RICE UNIVERSITY

SOCIAL (R)EVOLUTION AND ARCHITECTURE

by

BAHMAN BEHRAVESH

A THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF

MASTER OF ARCHITECTURE

Thesis Director's signature:

Houston, Texas

May, 1970
ABSTRACT

The societal values developed by Man have been based on scarcity as an inevitable reality. The unequal distribution of scarcity made possible the rise of privileged classes; or the domination of few over many. Architecture not only served the privileged class exclusively but was instrumental in perpetuating their domination.

The Industrial Revolution promised an end to the prevalent scarcity. Consequently the architect in evolving new methods and aesthetics prompted by new production capabilities would serve all the members of society. But as industrialization became a tool for profit-making, the new revolutionary movement through becoming accepted by the elite lost its revolutionary potency and was reduced into another 'style'.

Production became accepted as the 'national purpose'. But as the basic needs of the majority were satisfied — to keep production and profit at the accelerated pace — 'false' needs had to be devised.

Induced scarcity in the guise of progress has become a new form of domination. However there are indications of new social and political behavior which are manifested in the 'refusal'. A refusal of accepting the old values based on scarcity and kept alive through induced scarcity.

The forces that can be instrumental in effectuating change lie within the ethnic minorities, and the new class of people who are evolving an awareness of new priorities affecting the quality of life and freedom.

In answering the new social needs the architect could find his new responsibilities, and discover the 'ultimate client'.
TABLE OF CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION ......................................................... 1

Chapter

I. PATTERNS OF SOCIAL BEHAVIOR .................. 5

1. The Reality Principle ................................. 6

2. The Prevailing Historical Form of the Reality Principle ......................... 8

3. Architecture as an Instrument of Domination .............................. 11

II. THE ADVANCED INDUSTRIAL SOCIETY ........ 15

1. The Industrial Revolution .......................... 16

2. Production Serving the Needs of Man .............. 19

3. The Modern Movement as a Revolutionary Force ............................ 24

4. Modern 'Style' .............................................. 30

III. THE REPRESSIVE TENDENCIES WITHIN THE SYSTEM .............. 32

1. New Forms of Domination .......................... 33

2. External Reality and False Needs ................... 36

3. The Communication Media and Production .................... 39

4. Prospects for Change Within the System ........ 43
INTRODUCTION:

Architecture and the architectural profession's ideals seem to be in a state of limbo; the self assurance of the late fifties and early sixties has vanished, and given way to a mood of uncertainty. The profession is beginning to recognize that architects are involved with only about ten percent of the total construction in the United States, and some members of the profession have begun to wonder if the problem does not lie with the profession itself. 1

In efforts for evolving a relevant position for the architect in society, the academic community has created new subsidiary professions — related to architecture — which at times lack even a partially developed discipline.

The A.I.A. is busy selling itself to the populace through television and billboards with pronouncements on billboards, freeways, pollution, the environment etc. which are sometimes representative of the thinking of another decade; the message seems to be clearly 'me too'. The profession has remained static without attempting to serve inherently dynamic social needs.

As society goes through its evolutionary process the relationship of the
parts to the whole of society change as do the demands placed on its members. The architectural profession is slow in making efforts toward change in response to changing needs, but the demand for change is evident if the architect is to find a relevant role to fulfill in the society of tomorrow.

Since architecture at its best is the reflection of the needs developed by the social structure of a given society; I shall attempt to seek out indicators of change in the social system and possibly isolate the parallel changes in architecture, its uses, the role of the architect, and the recipient of the architect's services. The major emphasis will be on the period beginning with the industrial revolution since it brought about unprecedented changes in the social structure, through broadening the base of wealth.

The new affluence is making the 'struggle for existence' unnecessary for the first time in the history of civilized man. This could make possible a new individual freedom. Attainment of this new freedom will require qualitative changes in the entire social system which in part is based on vestigial values from pre-industrial times. Parallel with the need for social change the need for evolution in architecture and the role of the architect serving the needs of society becomes apparent.
There are signs of an emerging momentum toward changes in social and political behavior of all segments of society including architecture. This momentum manifests itself in "the great refusal"; the refusal to accept the values of a system based on scarcity, domination, and repression. The identification of the forms of refusal could be the means of clarifying the new goal of society, and the architecture which reflects the new freedom.

Der Führer Graut Dich!
PATTERNS OF SOCIAL BEHAVIOR
1. THE REALITY PRINCIPLE:

According to Freüd, the history of man is the history of his repression, this 'repression' being the conscious and the unconscious, external and internal processes of restraint, constraint, and suppression. As a modifier of human behaviour 'repression' appears as a prerequisite for Man's progress. Thus "civilization begins when the primary objective - namely, integral satisfaction of needs - is effectively renounced."

Man becomes productive only after going through some basic changes in his nature. Freud sees this as the transformation of the "pleasure principle" into the "reality principle":

from:
immediate satisfaction
pleasure
joy (play)
receptiveness
absence of repression

to:
delayed satisfaction
restraint of pleasure
toil (work)
productiveness
security

In accepting the "reality principle" man begins to reason, test, and develop an acceptance of the externally imposed reality or rationality; the only part of him which remains free of this "reality principle" and operates under the "pleasure principle" is the thought activity engaged in "fantasy".
The replacement of the "pleasure principle" is not a unique event, but repeats itself with every generation, enforced by parents and educators from early childhood. The need for the re-establishment of the 'reality principle' with every generation is an indication that the change is never final and secure, or "civilization does not once and for all terminate a 'state of nature'; what civilization masters and represses — the claim of the pleasure principle — continues to exist in civilization itself".

2. Ibid., p. 12.
3. Ibid., p. 15.
2. THE PREVAILING HISTORICAL FORM OF THE REALITY PRINCIPLE:

The manifestation of the 'reality principle' throughout civilized history has been the fact of scarcity.

"The struggle for existence in a world which has been poor requires constant restraint and repression; or whatever possible satisfaction of needs requires work (toil)." 1

The prevalent scarcity has been organized in different ways as not to be distributed according to the individual's needs. The majority of the population is induced to work harder and for longer periods in order to satisfy his basic needs. Unequal distribution of scarcity and as a consequence work, becomes a tool of domination; domination perpetuated by special groups or individuals to attain privileged position, or to satisfy personal want, rather than the needs of the whole of society. 2

The imposition of the mode of work on the individual has employed various methods; at first the use of pure violence and subsequently rational utilization of power. No matter how useful this method has been in inducing progress, it still preserves the rationality of domination. This is far removed from rational exercise of authority, which is inherent in a system of division in labor committed to the advancement of the whole.
"Such domination does not exclude technical, material, and intellectual progress, but only as an unavoidable by-product while preserving irrational scarcity, want, and constraint."  

The primary purpose is the enhancement of the powers enjoyed by the privileged individual or group; or domination of few over many.

2. Ibid., p. 36
3. Ibid., p. 37.
3. ARCHITECTURE AS AN INSTRUMENT OF DOMINATION.

When an architectural vocabulary is developed and employed to instill fear and obedience in the populace; it becomes a powerful tool of domination by the ruling class of a society, and the social myth structure supported by the ruling class.¹

Even Christianity which began as a refusal of old values, and promise of an new way of life, lost its revolutionary potency with Constantine's decision to make Christianity the state religion of the Roman empire.² A monumental architectural setting had to be created to represent the official faith.

"The pagan basilica was indeed a uniquely suitable model for Constantinian churches, since it combined the spacious interior demanded by Christian ritual with imperial associations that proclaimed the privileged status of Christianity as the new state religion."³

The exterior architecture reflected the unassuming simplicity warranted by Christian teaching for a brief period, but soon gave way to forms representative of an increasingly repressive Christian church, a church perpetuating endless renunciation, self denial and obedience on the part of the populace in fear of hell and arousing the wrath of God (the church).⁴ Consequently, the architecture was magnificently
representative of the power of the church, and the insignificance of the populace.

Beginning with the eleventh century there are signs of recognizable social change growing out of the existing social structure.

"The new dynamism, of which the crusades were only one expression, had already before the crusades, generated a new intellectual movement. Indeed it may be said that in one sense the crusades themselves were an attempt by the church to divert and exploit the movement; but they ended by increasing its force, even against the church. Unexpectedly, unintentionally, they brought parochial, self-centered Latin christiandom into contact with new worlds, and that contact produced a ferment in Europe. That ferment has been called 'The renaissance of the twelfth century'."

But the new spirit, prompted a movement of reaction from the old structure; by the thirteenth century there was reformation and counter reformation:

"Everywhere the new institutions, after a brilliant start sink back, instead of replacing the old organs of society, they succumb to them."

The arts and architecture of the middle ages reflected the dominant social structure of that time, and naturally remained as a tool in
preservation of that structure:

"Artistic genius, like all genius is unpredictable; but how much society invests in art depends less on the vitality of that society than on its form. The 'bastard feudalism' of the late middle ages produced works of elaborate beauty; so did the princely courts, and especially the papal court, or seventeenth-century Italy. But who would draw the consequence that these were the social forms of human progress?"

A sustained movement toward progress does not occur until the second renaissance. This movement is not necessarily the result of the "revival of letters" or humanism, but the consequence of sea voyages trade, vitalized economy, and most important of all contact of ideas.


1. THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION

"The industrial revolution, the abrupt increase in production brought about during the eighteenth century by the introduction of the factory system and the machine, changed the whole appearance of the world, far more so than the social revolution in France....for the industrial revolution was not a political upheaval, necessarily limited in its consequences. Rather, it took possession of the whole man and of his whole world." ¹

Toward the middle of the eighteenth century there was a sudden and widespread urge toward invention; which involved people from all strata of English society. ² Although England is considered the birthplace of the industrial revolution; the urge toward invention was also prevalent in other nations of Europe. ³

By the early nineteen-hundreds inventions carried on by men of all nations and all walks of life, manifested themselves in industrialization of almost all of man's material pursuits. ⁴ The source of this desire was not just material ambitions, but a deeper need for a creative outlet, which for a long time had been denied. The profit-making and exploitation came at a later date. ⁵

It would be impossible to perceive the nature and the power of this movement from the architecture of public buildings of the early nineteenth century. Industrialization affected only the routine construction of humble structures and the form of everyday objects; which led to the
evolution of new potentialities affecting the existence of all men. 6

The "architecture" of public buildings and residences of the privileged class, remained as revivals of the classic and the Gothic styles.

2. Ibid.
3. Ibid., p. 166.
4. Ibid., p. 164.
5. Ibid., p. 163.
6. Ibid., p. 165.
2. PRODUCTION SERVING THE NEEDS OF MAN

Revolution in methods of production — resulting in unprecedented expansion of material production — promised an end to scarcity as an inevitable reality, operating as a constraint on social existence and behavior. Speedy production of materials would make sublimation of the needs of every member of the industrial society a possibility rather than a dream. However industrialization became a tool for profit-making and exploitation resulting in perpetuation of domination through new means and chaotic growth of cities at uncontrolled speed.

"This disorganization spread from the industrial towns to the old capital cities. A new and deadly influence was at work; the pursuit of wealth through the new increase in the power of production became an end in itself." ¹

The entrepreneurs could not make rapid industrialization a reality if the labor force was to remain antagonistic toward regimentation and rigidity of industrial organization. ²

How was this "silent resignation" achieved? By the beginning of the 18th century means of mass education were being provided. The major channels of mass education were Charity and Sunday Schools; enabling the upper classes to impose social attitudes which perpetuated their
The role of Charity Schools, according to Isaac Watts (writing in the seventeen twentieths) was "to impress upon their tender minds.... the duties.... of humility and submission to superiors." 4

"To those whom he hath cloath'd with power, I should be subject every hour to parents, and to rulers, too pay honor and obedience due." 5

Philip Doddridge 1744

Most important of all was the willingness and capacity of the labor force to work long and hard hours. The response of the Charity and Sunday School with variations on "idle hands are sinful hands" was more than adequate in helping achieve those ends:

"How doth the busy little bee improve each shining hour and gather honey all day from every opening flower.

In works of labour or of skill I would be busy too; for Satan finds some mischief still for idle hands to do." 6

Isaac Watts, 1790's

Reading exercises were constant reminders of consequences awaiting willful idleness. The following is a sample from the Charity School Spelling Book:

self-interest on the labor force. 3
"John Knight was in the army. He carried a knapsack, and he was no better than knave, for he did not enlist from a wish to serve king and country, but because he did not like work. After doing many bad things he went off, for which he was whipped; after a while he went off again, and then he was shot." 7

There may have been other aims with which the Charity and Sunday Schools were concerned with, but the priority was the imposition of the required social values. We are dealing with an industrial revolution which is a fact of history: a suitable labor force patently was created to man such industrial growth as in fact occurred. 8

"The development of modern industry is essentially material. Never¬theless, in following its material urge, industry unconsciously creates new powers of expression and new possibilities of experience. These possibilities at first remain bound up in quite mater-of-fact enterprises that do not in any way enter into the intimate and personal lives of men. But, slowly and gradually, the new potentialities become a part of private and individual life." 9


3. Ibid.


THE CALL TO SERVICE

Courtesy of Selfridge and Co.
3. THE MODERN MOVEMENT AS A REVOLUTIONARY FORCE

"A new architecture which will take us out of the sterility of the past and the servility of copying is what everybody demands, and what the public waits for." 1
Cesar Daly, 1849

"The new architecture is architecture in iron. Architectural revolutions always follow social revolutions. In the interim periods few changes are to be seen, no matter how long this period may be. Men insist upon remolding the old forms until a radical upset wipes the slate clean of banal schools and ideas.
"There are great periods in architecture just as there are great geological periods: a new race of plants or animals only appear after the disappearance of the old. In architecture it is the same: the race of old authorities had to be superseded - just as the mastodons were superseded - in order to make room for new kinds of artists who will not preserve the traditional prejudices of the old schools.
"But, you may say, where shall we find masters clever enough? We should not tell you to seek these people among old masons whose hands have been so long occupied with stone and mortar that it is safe to presume that their brains also move in an equally restricted orbit. To create what is new, you must have young people." 2
Jobard, 1849

"Mankind will produce a completely new architecture out of its period exactly at the moment when the new methods created by recently born industry are made use of." 3
Theopile Gautier, 1850

"One perceives the eclectic atmosphere enveloping the world; all organs of respiration absorb it and, mixed with our blood, it acts on heart and brain." 4
Cesar Daly, 1867

"While art cultivates l'intimisme or attaches itself to the old formulas with its gaze still fixed on the past, industry moves forward and
explores the unknown. It is not in the studios of the painters and sculptors that the revolution so long awaited is preparing — it is in the factories!"  
Octave Mirbeau, 1889

"A great epoch has begun. There exists a new spirit. There exists a mass of work conceived in the new spirit; it is to be met with particularly in industrial production. Architecture is stifled by custom. The "styles" are a lie. Style is a unity of principle animating all the work of an epoch, the result of a state of mind which has its own special character. Our own epoch is determining, day by day, its own style. Our eyes, unhappily, are unable yet to discern it."  
Le Corbusier, 1923

With the advance of industrialization the "revival" architecture of the nineteenth century began to reveal its decadence. By the middle of the century it was regarded by the new socialist thinkers as a sham, and a lie.  

The architects began to sense that they had excluded themselves from the mainstream of progress, by adhering to traditions which had ceased to be relevant; A tradition revived in search of timeless form and beauty as a reactionary movement to the overwhelming growth and change resulting from industrialization.  

Changes which marked an end to the schism between science and art, thinking and feeling, the engineer and the architect, would, it was hoped evolve a new architecture and a new aesthetic.
"Is it the fate of architecture to give way to the art of engineering? Will the architect be eclipsed by the engineer?"  
C'esar Daly 1867

"The accord will never become real, complete and fruitful until the day that the engineer, the artist, and the scientist are fused together in the same person. We have for a long time lived under the foolish persuasion that art is a kind of activity distinct from all other forms of human intelligence, having its sole source and origin in the personality of the artist himself and his capricious fancy."  
Davioud 1877

"The latest works of the engineers embody possibilities of aesthetic experience not as yet exploited, which have still to find their place in architectonic expression."  
Van de Velde, 1901

"The century of the machine awakened the architect. New tasks and new possibilities produced him. He is at work now everywhere."  
Le Corbusier 1924

Industrialization, new technology, and engineering, freed architecture from its conventional role in society, the evolving modern movement, using new technological innovations, developed a new architectonic vernacular, and morality. The new morality in architecture, was not just the belief in integrity of materials and their honest usage, but the realization of the new duties of the architect and the existence of new priorities.

Since industrialization had affected the life of every man and was reshaping the social structure of the industrial society; along with new
problems appeared new methods of absolving the inequities which had existed since civilization began. The use of industrial production afforded architecture a new set of priorities - those of the whole society - and a new freedom through technology.

Architecture could cease to be a tool of the elite, serving only the elite. Architecture in its new revolutionary thrust could evolve a social architecture serving the needs of the whole of society; it would become an instrument of freedom, instead of domination.


3. The romantic poet Théophile Gautier, in *LaPresse*, cited by Giedion, p. 213.


4. MODERN 'STYLE'

The modern movement was never able to reach the newly defined goals, although the technology and the resources were available. After the Second World War, the modern vernacular of architecture became accepted by those same institutions it was trying to revolutionize, but the traditional institutions adopted only the vernacular of the 'modern' and not its new goals and priorities.

The 'modern' became just another 'style' to be packaged and sold as though it was another commodity to choose from. Ideologically reduced in this way, modernism became another tool in service of the "system" — perpetuating artificially induced scarcity — instead of being a force which would help effectuate changes benefiting the whole of society.

Architecture was to remain an instrument of domination by the elite, instead of becoming a tool of freedom.
III THE REPRESSIVE TENDENCIES WITHIN THE SYSTEM
"Only the productive can be strong, only the strong can be free."
"Production made America....."
"Let us stop bickering and produce." 1

1. NEW FORMS OF DOMINATION

"A comfortable, smooth, reasonable, democratic unfreedom prevails in advanced industrial civilization, a token of technical progress. Indeed, what could be more rational than the suppression of individuality in the mechanization of socially necessary but painful performances; the concentration of individual enterprises in more effective, more productive corporations." 2

The advanced industrial state has developed a technological rationality which operates as a new repressive force affecting the whole society. Since the high rate of productivity is making the freedom from want a real possibility, independence of thought, autonomy, and the right to political opposition are losing their basic function in society.

The rights and liberties which were such vital goals in the earlier stages of industrialization—designed to replace an obsolescent culture—in becoming institutionalized lose their rationale and content. 3

A society with economic—technical coordination which has material production and satisfaction of material needs as its goal, tends to produce a system of one-dimensional character.
"Such a society may justly demand acceptance of its principles and institutions, and reduce the opposition to the discussion and promotion of alternative policies within the 'status quo'. In this respect, it seems to make little difference whether the increasing satisfaction of needs is accomplished by an authoritarian or a non-authoritarian system. Under the conditions of a rising standard of living, non-conformity with the system itself appears to be socially useless, and the more so when it entails tangible economic and political disadvantages and threatens the smooth operation of the whole. Indeed, at least in so far as the necessities of life are involved, there seems to be no reason why the production of goods and services should proceed through competitive concurrence of individual liberties."  

In the way the technological base of the industrial society is organized—an economic—technical coordination which operates through the manipulation of needs by vested interests—it tends to be totalitarian.  

3. Ibid.  
4. Ibid., p. 2.  
5. Ibid., p. 3.
Democracy, guided by knowledge and ideals, fights and buys her way into power.
"In an economy, such as the United States of America, where leisure is barely moral, the problem of creating sufficient wants...to absorb productive capacity may become chronic in the not too distant future. W. Beckerman 1

2. EXTERNAL REALITY AND FALSE NEEDS

The character of human needs beyond the biological needs, has always been preconditioned by social institutions and interests, whether something is seen as a 'need' to accept or reject, enjoy or destroy, is dependent on its acceptability by the society. There is an "external reality" — rationale, cognition, and system of values — imposed on the individual member of the society. The needs of society and the satisfaction of those needs soon become the individual's needs, although they may be false needs. 2

"'False' are those which are superimposed upon the individual by particular social interests in his repression: the needs which perpetuate toil, aggressiveness, misery, and injustice. Their satisfaction might be most gratifying to the individual, but this happiness is not a condition which has to be maintained and protected if it serves to arrest the development of the ability (his own and others) to recognize the disease of the whole and grasp the chances of curing the disease. The result is euphoria in unhappiness. Most of the prevailing needs to relax; to have fun, to behave and consume in accordance with the
advertisements, to love and hate what others love and hate, belongs to this category of false needs."

If the worker and boss enjoy the same television program and visit the same resort places, if the typist is as attractively made up as the daughter of her employer, if the negro owns a cadillac, if they all read the same newspaper, then this assimilation indicates not the disappearance of classes, but the extent to which the needs and satisfactions that serve the preservation of the establishment are shared by the underlying population.

The translation of externally developed needs to individual needs is so complete that the difference becomes solely theoretical. "However, there is a flaw in the case. If the individual's wants are to be urgent they must be original with himself. They cannot be urgent if they must be contrived for him. And above all they must not be contrived by the process of production by which they are satisfied. For this means that the whole case for the urgency of production, based on the urgency of wants, falls to the ground. One cannot defend production as satisfying wants if that production creates the wants."

"Among the many models of the good society no one has urged the squirrel wheel."

The manipulation of need by efficient industrial production in perpetuat-
ing production results in domination of the individual in society.

"Domination — in guise of affluence and liberty — extends to all spheres of private and public existence, integrates all authentic opposition, absorbs all alternatives, technological rationality reveals its political character as it becomes the great vehicle of better domination, creating a truly totalitarian universe in which society and nature, mind and body are kept in a state of permanent mobilization for the defense of this universe." 7


2. Marcuse, One Dimensional Man, p. 4.

3. Ibid., p. 5. 4. Ibid. 5. Galbraith, p. 124.

"Production, not only passively through emulation, but actively through advertising and related activities, creates the wants it seeks to satisfy."  

3. THE COMMUNICATION MEDIA AND PRODUCTION

The communication media's role in the process of want-creation and social indoctrination, is extremely important and highly successful in the affluent society.

"Some of the failure of the economists to identify advertising with want creation may be attributed to the undue attention that its use in competitive strategy has attracted. It should be noted, however, that competitive manipulation of consumer desire is only possible, at least on any appreciable scale, when such need is not strongly felt."  

A hungry man need not be told about his need for food; he is already aware of the need because of his appetite. The media are effective mostly when his physical wants are satisfied, and he is most susceptible to suggestion when he does not know what else he wants.

"Is a new breakfast cereal or detergent so much wanted if so much must be spent to compel in the consumer the sense of want?"  

The creation of what J. K. Galbraith calls 'the dependence effect' has far reaching implications.

"Having been persuaded of the need for automobiles as part of our way
of life and that need being further affirmed by a pattern of living that makes us dependent on them, we will remain persuaded of the need for automobiles. That means that we will need the gasoline that powers them, the service stations that service them, the mechanics and the parts that keep them in operation, and even the new vehicles which replace the inevitable casualties of age and accident." 4

The media has power largely because of the preconditioned state in which the members of our society exist.

"Propositions assume the form of suggestive commands - they are evocative rather than demonstrative. Prediction becomes prescription; the whole communication has a hypnotic character." 5

As a result of constant repetition, the message gains a false familiarity, and begins to relate to the listener in a personal way. Similarly,

"Familiarity is established through personalized language, which plays a considerable role in advanced communication. It is 'your' congressman, 'your' highway, 'your' favorite drugstore, 'your' newspaper, it is brought 'to you', it invites 'you', etc." 6

It is of small importance whether the listener actually believes it, or not; as long as he identifies with the function he is to perform in order to be socially desirable.

The way in which the language is used not only makes the sale of a
product possible, but also promotes social and political indoctrination.

"Captions such as 'labor is seeking missile harmony' and advertisements such as 'luxury fallout shelter' may still evoke the naive reaction that 'labor', 'missile', and 'harmony' are irreconcilable contradictions, and that no logic and no language should be capable of correctly joining luxury and fall-out. However, the logic and the language become perfectly rational when we learn that a nuclear powered, ballistic-missile-firing submarine carries a price tag of $120,000,000.00 and that 'carpeting, scrabble, and t.v.' are provided in the $1,000.00 model of the shelter. The validation is not primarily in the fact that this language sells, but rather that it promotes the immediate identification of the particular with the general interest, business with national power, prosperity with annihilation potential." 7

2. Ibid., p. 126.  
3. Ibid., p. 127.  
4. Ibid., p. 137.  
5. Marcuse, One Dimensional Man, p. 91.  
6. Ibid., p. 92.  
7. Ibid., p. 90.
"Of course it's not for your 300 alone, silly. I'd love you no matter what 1970 Chrysler you drive."
"Hey man, they're not going to grow anything here. This is sand."

Bucky, Easy Rider 1

4. PROSPECTS FOR CHANGE WITHIN THE SYSTEM.

Is it possible to initiate qualitative change from within the system? The influence and political power of the vested interest in the social system has been largely dependent on the volume of production. It seems doubtful that the business man, who at first glance is the prime beneficiary, would be willing to surrender his position of influence in society. The businessman already feels sufficiently threatened to employ public relations firms to develop a desirable image for him, and bolster the conventional belief on the part of the community that as promoter of production, he is vital to economic and national security.

Since production has been the national purpose reaffirmed by the Great Depression, it is identified also as the political purpose. Both the liberal and the conservative politician have relied on production as a means of gaining political power. The liberal in his belief that increased production will make 'full employment' possible and the conservative in his identification with the business community have championed the cause of production. It is unlikely that either will be willing to change their conventional thinking. 2

Most important of all, since the system has been based on domination
and repression-through induced scarcity—it could not possibly accept qualitative change without facing total breakdown in its structural make-up. So far the system has also been highly successful in resisting and destroying any external threat, through absorption of the segments of society which threaten it, so that in enjoying its material benefits they become part of the system and share its goals.


IV THE REFUSAL
"Light years ago, millions of kids made the trip with flowers in their hair. But the gentle generation isn't gentle anymore."

Abbie Hoffman

1. THE NEW SOCIAL AND POLITICAL BEHAVIOR

There are trends of behavior today, that manifest themselves in 'the refusal', a refusal of a social system based on production and repressive control through production. The development of the leisure class and the demand for shorter working hours is usually considered to be only the desire for more leisure time by the members of the affluent society. However, the demands can be considered as a rejection of externally created material wants. As the individual gains the economic means to satisfy his needs, he begins to develop a certain life style, which he feels satisfied with. He may not desire extra material possessions for which he does not feel a need.

This form of refusal is not a conscious rejection of the system, but since it involves a large segment of the population it could have far reaching implications. The conscious refusal is evident in the young, the student, the intellectual, the new professional, and the repressed ethnic minority. The conscious refusal is both politically and socially oriented, as it is a rejection of the total system. It is not directed toward reform from within the system, but the liberation from the system, generated by revolutionary action from without. It is not a class-based revolt, but a refusal by diverse groups to become part of the system in
following its rules of behavior.

Admittedly the total refusal is exercised by a limited minority, but the same sentiments are shared by larger groups who are vocal against repressive controls that immediately affect them. Repressive forces affecting the individual within universities, professions, and the ethnic groups confronted with exploitation by the social system.


2. Galbraith, p. 259.
2. SEARCH FOR RELEVANCE IN ARCHITECTURE

Until the middle sixties, the architecture student was content with solving design problems that were primarily solutions serving the elite client. He would diligently work toward solutions, influenced by current corporate architecture — as executed by his favorite corporate architect — looking forward to the chance of doing projects of the same nature when he joined the profession. Today, most of the students not only reject such projects, but question the relevancy of the elitist oriented aesthetic: the aesthetic based on upper middle class values and ideals.

Upon graduation, a large number of the new architects, instead of following the prescribed path, three years of experience with an established firm and registration, are refusing the established system.

There is an effort by the students to find social relevance in study programs to which they are subjected or developing relevant programs themselves. The rejection of the established forms of education is not confined to schools in one region, but is evident at almost all the schools of architecture. Instances of boycotts, demands for resignation of faculty members and deans are widely prevalent, so are the refusal to follow established school policies. It can be stated that most students and graduate architects are not willing to go along, play the game,
promote the 'status quo'. They are involved in the refusal.

1. See special issue Architectural Design, entitled "What Did They Do for Their Theses? What Are They Doing Now?" (March 1969).
Therefore, hereby, be it resolved of America that

A New Conscience For Architecture

Chicago

Architects' Committee and the Crisis

"Architects, the press and the convention have turned in this affair as they might have on a good architectural place to be. Chicago is a city of radicals, a city in which young radical architects are turned out to be. They have the conclave of the Architects' Committee and the Crisis."

The Architects' Committee and the Crisis is composed of radical architects, the press and the convention have turned in this affair as they might have on a good architectural place to be. Chicago is a city of radicals, a city in which young radical architects are turned out to be.
The current preoccupation with drugs, astrology, and mysticism — activities which affect sensory experience — can be seen as attempts in discovery of liberating forces. Although these may result in liberation for a very short period of time, since they respond only to the 'pleasure principle' — fantasy, imagination, and sensuous power of imagination — they can be considered as personal means of rejecting the externally developed reality.

In rejecting the 'external reality' the individual refuses the value system that the 'reality' is based on.

A similar kind of liberation occurs in architecture through involvement with Fantasy Architecture. Though it can be argued that most of Fantasy Architecture may be totalitarian in the total concepts it proposes — that is, if it were to be implemented — but nevertheless, in its refusal of the established norms, it offers liberation to the individual involved in the process of Fantasy Architecture. It is a form of refusal.

'Bio-Electrical' architecture, grow your own structures and holograms do not attempt immediate solutions to problems but are personal involvements with activities outside of the controls of the 'external reality'.

3. SENSORY ORIENTATION, THE PLEASURE PRINCIPLE, AND FANTASY ARCHITECTURE
"All my life I had been looking for something, and everywhere I turned someone tried to tell me what it was. I accepted their answers too, though they were often in contradiction and even self-contradictory. I was naive. I was looking for myself and asking everyone except myself questions which I, and only I, could answer." Ralph Ellison

4. TURNING INWARD, DOING YOUR THING

The change in attitudes and values of the current generation has been seen by some of the older generation as moral decay, prompted by a permissive society, a breakdown of all moral codes and ethical standards which are required to sustain a 'good' society.

However upon deeper scrutiny, it becomes evident that the changes are a rejection of values that are false, or at best hypocritical. They are an inward search for simple, non-aggressive values that do not reinforce the status quo.

The development of new personally evolved values makes possible new ways of being, seeing, feeling and behavior that are outside the norms developed by society.

"See that girl, barefoot (doeeyoumoo) whistlin and a-singin she's a carryin on laughin in her eyes, dancin in her feet she a (neonwhirrwhirrmoo) and she can live on the street."

Grateful Dead
This is a search for personal freedom, a rejection of the modes of behavior followed by a seemingly content, but enslaved majority.

"See my daddy in bed a-dyin,
see his hair turnin gray,
he's been workin and slavin his life away,
he's been workin, workin, work-work."

The Animals

5. THE MIGRANT BUILDER

Migrant builders are nothing novel, they have been prevalent for thousands of years in villages and rural towns as traveling carpenters and handymen. But when an academically trained architect assumes the role of the migrant builder, he is involved in 'the refusal'.

The migrant builder architect, in acting as builder contractor, carpenter and architect is rejecting the code of ethics developed by the architectural establishment. He may be involved with helping people in slum neighborhoods hammering, and laying bricks, and pouring concrete, or on a job in a farming community or resort area, living on the building site until his work is completed. Then moving to the next job that comes along.

In a personal way he rejects the norm and is sometimes able to serve the segment of society that normally would not receive any service from the 'professional' architect. Normally he does not have three years of 'experience' gained as an apprentice, and naturally has no desire to become 'registered' as a certified 'professional', a status which would set him apart from people.
V FORCES OF CHANGE
The ethnic minority groups having been the prime recipients of the injustices within the social system possess the clearest issues which can be the basis of demands for change. The minorities due to stratification from the rest of the community, in their places of habitation, e.g., the urban core, have the opportunity for evolving a unified voice expressive of their grievances. This unity gives them an inherently powerful voice, as has been evident in the area of civil rights and blocking of proposed construction projects which threaten their communities. However, this trend can be reversed or at least delayed through their recruitment into the system, by giving them a share of the spoils. This becomes quite evident when we consider the voting patterns of members of minority groups who have achieved middle class status. In becoming part of the middle class they also adopt the values and prejudices of the middle class which reflect the protective stance toward their investment in the system.

A possible parallel is the revolutionary zeal shown by the black student in the student chapters of A.I.A. during the past few years. But the election of a black student as the president of the student organization could mark the end of their revolutionary potency, since in becoming part of the established system they would begin to behave within the rules of the system.
As it seems unlikely that there will be an organized attempt at recruitment of the minority groups into the system, the minorities — assuming they can overcome the divisions within themselves — should be able to retain their voices of rebellion and evolve into a formidable force of change.
mince me...

Catch a nigger by the toe...

If he hollers - better let him go.

He's a Black Panther.
"The emergency of a numerous class of... frivolous intellectuals is one of the least welcome phenomena of the age of modern capitalism. Their obtrusive stir repels discriminating people. They are a nuisance."  

2. THE NEW CLASS, NEW AWARENESS, AND NEW PRIORITIES

The emergence of a new class of people who are in search of values beyond the material advantages afforded by increased production is a significant development in the industrial society. In discovery of values which do not require production of waste material under the guise of progress, they gain the opportunity for evolving a new awareness of their environment and the external forces affecting it.

"The new class seeks energetically to perpetuate itself. Offspring are not expected to plan their lives in order to make a large amount of money. But from their earliest years the children are carefully indoctrinated in the importance of finding an occupation from which they will derive satisfaction - one which will involve not toil but enjoyment."  

As the numbers of the new class increases so does the strength of their voices in questioning the national purpose — production in name of progress — when it threatens the quality of life. Their new values have been instrumental in evolving new priorities responsive to qualitative and not quantitative change.
"From the harmless drive for better zoning regulations and a modicum of protection from noise and dirt to the pressure for closing of whole city areas to automobiles, prohibition of transistor radios in all public places, decommercialization of nature, total urban reconstruction, control of the birth rate — such action would become increasingly subversive of the institutions of capitalism and of their morality. The quality of radical change to the degree to which they would critically weaken the economic, political, and cultural pressure and power groups which have a vested interest in preserving the environment and ecology of profitable merchandising." 3


2. Galbraith, p. 265.

"The encouragement of Kitsch is merely another of the inexpensive ways in which totalitarian regimes seek to ingratiate themselves with their subjects." 1

Clement Greenberg 1939

3. KITSCH AS A LIBERATING FORCE?

Kitsch - a German work applied to 'trash', 'cheap finery', 'gaudy imitations' etc. - has become accepted as a universal term for 'bad taste' in anything which requires man's endeavor. Examples can be found in visual arts, literature, music, politics, or events. Kitsch can be shelf size replicas of Michaelangelo's 'David' produced through means of mass production in seven 'decorator' colors, a common event blown up to mythological stature, or a telephone conversation between the President and astronauts on the moon.

Kitsch is not a new invention; but has existed throughout man's history in various degrees of prevalence, as a manifestation of the lowest common denominator of experience in the arts, literature, or the politics of an age. 2

"Go! Caesar!...your task is over; Benito Mussolini emerges in Caesar, as strong and powerful as in history; his determination has a supernatural divine miraculous quality, something of Christ among men...Caesar outlined, initiated, dreamed; Mussolini perfected, fortified, created, achieved." 3

Rosavita, 1936
Kitsch can be the arts sanctioned by totalitarian rulers ie., Hitler, Mussolini and Stalin — after the earlier period of tolerance toward the expressionists, the futurists, and constructionists, respectively. Through proclamation of the culture of the masses as 'true art' the ruler attempts to give the illusion that the masses actually rule. However Kitsch is also the transformation of myth or history into the commonplace and the immediate through speed, mobility, and mass production.

"...A chance to live through those past moments that made our nation(s) great. See old Chicago burn down — every twenty minutes — even help put out the fire! Visit the Civil War, and escape narrowly as the blue and grey shells just miss your wagon!"

Freedomland U.S.A.? In the transformation of the 'unique', 'one-of' into the everyday experience may lie the liberating force of Kitsch.

"So-called 'mass' culture, both agent and symptom, of this transformation, is yet hardly understood by the intellectual establishments. Past traditional canons of literary and artistic judgement, which still furnish the bulk of our critical apparatus, are approximately no guide to its evaluation: They tend to place high value on permanence, unique-
ness and the enduring universal value of chosen artifacts." 6

The mass replication and circulation make possible the mass-transference of cultural forms — through means which in previous times were mostly unavailable — offering an unprecedented number of available choices. "There is no inherent value contradiction implied in enjoying Bach and the Beatles. The situation is characteristically 'both/and' rather than 'either/or'." 7

"Man has only recently emerged from the 'marginal' survival of a preindustrial society based on the economics of scarcity values; one in which laboriously made products were unique and irreplaceable." 8

In previous periods man was expendable and the material unique. Now through industrialization the material becomes expendable, while man is transformed into the unique and irreplaceable, element.


2. Ibid., p. 116.


6. Ibid., p. 98. 7. Ibid., p. 101. 8. Ibid.
"A consciousness which would guide the 'creative activity imminent in every individual', so that the 'work of art' and 'the artist' become mere moments in this activity."

Student Demands, Ecole des Beaux Art, May, 1968

4. ART AS ACTIVITY

Although art responds to sensory and erotic instincts, — being an activity which rejects reality while reshaping it in response to fantasy and imaginative instincts (pleasure principle) — in its transference into form becomes responsive to reality and established social values.

Even Contemporary art which not only rejects styles, but 'style' itself, the art-form of art, takes form — non-objective, abstract, atonal, stream of consciousness etc. — in its being anti-art, the deformation becomes its form and remains 'art', supplied, purchased and contemplated as art.

However the anti-art does not modify or build on the old perception but attempts to destroy all established forms of perception. Could this be an indication of revolutionary changes in the purpose and position of art? There are new developments which support this argument: process art is here; gift wrapping of buildings, making plow marks in the desert, and total media experience, not only do not modify or improve established styles, but are not items offering possibilities for sale, and do not fulfill the familiar role of art. Here may lie the possibil-
ities of the new art as a force of liberation. Through evolution of its purpose and role in society, art becomes 'the creative activity' instead of being the 'object' of the activity.

"As art and non-art become interchangeable, the master work may only be a reel of punched or magnetized tape, the artist defines art less through any intrinsic value of art object than by furnishing new conceptualities of life style and orientation. Generally, as the new cultural continuum underlines the expendibility of the material artifact, life is defined as art — as the only contrastingly permanent and continuously unique experience." 3

"No architect worth his salt would accept the vox populi as his client."  
Kingman Brewster, Jr.  
President Yale University

5. THE ULTIMATE CLIENT

The efforts of the architect have normally been concentrated toward the satisfaction of the elite or the corporate client. If there ever were concerns for the effects of the decisions made by the architect or the client on the environment, it was due to the insight and the awareness of the particular architect or client. However due to voices which are making themselves heard from within the architectural profession and the society as a whole, the architect is being made aware of the social and political responsibilities which are becoming part of his changing role in society.

"Those who create our environment today must be aware that their choices are not just aesthetic — they are also political. They imply views about the nature of man, the relation of the individual to society, the nature of the 'good society'."  
This awareness which is gaining momentum can become a subversive force that will be instrumental in effectuating change.

The new responsibility does not merely remain as a reflection of dynamic social forces, but becomes a prime agent of change in artic—
ulating new social needs and priorities.

In being responsive to the community and the environment as a whole, the architect discovers the 'Ultimate Client'. This will require a re-examination by the architect of not only the established values and aesthetics, but a total reorganization of architectural education which addresses itself to elitist values and aesthetics.

"The profession must re-examine its role in our society. Professional neutrality is chimera. Only by accepting the 'Vox Populi' as their client can architects shed their traditional role and cease being the unwitting pawns of the elite." 3


CONCLUSIONS:

As the affluence of the advanced industrial society makes the 'struggle for existence' unnecessary, the accepted social values which are based on 'scarcity' seem no longer to apply. But the system of production reflecting these values, in becoming the 'national purpose' has developed a strong hold on society which will inevitably make its rejection or modification a difficult task.

However there are strong indications that the 'artificially' induced perpetuation of the system of production — devoted to material progress without any concern about the restraints it places on the quality of life — is not going to be tolerated by the members of a society that have been able to satisfy their basic needs.

The re-examination of priorities have resulted in bringing into focus new areas of concern which affect the 'quality' of life possible in an affluent society, rather than the 'quantity' of gadgets that can be made available.

New concerns are helping evolve new social needs and values which affect the total environment. An environment that allows a life of new quality.

The new role of the architect could be in providing the translation of
the new social needs into tangible forms which will help rebuild the
environment, layer by layer. An environment dedicated to pacification
of man and nature. This may indeed sound utopian, but it is a
utopia that can be made possible with the resources now available.

The responsibility of the architect will have to be toward the populace
as the 'ultimate client' and in evolution of new aesthetics which reflect
an architecture that satisfies new social needs.

This will most probably mark the end of the need for 'one-of' buildings,
as the architecture will be used and experienced from within, rather
than without as monuments to the elite, its basic value manifested in
the quality of 'life' and 'freedom' it allows.

The architect will have to accept this challenge if he is to find a rel-
evant position in society. As the society will find the means of
providing solutions satisfying the new needs, with or without the help
of the architect.
BIBLIOGRAPHY


Fonda, Peter, and Dennis Hopper. Easy Rider. (Film), 1969.


