result, it turned away from texts by women authors because they addressed popular issues, audiences, and sensibilities. On a fairly consistent basis the professional architectural press denigrated the literary works by women authors, lumping their diverse production under the condescending heading of "Lady writers." From the viewpoint of aspiring American architects, the topics and the audiences of women authors were beneath consideration. In particular, their popular venues were contemptible. Van Rensselaer had first presented her work on English cathedrals as a series in the popular *Century* magazine (1887-92).³⁸ A review of the final book in *Architectural Record* dismissed the study as "ephemeral [and] ... popular;" another in *American Architect and Building News* said the book "smacks of the magazine and so, almost,...of the literary hack."³⁹

In contrast, popular critics often praised the work of women authors. *Century* was so pleased with the popularity of the English cathedral series it commissioned Van Rensselaer to begin another on French churches.⁴⁰ The profession could not ignore popular acclaim entirely. Recognizing the need to attract a broader audience, the profession established a new architecture journal edited by male journalists, not architects. The *Architectural Record* established in 1891 targeted the educated layman, an audience reached by neither technical professional journals nor the popularizing "Ladies magazines."⁴¹ Only in rare instances did recognized men address the woman's market. Architectural writer E.C. Gardner curried favor with the large audience of female readers in his book *The House that Jill Built after Jack's Proved a Failure* (1896).⁴² For the 1935 revised edition

of Gray's popular *House and Home* Richard Neutra wrote a new chapter entitled, "Contemporary Development of the Unconventional House." Gray justified his inclusion to her female audience by describing Neutra not only as an internationally known architect, but one specifically interested in community planning and thus palatable to a popular audience.

At the turn of the century, the Romantic literary ethos categorically dismissed the audiences and venues of women writers as merely popular. In fact, the aesthetic, social, and political discourses of the day habitually equated mass culture and the masses with the feminine. While such a categorical genderization was not new, it became more hierarchical and entrenched in America as increasing modernization and industrialization threatened existing social roles.⁴³ The privileged realm of male activities possessively claimed both traditional and modern visions of high culture. Arguing that the real, authentic culture of the nation was the prerogative of men further diminished the significance of women and their assigned domain of popular culture. In the field of architecture, this categorization resulted in the profession adamantly distancing itself from feminine/popular concerns. The results were long lasting and deleterious.

The profession's low opinion of "Lady writers" was not only chauvinistic, it was isolationist. The gendered division between high and low culture led to a concomitant valuing of issues and topics. Proclaiming the autonomy of the art work and an open hostility to mass culture, architects at the turn of the century fostered a radical separation from the culture of everyday life. As a result, they segregated and devalued not only women authors, but also the topics they discussed. Most obvious were the diverse subjects associated with domesticity. The house was proclaimed some-

what ludicrously as “not Architecture,” in *The American Architect and Building News* of 1876. More serious in the long run was the ostracization or minimization of domestic economics, functionality, morality, and healthiness.⁴⁴ Carefully detailed in manuals by and for women, these issues were equated with the masses. The most famous architects of the day presented themselves as above concern with budgets, lower status users, and ethics, much to the detriment of clients and the profession as a whole.⁴⁵ In 1921, Elizabeth Kemper Adams recorded the professions’ segregationist solution, “It is often said that there should be a woman architect in every office to pass upon the practical convenience and utility of all plans for private houses and public institutions.”⁴⁶ The problematization of high and low culture, male and female, also segregated related fields pioneered by women writers. Read primarily by female eyes, extensive discussions on interior design and landscaping were not fully incorporated into the professional discourse.

The same problematization affected the consideration of social issues. At the turn of the century female authors directed the discourse on social reform, environmental behavior, and moralism. Here, too, the connection with both women and the masses resulted in a rejection by the architectural profession. Defining themselves as artists and scientists, architects did not delve too deeply into the soft sciences associated with women. Paul Cret defined architecture as, “primarily a fine art, and not a branch of...a more or less hazy sociology.”⁴⁷ American architects not infrequently struggled to maintain a professional elitism distinctly apart from the masses. For example Daniel Burnham’s Chicago plan of 1909 conspicuously neglected popular housing. As a result, architects abdicated responsibility to others, includ-

ing reformers, sociologists, and planners.

In the area of history, architects focused on the high cultures represented by European architecture. They derided or ignored the multiculturalism evident in the popular histories by women. For example, Tuthill’s architectural history was never embraced by the profession. Written “for general circulation and not alone for artists,” and dedicated “To the Ladies of the United States of America,” the book fell in the undesirable, interchangeable categories of “female” and “popular.” The text was further devalued because of its inclusivistic approach to the past. Tuthill took a subjective approach, discussing a wide range of cultures, including Persian and “aboriginal” American architecture, alongside European examples.⁴⁸ Architects instead favored the encyclopedic *A History of Architecture on the Comparative Method* (1896). In this heavy tome the British architect Banister Fletcher and his son adopted a more scientific approach, presenting a veritable taxonomy of past architecture. They avoided any hint of popularization by focusing on major monuments of Europe in the first edition. In the revised fourth edition of 1901, the son Banister Flight Fletcher expanded the contents to include other cultures, placing them under the pejorative heading “non-historical.”⁴⁹

CONCLUSIONS

The Victorian social worker Helen Bosanquet noted “In reference to the outside world, man has power and woman ‘influence.’ Within the home woman has the active power and man ‘influence.’”⁵⁰ For women authors on the built environment, the equation should be reversed. “Lady writers” had great “influence” in the outside world, while male architectural authors demonstrated power in a proscribed profes-

sional realm. In the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries women addressed a broad, nationwide public audience ultimately shaping architectural developments as forcefully as their male counterparts. Operating outside the gender restrictions of the profession, women authors had the opportunity to succeed; many did just that, claiming the right to autonomous authorship at a time when women could not do so as designers. Equally important, women explored and advanced issues displaced from the profession by both pure misogyny and by the gendering of high and mass culture.

Economic and theoretical transformations gradually compelled American architects to venture out from the ivory tower and into female domains. Faced with declining opportunities after the depression of the 1890s, architects began to concern themselves increasingly with the middle-class house and urban reform movements.⁵¹ While women's writings on gendered subjects continued to flourish and to be assimilated by the masses, their dominant voice softened. Simultaneously the Frankfurt School and other mass culture theories abandoned the gendering of mass culture as feminine, instead equating such features of mass culture as streamlining, technological reproduction, administration and *Sachlichkeit* with masculinity.⁵² The genderized dichotomy between high and mass culture blurred and shifted, encouraging more cross over between topics and authors. Complementing this shift in ideological ground were transformations in the educational and vocational possibilities for women. With greater access to education, the suffrage movement, health and dress reforms, women redefined themselves. The New Woman described in contemporary literature was independent, educated, mentally acute, and able to work, study and socialize on a par with men. Large numbers of women entered the

expanding service and public sector occupations, while others became influential clients, either as individuals or in collectives. In particular, women took leadership positions as critics and editors for respected art and literary publications.⁵³ Their highly visible and public participation in the discourse regarding high art further defeated the old gendering of mass culture, and facilitated direct participation in the profession of architecture. More women became architects; more took part in professional debates, especially regarding theory. Today women authors involved in architecture still operate from what were earlier identified as positions of *adjuncts*: editors, critics, and historians. However, they have transformed these into positions of power. Women serve as editors not only for enduringly popular ladies journals, but also for professional magazines.⁵⁴ In addition, women hold leadership positions as theorists addressing learned audiences as evidenced by the contributions to the *Inherited Ideologies* conference. Today, when women write about architecture everybody, both the public and the profession, listens.

NOTES

1. American architectural writers naturally drew upon English models; H.R. Hitchcock, *American Architectural Books*, New Expanded Edition (New York: Da Capo Press 1976), vi; N. Pevsner, *Some Architectural Writers of the Nineteenth Century* (Oxford: Clarendon 1972); A. Saint, *The Image of the Architect* (New Haven: Yale University Press 1983), 96-114. Some of the earliest discussions of architecture in America are to be found in the writings of philosophers, including Thoreau and Emerson; D. Gifford, ed., *The Literature of Architecture, the Evolution of Architectural Theory and Practice in Nineteenth-Century America* (New York: E.P. Dutton & Co., Inc. 1966), 92-126, 172-197.

2. The evolution of women's entry into the profession is explored in a number of works including the essays in S. Torre, *Women in American Architecture* (New York: Whitney Library of Design 1977); and E.P. Berkeley and M. McQuaid, *Architecture, A Place for Women*

(Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press 1988). See also G. Wright, "On the Fringe of the Profession: Women in American Architecture," *The Architect*, edited by Spiro Kostof (New York: Oxford University Press 1977), 297-98.

3. D. Cole, *From Tipi to Skyscraper, A History of Women in Architecture* (Boston: i press 1973); L. Koenigsberg, "Professionalizing Domesticity: A Tradition of American Women Writers on Architecture, 1848-1913," (PhD diss.: Yale University 1987); L. Doumato, *Women Architectural Critics* (Monticello, Ill.: Vance Bibliographies, 1982) and *Publications by Women on American Domestic Architecture* (Monticello, Ill.: Vance Bibliographies, 1984).

4. In the first half of the 19th century few architects had professional training and thus relied on pattern books and manuals. Helen Park, *List of architectural books available in America before the Revolution* (L.A.: Hennessey and Ingalls, 1973).

5. Saint, *Image*, 72-95; Dana Cuff, *Architecture: The Story of Practice* (Cambridge, Ma: The MIT Press, 1991), 24-35. J. Draper, "The Ecole des Beaux-Arts and the Architectural Profession in the United States: The Case of John Galen Howard," and B.M. Boyle, "Architectural Practice in America, 1865-1965," in *The Architect*, 209-237, 309-344.

6. *Book of the School* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press 1934), 31. This artistically-based valorization of the profession remains in operation: Niels L. Prak, *Architects: the Noted and the Ignored* (Chichester, New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1984), 87.

7. R.A. Cram, *Church Building* (1901) and *Impressions of Japanese Architecture and the Allied Arts* (1905).

8. F.L. Mott, *A History of American Magazines*, Volume 4, 1885-1905 (Cambridge, Ma: Harvard University Press, 1957), 323; Hitchcock, *American Architectural Books*. Authorship was an important means of promotion for American architects who, as professionals, were not allowed to advertise until the 1970s. L. Koenigsberg, "Life-Writing: First American Biographers of Architects and Their Works," in *The Architectural Historian in American* edited by Elisabeth Blair MacDougall (Hanover: University Press of New England, 1990), 41-58; Prak, *Architects*, 145.

9. Only at the urging of her engineering associate Walter Steilberg was Morgan's work published in *Architect and Engineer in California* 55 (1918): 39-107; Sarah Boutelle, *Julia Morgan Architect* (New York: Abbeville 1988), 16, 46.

10. For example, *Architectural Record* accepted several articles by the architect Katharine Budd dealing with house design: "The American Pantry," 18 (September 1905): 225-231, "Japanese Houses," 19 (January 1906): 1-26; "The Kitchen and Its Dependent Services," 25 (June 1908): 463-

476. *Inland Architecture* published an article by Lulu Stroughton Beem praising women's skill in judging color and fabrics for house interiors; 4.3 (October 1884): 41-42. Professional journals were more likely to publish foreign women; L. Koenigsberg, "Mariana Van Rensselaer: An Architecture Critic in Context," *Architecture, A Place for Women*, 47-48.

11. On the issues of biography and women architects see: Abigail A. Van Slyck, "Women in Architecture and the Problems of Biography," *Design Book Review* 19-22; N. Kampen, and E.G. Grossman, *Feminism and Methodology: Dynamics of Change in the History of Art and Architecture* (Wellesley, MA: Wellesley College Center for Research on Women, Working Paper no. 122 1983), 9-23; C.G. Heilbrun, *Writing a Woman's Life* (New York: Ballantine Books, 1988).

12. C.R. Sherman, ed., with Adele Holcomb, *Women as Interpreters of the Visual Arts, 1820-1979* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1981).

13. As late as the 1940s the faculty at a west-coast university discouraged Esther McCoy from enrolling in architecture school, citing the overwhelming disadvantages of her age (40s) and her sex. R. Banham, "The Founding Mother: On Esther McCoy and the Origins of California's Architectural Style," *California Magazine* 10 (March 1985): 104-08.

14. D. Hayden, *The Grand Domestic Revolution* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1981); G. Wright, "The Model Domestic Environment: Icon or Option?" in *Women in American Architecture*, edited by Susana Torre (New York: Whitney Library of Design, 1977), 22-24.

15. Polly Wynn Allen examines Gilman's domestic design specifications published in popular magazines; *Building Domestic Liberty, Charlotte Perkins Gilman's Architectural Feminism* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1988), 105-14.

16. Gray studied plumbing, heating, lighting, and budget in her textbook. Emphasizing the didactic nature of the book, she provided a list of problems at the end of each chapter. Also in the J.B. Lippincott series of manuals for students and homemakers were: *Clothing for Women, The Business of the Household, Laundering, Millinery, Successful Canning and Preserving, and Home and Community Hygiene*. For more on education in domestic science see Elizabeth G. Grossman and Lisa B. Reitzes, "Caught in the Crossfire, Women and Architectural Education, 1880-1910," in *Architecture, A Place for Women*, 27-39.

17. With industrialization, America saw the development of specialized reading constituencies whose commonalities overrode the particularities of locale. One of the largest and fastest growing of these was composed of middle-class women. This readership helped make the 19th century into "the century of the woman's magazine." In the short

span between 1840 and 1860 sixty-five new women's journals appeared. Many had female editors, including two of the most popular magazines of the century: *The Ladies Companion* (Snowden's) and *Godey's Lady's Book* at mid-century; Frank L. Mott, *A History of American Magazines, 1741-1850* (Cambridge, Ma: Harvard University Press, 1930).

18. Cole, *Tipi to Skyscraper*, 28-33, 36; G. Himmelfarb, *The De-Moralization of Society, From Victorian Virtues to Modern Values* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf 1995), 63-65. Regarding the strong link between morality and domestic architecture in the nineteenth century see L. Doumato, "Louisa Tuthill's Unique Achievement," in *Architecture, A Place for Women*, 7; G. Wright, *Moralism and the Model Home* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press 1980). Blanche McManus Mansfield (author of *The American Woman Abroad*, 1911) introduced American children to foreign geography and environments with the *Little Cousin* series.

19. Post claimed familial knowledge of architecture; she dedicated *The Personality of a House*, "In memory of the architects of my family." For the evolution of the etiquette book see A.M. Schlesinger, *Learning How to Behave: A Historical Study of American Etiquette Books* (N.Y.: MacMillan Co., 1946). Post anthropomorphizes various portions of the house; Leslie Kaness Weisman, *Discrimination by Design. A Feminist Critique of the Man-Made Environment* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1992), 92-97.

20. In 1867, Louisa Tuthill, penned the book, *True Manliness: or, The Landscape Gardener*. Koenigsberg, "Mariana Van Rensselaer," 49-50. On the history of landscaping architecture in general see: A. Peterson, "Women Take Lead in Landscape Art," *New York Times* (March 13, 1938), 1; D. Nevins, "The Triumph of Flora: Women and American Landscape, 1890-1935," *Antiques* 127 (April 1985): 913; C.R. Brown, and C.N. Maddox, "Women and the Land: A Suitable Profession," *Landscape Architecture* 72 (May 1982): 64-69. Regarding women in interior design, consult E.M. Tyng, "Women's Chances as Bread Winners, Part VIII: Women as Interior Decorators," *Ladies Home Journal* (October 1891), 4; C. Ray Smith, *Interior Design in 20th Century America: A History* (New York: Harper and Row 1987).

21. Sarah Josepha Hale, *Manners, or Happy Homes* (Boston: J.E. Tilton 1868), 21. For over thirty years Hale published a column entitled "Model Cottage" and hundreds of model house designs in *Godey's Lady's Book*; Wright, *Moralism and the Model Home*, 11.

22. The letter from Tuthill to the publishers Cary and Hart dated February 15, 1841, is in the collection of the Historical Society of Philadelphia. Doumato, "Louisa Tuthill's Unique Achievement," 5-13; and in "Introduction," reprint of *History of*

Architecture (New York: Garland Publishing, Inc. 1988), v-xv.

23. *John Wellborn Root: A Study of His Life and Work* (1896); *The Life and Letters of Charles Bulfinch, With Other Family Papers* (1896). Lisa Koenigsberg has pointed out that reviewers of male biographies by women often examine the personal relationship between author and subject in greater detail than the written work; "Life-Writing: First American Biographers of Architects and Their Works," in *The Architectural Historian in American*, 43-58. Earlier studies of individual American architects took the form of biographical collections, such as the compilations by Clara Erskine Clement Waters: *Painters, Sculptors, Architects, Engravers, and Their Works: A Handbook* (1874); coauthor with Lawrence Hutton, *Artists of the Nineteenth Century and Their Works* (1879).

24. Cynthia D. Kinnard, "Mariana Griswold Van Rensselaer (1851-1934): America's First Professional Woman Art Critic," in Sherman, Holcomb, *Women as Interpreters*, 40-43; 181-205; Doumato, *Women Architectural Critics*. With the regularization of professional education, architects reconstituted architectural history a learned subject. See C. Francis Osborne; *Architectural Record* (1891-92), 281.

25. Koenigsberg, "Mariana Van Rensselaer," 45-47.

26. The article first appeared in the *North American Review* 151 (September 1890): 390 and was reprinted in *AABN* 40 (April 1893): 11-12; *Proceedings of the Twenty-fourth Annual Convention of the American Institute of Architects*, 22-24 October, 1890 (Chicago: Inland Architect Press 1891), 126; Koenigsberg, "Mariana Van Rensselaer," 45.

27. Dolores Hayden, *Seven American Utopias: The Architecture of Communitarian Socialism, 1790-1975* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1976); Frances Bartkowski, *Feminist Utopias* (Lincoln: Univ. Nebraska Press, 1989); Cole, *Tipi to Sky-scraper*, 61-67; Carol Farley Kessler, ed., *Daring to Dream: Utopian Stories by United States Women, 1836-1919* (Boston: Pandora Press 1984).

28. On Austin's community designs see Hayden, *Grand Domestic Revolution*, 242-48.

29. The quote comes from a book written by "A Lady," *The Young Lady's Friend* (Boston, American Stationers' Company, John B. Russell, 1837), 41. On the endurance of the notion of women's invisibility see Denise Scott Brown, "Room at the Top? Sexism and the Star System in Architecture," in *Architecture, A Place for Women*, 237-246.

30. Gwendolyn Wright identifies female critics, writers, and journalists, along with planners and programmers, as "adjuncts"; "On the Fringe of the Profession: Women in American Architecture," in *The Architect*, 284. A similar marginalization occurred for people of color.

31. Frederick Law Olmsted to Mariana Van Rensselaer, 12 June 1886, *Olmsted Papers*, Manuscripts Division, Library of Congress.

32. Mary Kelley, *Private Woman, Public Stage: Literary Domesticity in Nineteenth-Century America* (New York: Oxford 1984); Nancy K. Miller, "Changing the Subject: Authorship, Writing and the Reader," in *Feminist Studies/Critical Studies*, ed. Teresa de Lauretis (Bloomington: Indiana University Press 1986), 102-120; Cheryl Walker, "Feminist Literary Criticism and the Author," *Critical Inquiry* 16 (Spring 1990): 551-71; Heilbrun, *Writing a Woman's Life*.

33. For an example of a revisionist, cultural evaluation of a woman architect's career see the author's, "Sincere and Good: The Architectural Practice of Julia Morgan," *Journal of Architectural and Planning Research* 9:2 (Summer 1992): 112-128.

34. *Geneve* (New York: Vantage Press 1969).

35. Only 100 of these were women; Turpin C. Bannister, ed. *The Architect at Mid-century, Evolution and Achievement* (New York: Reinhold, 1954), chart 54. The federal census recorded seventeen women architects in the United States in 1880 and 302 in 1910; Elizabeth Kemper Adams, *Women Professional Workers, A Study Made for the Women's Educational and Industrial Union* (New York: The MacMillan Co., 1921), 318.

36. Doumato, "Introduction," viii.

37. For example, when Catherine Beecher and her sister Harriet Beecher Stowe published *The American Woman's Home* (1869), they could count on a readership from Harriet's popular publication, *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, which had sold over one million copies.

38. In the late 1880s *Century* boasted a circulation of over 200,000; Mott, *A History of American Magazines*, 3, 475.

39. AABN 40 (1 April 1893):11-12. The study on English cathedrals illustrated by Joseph Pennell was serialized in *Century*, 1887-1892; Koenigsberg, "Mariana Van Rensselaer," 45; Kinnard, "Mariana Griswold Van Rensselaer," 196-97.

40. Despite the negative professional reviews *English Cathedrals* sold well and was followed by a revised edition in 1893 and several reprints.

41. M.N. Woods, "History in the Early American Architectural Journals," in *The Architectural Historian in American*, 86.

42. Of course other male authors addressed the female audience, yet Gardner's title and attitude were exceptional. *Illustrated Homes* (Boston: J.R. Osgood 1875).

43. Andreas Huyssen identifies a "Great Divide" between high and low (mass) culture at the turn of the century. *After the Great Divide. Modernism, Mass Culture, Postmodernism* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1986); ix, 48. My thanks to Anne Birmingham for this reference.

44. The full sentence reads: "First, the planning of houses, at least so far as the convenience of their arrangement is concerned, though a very necessary part of an architect's duty, is not architecture at all;" editorial, AABN (September 1876), 313. Of course, the valuation of house design was closely tied to class considerations, with mansions considered worthy of a male architect's efforts. Wright, *Moralism and the Model Home*, 22-23, 55, 74; Magali Sarfatti Larson, "Emblem and Exception: The Historical Definition of the Architect's Professional Role," in *Professionals and Urban Form*, edited by J.R. Blau, M.E. La Gory, J.S. Pipkin (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1983), 49-86.

45. Charles Moore, *The Life and Times of Charles Follen McKim* (1929), 281-82.

46. Adams, *Women Professional Workers*, 319. For a fuller discussion of domestic economy see D. Hayden, *The Grand Domestic Revolution*.

47. *Book of the School*, 31.

48. The idiosyncrasies evident in Tuthill's book are to be expected in the first attempt to write an architectural history for America. The interest in the pre-conquest buildings of the American continents reflects a desire to document a regional heritage.

49. *A History of Architecture on the Comparative Method* became (and remains) a standard in architecture schools around the world.

50. Helen Bosanquet, *The Family* (1906); quoted in Elizabeth Roberts, *A Woman's Place: An Oral History of Working-Class Women, 1890-1940* (Oxford 1984), 117.

51. Wright, *Moralism*, 222.

52. This shift was further accelerated by the rise of modernist ideology after the First World War. In many ways modernism was reactionary, responding to the female threat of mass culture. *After the Great Divide*, 48, 53-55.

53. Women played a seminal role in the publication of the so-called "Little Magazines," literary, often avant garde, journals such as *The Egoist*, *An Individualist Review*, *Poetry*, *Little Review*, and *Mother Earth*.

54. After the recession of the 1970s, male architects sought publication in women's magazines in acknowledgment of the extensive audiences of potential clients they attract.

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Excavating Memory: A Photographic Installation by Richard Barnes

*Yet the enchainment of past and future
Woven in the weakness of the changing body,
Protects mankind from heaven and damnation
Which flesh cannot endure.*

*Time past and time future
Allow but a little consciousness.*

T.S. Eliot, The Wasteland

In 1992, the Fine Arts Museum of San Francisco began the renovation and expansion of the Palace of the Legion of Honor, a museum established to exhibit and promote French art and culture in San Francisco. Part of the renovation included seismic upgrading, placing load-bearing steel support beams beneath the Corinthian columns to reinforce the building. Upon excavation for the new subterranean galleries, workers began to dig up bones and the remains of redwood caskets in the courtyard and throughout the museum grounds. What was first thought to be isolated bone scatter has numbered in excess of 760 intact burials from what had been Golden Gate cemetery. In the late 1890s, due to expansion and development, the city of San Francisco passed legislation prohibiting the burial of the dead within city limits. Funds were allocated to disinter the existing burials throughout the city and rebury them in less populated regions to the south. It is speculated that this cemetery was in fact never relocated, but that instead the headstones were simply removed. Archaeologically, the find is significant, representing the largest gold rush era community ever excavated.

My interest in the Palace of the Legion of Honor site developed out of

work I have been doing over the past five years on archaeological excavations in Egypt and Beirut, Lebanon. This and other recent projects have led me to inquire into the relationship between archaeology and modern development, between past cultures and the way they are preserved, analyzed, and interpreted in the present. While working in Egypt, excavating sites whose age is measured in millennia rather than decades, I experienced history as a succession of strata, put down layer by layer, with each level demarcating another historical period. There are few places on this planet where one can stand in an excavation trench and experience, with such clarity, this visual banding of time. From the pre-Dynastic, through Greek, Roman, Coptic Christian, and Islamic to our own time, I remain enthralled by the idea of the existence of a past that refuses to totally depart, but instead lies buried a few inches beneath our feet quietly insisting on interrupting the continuum of our collective present.

More recently, and as an extension of my work on excavations, I have begun to consider the museum as an institution and the establishment of collections. How are they formed, for what purpose, and for whom do they exist? The Legion of Honor is a museum dedicated to the presentation of European art, established as a memorial to the California dead of World War I and built on top of the forgotten remains of early inhabitants of the city of San Francisco. Although my work at this site initially began as architectural documentation, with the ensuing exhu-

mations it quickly included more. Unearthing history long ago buried, the process of excavation brought to light the methodology used in assembling a collection. Even while archaeological investigation meticulously observes, records, and interprets the past, the process of uncovering often obliterates the original site and its context while preserving the object. A mundane artifact through the passage of time is rendered precious, collected, and displaced, only to be re-placed and assigned new significance. Through the juxtaposition of artifacts from the excavation with the reinstallation of the museum's collection, the manner in which the various objects are handled, wrapped, and relocated, questions arise as to the practice of preservation and the collection of history. Whose past is worthy of collection and preservation, and whose is expendable and why?

Mid-excavation photographs of the museum reveal above, a symmetrical facade, and below, a cavernous underworld, conjuring up images of the psyche, the ordered conscious ideal above and the hidden dark unconscious world beneath. Presiding over the excavation and construction rubble, the museum's neoclassical columns assume the appearance of rational order, harkening back to the Greek ideal of architecture as a civilizing force. By emulating the layout and design of ritual spaces (temples, cathedrals, and palaces), museum architecture often takes on the solemnity of a place of worship. The museum goer partakes in a predetermined narrative, performing a ritual of witnessing, observing, and paying homage to a history which has been carefully curated and ordered for him. In my attempt to illuminate the practice of preservation and collection, I am investigating the role of museums as monuments of secular culture, bites of collective

memory, and preservers of cultural heritage.

Here, the museum is literally a mausoleum, housing not only objects of the dead, but the dead themselves. From an examination of the burial artifacts in addition to the simple redwood coffins most of the exhumed were buried in, we know this cemetery was in fact a Potters Field, the final resting place of the very poor. The collective history of an entire population lay forgotten beneath the foundations at the museum for over 70 years. The Legion of Honor and the excavation of the ground beneath it is a site steeped in memory and rich in its implications. Here the preserved heritage is an imported European art history which displaces an ambiguous disregarded history. Through the installation, a buried history is temporarily relocated to within the walls of the art museum rather than remaining in obscurity.

FIGURES

- A. Museum with Excavated Courtyard, 1994.
- B. Interior-curtain Covering Doorway, 1994.
- C. Burial, Angled, 1994.
- D. Archeologist's Tools, 1994.
- E. Burial with Nails, 1994.
- F. Grand Court/Duck Work, 1994.
- G. Saint John the Baptist Head in Vitrine, 1995.
- H. Excavation, Head detail, 1994.
- I. Thinker Veiled, 1995.
- J. Artifacts, 1994.
- K. Prone Religious Figures, 1995.
- L. Burial with Box and String, 1995.

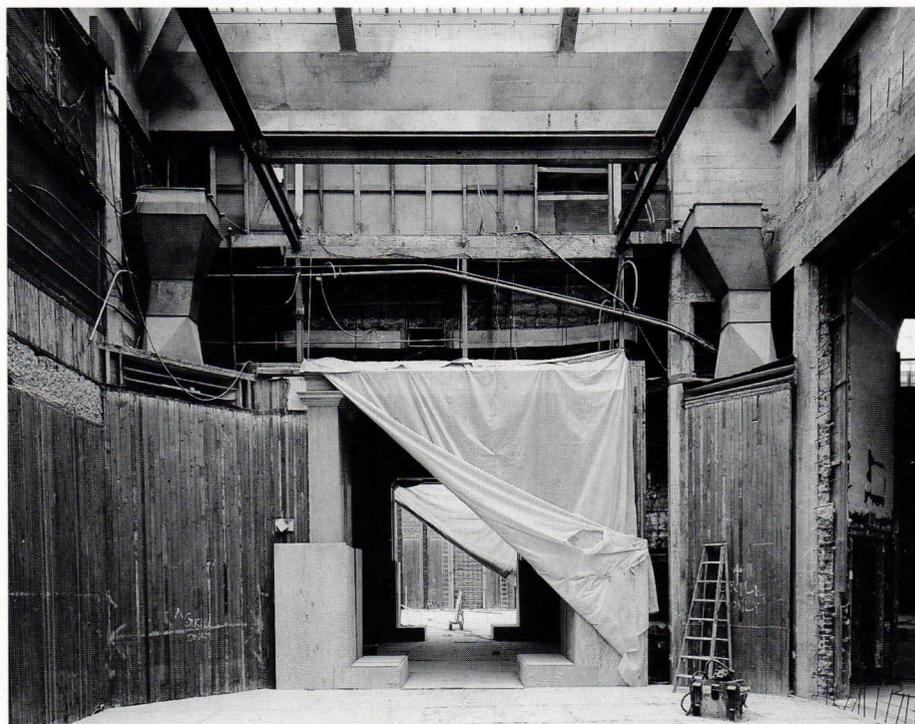
Richard Barnes is a photographer whose work is widely published in architecture periodicals and books. An installation by Richard Barnes titled "Still Rooms & Excavations" opens at the Museum of Photographic Arts in San Diego in February, 1997. It will travel to the Museum at the University of New Mexico, Albuquerque and then to the San Francisco Bay Area.



HONNEUR

A.





B.



C.



D.



E.



F.



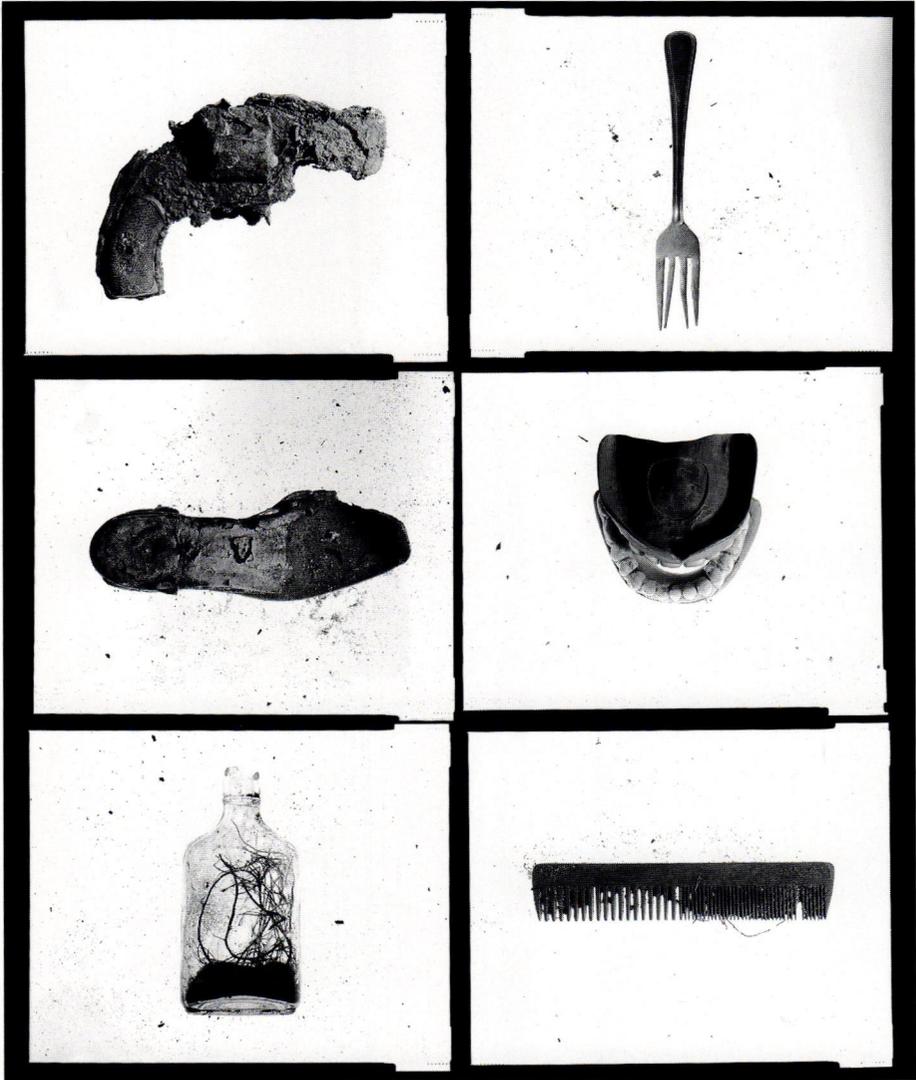
G.



H.



I.



J.



K.



L.

Goodman²: Chaos Architecture A Metapattern That Connects

Martha Senger

The reconstructive social architecture I envision today has a revolutionary future—a nonhierarchical, nonlinear process structure that conceives and manifests a complex range of activities in spaces designed and programmed to provide access to the random. I call it “chaos architecture,” and it has provided a multidimensional blueprint to guide the three-dimensional design of the new Goodman² building in San Francisco.

GOODMAN²

Successor to the historic Goodman Building, Goodman² was designed by David Baker Associates and developed in a co-venture partnership between the nonprofit Artspace Development Corporation (ArtsDeco) and its market-rate partner McKenzie, Rose & Holliday, with financial support from the Mayor's Office of Housing and the San Francisco Redevelopment Agency.

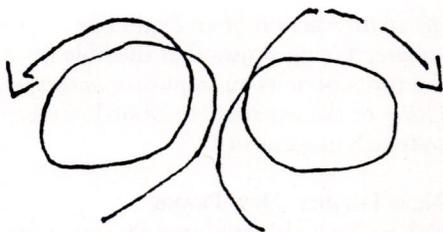
The ArtsDeco/G² project grew out of the Goodman Group artists collective that waged a historic but ill-fated ten-year struggle to save the old Victorian hotel's thick and supportive ecology from destruction, a battle that ended in eviction of the residents and conversion of the Goodman's congregate live/work environment to a conventional apartment house with commercial stores replacing the community art center that had grown up in the residential hotel's five storefronts. G² was designed to similarly support and empower its residents by centering them in the thick of things they need for their lives and

work. Like Goodman¹, G² achieves complexity through a compact part/whole patterning that links a broad spectrum of private to public spaces. At the private end are 29 individual live/work studios, double-height spaces with built-in sleeping lofts that range in size from 500 to 1000 square feet, each with its own kitchen and bath. At the public end is a 2,500 square foot performance gallery, as well as a 2,000 square foot multimedia center for use both by G²'s residents and the outside community. At the building's center is a two-storied circular space for community meetings, events, and exhibitions. A circular wide hall outside the second floor studios provides a balcony that overlooks the central atrium and extends it. This space is not only the locus of the self-dynamics of the building: its vortex shape also symbolizes the form of its recursive, democratic functioning.

The central aspect of the building's form is that it be self-organizing; that is, the building's organic life be generated by the in depth, ongoing production of the whole by those who reside there. In this deeply collaborative process that respects the unique contribution of each individual to the co-production of a growing whole, mutual respect and aid become the principles that not only permit the full realization and utilization of each person's talents but also create the harmonious relations that make shared work a joyful social and evolutionary activity. As means coincide and grow out of deeper holistic ends, competitive “thing rela-

tions” that characterize top-down modes of production are actively transformed into cooperative, synergistic modes that are not only more efficient but more fully human. This was the philosophy of the Goodman Group, the dynamic and vision that permitted it to survive a decade of onslaught by the San Francisco bureaucracy, that met every Monday night for the entire period to jointly decide on issues that affected them—from the building’s upkeep to its preservation and acquisition—all the while generating artwork and creating a community cultural center in the building’s storefronts. It has also sustained the last ten years of struggle by ArtsDeco to produce a built structure as organically complex as the Goodman Building—one that would not only serve as a habitat for low-income artists but also serve the larger vision—to probe that long sought but still largely uncharted region of *cooperative creativity*. To that end, working with other Goodman artists and ArtsDeco board members, I developed a conceptual framework consistent with our vision and gave it to our architect to guide his design of Goodman². The isomorphism between the Group’s anarchist philosophy and practice and whole systems thinking struck me early on, capturing my formal imagination and pulling me, bootstrap fashion, in an ever-deepening search for that most alluring and illusive attractor—a pattern that will reconnect human nature with cosmic nature.

THE HOLOMOVEMENT AND THE TORUS
Quantum physicist David Bohm describes the cosmic process as one vast “holomovement”—a perpetual circling between a primary multidimensional realm of the forms of meaning and a secondary realm, the perceived, apparently three-dimensional world of objects, events, space, and time that “float” on the holomovement.



Martha Senger sketch of torus from dream.

Many have found that the doughnut topography of the torus best illustrates and embodies this doubling-back self-referential movement. I first dreamed of it in the mid-'60s and scratched its fountain-like movement on a scrap of paper by my bed, half asleep, with the words “gather...sift... see....” Whenever I’ve read of others using the torus analogy, I’ve felt a rush of excitement and presentiment. And I still do as I read more and more frequently of others—mathematicians, systems philosophers, artists, and mystics—who use it to describe this metaform, the cosmic structure.

Arthur M. Young, inventor of the Bell helicopter and founder of the Institute for the Study of Consciousness in Berkeley, wrote extensively about toroidal dynamics, in *The Reflexive Universe*, “I recognized that the universe and the creatures which inhabit it are toroidal. The torus shape, which is also that of a vortex, a magnetic field, and eddies in water...is the only manner by which self-sustained motion can exist in a given medium.”

To aid our recognition of the reflexive process the torus permits, he suggests “...thinking of ourselves starting from a point and going out in every direction to gain experience. In thus creating a ‘sphere of experience,’ we encompass everything within a given orbit. So doing, we encounter a great diversity of experience, represented by the sphere, but this material must be gathered and integrated, and then incorporated into ourselves.” In contrast to the

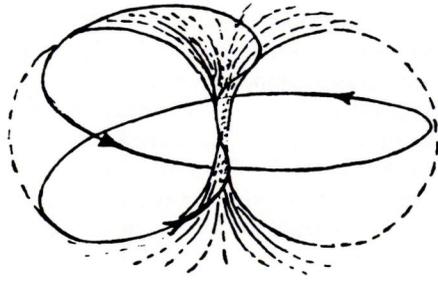
dissipative action of an exploding sphere, Young shows that the hole in the torus permits an implosive *accumulation* of the experiences gained in the outreach movement.

NEW THEORY: NEW PRAXIS

Others have also explored the emerging holistic paradigm and its potential for bringing about sweeping change. What is still needed, however, are concrete working models of these ideas, specific applications that are do-able and observable now, together with theory-specific guidelines for designing them. To this end G^2 must be placed in a wider context, further examining the new architectural principles it models and then looking at the social and economic implications of such an integral architecture for the eventual restructuring of society. A restructuring that includes a new mode of production, a reconceived social notion of the self, and—looking to the next millennium—a moving beyond the old boundaries that have separated art, ecology, and society.

PROCESS STRUCTURES

“Process” thinkers view nature as a complex, interconnected whole that includes consciousness rather than an aggregation of inert physical parts—a self organizing whole, moreover, that is geared to renew itself from within through the nonlinear movement of consciousness that is variously called “feedback,” “recursion,” or “dialectics.” Thus, as David Bohm explains in *Wholeness and the Implicate Order*, the forms of meaning unfold from the implicate order to act upon matter and change it, in a thoroughgoing mutation wherein both consciousness and matter radically evolve. It’s thus critical that humans know our role in this shaping—this mediating of meaning through the physical order—because we can, and do, block the holomovement with the inert, fragmented, and



Arthur Young sketch from *Consciousness and Reality*.

hierarchical forms and technologies we impose.

While Bohm has defined the deep process physics of the holomovement, Ilya Prigogine, the Nobel prize-winning chemist, has provided a breakthrough understanding of the conditions that are necessary for new forms to enter the world. In *Order Out of Chaos*, Prigogine shows that even chemical structures “die” if their environments are restricted, but under open, non-equilibrium conditions that permit a rich influx of energy and information from the environment, they in fact “dissipate” entropy and extract order from the chaos around them to reorganize themselves in higher level forms. Nonequilibrium or turbulence is thus an unexpected source of order.

In *The Self Organizing Universe*, Erich Jantsch has taken Prigogine’s notion and applied it as an evolutionary principle, writing; “the more freedom in organization, the more order.” Once established, a complex system becomes “metastable,” having learned to renew itself—damping those fluctuations that threaten it and amplifying those that develop it through reading the clues or patterns in circumstances that appear to be random for the hidden order they contain.

Further helping us understand how organisms receive their forms, biologist Rupert Sheldrake has posited the existence of subtle nonenergetic fields that resonate with and organize physical en-

ergy structures “in accordance with what we can recognize as meaning.” This is startlingly similar to Carl Jung’s principle of “synchronicity”—an “acausal ordering” that involves the active role of unconscious archetypes in triggering “mirror” events in the physical environment.

This spiraling-connecting is given a new iteration in chaos mathematics, which has also, like the new chemistry and new physics, embraced the acausal and indeterminate and found in it a mirror order that twirls chaotically with the orderer around a mysteriously evolving center of missing information, the “strange attractor.” Fractal structures—the irregular shapes left by self-reference, the folding and unfolding “beating together of order and chaos”—appear where they meet. With the notion of a teleologically-directed cosmic process confirmed mathematically, chemically, biologically, and by Bohm’s depth physics, we have made a stunning leap beyond the mechanical ordering-from-the-outside which has imprisoned us since the 17th century. And learned the conditions such a process requests for its emergence in life.

CHAOS ARCHITECTURE: AN ECOLOGY OF THE MIND

In *Creative Evolution*, Henri Bergson first jolted the materialist assumptions of science by reframing the notion of time “beyond the spatialized time in which we believe we see continual rearrangements between the parts” into “that concrete duration in which a radical recasting of the whole is always going on.” He further declared, “Time is creativity, or it is nothing.”

As the notion of structure is radically revised to embrace what Prigogine refers to as “time’s arrow,” we are presented finally with a natural basis for unifying physical form with complex, four-plus dimensional functioning, that is, structures designed to accommodate

the unfolding of mind, of meaning—of self-corrective change—from within. Since we are no longer conceptually restricted to the notion of the primacy of inert matter that is acted on from without, but with a dialectical, co-evolutionary process that “eats” chaos, extracts its nuances, and incorporates, then iterates them into higher contexts and new externalizations, we are presented with a radically reconstructed functioning to house. This nonlinear functioning no longer focuses primarily on individual physical functions but on a range of intersubjective, democratic functioning within the context of a complex, open environment designed to co-evolve with its residents.

In Gregory Bateson’s language, such a form/process zigzag constitutes a circuit structure—an ecology of the mind we all share. The pathways of this “pattern that connects” include not only conscious processes but access as well to the archetypal patternings of the primary non-conscious and unrestricted opening to the seemingly random or chaotic processes of experience. Only by reconnecting this full circuit can we go beyond the “short arcs of conscious purpose” and escape being caught in what he calls “an evolutionary cul-de-sac.”

These, then, are the parameters of an evolutionary architecture, that it restore the deep part-to-whole circuits of “the pattern that connects.” As a model whole system, Goodman² provides such a spectrum of interlinked spaces and functions, situating individual live-in work lofts in a context of shared use spaces and self-management, and linking residents with the outside community through public access spaces that include meeting, exhibition, and shared production spaces. At the center of the complex, the two-storied circular space for collective envisioning and decision making provides a feedback/feedforward center to co-

here and regenerate the flow of the whole.

In *Negative Dialectics*, Theodore Adorno wrote, "The bourgeois interior has no room in which to unfold. It exists, once and for all, frozen in the still life of a furniture arrangement and thereby provides the concrete image of the indifference between subject and object."

Circuit structuring—modeled on the cosmic architectural process that sets in motion multiple turnings between subject and object, context and chaos, micro and macro orders—achieves this unfolding by deconstructing static, bourgeois structuring with a higher order, evolving structure. An architecture based on non-linear process could be called circuit, fractal, recursive, cyber, vortex, integral, or reconstructive. Each term describes the dialectical/alchemical feedback between the patterning and flux of experience that constitutes life. But it is its emphasis on unrestricted access to (and complementarity of) the mirror realms of micro and macro nature that leads me to call it *chaos architecture* and thereby adopt an archaic symbol that evokes the vision of a higher-ordered, non-reductive environment. In reactivating the organic vortex of cooperative living and working at this postindustrial moment, chaos architecture can function to dissipate the entropy of a system that no longer works, becoming radically reconstructive.

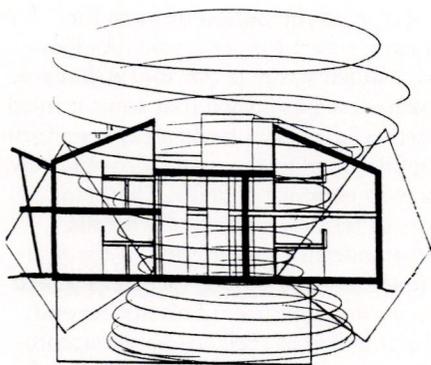
Like the early Russian Constructivists, the reconstructive goals of chaos architecture include not only the deconstruction of a decadent order but the construction of a new order. In contrast, however, where Constructivist dynamics derived in large part from the machine, chaos architecture's reconstructivist program derives from differently conceived notions of form and function made possible by the lessons of recent history and the findings of

nonlinear science. And whereas the socialist Constructivists saw the Industrial Revolution as a means of liberation, chaos reconstructivism holds that industrial modernism, by placing technology and economy above local culture and the imperatives of efficiency and profit above sentiment, achieved its advances at the cost of massive dislocations of communities, social relationships, and subcultures, and that these dislocations have led to a debasing of the nature and meaning of work, to urban decay, violence, and pervasive alienation. As Marshall Berman argues in *All That is Solid Melts into Air*, the "tragedy of development" is that in order to liberate mankind you must uproot it. Chaos architecture's reconstructive program is to design re-rooting enclaves, structures to support the practice of an alternative mode of development—the redevelopment of living wholes, from within, from below.

TOPOLOGICAL DESIGN

Ralph Abraham, former Director of the Visual Mathematics project at UC Santa Cruz and author of *Dynamics: The Geometry of Behavior* turned to the ancient but only recently rehabilitated topological mathematics of the torus in order to describe the complex behavior of dynamical systems. David Bohm also turned to topological mathematics to reveal the deeper structures of quantum theory acknowledging that the Cartesian grid—even with curvilinear coordinates—was incapable of revealing the deeper structures of quantum theory that had no need for underlying space-time at all, only for the self-resonating, interconnective relations that topological geometry permits.

Like physics, architecture has remained imprisoned in the conceptual, mathematical straight-jacket of the grid, whose static limitations have sorely restricted the arena of invention and bred the form-functional contradictions that



Steve Pickering sketch superimposing vortical motion over section of Goodman² design by David Baker Associates.

erupted out of modernism's emphasis on formal purity as well as the reactions to the modernist aesthetic that has emerged over the past two decades, postmodernism and deconstructivism among them. Postmodernism was an attempt to relieve the sterility of modernism by reintroducing a sense of historical meaning and continuity, even though ironic; Deconstructivism was the impulse to symbolically de-center functions that have been repressively centered (read controlled) in actual fact by the static, profoundly non-dialectical logoi of modern western thought. But both have failed as has modernism, because their field of functioning was too narrowly conceived and because they did not understand the notion of asymmetric, dialogical centering, the open-ended symmetry-breaking and reforming that occurs within a many-leveled, self-organizing system. Nor did they have at hand an alternative geometry on which to model this range of functioning.

As I hope has been made clear, an existential decentering must take place in the context of the ongoing creating and recreating of a concrete reality—of a full dialectical, material, and social *praxis*—where the conditions are under the control of, and provide the media for, ongoing development.

Buckminster Fuller, who was vehemently anti-grid and cube, wrote in *Synergetics II*, "There is no universal space or static space in Universe. There is only omnidirectional, conceptual 'out' and the specifically directed, conceptual 'in'." On these topological principles and the four-dimensional observer-plus-observed tetrahedra rather than the cube as his "fundamental minimum structure," Fuller constructed a geometry of thinking he called "synergetics" to account for the properties of wholeness and regenerativeness that three-dimensional planar geometries left out. In this metaphysically-driven universe, there are only time relationships or "events" which are generated in a "rubber donut jitterbug" within the sphere's nucleus he calls the Vector Equilibrium. Thus Fuller's "spherics" seem in fact to be toroidal, though he never uses the term.

Gregory Bateson said that our efforts at building a bridge between mind and matter have begun at the wrong end, matter, when we should have begun with *that which patterns matter—mind*. Beginning afresh with a firm underpinning in epistemology—of "how knowledge is done"—the topology of the bridge comes increasingly into focus. We thus escape the grid not by eschewing matter, but by mediating it in good dialectical fashion, via the mind-matter vortex structure, the torus. Topological design, mirroring and facilitating nonlinear functioning, provides architecture with a fully-articulated, multi-coded epistemology that permits it to become, as Hegel envisioned, "a second body for the mind"—whose home is in primordial time and phase space.

Charles Muses, authority on the topology of time (*Destiny and Control in Human Systems*) discovered in the latter 1960s the limiting form of the torus, the "umbilicoid" whose volume exactly equals the three-dimensional hypersur-

face of a four-dimensional sphere. Muses is now concerned with developing these ideas into a functional architecture reflecting higher dimensional forms into our world with practical and also aesthetically freeing effect. "The object is to surf on time," Muses said in a videotaped interview, "learning how to align oneself with the waves of time breaking on the beach of occurrence."

A NEW SUBJECTIVITY

In *Communicative Praxis and the Space of Subjectivity*, Calvin Schrag acknowledges the necessity of deconstructing our disastrously misconstrued and alienated notion of subjectivity—"that epistemological space of interior minds and exterior realities, private thoughts and public knowledge" that we have occupied so disastrously since Descartes. But he departs from the deconstructivist conclusion that sees humankind inevitably destined to enter a "twilight of subjectivity" in which the self is rendered homeless. Instead, Schrag sees deconstruction not as an end in itself but rather as the "first revolution" that provides a clearing for a "second revolution." "The proper site for such a recovery," Schrag writes, "is the holistic space of communicative praxis, in which the performances of speech, writing, and action are situated. The emerging subjectivity within this space will be transfigured and transformed, a decentered subjectivity, bearing the wisdom gleaned from the arduous venture of deconstruction as a task never completed but rather to be performed time and again."

I suggest that live/work co-ops uniquely provide such a space and the necessary conditions for situating a transfigured subjectivity and a transfigured economy.

LIBERATION AESTHETICS

One of the marks of postmodernism is the movement of artists (like architects)

away from the notion of form for form's, or art for art's, sake. As Roy McMullen wrote in *Art and Affluence*, awareness has grown that some critical "tether" has been broken between form and its referent that calls for some new way to embrace content. This sense of loss of tension combined with the postmodernist decentering of the individual as autonomous locus has pulled increasing numbers of artists beyond the confines of their media. Conceptualists have incorporated political and environmental situations, eschewing both aesthetic objects and galleries. Representing is avoided in favor of *presenting*.

The late philosopher Lucien Goldman developed the notion of *significant structures*, aesthetic forms unfolding from the collective historical praxis of a plural subject. As he said, "Beyond the pure form spoken of by the linguist or the semiologist, there is what could be called the form of content. Some might call this content, but it is form; it is the significant structure of the universe created by...a group with mental categories to conceive the world and to resolve aesthetic problems." Such an existential aesthetics would resituate form in life-or more accurately—life in form.

DECONSTRUCTING IRRELEVANCE

For Bucky Fuller, gravity is the most economical "geodesic" relationship of events, the critical path whereby the "orderly and syntropic metaphysical" evolves "anticipatorily to terminate the entropically accelerated disorder" in a "progressive discarding of irrelevancies."

G. Spencer Brown created a similar critical path calculus in his famous book *The Laws of Form*, writing, "...in mathematics, as in other disciplines, the power of a system resides in its elegance which is achieved by condensing as much as is needed into as little as is

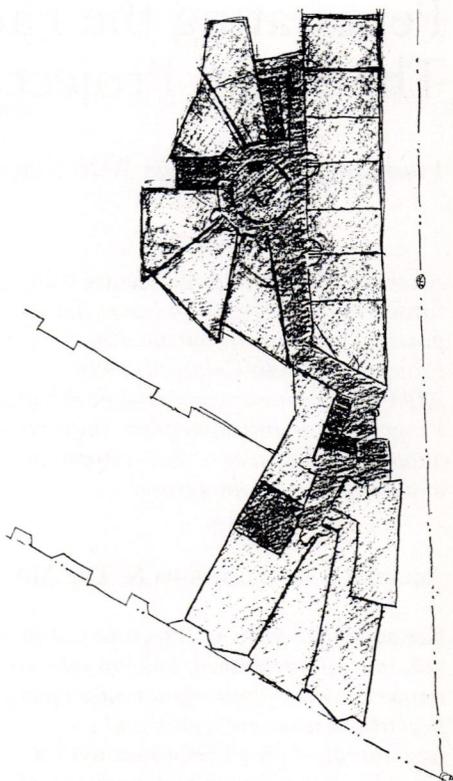
needed, and so making that little progressively free from irrelevance.” This essentializing, whereby “the existential condenses with the universal,” was made possible by Brown’s revision of Boolean algebraic logic. To Boole’s three classes of statement—the true, the false, and the meaningless—Brown added a fourth class—the imaginary. “The implications of this, in the fields of logic, philosophy, mathematics, and even physics,” Brown admits, “are profound.”

The social, ecological and spiritual implications are also profound. Nature’s mind is not only constantly transforming—essentializing—its material matrix but is doing it along a least-action, double-spiral path. This is the principle of alchemy and cybernetics become conscious—steering macroscopic processes with a minimum of energy and maximum of meaning.

AN ECOLOGY OF FREEDOM

Will we awaken to these principles? Undertake the challenge to design environments that work with nature’s grain instead of against it? As I have emphasized throughout, the reconstructive ecological principle calls first and foremost for reconnecting the self-correcting circuits of mind that have been cut within human society. For restoring society’s cellular structure by reintegrating the realms of deep self and deep work in decentralized, self-managed communities. With the aesthetic and spiritual relations of creative production and mutual aid restored within affinity communities, the entropic slack will melt away and we will have resumed our symbiotic place in nature. Only then can we talk about “deep ecology.”

The cooperative live/work complex appears today as such a revolutionary structure, an underground habitat surfacing at this critical postindustrial moment with a truly exhilarating potential



David Baker Associates sketch of live/work design with central space to foster collective creativity.

to reknit the frayed fabric of our cities—to cohere their chaos from below.

NOTES

A more comprehensive presentation of this conceptual framework and its references *Cohering Chaos: Restructuring from Below in the Inner City*, as well as a detailed history of the fight to save the historic Goodman Building are available through the G² Institute, 1695 18th Street, Studio 101, San Francisco, CA 94107. Telephone (415) 648-7800; email, msenger@well.com. The award-winning architectural design by David Baker Associates, San Francisco, is published in *Progressive Architecture* January 1995.

Martha Senger, a conceptual artist, is director of the G² Institute for Aesthetic Research as well as past executive director of ArtsDeco. Grants to vitalize G² Institute are arranged through her.

Penetrating the Facade: The Social Project of Architecture

Lian Hurst Mann Talks With Kenneth Caldwell

After this edition of Architecture California, Lian Hurst Mann leaves her position as editor to pursue other projects. Kenneth Caldwell, 1996 AIACC Communications/Public Affairs Program Committee member, inquires about the objectives of her editorship and her plans for the future.

ARCHITECTURE CALIFORNIA & THE AIA

Kenneth Caldwell: *Architecture California, in its journal form, has brought attention to many important issues facing practitioners in our region and set a new standard for publications within the AIA. As editor of Architecture California what have been your objectives for the publication?*

Lian Hurst Mann: This incarnation of the publication really began with Joe Esherick, Bill Turnbull, Barton Phelps, and Alicia Rosenthal. They had an opportunity to change the direction of *Architecture California* and were eager to take it. They believed that architects read and might be hungry for thought-provoking material. They decided that the editor should be an architect, that the contributors would write what they were thinking about their own work, and that the publication would present a modest image free from advertising. They, further, affirmed the independence of the Editorial Board in order to secure its mandate. With the Editorial Board, I was interested in helping the California Council of the AIA make a contribution to the field at large by cre-

ating a forum for the exchange of ideas among not only architects, but all people interested in design, building, and California's future. I wanted the publication to contribute to our knowledge and to encourage thoughtfulness about practice. In architecture, we have a weak tradition of raising practice to the level of theory. Commonly, we have an idea and then we make a building; we rarely explain their relationship.

Further, the Editorial Board has had the particular objective of encouraging debate. All fields of inquiry advance through the struggle of contending points of view. Of course, such dialogue requires primary materials, that is, essays contributed by those who have something they want to say, rather than journalistic pieces written about these people by professional writers. This material has been very difficult to develop, but is critical to the unique character of *Architecture California*.

What do you value most about your period as editor?

Together with the Editorial Board, whose membership has changed over the six years I have served as editor, I believe we have fostered a dialogue about the relationship between our design objectives and the lived experience of those who inhabit the built environment we create. Each edition of *Architecture California* has become a kind of chapbook of primary writings on a particular topic, with many points of view included that can contribute to the field for years to come.

Also, certain topic areas have evolved over time into a series. For example, the Editorial Board has been very conscious that the main architecture publications don't deal with several aspects of practice, such as retail which ends up in newspaper real-estate sections or industry publications such as *Shopping Centers Today*. Over time, we have published numerous articles that treat retail as a serious question from differing perspectives. Barton Anderson presented research from environmental psychology describing how aesthetic decisions function in the marketplace of retail sales. With critic Margaret Crawford's analysis of malls, developer Sharon Lee Polledri's testimonial about the needs of clients, as well as designer John Field's essays about the making of civic institutions through retail development, the special edition became a series through which this arena of practice was legitimated as a central part of the historic development of our urban centers. This is a clear example of trying to take the business interests of a certain sector of the profession and foreground them in the spirit of inquiry. A similar series has developed addressing environmental sustainability.

Everyone who has written for the publication has gotten a lot out of the experience, and I believe this is evident in the articles. Large numbers of people who read *Architecture California* appreciate it for that reason. I think they understand that many practitioners have ideas to share that are not being exchanged because the marketplace doesn't require it of them, or perhaps does not allow it. There is no real demand for us to be introspective about the place of our work in society, and few avenues through which to share such introspection when it occurs. I believe it is the special opportunity of a publication such as *Architecture California* to present an intellectual ex-

change, based on the rich experiences of daily practice but unfettered by the constant constraints inevitably felt by individual businesses. This is what an association of professionals such as the AIA can uniquely do that individuals cannot.

When fostering dialogue in the field, you also encourage debate about the publication, don't you?

Of course. Some views reflect different strategies about the objectives of the publication. Obviously, there are many kinds of publications. This publication does not offer aids to business or marketing strategies, or anything like that; these topics fit in other publications. The unique mandate given by the founding Editorial Board was to develop an experimental publication on a very limited budget, something different enough to hold the interest of a diverse readership, utilizing this difference to stir debate and motivate people to write. Perhaps the most significant contribution of the publication is that its very existence fosters dialogue all too often suppressed in our field.

And, of course, every editor brings their leadership to a publication, leadership that is often controversial.

Some readers have said that the publication doesn't address small practitioners, who make up a large percentage of the AIA membership; others, that there isn't enough visual information about architects' work; or that the publication might be more useful if it presented the value of architects to those outside of the profession.

True, the majority of AIA members are small practitioners. The Editorial Board has not interpreted small practitioners, however, to be a homogeneous group with necessarily common interests in the so-called "traditional practice." The field is changing rapidly, and many new

forms of practice are evolving, often at the initiative of small firm entities. Many of the writers have been such practitioners who have a problem that they are wrestling with or are looking for a new direction for practice. Examples of this have been Sigrid Miller Pollin's essays, Lee Schwager's description of "Project Management Practice," Murray Silverstein's introspection in "Design as Inquiry," or Swift and Swift in "Future of the Profession: Part One." At the same time, we all have a great deal to learn about the macro transformations taking place in the now-global design and building industries, which led us to print Kim Day's piece on large firms in the special edition on "Practice" and the Ove Arup piece in "Building the Pacific Rim."

Regarding visual content, the Editorial Board originally felt that there was an excess of visual images in most architecture publications, particularly the canonic representations of buildings that have become our profession's trademark. Thus we decided that the images would be for reference, to explain the text or the design concepts rather than to codify them. We attempted to engage this as a topic in the special edition "Architecture and Photography." The vital exchange among the photographers that took place in that edition convinced us to use more visual information than was originally conceived, but perhaps not in the manner expected. Thus, we have experimented with the use of visuals to increase the provocative character of a piece.

What we have not done often—and something that would be very meritorious, I think—is to use visuals to build a body of case studies. This goes back to the idea of raising practice to the level of theory or testing theory through practice. We could use more visual information, not to advertise the attractiveness of the finished product, but to

explain design choices. The reason we haven't done more of this has not been our disagreement with it; it's been the lack of practitioners having this type of visual material. The field at large views canonic images as part of marketing and we don't tend to have documentation images. The photo essay on the Getty model shop in the edition "Making Things" was an attempt to encourage this type of visual documentation. Likewise, the interview with Carol Shen, "The Clarke Quay Case," used comparative images to teach the design process of adding new buildings to a historic preservation district in Asia.

Similarly, the continuing publication of essays by our artist colleagues is intended to "penetrate the facade," so to speak, of what constitutes architecture. Examples of this are Jim Doolin's paintings of hyperreal urban landscapes, Alexis Smith's piece "Not Just Skin Deep" in the edition "Making Things," the essay on kinetics from Tim Prentice in the special edition, "Other Than Architecture," and the series of pieces by Richard Barnes, including the exciting photo docudrama of the California Palace of the Legion of Honor that unfolds in this edition.

This brings me back to the discussion about the role of the publication in communicating to those outside of the profession. Backed by the commitment of the Editorial Board, I have sought disparate kinds of articles and contributors, short and long pieces, by scholars and practitioners, exurban and urban, from local and distant locales, not precluding any possibility. We have composed each edition with a cross-section of types of material from a cross-section of professionals concerned with the building industry, the design industry, and the California region, intending to spark the interest of a variety of readers—from developers to legislators to art critics to product manufacturers. Taken together, the dis-

parate elements of the editorial design have served to foster exchange and convey the inquiry orientation of the architecture profession to readers who share our concerns. As we know, the built environment of our region involves many people for whom *Architecture California* can serve as a resource.

A recent letter to the editor charged that the journal is too political.

On this point, I hope that my editorial leadership has been clear. I believe architecture to be a social practice. And I don't think there is any built work, or written work for that matter, that isn't political. To make architecture is to construct knowledge, to map the world in some way. I believe this is an inherently political act. Thus, I have consistently pushed for pieces on demographics, social trends, and historical analysis because they continue our education about the world in which we work and the population we profess to serve.

Often, however, the assertion that something or someone is "too" political is actually a disagreement surfacing over different points of view, each political, in different ways. For example, the recent push from the California Council leadership has been toward more focus on governmental relations. Developing the Political Action Committee's financial base and lobbying for specific legislation is thoroughly political. I know that this is controversial. Should the Council focus on governmental relations or professional practice or innovations in technology or design? Here, dues dollars are being concentrated, appropriately, where the regional AIA component can play a unique and critical role.

Expression of interest in supposedly "non-political" programs reveals itself in *Architecture California* articles like Hal Levin's "Building Ecology" or Michael Bell's manifesto on "Space." In

each, I see their political essence though they may not address the immediate political objectives of our government relations program.

Also, among those explicitly addressing politics there are different perspectives and priorities. For example, putting a focus on different tactics for profit maximization or how to advance your firm in the new Pacific Rim are thoroughly political topics, showing architecture as a service and as a commodity in its actual place in the political economy. Such topics have taken form in Claude Gruen's economic forecasts from "California at a Crossroads," in Michael Burke's analysis of the Coastal Act in "The California Coast," in studies of practice like Robert Gutman's, and in testimonials from practitioners like Ed Friedrichs. Each of these is controversial and political in its own way, in a good way; they represent different points of view. Each reflects differently the *vital* relationship between the capacity of design to enhance livability and the political and economic forces that can either expand or constrict that capacity.

Additionally, we all know that there is a very strong political tradition in the field of explicitly conservative politics aimed at monumentalizing powerful institutions as well as an explicitly progressive politics aimed at unsettling such institutions.

Considering this spectrum of viewpoints, I look to professional associations like the AIA for its institutional commitment to the betterment of society. And then I look to all architects to be thoughtful people. Clearly, my editorial thrust has been to uphold the tradition of architecture as a public-interest profession, while striving to allow all viewpoints to be represented within a dialogue.

Then there is the dialogue about, as we were discussing, the role of a publication like *Architecture California*

within the internal politics of the AIA. I think that the AIA's consensus-oriented institutional culture makes it difficult to cultivate the real diversity that would allow it to grow and change, allow the leadership to "enrich our mission," as the recent Boyer report recommends. We tend to talk of "diversity" as a means of strengthening our value as a whole—that is, strengthening the AIA as an institution—but the specificity of our differences is often subsumed by the seemingly neutral, disinvested, but necessarily secondary, voice of the minute-taker, the component reporter, the feature journalist. Precisely because of our hoped-for diversity of membership, we have to be willing to give voice to the divergent views of our members and colleagues, to vote as leaders, to acknowledge majority decisions, and then later evaluate them, with full respect at all times for both majority and minority points of view, remembering that a dominant or majority view is seldom a consensus view, that the assertion of consensus when it does not actually exist does not serve any institution well, as minority views may indeed become majority in another moment. I hope that *Architecture California*, by publishing the dialogue itself, encourages the organization to function in a democratic manner where inquiry is valued and all views can be articulated.

To me, it would be much more fruitful if we understood conflicts over any project as the natural side-effect of contradictions inherent to any profession and its various forms of organization. This discussion is welcome and healthy.

When you are no longer editor, are you going to stay involved with the publication? What are you planning?

I have gotten a tremendous amount out of this project; it's been great, and I

hope I have made a contribution. Within this realm of service, I have sought to provide leadership; but this is a delicate balance. As a second-generation AIA member, I've been AIA-identified all my life. But I also have a very profound critique of the narrow viewpoint of the institutionalized profession and of its standard-bearer, the AIA. At this point, I believe I can contribute more through the strength of my own voice. I will obviously continue to support the Council's commitment to *Architecture California*.

My new book, *Reconstructing Architecture: Critical Discourses and Social Practices* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1996) edited with Thomas A. Dutton, represents a decision on my part to try to coalesce, to strengthen, a movement of those progressives among us who are specifically seeking to reconstruct architecture's social project. And my concerns stretch well beyond architecture. Thus, I have also initiated a new bilingual progressive political and cultural quarterly *AhoraNow*.

THE SOCIAL PROJECT OF ARCHITECTURE

Can you describe the central themes of the book? Are you suggesting that reconstructing the way we understand the practice of architecture can lead to a reconstruction of the field itself?

Certainly I am. I believe that the architecture profession's narrow self-understanding is a significant deterrent to the advancement of the field. My objective, in working with Tom Dutton on his previous book *Voices in Architectural Education* and in designing *Reconstructing Architecture* together, has been to rethink the relationship between these so-called "social" factors and the practice of architecture—in contemporary terms. The over-arching questions pursued in the *Reconstructing Architec-*

ture are these: What constitutes "the social project" of architecture in the current historical period? What critical discourses and social practices advance such a project? Can architecture be reconstructed in terms of a new social project? The practice of architecture has perpetually reconstructed itself. The "profession" as we know it is a very recent and, I imagine, short-lived form of practice. But the practices of design, of building, of producing environments for living will continue to evolve as the modes of production evolve. Tom and I invited the authors to write essays for this book because they specifically make this social aspect central to their discourse and strategies for practice. This encompasses still a wide spectrum of views and of work. But we share a common purpose within the logic of the book: to reexamine the political economy of the profession in the present period and join with all practitioners who are critical of architecture's alignment with the reactionary forces of our time in seeking a reorientation for the future rather than a reliance on orders of the past: reconstructing architecture as a social project and striving for a social practice—our own practice—that is socially "progressive."

That's an important distinction. Social does not always necessarily mean progressive.

A very important distinction. Social means society. Social, like political, does not mean progressive. Architecture as we know it is an extension of land development, accrual of power, the construction of civilizations; and patrons and clients are social decision makers for many other people than themselves.

When I say re-understanding the field, that does not mean understanding it in a transcendental way, it means understanding it in a material and histori-

cal way. Over time I have come to terms with such a reunderstanding. I work in the field of architecture because I am an architect, but my goal is first and foremost social change. Yet while my understanding of the social power of aesthetics and my concern for the social implications of my work are always primary, my appetite for design persists.

Do you really believe there is a renewed interest in this social project? Where do you see it?

There definitely is. As the political economy of architecture practice evolves I see new forms of reaction as well as progressivism. I see progressive work coming from many places: First, there are students resisting the right-wing movements of conservative post-modernism and deconstructivism in the United States. While deconstructivism may have a radical edge aesthetically, even philosophically in that it is post-Humanist, politically it is not progressive.

Second, there are various groupings of post-60s progressives who are responding to the rising social unrest that others disregard with a sort of manic-denial, progressives who are motivated by an emancipatory project and who are well aware of the failures of blind utopianism, the limits and even reactionary side effects of mass production—the social technology of which the early modernists were enamored. People who are motivated by very high ideals have developed areas of specific expertise; for instance, low-income housing. Linked to low-income housing developers, they have figured out the economics of it, taken the challenge, and developed a practice.

The purpose of *Reconstructing Architecture*, however, is to rebuild rather than redeem the social project of architecture. In other words, the goal is not

to restore a past historical moment, but to reconstruct a project in the period of late capitalism. This is a much more challenging moment ideologically than that which ushered in early modernism, because we no longer have any basis for believing that progress is inevitable or for being infatuated with the redistributive potential and liberating capacity of technological advancement.

So, for those of us who seek to reconstruct architecture as a specifically *progressive* social project at this moment in time, what does that mean? What would it mean to distinguish such a practice from being progressive *as a citizen* while separately pursuing the business of building, an approach many architects advocate? What can be done? What *is* being done? These questions focus my work.

What does an architecture that advances a progressive social agenda actually look like?

It is important what all these projects look like, because architecture, after all, involves form-making. But they don't share a single theoretical source or formal or stylistic vocabulary. What does any design strategy look like? What does an *emancipatory* strategy look like? In our present situation, the focal question is not so much *whether* form carries meaning, the issue is *how* is that meaning determined? *Who* can shape it? The book is filled with a wide variety of examples.

Let's take the intersection outside my office in the historic Wiltern building at Western and Wilshire in Los Angeles. It is contested terrain: this space is simultaneously experienced as a gathering place for culture buffs who frequent the Wiltern Theater and a hang-out for architects who inhabit the historic structure, a center of Koreatown commerce and a busy tran-

sit hub, home of the Bus Riders Union organizing activities and an MTA arena whose meaning is charged by Chamber of Commerce activities. Here the meaning assigned to the form can be determined by social and political forces, but never completely controlled.

I can best speak about the type of practice with which I am involved, which is very particular—the design of “props” for social movements to use in organizing. The AgitProps artists collaborative with which I work is trying to contest who defines a particular space in an urban arena at a particular moment in time, to allow public spaces to be fluid with disparate meanings, meanings that are not cemented in the forms of the dominant culture. Our props take definite form but are socially constructed, and it is the interrelationship between formal gestures and social acts that generates their meaning as markers of “counter-space” in any given moment.

Can you give me some examples?

Well, counterspaces can be fixed places, such as the African Heritage Rooms at the University of Pittsburgh that Grants writes about in *Reconstructing Architecture* or Goodman², the artists cooperative designed by David Baker Associates that Martha Senger writes about in this edition of *Architecture California*.

But under the relations of production that architecture functions within right now, the best projects may be temporal, spaces or places that are not fixed but dynamic and fleeting, often “on the run” from forces actively privatizing public space.

There are many examples of such temporary architecture. We are most familiar with the festival-based environmental design works of firms like Sussman/Prezja (*Los Angeles Olympics*), or the installations of firms like

Diller+Scofidio (*Soft Sell*), or the performance art works of Cristo (*Wrapping the Reichstag*)—authorized public architecture projects. We are not so familiar with architects and artists like Act Up or ADOBE LA or AgitProps whose work is affiliated with social movements.

An illustration from my work is the event we staged for the Bus Riders Union in a church. The space was quite majestic. But it also made you feel very small to be a poor person at a secular union gathering in such a grand space designed for communion with God. So our artists collaborative played around with a way to subvert and thereby renew the majesty, to make the familiar strange by turning it into its opposite—a majestic secular space. Attempting a twist of architectural Humanist orders, we placed the demands of the civil rights lawsuit against the MTA on huge paper pillars, employing the power of a classical colonnade. When the bus riders, who are subjected to demeaning experiences on filthy, overcrowded, broken-down buses every day, came into the space, they actually said, "This is the first time I ever really believed we could win those demands." Now, the organizers have the pillars, so they get recycled into many scenes that are well beyond the power of my original imagination.

Since then the Bus Riders Union challenge to the Los Angeles Metropolitan Transportation Authority has produced a victory in the form of a Consent Decree. What is interesting is that the Decree not only cuts fares, but secures and expands the bus transportation infrastructure of the Los Angeles region and places the union in a Joint Working Group. The changes will impact the urban fabric of the city in ways we cannot yet imagine.

This brings to mind a project that I have not been involved with directly, but one that you recently witnessed,

the AIDS Names Quilt installation in Washington D.C. What was it like?

It transformed the country's largest public space. Usually you walk along the edge of the mall, the space is so grand and intimidating. With the quilt occupying the space, it all felt like it was yours. The power of the experience was, in part, because all kinds of Americans had crossed a bridge and were really together in that space, sharing our grief at this huge tragedy. I keep going back to that Marxist concept of the social construction of self, it seems like we are really talking about construction as a continuum, that has to do with all kinds of construction, the self, a theater, a quilt, the environment for a rally, all the way to the construction of a building that houses a noble purpose.

Well, it's interesting. The important idea for me here is that as the old man Marx said so clearly, human beings are distinguished from other animals because we are architects. We have the capacity to preconceive something before it happens, before it comes into being. We can construct. That's what we are building on.

NOTE

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CALL FOR ABSTRACTS VOLUME 19 NUMBER 1

The Editorial Board of *Architecture California* seeks abstracts on the topic of government and practice. The events in government over the past several years e.g., design review, growth limits, licensure and registration, school stock plans, water, air, and pollution control, taxation and expenditure priorities, etc. have had major impacts on the nature of architectural practice and the resulting service delivery. The edition of *Architecture California*, to be published in Summer 97, will address the evolving influences of day-to-day government action on the structure and organization of practice, the priorities set by the AIACC, the legislative agenda for architects and associated professionals, agency reform and the impact on architectural commissions, i.e., welfare reform, school financing, prison expansion, health care delivery, etc. The Editorial Board seeks proposals for articles from practitioners, clients, scholars, students, allied professionals, or government officials.

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