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# Sex, Stars, and Studios: A Look at Gendered Educational Practices in Architecture

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**Educational research and theory indicate that male and female university students are treated differently in the classroom and that the nature of the curriculum as well as the teaching act itself often reflect and promote male-centered actions. Architectural educators must examine whether their teaching practices and pedagogy are similarly gendered. If so, although their numbers in architecture schools are increasing, women may well be shortchanged. Further, such practices may prevent the discipline from expanding its influence, potential, and vision. This article identifies situations in which gendered practices occur in architectural education, especially in design studios and juries. It also suggests ways in which we can restructure our educational practices to provide enhanced opportunities for both women and men.**

IN 1992, MEMBERS OF THE U.S. SENATE BEGAN attending a series of seminars focused on gender dynamics. Noted scholars such as Carol Gilligan, Deborah Tannen, and Sam Keen gave presentations on such issues as the different ethical approaches adopted by boys and girls, communication and miscommunication across the sexes, and the effect of the cult of masculinity on men in American society.<sup>1</sup> Inspired by the 1991 Clarence Thomas–Anita Hill testimonies and the subsequent flurry of media attention on sexual harassment, Senators Al Gore and Barbara A. Mikulski initiated this series, believing that it was time that members of the Senate become aware of gendered practices that permeate talk, knowledge, and action in the public arena and in everyday life.

Unfortunately, architectural educators have paid minimal attention to such gender dynamics in the studio, classroom, or curriculum. Educational research in other disciplines reveals that male and female college students are treated differently and that the nature of the curriculum as well as the teaching act itself often reflect and promote male-centered actions.<sup>2</sup> Architecture faculty must recognize that our teaching practices and pedagogy are similarly gendered. Our intention in this article is to make architectural educators aware of such gendered educational

practices and their consequences, for students and for the discipline itself.

Empirical studies of architectural education are few and far between, and at present, studies of gender issues in architectural education are all the more rare. As a result, our premise and arguments here are primarily grounded upon empirical educational research in other disciplines, and on a few key studies in architectural education; comments of female architectural educators that were elicited in a nationwide survey; student journals and surveys of studio practices from our two departments of architecture; and our own interpretive criticism and speculations, which are informed by feminist research and theoretical thought. Still, we are only touching the tip of the iceberg.

Our aims in this article are to enlighten architectural educators on the many issues of gendered teaching practices that have been gaining prominence in educational research and in the media, to provide some arguments for and evidence of its prevalence and consequences in architectural education, to encourage instructors to investigate these issues in their own teaching, to substantiate the need for further research on these issues in architectural education, and to provide words and labels for many feelings that students and faculty experience but have not been able to verbalize or share with others. Many students, after reading drafts of this paper, were grateful for the articulation of concerns and feelings they had experienced—and the sense that they were not alone. We hope the ideas here spark educators and students to take more seriously the consequences of their daily, often unintentional, actions.

## Genderization in Architectural Education

What does it mean to have “gendered” educational practices? Genderization is attaching

our cultural constructs of masculinity to our concept of what constitutes a well-educated person or suitable educational methods. Conversely, the characteristics that are deemed feminine are excluded from the concepts of educated people and methods. In a review of the gendering of the educated person, Janice Roland Martin traces the traits that American society deems to be the mark of an educated individual. They are those that Rousseau, Kant, and Schopenhauer assigned to men by nature (although white and middle/upper class by implication) and that Mills contended were denied to women by culture: rationality, capacity for abstract thought, self-government, and independence.<sup>3</sup> These qualities hold firm in today’s university setting. Ways of knowing that involve personal experience, consciousness-raising, subjectivity, or relational connections—processes culturally identified as feminine—are generally considered unacceptable practices in the upper echelons of higher education.

It is important to recognize that our social constructions of masculine and feminine are fluid: from one culture to another; within any culture over time; over the course of one’s life; and among different groups of men and women, depending on class, race, ethnicity, and sexual orientation. We must constantly be aware of how society treats gender and how we may inadvertently reinforce it.

Genderization also deals with issues of power: who wields power, how power is attained, in what forms, and who decides what actions, attitudes, and products are labeled male or female and subsequently dominant/normative or subordinate/deviant. Gender is *not* sex—that is, biological differences—and should not be construed as the property of individuals. Rather, gender reflects how social expectations and beliefs treat the biological characteristics of sex to form a system of domination and subordination, privilege and restraint. Domination does not necessarily

have to be as overt as physical oppression; it can be as pervasively subtle as silencing an individual's voice in text, display, or class discussion.

Individuals are not seen simply by the nature of their sex. They may be seen as individuals who are also cast as social actors of class, race, ethnicity, age, sexual orientation, and region, as well as gender. Contemporary feminist thought demands that we consider how class, race, ethnicity, age, sexual orientation, and other traits intersect with gender. Our cultural constructs of masculinity are different for a Euro-American male than for an African American male, for example. These intersections are complicated and intricate; yet at times in this article we may appear to overlook them. It is simply for lack of space, not for lack of awareness or concern, that we engage in these simplifications here.

Although women are participating in the field of architecture in increasing numbers, they are making less progress in terms of leadership, empowerment, and retention, or in terms of affecting the built environment and the practice of architecture. Compared to their representation in other fields, women's presence in the architectural profession has lagged (Figures 1–3).<sup>4</sup> Why? Some claim it is because of women's psychological, cognitive, and analytic incapacities. However, several research reviews find no differences between men and women in spatial visualization, only moderate advantages for men in spatial perception of horizontality/verticality and mental rotation, and small sex differences in mathematical performance.<sup>5</sup> We believe that the socioeducational context of the university—in which the skills, knowledge, and attitudes toward the practice develop—plays a strong role in restricting the potential of many women in this field. It also privileges the actions of many men.

As reports by the Association of American Colleges demonstrate, the university climate is a “chilly” one for women.<sup>6</sup>

**Percentage of Bachelors, Master's, Doctorate and Professional Degrees Awarded to Women in Selected Fields, 1987**  
(U.S. Department of Commerce, 1990)

	<b>Bachelors Degrees</b>	<b>Masters Degrees</b>	<b>Doctorate Degrees</b>
All Disciplines	51.5%	51.2%	35.2%
Agriculture and Natural Resources	31.2	30.1	17.0
<b>Architecture &amp; Environmental Design</b>	<b>37.3</b>	<b>34.0</b>	<b>28.3</b>
Business & Management	46.5	33.0	23.6
Computer & Information Science	34.6	29.4	13.9
Dentistry (DDS or DMD)			24.0
Engineering	13.7	12.6	6.9
Law (LLB or JD)			40.2
Life Sciences	48.5	48.7	35.0
Mathematics	46.4	39.1	17.4
Medicine (MD)			32.4
Physical Sciences	28.4	24.9	17.3
Public Affairs	68.0	63.7	45.7
Theology (BD, M. Div., MHL)			19.3

1. At the time of this writing, these were the best statistics available that show the percentages of women awarded degrees in various fields. These statistics do not separate architecture from allied design disciplines. As a result, the percentages of women who received degrees in architecture may be less than what is reflected here.

**STUDENTS IN ARCHITECTURAL EDUCATION**  
(NAAB, 1990)

	<b># of programs in US &amp; Canada</b>	<b># of students</b>	<b>% women</b>	<b>% minorities*</b>	<b>% International</b>
<b>M.Arch.</b>	50	4,593	33.3	9.8	12.9
<b>B.Arch</b>	60	18,915	24.9	20.0	6.2
<b>Bachelor, non-professional degree</b>	41	12,943	27.3	18.9	5.3

\*Includes African Americans, Hispanics, Native Americans, and Asian Americans.

2. These statistics show that women received about one-third of all master's degrees and one-quarter of all bachelor's degrees in architecture in 1990.

**Percentage of Women in Selected Male-Dominated Professions,  
1988  
(U.S. Department of Commerce, 1990)**

<b>Professional Field</b>	<b>Percentage of Women</b>
Mechanical Engineering	3.7%
Civil Engineering	6.0
Dental	8.3
Clergy	8.8
Chemical Engineering	12.0
Industrial Engineering	12.9
<b>Architecture</b>	<b>14.6</b>
Athletes	16.7
Law	19.3
Physician	20.0
Computer systems analysis, science	29.5
Pharmacology	31.9
Economist	35.3
College/university faculty	38.5
Public officials and administrators	44.5
Accounting and auditing	49.6

3. These statistics show the percentages of women in male-dominated professions. Approximately 15 percent of architects are women. This percentage is far lower than that in many other fields.



4. Most architectural history books ignore the contributions of women. The reasons for this are complex. It is hoped that future textbooks will be different. (Credit: Abhijeet Chavan)

Similarly, we contend that the climate of architectural education for men and for women, even within the same schools, is often dramatically different. At times, the climate of architectural education for women is indeed chilly. When gender inequity permeates the educational context of the architectural curriculum, it diminishes the educational development of many women. It also retards the progress of the discipline, making it all the more difficult to open up new avenues for different perspectives, criticism, and thought.

**A Curriculum of Great Men and Great Monuments: Male-Centered Concepts of Precedent and Mastery**

Architectural theory does not meditate upon the possibility of the genderization of architectural activity including itself. Architectural theory does not appear conscious of this issue as essential to its self-understanding—and thus germane to male or female, practitioner or theorist as well. This relative absence of theoretical reflection finds a practical counterpart in the male dominance—both ethical and statistical—among the stars of the profession.  
—Ann Bergren<sup>7</sup>

Exemplars—of architect and architecture, of person and product—are held in high esteem in schools of architecture, so much so that they direct much of the curriculum. However, the basis for establishing these exemplars is ill-defined. Under such conditions, exemplars become icons. As some have argued, architecture has a limited knowledge paradigm, or as Sharon Sutton laments, “a reservoir of knowledge about the built environment”:

The goal of creating a knowledge base for the field remains unachieved largely

because architectural research continues to be dwarfed by a Howard Roark vision of professional practice. In comparison to engineering—another applied field that relatively recently adopted advanced, theoretical study—architecture is not even on the map.<sup>8</sup>

With an ill-defined foundation of knowing, reasoning, even reflecting-in-action, mastery becomes legitimately defined by what the “masters” do. Masters are male-centered nomenclatures, witnessed by who is labeled a genius, how one becomes such, and what cases are considered to be exemplars and precedents.

For example, one method of designating design excellence is reference to “historical precedent.” However, history in most disciplines is a gendered construction of what happened in the past.<sup>9</sup> Architecture students are usually presented with a history in which women do not appear and in which women’s particular contributions are not recognized (Figure 4). Most women remain spectators in popular versions of both past and present.<sup>10</sup> A look at architectural history textbooks reveals little mention of women and their contributions to the built landscape.<sup>11</sup> We might reasonably assume that most syllabi of architectural history courses also neglect women.

Does this absence in our texts and curriculum mean that women did not participate in the creation of the built environment? No. Female absence in architectural history and precedence results from the definitions of architecture and architect established by the gatekeepers of this history: instructors, writers, and publishers.<sup>12</sup> We suggest that architectural exemplars have been defined largely by the notions of the activity of design, that is, what the designer does, alone, at the drawing board<sup>13</sup>; the type of commission; and the architect, principally a Western male of privi-

leged education background. Falling outside these boundaries, however, are many, many women who have designed and developed our built landscape.

Recent historical investigations of women in architecture “document the discrimination that has kept women out of the architecture schools and offices. They show, however, that despite overt discrimination and cultural prejudice women have become architects and that they designed not only houses but commercial and civic buildings.... They have been contractors, builders, and engineers. These professional women challenged the cultural assumptions about woman’s role.”<sup>14</sup>

For example, Diane Favro’s analysis of the work and practice of Julia Morgan demonstrates that Morgan’s capabilities as a designer and architectural professional were on par with those of her male contemporaries. However, because she was not male, the commissions that she received and the publishing of her design work were not of the same caliber and prominence of those distinguishing her male architectural colleagues. As Favro concludes:

Morgan’s work at the Ecole was every bit as object-oriented and style-conscious as her peers. What she lacked was opportunity. Armed with her diploma from the Ecole, Morgan sought professional validation, yet found herself by gender in the position of an outsider. She displayed obvious skill as a designer and engineer, yet was often given commissions because of preconceptions about female sensitivity. In response to existing preconceptions, she fashioned a non-threatening professional image and a work philosophy of accommodation. Marginalized by the profession and contemporary mores, she relied upon internal rewards.

When asked what kind of approval Morgan sought during her career, former employee Coblentz responded, *Her own self respect.*<sup>15</sup>

The construction of architecture’s history reflects the firm grip of the star system on architectural education. In architecture as in other disciplines, stars are defined in part by their sex. Christine Battersby argues that the contemporary meaning of genius in the art worlds is rooted in the period of romanticism in which *genius* was redefined as a sexed—that is, male—person, endowed with characteristics of imagination, intuition, feeling, and even mental instability—characteristics, ironically, that had been associated with the concept “feminine.”<sup>16</sup> Women were not recognized as potential geniuses even with these qualities, simply because they were not men. Exceptional men, however, could take on feminine characteristics without impairing their masculinity.<sup>17</sup>

Architectural educators must critically question those who label and identify the stars or geniuses and the process by which they do so to unveil the political and gendered practices in gatekeeping and stargazing.<sup>18</sup> We must demystify the notion of mastery by critically questioning how one becomes a master. Further, as Battersby suggests, we must redefine mastery so that it consistently—and not selectively—incorporates the social experiences and situations of different types of people who create architecture.

Generally, white male architects are treated as if their sex and race were utterly irrelevant to their work. But this need not be so. For example, a Georgetown University course that examines the works of Hawthorne, Melville, Cooper, and Twain is entitled “White Male Writers.” Such a course would usually be labeled “Masters of American Literature,” while works by women and minority groups would be tagged by sex or race of the

authors. The Georgetown course highlights the fact that sex and race affect authors' literary strategies and artistic creations.<sup>19</sup>

The exclusion of the female from architectural mastery is also the result of limiting the definition of what architecture and architectural practice is. Architectural historian Karen Kingsley claims that the standard architectural history/theory syllabus uses the "great monuments, great men" approach, one that isolates and objectifies the designer and the work.<sup>20</sup> Not only does it ignore women's contributions to the built environment, but also it ignores or minimizes contributions other than that of the "drawing board" aspect of design. Architectural gatekeepers focus their lens on the single, shining stars and not the constellations composed of planets. Consequently, students, and the general public, receive an unrealistic view of the profession.

Until recently, women and women's contributions were not included in architectural history texts. Kingsley claims that some textbooks have made efforts to include "Women Worthies," that is, women "worthy of inclusion" as defined within traditional, male images of excellence. These are the "exceptional women" that Gwendolyn Wright describes, whose dedication to and determination in the field was greater than that of many men and who sometimes were more prolific than their male counterparts. For example, Julia Morgan designed more than eight hundred buildings. Ironically, Kingsley claims that Kenneth Frampton's *Modern Architecture: A Critical History* is the most gender-inclusive history text, mentioning a grand total of four women: Gertrude Jekyll, Charlotte Perriand, Margaret MacDonald MacIntosh, and Lilly Reich.

The small number of women architects mentioned in such texts reflects the facts that, compared to men, women have had less opportunity to receive an architectural educa-

tion and that few women have been practicing architects or designers, a defining qualification to be "notable." Furthermore, while books and monographs on female architects have only recently appeared, many such publications have been generally dismissed in the architectural history journals and reviews.<sup>22</sup>

Another reason for women's relative absence, suggested by Kingsley, is that collaboration has not been a defining characteristic of "good" architecture, even though it lies at the very foundation of design, development, and construction.

Collaboration contradicts a belief in personal choice and individual, creative freedom, that is, becoming a success on one's merits—a standard of excellence in a field defined by "starchitects." Within such a context, collaboration is often negated or altogether ignored, and the contributions of men overshadow those of women. The awarding of the 1991 Pritzker Architectural Prize solely to architect Robert Venturi ignored the contributions of his partners, notably Denise Scott Brown. Venturi commented on this omission when he acknowledged the award: "It's a bit of a disappointment that the Prize didn't go to me and Denise Scott Brown, because we are married not only as individuals, but as designers and architects."<sup>23</sup> On the day that the award was announced, Denise Scott Brown commented at a plenary session of the annual conference of the ACSA that "they [the architectural gatekeepers] don't know how to have a mom-and-pop guru."<sup>24</sup>

When collaborative efforts are acknowledged, historians appear to value certain roles over others. When women have collaborated with other architects, their roles have been deemed marginal to the finished product, or even worse, their efforts have been inappropriately attributed to their male collaborators. Another example is Truus Schröder's participation in the design of her house, the Rietveld Schröder house in

Utrecht, Holland. Although earlier records report her as codesigner, her contribution is often forgotten today. Her conceptualization of family life in her home, of celebrating the rituals of the everyday, led to her insistence that every space in her house be divided by sliding or folding partitions. Her enthusiasm for this modern idiom preceded her meeting with architect Gerrit Rietveld. As he later wrote to her: "You strew the world with ideas; they say I'm a man with many ideas, but you have far more. I sweep them up around you. And they're not just any old ideas; they have direction. You are not the slightest bit interested in how something is to be achieved. You shouldn't try to be either. We must go on working as a team."<sup>25</sup>

Anne Griswold Tyng claims that another contributory role of women has been that of muse to the male architect: inspiring and even contributing to the architect's idea, but never being recognized or acknowledged.<sup>26</sup> Those who write about and teach architectural history must even question women's complicity in this role as muse, especially during an era when women were discouraged from claiming credit for their contributions. In some cases, women were not even allowed to do so. If Felix Mendelsohn's sister Fanny was persuaded not to claim authorship of her musical compositions, affixing instead her brother's name to her own work, is it that unlikely that Marion Mahony Griffin was similarly not allowed to acknowledge publicly her contributions to the development of the Prairie School style and form, which were instead attributed to Frank Lloyd Wright?

Feminist thought has also been marginalized or ignored in the architectural discipline. This lack of feminist consciousness is due in part to the small number of women in the field, their academic training, their relative lack of power in decision-making capacities, and, most importantly, to the ten-

sion between the practice of architecture within a capitalist, patriarchal economy and the discipline of architecture, which is to embrace knowledge and criticism of the social production of the built environment.

Nonetheless, recent scholars in architectural criticism are proposing new ways to look at body, sexuality, sex, power, and place. For example, Elizabeth Grosz challenges phallocentrism in urban design theories as “not so much the dominance of the phallus as the pervasive unacknowledged use of the male or masculine to represent the human. The problem, then, is not so much to eliminate as to reveal the masculinity inherent in the notion of the universal, the generic human, or the unspecified subject.”<sup>27</sup>

Compared to those supporting works in architectural theory, feminist efforts are *re-active* measures to our gendered built landscape and society—such as the design of shelters for battered women, which, while sheltering and supporting abused women and children, the shelter itself does nothing to eliminate male violence against women in the home. *Proactive* feminist efforts in architecture seek to subvert societal and building industry efforts that gender space and built form. An example is Marsha Ritzdorf’s work with citizen groups in rewriting zoning ordinances to create gender-sensitive land reform.<sup>28</sup> Another example is Matrix Architects Ltd., a multiracial women’s architectural practice in Britain, whose aim is to reshape power relationships between the “expert” and the “layperson” by allowing female clients to be involved at every stage of the design process. In projects such as the Jagonari Educational Resource Centre for Asian Women in East London and Harlow Women’s Aid Centre, Matrix worked with the clients in the design and production of the buildings, educating, training, and attempting to empower them as the building process evolved.<sup>29</sup>

Figure 5 lists several questions to help

faculty assess whether their teaching practices and course curriculum are male-centered, as we have suggested in this section.

### The Mister-Mastery-Mystery Phenomenon

Any careful examination of architectural education must measure its pulse: the design studio. The studio is a frequent topic of conversation among architecture students, and it is a crucial part of their daily lives.

A decade ago, Chris Argyris identified the “mastery-mystery” syndrome supporting design studio education, in which instructors rarely help students recognize the ideas and theories design decisions.<sup>30</sup> In this context, the student begins to believe that mystery is an indication of the mastery of the instructor. Although Argyris has many concerns about this mode of teaching, he stops short of questioning the sexist nature of the syndrome itself. After all, masters—those who teach the upper-level (that is, prestigious) studios—are almost always misters. In many cases, as Argyris suggests, they assume this position with little questioning of their motives. The master-apprentice model that is reinforced in the design studio is highly patriarchal.

Like the studio, the design jury is a fundamental component of architectural education. To many students, it is both the most feared and the most revered part of the academic term. At many schools, what happens in the design jury bears a strong influence on students’ course grades. At stake are not only students’ design ideas, but also their careers as students and future practitioners.

As a result, students often place extraordinary importance on the jurors—“the Gods”—themselves. At most schools, the typical jury includes only men, or perhaps on occasion, a token woman. Although we see a vast number of juries in which all jurors are

### QUESTIONING TEACHING PRACTICES THAT PROMOTE MALE-CENTERED IDEAS OF MASTERY AND PRECEDENT

Are women’s contributions (as individuals, as part of a team, or as an association or group) to the built landscape acknowledged? In our curriculum, do we reference buildings, parks, places, and so on that are not only designed by women, but also promoted, programmed, financed, or advocated by them?

Do we take into account contributions and achievements of women and men relative to the traditions and genres of the times and cultures in which they lived?

Are examples and anecdotes drawn from the lives of both men and women?

In our curriculum, do we exclude regions, countries, time periods, building types, and settings in which women made significant contributions to the built landscape?

Do we focus too narrowly on the process of creating our built environment? Do we implicitly suggest that clients, epochs, patrons, users, developers, etc. constrain or contribute to the formation of the built landscape?

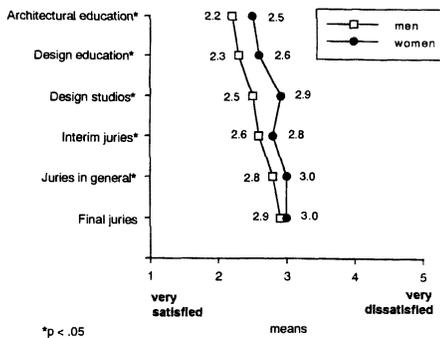
Do we critically assess how gatekeepers (instructors, texts, magazine editors, and so on) label or identify what is considered to be a commendable building, landscape, architect, creator, contributor, or place?

5. Our curriculum may embed male-centered ideas about the nature of architecture. These questions may help instructors discover whether or not gendered perspectives permeate the curriculum and structure of their courses.

male, we rarely if ever see juries in which all jurors are female. As a result, the image of men as “masters” is again strongly reinforced.

Findings from surveys of 629 architecture students from ninety-two schools revealed a high degree of dissatisfaction with juries. Compared to men, women are significantly more dissatisfied with design juries, design studios, design education, and architectural education in general (Figure 6).<sup>31</sup> Many women stress that the public nature of the jury, especially its often fierce pub-

STUDENTS' RESPONSES TO:  
HOW SATISFIED OR DISSATISFIED ARE YOU WITH...?  
BREAKDOWN BY SEX



6. Findings from surveys of 629 architecture students from ninety-two schools found that, compared with men, female students are less satisfied with design juries, design studios, design education, and architectural education in general. These findings raise serious questions about the gendered nature of architectural education. (Reprinted with permission from Anthony, *Design Juries on Trial*, p. 240.)

lic criticism, is particularly troubling and damaging to their self-esteem. One woman used these words to describe the devastating impact of an unsuccessful design jury: “I feel like scum on the earth.”<sup>32</sup>

Many men also complained of feeling humiliated and demoralized after a design jury. The potential damage that the design jury can inflict on both women’s and men’s self-esteem should not be overlooked, as it can have serious repercussions for the architectural profession. As author Gloria Steinem has recently pointed out, “studies show that low self-esteem correlates with both prejudice and violence—that people who have a negative view of themselves also tend to view other people and the world negatively.”<sup>33</sup>

The antagonistic, us-against-them design jury clearly reflects its male origins. As author Sam Keen argues in his popular work, *Fire in the Belly: On Being a Man*, warring and winning battles have become established rituals for American males.<sup>34</sup> Consequently,

many male students may well view the jury as just one more battle to be won. By contrast, to many women students, this warrior mentality is truly foreign, causing them to feel all the more self-conscious at the jury.

The traditional design jury process displays rigid, hierarchical, and patriarchal relationships between students and faculty. In fact, design juries and studios can be viewed in terms of the “corporate” cultures they reflect. According to the criteria established by Terrence E. Deal and Allan A. Kennedy in their book, *Corporate Cultures: The Rites and Rituals of Corporate Life*, design education is most closely related to the tough-guy, macho culture, as it is dominated by internal competition to become a star, to gamble or risk bold ideas, and to take chances.<sup>35</sup>

No systematic, empirical evidence demonstrates that this competitive, hierarchical atmosphere is necessary for the training of professionals. Because academic climate affects students’ interest, performance, and sense of self-worth, architectural educators must question who benefits and who loses from such a situation. The answer runs deeper than simply deterring women from the profession; it also perpetuates the existing sociopolitical structure of our profession and our economy. Competition, individualism, and external control are highly embedded values in the corporate workplace. The educational milieu that incorporates these values simply reflects, reinforces, and reproduces the workings of the culture in which it is embedded.

But today the workplace is changing: isolated work activities are increasingly replaced by teamwork.<sup>36</sup> Hence, a number of educators are advocating the teaching of collaborative work skills. However, this approach may simply end up helping students acquire tools to compete with others for scarce employment positions. Simply teaching new work skills to better advance in the work force

maintains its competitive structure; it does not reconstruct the social system or the lives of people embedded in that system.

Many feminists contend that one of the purposes of work is to use cooperation and collaboration to enhance human connection and potential. Educators who are committed to the creation of a more cooperative world and to democratic practices that help achieve equality must seek changes in the social structure of their classes. Students can be taught to view architecture—and the significant casts of characters within the discipline—as constellations rather than solitary stars. They need not be taught simply to admire the stars from below. A number of examples of participatory studio teaching structures that create a less hierarchical, more collaborative milieu are given in Thomas Dutton’s edited collection, *Voices in Architectural Education*.<sup>37</sup>

This is not to suggest that we eliminate competition per se—but that we change the nature of competition. In *The Secret between Us*, Laura Tracy proposes different types of competition.<sup>38</sup> The competition typical in the workplace is constructed on a masculine model—“warfare without anger”—that is, open, impersonal, and in accord with a set of rules and a code of ethics that many women have never learned. Many women compete in ways that affirm instead of destroy connections with each other. Tracy suggests moving from negative to affirmative competition, in which winning and community do not have to be separated: competing against the problem instead of against one another. Indeed, the Latin root of the word *competition* is “to strive together.”

In addition, we need to demystify the conference of authority on the instructor, particularly those forms of power or mastery that are based on the teacher’s race, class, or gender. Institutionalized authority is further reinforced by students’ socialized behavior,

and students often question the authority of female faculty.<sup>39</sup> In this light, it is especially instructive for all of our architectural students to see women assert authority, and be placed in roles of power, on design juries, in studios, and in decision-making positions in the department. However, the use of this authority must be directed to positive social change and student empowerment.<sup>40</sup>

### **A Fresh Look at the Question, Do Women Design (Think, Learn) Differently?**

If Tolstoy had been born a woman ...  
—Virginia Woolf

Of late, much scholarly and popular press has focused on the different ways in which men and women learn and know. Indeed, ways of learning, knowing, and structuring experience not only vary considerably among individuals, but also between men and women. In their noted study of college women, described in the book *Women's Ways of Knowing* (notice the plural), Mary Field Belenky and colleagues discovered that many women “prefer” connected rather than separate learning.<sup>41</sup> Separate learning—the foundation of our college environments—is isolated and emphasizes doubt and competition; connected learning occurs in a community and stresses empathy and believing and learning before making judgment. College environments—and design studios and juries—generally prize objectivity and abstraction, competition and separation. These types of learning environments may be geared more to men’s experiences or styles of learning than to many women’s.

If this is the case, a question arises in the architectural press and in the design studio: Do men design differently than women? Although no research has been conducted to answer this question, many speculations

abound in books such as Ellen Perry Berkeley and Matilda McQuaid’s edited collection, *Architecture: A Place for Women*, and Leslie Kanés Weisman’s *Discrimination by Design*.<sup>42</sup> Many authors support a feminist perspective of women’s “special qualities” in architectural design in which women and men tend to apply different values and concerns to architecture.<sup>43</sup> For example, from reviewing architectural research and projects conducted by women, Karen A. Franck identifies seven qualities that she believes permeate women’s architectural work: (1) a connection to others, to objects of knowledge, and to the world and a sensitivity to the connection of categories, (2) a desire for inclusiveness and a desire to overcome opposing dualities, (3) a responsibility to respond to the needs of others, represented by an “ethic of care,” (4) an acknowledgment of the value of everyday life and experience, (5) an acceptance of subjectivity as a strategy for knowing and of feelings as part of knowing, (6) an acceptance and a desire for complexity, and (7) an acceptance of change and a desire for flexibility.<sup>44</sup>

Noted architects have also taken on this question of whether or not men and women design differently. For example, Chicago architect Diane Legge suggests that women do not design differently than men per se but do spend more energy than men attending to clients. “We accommodate. We try to resolve a conflict before there’s a confrontation. But women are learning from men when it’s necessary to be tough, confrontational, stubborn.”<sup>45</sup> Joan Goody of Goody, Clancy & Associates in Boston contends that women’s approach, which involves “a willingness to discuss the options, evaluate the choices, demystify the process, and share the decisions,” serves to undercut the authority of the female architect, making architecture seem to be something that “anyone can do.”<sup>46</sup> With today’s complex clients, however, Goody believes that the female traits of

patience, compromise, and tenacity have become necessities to the realization of major projects. When asked if women bring to architecture an understanding other than what the mainstream white male brings, Los Angeles architect Norma Sklarek of Welton Becket responded, “Many women are more sensitive to human needs. Some male architects—I would not say all, but some—are more concerned about architecture in regards to fostering egocentric concerns, rather than architecture for the ultimate user or for people. . . . Some of these architects get a great deal of publicity and I think they’re more concerned about publicity than they are about people.”<sup>47</sup>

We believe that these answers address the wrong question. Although research on women’s “special qualities” suffers from methodological and sampling limitations, more importantly, *such contentions have paid insufficient effort to examining the basis for such differences and the consequences for men, women, and society*. Differences in how architects know, learn, design, or work with clients may be related to sex—but not for biological reasons. Instead, they may be the results of genderization, the different life-long social positions of girls and boys, women and men.

Suggesting differences between men and women without understanding the basis for these differences can backfire. In the worst cases, female architects may be stigmatized, marginalized, and stereotyped into particular roles “for which they are best suited.” Women will be expected to excel in certain types of architectural practices or building types, but not in others. As a case in point, a 1989 poll of architects conducted by *Progressive Architecture* magazine found that almost 40 percent of female and 40 percent of male architects believed that there was a difference between architectural design done by women and men. They believed that women are better at design related to “caring”—housing

**QUESTIONING TEACHING PRACTICES THAT DEVALUE DIVERSITY OR STIGMATIZE DIFFERENCE**

- Do we talk about and judge buildings or actions by referencing masculine and feminine attributes? Do we explain to our students the meanings behind such attributions?
- Do we allow for multiple avenues for learning, knowing, and creating?
- Do we provide students the opportunity to choose different instructional and learning modes?
- Do we form stereotypes of female students? of male students? of their work?
- Do we question the basis for our perceptions of differences between men and women?

7. In accepting diversity, we need to question the standards by which we judge people and their actions, and the basis for making those judgments. These questions may assist instructors in questioning their assumptions.

and schools—and men better in design related to power and commerce.<sup>48</sup> Such stereotypes can only prevent women from advancing in the architectural profession.

Conversely, if women do not design differently from men of the same class and social background, we need to ask why this is so? What are the consequences? Why don't our social and gendered identities as architects affect the shape of the designed environment? The question we need to ask, then, is not whether the end product is different when designed by a woman or a man. Instead, we need to ask how the gendering of our economy, our building industry in particular, affects the ways in which we practice and teach architecture and how we act and react as designers. Does our present socioeconomic structure attempt to shape all of us to be a certain type of man: a "hired gun"? How, why, and in what instances does that role succeed and fail?

Design operates in a culture, one that directs and rewards certain skills and design products. Architects, by and large, simply re-

**QUESTIONING THE NATURE OF FACULTY-STUDENT COMMUNICATION**

- What number of male versus female students do you call on? Which students do you call by name?
- With which students (male or female) do you interact in class more frequently? Which students are more likely to ask for a desk crit? How do you decide which students to visit during each studio session? How do you decide the scheduling of students to present their work before a design jury?
- Do interruptions occur while an individual is talking? If so, who does the interrupting? Who is interrupted? At a design jury, which jurors (male or female) generally respond first?
- Is your verbal response to students positive? aversive? encouraging? Is it the same for all students? If not, why? Do female students receive as much informal feedback, encouragement, praise, and critical assessment as male students for their design projects?
- Do you tend to face or address one section of the studio more than others? Do you establish eye contact with certain students more than others? What gestures, postures, or facial expressions do you use, and are they different for male and female students?
- Do you ask male and female students the same kinds of questions? Do you encourage women as much as men to think for themselves?
- Do you sometimes assume that female students are uncertain about their design ideas or are not saying much that is worthwhile because women may tend to state their ideas hesitantly or in an "overly polite" fashion?
- Do you, guest critics, or guest jurors ever use sexist humor to "spice up" a dull subject or make disparaging comments about women as a group? How does this affect women in the classroom?
- When you refer to users, clients, or designers, do you regularly refer to males or use the generic *he*? or the universal *man*? Or do you refer to both men and women?
- Are your patterns of reinforcement different for male and female students?

8. It may be difficult for design instructors to be aware of the interactional dynamics in studio. These techniques may help faculty analyze interaction in their classes. (Questions based on Hall and Sandler, *Classroom Climate*.)

spond to the existing market, and the field is by nature reactive. But if architecture took a proactive rather than reactive stance—and if women, as new entrants into the field, did the same—and if educational practices were not gendered or homogenized to serve the status quo of the male-dominated, male-directed profession, how would the practice of architecture be different? How could the nature of the architecture profession itself change by fully exploiting the potentials of both women and men?<sup>49</sup>

Until these larger social structures change, educators must recognize that design and learning "differences" may reflect the different worlds in which boys and girls are socialized as well as our socialized expectations of men and women. Educators need to become more familiar with the theories and research that examine such differences. From a psychoanalytic view, Nancy Chodorow's work is one way to understand how such differences have come to be.<sup>50</sup> She contends that the mothering common in our society is pivotal to the way in which males and females develop, and to the ways in which they see and relate to the world. Males turn from their mothers to independence, solitary endeavor, and competition. Females, on the other hand, remain identified with their mothers and develop a complex interdependence with others. From a sociological point of view, Cynthia Fuchs Epstein's work proposes a different explanation for such sex differences.<sup>51</sup> Individual preferences and choices are tempered by the social structure and control manifested in schools and other institutions. These institutions, as well as the mass media, continue to encourage women to hold stereotypical views about themselves; women in turn interpret these views as "real" rather than socially constructed.

Figure 7 lists some questions that architectural faculty can use to assess the extent to which they engage in gender stereotyping.

## **Double Speak: Cross-Cultural Communication?**

Linguist Deborah Tannen suggests that the communication styles of men and women are so different that we should consider their conversations to be “cross-cultural communication.”<sup>52</sup> If so, we need to ask ourselves whose culture dominates communication in the studio and design jury. In this regard, Figure 8 raises some questions for faculty to consider.

Research shows that elementary and secondary teachers pay more attention to boys than girls—that is, they talk more to them, ask them more questions, ask them more challenging questions, listen more, counsel them more, give them more extended directions, allow them more time to talk, and criticize, praise, and reward them more frequently.<sup>53</sup> Studies of college classrooms show similar trends. In college classes, male students talk more than women, and women are less likely to be called on. When women do speak, they are more likely to be interrupted and less likely to be accepted and rewarded.<sup>54</sup> A study by sociologists David A. Karp and William C. Yoels found that in college classes taught by men, male students talked three times more than women. In classes taught by women, the rate of female participation increased, but male students still talked the majority of the time.<sup>55</sup> Another study of sixty college classrooms found no difference in student participation in classes taught by women, but in classes taught by men, male students more often initiated interaction with the teacher.<sup>56</sup>

In addition, research has shown that post-secondary instructors give male students more detailed instructions on how to complete assignments on their own, while they are more likely to complete assignments for female students. For example, at the U.S. Coast Guard Academy, while instructors told male midshipmen how to do particular as-

signments, they actually performed the required tasks for female midshipmen.<sup>57</sup>

Similar situations are likely to occur in the design studio and jury. In reporting the results of detailed videotaped observations of jury sessions at three case study schools, Mark Frederickson reveals several important sources of gender and racial bias.<sup>58</sup> Compared to male jurors, female jurors receive less than their fair share of total time to comment, they speak less often, and they are interrupted more often. Compared to juries for male students, juries for female students are shorter. Female students are interrupted more often. Jurors appear to have a condescending attitude and lower expectations and demonstrate coddling behavior toward female students. Similar trends were found for the ways in which students of color experienced the juries as well.

Rules for talk in college classrooms are usually anchored in male, white, upper-middle-class subcultures. Competitive verbal jousting, marking of hierarchies, and wielding control through silencing others—the verbal maneuvers that one often finds in all-male groups as well as in many college classrooms—may be alienating to some women. By contrast, talk among many women of varying ethnic backgrounds tends to be more collaborative and participatory. Women do more “interaction work,” such as nodding their heads and asking questions to draw out speakers. They are more likely to build on rather than contest one another’s comments; to share personal experiences, and to regard conversation as a cooperative enterprise.<sup>59</sup>

The gendering of speech may also vary along lines of race and class. Vicky Spelman examined the racial dimensions of women’s speech. By examining discussions in classes predominantly of white women, she found that African American women felt marginalized when the experiences of white women were taken as the paradigm and the experiences of women of color as a source of divergence. African American women also

felt marginalized when their opinions were not challenged during class discussion.

Concerning the issue of social class, community college instructor Ira Shor observed that among working-class students, women talked with more ease than men, feeling it easier to take public risks by engaging in debate. Reacting to the presence of a superior male instructor, men’s silence was a male defensive act against the possible humiliation of being wrong. Going public with their thoughts was a threat to their male dignity. Men rationalized their silence by saying that women talk and argue all the time.<sup>60</sup>

In a study of twenty award-winning studio instructors in Texas architecture departments, architectural educators Wayne Attoe and Robert Mugerauer state: “Good teachers talk. And talk. And talk. Or so it seems from their commentaries. They talk during desk crits, in special discussions, after class, in lectures. Teaching well is hard work, in part, because it demands that one talk so much. We were struck by the realization that this is, in fact, much of what studio teachers do.”<sup>61</sup> The type of talk that architectural teachers do, and with whom, demands serious examination.

A pilot study of architectural student-teacher interaction during the desk crit revealed some gendered patterns of communication. Instructors interacted with men in fairly consistent ways, but with women their communication patterns were more varied. Professors spent, on average, roughly equal amounts of time at desk crits with male and female students. However, when critiquing the work of female students, faculty were more likely to spend either a great amount of time or very little time. Contrary to what one might expect, faculty prompted female students—that is, asked them questions—twice as often as male students, but they directed male students—that is, showed them what to do—slightly more often. Faculty were more likely to reassure

### QUESTIONING SEXUAL HARASSMENT

- Are students required to complete all of their design work in studio, thus creating opportunities for sexual harassment after hours?
- Do you have any studios in which only one or two female students are present, thus making it difficult for women to seek peer support within the studio?
- Do female students experience unwanted sexual attention?
- Are inappropriate personal remarks made about a woman's body or sexual activities?
- Are female students forced to engage in unwanted touching or kissing?
- Are some male students overly persistent in wanting sexual attention from women?
- Do men make repeated requests for sexual activity?
- Do men engage in sexual bantering or sexual jokes?
  - Do they leave obscene messages or sexual paraphernalia on women's studio desks?
- Do men put up sexist posters and pictures in studio? Do these posters convey the message that men view women primarily as sex objects rather than as individual human beings?
- Are there sexist graffiti or sexist advertisements in the studio?
- Are pseudosurveys about sexual activities distributed or discussed in the studio?
- Do students play X-rated and pornographic tapes or movies in studio?
- Are women in general, women of particular ethnic groups, women who are heavy or unattractive, or women who raise women's issues made the butt of jokes?
- Are students aware that sexual harassment is illegal in educational institutions?
- Are the procedures for seeking information and filing complaints known to all students? To faculty?

9. Here are some techniques to help faculty identify the extent to which sexual harassment occurs. Because harassment is likely to occur during evenings and weekends while the instructor is absent, instructors can also learn about harassment by asking students to observe and record studio behavior at these times. (Questions based on Hughes and Sandler, *Peer Harassment*.)

male students, than female students that they were on the right track. For both male and female students, the choreography of the desk crit—where the teachers stood, how students and instructors moved around the board—and the rates of praise, remediation, and criticisms were virtually identical.<sup>62</sup>

### Sexual Harassment

Sexual harassment on college campuses is pervasive.<sup>63</sup> Harassing behaviors occur virtually everywhere, whether the school is large or small, public or private, vocational or religiously affiliated. Harassment on campus is a violation of Title IX of the Educational Amendments Act of 1972. The Equal Employment Opportunity Commission defines sexual harassment as

unwelcome sexual advances, requests for sexual favors, and other verbal or physical conduct of a sexual nature ... when (1) submission to such conduct is made either explicitly or implicitly a term or condition of an individual's employment; (2) submission to, or rejection of, such conduct by an individual is used as the basis for employment decisions affecting such individual; or (3) such conduct has the purpose or effect of substantially interfering with an individual's work performance or creating an intimidating, hostile, or offensive working environment.

Recent court decisions have embraced not only actions and words as potentially harassing mechanisms, but also posters, photographs, and graffiti. The Ninth U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals claimed in January 1991 that sexual harassment had to be viewed from the perspective of what a "reasonable woman"—not the typical "reasonable man"—would find offensive.

Sexual harassment includes such actions as *gender harassment*, generalized sexist remarks or behaviors to convey insulting, degrading, or sexist attitudes about women, lesbians, and gays; *seductive behavior*, unwanted, inappropriate, and offensive sexual advances; *sexual bribery*, the solicitation of sexual activity or other sex-linked behavior by promise of rewards; *sexual coercion* or sexual activity by threat of punishment; and *sexual imposition*, which includes gross sexual imposition, assault, and rape.<sup>64</sup> Sexual harassment rarely appears in an overt, "sledgehammer" manner, but rather in subtle, accumulating, and often unintentional actions. Although female and male college students generally agree on what constitutes harassment for most overt sexual behaviors, they disagree on their definitions of moderate levels of harassment.<sup>65</sup>

Figure 9 raises some key questions for architectural faculty to consider about sexual harassment in the design studio.<sup>66</sup> To date, no study has focused exclusively on sexual discrimination and harassment in architectural departments. Nonetheless, a 1990 survey of chairpersons and female faculty in architecture departments across the nation addressed this issue along with several others.<sup>67</sup>

One-quarter of the chairs said they had received student complaints of sexual harassment in their departments, and 44 percent said they had received student complaints of sexual discrimination. When asked to reflect on their experiences as students, more than one-third of the female faculty surveyed said that they had experienced sexual harassment.

Students report a variety of incidents of sexual harassment, from being forced to hear about the sexual adventures of their male studio-mates, or to listen to "X-rated" audiotapes of sexual encounters or "woman-hating" music, to being flashed by male students. Even male students report that they often hear other males in studio brag about their sexual conquests and that the later the hour, the more graphic the details. Some

males admitted that the tenor of the discussion changes radically when their female studio-mates leave the room.<sup>68</sup>

The ways in which some design students personalize their individual studio space often is highly offensive to women. Photographs of women in scanty attire with overly voluptuous bodies looming over the studio desks are not uncommon. Although groups of male students may display their posters as a symbolic form of male bonding, competing among themselves to see who can display the sexiest “chick,” to women this practice can be highly disruptive. Allowing such sleazy studio decor merely underscores the myth that women are only sex objects, not to be taken seriously.<sup>69</sup> The meta-message being sent is, “It’s cool to think of women as sex symbols.” Or, as a graffiti message on a studio wall claims, “Woman architect is an oxymoron.”

The manner in which certain language is used in the context of the design studio and jury can also be offensive to women; here, again, we must recognize that words can be interpreted differently by women and men. Some professors and visiting critics use sexually charged terms to describe and critique design projects. These words can humiliate some students and other faculty, who may be too taken aback or embarrassed to respond to or question the meaning of what was said. One of the authors noted the following double entendres used repeatedly during one three-hour jury session: girdle, tension and release, organs of interconnection, penetration, and thrust. Along these lines is one University of Illinois student’s comment after hearing a well-known designer speak in class: “I am outraged [by the language of a visiting critic]....His language included such colorful words as ‘impotent, inseminate, and penetrate.’ He made numerous references to phallic symbols....[He] made reference to architecture as the ‘gentlemen’s profession,’ talked about a ‘gentlemen’s agreement,’ and

discussed the architect’s role as a ‘gentleman’s gentleman.’” Another student took offense at the comments of a video narration shown in a design class. According to the student, the narrator suggested that designers make the user of a space take notice “as if it were a woman in a negligee.”

Many women come from backgrounds and cultures in which women as sexual beings are dominated, humiliated, or vandalized by men. In this context, the manner of using sexually charged terms to surprise and shock, thus promoting one’s own sense of prestige and notoriety (not an uncommon practice among jurors during a crit), may be perceived as harassment.

Following are some of the University of Illinois female students’ journal accounts addressing other forms of harassment:

Usually . . . the guys in my studio discuss what they did over the weekend. Sometimes their conversation is not raunchy, but more times than not it is. Their topics range from a type of girl they met to what they did to them. After this, they have to ask either of us [the two females in the studio] whether we’ve experienced what they did to their “girlfriend” or whether we like that. It’s usually one or two guys [who] do this, but their statements are disruptive to our work and outright offensive. If you try to tell them that, it’s as if it goes in one ear and out the other.

Recently, one of my studio mates has started to pinch my behind. From what he says, I am the type of girl that he likes, so this supposedly gives him the right to grab me! The incident occurred twice, and he hasn’t done it since. This is awful, because it seems so grade-schoolish.

When I got to college, things were worse in the studio/design environment. . . . I had been asked very personal questions before by my male classmates in high school, but not as explicit as in college. I think that staying up late together and working in the same type of environment is conducive to causing more destructive behavior. I think it also has to do with the fact that Mommy and Daddy aren’t around and can’t be brought in to discipline them. . . . You’d think that we could all be adults by the time we reach college. I don’t know what it is but as soon as some people get on their own, they regress.

One of the most shocking episodes disclosed was that of a female student who had been raped years ago in her bedroom by a fellow architecture student, someone she had believed to be her friend. Although she disclosed the incident to a few close friends, she basically kept it a secret. To make matters worse, she soon learned she was pregnant and had an abortion. By contrast, the male in question recounted an entirely different version of events to his friends. Not only did he brag about it during studio, but he was also congratulated on his most recent conquest. As a result, the victim spent the next several years desperately trying to refute her reputation, as least to her offender’s friends and to her studio-mates, as a “loose woman.”

Because she had been in a relatively small class, her only options to avoid contact with her rapist would have been to transfer to another school or to temporarily withdraw from the program. Rejecting these two options and preferring not to “rock the boat,” she ended up sitting only a few feet away from her rapist and his friends in studio for several subsequent terms. Much as she would have preferred to work at home, her studio instructors required all students to complete

all of their work within the studio. Although she received psychological counseling, she continued to feel trapped, confused, embittered, and enraged in design studio. Years later, when she finally revealed her secret to a seminar class, she exploded into tears.

Although the example cited here may be one of the most extreme, many of the feelings that this student experienced are commonplace. It is easy for female architecture students to feel trapped in studio. To make matters worse, many design instructors discourage students from working at home, citing the fact that working in studio is one of the traditions of architectural education. As a result, any student who gets tired and wants to go home—not an unusual desire at 3:00 or 4:00 A.M.—is under strong peer pressure to “stick it out” and remain in studio. Unfortunately, few campuses today are safe for women to walk alone or even in groups after dark. If women wish to leave, they must depend on either a campus escort service, if one exists, or their male studio counterparts—who often may be too busy themselves—to walk them home. Must this forced dependency be a prerequisite to an architectural degree?

Although sexual harassment occurs in all disciplines, we believe that the culture of the studio exacerbates these destructive patterns. The all-nighter—with no instructor present—simply makes it easier for sexual harassment to occur. We suggest looking at studio culture using a biological analogy: of the petri dish notion of culture. Named after a German bacteriologist, the petri dish is a shallow dish with a loose-fitting cover that is used by biologists and bacteriologists to culture microorganisms. In this closed, intense system, when positive substances are placed, synergistic growth results. Yet throw in some pathological bacteria, neglect them, and watch the scum take over. We need to ask, Whose culture is it? In the “petri dish design studio,” whose culture dominates? Whose is reproduced?

Many architectural faculty and administrators are simply unaware of the consequences of the sex composition of studios. Placing a token woman or two in such an atmosphere not only may lead to her harassment, but may also make it more difficult for her to report such incidents or to seek support from peers. Furthermore, the studio environment provides a setting for students to not only mingle and work but also to play music that is potentially offensive to women. How many instructors really know what goes on in the studio after hours? It is important to recognize that some of the worst episodes of peer harassment occur when men or boys are in groups, not unlike the typical design studio.<sup>70</sup>

Many cases of sexual harassment go unreported. Many students simply do not know where to seek information or counseling or what the appropriate procedures are.<sup>71</sup> The reporting process must clearly be demystified; information should be readily available concerning where to go and how to file a complaint. Because female students are more likely to report sexual harassment to a woman outside the harasser’s department, university counseling centers and student assistance centers especially need to publicize these procedures to architecture students.<sup>72</sup>

Nonetheless, victimized students may not report such incidents for fear of retaliation, of not being believed, and of being accused of provocation. Many harassed students will not discuss the harassment with the harassing instructor or peer, choosing instead to discontinue contact with the professor or classmate. In fact, the most common strategy is to ignore the perpetrator or the harassing incident.<sup>73</sup>

Although the majority of women disapprove of sexually harassing behaviors, many find the situation to be unavoidable. Some students as well as some school administrators take the attitude that “boys will be boys” or advocate that “women should give it

right back.” Some women actually take pride in the fact that they can take it. This position further demeans the position of harassed women. Furthermore, many men resent attention paid to sexual harassment, as illustrated in a student’s comment from a studio survey: “I believe some of the students in studio level especially some of the women should learn to deal with certain aspects which occur in a mainly male dominated studio. Their constant bickering and telling faculty that they don’t like what others are saying to each other in studio only alienates themselves. Due to the conditions of studio life, I think this would run much smoother if everyone would lighten up.”<sup>74</sup>

## Conclusions

The American ethical call for equality states that a given kind of difference should be irrelevant and that the task of social justice is to construct a society or organization that will guarantee that this is the case.<sup>75</sup> In light of this stance, what is the meaning of gender equity, especially under conditions in which the sexes are not equally situated? Equity here does not necessarily mean similar treatment, nor does it mean “more of the same.”

Instead of opting for a proposal of gender-free educational practices, we suggest that educational practices be based on a gender-sensitive agenda. We need to transcend educational practices that purportedly stress the abstract and the disembodied. We need to acknowledge the sex of the student when it is appropriate and disregard it when it is not. Recognizing “the appropriateness of difference” means we need to address that today we live in a culture that continues to control women, defines women as different from men (the standard-bearer), and expects them to act differently. Legal scholar Martha Minnow proposes “a shift in the paradigm we use to conceive difference, a shift from a focus

on the distinctions between people to a focus on the relationships within which we notice and draw distinctions.”<sup>76</sup> We need to recognize that individual students are not only products of their personal biologies and biographies, but also of their social relationships and social histories, that is, how society treats them.

Viewing difference in this way is to see difference as a feature of relationships rather than traits residing in the person. Following this, social arrangements that make traits seem to matter must be suspect, examined, and targeted for change. Such a perspective directs architectural educators to challenge the social arrangements of the studio and jury that lead to sexist, male-centered actions, and to restructure architectural education in several realms, notably in reconsidering the nature of the studio, redefining architecture in the curriculum, and training students to take the viewpoint of the other.

#### *Reconsidering the Nature of Studio*

Students remain ambiguous about what the studio really is or what it is supposed to be. Is it just another classroom? Is it a miniature replica of an office? Is it a home away from home or home itself? Is it an extension of the student’s dormitory, apartment, or fraternity bedroom? If you ask students to describe what the studio means to them, you find a wide range of responses.<sup>77</sup> Some feel it should be “democratically controlled” (reflecting the tyranny of the majority if need be); others believe an unregulated bonding experience is essential to their professional development. The manner in which students define and relate to the studio is eventually shaped by the academic climate, that is, the ways in which instructors and administrators set the tone for the studio environment. It is the instructors’ responsibility to facilitate a conducive and fair work environment.<sup>78</sup>

Instructors must convey to students that the studio is primarily a collective, egalitarian

work environment that must be held to policies of the institution in which it is housed. All educational institutions, for example, must adhere to federal policies on sexual harassment and discrimination.

Instructors must also pay close attention to the demographic composition of their studios. Studios with only one or two female students can invite trouble. Without a critical mass of female students, women may be seen as tokens and hence more readily the butt of jokes and stereotypes. They are also more likely to experience peer pressure to become “one of the boys.” Instructors and administrators who enroll students in studio courses must take special care to see that a critical mass of women is present in each studio.<sup>79</sup>

#### *Redefining Architecture in the Curriculum*

By incorporating a more inclusive notion of architecture and precedent, we as educators must ask students to focus on questions that architectural historian Dell Upton proposes: “Who makes architecture? Under what conditions? How are architectural ideas created and disseminated? Who defines the meaning of architectural form?”<sup>80</sup> In transforming and degendering architectural education, we must also focus on what was previously seen as a backdrop. We must adjust our vision so that we can see the world not only through the major male figures in the foreground, but also through the eyes of both female and male figures typically relegated to the background.<sup>81</sup>

Consciousness-raising about gender must be introduced throughout the curriculum: not only in textbooks and lectures, but also in design studio projects. Instructors must make conscious efforts to ensure that students incorporate women as prominent users of the spaces they design and that women’s perspectives are seen as viable design directions. The ways in which instructors select and present a project assignment is key. Projects such as homeless shelters, transi-

tional housing, and day-care centers demand that students address female users. How these projects are treated—day care to enhance the lives of working women versus day care to enhance the corporation’s ability to employ large numbers of women for low wages, for example—is also important in incorporating feminist and critical perspectives. In selecting pseudoclients for student projects, instructors can also make a special effort to seek out women. Jacqueline Leavitt describes in detail some examples from her own studio experiences that help sensitize students to gender issues.<sup>82</sup>

#### *Learning to Take the Viewpoint of “the Other”*

Another issue is the lack of awareness of sexual harassment issues on the part of students, faculty, and administrators. Ignorance about the severity of these issues simply leads to complacency and satisfaction with the status quo. Students, faculty, and administrators must be educated about the definitions of harassment, must know where to draw the line between what it is and what it is not, and must understand specific examples and their consequences. Just as our Senate Judicial Committee—and the millions of viewers who watched the 1991 Clarence Thomas–Anita Hill hearings on television—were forced to take a crash course on sexual harassment, so do all those involved in architectural education need to wake up to this issue. Speakers from units on campus that deal directly with these issues on an everyday basis should be invited to make presentations to groups of architectural faculty, administrators, and students. Members of the audience need the opportunity to ask questions and to learn about which types of behaviors are and are not acceptable.

Architectural students and educators must go well beyond harassment, however. They must be able to acquire the viewpoint of “the other”—that is, those outside



10. Is it possible to imagine an architecture school where roles are reversed—where most students and faculty are women? Unfortunately, this photo had to be staged. (Credit: Leigh Anne McMillen.)

the dominant circle—thus moving from a kind of tunnel vision to a vision of the profession that is much more inclusive. Workshops on such topics as sexual harassment in the studio or communication in the desk crit and jury can help sensitize both students and faculty who may otherwise be unaware of these issues. These workshops should be directed not only toward gender, but also toward race and class. Euro-American, middle-class students—be they male or female—who come from relatively homogeneous, insular communities are often not sensitized to the perspectives of students from different cultures and social classes. As stated by Shirl Buss:

As a white student with a feminist orientation, I felt mixed loyalties. At first I did not want to place a hierarchy on racism and sexism, but I realized that to many, “women” meant white women, and that most of the white women in the program did not work to advance the issues of racial and cultural sensitivity in the school. In fact, because of their fragile position in the school structure, they often were more competitive with and hurtful toward people of color.<sup>83</sup>

The ACSA can take the lead by sponsoring these workshops at its conferences. Role-reversal workshops are a component of many corporations’ diversity-training packages. One University of Illinois student suggested that students try a role reversal to attempt to understand what women experience in architecture school. Perhaps her words put it best (Figures 10 and 11):

I wish that guys in this major could see it from our eyes, just once. For instance: Almost every teacher on the faculty is a woman. Almost all practitioners are women. Famous role models are women. Only 15 percent



11. More female students and faculty are needed to help architectural education better respond to the changing demographics in our society. (Credit: Terry Turro.)

enrolled in classes are men. Studio atmosphere is always run from a woman's perspective. Men are accepted up to a point, but can never join the "women's club."...If men could experience this, just for a day, I think discriminating attitudes would change quickly.

A multipronged attack is needed to address these critical issues. No single program or workshop session is enough. Instead, a combination of coordinated events can help raise the collective consciousness of all those involved in architectural education—faculty, administrators, and students. Furthermore, the field is in desperate need of more information. We hope our efforts here spark interest among the *JAE* readers and that scholars will be encouraged to investigate these questions and to report their findings in subsequent issues of scholarly journals.

As the numbers of women entering the labor force continue to rise, architectural education must make a special effort to open its doors to a more diverse constituency. Creating an educational climate that is no longer "chilly" toward women may in turn lead to an environment that is welcoming to all students—women and men, African American, Asian American, Hispanic, Native American, international students, and others. The valuable perspectives that these students offer may cause us to redefine dramatically the roles of sex, stars, and studios in architectural education.

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draft of this paper. We also appreciate the photographic assistance of Jill Eyres, Leigh Anne McMillen, Jim Stock, and Terry Turro, and the graphic assistance of Abhijeet Chavan and Anne McDermott.

### Notes

1. Such work is represented by Carol Gilligan, *In a Different Voice* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1982); Deborah Tannen, *You Just Don't Understand: Women and Men in Conversation* (New York: William Morrow, 1990); Sam Keen, *Fire in the Belly: On Being a Man* (New York: Bantam, 1991).

2. Reviews of this research include Myra Sadker and David Sadker, "Confronting Sexism in the College Classroom," in *Gender in the Classroom: Power and Pedagogy*, eds. Susan L. Gabriel and Isaiah Smithson (Urbana, Ill.: University of Illinois Press, 1990); C. S. Pearson, D. L. Shavlik, and J. G. Touchton, *Educating the Majority: Women Challenge Tradition in Higher Education* (New York: Macmillan, 1989); Roberta M. Hall and Bernice R. Sandler, *The Classroom Climate: A Chilly One for Women?* (Washington, D.C.: Project on the Status and Education of Women, Association of American Colleges, 1982); J. K. Ehrhart and Bernice R. Sandler, *Looking for More than a Few Good Women in Traditionally Male Fields*. (Washington, D.C.: Project on the Status and Education of Women, Association of American Colleges, 1987).

3. Janice Roland Martin, "The contradiction and the Challenge of the Educated Woman," *Women's Studies Quarterly* 19(1-2) (1991): 6-27. The cultural construct of masculinity has been studied and popularized of late by a number of scholars and authors. For a review of fifteen recent books that examine the construct of masculinity, see Michael Kimmel, "Reading Men: Men, Masculinity, and Publishing," *Feminist Collections* 13(1) (1991): 11-17.

4. Figure 1 is derived from the U.S. Department of Commerce statistics, 1990. Figure 2 is based on figures supplied by the National Architectural Accrediting Board (NAAB). Figure 3 is based on statistics compiled by the U.S. Department of Commerce in the following document: U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, *Employment and Earnings* (Washington, D.C., U.S. Government Printing Office, January 1990.)

5. Nancy M. Henley, "Psychology and Gender," *Signs* 11(1) (1985): 101-19; Janet Shibley Hyde, "Meta-analyses and the Psychology of Gender Differences," *Signs* 16(1) (1990): 55-73.

6. Hall and Sandler, *Classroom Climate*; Ehrhart and Sandler, *A Few Good Women*.

7. Quoted in Molly Hankwitz, "The Right to Rewrite," *Inland Architect* 35(1) (1991): 52.

8. Sharon E. Sutton, "Power, Knowledge, and the Art of Leadership," *Progressive Architecture* 73(5) (1992): 65. Dana Cuff draws similar conclusions, claiming that architecture's alliance and legacy with art brings about its acceptance of culturally pluralistic ways of knowing and creating. Dana Cuff, *Architecture: The Story of Practice* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1991).

9. As architectural educator Anthony Ward warns: "Architectural education, like architect, is a socially mediated phenomenon. Just as there are dominant and subordinate cultures and forms of knowledge, so also there are dominant and subordinate theories of architecture, and these theories cannot be separated from issues of power and class." The same argument can be made for gender. Anthony Ward, "Biculturalism and Community Design: A Model for Critical Design Education," in *Voices in Architectural Education: Cultural Politics and Pedagogy*, ed. Thomas A. Dutton (New York: Bergin & Garvey, 1991) p. 203.

Another perspective on the same subject: "The root problem appears in all fields and throughout the dominant tradition. It is, simply, that while the majority of humankind was excluded from education and the making of what has been called knowledge, the dominant few not only defined themselves as the inclusive kind of human but also as the norm and the ideal." Elizabeth Kamarck Minnich, *Transforming Knowledge* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1990), pp. 37-38.

10. Sarah M. Evans, *Born for Liberty: A History of Women in America* (New York: Free Press, 1989).

11. The same deficiency is true in many other fields. See Winnifred Tomm and Gordon Hamilton, eds., *Gender Bias in Scholarship: The Pervasive Prejudice* (Waterloo, Ontario, Canada: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1988).

12. Architectural historian Gwendolyn Wright provides a brief history of the teaching of architectural history in U.S. architecture schools. Although she demonstrates that different eras have supported different interpretations, viewpoints, values, and structures of the teaching of architectural history, each era appears to be dominated by the ideological approaches and perspectives of the great male teachers of architectural history (for example, Vincent Scully, James Marston Fitch, James Ackerman, and Walter Creese). Gwendolyn Wright, "History for Architects," *The History of History in American Schools of Architecture 1865-1979*, ed. Gwendolyn Wright and J. Parks (New York: Temple Hoyne Buell Center for the Study of American Architecture, 1990).

13. Cuff, *The Story of Practice*, p. 61.
14. Natalie Kampen and Elizabeth Grossman, *Feminism and Methodology: Dynamics of Change in the History of Art and Architecture*, working paper 122 (Wellesley, Mass.: Center for Research on Women, Wellesley College, 1983).
15. Diane Favro, "Sincere and Good: The Architectural Practice of Julia Morgan," *Journal of Architectural and Planning Research* 9(2) (1992): 125.
16. Christine Battersby, *Gender and Genius: Towards a Feminist Aesthetics* (Bloomington, Ind.: Indiana University Press, 1989).
17. This is illustrated in David Van Zanten's account of the feminine values, orientation, and work of Frank Lloyd Wright. In brief, Van Zanten claims that Wright's enterprise in Oak Park was modeled after his mother's and aunt's approach to teaching kindergarten. His objective was to teach as well as provide a professional service and to teach through design exercises that were lucid, elastic, and nurturing. This conception of design as nurture is essentially feminine. However, it eventually led him into a conflict between the organizing/urban and the nurturing/suburban, which was so frustrating that in 1909 he eventually abandoned it—but he did so after he produced a distinctive and publicly recognized body of architectural work and became a leading star in the architectural annals. See David Van Zanten, "Frank Lloyd Wright's Kindergarten: Professional Practice and Sexual Roles," in Ellen Perry Berkeley and Matilda McQuaid, eds., *Architecture: A Place for Women* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1989), pp. 55–61.
18. Editor Thomas Fisher of *Progressive Architecture* magazine, certainly a leading gatekeeper of the field, recognizes the exploitation and damage created by this star gazing: "The entire profession is affected by the star system because it tends to foster a view among clients and the public at large that architecture is a commodity rather than an act of discipline, a salable product rather than a generative process. Thus, the star system not only destroys the very stars it creates, but it can distort the entire field." However, as he carefully notes, architectural star gazing is part of a larger cultural system: "Changing a system so closely tied to popular culture's fascination with personality and insatiable appetite for consumable images will be difficult." See Thomas Fisher's Editorial, "Star Gazing," *Progressive Architecture* 73(2) (1992): 7.
19. "'White Male Writers' Is the Title of English 112," *New York Times*, 4 Mar. 1991: B4.
20. Karen Kingsley, "Rethinking Architectural History from a Gender Perspective," in Dutton, ed., *Voices in Architectural Education*.
21. Gwendolyn Wright, "Women in American Architecture," in Spiro Kostof, ed., *The Architect: Chapters in the History of the Profession*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1977).
22. Kampen and Grossman, *Feminism and Methodology*.
23. M. J. C., "Robert Venturi Awarded Pritzker Prize," *Architecture* 80(5) (1991): 21.
24. Comments by Denise Scott Brown at plenary session of the Annual Conference of the Association of Collegiate Schools of Architecture, held in Washington, D.C., in April 1991.
25. See Paul Overy et al. *The Rietveld Schröder House* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1988), p. 43. Rietveld's comment here also suggests his subtle maneuvering in encouraging her not to participate in the "drawing board" aspect of design.
26. Anne Griswold Tyng, "From Muse to Heroine: Toward a Visible Creative Identity," in Berkeley and McQuaid, eds., *A Place for Women*, pp. 171–85.
27. Elizabeth Grosz, "Bodies-Cities," in Beatriz Colomina, ed., *Sexuality and Space* (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 1991), p. 247. For other feminist analyses and criticisms of architectural thought, see Hankwitz, "Right to Rewrite"; Pauline Fowler, "Shaking the Foundations," *Fuse* 7(5) (1984): 199–204; Colomina, ed. *Sexuality and Space*; Leslie Kanes Weisman, *Discrimination by Design: A Feminist Critique of the Man-Made Environment* (Urbana, Ill.: University of Illinois Press, 1992).
28. Admittedly, Ritzdorf is a planner, not an architect, but then again, that is part of the nature of narrow labeling in this profession that seeks to effect environmental change in the built landscape. See Marsha Ritzdorf, "Women and the City: Land Use and Zoning Issues," *Urban Resources* 3(2) (1986): 23–27; S. O. Martin, "Rising Stars," *Planning* 54(9) (1988): 6–8.
29. Janie Grote, "Matrix: A Radical Approach to Architecture," *Journal of Architectural and Planning Research* 9(2) (1992): 158–68.
30. Chris Argyris, "Teaching and Learning in Design Settings," *The Papers*, vol. 1 of *Architectural Education Study*. Consortium of East Coast Schools of Architecture (New York: Andrew W. Mellon Foundation, 1981). The master-mystery syndrome in architectural education was also examined in Donald A. Schön, *The Reflective Practitioner* (New York: Basic Books, 1983).
31. Kathryn H. Anthony, *Design Juries on Trial: The Renaissance of the Design Studio* (New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold, 1991) pp. 35, 240. This book was intentionally written in nonsexist language to defy current gender stereotypes in architecture. In numerous instances in both text and graphics, the stereotypical roles of women and men in the profession were purposely reversed.
32. Ibid., p. 3.
33. Gloria Steinem, *Revolution from Within: A Book of Self-Esteem* (Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1992), p.12.
34. Keen, *Fire in the Belly*.
35. Terrence E. Deal and Allan A. Kennedy, *Corporate Cultures: The Rites and Rituals of Corporate Life* (Reading, Mass.: Addison-Wesley, 1982).
36. For a detailed examination of how the architectural workplace is changing, see Robert Gutman, *Architectural Practice: A Critical View* (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 1988).
37. Dutton, ed., *Voices in Architectural Education* (New York: Bergin and Garvey, 1991).
38. Laura Tracy, *The Secret between Us: Competition Among Women* (Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1991).
39. Examples of this are replete in ongoing research by Sherry Ahrentzen and Linda Groat on female faculty in architectural departments. Also see Kathleen Weiler, "Freire and a Feminist Pedagogy of Difference," *Harvard Educational Review* 61(4) (1991): 449–74.
40. See Weiler, "Freire."
41. Mary Field Belenky et al., *Women's Ways of Knowing: The Development of Self, Voice, and Mind* (New York: Basic Books, 1986).
42. Berkeley and McQuaid, eds., *A Place for Women*; Weisman, *Discrimination by Design*.
43. This is often termed *relational* or *cultural feminism*.
44. Karen A. Franck, "A Feminist Approach to Architecture: Acknowledging Women's Ways of Knowing," in Berkeley and McQuaid, eds., *A Place for Women*, pp. 201–16.
45. Ellen Perry Berkeley, "Introduction," in Berkeley and McQuaid, eds., *A Place for Women*, xix.
46. Ibid., p. xxiii.
47. "Conversation: Norma Sklarek, FAIA," *Architecture California* (1985): 23.
48. S. Doubilet, "P/A Reader Poll: Women in Architecture," *Progressive Architecture* 70 (10) (1989): 15–17.
49. Studies on men and women in business and politics make us wonder: If the social structure of the building industry were different, would men and women choose to practice architecture differently? Research on male and female politicians, for example, has documented different driving forces that affect the ways in which they practice their craft (here, their voting records and legislative proposals) when in positions of power. See Ruth B. Mandel and Debra L. Dodson, "Do Women Officeholders Make a Difference?" in Paul Ries and Anne J. Stone, eds., *The American Woman, 1992–93*, (New York: W. W. Norton, 1992).

Also, several management studies document that men and women in certain growth industries manage differently: women more democratically (what is called *transformative leadership*), men with more of the command-and-control style of leadership. See Alice H. Eagly and Blair T. Johnson, "Gender and Leadership Style: A Meta-analysis," *Psychological Bulletin* 108(2) (1990): 233–56; Judy B. Rosener, "Ways Women Lead," *Harvard Business Review* 68(6) (1990): 119–25; "Debate: Ways Men and Women Lead," *Harvard Business Review* 69(1) (1991): 150–60.

50. Nancy Chodorow, *The Reproduction of Mothering* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1978).

51. Cynthia Fuchs Epstein, *Deceptive Distinctions* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1988).

52. Deborah Tannen, *You Just Don't Understand*.

53. See Isaiah Smithson, "Introduction: Investigating Gender, Power, and Pedagogy," in Gabriel and Smithson, eds., *Gender in the Classroom*; Sadker and Sadker, "Confronting Sexism in the College Classroom."

54. Cheri Kramarae and Paula A. Treichler, "Power Relationships in the Classroom," in Gabriel and Smithson, eds., *Gender in the Classroom*; Sadker and Sadker, "Confronting Sexism in the College Classroom."

55. D. A. Karp and W. C. Yoels, "The College Classroom: Some Observations on the Meanings of Student Participation," *Sociology and Social Research* 60(4) (July 1976): 412–39.

56. Sarah Hall Sternglanz and Shirley Lyberger-Ficek, "Sex Differences in Student-Teacher Interactions in the College Classroom," *Sex Roles* 3(4) (August 1977): 345–52.

57. See "What If the Answers Needed to Protect Our Environment Are in a Little Girl's Mind?" *AAUW Newsletter* (Feb. 1991): 1.

58. Mark Frederickson, "Gender and Racial Bias in Design Juries," *JAE* 47(1) (Sept. 1993): 39–49.

59. Tannen, *You Just Don't Understand*; Barrie Thorne, Cheri Kramarae, and Nancy Henley, *Language, Gender and Society* (Rowley Mass.: Newbury House, 1983); Paula A. Treichler and Cheri Kramarae, "Women's Talk in the Ivory Tower," *Communication Quarterly* 31 (1983): 118–32. Most of the studies mentioned here that examine gender differences in student communication involve middle-class culture in four-year colleges and universities.

60. Vicky Spelman, "Combating the Marginalization of Black Women in the Classroom," *Women's Studies Quarterly* 10(2) (1982): 15–16; Ira

Shor, *Critical Teaching and Everyday Life* (Boston: South End Press, 1980).

61. Wayne Attoe and Robert Mugerauer, "Excellent Studio Teaching in Architecture," *Studies in Higher Education* 16(1) (1991): 48.

62. This observational study of student-teacher interactions during the desk crit was conducted by graduate students in architecture at University of Wisconsin–Milwaukee. Observations were limited to five studio instructors (four men and one woman), all teaching the same level studio. Observations were undertaken with a modified version of INTERSECT (Interactions for Sex Equity in Classroom Teaching), a widely used observational instrument developed by educators David and Myra Sadker of American University. Observed instructor reactions included a continuum of teacher reaction that ranged from highly positive (praise) to highly negative (criticism). A *short circuit* occurred when the teacher took over a student's task instead of instructing the student on how to complete the task himself or herself. *Prompts* occurred when an instructor's comment indicated a wish for the student to carry something further, to elaborate or to examine a new area. *Directed comments* were those in which the instructor explicitly told the student what to do. For precise definitions and measurement of these terms, see Myra Sadker et al., *Observer's Manual for Intersect: Interactions for Sex Equity in Classroom Teaching* (Andover, Mass.: Network, Inc., n.d.). The study also found that male faculty tended to spend more time with male students than with female students. Faculty were more likely to prompt students of the opposite sex. Instructors were more than twice as likely to take over a student task and do it for that student, instead of simply giving the student instructions on how to complete it, while critiquing the work of students of the opposite sex. Although all of these findings must be considered tentative in light of the small sample size, these latter findings should be even more so, given the very low number of observations in the female-female dyad. Copies of this study can be obtained from Sherry Ahrentzen or Herb Childress at the University of Wisconsin–Milwaukee.

63. Male students appear unlikely to be harassed. In some instances, male students have reported sexual harassment from other men, whereas female students rarely report such behaviors by other women.

64. Michele A. Paludi and Richard B. Barickman, *Academic and Workplace Sexual Harassment: A Resource Manual* (Albany: SUNY Press, 1991).

65. See Linda J. Rubin and Sherry B. Borgers, "Sexual Harassment in Universities during the 1980s," *Sex Roles* 23(7/8) (1990): 397–411.

66. Figure 9 is based on the following source:

Jean O'Barr Hughes and Bernice R. Sandler, *Peer Harassment: Hassles for Women on Campus*, Report of the Project on the Status and Education of Women (Washington, D.C.: Association of American Colleges, 1988).

67. ACSA Task Force on the Status of Women in Architecture Schools (Sherry Ahrentzen and Linda N. Groat, authors), *Status of Faculty Women in Architecture Schools: Survey Results and Recommendations* (Washington, D.C.: Association of Collegiate Schools of Architecture, 1990).

68. Student comments were elicited from a seminar course on gender and race in architecture taught by Kathryn H. Anthony, in which students were asked to keep a diary, recording their thoughts and feelings anytime the issue of gender or race arose, be it in a studio, a jury, another course in architecture, or any other experience on or off campus. The course contained ten females and two males. Of the ten females, seven were Caucasian, three were students of color: two Americans of East Indian descent, and one American of Hispanic descent. See Sheila Thomas, "Building Equal Foundations," *Daily Illini*, 29 Sept. 1992: 14.

It is worth noting that some of the students enrolled in this new course experienced what journalist Susan Faludi would call "backlash." (See her recent book: Susan Faludi, *Backlash: The Undeclared War against American Women* [New York: Crown, 1991].) Some students reported that when they were preregistering for the course, at least one male professor scoffed at their choice, stating, "I could tell you all there is to know about that subject in twenty minutes!" Other students reported a similar "backlash" from male studio-mates. As one student reported, "I can only recall one male student asking me what the class was about. Everyone else treated the subject of the class as a joke.... WWA is what our class was nicknamed. It stood for Whining Women in Architecture. Were we the ones who were whining, or was it they?"

69. Note that controlled experiments with groups of "normal" college-age men found that even for so-called average good Joes, exposure to certain types of pornography produced increased levels of aggression and hostility and an increased callousness toward women. John Stoltenberg, *Refusing to Be a Man* (New York: Meridian/Penguin Books, 1990), p. 141. Might the after-hours studio culture—in its worst-case analysis—be producing some of the same effects?

70. Hughes and Sandler, *Peer Harassment*; J. Gross, "Schools Are Newest Arena for Sex-Harassment Cases," *New York Times*, 11 Mar. 1992: A1, A16.

71. Rubin and Borgers, *Sexual Harassment in Universities*.

72. M. Sullivan and D. I. Bybee, "Female Students and Sexual Harassment: What Factors Predict Reporting Behavior," *Journal of the National Association for Women Deans, Administrators, and Counselors* 50(2) (1987): 11–16.

73. L. P. Cammaert, "How Widespread Is Sexual Harassment on Campus?" *International Journals of Women's Studies* 8(4)(1985): 388–97.

74. This comment is from a 1991 survey of 290 undergraduate and graduate architectural students at University of Wisconsin–Milwaukee, asking about the physical and interpersonal characteristics of an ideal studio and what physical and interpersonal factors in the studio prevented them from doing their best work. For an analysis of these comments on their studio environments, see Sherry Ahrentzen, "Sex, Plugs, and Rock n' Roll: Students Talk about Life in Studios," *Archimage* (1992).

75. Mary Catherine Bateson, *Composing a Life* (New York: Plume, 1989).

76. Martha Minnow, *Making All the Differ-*

*ence: Inclusion, Exclusion and American Law* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1990), p. 15.

77. See Ahrentzen, "Sex, Plugs, and Rock n' Roll."

78. In reacting to negative faculty criticism about their activism to ameliorate race problems in their school, architecture students responded to the faculty's question, "Why don't you concentrate on your work," with "Why don't you help us rectify the conditions that are preventing us from concentrating on our work?" Julie Diaz, Shirl Buss, and Sheryl Tircuit, "Beyond Cultural Chauvinism: Broadening and Enriching Architectural Education," in Dutton, ed. *Voices in Architectural Education*, p. 137.

79. This point is equally important whether a man or a woman is teaching the course.

80. Dell Upton, "Architectural History or Landscape History?" *JAE* 44(4) (1991): 198.

81. Our view concurs with those of numerous female architectural educators who were interviewed in a recent article. The author of this piece concluded, "The

focus on the individual 'star' designer and his or her building—the goal of most architectural curriculums—precludes both [Frances] Halsband's [Dean of Architecture at Pratt Institute in New York] and [Dolores] Hayden's [Professor of architecture at Yale University] approaches, which require a broader set of intellectual and collaborative responses. Clearly these women and many others are concerned about changing more than the opportunities for advancement in academia for others of their sex. They want to transform the very nature of pedagogy, and with it, the way architects approach and think about the built environment." Heidi Landecker, "Why Aren't More Women Teaching Architecture?" *Architecture* 80(10)(Oct. 1991): 23–25.

82. Jacqueline Leavitt, "Introducing Gender into Architectural Studios," in Dutton, ed. *Voices in Architectural Education*, pp. 225–48.

83. Diaz, Buss, and Tircuit, "Beyond Cultural Chauvinism," p. 133.