

A FEMINIST CRITIQUE OF PLANNING APPROACHES LEADING
TOWARD A MODEL OF FEMINIST PLANNING THEORY

by

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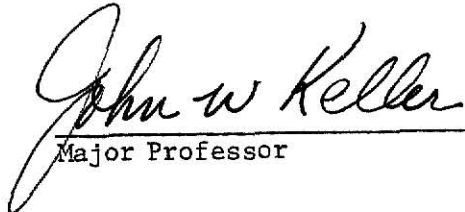
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Preface

Writing a thesis on the ties between women and nature and their effects on the planning and design of the built environment was not easy. I feel as though there is much more to be discovered, many more links to be added. I would hope that the oppression of people by class and race could be included in this analysis some where down the road. As it is written here, I have not addressed these two issues to my satisfaction.

The difficulty I have, as do many feminist theorists these days, is to get beyond oppression to some future vision. I have had difficulty convincing my major professor that I cannot offer what the world will look like. I can only suggest ways of freeing women and nature from oppression in order to discover some new vision.

I feel that the oppression women and nature face is extremely complex, allowing for some sense of freedom, while also inhibiting and confining. There are many threads I have tried to weave together. I am certain that there are many more not accounted for within my work.

Working within the academic setting aided in creating difficulties. Trying to avoid using language which is stilted and confusing frustrated my efforts. As well, the compartmentalization (specialization) of academic disciplines made it difficult to explain how sex roles were tied to the built environment and planning. I appreciate my committee's acceptance of this. I hope it will be clear as you read this that specialization (compartmentalization) are part of the problem.

I intend not to leave these thoughts and ideas I have put forth here. I see the process of women's self-discovery and learning to respect nature and women as an endless, continuing process. One of my professors suggested that I end with the date as I had difficulty in putting any conclusions on these ideas. July 1, 1982.

Introduction

There are many similarities between the field of planning and the birth and rebirth of feminism in America. Both planning and feminism began as social movements and remain clouded in some of the problems of "definitions" that are often associated with grassroots movements. However there are a number of characteristics which help define both feminism and planning which are similar.

Throughout the literature in the area of planning theory we are reminded that planning is a process. This orientation points out our ability to know and predict the future is limited by our belief that human behavior and nature are dynamic. Feminists acknowledge this dynamism and realize that human knowledge of the past, present and future is limited by women's lack of freedom from oppression in the world.

Planning, as a discipline, suffers from its own eclecticism. It draws from many other disciplines in seeking solutions. This orientation has caused one theorist to remark, "If planning is everything maybe it's nothing." (Wildawsky, 1975). Yet comprehensiveness and process orientation allow theorists in the field to pose critical questions. Not grounded in any one discipline, planning has the potential to bring a growing number of specialists together to optimize choices. Quite often in planning theory, solutions result from looking at diametrically opposed models (Keller, 1980).

Feminism as well, draws from all areas of women's lives. The pervasiveness of patriarchy which has led to the oppression of women filters throughout the world. This comprehensive problem seeks a comprehensive solution. Yet we are bound by that which we know and the dynamism of both nature and people. Therefore, like planning, feminism is a process. Feminist theory, like planning theory, has the potential to optimize choices,

and pose critical questions for future visions.

While we can say there are similarities between process, comprehensiveness and the ability to pose critical questions, we can also argue that the field of planning and feminism are grounded in activism. Some theorists in planning have argued that "planners are what planners do." Feminism calls for the involvement of individuals (most often women) in activism. A cry of the feminist movement of the 1970's has been "the personal is political". Grassroots organizing and activism have been mainstays in both planning and feminism.

Feminism and planning are also visionary. Planning theory provides us with a view of the world. It is not just buildings and streets, sewer lines and zoning regulations. Planning is the limits of our technology, our creativity; it is a reflection of our social, political and economic order. It is the vision of the individual, usually men, who plan and design. But it can also be a new and creative vision, ways of solving problems and incorporating new ideas.

Unfortunately, it has often taken the view of the reflector of society's views. Perhaps this is what Nunzia Rondanini (1981, p.4) illuminates when she quotes Ernesto Rogers of the Milan Polytechnic Institute: "Do not ever forget that you are first of all persons, then citizens, and finally architects." She elaborates on his statement:

First, persons: this emphasizes the primary importance of personality and its subtle mesh of character, feelings, and experiences; the history of one's soul. Second, citizens: this cannot be renounced; what is at issue is social awareness. As citizens, we form an opinion about our environment and pursue a certain idea; in other words, we take a political stand . . .

At no time can scientific or artistic expressions be "objective"

or indifferent because the individuals who bring them to life are social and political beings. Finally architects: this role demands a confrontation with the specific principles and techniques of the discipline, as well as with its almost unlimited historical references. It is in the application of principles and in the choice of references that both personality and ideology are revealed (Rondanini, 1981, p.4).

Planning, as it reflects social ordering, derives from our cultural milieu and cultural heritage and often reflects some purpose. For instance, L'Enfant's view of the new capital of the United States was very ordered, suggesting power, elegance and prestige as well trying to display the "founding of a new world" (Tafuri, 1980, p.30).

On a smaller scale, the physical design of a space often dictates the type of activity that will occur in that space. For example, dishes, glasses, napkins, tables and chairs will often dictate that a physical space is to be used for dining. Changes in lighting, the appearance of rugs, candles, and plush padded chairs may often indicate the "kind" of dining that is to occur and the class of people who will use the space. Physical environments often signal to us ways to dress, how to act, which are often cues to positions of status and wealth in our culture.

Thus we can agree that physical spaces contain "clues as to the kinds of people who occupy them and the activities they might be expected to carry out" (Wekerle, Peterson, Morley, 1980, p. 4). Environments also contain "meaning" in our own social and cultural milieu. Environments express a "myriad of clues and messages" which are "selected and interpreted by (individuals) on the basis of their experience and expectations of that or similiar settings" (Wekerle, et.al., 1980, p.4).

From this, we can argue that behavior or function and the physical form are inextricably bound together in our environment. Physical forms which were created for a specific function or behavior for one group of individuals may dictate function or behavior to another group.

Our behavior patterns follow from our cultural norms, values, beliefs and custom. We can, therefore say that our culture with all its inherent values, beliefs and prejudices is reflected in our physical environment.

It has often been articulated that we live in a "man's world" and that there are separations between the public (men's sphere) and the private (women's sphere). This dualism is expressed not only in public/private, male/female (Boulding, 1976), but in many other dichotomies which have been traditionally set. Some of these are reflected in personality, or ascribed roles. Still others may arise from oppression and domination, the idea that we have come to value certain characteristics and devalue others.

Challenges abound as we move into the 1980's. Shortages of natural resources, particularly water and oil, have become commonplace. The depletion of natural resources is forcing the mainstream to look at our business and economic practices and call into questions our over consumptive behaviors (excluding the current policies of the Reagan Administration).

New technologies have forced change faster than we are able to digest it. Morals and values once held as central beliefs are cast aside as we try to keep pace with the burgeoning scientific world. Within this confusion are social movements which are calling for a "back to basics approach"; models based on growth and productivity which fall in the face of the earth's carrying capacity are being challenged.

Single issue politics dot our political scene. Fundamental religious groups try to turn back the technological clock only to offer empty syllogisms and return our moral and political fibers to a 1950's orientation.

Women are entering the work force at an increasing rate; 65% of all women between the ages of 16-65 work outside of the home. Many women (2/3's of those) work because of economic need. Our poor population in the United States is predominantly women and children (75%). By the year 2000, "the feminization" of poverty will have taken place. Almost all of the poor will be women and children (Presidential Economic Advisory Committee, 1980).

Traditional ways of looking at the world don't seem to lighten all paths. A much more eclectic and knowledgeable feminist movement has evolved from the rebirth of contemporary feminism in the early 1970's. Feminism has moved beyond the simple individual solutions offered by Friedan in the 60's (Friedan, 1963).

It has become "not only the discovery of individual self consciousness for women, but the recognition that the world that has been described is not the whole world. Masculine ideologies are the creation of masculine subjectivity; they are neither objective, nor value free, nor inclusively human" (Rich, 1979, p.207). Women need to "recognize fully the inadequacy, the distortion of male created ideologies and proceed to think and act out to that recognition" (Rich, 1979, p.207).

It is in that spirit of recognition and criticism in which this attempt at creating a feminist planning theory will be conducted. Understanding the dichotomies (public/private, male/female, technology/nature) through historical record may help us realize how these are reflected in the environments which have been created and how a feminist planning theory

can affect a more holistic vision.

Chapter 1

Searching for Early Roots -

Women, Nature and the Emerging Nation

In attempting to discover the extent to which ascribed roles of women and men effect environmental design decisions, it is necessary to review the early periods of American history which mark the rise of industrialization and intensive growth. The attitudes and beliefs prevalent during that time are also necessary to trace through to the present in order to assess our urban planning and design heritage and to determine what dominant ideologies informed planners, designers and architects of the new nation.

A central belief which appears even today is the relationship between women and nature. As Carolyn Merchant has stated in her book, The Death of Nature: "Women and nature have an age-old association - an affiliation that has persisted throughout culture, language and history" (1980, p. xv). She traces the early association to the 15th and 16th centuries when:

the root metaphor binding together the self, society and the cosmos was that of organicism. Central to organic thought was the identification of nature, especially the earth, with a nurturing mother: a kindly beneficent female who provided for the needs of mankind in an ordered, planned universe (p.2).

An opposing image of nature as female was also prevalent during this time. Nature was uncontrollable and wild and could "render violence, storms, drought and general chaos (Merchant, 1980, p.2). These two ideologies can be traced throughout philosophy, religion and literature to the present. "The domination of the earth" ideology which arose

from the view of nature as violence can be found in Greek philosophy and Christian tradition, the nurturing earth in Greek and pagan religions (Merchant, 1980, p.3).

While both of these ideologies were somewhat opposed, they had a clear identification with the female and "were projections of human perceptions onto the external world" (Merchant, 1980, p.2). The ideology of the nurturing mother was embodied in mother and nature religions which had

traditionally seen heaven and earth, gods and humans as dialectical components within the primal matrix of being. Its spirituality was built on the cyclical ecology of nature, death and rebirth (Ruether, 1978, p.194).

The nurturing mother ideology may also have served to provide for a sense of respect for the earth and nature. "In preliterate societies we are told, ritual apologies are offered by hunters to the animals they kill and by wood cutters to the spirits who inhabit the trees they chop down" (Dinnerstein, 1976, p.104). In accordance with natural things, all bodily functions and emotions were beginning to be aligned with female "ness".

Christian thought or patriarchal religions saw nature not as nurturing but as violence and punishment, and subsequently, something to be controlled. In book two of Genesis,

woman comes after and also below man. Women was created out of men's body (rather than from a woman's body as happens naturally). Then come children, so derivative they are not even in the Creation story . . . Then come animals . . . Further down still are plants. . . below them is the ground of nature itself-the hills and mountains, streams and valleys-which is the bottom of everything . . . (Gray, 1979, p.3).

Nature as violence and punishment in the Old Testament is witnessed in the accounts of the use of nature by God to "punish" the Jews for some wrong committed. Nature was destructive and violent to reprimand "God's people."

Patriarchal religion allows for the emergence of the dichotomies between mortality and immortality; spirituality and life on earth.

Patriarchal religion split apart the dialectical unities of mother religion into absolute dualism, elevating a male identified consciousness to transcendent apriority. Fundamentally, this is rooted in an effort to deny one's own mortality, to identify essential (male) humanity with a transcendent divine sphere beyond the matrix of coming-to-be-and-passing-away... women became identified with the sphere of finitude that one must deny in order to negate one's own origins and inclusion in this realm. [Editor's note: This was done by equating female with the body, with earthly pleasures and human needs which would disappear once one died and went to heaven.] The woman, the body, and the world were the lower half of a dualism that must be declared posterior to, created by, subject to, and ultimately alien to the nature of (male) consciousness in whose image man made his God (Ruether, 1975, p. 195).

In patriarchal religions, the world is on course to total destruction. The exploitation of nature is allowed because it is not the ultimate (infinite) end. The finite cosmos in which we live (due to our banishment from the Garden of Eden) is viewed "as evil in its intractability to reformation by infinite demand. It must be destroyed so it can be replaced by an infinite eternal world made in the image of consciousness. The patriarchal self-deception about the origins of consciousness ends

logically in the destruction of the earth" (Ruether, 1975, p.195). Within patriarchal religion there is some sanction not only for man's domination of the earth, but his exploitation of it and woman as well because she is tied to the earth. Though not explicitly stated, inherent in this view is that we will transcend not only the earth but "female" as well.

The relationship of the female to the earth offers the view of woman as the flesh and man as the head (Griffin, 1978, p. 100). This has led to ties of women with all that is organic, with bodily functions and with irrationality or emotions. Archetypes of the carnal woman and the femme fatale (Eve in the Garden) spring from this ideology.

With the association of women with nature in Judeo-Christian thought is the sense of hierarchies and "otherness." The hierarchy arises when we consider man over nature, man over woman, God over man, man over plants and animals. This ideology solidifies itself in the concept of the "other." That which is outside of ourselves is therefore different, therefore, other. This sense of other is particularly marked in Judeo-Christian philosophy, as its "perception of God as transcendent and thus other has informed our heritage" (Gray, 1979, p.20). From this heritage

we have always set immediately to ranking ourselves against the Other. If the other is female (and I am male) she is below me -- inferior (recall creation story.) If that other is animal, I am superior because I am "created in the image and likeness of God". If that Other is another culture, it is probably below me because I do not understand it but at first glance seems "more primitive", "less complex" or simply less powerful (Gray, 1979, p. 20).

These same thoughts are transcended through Darwinian philosophy as well. The ranking and ordering of species puts man at the top, having evolved from all other creatures. Thus "man" is superior.

The onset of the scientific revolution brought about a change in the two philosophies regarding women and nature. No longer was the earth predominantly seen as the "nurturing mother". The Scientific Revolution "proceeded to mechanize and to rationalize the world view. The second image, nature as disorder, called forth an important modern idea, that of power over nature" (Merchant, 1980, p. 2). This new ideology gave way to a change in world view, the

organically oriented mentality in which female principles played an important role was undermined and replaced by mechanically oriented mentality that either eliminated or used female principles in an exploitive manner. As Western culture became increasingly mechanized in the 1600's, the female earth and virgin earth spirit were subdued by the machine (Merchant, 1980, p. 2).

This change in philosophy took place slowly in Europe but allowed for an increased mechanization which would not have fit well with the earth as nurturing mother. Mining, deforestation, drainage and other technologies were essential to rising industrialism. As late as the 15th and 16th centuries "Roman writers such as Ovid, Seneca, Pliny, and the Stoic philosophers openly deplored mining as an abuse of their mother, the earth" (Merchant, 1980, p. 3). As well, the two competing images "and their normative associations can be found in 16th century literature, art, philosophy and science" (Merchant, 1980, p. 3). The Renaissance tried to present an "escape backward into the motherly benevolence of the past. Nature was a calm, kindly female, giving her bounty" (Merchant, 1980, pp. 3-7). But the dominant view of nature to be controlled prevailed.

The dominion over nature view filters throughout Western thought today and comes to the New World of the early American colonies in the form

of Puritanism predominantly. This patriarchal ideology of dominion over nature appears to be the view that American thought was taking particularly in the period of rapid industrialization in the 1830's. European countries had both metaphors of the "earth as nurturing mother" and "the earth to be dominated" operating throughout the European world. Both metaphors were actively present particularly in the aesthetic order of European life. Even though "nature to be dominated" was the prevailing ideology, there were some artifacts in the culture itself and probably in the minds of the people which were informed by the metaphor of nature or "earth as nurturing mother". The migration to the new world (of America) came at a time when the view of nature to be dominated was growing in importance in Europe. Since we are aware of early fundamentalist thought in the early colonies (in the form of Puritanism) we can hypothesize that much of early American views were in line with the dominion over the earth ideology.

Thus far, we have identified that two views of nature once held similar esteem in the eye's of the earth's people: nature as destruction and nature as the nurturing mother. The former, coupled with the rise of industrialization came to dominate the traditional world view. Both metaphors of the earth identified with the female have been carried down throughout history. Women and nature have always been inextricably tied together in human thought (eg. mother nature, virgin lands, rape of the earth). It is the tie of women with nature that may hold the key to creating an analysis that will free women and nature from their oppression.

In order to gain a fuller understanding of the ways these two ideologies might have had an impact on environmental decisions and understand the relationship of ascribed roles to environmental decision making, it is necessary to now turn to that period in American history of intensive

growth and change; 1830-1900.

The specific ideologies which seemed to inform the emerging new social order in this period coupled with the metaphors regarding women and nature, will then be applied to the rise of urbanization to determine their influence on the shape and scope of planning, architecture and design decisions in American life. Particular attention will be given to the rise of sex segregated spheres which begin to solidify between the 1830's and 1890's in actual physical domains. It is by applying these findings to physical planning and design that we may be better equipped to determine the attitudes toward women that inform physical design and planning. This critique will allow us to evaluate the extent to which the built environment is androcentric.

Chapter 2

Women's Roles in the 18th and 19th Century:

The Separation of Spheres

During the period of 1830-1900, Nancy Cott (1972), an historian, points out that factors which induce social change: urbanization, industrialization, new forms of politics and wealth and productivity were occurring at a rapid pace. She points out that these changes most probably affected changes in sex roles yet "little historical data have been turned to expose the varying and reciprocal relations of material change to changes or persistence in the ascribed functions, values and self definition of American women" (p.4).

It is therefore the object of this section to address the dialectical relationship between material changes and ascribed roles of men and women in American culture. Particular attention will be given to the relationship of the "man"-made physical designs of the environment and ascribed roles, (specifically the ascribed roles of women as these have been hidden from history). By focusing on physical design and ascribed roles, it is the object of this study to assess the degree to which the man-made (sic) physical environment has not, does not and did not reflect the needs of women.

It is the dialectical method of thesis, antithesis and synthesis which may hold the key to the future needs of women in our present urban, suburban and rural structures. By looking at both positive and negative effects and their opposites, we may be better able to assess and critique the physical environment. It is hoped that from this we will articulate a planning theory which will be more holistic. For these reasons, we turn to the past to address the future.

The period of particular interest is one of great activity and social change, the late 18th and 19th century. It was a time of . . . wide and deep-ranging transformation, including the beginning of rapid intensive economic growth, especially in foreign commerce, agricultural productivity and fiscal and banking system; (sic) the start of sustained urbanization; demographic transition toward social stratification by wealth and growing inequality in the distribution of wealth; rapid pragmatic adaptation in the law; shifts from unitary to pluralistic networks in personal association; unprecedented expansion in primary education; democratization in the political process; invention of a new language and social thought; and -- not least -- with respect to family life, the appearance of domesticity (Cott, 1977, p.3).

This period of industrialization marked somewhat of an end to the lifestyles the early colonists had come to know, while old values and lifestyles still remained. The period sparks the growth of physical spheres which are sex segregated. The home became the place where biological needs were met: "Eating, sleeping, sex and the care of small children and until the rise of institutional medicine, (and still for some poor families) birth and dying and the care of the sick and aged" (Ehrenreich & English, 1979, p.10).

The separation of public and private spheres identified as male and female respectively solidifies this period. While many argue it may be the result of industrialization, other factors may also have had an influence. The ordering of our society was patriarchal, in that males were heads of families and wealth was passed down through them. Males were recognized property owners and had voting rights.

Pre-industrial societies allotted positive work roles to women. In a farming economy in which the family, rather than the individual was the functioning unit and in which the home (farm) was the place of work -- both men and women's tasks were seen as complementary to the whole. Women's accomplishments in domestic crafts commanded the esteem that was due to all necessary functions. Those non-agricultural, non-domestic occupations (such as trades, shopkeeping, innkeeping) which were part of town life, were also frequently carried on by the members of a family working together (Cott, 1972, p.6).

When industry and production of goods began to take place in factories outside the home, it helped create a division of labor which was sex-segregated. Industrialization fostered an increase in "privatization" that is, the home became increasingly segregated from neighbors, friends and relatives.

The structure of the home was also evolving during the early industrial period. The pre-industrial 17th century home had been a place where work was carried on throughout the house. There was no specialization of rooms: beds could be found in all of the "chambers" which were separate areas within the house. "There was no differentiation between cooking, eating and sitting rooms" (Oakley, 1974, p. 23).

The hall, the entrance to the home was the center of "domestic activity: here the family cooked, ate their meals and relaxed together" (Oakley, 1974, p.23). It wasn't until the 18th century that we begin to see the bedroom become a feature of the design of the upper class home (Oakley, 1974).

During the pre-industrial period, women practiced the healing arts and crafts and midwifery. A widow or single woman could also venture alone into commercial occupations which were "related to women's traditional

domestic or nurturing functions" (Cott, 1972, p.x). For example, a woman could work as an innkeeper or own a tavern.

Pre-industrial societies, while upholding patriarchal order, allowed women a much more integrated role than the one being synthesized after the industrial revolution. Some theorists argue that these pre-industrial, agricultural communities may have allotted women a role of dominance (Oakley, 1974). Women in a more prestigious role or one of dominance in agricultural communities may arise from the metaphor of the earth as nurturing mother. Respecting the earth, may bring more respect for women.

Evidence in 1980 suggests that in traditional, small scale agricultural and pre-industrial societies of today, women are primarily responsible for agricultural productivity and overall care of the family (Oakley, 1974).

While industrial development by the 1860's had forced the segregation of work places in many ways for more upwardly mobile families, it also gave some women the opportunity to work outside the home in nurturing and supportive roles. Industrialization of household tasks allowed women more time to do other things as well. They had more time with children, time to pursue hobbies and other interests. Thus, the concept of the dialectic, comes into play here -- while women were beginning to feel a sense of oppression brought on by industry (loss of function, segregation from public world) they were also given more leisure time. Women were feeling both the positive and negative effects of industrialization, as were men, children and families.

The rise in industry and the separation of the home from the public world led to an increasing awareness as to the proper role of women.

"In newspaper articles, cartoons, and pamphlets in the second half of the

18th century, the subject of woman's proper role was one of great interest. A process of schematic, secular definition of woman's nature and capacities was taking place" (Cott, 1972, p.9).

The period was marked by confusion as there was great social upheaval and change. A nation was being formed, industry replaced a more agrarian lifestyle and all people were looking for a sense of stability in their lives. "Cottage industries and scattered self-sufficient workshops," which marked the pre-industrial era, "were being replaced by large centralized factory plants" (Bauer, 1934, p. 13). Factors which contributed to the demise of the self-contained household economy included: "greater population density, commercial expansion, technological advances in transportation and communication [and] specialization in agriculture and involvement of rural residents in given out industry" (Cott, 1977, p.43). From this, two schools of thought (which authors Ehrenreich and English outline in their book, For Her Own Good, 1979) emerged as to the proper role of women and men: sexual romanticism and sexual rationalism.

The rise of these two emerging ideologies in the 1830's have been equated with the "cult of domesticity" or "woman's sphere" (Cott, 1977, p.10), which was incorporated in the ideology of sexual romanticism; and liberal feminism, which is embodied somewhat in sexual rationalism. Sexual romanticism may also have ties with the women and nature metaphors. Women were seen as nurturers, yet also as subjective to men. These two ideas will be discussed in detail further on.

There were many reasons which may have influenced the introduction of sexual romanticism or the emergence of a "woman's sphere" and sexual rationalism into American culture. Some of these are more significant to our study here.

Before the 1830's, white men who did not own property could not vote. Rights of the ballot once extended to these men, made "the lack of women's suffrage more conspicuous" (Cott, 1977, pp.7-9). As well, the seeds of professionalism and specialization added to the realization of women's lack of influence in the culture. Professional schools were not open to women during this period. The rise of women's magazines which provided opportunity for communication and dissemination of ideas, as well as women working in factories for low wages and in poor conditions may have added to the growing women's consciousness (Cott, 1977, pp.7-9).

The two emerging ideologies of sexual rationalism and sexual romanticism were an effort by women to define themselves in the changing world.

Sexual Romanticism

Romantic thought traces its roots through patriarchal religions and thus the metaphor of domination by man over the earth. This ideology is embodied in the domination of man over women, god over man, man over nature, heaven over earth. "The image of God is in man and it is one," wrote St. Augustine (cited in Griffin, 1978, p.14).

As previously stated, patriarchal religions viewed women and nature as subjects of man and spirituality (God the Father). There was a distinct hierarchy of

spirit over body...expressed in the domination of males over females, freed men over slaves, Greeks over "Barbarians". Domination is "naturalized", so that the inferior ontological and moral characteristics of body in relation to mind are identified with the inferior psychological "natures" of women and subjugated classes (Ruether, 1975, p.189).

The dualistic ideology advocated by patriarchal religions and derived

from the woman and nature metaphors (romantic thought) seems to take on physical form in the sexual romanticist ideology. While the specific "natures" of women and men were articulated differently in patriarchal religion (the old order), there was not a great deal of physical separation of men's and women's spheres. With the onset of industrialization, we begin to see the emergence of large physical spaces being identified as female or male. Sexual romanticism, as Ehrenreich and English have articulated it (1979), or the cult of domesticity as Cott (1977) writes, creates separate physical and social spheres for men and women in society. Sexual romanticists believed that the proper role of women is in the domestic sphere or private world; while men's proper role was in the market or the public world.

As Cott articulates,
 the domestic sphere became more conspicuous and more clearly articulated as women's prerogative at the end of the 18th and 19th centuries. The shift of production and exchange away from the household and a general tightening of functional "spheres" (specialization) in the economy at large made it seem "separate". But a cultural halo ringing the significance of home and family -- doubly brilliant because both religious and secular energies gave rise to it -- reconnected women's "separate" sphere with the well being of society (Cott, 1977, p.199).

The sexual romanticists explained the separation of spheres through the belief that the nature's of both sexes were different and that each sex had a specific "place" in the world. This view, gave women a place in society. It encouraged women to be the protector, nurturer of the species, which followed along with the view of nature as nurturing mother. Using 20th century eyes, we may be tempted to think that women were advocating

for themselves a secondary role. However, the sexual romanticists did not foresee the devaluing of the "women's sphere". In this period of social change, the view of women as nurturer gave women a "central place in national life" (Sklar, 1973, p.xiii). As well, it has been viewed "as the basis for a subculture among women that formed a source of strength and identity and afforded supportive sisterly relations" (Cott, 1977, p.197).

The sexual romanticist ideology of the early 18th and 19th century was best exemplified in the works and words of Catherine Beecher. Frustrated with the marginal role women had in early 19th century America, Beecher sought to overcome "the marginal status" by seeking "new channels of cultural influence" (Sklar, 1973, p.xiii).

Beecher's view was shared by many in the 19th century and seemed to arise in response to the competitive, individualistic world of the Market. In the eyes of the 18th and 19th century people, industrialization was seen as an aesthetic tragedy. "Green pastures gave way to dark, satanic mills; rustic villages, forests, streams vanished with the onslaught of industrial progress" (Ehrenreich & English, 1979, p.22).

Human relationships were also changing with the changing economy. "If a woman became a female version of 'economic man', an individual pursuing her own trajectory, then indeed it would be a world without love, without human warmth" (Ehrenreich & English, 1979, p.23).

As Cott points out:

In the canon of domesticity, the home contrasted the restless and competitive world because its presiding spirit was woman, who was "removed from the arena of pecuniary excitement and ambitious competition". Woman inhabited the "shady green lanes of domestic life" (1977, p.67).

The woman's sphere, advocated by the sexual romanticists was the home in all its serenity, peacefulness and solitude. It was a place where one could escape from the drudgery of everyday life (Cott, 1972; 1977; Ehrenreich & English, 1979; Sklar, 1972). In this sense, the sexual romanticist ideology embraced the view of nature as nurturer, placing women in the nurturing role.

The "home was an 'oasis in the desert'...a sanctuary where man seeks refuge seldom found in the busy walks of a selfish and calculating world" (Cott, 1977, p.64). Language was even transformed by this new ideology, the word "Home" became synonymous with "retreat" and "retirement." ("A woman's noblest station is retreat.") (Cott, 1977, p.57).

The ideology of the sexual romanticists helped to solve the dilemma facing the emerging nation and its people. "Gender roles were an effective way to channel the explosive potential of the 19th century social change and bring it at least partially under the control of a national elite. [The emphasis on the domestic sphere would] integrate personal and national goals" (Sklar, 1973, p.xii).

The domestic sphere

fostered uniform communities, molded socially homogeneous human beings, and produced a set of predictable habits among contemporary Americans. To do this and at the same time to defend the virtues of self-reliance, freedom of choice, and independence of mind required considerable ingenuity. Catherine Beecher was among the first to engage in the contradictory task of both nationalizing and personalizing the American domestic environment (Sklar, 1973, p.xii).

Sexual romanticists, like Beecher, "found the key in gender roles". They orchestrated the dichotomies of masculine and feminine identities

to agree with both a "standardized cultural score and a specialized calling" (Sklar, 1973, p.xii). Thus while America could be a land of individuals (men's roles) it could also embody the sense of community which had been the backbone of early settlements (women's roles) (Sklar, 1973; Cott, 1972).

Women's stationery place supplied an element of anti-competitiveness and fixed morality, relieving the opportunism, greed, uncertainty, and impersonality that marked the dark side of the coin of Jacksonian "individualism". Under women's reigning presence the domestic realm was made the source of personal virtue and social adjustment, the preserve of Christian morality (Cott, 1972, p.12).

The ideology of sexual romanticism was seen by many women as a very positive view of their place in society. It made them "central" to the world as they saw it. However, their thoughts were somewhat naive as technology began to replace women's sphere and their ideas were devalued by the public world which came to be the dominant culture.

Sexual romanticism was accepted readily by the upper classes (this the ruling class in this capitalist society) for the lower classes to emulate. The reasons for its acceptance stem from patriarchal order. Sexual romanticism allowed the market to flourish while not challenging the previous social order. Physical segregation by gender provided stability and consistency with the patriarchal world and its current values. de Tocqueville wrote, upon visiting America in 1830-31, that "morals are the work of women". He commented upon the duality of American culture which he saw emerging.

Americans are at the same time a puritanical people and a commercial nation . . . religious opinions as well as trading habits . . .

lend them to require much abnegation on the part of women and a constant sacrifice of her pleasures to her duties . . . Americans have applied to the sexes the great principle of political economy which governs the manufacturer of our age, by carefully dividing the duties of man from those of woman, in order that the great work of society may be carried on (deTocqueville, cited in Cott, 1972, p.122).

In a peculiar way, sexual romanticism combined both of the two metaphors regarding nature and women. With the "nurturing mother" view of nature and women, the sexual romanticists fit quite well, assigning to women the role of "nurturer of the species", and the "protector of Christian morality". "The doctrine of women's sphere opened to women (reserved for them) the avenues of domestic influence, religions, morality, and child nurture. It articulated a social power based on their 'special female qualities' (emphasis mine) rather than on general human rights"(Cott, 1977, p.200). However, the "twist" was that the Christian morality view which women were to preserve saw nature and women as subordinate to man. Thus the sexual romantic view while at the same time gave women a place in society; it planted the seeds for the quite comprehensive exculsion of women's thoughts and values in the public world. That which had been considered "human" values (Christian morality, love) were "feminized" by sexual romanticist ideology. Slowly through the ideology of "nature and women" to be dominated embraced in patriarchal religion, these values were subordinated by the dominant culture or the "public sphere".

Yet while excluding women from the public world, the separateness of the women's sphere "contained within itself the preconditions for organized feminism, by allotting a 'separate' sphere for women and engender-

ing sisterhood within that sphere" (Cott, 1977, p.201). While this made social roles (particularly the institution of marriage) less hierarchical, it created for women, feelings of "subjection". This was an order "that they accepted along with other hierarchical and deferential relationships prescribed by God and demanded by social order" (Cott, 1977, p.202). Feelings of subjection, as Cott pointed out, lasted until the end of the 18th century (1977, p.202). After which, perhaps with the rise of industrialism, women began realizing the hypocrisy of their socially imposed "inferiority" (Cott, 1977).

Sexual Rationalism

A competing thought at this time was "sexual rationalism". This idea did not have the popularity of the sexual romanticist/woman's sphere ideology. It was somewhat embodied in the early feminist movement of the late 19th and early 20th centuries (Ehrenreich & English, 1979).

Sexual rationalists believed women and men must share equally in society in order that society grow and prosper. They believed that the "chain is only as strong as its weakest link" and that suppression of one group of people disabled all. While some were willing to agree with the need not to suppress one group of people, not many were willing to extend this idea to sex as well.

Probably the most outspoken and articulate sexual rationalist this country produced was Frances Wright. She believed that "whenever we establish our own pretensions upon the sacrificed right of others, we do in fact impeach our own liberties" (Wright, cited in Schnier, 1972, p.19).

In speeches in 1829, Wright expanded upon this thought. Of men and women she says:

Let them perceive, that mutually dependent, they must ever be

giving and receiving, or they must be losing...until power is annihilated on one side, fear and obedience on the other and both restored to their birthright,--equality.

Let none think that affection can reign without it; or friendship or esteem (cited in Schneir, 1972, p.23).

Wright added, that "favoring [women's] subordination, ensures their utility" (cited in Schnier, 1972, p.24).

Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony could be considered sexual rationalists in some sense. However, they might be considered more feminist in their orientation. Distinctions between feminist ideology and sexual rationalist ideology of the 19th and 20th century may come in the efforts by which one can criticize the public world and the Market economy itself. Feminist ideology was more and continues to be, more critical of the total system. In the 19th and 20th century feminist ideology may be best exemplified by the National Women's Suffrage Association (NWSA). The NWSA was considered more radical than the American Women's Suffrage Association (AWSA).

In 1869, the feminist forces split over ideology. The AWSA based itself solely on the women's suffrage issue and "gradually acquired a large conservative following" (Schnier, 1972, p.137). The NWSA, organized by Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony, was determined to keep the issues more broadly based; speaking out on labor laws, abolition and other controversial issues which affected women's lives. They made efforts to include the rights of blacks as well as women and thus opposed any suffrage legislation which did not include females (Schnier, 1972, p.137).

However, both Stanton and Anthony had some conception of the need to change all unequal power relationships, as exemplified by these

words of Stanton's.

The nobleman cannot make just laws for the peasant, the slaveholder for the slave; neither can make and execute just laws for women, because in each case, the one in power fails to apply the immutable principles of right to any grade but his own (Stanton, cited by Schnier, 1972, p.112).

Another sexual rationalist of the 1800's and early 1900's was Charlotte Perkins Gilman. Writing almost 100 years after Frances Wright, Gilman advocated the "socialization of domestic chores". Along with Melusina Fay Pierce, Alice Constance Austin, and Marie Stevens Howland, who a contemporary feminist architect has called "material feminists," (Hayden, 1981) Gilman advocated kitchenless houses and other designs which would foster domestic socialism. These women believed that the socialization of housework was the key to the emancipation of women. (For further discussion see Chapter 4).

In the preface to Women and Economics, Gilman addresses the unequal relationship between men and women as the "worst evils under which we suffer, evils long supposed to be inherent and ineradicable in our natures, are but the result of certain arbitrary conditions of our own adoption, and how by removing these conditions, we may remove the evils resultant" (1898, p.vii). Gilman believed that economic progress was masculine and should be open to females to develop the same capacities of economic ability which men have always enjoyed (1898).

Gilman recognized the dualism being advocated by separate spheres created along gender lines. She addresses the Victorian ideology which argued that "evil promptings were usually along the

lines of physical impulse, we considered our own bodies' and nature in general, as part and parcel of the wrong, -- the world the flesh, and the devil" (Gilman, 1898, pp.329-330). Throughout Victorian ideology and patriarchal religion she points out it is women who "let the trouble in" (1898, pp.329-330). This view has direct roots in the metaphor "dominion over the earth." Natural things and earthly things were said to be evil.

Echoing Frances Wright, Gilman argues that by keeping women "on this primitive basis of economic life, we have kept half humanity tied to the starting post while the other half ran" (1898, p.330). She calls this problem the "confusion and contradiction which is our greatest difficulty in life" (1898, p.331). Her solution to this problem, and of other individuals who advocated sexual rationalism, was for women to have the same economic capabilities, access and status which men have. For Gilman in particular, economic capabilities would free women from the subordinate role advocated by the new Market economy.

Many other feminists of the 19th and early 20th century advocated portions of sexual rationalist ideology. However, there seem to be distinct differences between feminist ideology and sexual rationalism. "The rationalist answer is, very simply, to admit women into modern society on equal footing with men. It rushes too eagerly into the public sphere as men have defined it" (Ehrenreich & English, 1979, p.20). The sexual rationalists were critical of the patriarchal myths of female inferiority and they envisioned a world in which men and women would be functionally interchangeable.

Sexual rationalists of the 19th century pushed the liberal traditions of Enlightenment and rationalism (individual freedom and

political equality) to a conclusion which perhaps the most radical French and American revolutionaries would find extremist (Ehrenreich & English, 1979). Although radical, the sexual rationalist ideology was no less masculinist, critical of the overall world view which places women in secondary roles, but "largely uncritical of the Market" (Ehrenreich & English, 1979, p. 20).

Present day liberal feminist ideology, which encourages women to enter the Market may be the moderate form of sexual rationalism. At the extreme may be theorists such as Shulamith Firestone (1970) who seek technological solutions to achieving equality without questioning the values behind our current technological views.

The liberal feminist traditions being encouraged today by groups such as the National Organization for Women (NOW) may be able to trace their roots to some of the ideology advocated by sexual rationalists. NOW has been instrumental in advocating a program of inclusion or assimilation. Day care centers, affirmative action programs, and other methods of providing access to women into the public world may bear witness to the forms of sexual rationalist ideology present in the 1970's and 80's. Contemporary manifestations of sexual rationalism, sexual romanticism, the cult of domesticity and feminism will be explored in detail in chapter 4.

It must be concluded here that sexual romanticist ideology, advocated by Beecher and others was incorporated by the emerging industrial order. The separation of spheres in the romanticist ideology was useful to the dominant culture as well as the women of that time period.

The solution which seemed to best fit and foster the emerging Market economy while also providing women with a place in the new

world was gender segregation. Looking at this segregation from a dialectical perspective, it is clear that there were positive and negative effects on both women and the culture itself. Cott (1977) points out that the women's sphere formed the basis for a "subculture among women that formed a source of strength and identity and afforded supportive sisterly relations" (Cott, 1977, p.197).

Benefits for women had a negative side as well.

As the ideology of woman's sphere improved women's education it built tension in its own boundaries. The internal dynamics of women's sphere, by encouraging women to claim a social role according to their sex and to share both social and sexual solidarity, provoked a minority of women to see and protest those boundaries (Cott, 1977, p.204).

The woman's sphere ideology, according to Cott (1977; Berg, 1978), helped to spark the women's movement of the late 1800's, early 1900's. The belief in the separate sphere may also be the first seeds of a growing number of contemporary women advocating separatism. (See chapter 5).

The negative aspects however, seem to outweigh the positive for women. Instead of advocating a system of economic class distinctions, (since America is/was a democracy) class was divided between the privileged, male and the under-privileged, female. It is this segregation by gender which continues to inform much of our thinking and our development as a nation/culture/society. Beyond physical separation (spheres) of male and female, American culture has defined "masculine" and "feminine" traits, values, attitudes, behaviors, thoughts and actions. It has then assigned these to different physical places: the public world and the private world. By doing so, the culture

has to some extent, alienated the "masculine" from the private world and to a greater extent "feminine" from the public world. Since we are informed by patriarchal thought and men have most of the power in our society; the female world, women and anything identified as "feminine" has been devalued by the dominant culture. This separation of traits and characteristics will be more clearly delineated as we move into a discussion of planning and design.

Chapter 3

The Effect of Sex Segregated Spheres and the Devaluation of Nature on the Built Environment

As pointed out in the first two chapters, two dominant paradigms seem to emerge from the metaphors of women and nature and the discussion of sexual romanticism and sexual rationalism. From the first chapter, the metaphors of the earth as nurturing mother and thus the earth to be idolized and the earth as destructive and therefore to be controlled/dominated, were discerned. European thought which predates the 1600's contained elements of both metaphors. However, corresponding to the time Europeans began populating America, the domination of the earth metaphor was the dominant ideology of the time and it is this ideology which comes to pervade early American thought. These two metaphors have been inextricably bound to the roles of women throughout history and do in fact, influence ascribed roles of women in our society.

The discussion of sexual romanticism and sexual rationalism in the second chapter points out that elements in society which influence social, political and economic interests also dictate the role of women and men in society. Since men have been a part of the dominant culture or the public world, America's history is full of what men did. However, women's lack of inclusion in the public world led to exclusion in historical record. It is for this reason that efforts will be made here to point out the effects of the public world on the private world of women.

As well, it will be pointed out that the public world was responsible for not only recording American history, but also creating it.

The dominant cultural views arise from the public world and thus the shape of society arises from the public world or men's sphere.

In this chapter, the dominant paradigms of domination of nature and women and sexual romanticism (advocating separate spheres) will be explored in their relation to the dominant, popular ideas which have informed planning and design decisions and have shaped America's view of the world. By exposing the relationship between the social values given to women's ascribed roles and the dominant views regarding nature, it will be clear that in order to change women's position in society, the views of nature must also be changed. And, in order to change our view of nature, we must change our view of woman's proper place.

Domination of Nature

There is strong evidence to suggest that the metaphor of "dominion over the earth" has ruled the thinking of dominant American culture since the 1800's. Any sense of organicism that may have been a part of pre-industrial life lost its appeal in the growing market economy of the 1800's. Alexander Hamilton argued that the notion that "agriculture is 'natural' in that 'nature cooperates with man,' is both 'quaint and superficial.' [He advocated] productivity through the 'application of ingenious machinery' to nature, not closeness to nature" (Trachtenberg, 1965, p.12).

Thomas Jefferson saw the great republic as a nation of landowners. He advocated a system of "small, independent farms [which would help America] escape the ravages of history" (Trachtenberg, 1965, p.10) which plagued European cities in the form of overcrowding, pollution and superstition. He also expressed the fear that the great republican principle would be lost in such a large country and

while president, advocated a "national system of public higher education and a national system of roads" (Trachtenberg, 1965, pp. 11-12) which would lead to the "country." But the improvements of roads to the hillsides, while leading to rural areas also led the farmer to the market; facilitating the "commercial entanglements Jefferson hoped to avoid" (Trachtenberg, 1965, p.12).

Many besides Jefferson feared that the republican principle could not survive a nation so large;

The very size of the continent would be the nation's undoing.

{In order to prevent the loss of the great new republic,}

Americans needed to cement the union. Facing a landscape covered with barriers to its own promises, American society had to become technological in order to survive. It had to develop an industrial force in order to exploit the promise of the land (Trachtenberg, 1965, pp.9-11; emphasis mine).

Hamilton and Jefferson represented the two emerging ideologies: Jefferson's agrarianism and the view of the republic was pitted against Hamilton's "progressiveness". Hamilton, applauded the development of roads because they would produce a uniform society. According to one 20th century historian's account:

Hamilton was wiser than Jefferson; he stood on the side of historical inevitability. Jefferson had used the image of noble husbandman to affirm the value of an organic way of life, but Hamilton foresaw that economic necessity would defeat this hope. What Jefferson affirmed lay beyond logic: it was a dream of timeless harmony with nature. Such a dream could hardly prevail against the dynamics of an expanding society (Trachtenberg, 1965, p.12; emphasis mine).

The view that "what Jefferson affirmed lay beyond logic" and such a "dream could hardly prevail against the dynamics of an expanding society" strikes a chord which resonates as domination over nature. What was once seen as an abomination in 16th century Europe was now "logic" in 19th century America. The value of harmony with nature, once accepted in female religions was now a "dream". The underlying assumptions in this statement have been carried on throughout history to the present: Nature obstructs the "dynamics of an expanding society," and the domination/destruction of nature is an "economic necessity".

Anti-historicism

In order to escape the ravages of history which plagued Europe in Jefferson's view, America must put the history of Europe behind them and start anew. "Europeans of the 18th century tended to believe, as Jefferson did, that the tablets of the mind could indeed be wiped clean and a new beginning made in the New World" (Trachtenberg, 1965, p.44). This anti-historicism was also advocated by the German philosopher, Hegel. America, to him was "the land of the future. [It was America's destiny to] abandon the ground on which the history of the world has developed itself" (cited in Trachtenberg, 1965, p.44). This anti-historical view made the emerging "New World" different from Europe. As previously stated, Europe had elements of the metaphor of the earth as nurturing mother still present in their culture. In their efforts to be ahistorical, Americans put old ideology behind them and grasped tightly to the more progressive view of dominating/controlling nature.

Americans were quite adept at putting their anti-historicism to work and espousing the ideology of domination over the earth to prac-

tice. They were such excellent transformers of nature, that no single change seemed permanent; they "live in the future and make their country as they go on" (Trachtenberg, 1965, p.21). The "earth as nurturer" metaphor which European pre-industrial and agrarian lifestyles had embraced was not to be found in the new nation. Upon comparing America to Europe, Francis Grund in 1837 wrote:

America had always treated nature as a conquered subject; not as the mother who gave them birth. They were children of another world, who came to burn, ransack and destroy and not to preserve what they had found. They burned forests, dug up the bowels of the earth, diverted rivers from their course, or united them at their pleasure; and annihilated the distances which separated North from South, East from West. (Grund, 1837, p.317).

Clearly the metaphor of dominion over the earth, taken to a new extreme caused turmoil in American life. As Trachtenberg has written: "a basic conflict between two ways of life was at stake in the massive transformation of nature" (1965, p.17). Cities became places of congestion, destitution and degradation. "Lava streams of irrupting (sic) urbanism seem to flow blindly in natural devastating confution (sic). The whole of the 19th century outburst of town building...was likened...to an epidemic of wens" (Bauer, 1934, p.13).

Clearly, the expanding society view advocated by Hamilton and the market itself was accepted by the majority. Nature in control of the land made it "savagely, rich and going to waste" (Trachtenberg, 1965, p.7). The values which were held by the pre-industrial, agrarian society and the nurturing earth metaphor needed to be trans-

formed to foster the growth of industries. Efforts to transform values are evident throughout the period. Thomas Eubank, commissioner of patents wrote

Rural life is based on the wrong mode of nature, that which is fertile, growing, but subject to decay. The civilization represented by the railroad and the city is based on inorganic matter, the true riches of nature. Man's work will not be finished until the planet is wholly changed from its natural wilderness...into a fit theatre for cultivating intelligences (cited in Trachtenberg, 1965, p.20).

Emergence of Separate Spheres - Sexual Romanticism

As mentioned in the previous chapter on sexual romanticism, the 19th century's emergence of the market brought a conflict of values for the American people which was translated in gender roles. The changes in the roles of men and women and the creation of separate spheres also led to changes in family life. Fathers had difficulty asserting their will on the rest of the family when their work removed them from proximity to the home. The patriarchal family, the "citadel of masculine authority" (Berg, 1978, p.49) was thought to be breaking down. The rise of sexual romanticism offered reassurance to the authority of men by espousing the idea that women should serve men.

At the same time, women replaced nature as the sole repository of goodness and ethicality. Absolving males from guilt that their enbridled pursuits of wealth might be injurious to the fabric of the nation, she emerged as a substitute for the allegedly democratic proclivities of the yeoman farmer. In her domestic role; idealized

and fantasized, women embodied all the attributes of bountiful nature (Berg, 1978, p.68).

The rise of sexual romanticism corresponded to the growth of the market and the separation of physical spaces which were "male" or "female." By placing nature and the values nature represented as well as values which were inconsistent with the market in women's sphere (the home), early Americans felt free to exploit the land as well as each other in the competitive market.

Organicism Versus the Market

The identification of the private world or women's sphere with organicism or nature led to conflicts between nature and the market. As individuals realized that profits could be made in the market by exploiting the land, the schism between organicism and the public world grew wider and more rigid. One example of this was in land values which were central to early planning efforts. The 1811 plan for Manhattan (New York) prepared the "way for real estate speculation" (Trachtenberg, 1965, p.33). The attitude of the grid fostered the view of the city as a "private commercial venture to be carved up in any fashion that might increase the turnover and further the rise in land values" (Mumford, cited in Trachtenberg, 1965, p.33). Space was divided up on numerical configurations, not on its own topographical reality, so that it could produce more revenue.

The 1811 plan for Manhattan had an unrelenting adherence to the single motivation of exploitation ...The landscape had to be subdued, not for achieving a harmonious life between man and nature, but for the sake of quick sale of private building lots....Nature was granted no part in how that city should grow and organize itself (Trachtenberg, 1965,

p.31).

"Land was a hindrance in the minds of the city commissioners; it had to be transformed into geometry" (Trachtenberg, 1965, p.31). The gridiron served the city by creating public revenue. In the 17th century, the city had owned most of the land and the taxes collected from the lease of the land had produced "large sums of money for public projects such as swamp reclamation" (Trachtenberg, 1965, pp. 31-32). In the 18th century the city not only leased land but sold it as well. The grid was a "major step toward the transfer of ownership of the island of Manhattan from public to private lands" (Trachtenberg, 1965, pp.31-32).

Another example in which organicism was secondary to and exploited by the market was in transportation. It wasn't until 1890 that the city of New York got involved in transportation. Before that time, transportation was left in the hands of private developers. By 1860, in New York City, "There were 20 competing railroad lines, each operating its own self-determined route" (Trachtenberg, 1965, p.34).

Much of city planning in the 1800's was the construction of streets and avenues. A type of urban renewal was occurring through the use of cutting new streets. "They cleared out many insanitary districts in putting in their new avenues and virtuously believed that the gods of Art, Commerce, and Hygiene were being served at one throw" (Bauer, 1934, p.48). But like the 1960's urban renewal the intrusion of streets displaced many residents and forced overcrowding in other areas. Railroad cuts had the same effect, and with the onset of the automobile, the streets became "less and less desirable frontage for residences and tended to divide rather than

bind together, the districts which they planned to cross" (Bauer, 1934, p.49).

Catherine Bauer writing in 1934 provides this analysis:

The Renaissance avenue, used as it has been used in the past century [19th] contributes nothing to the solution of housing and city living problems. In so far as it has promoted further excessive concentration, raised the speculative price of land, and lulled people into thinking that it comprised the whole of city planning, it has been positively detrimental (p.49).

The values which were identified as female (organic, nature) were being discounted by the dominant culture and what results is a city informed by competition of the market. The disregard for nature or the idea of dominance over nature is most prevalent in the ideas of creating streets and the gridiron. Two areas of planning that have been central in the profession since its inception are these.

Domination of Nature by Science

The rise of science and technology within industry had its effects on the city as well. Efficiency and exploitation guided growth of American cities in the name of scientific management and technological advance. The strength of sexual romanticist ideology had swept "feminine" principles into the home and away from the public world, the market economy. Science and technology became identified with the male sphere, the public world. Expressivism or the aesthetic mode and organicism, was woman's sphere, the home (Firestone, 1972). The values of aesthetic order, community, emotionality, irrationality and informal networking which had marked early pre-industrial, agrarian periods, were lost to the

public world, and thus lost to the physical design of the city.

The real expression of the age was in works: in poetry, in novels, in history, in criticism, even astute criticism of ugliness and disorder...But when this same spirit came to be translated into paint or stone or wood, architecture or cities, the result was not so happy. Materials had lost their meaning. Forms and purposes were forgotten. Old crafts were lost and new techniques were not assimilated. New requirements were not analyzed and new possibilities were not understood. Tradition was cut off and experiment was, for the most part, aimless and inhibited (Bauer, 1934, p.41).

The materialism which dominated the age had made utility god and "prophets" of "science and technology" (Bauer, 1934, p.42). The anti-historicism of the new world helped to create a world informed only by the machine. Predominantly, aesthetic traditions were lost to utility, the economy and science. This all-encompassing value system has been defined by one author as "hegemony." Douglas Dowd explains that hegemony is

order in which a certain way of life and thought is dominant in which one concept of reality is diffused throughout society in all its institutional and private manifestations, informing with its spirit all taste, morality, customs, religions and political principles and all social relations, particularly in their intellectual and moral connotations (1974, p.299).

This is the heritage under which western culture suffers and may be the root of many present day problems.

Both before and after the Civil War efforts were made by a growing planning movement and women's associations to "clean up" what

technological advances had wrought. Bauer comments that: "The States disappear and the pure free Trade Utopia recognizes only the battling individual, with no privilege other than his own acumen and the world of limitless and insistent selective demand" (Bauer, 1934, p.37).

Romantic Nature: Preservation

The problems of the city led to a view of romanticized nature which revived the lost metaphor of the earth as nurturer in American culture. This romantic view of nature led to the concept of the "City Beautiful." This planning movement was displayed at the first Chicago World's Fair and "although it did not turn out any beautiful cities, it did give us the public park, the only unqualified happy contribution of the 19th century to the urban environment" (Bauer, 1934, p.49). The park was the dominant culture's view of nature as it "attempted to right the imbalance of industrialization and urbanization" (Cranz, 1980, p.579).

The park or

pleasure ground (1850-1900) was an antidote to the ills of the rapidly industrializing city, visually and programmatically its antithesis, with a curving, picturesque landscape and emphasis on mental refreshment. The standards of order for both the physical environment and social intercourse would help set common values for the diverse population. Women played a key role in that scenario (Cranz, 1980, p.579).

Again, there is the association of women with nature. "The respectable part of the community should establish a custom of behavior in the park which will have a wholesome influence on all who resort to it. A large use of the park by families by good women and dutiful

children will accomplish this result. Nothing else will, no laws and no police force will do it" (Boston City Council, cited in Granz, 1980, p.81).

The City Beautiful movement created the need for green space, public buildings and urban parks. In planning texts, it is best remembered for the hope it brought to the city that it could be more aesthetically pleasing. The rise of the City Beautiful movement revitalized many of the civic groups and associations doing social service.

But the seeds of masculinization of the dominant culture were already sown deep enough to cause some to worry about the advocating of an aesthetically pleasing city. It caused Charles Mumford Robinson, a journalist, to write:

Civic art is not a fad. It is not merely a bit of aestheticism. There is nothing effeminate and sentimental about it....It is vigorous, virile, sane. Altruism is its impulse, but it is older than any altruism of the hour--as old as the dreams and inspirations of men (cited in Scott, 1969, p.68).

The City Beautiful movement arose in response to the growing frustration with the overcrowded, dirty city, finding its roots in Romantic thought.

Rousseau and the new feeling for romantic Nature were on one side of it, and the self-sufficiency of the pioneer adventurer was another. The economic doctrine of the individual battling for his property against all other individuals and the scientific one of the survival of the fittest were both related to it. It produced that exceedingly powerful modern idolum, the Country House (Bauer, 1934, pp.49-50).

The Country House, however was an upper class phenomena which was emulated by the lower classes. However, it may have helped spark the growth of the suburb which filtered down to the middle classes by the 1920's. Between the 20's and the 40's, 60 cities had begun to "decentralize" in the U.S. (Glaab & Brown, 1976, p.248). The growth of the suburbs was aided by better transportation systems which could allow the more affluent the luxury of living outside the city. The escape mentality of the 20's through the 40's rather than "collective construction would not tend to produce handsome cities....Pioneering individualism condemned the poorest third to half of the population" (Bauer, 1934, p.53) to the slums.

The growth of the suburbs made the sexual romantic ideology all that more appealing for the upperclasses to live and the lower to emulate. Not only would nature be preserved in the values of women (through her personhood) but also in the home as a place of refuge. "In a home atmosphere as serene as the rural landscape, women became the succedaneum for 'Mother earth' as the nourisher of her family" (Berg, 1978, p.69).

Before 1840, the rise in factories gave many women jobs but as sexual romanticist ideology gained popularity between 1840 and 1914, there was a decline in the numbers of women in the work force. Lower and some middle class women made up women's employment during this period. The onset of the war brought many women into the work-force in 1917-1920, but after the war, women were encouraged to go back into the home and do her proper duty.

Shaped by the ideology of sexual romanticism, woman make a more convenient worker when she is needed by industry: the

"romanticized" woman is supposed to work for low wages, typically in work which requires submissiveness and/or nurturance, and quickly goes back to where she belongs when her job runs out (Ehrenreich & English, 1978, p.27).

For those women who remained in jobs during the 1840-1914, there was an accentuation of their economic status. A sign of a man's wealth and status was whether or not his wife had to work outside the home, when previously it had been whether or not and how much land he owned (Cott, 1972, p.13).

Sexual romanticism helped dissolve the inconsistent values of Jacksonian democracy and pre-industrial life. Women supplanted nature and all it had previously represented. This ideology is found today in the central value of home ownership and suburban living.

Women's Place in the Public World: Housekeeping

The sexual romanticist ideology carried over to women's limited role in the public sphere. Efforts to "clean up" our cities, towns, suburbs and environments have always been without challenging the basic premise of the domination of the earth. They have been "housekeeping" efforts which fall predominately in the hands of women.

Housekeeping efforts by women in the public world formalize in the 19th century. Many associations of women were created in this period to rid cities of crime, delinquency, poverty, degradation. Upper class and middle class women formed voluntary associations which were primarily informed by religious beliefs.

These associations, such as the Society for the Relief of Poor Widows and Children, the American Female Moral Reform Society, Association for the Relief of Respectable Aged, Indigent Females,

and the Female Benevolent Association (Berg, 1978) were extensions of sexual romanticist ideology which saw women as the nurturers of the earth. Women's natural instinct for love, warmth, morality and domestic service made the "housekeeping of cities their employment". However, this unpaid labor which brought rich, poor, and middle class women together may have helped to add fuel to the fire for the movement for women's rights (Berg, 1978). It falls into the sexual romanticist or woman's sphere ideology discussed previously. Women's sphere was both positive and negative, giving women place and role in society different from men yet also restricting them to those roles and places. The woman's sphere ideology:

Assigned women a "vocation" comparable to men's vocations, but also implying, in women's case, a unique sexual solidarity. When they took up their common vocation, women asserted their common identity in "womanhood," which became their defining social role: gender ruled, in effect, their sentiments, capacities, purpose, and potential achievements. Without such consciousness of their definition according to sex no minority of women would have created the issue of women's rights (Cott, 1977, p.201).

Science in the City and the Home: "Professionalism"

The 1900's marks the growth of the field of science in every aspect of American life. It was "science" which told the American people that housing needed to be accessible to the elements: air, sun, cleanliness, order (Bauer, 1934, p.106). Science filtered throughout American life.

In all areas, making something "scientific" became synonymous with reform. Between roughly 1880-1920, progressive

America campaigned not only for scientific medicine, but for scientific management, scientific public administration, scientific housekeeping, scientific child raising, scientific social work. The U.S. according to the Atlantic Monthly, was a "nation of science" (Ehrenreich & English, 1979, pp.69-70).

Planning and architecture did not escape this new emphasis. Before the popularity of "Scientific" planning or the growth of the City Efficient movement, the 19th century had been marked by production and mining.

The 19th century was a mining age, "Exploit and get out" was its slogan and the methods of mining were applied, not merely to coal and iron, but far more significantly, to forests, and soils, to real estate and international markets, to wage labor and to consumers. The cities were built by the combined efforts of speculators small and large, to mine congested land values (Bauer, 1934, p.113).

After the onset of the "scientific movement" mining continued but in the name of efficiency in city planning. Beginning in the early 20th century and continuing to the present, the City Efficient movement was informed by Social Darwinism, Spenserian philosophy and anti-socialism. City planning through the City Efficient movement becomes a much more vital and growing field and most certainly has moved beyond a mere social movement in the era of the "expert."

The year 1909 witnessed the first national city planning convention which was to address the need for comprehensive housing and planning legislation that would deal not only with the physical aspects of city growth but also the "social problems of urban

life" (Glaab & Brown, 1976, p.243). One study cites Benjamin Marsh as instrumental in the organization of this conference (Glaab and Brown, 1976) but some women historians have discovered that women were also part of the organizational efforts: Florence Kelly, Lillian Wald and Mary Simkovitch (Gittell & Shtob, 1980, p.570). The inclusion of women in the planning of the conference is not surprising given the view of women's sphere, the association movement and the history of social reform which is predominately woman-dominated (but much in the background of mainstream accounts). The woman's sphere ideology encouraged women to be a part of the housekeeping efforts of the city. The association movement allowed women to enter the public realm.

By the time this conference was held, planning had moved somewhat beyond the City Beautiful movement and "scientific planning, with its emphasis on technology, regulation and the provision of standards, was becoming dominant" (Glaab & Brown, 1976, p.243).

The year of 1909 was a productive one for city planning. It witnessed the publication of Burnham's plan for Chicago as well as

completion of the famous Pittsburg survey, the introduction of a new course on planning at Harvard and the publication of the first textbook on the subject, Benjamin Marsh's Introduction to City Planning. With the huge sprawling metropolises already beginning to form on the urban scene and with the great regional megalopolises not many years away, from this time on planning in all its diverse manifestations would shape the character of American urban growth (Glaab & Brown, 1976, p.244).

While city planning of the 20's focused on the technical, regulations, and the provisions of standards, it also focused on "rationalizing

land use and protecting property values through zoning" (Baer, 1977 p.672).

Social reformers had a modest influence in small communities but on the national front the 20's for the middle class was marked by consumerism: "cars, illicit liquor, opportunities for land speculation, opportunities for the stock market, radio serials and the latest movie, the exploits of sports stars and cultural heroes and the pursuit of beauty and youth." Women's clubs and voluntary associations had turned from "social service to bridge" (Banner, 1976, p.141). Progress which grew from science created a nation of consumers and producers. This progress introduced technological advances in buildings and construction which opened up a new frontier in the sky.

Nature Replaced by Buildings - Virgin to Dynamo

Foreign visitors and native artists searched for a clue to the meaning of a society which had turned its energy from pruning the wilderness to capturing the sky. Orderly gardens seemed to have given way to a landscape of grotesque shapes: the skyscraper, (Henry) James wrote, was her "American Beauty," "the rose of interminable stem," (Trachtenberg, 1965, p.130).

While some of the skyscrapers, buildings and bridges had been constructed in the late 19th century, it wasn't until the early 20th century that the age of science seems to permeate American society and idolize creations of steel across the horizon. Skyscrapers and bridges as huge monuments piercing the sky were ambiguously received by American people. They represented power

and fascination as well as fear as many associated them with the problems of the late 19th and early 20th century city. Just as nature in Europe had been seen as both nurturing mother and devastating destruction, advances in building technology which created skyscrapers and bridges were both progress and pathology. For example, the Brooklyn Bridge was seen as having the "power to heal and the power to destroy." The bridge "embodied physically the forces emotional, as well as mechanical which were shaping a new civilization" (Trachtenberg, 1965, p.137). The city too, was ambiguously accepted. There was the "lure of the city", as well as fear of it. The city was an overbearing power as well as freedom (Glaab & Brown, 1976, pp. 227-229). Of course the relationship to women is again evident as exemplified by the following account regarding the Brooklyn Bridge.

A young reporter in the 1870's felt a profound longing for the still unfinished bridge, "unaccountably drawn to it, almost as to a woman warm and pulsing". One night, as though lured to it he was overcome with the desire to possess the mysterious lady; he climbed one of the cables to the summit of the Manhattan tower "to him she was always a Circe made of steel and granite, but irresistible" (Trachtenberg, 1965, p.137).

The built environment, particularly skyscrapers and bridges, replaced some elements of nature in its relationship to women. The city, its structures and organization became both good (nurturing mother) and evil (destructive nature). Women or the female principle, once seen as the virgin earth, was being replaced by the dynamo. It was H. Adams who first recognized this conflicting view of the female and prompted him to call the two the virgin and the dynamo.

The virgin was organicism; the kind of organicism which gave way to

the view of nature as nurturing mother. The Virgin was Mary, the Christian version of Ceres and Venus. "Inspired by devotion to her, medieval civilization had built its aspiring towers, -- the great cathedrals". These buildings represented the unity of mind and heart resulting from the "love of a divine, nature figure" (Trachtenberg, 1965, p.138).

The dynamo was domination of nature by machine; the suppression of nature as the feminine principle on behalf of a masculine (the phallicity of the skyscraper). "Although no one admittedly prayed to the dynamo, its impressiveness over the landscape appeared as evidence of its sovereignty" (Trachtenberg, 1965, p.138). Pointing toward the view that America never held nature in very high esteem and providing further evidence for the dominance of nature metaphor and its relationship to women, Henry Adams wrote: "Neither Venus nor Virgin ever had value as force -- at most sentiment. No American had ever truly been afraid of either" (cited in Trachtenberg, 1965, p.138). The sentiment in which Venus and Virgin found their value in American life was in the sexual romantic view of women.

Women As Dynamo

The changed view of nature had its effects on women's roles just as the domination of nature view had oppressed women's roles previously. Before the City Efficient movement and the growth of the scientific age, women were nurturers (one side of the metaphor) providing relief from the cold cruel world outside the home; and their place was subject to men (the other side of the metaphor). The domination of nature view coupled with nature as nurturer (romantized in American society) produced a romanticized view of nature in the form of urban parks, green belts and plush suburbs. The inclusion of science provides the seed for further subjugation for women and nature. For women, the turn of the century brought vast changes

in women's roles in the home and in marriage. The 19th century was marked by strong same sex networks. (For a more detailed view of these homosocial networks, see Rosenberg, 1975). The 20th century and the growth of the scientific movement which introduced methods of birth control to the general public, along with the growth of the free love movement (and coupled with the view of nature as dynamo) transformed Victorian values into companionate marriage (Lindsey & Evans, 1927). Women and men's relationships were to be marked by intense psychological companionship or friendship and the sexual aspect of this intimacy was emphasized. This presented a marked difference from Victorian morality.

For nature, science presented a new rationale for destruction: technological progress. Patriarchal religion is transformed into secularization. Science, as an ideology informed by Judeo-Christian thought, adopts all the views regarding women and nature and now provided "scientific" rationale for such views. The beauty of nature, in the romantic view is replaced by the beauty of the machine. Feminine principles (ie, organicism) are replaced by masculine principles (almost totally) in regards to the environment. Domination of nature is rationalized as technological progress, a thought which will be re-addressed in the following chapter. Women's biology is also harnessed, as birth control methods become popular.

Science in the Home

The emphasis on science in the public world had repercussions for the private world beyond the changed view of sexuality. From "about 1920, for women, but not nearly all women, until about 1945...the nature of housework changed" (Armitage, Note 1, p.18.). Advances in technology which saw the creation of small motors and thus household appliances, along with "commercialization of food and growth of national distribution systems,... [took some of the physical labor out of housework.]

But these were not liberating" (Armitage, Note 1, p.18). Studies show that women in the 20's and women in the 60's worked the same amount of time at domestic service -- 56 hours per week (Armitage, Note 1, p.19).

Besides the creation of household appliances, science created "germ theory" and a "science of domestic service" formed around these views (Ehrenreich & English, 1979, pp.140-170). The inception of "home economics" as a science brought on by industrialism

heightened the emotional context of the work in the home until a woman's sense of self-worth became a function of her success at arranging bits of fruit to form a clown's face in a gelatin salad. That pervasive social illness which Betty Friedan characterized as "the problem that had no name" arose not among workers who found that their labor brought no emotional satisfaction, but among workers who found that their work was invested with emotional weight far out of proportion to its inherent value (Cowan, cited in Moore, 1978, p.226).

The science of child raising was also a prominent social thought and corresponded with the emergence of the science of domesticity (which had replaced the "cult of domesticity") as two dominant ideologies for American women to devote their time (Ehrenreich & English, 1979, pp.194-210). The science of child rearing and thus motherhood became so central to women's lives that President Roosevelt in 1908 once told an audience of women:

the good mother, the wise mother--you cannot really be a good mother if you are not a wise mother -- is more important to the community than even the ablest man....But the woman who shirks her duty as wife and mother, earns the right to our contempt, just as does the man who from any motive fears to do his duty in battle when the country

calls him (cited in Ehrenreich & English, 1979, p.194).

The growth of women's national duty as child rearing and the scientific view of domesticity corresponds to a subsequent growth in the popularity of the suburbs. By 1931, the Hoover Commission established the single family, private home as a national goal (Hayden, 1980, p.5173). But the Depression stifled the realization of this goal for the next 15 years.

Scientific child rearing and the science of domesticity come to dominate women's lives for the next 50 years. It is not until the writing of the Feminine Mystique (1963) in the sixties and the subsequent rise of the contemporary women's movement that women's roles are again challenged by women themselves. Excluding World War II, which may have shed some light onto women's roles to allow for contemporary challenge, women's role in the public world was limited to traditionally stereotyped jobs which fit well with the women's sphere ideology: social work, nursing, teaching, clerical and any other occupations which can in some way be labelled "Helping Professions". Since the effects of science through the dynamo into women's lives which altered Victorian morality, no major changes occur in the sexual romantic view of women's domestic role until the late 60's and early 70's when sexual romanticism and the woman's sphere ideology is challenged by a great number of women.

In the 20th century, nature dominated by the machine in the name of technological progress is the central paradigm. The ascribed roles of women remain basically unchallenged by large groups of women until the 1960's. Alternative movements which will be discussed in the next chapter, arise in some form which present a sense of challenge to these dominant ideologies; but for the most part, these are not incorporated into the mainstream. Science and technological ideology evolve from religious

thought. Recall that both metaphors: nature as nurturing mother and nature as a destructive force to be dominated were found in female religions and patriarchal religions respectively. The latter found acceptance in the dominant culture due to its compatibility with industrial progress and the male dominated power structure. It had the most influence on scientific thought. During the industrialization of the American nation the

concept of progress materialized the Judeo-Christian God concept.

Males identifying their egos with transcendent "spirit" made technology the project of progressive incarnation of transcendent "spirit" into "nature." The eschatological god became a historical project.

Now one attempted to realize the infinite demand through infinite material "progress," impelling nature forward to infinite expansion of productive power. Infinite demand incarnate in finite nature, in the form of infinite exploitation of the earth's resources of production, results in ecological disaster (Ruether, 1975, p.195).

This is the path to destruction, however, America now seems to be following in the name of science, technology and God.

This false sense of secularization (a buzz word for the New Right in the 1980's), as science is a religion as much as fundamentalist christian, leads to the incorrect belief that secularization "is a breaking with the idea that things are given by a superior force, ie, magical religious or some other nature" (Etzioni, cited in Sternlieb & Burchell, 1979, p.209). Science is not value free, it arises from Judeo-Christian ethics and from the male dominated public world. The separation of spheres, the ghettoization of traits (masculine and feminine) and the devaluing of that which is "feminine" has led to the creation of a culture which is totally biased toward masculine perspectives.

Men have kept the records of the race. They have decided what to tell and how to tell it, the impressions to leave and how deeply those impressions are engraved....Men have multiplied words into elaborate systems of thought, and the spine and ganglia of all these systems are male presumptions. Men have associated and identified the acceptable with the masculine. They have given their opinions the name of philosophy and theology. They have made the estimates and appraisals and served as the sole critics of what men have done, en masse (Ferguson, 1966, p.227).

Men have been able to do this primarily due to their domination of the public world. The history of the common world of people excludes women to perhaps a footnote. It is the public world which transcends human birth and death -- the world dominated by men. The private world, women's sphere, excluding the recent emphasis on discovering women's history, is not part of the common world. The common world

can survive the coming and goings of the generations only to the extent that it appears in public. It is the publicity of the public realm which can absorb and make shine through the centuries what ever man (sic) may want to save from the natural ruin of time (Arendt, cited in Rich, 1979, p.203).

Women's identification in the private world places women outside the dominant culture's historical record, outside the realm of influence in creating the dominant culture's values and America's view of science, technology, production, planning, architecture; all fields within the public realm. Barring women's role in nurturing roles, women's influence on the public realm is minimal in light of the fact that women are more than half the population.

The subjugation of women and nature was established firmly by the late 1800's and early 1900's in American society. The way in which patriarchal religious thought was to manifest itself in the "new" world through science and technology have come to pervade not only American thought but international thought as well (Smith, 1980). With the exception of a few alternatives which will be discussed in the following chapter, America has been informed by the views of nature to be dominated, an overall oppression of women through the creation of separate spheres which limit women's influence in the public world; the god of technological progress which serves men's needs and protects patriarchal authority. Dominant society, created by the public world and recorded by it, has been and continues to be masculinist.

Chapter 4

Alternative Movements

Alternative views were espoused throughout historical record. Those discussed in this chapter have a particular relevance to this inquiry as they challenge, in some way, the ideologies regarding nature and women and the popularity of scientific thought as it relates to dominating women and nature. Thus these alternatives have the capacity to challenge patriarchal order. However, each of these alternatives have eventually been suppressed by the dominant culture in some form or another. They offer historical proof that alternatives have been attempted and the domination of women and nature has been and continues to be challenged. A short discussion of each of these alternatives follows of feminist planning which will be more comprehensive and pervasive than these alternatives have been. In the process, it is hoped that a more comprehensive and coordinated view of feminism can also be discerned.

Material Feminists and Collective Designs

Working chronologically, the first of these alternatives which relates to this study is the utopians of the late 1800's and early 1900's. The City Utopian movement and to a lesser extent the Garden City movement were the first anti-city views to be advocated by a number of individuals which challenged the view of dominance over women and nature. Many city utopians were women who believed emerging industrialism would eventually replace capitalism with socialism. They assumed that large scale production of goods created collectively in factories would lead to a socialist economy.

In the early days the new technology could have been used to communalize housework. The first vacuum cleaners were large

mobile units; they were brought into a home by a team of skilled operators to take over the housewife's daily cleaning chores. The new washing machines could be placed in communal laundries where paid employees would take over the housewife's washing chores, and the editors of the Ladies Home Journal advocated that this be done. Those same editors also advocated retention of the wartime communal kitchens so that the wasteful process of cooking each family's meals separately would be eliminated. Many of the early luxury apartment houses had . . . communal nurseries on their roofs . . . (Cowan, 1978, p. 164-165).

Considering large scale machines and following the model of the factory, Melusina Fay Pierce in 1868 advocated the creation of housekeeping societies. She demanded that women receive pay for housework by organizing "cooperative associations" in which women would "perform all their domestic work collectively and charge their husbands for these services" (Hayden, 1978a, p.406). The Cambridge Cooperative Housekeeping Society was the outgrowth of this thinking in 1869 but it was not accepted largely due to protests of men. Said one, "My wife, 'cooperate' to make another comfortable? No indeed!" (Pierce, 1884, p.108-109 cited in Hayden, 1978a, p.410).

Pierce believed that in the future women architects would help spurn the growth of housekeeping cooperatives by designing kitchenless houses. Her work informed the thinking of women who came after her even though her ideas were not accepted by the people of Cambridge (For more on Pierce, see Hayden, 1978a).

Marie Stevens Howland and Alice Constance Austin, along with Charlotte Perkins Gilman supported kitchenless houses in some of the same spirit as Melusina Fay Pierce. Howland worked with a religious

group called the Fourierists (after Charles Fourier who is the 1920's and 30's "supported collective housework and child care to assist in the development of equality between men and women") (Hayden, 1980, p.103). Howland wrote Papa's Own Girl in 1874, a utopian novel about cooperative housekeeping societies. She worked with Albert Kinsey Owen in 1874 to establish a cooperative colony in Topolobampo in Mexico (Hayden, 1978, p.277). Two years after the plans for Topolobampo were published, Edward Bellamy wrote Looking Backward 2000-1887. This best selling novel "popularized the ideal of a city of kitchenless apartments and collectively run kitchens in the year 2000." Historians suggest that Bellamy was influenced by Melusina Fay Pierce and Marie Stevens Howland (Hayden, 1978, p.280).

Among the people who claimed to have been influenced by Bellamy's book was Ebenezer Howard, founder of the Garden Cities movement. Howard's career in town planning included the establishment of two "cooperative experiments at the Garden Cities of Letchworth and Welwyn in England. It is interesting to note that the cooperative housekeeping ideas, implemented by Howard, are left out of mainstream historical accounts of Howard's work.

The same year that Howard published his book on town planning called To-Morrow: A Peaceful Path to Reform, Charlotte Perkins Gilman finished Women and Economics in which she advocated kitchenless houses in suburban blocks, and kitchenless apartments with dining rooms and day care centers. Gilman, like Pierce and Howland, believed the key to women's emancipation rested with the notion that domestic work should be done by women collectively and women should be given a wage (Hayden, 1978, p.281-282),

Alice Constance Austin, a disciple of Howard and Gilman designed "an entire city in which every house was an expression of the citizens social and economic equality". Her plans for Llano del Rio, a cooperative colony near Palmdale, California and her book, the Next Step (1935) "articulated an imaginative vision of life in a city of kitchenless houses" (Hayden, 1978, p.285).

Austin's housing designs emphasized economy of labor, materials, and space. She criticized the waste of time strength and money which traditional houses with kitchens required and the 'hatefully monotonous' drudgery of preparing 1095 meals in the year and cleaning up after each one. In her plans, hot meals in special containers would arrive from the central kitchens to be eaten in the dining patio, dishes were then returned to a central kitchen. She provided built-in furniture and roll away beds to eliminate dusty carpets, and windows with decorative frames to do away with what she called that household scourge, the curtain (Hayden, 1978, p.286).

Austin's community had a network of underground tunnels which would deliver food and other goods to the basement of each dwelling. Although expensive, Austin argued that this infrastructure could be used by a socialist government to place all gas, water, electric and telephone lines underground in the same tunnels as the residential delivery system thus providing economic and aesthetic advantages. Private cars would only be used to travel away from this utopian city of 10,000 (Hayden, 1978, p.286).

Llano del Rio and Topolobampo were both plagued with financial trouble and neither community was fully realized as a communitarian

socialist society which included kitchenless houses. World War I provided limited impetus for large cooperative kitchens but soon after the war ended, their popularity was replaced by the growing belief that isolated single family dwellings were the American dream. After WWI within a very few years, "those visions of communal housekeeping died a not very surprising death; this was America after all, not Soviet Russia" (Cowan. 1978, p.165).

The ideas advocated by material feminists as Hayden (1981) has described them, fall into both the sexual romanticist/women's sphere ideology and the sexual rationalist ideology. By advocating women's sphere in a domestic world, material feminists were alligned with Beecher and others who championed the women's sphere. Through their belief that collective kitchens would emancipate women from the many hours of housework to become more a part of the public world, material feminists advocated a kind of sexual rationalism.

Collective kitchens and collective work didn't catch on for a number of reasons, perhaps one of the most central is women's own fear of losing their proper places in society. Capitalism, of course, also had a great deal of influence on the demise of this once popular movement.

Many communities of the 19th century, similar to those espoused by Howland and Austin also followed a similar ideology. "They believed that the awesome Second Coming had already occurred and that they were living incarnation of the glorified kingdom of God on earth" (Kern, 1981, p. 4). Perhaps with this belief, these communitarians followed the patriarchal religious view that nature was infinite. So, while these communities may have challenged the capitalist economy, they did not challenge the dominant view of nature as infinite.

The Garden City movement, advocated by Howard, represents a romanticized view of nature similar to the City Beautiful movement. The Garden City ideology advocated by Howard followed from the view of nature as infinite as well. "Letchworth contained not more than 12 dwelling units per acre and offered the inhabitants ample open space and amenities". The romanticized view of nature, characterized by agrarian living would return through the Garden City. "The very best thing that can be given a working man is steady work with a good home in a country community"(Garden Cities Association of America, Charities XVII (nov. 17, 1907) p.206 cited in Scott, 1969, p.90).

The infinite view of nature in the Garden City movement and in Utopian communities lends itself to the view of nature to be destroyed. If a society or culture envisions nature as infinite, the belief that no amount of community-building would deplete the countryside, prevails. This view gives rise to a society which perpetuates growth without giving pause to the need for replenishment of nature.

Thus these alternatives, while offering some respite from the dominant world view regarding the subjugation of women and nature, fall short of comprehensively addressing the problem. By advocating the kitchenless houses with women employed in collective domestic work, material feminists do not question women's lack of input into the public world. Instead they subscribe to the view which Glennon (1979) calls "polarism" which "sees a future based on a more extreme dualism than that of present day society" (Glennon, 1979, p.186). This "polarism" is no different from the romanticized view of women and men's roles advocated by the sexual romanticists in the 19th century.

With this polaristic view, women would be accepting the world as

men have defined it and would be perpetuating the exclusion of women's needs in the public world. The domination of nature and the unidimensional view of the world in regards to traits (recall that organicism and aestheticism were "feminine" principles) would be upheld in this dualistic view. Women would be responsible for all domestic chores, service occupations and other nurturing type functions while men would be responsible for instrumental (ie, scientific, technological) work.

If "separate but equal" were a real possibility, then perhaps this dualistic thinking would be beneficial for both sexes. However, the public world (male dominated) has succeeded in not only excluding "feminine" traits, it has also succeeded in discounting them. Emotions and natural things stand in the way of production and progress. Aestheticism and organicism stop technological advances.

Given the ties of women and nature subscribed to here and discerned by other theorists and historians (Griffin, 1979; Merchant, 1980) the assertion can be made that women will not be accepted in the public world on a equal basis, nor will "feminine" principles be accepted by the public world/dominant culture until the view of nature to be dominated is changed. The relationship of women and nature continues to inform religious and secular thought. By strengthening dualism, women's perspective would be excluded from the public world and thus have little influence over the dominant culture. However, as those who advocated women's sphere realized, separation from men did bring some strength for women to survive. Perhaps separation is one way of bringing about radical change.

The view of collectivity and kitchenless houses may be beneficial to articulating a future vision. They offer cooperation in a new light

and may help give rise to other forms of organization that are based upon those principles which have existed only in subcultures and in the private world to some extent.

The Rise of the Welfare State

The Depression of the 1930's gave rise to social planning efforts which blossomed in the 1960's. Informed by the view that "competitive industry operating under the profit motive was inherently unstable and would have to be transformed into a completely planned economy to save American's mechanized civilization from utter disaster," (Scott, 1969, p.301) Rexford Guy Tugwell during Theodore Roosevelt's presidential administration set up a national planning effort. Although some of his social programs were later declared unconstitutional, many of the social programs established in the 1930's "set the pattern for most grant-in-aid programs through the early 1970's " (Baer, 1977, p.672).

Major contributions (sic) of the New Deal were in the area of housing and development. Planned suburban development became popular during this period. Tugwell's view of slum removal was to "'go just outside centers of population, pick up cheap land, build a whole community and entice people into it. Then go back into the cities and tear down whole slums and make parks of them.' The presence of this view point among government planners led to the most significant of the New Deal experiments involving urban life -- the greenbelt towns" (Glaab & Brown, 1976, p.277).

It also led to increased government sponsored urban renewal which proved to be disastrous in the 1960's and it increased the attractiveness of suburban living in American life. The failure of the green belt communities as New Towns, was a result of the costs of the New

Towns, as well as American's "tradition of private property . . . (which) had once again defeated attempts to provide a better (sic) kind of community" (Glaab & Brown, 1976, p.279).

The failure of the New Towns did not follow with a subsequent failure in the growth of suburbia. The "green belt" view increased interest and provided enthusiasm for those who could afford to migrate from the city. The market found cheaper land prices on the outskirts of the city and suburbia's popularity gained national acceptance. Once again, a romanticized view of nature (the green belt of suburbia) coupled with the view of nature as infinite and to be dominated informed American's growth. The suburbs, with their lack of services and isolation, exclude women who are at home with children from contact with other adults. This romanticized "bedroom" community gave rise to the "Feminine Mystique" (Friedan, 1963).

The social planning efforts of the New Deal era nationalized the liberal view that American's human capacity was finite and therefore the government must put vast amounts of money into social programs and social problems (welfare state) and the view that nature is infinite and therefore can help "solve" the nation's social ills (the trek to the suburb or supplanting the urban poor). This liberal ideology never questioned the overall system itself and in fact was designed to preserve capitalism. It was thought that stop-gap measures (money to the urban poor, urban renewal) would alleviate the problem without challenging the system itself. The dualistic nature of the world view was never questioned. Thus "minority group" problems of lack of inclusion were never really addressed, nor were the values (dicotomies) challenged.

National social planning, with its historical roots in the 30's was thus able to combine the physical aspects of planning embraced by

the City Efficient movement (ie., planning is technical, scientific, concerned with the physical) with the social aspects of reform advocated by civic associations and those concerned with housing and health (Baer, 1977, p.672) without challenging the basic power structure inherent in the patriarchal system (which is dualistic).

This social planning view continues through the mid 70's although the nation as a whole has realized its inadequacy. Liberal ideology, by defining the problem for everyone else, falls into the trap of a kind of "elitism". City planners and material feminists are also guilty of defining and solving problems without asking the people who are affected by these decisions for solutions. Stop-gap measures advocated by social planning legislation (ie, throwing money at the problem) has been the only effort the market and the dominant culture will allow to deal with the shortcomings of the economic system. Following the thoughts articulated here, it becomes clear that the introduction of women into the market and the rise of feminism in the late 60's and early 70's coupled with any sense of environmentalism would stir some fear into the dominant culture. Presently, we witness the emergence of groups calling for movement back to "traditional" values (ie, women in the home, exploitation of nature). It is for this reason that the last two major alternatives to be discussed will be environmentalism and feminism.

Environmentalism - Male Version

Concern for the environment parallels other social movements of the late 60's and early 70's: the rise of the black civil rights movement, the left, gay rights and feminism. Pollution, ecology, conservation, nature and concern for the environment transform into issues which

become rallying points for the media, the dominant culture and subcultural groups. Like other social movements, the environmental movement has many splinter groups: ecologists, appropriate technologists, conservationists, survivalists and others. Also like other social movements, the environmental movement has been somewhat misrepresented by the mainstream media and the market.

Advertisers glorified the back to nature/concern for nature movement with "natural" foods, sun tea, biodegradable soaps, the wonders of home-made bread, natural candy and back-to-the-land products: camping gear of all kinds, ten speed bicycles and backpacks. The perils of pre-cooked, pre-packaged food, additives and preservatives inundated the media and advertisers took aim at the people most responsible for America's health: women.

The home became the target of conservation efforts and women as consumers were and continue to be blamed for pollution in the form of plastic wraps, paper goods, cans and bottles. As Rosemary Radford Ruether warned:

Women should look with considerable suspicion upon the ecological band-aids presently being peddled by business and government to overcome the crisis of exploitive technology. The ideology which splits private morality from public business will try to put the burden of ecological morality on the private sector . . . individual consumers will be asked to tighten their belts, the system itself will not be challenged to change . . . Ecological immorality belongs to the patterns of production and social exploitation that is systemic . . . Ecological morality aimed at the home must turn ecological concern itself into a new consumer product for

women's use. The ecological factor will be built into consumer products in some trivial way and then sold with much advertising to women as a luxury item tacked onto present consumer products to placate the conscience (Ruether, 1975, p.200-201).

The middle 70's witnessed just this phenomenon. Appliances were sold because they would consume less energy. Examples of this include all of the toaster ovens, hamburger cookers, small fryers and popcorn poppers which use "less electricity than your oven". Placing the blame on women is not just a media created myth — ecologists and environmentalists themselves share this myth (both of which are male dominated).

Women are the reason for environmental degradation, famine and overpopulation. In discussing the extra-ordinary number of births in a given year, two male sociologists exclaim: "No one really knows how the women manage those figures . . . But they do". These same academics argue that the reason for overpopulation has nothing to do with "the teachings of the Catholic Church" social morality or the "costs of bringing up children" but rather because "People love children" (Emphasis: theirs) (Paddock & Paddock cited in Penchef, 1971, p.201).

These two sociologists/ecologists are not alone in their thinking. Another places similar blame:

In an overpopulated world, ordinary "normal" women may yet become the sorceress who inundates man with every new creation. Who keep pouring forth a stream of children for whom there is neither role nor room, whose procreative instinct keeps producing like a machine gone mad (Lederer cited in Daly, 1980, p. 290).

Without regards to the rape culture (Brownmiller, 1976) wrought by

patriarchal thought and the imperative which socializes women to believe that child bearing is their only roles in life, not to mention a lack of safe a legal abortion and birth control for all women, Lederer offers the final blame on nature as female.

And in the end the balance of this globe may yet again have to be redressed by the Great Mother herself in her most terrible form: as hunger, as pestilence, as the blind orgasm of the atom (Lederer as cited in Daly, 1980, p.291).

Daly argues that Lederer's allusion to nuclear energy (rape of the atom) as the blind orgasm of the atom is comparable to "labeling the agonized screams of a rape victim 'cries of ecstasy'" (Daly, 1980, p.291). Patriarchal culture will blame women and continue to blame women for the disastrous situation it has created.

The theme of domination of nature pervades the ecological movement in the form of the "protector". "Man can no longer be against nature but must assume a stewardship of responsibility for the protection of the natural environment" (Emphasis: mine) (Glacken, 1970, p.14). "Protection" from whom? Man "in charge of" nature is not very far removed from "domination over". This view brings forth the romanticized view of nature and women.

Any effort to reconcile such a male with "nature", which does not restructure the psychology and social patterns which make nature "alien" will tend to shape women, the patriarchal symbol of "nature" into romanticized servitude to a male defined alienation. The concern with ecology could repeat the mistakes of 19th century romanticism with its renewed emphasis on the opposite "complementary nature of women and men". Women will again be asked to be the "natural" wood nymph and earth mother and to create places of es-

cape from the destructive patterns of the dominant culture (Ruether, 1975, p.203).

Unless the ecological movement is willing to recognize the ties of women with nature throughout historical and cultural record and work toward the end of domination of both, the efforts of the movement will be in vain. Women will not and cannot willingly accept the romanticized view of their role in society again (given changed consciousness).

"Holism" in the form of ecology has the capacity to see the "interconnectedness of all things" and view nature as "active and alive" . . .

It has the capacity to realize that "no element of an interlocking cycle can be moved without the collapse of the cycle" (Merchant, 1980, p.293).

By understanding the relationships of all living things to each other ecology offers hope. However, it must couple its understanding of environmental concerns with concerns for ending the oppression of women.

Unfortunately, elements of the romantic view are evident in ecological/environmental writings. "Wisdom demands a new orientation of science and technology toward the organic, the gentle, the nonviolent, the elegant, and the beautiful" (Schumacher, 1973, p.31). This romanticized view is also coupled in Schumacher's Small is Beautiful with patriarchal religion: "When the Lord created the world and people to live in it-- an enterprise which according to modern science took a long time -- I would imagine that He reasoned Himself as follows . . ." (Schumacher, 1973, p.211).

The pervasiveness of "the Lord" in Schumacher's book is somewhat disheartening to say the least. Given the Judeo-Christian philosophy regarding women and nature, it is difficult to imagine how the Lord-God

would be transformed into some egalitarian spirit. Belief in the transcendent god perpetuates the destruction of the earth and the domination of women.

The view of women and nature in romantic thought which is nature as nurturing mother (as has been shown in the discussion of the 19th century) is also no different than domination of nature and women in patriarchal religious thought. Both nature and women are viewed as less than, weaker than men and thus need to be protected. This kind of thinking leads again to domination -- the weaker sex should therefore be paid less, protected from the evils of the market by being sequestered in their husband's home, etc.

This view has steered women from occupations which require high scientific and technological knowledge. "The emptying of the public realm of the humanistic values represented by personal morality (women's sphere) also makes careers in politics, business and technology uncongenial to the kind of personalities developed by women" (Ruether, 1975, p.200).

In areas where women have been allowed to enter, technological innovations have been used to keep women in low paying, low status jobs.

In the move to high technology, the very jobs into which women are being encouraged, high level craft jobs, are those which have been slated for automation. We either have the techniques now to fully automate those jobs or to automate them very soon. (There is) a progression of workers through jobs toward automation, from fairly sophisticated craft work, into more routine, mundane, repetitive work; minority men will move in after white men, then women move in, and then machines (Hacker, Note 2, p.26).

The appropriate technological movement, which seeks "smaller scale less energy-exploitive forms of technology" that is more labor intensive (Smith, 1979, p.3) than the present system, must realize that women are socialized away from skills they may need to work with in appropriate technology. Appropriate technologists must get away from the myth that "as much as women want to be good scientists and engineers, they want first and foremost to be womanly companions to men and to be mothers" (Bettleheim, 1966, cited in Smith, 1979).

A holistic ecological movement must be aware of women's needs and previous exclusion, as well as socialization. The struggle against exploitation and oppression must be conscious of who is exploited and who is oppressed. The success of an ecological movement hinges upon its ability to realize that central to the domination of nature is the domination of women. The path the dominant culture is now taking can only result in the destruction of the earth.

Feminism

There are a number of corollaries between the rise of other social movements and feminism in the late 60's and early 70's. All of the movements of that period held at least one common thread -- to end domination. "new theories and new movements do not develop in a vacuum, they arise to spearhead the necessary social solutions to new problems resulting from contradictions in the environment" (Firestone, 1970, p.192). Ideological splits occur when tactics and critical analysis of the system which caused oppression are undertaken. Yet in the analysis here, it seems that there is none so oppressive and pervasive an ideology than patriarchy, as "patriarchy is . . . the prevailing religion of the entire planet" (Daly, 1980, p.38).

As Adrienne Rich has defined it:

Patriarchy is the power of the fathers: a familial-social ideological political system in which men -- by force, direct pressure, or through ritual, traditions, law and language, customs, etiquette, education, and the division of labor, determine what part women shall or shall not play, and in which the female is everywhere subsumed under the male . . . (Women) live under the power of the fathers, and . . . have access only to so much of privilege or influence as the patriarchy is willing to accede . . . and only for so long as (women) . . . will pay the price for male approval (1976, p.40-41).

Mary Daly, a feminist theorist has argued that patriarchy has corresponded to the eternal masculine stereotypes which implies hyper-rationality, (in reality, frequently reducible to pseudo-rationality,) "objectivity", aggressivity, the possession of domination and manipulative attitudes toward persons and the environment (1973, p.15).

Feminism has attempted to understand and articulate the forces of patriarchy. Recall Rich's definition of feminism previously cited:

Feminism means finally that we (women) renounce our obedience to the fathers and recognize that the world they have described is not the whole world. Masculine ideologies are the creation of masculine subjectivity; they are neither objective, nor value free, nor inclusively "human". Feminism implies that we recognize fully the inadequacy for us, the distortion of male created ideologies, and that we proceed to think and act out of that recognition (Rich, 1979, p.207).

This definition implies radical feminism. It is a viewpoint not

shared by all who would call themselves feminist. As this inquiry has pointed out in Chapter 2, feminism defined and accepted by the largest numbers of individuals in the United States is a form of sexual rationalism which has been labelled moderate feminism. Its rallying issues are "equal pay for equal work", and the Equal Rights Amendment". "Moderate" feminism as defined by the media and advocated by groups such as the National Organization for Women and the National Women's Political Caucus seeks inclusion into the system on an equal basis. This viewpoint somewhat negates the radical feminist view that the dominant culture is male defined and excludes women's perspectives, needs and women themselves. Inclusion, some argue, would be followed by change. However, it seems that inclusion has led to usurpation; the system is much stronger than the individuals particularly once the system is entered.

The course of action once chooses to take regarding moderate feminism or radical feminism hinges upon the understanding of the pervasiveness and changeability (Eisenstein, 1981) of patriarchal thought. This triggers further critical analysis; a degree of separatism and "radicalism". Glennon (1979) calls this concept the degree to which one (group) feels "marginal". It is the belief here that tied with this concept of "marginality" is the degree to which a woman allows herself to see the ambiguities, inequities and oppressiveness of the dominant world view in relation to herself and other women. Once she has identified this oppression as a "class" oppression her degree of perceptibility and thus radicalism, may rise. Moderate feminism, in its attempt to be accepted by the system, offers challenges which the system has thus far been able to absorb. Clearly, "feminism" at its most pure form, challenges patriarchal thought and is in that sense, radical.

Feminism has been defined thus far in this study from a radical perspective. Rich's definition of feminism, by articulating the pervasiveness of patriarchy and the view of the world as inherently "male" (and therefore must be changed to include women's perspectives) constitutes a radical perspective. Women's survival has depended upon women's ability to seek separation with other women and in this way gain support.

Radical feminists assume that there aren't any time, space or ideological boundaries on the oppression of women and that by ending woman oppression necessitates ending all other forms of domination and exploitation (Oliver, 1980, p.71).

The historical-critical analysis done here lends itself to radical feminism as this analysis is in line with radical feminist goals: "To understand women's oppression as a global force and its relation to other oppressions. (This includes how and why it evolved; why it persists; what interests it serves, and how it relates to other social, political and economic structures)" (Oliver, 1980, p.71).

Radical feminism warrants analysis of the system in every aspect. To do less, would be to be less than "radical". However, ideological splits regarding definitions of strategy and perhaps definitions of feminism abound within the present day women's movement. It would be unfair not to mention that these differences exist. One definition of radical feminism which diverges to an extent from the definition previously states:

Radical feminism is not: ending racism, capitalism, imperialism, militarism or nuclear power, instituting goddess religions, matriarchy, or a female nation, making energy circles, or friends, having places to go, becoming a stronger person . . .

It is to end male supremacy: the domination by less than half of the world population of the rest (Williams, 1980, p.8).

By defining what radical feminism is not in the above, the dialectical relationship between nature, women and society are denied. "To end male supremacy" is the overall objective, however, relationships and manifestations of male supremacy must be understood and changed. The pervasiveness of patriarchy keeps women splintered as it creates many ambiguities for women and the feminist movement itself. For example, while situations may be oppressive to women, they are nevertheless at the mercy of those systems (ie., marriage, jobs, social welfare, etc.). Women must realize the dialectism inherent in the relationship of women to society, culture, nature and men. It is sometimes difficult to see decrements within benefits. The fear of the unknown which patriarchy constantly reminds women of; couple with the lack of skills and opportunity to learn skills and be economically independent, all aid in the ability of the male supremacist system to create divisiveness among women's groups. The obtrusiveness of the patriarchy presents itself as insurmountable and therefore the feminist movement must splinter and critique and attack and challenge from a multiple of feminist visions: all having the overthrow of the patriarchy as the ultimate goal.

It is for this reason that this inquiry challenges the design of the built environment. Given dialectical vision, this will naturally have repercussions for the total system; that is inevitable. Therefore, it appears that a "dialectical," "radical," feminist vision is needed. A dialectical-radical feminist theory should include dialectism as it should provide a framework for realizing the inherent contradictions and ambiguities women are faced with daily as well as realizing where and what the relationships, artifacts, cultural records are which proclaim

evidence of patriarchy. It must be radical in that this planning theory must advocate revolutionary changes. As it has been pointed out, the pervasiveness of the present system can be changed by nothing less. Finally, it is "feminist" because it must challenge male rule. It is essential that feminist theory (dialectical-radical) include nature and comprehend the relationship between women and nature. As with ecology, to do otherwise would be dealing with only a portion of the total problem.

Therefore, the ultimate goal of this study is to offer some theoretical framework for a feminist planning theory. From the feminist historical-critical analysis of the built environment and the dominant culture, the following has been discerned:

- 1) Women and nature have been inextricably bound together throughout historical time.
- 2) The physical segregation of separate spheres by sex has created a public world (men's sphere) and a private world (women's sphere).
- 3) The common world or cultural heritage can withstand historical time so long as it is part of the public world; therefore the dominant culture is created by and for men and informs the culture through its artifacts: buildings, bridges, land use, housing, etc.
- 4) The ideologies of nature as nurturing mother, bastardized by the male world from female religions, presents a romanticized view of nature and women which encourages domination by men.
- 5) These ideologies are evident in the design of the built environment.
- 6) Nature as a destructive force has been used as an excuse to seek domination of nature by men. The designed environment reflects this.
- 7) Both of the metaphors regarding nature and women have been used to uphold patriarchal order.

- 8) The assignment of traits which did not further the market or men's domination of the public world to women has created a dominant cultural view than is uni-dimensional; replacing "human" with "masculine."
- 9) The socialization of feminine traits and masculine traits to females and males respectively perpetuates the rule of men and excludes women from the public world.
- 10) The built environment reinforces and reflects male traits while excluding women and "feminine" traits (ie., fear of rape, violence against women).
- 11) Technology, as an element of the public realm, like the built environment, has been used by men to uphold their own power. Therefore, technology and the built environment exclude women's needs.
- 12) Patriarchy is the domination of women and nature in all forms to maintain the power of men.
- 13) In order to end the oppression of women, the oppression of nature, patriarchy must be overthrown.

The conclusions drawn here will offer an antithesis of the present world view in the following chapter. The concluding chapter will provide discussion for synthesis of these opposing views in an effort to offer a dialectical, radical feminist planning theory.

Chapter 5

Antithesis: Separatism

Theory Building

A feminist planning theory must reject traditional rational planning theory as traditional theory restricts knowledge of the public world, to the white male dominated system. The bounds of rationality (Simon & March, 1958, pp.137-142) set by traditional planning theorists restrict input to only those who are dominant and have power. "Rationality" then, must be redefined to include a more holistic view of what is rational. As it is now defined, that which is rational is limited to the public world: men's rationality. That which has been labelled irrational (women and nature) must be valued in order to change the boundaries that now constrict and restrict our movement, our growth, our egalitarian vision.

Traditional theory, particularly the view of rational planning restricts our thinking to include only the public sphere. The system self-perpetuates by excluding what has been labelled "irrational." Traditional theory puts forth that which is rational is to be valued. Therefore, nature and women, outside the bounds of rationality, are not valued.

In classical theory (Simon & March, 1958) rational man is seeking to optimize choices in "a clearly defined and highly specified environment" (Simon & March, 1958, pp.137-142). This is the first problem for feminist theory building. This "highly specified environment" is the public world, and all of the socio-cultural trappings that accompany it. This "environment" also presents problems for other theorists. Simon and March (1958) point out that:

the organizational and social environment in which

the decision maker finds himself (sic) will also determine

what consequences he will anticipate; what ones he will not;
 what alternatives he will consider; and what will be ignored.

In a theory of organization, these variables cannot be treated as unexplained, independent factors, but must be determined and predicted by the theory (Simon & March, 1958, pp.137-142).

These theorists, Simon and March, point out that rationality is thus "bound." The analysis here has been suggesting in what ways rationality is bound. From this analysis, it is clear that "rationality" is extremely narrow and has been defined by the dominant/public world which excludes women, nature and "other" identified minorities.

It would seem improbable that Simon and March realized the extent to which rationality has been bonded. But their thinking does present a good starting point for feminist theory building. As suggested, a feminist theory of planning must consider that which is outside of "rational" thought. Clearly the implications of such thinking are quite comprehensive. Law, economics, politics, culture cannot go untouched by such theory. Planning and architecture present only a small portion of the large scale changes warranted by a feminist planning theory.

The set of criteria we use now to form rational choices is bounded by white male power and authority. It falls into patriarchal thinking which restrains and restricts the set of criteria available for decision making. To reiterate these in very general terms:

1. Nature to be controlled/dominated.
2. Women to be controlled/dominated.
3. Dichotomize world into two spheres: public/male//private/female
4. Here and now orientation/present bounded; (nature is infinite)
 death orientation.

A new set of criteria, based on a feminist (synthesis) mode of thinking would consist of:

1. Nature to be respected
2. Women to be respected
3. A change in world view from separate spheres
4. Respect for future following from respect for nature; life orientation.

How could this be accomplished? The antithesis of a male dominated system would be a women dominated one, which includes all that has presently been de-valued by the dominant world view. It would seem that a separatism of some kind would be necessary in the quest for future vision. As sexual romanticists and women who argued for separate spheres did more than 100 years ago, separation may be a strategy for survival. Separatism may represent the energizing force which will encourage a stronger, more solidified women's movement while also bracing us from ecological disaster.

Separation/Separatism

Any woman who has moved from the playing fields of male discourse into the realm where women are developing our own descriptions of the world knows the extraordinary sense of shedding as it were the encumbrance of someone else's baggage, of ceasing to translate (Rich, 1978, p.208).

4.

something about the structure of silences in a room and chemical reactions. something between us and what goes wrong at what link in what chain. how to reverse the function so that the

elements act but differently on each other.

construct a system of gears. invent a language
to express these contradictions

i peer into the dark humming brain, groping among
a damp compost of cells. i imagine calibrations.
solutions. plunging my arms in up to the elbows,
making adjustments

yet it seems to me possible that at night even in the
driest desert the sand and rock exude a light film
of moisture which might be mistaken for condensation
the body a listening ear, pressed into the ground
what is needed here. the courage of a species
to evolve (Clausen, 1975, pp.74-75).

Thus far an understanding of the past and present as reflections
of patriarchal thought has been articulated. The world, as it has been
defined, is marked by a sense of dualism and of dichotomy. These have been
manifested in the public world's view of the built environment. "Public"
places as well as "private" spaces have been thought to be mutually ex-
clusive and are designed as such.

As well, public and private places have been identified as male (pub-
lic) and female (private). In the process, those traits which have been
labelled "masculine" have been associated with the public world and those
traits labelled "feminine" have been associated with the private world.
This is evidenced in the built environment. One theorist suggested it
results in a continuum which may look something like this:

FEMALE PRINCIPLE	(in architecture)	MALE PRINCIPLE
more user oriented	than	designer oriented
more ergonomic	than	large scale, monumental

more functional	than	formal
more flexible	than	fixed
more organically ordered	than	abstractly systemized
more holistic	than	specialized
more complex	than	one dimensional
more socially oriented	than	profit oriented
more slowly growing	than	quickly constructed

(Kennedy, 1981, pp.11-12)

The separation of traits follows from the sense of dualism reinforced by patriarchal institutions (e.g., religion, politics, economics). Patriarchy sets up the systematic view of male dominance and male power. Coupled with religious beliefs (historical tradition) it also sets nature apart from human beings. Thus by planning and designing with "nature" as the enemy of the public world, the dominant culture attempts to mine, destroy or in some way "control" nature.

While the two spheres have been created and identified through characteristics or traits, the feminine (nature, private world) has been devalued and in many cases, denied in the world view. By labelling socialized characteristics and setting up false dichotomies as either masculine or feminine and associating nature with that which is feminine, the dominant world can exclude respect for nature and women as well as oppress both. This world view sets people apart from characteristics which may be more human qualities than opposite ends of a continuum. In the process, by stressing only one side of the dichotomy, that which disrespects nature and women, the dominant world is on a path to total destruction of nature (in the spirit of the Second Coming). Planning and architecture help to orchestrate this occurrence.

Dualistic thinking and vertical (hierarchical) ranking has led to the concept of "the other." The dominant group (ie, white males) becomes the "self" and anyone or thing different from is seen as "the other," and as less than the "self." (deBeauvoir, 1953).

In this value hierarchy, the first half of the dualism understands itself as intrinsically better than the second. Women have been seen as defective males throughout history, e.g., in Christian thought and psychological theory. Treatises are still written to defend the proposition that Blacks are biologically inferior to whites....Human neo-cortical development and the culture it enables, is understood as a clear sign of human superiority to animals. Since the first group is seen as intrinsically better, it is entitled to a larger share of whatever is divided. The higher socioeconomic classes are entitled to a greater share of wealth and the myth persists that the poor are poor because they are either lazy or stupid. (Griscom, 1981, p.5).

The biological facts (men and women are anatomically different, blacks have dark skin) have been distorted by patriarchal trappings to the point where we are presently incapable of articulating a future vision which is egalitarian. For that matter, women cannot define themselves outside of the dominance of men and this patriarchal dualism.

Women's experiences have been denied access to the public world, along with non-white races, children, handicapped people, and to a lesser extent older people. They have been included only to the extent that they conform or serve the dominance of white men.

Women, and other "minority" groups have thus been colonized.

The oppressed are robbed of their culture, history, pride, and roots, all most concretely expressed in the conquest of their land

itself. They are forced (by a system of punishment and reward) to adopt the oppressors standards, values and identification. In due course they become alienated from their own values -- their own land -- which is of course being mined by the oppressor for its natural resources. They are euphemistically permitted to work on the land, but since they do not benefit from or have power over what it produces, they come to feel oppressed by it (Morgan, 1978, p.161).

If you consider "land" women's bodies in the above quote it is clear that women have been colonized by men. It is plain too, that colonization of Third World people has occurred and continues with some regularity.

Through "colonization" of women, the "oppressed" oppress themselves. Women feel oppressed by their biology (which is set up by the dominant world). Through socialization, women become what men want them to be.

The power of men seeks to deny women's sexuality or force it upon them: to command or exploit their labor to control their produce (colonized) to control or rob them of their children; to confine them physically and prevent their movement; to use them as objects in male transactions; to cramp their creativeness or to withhold from them large areas of society's knowledge and cultural attainments (Rich, 1980, p.639).

Women do not have a self-definition as a class of people; nor as individuals. Therefore, the antithesis of the present world view which denies women self-definition free from male dominance is separatism. Essential to articulating a future vision that is egalitarian, is the discovery of what it is that has been de-valued, or left out.

Quite astutely, in 1919, Virginia Woolf discussed the need for separatism.

Though we see the same world, we [women and men] see it through dif-

ferent eyes. Any help we [women] can give you [men] must be different from that you can give yourselves and perhaps the value of that help may lie in the fact of that difference. Therefore, before we can agree to sign your manifesto or join your society, it might be well to discover where the difference lies, because then we may discover where the help lies also (Woolf, 1919, p.34).

In a feminist vision, separatism is seen as a powerful force.

Women identification is a source of energy, a potential springboard of female power....The denial of reality and visibility to women's passion for women, women's choice of women as allies, life companions and community; the forcing of such relationships into dissimulation and their disintegration under intense pressure have meant an incalculable loss to the power of all women to change the social relations of the sexes, to liberate ourselves and each other (Rich, 1980, p.657).

Separatism has been used by oppressed groups as a weapon which is gravitated to out of necessity. (Valeska, 1975). It is crucial to separatist strategies to realize the distinction between separation and segregation. Separatism can be just another word for segregation.

The chief difference between the two is how they are used, by whom and for what purposes. Segregation is used by the economically dominant group as a means of social control, that is, to maintain and perpetuate a given economic, political and social stratification system. Whereas, separatism is used by the economically disadvantaged in order to radically alter existing political, social and economic arrangements (Valeska, 1975, p.23).

Separation used by oppressed groups can also be looked at as places

for class identification and healing (Frye, 1977). For many women who identify themselves as feminists, "separations are brought about and maintained for the sake of something else like independence, growth, intervention, sisterhood, safety, health" (Frye, 1977, p.3). Separation is the instinctive and "self-preserving recoil from the systematic misogyny that surrounds us [women]" (Frye, 1977, pp.2-3). Separatism is good for forging an identity and gathering strength.

Therefore, not only is separatism a strategy for reaching (ultimately) synthesis, it is also a method of coping for oppressed people (much like the present state of the black movement and the woman's sphere ideology of the 19th century). As a strategy, separatist ideology allows for the creation of places where women can feel safe, can begin to identify and define that which is female; (different from men and defined by women themselves.)

Consciousness by women to identify themselves as a class of people is essential for making distinctions between separatism and segregation.

Feminist separatism is, of course, separation of various sorts or modes from men and from institutions, relationships, roles and activities which are male defined, male dominated and operating for the benefit of males and the maintenance of male privilege--this separation being initiated or maintained at will by women (Frye, 1977, p.2).

It must be acknowledged that separatism, has its problems for women and men in that it is extremely threatening. Moderate feminists fear separation because it implies that there is something inherently female. For too long, women's biology or "inherent" female differences have been used to oppress women. This argument and fear seems to arise from the fact that men have set up what is to be "good" and "valued" and they

have used women's biology to oppress them (colonization) (Morgan, 1978). Moderate feminists also seek not to restructure the world but demand equal rights and representation; thus they are often denying that women might be different from men because they want to be equal in the world as it has been defined by men.

There is also fear of separatism by men as it denies them access to women's lives (as Camus said, "The slave begins to exist when he [she] says 'no'") as well as it is women taking control over their own bodies (land that is to be mined for men's needs). "Conscious and deliberate exclusion of men by women from anything is blatant insubordination, and generates in women fear of punishment and reprisal" (Frye, 1977, p.7).

Separatism also implies lesbian sexuality. Women loving women threatens the institution of heterosexuality (Rich, 1980) as well as women and men's fears of something unknown to them and negatively sanctioned by cultural norms and values.

Separatism as a strategy must have as its ultimate goal: women defining themselves. This cannot be accomplished unless women separate physically, mentally and socially from men. Total separation seems impossible and may be unnecessary. If enough women are consciously separating from men throughout different aspects of their lives, women's self-definition and collective strength may force revolution. "A holistic future vision necessitates a feminism that holds out for a separate cultural and political activity so that we can imagine, theorize or envision from the vantage point of critical otherness" (King, 1981, p.14). Separatist efforts are numerous at the present time in feminist history, but some which relate to the built environment are included below.

Women Owned Land/Women's Communities

Separatism may take many forms. Presently the most potentially radical and separatist of these are women-owned land communities which are predominantly in the Pacific Northwest. Women owned land projects are separatist communities in that only females live and work on the land. Some of the women living in these communities must work in neighboring towns in order to economically survive. Many of the women who work outside of the community work for political reform in the neighboring towns and cities. Often, they work in other forms of separatism: battered women's shelters, rape crisis centers and feminist political organizations. Land owned by these communities can be as small as 10 acres and as large as 200 (Wisconsin Women's Land). Women's land projects began in the early 70's and have grown throughout the country.

Communities average about 10 women to a project (some, like OWL - Oregon Women's Land) are larger. The women organize themselves collectively, sharing work and expenses. Some communities (WHO - Women Having Opportunity) share a large farm house, others (Rainbow's End in Roseburg, Oregon) have a collective dining area and meeting area but the women live singly or with one or two others in small cabins and other structures on the land. Small agricultural projects provide a food subsistence for the dwellers and may provide a small cash income. Women who work in town contribute a portion of their salary to the collective.

Women owned land projects are open to visits by other women around the country, often providing retreat. A small fee charged by the women living on the land may help with a land payment or provide food. Work exchanges are negotiated with visitors to women-owned land projects

in exchange for lodging and food.

Women's communities such as these provide places of nurturance and support for the women who live there. Some land projects are extremely politically oriented, working for social change in the neighboring areas or linking up with national women's groups. Other women's land projects are providing safe places for women to live and work. Structural designs are being worked on and included in the women land projects. Experiments in architecture have been a part of life in these women's communities. (Oregon, Note 3).

Collective Living

Other forms of separatism in living styles include collective or communal living in more urban areas. These places may or may not be owned by the women living within. Women and children share a house, share meals, household upkeep, expenses and transportation. These collectives usually average around six to eight persons who come together with the expressed purpose of collective living. This may involve the setting of rules for house meetings, ways of problem solving and methods of operation.

Collectives have often been formed around a specific purpose. Single mothers may form a collective in order to cut down on expenses and share parenting. Feminist research collectives have formed to share expenses and give support. These collectives may have one or two members either not drawing a salary or drawing a very small stipend which only supports their research. Other collectives form in order to provide nurturance to women working in the reform movements or working for social change in battered women's shelters, women's media projects and other feminist organization. Commitment to feminism usually brings the

these women together to share not only financial burdens but the emotional burden of working for social change as well. Personal and social supports are as much a part of all of these collectives as is monetary supports.

Lower class women and black women have often bonded together with the absence of men. Extended families share living space and provide economic, emotional and physical support. A "grandmother" may share a house with her daughter and her children. These can be forms of female bonding -- places where women gather strength from each other.

Collective Organization

Women-owned and operated businesses which are run collectively or work on a form of horizontal leadership are other forms of separatism. Emphasis is placed on the process by which a task is accomplished as well as the product itself. The emphasis away from the product focuses more on job satisfaction by workers, a sharing of skills and decision making. In this way women are making conscious alternatives to the "product-oriented" society men have made.

Women's art collectives, music collectives, media, bookstores, feminist organizations, theatre groups, battered women's shelters and rape crisis centers are some of the many forms of feminist separatism operating today.

Enabling Separatism - Feminist Planning

this is a landscape that ends
 how does it happen
 and when is it ever
 finished. finished finished finished the circle of
 faces ruptured the dream the city folding in on

itself the country the house of cards flames
 what there was between us
 i have searched everywhere, and the words
 inscribed between the thighs, the words engraved
 in the boles of trees, the words that fall down
 with the rain are these:

the price of life is computed in flesh, not images
 pick up your bed and walk (Clausen, 1975, p.76).

A feminist planning theory must suggest ways of enabling separatist projects to exist. Most often, this can come in the form of zoning regulations which redefine family from the traditional nuclear to other regulations which do not restrict multiple uses and allow for mixing of land uses in order to permit day care and other services in the same area. Withholding restrictions on the number of dwelling units particularly on women's land (especially when these are usually more in tune with the environment than one traditional dwelling unit) would also be allowed under a feminist planning theory.

Feminist planning should be flexible to incorporate those uses which have been excluded from the purview of the public world as women discover them. Since children have been the primary responsibility of women, and more and more women are rejecting staying at home (or economics is forcing them out) to care for children in isolation, child care has been one of the first needs women saw lacking in the built environment. Growing consciousness of privatization has created the need for decentralization of services in suburban and smaller communities. The oppressiveness of "bedroom" communities is being realized by women (more women alcoholics, more women addicted to psychotropic drugs). As well,

changes are being called for in relation to house design.

The home, long considered women's special domain, reinforces sex-role stereotypes and subtly perpetuates traditional views of family.

From the master bedroom to the head of the table, the "man of the house or breadwinner" is afforded places of authority, privacy (his own study) and leisure (hobby shop, a special lounge chair). A homemaker has no inviolable space of her own. She is attached to spaces of service. She is a hostess in the living room, a cook in the kitchen, a mother in the children's room, a lover in the bedroom, a chauffeur in the garage. The house is a spatial and temporal metaphor for conventional role playing. (Weismann, 1981, p.6).

As women begin to define themselves, needs will arise which are not compatible with current solutions. The unfolding of layers of oppression will take much time and cannot, due to women's colonization, be articulated and realized quickly.

Imperative in articulating future vision, is the need to realize interconnectedness; to realize the hypocrisy in dualism and to set about rewriting culture and biology; mind and body; nature and human. A dialectical method must be used to transcend historic debate by offering a nondualistic view of history. A dialectical feminism is needed to transform the split between nature and culture. It is essential for an ecological/egalitarian future.

The pervasiveness of the system of patriarchy and its ability to withstand many outward changes (Eisenstein, 1981) make the task of self definition for women extremely difficult (and possibly just short of impossible). It will also make it difficult to articulate planning and architectural objectives and goals that are egalitarian.

Separatism, gravitated to out of necessity and strategy for change is essential for achieving a balance in the world. Given women's ties with nature, this women's vision will also attempt to turn around man's degradation of the earth.

Chapter 6

Toward Synthesis

how long the city has held me in its arms/walls,
the prison of its threats and promises. we move
through space time we become different people
with different flesh and history is important. a
single continent stretches between a car in motion
and a familiar coast. you brutal mother will you
give me birth. what birth will you give me....
out west, alder is the hardy weed that moves in
after fire or clearcutting. here, where the highway-
makers engraved their will on the soil, the ailanthus
spring up along the embankment. in a land of
strange trees i know them, how they camouflage
brooklyn, transforming empty lots into a semblance
of bombed jungle seen from the plane's eye view of
the train
this road, then. summer and smog laid heavy on
these fields. the astonishing greenness of the
deciduous east. out here what was before the
scars shows through. a river flowing beside a
piece of rusted metal. the small apples, hard as
a woman's erect nipple, hugging the dappled trees (Clausen, 1975,pp.
75-76).

"To be female and conscious is to be in a continual state of rage"
(Morgan, 1978, p.312).

Ultimately feminist theory has as its goal, synthesis. But it is difficult to postulate given that as products of our cultural socialization, we are all somewhat bound by "rational" thought. We must strive to step beyond these bounds.

In order to reach a synthesis there must be reconciliation and conscious mediation,...recognition of the underside of history and all the invisible, voiceless activities of women over millenia. [There must be] ...connectedness and wholeness of theory and practice, [a] return of the repressed -- all that has been denigrated and denied to build this hierarchical civilization with its multiple systems of dominance (King, 1981, p.15).

To reach synthesis, a feminist planning theory must create reform which are not tied to reformist ideology but reform tied to radical ideology. There must be the realization that "reform is not a solution but a strategy to a long term goal" (Bunch, 1974, p.194).

Women must

go beyond what we sense (I am assuming that we are already beyond what we know) and test our perceptions of reality....We must go beyond, in effect at the same time that we embrace the past and act openly in the present (Morgan, 1978, p.291).

A feminist planning theory must therefore practice a kind of radical reform, reforms which further revolutionary goals -- a task which stretches our perceptions of the world.

Again and again mass thinking stops (or is carefully halted) at the patriarchal either/or border and thus never attempts the third possibility, which is no destination in itself but a direction leading toward still further approaches. The third, synthesis,

that earned state of transition from thesis through anti-thesis: the Dialectic (Morgan, 1978, p.291).

Reforms advocated by a feminist planning theory must be identified and evaluated in light of the long term goals which call for a "total restructuring of the ideology and institutions of society" (Bunch, 1974, p.193). This would lead to a "new social order based on equitable distribution of resources and access to them in the future, upon equal justice and rights for all; upon maximizing freedom for each person to determine her own life" (Bunch, 1974, pp. 193-194).

A feminist planning theory must continuously criticize and evaluate "solutions" to problems as they become outdated by a growing consciousness which stems from both women's separation and women's increased access into the public world. What is needed is a redefinition of the public world leading to a "blurring" of the borders between public and private. Reforms might be evaluated by the following criteria: (For women's lives)

- 1) Does this reform materially improve the lives of women, and if so, which women and how many?
- 2) Does it build and individual woman's self-respect, strength, and confidence?
- 3) Does it give women a sense of power, strength and imagination as a group and help build structures for further change?
- 4) Does it educate women politically, enhancing their ability to criticize and challenge the system in the future?
- 5) Does it weaken patriarchal control of society's institutions and help women gain power over them? (Bunch, 1974, p.196).

Reforms evaluated for nature might be: 1) Does it respect the natural systems of the earth - both life and death forces? 2) Does it recognize and respect the cycles of nature/seasons? 3) It is mindful of the depletion of natural resources and does it allow for the earth's own rejuvenation?

4) Is it mindful of scale as well as future?

Reforms should be able to answer to both sets of questions (and probably others). Beyond this, reformers themselves must be held accountable to all women and nature. A process of criticism/self-criticism is essential to furthering radical change. Reforms and reformers within patriarchal institutions must seek criticism from women outside of that institution, "which helps you to stay in touch with why you are working in the institution" (Bunch, 1974, p.200). A place for separation must be maintained, "safe" places where women can get nurturance and support to continue to work for change within institutions. Finally, Sally Gearhart offers that a "clear personal sense of how necessary it is to risk and what the strategies and motives are and must be behind each risk" (cited in Bunch, 1974, p.200). In other words, understanding how reform fits into an overall socio-political cultural setting: grounding the problem in the world instead of isolating it to specific individuals or situations.

The following is a table identifying problems created by a patriarchal world view. Symptoms manifested in the built environment are identified along with these as well as reforms and revolutionary goals. All as they can now be identified. Presently, the most specific identifications remain in reforms as these directly address specific problems women have identified in the built environment. As a feminist planning theory which is dialectic moves through the process of criticism/self-criticism, the revolutionary goals and the ways to get there will come sharper into focus.

One feminist theorist identifies this as a kind of feminist synergy.

We are something more, some third perception, an entirety and inte-

grety which is greater than the sum of any parts they can understand, greater than we ourselves have yet recognized (Morgan, 1978, p.292).

Morgan calls this "metaphysical feminism." It is "the insistence on connections, the demand for synthesis, the refusal to be narrowed into desiring less than everything" (Morgan, 1978, p.300).

It is the connections, the ability to move in directions, to alter our perceptions and our reforms as women and men create new consciousness. The long term solution (overall revolutionary goal) is not a fixed state, it is a process of growing and living and changing in harmony with nature and with each other. It is a process different from traditional planning "process" in that we have expanded our view of rational thought.

This table identifies the problems as they now can be seen as well as solutions currently being offered. It is in no way all inclusive and will most likely change rapidly. A true feminist planning theory that is dialectic will grow beyond these reforms in time, toward some new reforms informed by greater consciousness. New symptoms will also emerge. The process is endless.

Insert Table 1 here

Table 1

Characteristics of Women/Nature Oppression, Problems
 Manifested, Present-day Reforms, Revolutionary Goals

Characteristics of women/nature oppression	Problems manifested
Patriarchal religions; View of man as transcendant (Ruether, 1976).	Pollution of earth.
Women and nature tied together and to be controlled, dominated (Griffin, 1980; Merchant, 1980; Ruether, 1976).	Oppression of women.
	Violence against women, nature.
	Women have no input in public world (Rich, 1978).
	Women's history denied (Cott, 1976).
	Denial of our ties to the earth.
	Women's biology used as weapon to oppress women.
	Male dominated medical profession insensitive to women's needs.
	Women's lack of earning power.
	Women seen as property of men.

Table 1 (Continued)

Characteristics of women/nature oppression	Problems manifested
Dualistic thinking: Public/Private split (Morgan, 1980; Rich, 1978).	<p>Exploitation of natural resources.</p> <p>Sterilization abuse.</p> <p>Ecological movement blaming women for overpopulation.</p> <p>Privatization leading to laws which don't allow intervention into crimes in the home, or crimes against women's body.</p>
Characteristics of public/private split.	<p>Women in the home and isolated in suburbs.</p> <p>Women's lack of access in public world.</p> <p>No daycare centers.</p> <p>Women's work devalued.</p> <p>Women primarily responsible for children.</p> <p>Oppression of "other" - nonwhite peoples.</p> <p>Moral justification for oppression.</p>

Table 1 (Continued)

Characteristics of women/nature oppression	Problems manifested
Hierarchical world view.	White men dominate, exploit. Racism, classism, ageism, sexism. Hunger. Competition. Non-egalitarian world view.
Present day reforms	Revolutionary goals
Legal reform (ERA).	Women and nature valued, given respect.
Shelters for battered women.	Harmony between people and nature.
Rape crisis centers	Equal emphasis on life and death.
Affirmative action.	Women's biology valued; not used as a tool to oppress.
Women's studies.	Dialectical thinking.
Preservation of environmentally sensitive lands.	Process orientation to work, life.
Environmental movement.	Valuing of differences, respect for differences.
Appropriate technology movement.	
Anti-nuclear movement.	
Separatist communities.	
Women's movement.	
Abortion.	

Table 1 (Continued)

Present day reforms	Revolutionary goals
Birth control through scientific methods.	End to hierarchical ranking.
Education different from mainstream.	Equality for all people.
More women in the work force.	Future oriented.
Equal pay for comparable worth.	Technology of scale.
Cooperative living.	End to the dualism which
Collectives.	oppresses women, nature.
Flex time.	
Changing attitudes.	
Design changes.	
Welfare reform.	
Public housing.	

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A FEMINIST CRITIQUE OF PLANNING APPROACHES LEADING
TOWARD A MODEL OF FEMINIST PLANNING THEORY

by

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AN ABSTRACT OF A MASTER'S THESIS

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This research is a literary synthesis leading toward a model of feminist planning. An historical-critical analysis of trends in the planning of the built environment and ascribed sex roles is undertaken to discover their influence upon one another. Through this analysis, it is clear that planning and design of the built environment reflect cultural attitudes and values which are often oppressive to women.

Traditional beliefs about nature follow closely with beliefs about women. Metaphors of the earth as a nurturing mother and nature as a source of destruction and death (*femme fatale*) were early (15th and 16th century) manifestations of man's (*sic*) beliefs about the natural world. Throughout history the earth has been identified as female. With the rise of industrialization and the belief that the earth could be harnessed and tamed, the metaphor of the earth as a *femme fatale* comes to dominate traditional thought.

Through an historical-critical analysis of the roles of women, men and the family coupled with the history and trends in planning and design, it is clear that ascribed sex roles and the built environment had great influence upon each other. This dialectical relationship has helped to create a world which has encouraged the separation of sex segregated spheres. The public world has been identified with men and masculine traits; the private world with women and feminine traits. Nature and "natural" things were/are identified with the feminine along with emotion and irrationality.

The public world, under the direction of men, has been responsible for the shape of cultural (traditional) thought. Planning and design decisions carried out by the public world, predominately reflect the thoughts and ideas of men.

The exclusion of women from the public world, and a consequent devaluing of that which is "feminine" have succeeded in creating a masculinist world view. Men and masculine ideology have defined the world and everything in it, including, to a great extent, women's lives and place in society. Men have attempted to harness and define nature in a similar way.

Women's exclusion and lack of self-definition warrant separation from men and the public world. Separatism as the antithesis of the present world view may facilitate environments and ideas which are respectful of women and the earth.

A synthesis of ideas, borne of separatism, is difficult to offer at present. Radical cultural reforms which will lead us to a world view free from oppression will constantly change as nature and women begin to escape oppression.