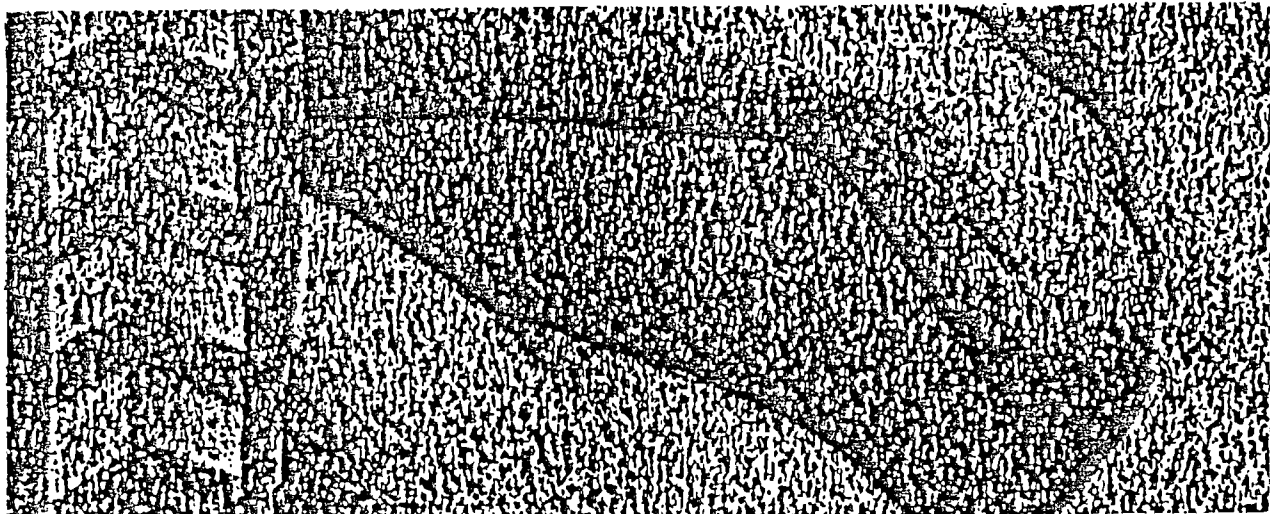


Presented in this book is the documentation produced
during 1986-1987 within the Master of Fine Arts Course
at the Centre for the Arts, University of Tasmania

Mary Scott
November 1987

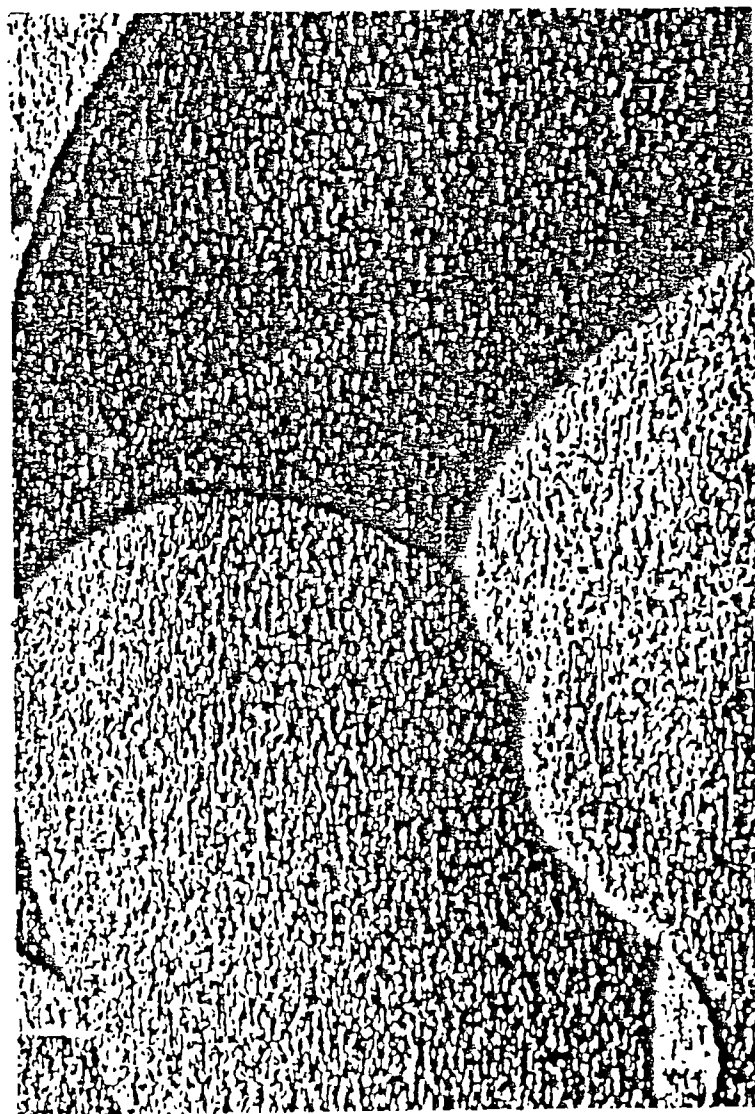
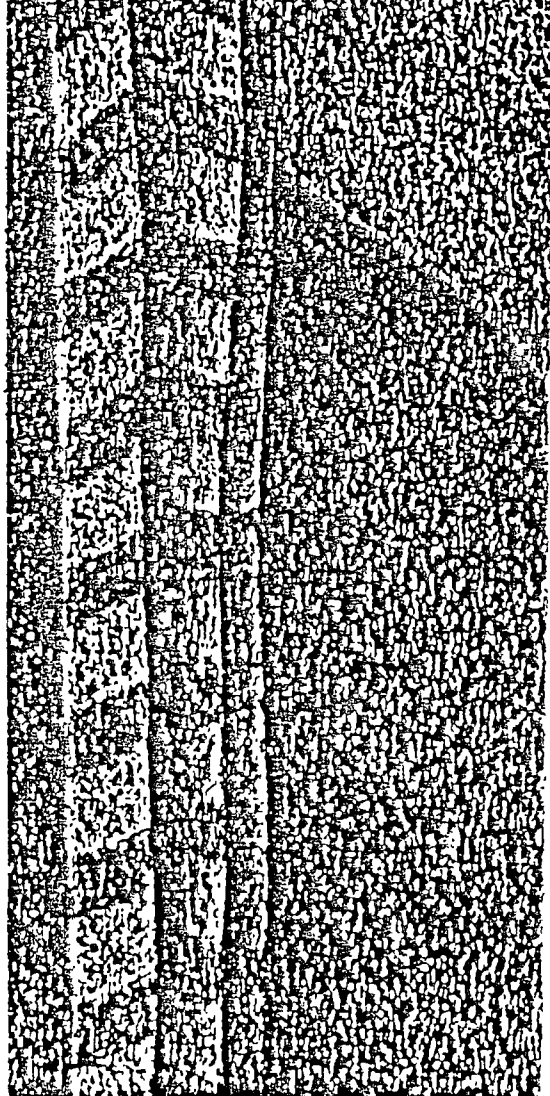
I would like to thank the staff and students
for their criticism and help over the past two years
and especially Lutz Presser, Elizabeth Gertsakis and Geoff Parr



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"Identity may be termed action which is conscious of itself. An identity is also a dimension of existence, action within action, an unfolding of action upon itself. Without identity, action would be meaningless, for there would be nothing upon which action could act. Action must, by its very nature, of itself and its own workings, create identities. Thus ... from action's own workings upon itself ... identity is formed, and ... the two are inseparable.

Identity, because of its characteristics, will continually seek stability, while stability is impossible. Action then, because of its nature, would seem to destroy identity, since action must involve change, and any change seems to threaten identity.

It is this dilemma, between identity's constant attempts to maintain stability and action's inherent drive for change, that results in the imbalance, the exquisite creative by-product that is 'consciousness of self'. For consciousness and existence do not result from delicate balances so much as they are made possible by lack of balances, so richly creative that there would be no reality were balance ever maintained."

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WORK PROPOSAL

To begin this proposal I would like to write briefly about my past work so that its relationship to the development of my current work may be understood. Most of my work to date was a means for expression and release of underlying psychological fears that I experienced as an anorexic female. The issues I addressed revolved around my desires to explore personal needs. In order to do this I sought to become an autonomous individual by rejecting the feminine body and related material objects, which to me signified potential problems. I explored the notion that appearance plays an important part in establishing and validating self-identity and became increasingly interested in clothing and the connection to our 'real' selves and our 'social' selves. By selecting subject matter relevant to my immediate existence and surroundings, personal items that made up and created my individuality (bits of clothing, fabrics, ornaments etc.), I tried to come to some understanding of the nature of my true self. These inanimate objects I considered to be 'safe' and 'harmless', removed from outside influences and the confusion of the 'real' world and people.

The avoidance of outside contact and consequent inner emptiness and loneliness, was reflected in these often dark, introspective pieces. The anorexics obsessive seeking of unobtainable perfection and control in all aspects of life was expressed in the technically precise quality of the work. The egocentric nature of these works led to my desire to put my experiences outside myself and to place them into a social context, to give them more universal form and meaning.

With my current and future work I will continue to address these concerns of body image as integral and essential in projecting and creating identity, selecting images from the external environment to deal with the ever increasing problems of women - self-image, identity, and femininity. My interests lie with the partly obscured image or parts of total images - like a series of movie stills.

I feel these may develop into total abstraction of forms so they will become part of and indefinable from the patterning surrounds - a fusion of body, image and mind; the individual maketh the clothes (image) or the clothes (image) maketh the individual?

I seek an intimacy and personal contact in my work and hope to retain this by creating small works in mainly series form, that demand and draw the viewer in to become personally involved. Though created as individual pieces each work will relate to the others to form a whole concept.

Technically I wish to combine my past discoveries with new imagery which will satisfy and encompass these objectives and concepts while continuing to explore and experiment with contrasts of positive and negative shapes and space, representational and abstract (pattern-making) forms. I am concerned with illusions of space and flatness and the construction of the picture plane as shallow staging and wish to build up and explore surfaces and tonal qualities, for the purpose of creating a variety of visual and actual textural areas to explore these spatial problems. I aim to construct pictures in which shape, colour and spaces form a unique set of relationships, independent of subject matter but which at the same time capture and preserve the emotional overtones created by visual experience. I would eventually like to expand my work into printmaking especially lithography.

Although my interests may alter/intensify in specific ways, the areas outlined above will be the starting point towards producing a body of resolved and exhibitable work at the end of two years.

REVIEW OF PROPOSAL

Partly as a result of my theoretical studies and partly as a result of my own growth and development, my concerns during the two years of the Master of Fine Arts course have altered somewhat from my original intentions. I feel however that some changes are both inevitable and desirable in any ongoing discourse that involves development and expansion. Despite the shift in emphasis the work ultimately does reflect the basic concerns outlined in my original proposal.

Over the two years the work has become increasingly defined, addressing the real issues, with which I am concerned, in a more concise and relevant way. From my now better informed viewpoint these issues are not so much to do with appearance (i.e. clothing) and our 'real' selves but deal instead with the perception of my own reality - my psychology and physiology - as an anorexic female. The paths I have pursued - some failures, others more successful - clarify with a greater awareness, the dilemmas and pre-occupations that were a result of the conflicts I felt between my internal reality and the reality of the outside and as such are a visual dialogue between the two.

The work is primarily concerned with identity, femininity and self-image. It is also about control and perfection, and about dichotomies - desire/aesceticism; mind/body; reason/emotion; male/female. It has in a real sense continued to be autobiographical to a greater extent than I had originally intended. However, despite my failure to apply more universal form and meaning to the work as I had intended, I feel the subject matter with which I am dealing has universal applications in that many women have problems with self-image, identity and self-esteem in a society which has traditionally discouraged them from expressing their desires (sexuality) and imposed upon them a restrictive identity.

It is because of this application, together with the positive experiences of the course, that I envisage this current body of work as a solid basis from which future work of a more mature and informed nature will come.

Unfortunately limited time has not permitted me to extend my drawings into lithographs as I had hoped.

November 1987.

B O D Y A S M E T A P H O R

illness as manifestation of
cultural crisis

INTRODUCTION

Much sociological thought on the body in Western culture is essentially Cartesian in its approach. That is, there is a general acceptance among the social sciences of a rigid mind/body dichotomy. "The social sciences are littered with discourses on 'drives', 'needs' and 'instincts' which ooze out of the id." (Turner, p2) This seems unusual in contemporary society where philosophy has largely abandoned the distinction as invalid.

Human beings are not, however, simply cognitive beings. They are sensitive, active agents both in relation to the external environment of nature and to the internal environment of their sensations and sensibility. For as Wartovsky declares:

"The identity is not, reductively, that of the mind with the body, as body, nor of the body with the mind, as mind, rather the identity, or the unity is the totality itself, as a functional or organic one, that is an activity of living, thinking, feeling, willing, whose organic condition is certainly a material or physical body, but only a body of a certain kind, the acting body whose externality is a relational one, and that therefore cannot be reduced to a composite or aggregate physical thing except in death."
(Wartovsky in Feurbach, p408)

It can be said that the individual is a product of her own productive activity, creating herself in the labour of producing the means of her existence in a social organisation that assures the production and reproduction of the species. The body as such can be regarded not only as a natural environment but as an environment that is socially constructed as well; since illness and disease have a close connection to cultural activity they can be seen in terms of metaphors of problems of societal disorder and control. The aim of this thesis is to discuss this premise by looking at various important factors associated with a sociology of the body.

The paper is divided into two sections. The first part begins with a brief discussion on the nature of 'disease' and 'illness' and their relationship to moral evaluation and cultural interpretation. This is followed by a section on the 'government' of the body in society and how certain illnesses - in particular the disorders of women - are considered to be disorders of society because the regulation of the body in society is closely connected to the control of female sexuality. The discussion then turns to the 'disciplines' of the body and how dietary management historically evolved out of a theology of the flesh and moralistic medicine that aimed at the control of desire through discipline. This movement developed eventually into a science of the efficient body whereby diet exists to promote and preserve desire in order to maintain the capitalistic need for continual consumption. The final section deals with the current lifestyle of 'calculating hedonism' and the new narcissistic individual which have evolved in the late capitalistic period.

The second part of this thesis will attend specifically to the nature of the illness anorexia nervosa. I propose that although it would be futile to deny that anorexia is a multi-dimensional disorder that encompasses psychological and physiological features, it is to a foremost a complex sociological aetiology that is deeply expressive of the pressures placed on women to conform in a society where thinness is viewed as a norm of aesthetic value and sexual desirability.

ILLNESS AS METAPHOR

Taylor defines 'disease' as "a specific technical sense referring to configurations of pathological abnormalities". By contrast 'illness' refers to "clinical manifestations" which can be regarded as either symptoms (subject sensations) or signs (objective findings discovered by an expert observer) (Taylor, p8). Thus while disease can be defined by neutral biological criteria, illness is essentially social since it refers to undesirable deviation from accepted social norms of health and appropriate behaviour. Because human beings are ambiguously located in both nature and culture, they are subject to both disease and illness.

Bryan Turner, in his book The Body and Society, argues against this classification, disagreeing with the claim that disease is simply a fact of nature. He proposes that disease is subject to cultural processes as much as illness and that "the concepts of 'illness', 'disease' and 'health' inevitably involve some judgement which ultimately rests on criterion of statistical frequency or an ideal state." (Turner, p208) The evidence for this lies in the fact that the 'average individual' does not exist, and biological functions can be realized by very different means. Disease is not a fact but rather a product of classificatory processes. These classifications change as changes in institutionalized medicine and the nature of medical power occur. Thus, for example, the disease that was known in the nineteenth century as inebriety became in the twentieth century the disease of alcoholism. Disease is, according to Turner, a system of signs which can be read and translated in various ways.

In his theories on medicine Foucault recognizes that changes in the form of knowledge of disease are related to forms of power. From his perspective, the labels of scientific medical practice are not statements about disease, but effects of power knowledge and are products of specific discourses (Foucault, 1967). Thus disease cannot be viewed as a unitary concept, nor as a factual statement about natural processes, rather, it is a classification "reflecting both material and ideal form". (Turner, p225) It can be said then that illness can reflect social anxieties about patterns of social behaviour which are deemed acceptable or otherwise from the point of view of



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the dominant social group. Because this is so, illness can be a powerful metaphor of inappropriate cultural structures. So, although illness is often regarded as deviant behaviour, it is also heavily structured by cultural beliefs. It becomes impossible to discuss the nature of illness without locating the concept within a hierarchy of moral evaluation, which in turn has to be understood with reference to power in social groups.

Throughout history the management of the individual body has had a close relationship to the government of the social body - both require discipline, order and morality. Primarily health depends upon morality since improper life-styles are regarded as the root of personal illness and individual immorality the product of social disorder. Prescriptions for health implicitly or explicitly carry with them prescriptions of behaviour which are simultaneously abnormal and immoral. What is considered to be biologically normal is grounded in notions of what is socially normal or acceptable. In the nineteenth-century much of the merging of medicine and morality was organized around the problems of sexual deviation, especially in women and children. For example, the illnesses agoraphobia, masturbatory insanity and hysteria can be seen as metaphors of Victorian moral notions.

In our current society the technical sophistication of contemporary medicine claims much of its validity on the notion that disease is a natural not a cultural phenomenon. This notion exists alongside medical evaluation of the benefits of a 'healthy life' to physical well-being. One example of this is the issue of sexually transmitted diseases which are, in most cases, associated with illicit or promiscuous behaviour. Gonorrhoea, herpes, AIDS and cervical cancer are all associated with the liberalization of sexual mores. So, although it is common knowledge that these diseases are a result of the invasion of external viruses into the body, more often than not, it is believed that it is the deviance of human populations from morality that is the problem. Without a known cure the implication of these 'epidemics' is that monogamy, sexual fidelity or celibacy are the primary defence against infection. It appears that although contemporary societies possess an extensive body of knowledge relating to the natural causation of disease, some illnesses continue to be interpreted in moral terms.

Another important feature of disease is that it is sensitive to gender relations. Certain characteristic illnesses are manifestations of the social location of female sexuality or more precisely illnesses which are associated with subordinate social roles. The illnesses of women, particularly those of middle-class women, have one important thing in common - they are, at least sociologically, products of dependency. Female sickness - hysteria, depression, melancholy, agoraphobia, anorexia or bulimia - is ultimately a psychosomatic expression of emotional and sexual anxieties which are built into the separation of the public world of authority and the private world of feeling.

SOCIETY AND BODILY ORDER

It is argued that the problem of the order of populations is fundamental to any social theory. Turner proposes that much social debate about social order in contemporary sociology owes a great deal to the formulation of the so-called Hobbesian problem of order. For Hobbes the body was an "extension" and he described man as an "animated rational body". He argued that men were naturally equal in four main characteristics: "strength of body, experiences, passions and reason" but these qualities are undermined he said by "vanity, appetite and comparison". (Turner, p87) This undermining occurs because men necessarily come into conflict with one another in order to survive. Hobbes deduces that man naturally lives in a state of physical conflict but because he also possesses reason, it is reasonable for men to seek peace in order for them to secure their lives. Thus, the solution to the problem of maintaining order is to create a society in which men transfer their individual rights to the state which creates the condition of stability. The result of this arrangement based on mutual consent is a 'body politic' which "may be defined to be a multitude of men, united as one person, by a common power, for their common peace, defence and benefit". (Turner, p88) The body politic is thus the artificial body which provides the framework within which the real bodies of men can find security and peace. The stability of this body politic rests on the stability of domestic peace within patriarchal households. Hobbes claimed that the power of husbands was analogous to the power of kings because by nature men are superior to women. Thus for Hobbes the continuity of society was grounded in the continuity of bodies, property and power.

Turner suggests that Hobbes' theory is essentially individualistic because it does not account for the ways in which societies are structured by class, ethnicity, status or gender. Hobbes saw sexual differentiation as simply a differentiation of bodies and their potentialities and he had little conception of the cultural specialization of men and women into social roles. As such, the Hobbesian problem of order, based on a unitary concept of the body, ignored the important fact that the regimen of political society requires a government of bodies defined by their multiplicity and diversity.

Hobbes' theory is primarily an analysis of the proper relationship between desire and reason or, in other words, the relationship between men as bearers of public reason and women as embodiments of private emotion.

Because Hobbes' physicalist account of the body obviously does not take into consideration the subjectivity of the body and the embodiment of consciousness in corporeal being it would appear that Hobbesian materialism has little to offer modern sociology as a theory of social order. Turner argues that it is no longer possible to accept this definition of the body, since the body is simultaneously physically given and culturally constituted. He proposes however that modern discussions of social order appear to have neglected the problem that was central to Hobbes, namely the problem of the body in space and time and he suggests that it is possible to rewrite Hobbes in order to produce a theory of social order which starts out from the problem of regulating bodies.

The Hobbesian theory of order proposes that in every social system the government of bodies is regulated by four major tasks. These are:

- 1) The reproduction of populations through time;
- 2) Their regulation in space;
- 3) The restraint of the interior body through disciplines, and
- 4) The representation of the exterior body in social space.

These four dimensions of the body have been considered by a variety of social theorists, but no single theory has yet attempted to present a coherent account of the relationship between these features of corporeality. However, it is possible in order to illustrate these dimensions to select several social theorists who were especially associated with a particular feature of the corporeality of social relations.

For the purpose of this thesis the value of these four issues is that it brings into focus the fact that all social structures which institutionalize inequality and dependency can be fought out at the level of micro-politics of deviance and disease. More specifically certain characteristic 'illnesses' are associated with these four dimensions and these illnesses are manifestations of the social location of female sexuality, or in other words illnesses which are associated with subordinate social roles. Because the body is the most potent metaphor of society, it is not surprising that disease is the most salient metaphor of structural crisis. "All disease is disorder - metaphorically, literally, socially and politically." (Turner, p220)

Reproduction

In order to survive all societies must reproduce their means of existence (food, shelter, clothing) and every society has to reproduce its members. Engels regarded these two requirements as the determining factors in a society's history. (Engels, p6)

It is Thomas Malthus' theory of populations that is central to debates about the reproduction of populations and the problem of population control. He suggests that humankind is dominated by two universal urges - to eat and to satisfy sexual passions - which he described as fixed laws of nature. Since reproductive capacity outweighs the capacity to produce food, Malthus proposed certain moral preventative checks to restrain population growth. He suggested that delayed marriage and celibacy would provide the most rational system of restraint and it would also encourage positive moral virtues because the time of delayed sexual gratification would be spent in saving earnings and thus lead to "habits of sobriety, industry and economy." (Malthus, p161)

There has been much criticism of Malthus. Marx rejected Malthusianism on the grounds that it derived population laws from fixed laws of human nature instead of treating instincts as products of social relationships. Another criticism of Malthus is that he failed to see how technological changes in agricultural production would increase food supply without a great increase in the cultivation of



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the land mass. Furthermore, his analysis implicitly assumes the existence of patriarchy and gerontocracy, since delayed marriage which he supported could not operate effectively without a system of patriarchal households. This system of household power, in turn, required a powerful morality that advocated the benefits of delayed sexual gratification.

Malthus provides two moral arguments against 'vice'. First, moral deviation in the form of homosexuality, abortion and masturbation is contrary to Christian teaching (which does not account for those who didn't accept Christian values). The second, which could be described as "ethic utilitarianism" proposed that "we will be happier in marriage if we arrive at that condition with our passions intact and our sexual energies undiluted." (Turner, p96) Thus sexual asceticism before marriage was viewed as a period of moral accumulation and masturbation came to be seen as an unproductive activity - a wasteful luxury of the morally idle. By the nineteenth-century there emerged a cluster of medical categories - such as masturbatory insanity and spermatorrhea - to support this notion and to classify the negative consequences of unproductive sexuality. These ranged from acne and headaches to blindness and death. (Skulton, p73)

It seems likely that this horror over masturbation was a defensive reaction against what was perceived as a diminution of parental authority as patriarchal control over the household began to some extent be weakened by the doctrine of individualism, the growth of public schooling and the decline of arranged marriages, which were inconsistent with the Puritan notion of individual responsibility. Masturbation, by threatening the hold of patriarchal authority was perceived as a threat to the order of society.

So although Malthusian ideology received much criticism it is useful in this context as an example of the way in which societies impose 'moral' restrictions on its members in order to control reproduction and to guarantee the continuation of that society's particular values, ideals and philosophies.

Restraint

The reproduction of population in European societies has been controlled by monogamy, celibacy, delayed marriages and patriarchy. The system of primogeniture demands of the individual a number of ascetic restraints over the sexuality of the household members in the interests of accumulation and conservation. In early capitalism the restraint on sexuality and reproduction was achieved by Malthusian checks. Individual capitalists needed healthy, reliable and disciplined workers - hence their enthusiasm for evangelical Protestantism. But at the same time they did not want the burden of Poor Laws, asylums and welfare taxation - hence their interest in a 'reserve army' of labour and migrant workers. Malthus' argument is thus brutally simple: "where workers fail to exercise 'moral restraint' over their reproductive potential, they will be driven by poverty and misery to restrain their reproduction". (Turner, p99) Thus the growth in Protestantism brought about a rational ordering of the body through self-discipline and subjective coercion to disrupt personal desire in the interests of continuous factory production. The links between capitalism and self-control in the secular household will be discussed in greater depth in the section on asceticism, but it is relevant at this point to note that the social restraints of an ascetic nature in early capitalist expansion had particular significance for women, because, in order to secure the stability of the system of property distribution, capitalism required widespread restraints on their sexuality. The political and ideological regulation of female sexuality is dramatically expressed by the female hysteric in the nineteenth-century. The notion of the 'hysterical woman' can be explained in the contradictory social pressures on women. The term 'hysteria' is derived from the Greek word 'hystera' or 'womb' since the cause of hysteria was thought to be underemployment of the womb. It was noted that working class women rarely suffered hysteria, while wealthy but unmarried women were commonly oppressed by it. The 'lazy womb' was thus correlated with the lazy person as a moral condition, prevalent among certain classes of women. The social restraints on women by gerontocratic and patriarchal control was supposedly implemented to promote the stability of personal happiness of women, but in reality caught them in a contradictory set of circumstances.

Women were regarded as overcharged with sexual energies, but marriage - their only legitimate outlet for their sexuality - was often delayed within the traditional marriage pattern. However, because of the moral regulation of masturbatory practices by certain medical theories which proclaimed the dangers of sexual self-gratification and the resulting inexperience of their own bodies, once married, women were thought to be sexually underdeveloped. While during pregnancy they avoided the horrors of hysteria, social convention confined women to the private domestic sphere, where isolation and the burden of children brought on new forms of depression. The problem was that men were both necessary for female happiness and, through endless pregnancies, the cause of their distress. Thus hysteria as part of a medical ideology of true womanliness had the social functions of keeping women in their places in the private sphere away from the dangers of public life.

Regulation

The reproduction and restraint of bodies cannot be separated from the regulation of populations in social space with the growth of urban societies. From the eighteenth-century onwards, urbanization was seen increasingly as a threat to culture, especially to the dominant culture of the elite. Prior to industrialization and hence urbanization, a system referred to by Turner as "appearential ordering" (Turner, p104) identified persons by the visibility of fixed status. However, with increasing growth in population the techniques of regulation came instead to be bound up with notions of interpersonal intimacy and social anonymity.

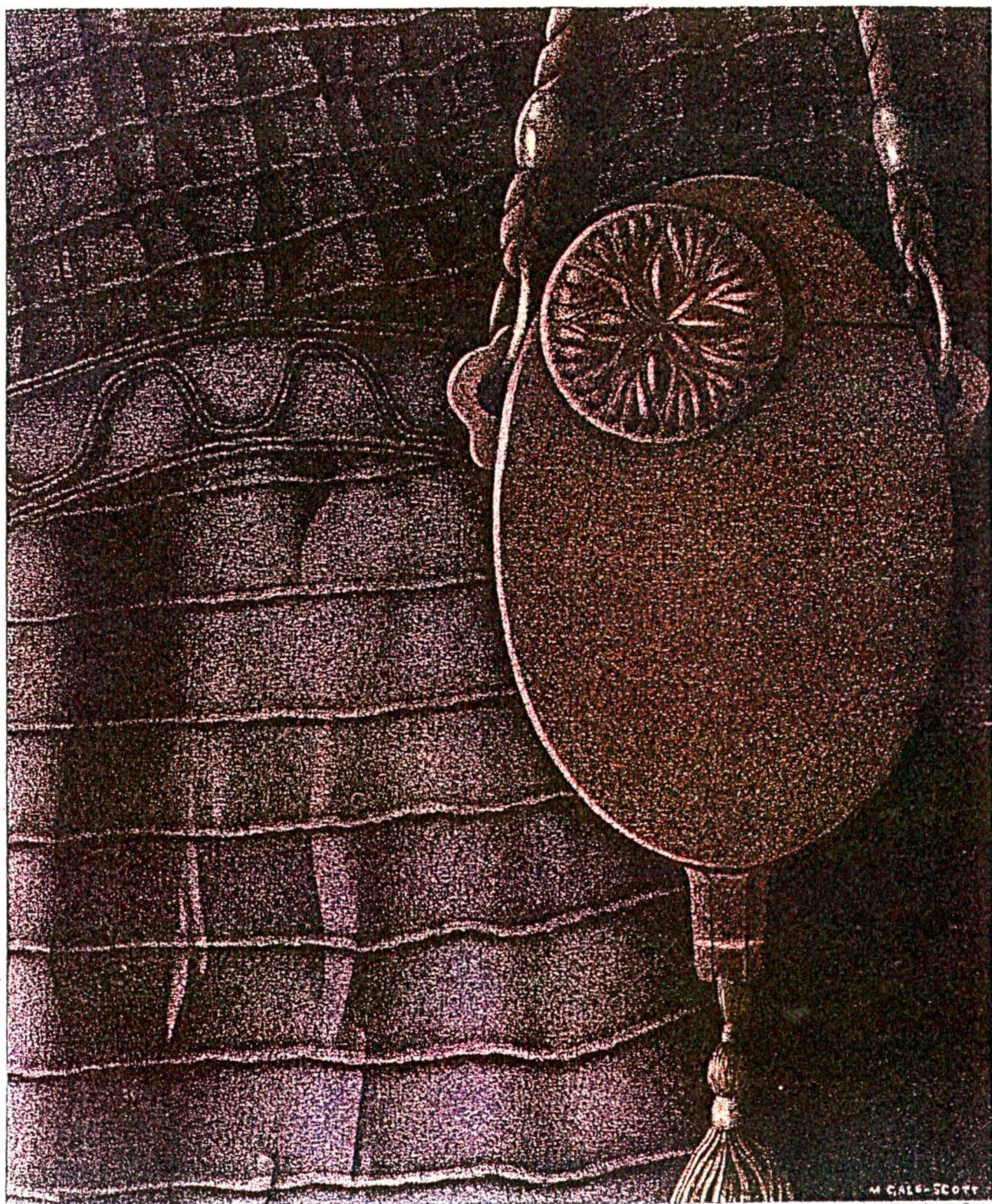
In his account of society Rousseau proposed that in urban crowding individuals became increasingly dependent on the opinions of others rather than on personal reputation and consequently their proper self-respect degenerated into selfishness. Thus urbanization undermined the moral coherence and dignity of the individual. In short, Rousseau argued that "In proportion as the human race grew more numerous, men's cares increased." (Rousseau, p77) In large cities troubles accumulate with the accumulation of men because "everything is judged by appearance" and there is "no leisure to examine anything". (Rousseau, p59)

As reputational worth rather than personal value becomes the sole criterion of personal wealth people are motivated by selfishness. Durkheim supports this view by proposing that population density and the division of labour results in a society based on reciprocity (organic solidarity) in which the individual is less subject to collective culture. Both these views articulate the anxiety felt in the nineteenth-century about the moral consequences of urbanization as it became increasingly recognized that in such societies bodies become politically dangerous without institutional regulation and control. The solution to the problems of surveillance and supervision of urban populations was brought about by a centralized registration of bodies for policing under a system referred to by Foucault as "panopticism". (Foucault, 1979, p139) This system required a progressive subordination of individuals to rational disciplines under a process of bureaucratization, regulation and classification.

Despite these controls, however, the dangers of urban-space remained an ever-present reality in the nineteenth-century - in particular for middle-class women, who were seen to be especially exposed to the sexual dangers of urban space because of insults, abduction and moral degradation. Women were encouraged by social and political attitudes to stay at home away from the dangers of urban space. This had the twofold purpose of displaying the economic status of her husband whilst at the same time proclaiming her moral innocence. For as de Swann states:

"Women appearing in the streets alone 'had to be' women who went working of necessity, women whose husbands could not provide for their families single-handedly; such women could not possibly be decent."
(de Swann, p363)

Eventually when conditions which made the streets safer for women - street lighting, a police force, reduction in street violence - had improved, male anxiety about female independence necessarily increased and the first coherent medical descriptions of agoraphobia began to appear. In Freudian terms, the agoraphobic fears sexual seduction and represses libidinous interests in strangers and thus becomes anxious about leaving home and entering crowded spaces.



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Agoraphobia in wives expressed the anxiety of husbands with regard to their control over the domestic household, but it also expresses the wife's dependence on the security and status of the bourgeois family setting. The complaint both expressed female dependency and reproduced it. Fear of outside space was successfully converted into a medical condition, which legitimized the power relationship of the household.

Representation

Prior to industrialization the personality of an individual was objectified in the external marks of status and insignia. Heraldic signs stood for distinction, identifying both the person and his status. The moral value of the individual was based on the notion of 'honour' - which was embedded in institutional roles so that personal and social symbols coincides. With the development of industrialization, the aristocracy was largely demilitarized and transformed into an agrarian capitalist class and the hierarchal concept of honour by inheritance was gradually replaced by the notion of the gentleman as the product of education. Thus formal differences on the basis of status have been substituted in contemporary society by differences in merit and achievement. Personal moral status has become flexible, instead of honour the modern personality now has 'dignity'. Whereas honour implied that identity was essentially linked to institutional roles, the modern concept of dignity by contrast implies that identity is essentially independent of institutional roles. (Berger, p84) The self is constituted in face-to-face interactions because consumerism and the mass market has blurred the divisions of social and personal difference. Self and the presentation of self have become dependent on style and fashion rather than fixed symbols of class or hierarchal status.

This new personality type has been referred to by sociologists as the "performing self" (Goffman, Stone). Cooley spoke of the "looking glass self" which could not exist outside the gaze of others. Appearance became dependent upon others' responses and was seen to be the basis of not only personal esteem, but constitutive of the self.

Thus within social interaction the self and one's public appearance are not so much co-joined but merged. (Stone, p186) The new self was a visible self and the body suitably decorated and presented came to symbolize the status of the personal self. Consequently self-validation and social success depended on an ability to manage the self by the adoption of appropriate interpersonal skills and success hinged on the presentation of an acceptable image. Reality in society became entirely representational, with identity becoming embodied in external performances.

This growth of the performing self in modern society has a direct relationship to illness - in particular illnesses of women. As women from the middle-classes entered public society in the twentieth-century with the growing demand for labour in the post-war period of Western capitalism, 'female complaints' became increasingly presentational and symbolic of anxieties about the surface of the body and sexual desirability.

By way of a brief summary this section has looked at the ways in which the regime of political society is in fact a regimen of bodies. Societies face a four-fold problem of order - reproduction, restraint, regulation and representation. Societies can only exist insofar as they reproduce their means of existence and reproduce their human members. The sexual means of reproduction are only biological in the most trivial sense: sexuality is distributed through the society by social relations of possession and ownership which determine what sexual unions are legitimate and desirable. Since the government of bodies is essentially the government of sexuality the problem of regulation becomes in reality the regulation of female sexuality. Thus any sociology of the body has to simultaneously be an analysis of patriarchy and gerontocracy. The organization of such societies depends more on the coherence of the dominant class than the incorporation of subordinate classes. Some diseases are symbolic of the form of dependency and domination which are constituted by different forms of society. Hysteria, anorexia, bulimia and agoraphobia are diseases of sexual dependency and the language of these complaints is essentially political.

ASCETISM

Although eating is a fundamental "body technique" (Mauss) - that is an activity which has a basic physiological function - it is also heavily mediated by culture. While feeding a child is an act of care and support, it is also an imposition of a 'mode of living' (a regimen) on a subordinate.

A medical regimen is a set of rules or guidelines imposed upon an individual to ensure the person's well-being. This regime aims to restore the balance of the body through a system of purges, fasting, sweating and diet. In this sense the diet becomes a mode of living set within a particular government of the body by medical practices. These regimens can be of a voluntary or involuntary nature. Voluntary government involves a verbal contract between patient and doctor, whereby the patient undertakes a mode of living to regain health. However medical regimens involve a certain loss of self-will because the regime works only if it is followed. Such regimens imply therefore an element of choice and responsibility on the part of the patient. Involuntary regimes, on the other hand, may be seen in the enforced confinement of the insane or the seclusion of lepers.

Gaining control over one's own feeding patterns involves a growth in personal autonomy and refusing to eat or engaging in forced vomiting is an act of rebellion. Thus the mode of eating can also be seen as a site of familial politics in which the self-imposed diet becomes an illustration of a voluntary regimen. The body in this situation becomes a location for the exercise of will and personal control over desire, the achievement of which enhances self-esteem.

Many commentaries associate orgy and fast with the macro-politics of the social system - orgiasticism has often been associated with political protest, while asceticism has been connected with restraint and control. As such "The achievement or exclusion of certain modes of living can be suitably analysed by political metaphors of government from dictatorship to anarchy." (Turner, p180) Two medical conditions in modern society - anorexia nervosa and bulimia - are examples of individualized forms of protest which employ the body as a medium of protest against the consumer self. As orgy and asceticism are both

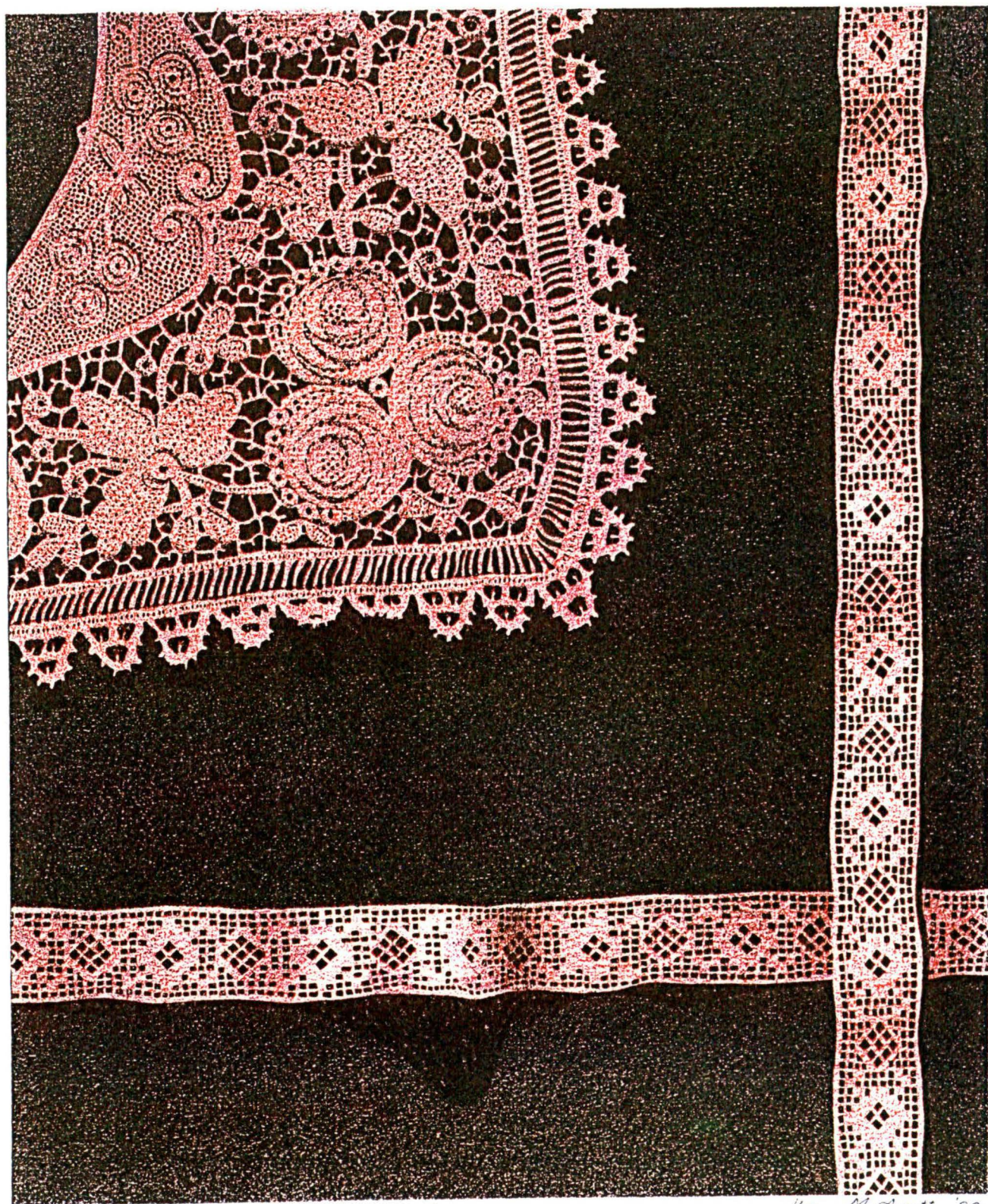
culturally mediated 'modes of living' with a specific social significance (Turner, p181) bulimia and anorexia become individual solutions to social problems, dominated by the routines of physiological consequences over which, by definition, the individual has no control.

The History of Dietary Management

The term diet comes from the Greek 'diata' meaning the general conduct and organization of life which included forms of dress, behaviour and attitude. A second meaning of 'diet' comes from the assembly of princes for the purpose of political legislation and administration. This meaning is derived from the French word 'dies' (day) because these political diets met on specific days and were regulated by a calendar. Thus diet is either a regulation of an individual's body or a regulation of the body politic. Interestingly, the term 'regimen' also has a double meaning. It is derived from 'regere' (rule) and, as a medical term, means a therapeutic system, usually involving diet. Regime is also a system of government of the body and the government of citizens and as such supports the argument that metaphors of health and illness are persistent metaphors of social organization. (Sontag, p87)

While the practice of asceticism has been widespread among certain groups in nearly all cultures in recorded history it has probably been the most common among cultures with an explicit dualistic philosophy of mind and body. This split between the mind and the body - spirit and flesh - is found primarily in Christianity and the Western tradition. The flesh is seen as the seat of unreason, passion and desire - the symbol of moral corruption - which must be subdued by self-control and self-punishment. This may involve hard physical work, limited relaxation or sometimes self-imposed discomfort, pain or mutilation. More often though it involves frugal eating and sexual abstinence.

In Christianity controlled diet and asceticism have been a recurrent mode of life. In medieval times, the attempt to create a rational and systematic regimen of denial was largely confined to the relig-



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ious orders who as it were practiced asceticism on behalf of the laymen. This, in effect, allocated reason to the internal domain of the monastery, while desire and sexual activity ran rampant in the profane world of the lower classes. The monks' reasoning for this self-denial was, according to Weber, that "ascetic alertness, self-control and methodical planning of life are seriously threatened by the peculiar irrationality of the sexual act, which is ultimately unsusceptible to rational organization." (Weber, p238)

In the fourteenth-century when dietary management began to be extended beyond the monasteries it was at first primarily directed at the upper classes. This shift occurred because it was observed that obesity and alcoholic poisoning were becoming an increasing threat to the wealthy population. These illnesses were seen as a physical manifestation of the social flabbiness of the social system and so attempts to solve the social and physiological pathology were sought in the government of the body through diet and discipline.

Likewise, in the sixteenth and seventeenth-centuries melancholy or the "English Malady" as it was called became increasingly recognized. The main cause of this social and mental disease it seemed was idleness. Three types of idleness were distinguished, namely the voluntary idleness of rogues, the idleness that accompanied noble status, and the enforced idleness of the religious. But it was in particular the idleness of the wealthy, with their extravagant diets and the absence of labour that caused increasing concern amongst reformers. The combination of leisure and luxury had especially damaging consequences for unmarried women in the gentry class. Virginity, and nobility both led to idleness and isolation, and hence to melancholy. Remedies such as 'labour, exercise, strict diet, rigour and threats' (Burton) were recommended and instituted. Society thus presupposed a hierarchy of political control, descending from the state, through the patriarchal household, to the body and desires. The government of female bodies was linked, via patriarchy, with the government of the household.

Obesity and lack of exercise was again a problem a century later when, as George Cheyne noted, the expansion of trade and the growth of mercantile wealth brought exotic foods to England which provoked "the Appetites, Senses and Passions in the most exquisite and volump-

tuous Appetite." (Cheyne, p49) Observing that "When mankind was simple, plain, honest and frugal, there were few or no diseases" he recommended a strict diet with regular exercise for the sedentary merchant and professional classes. Cheyne regarded diet and exercise as moral activities which promoted the control of unruly passions. These views were highly congenial to the religious outlook of John Wesley and the early Methodists who began, via the non-conformist chapels and meeting houses, to extol the virtues of the dietary regimen of the monasteries and upper classes to the secular household. Abstinence, the control of passions, fasting and regularity were held up as ideal norms for the whole of society. This meant that as everyday life came under the scrutiny of individual consciousness the person became more subordinated to detailed regulations. The invasion of dietary management into the home was eventually combined with the broader movement of general hygiene for the working class family under the auspices of the medical profession. Whereas Cheyne had originally used very general classifications, diets now became specific to persons individuated by age, class, sex and condition. thus dietary disciplines became progressively specialized, secularized and rationalized. Under scientific dietetics, food and sexual passions ceased to be a stimulant of desire and became instead a condition of efficient labour. Because 'time is money' and idle hands are 'sinful', the free-play of desire was subdued in the routines of work.

Thus the rationalizations of Western society in the late eighteenth and nineteenth-centuries had found a new object of exploration and control - the human body itself. Having gained control in technology and consciousness, the spread of scientific and technorational procedures extended into new territory - the body of individuals and the body of populations. The institutionalization of the body in what Foucault calls "panopticism" made possible statistics of populations and new practices of quantification in clinical medicine, demography, eugenics, penology, criminology and sociology.

Foucault points to population pressure as the factor that enforces the expansion and development of new regimes and regimens of control. The accumulation of men in urban space, a direct result of industrialization, necessitated a new institutional order of prisons, asylums, clinics, factories and schools to maintain and control these bodies. As appeals to morality and the deployment of the church were no longer sufficient for the control of individual

desire it became necessary to survey and inspect urban populations by new means.

The result was a policy of regulatory controls which became:

"an indispensable element in the development of capitalism; the latter would not have been possible without controlled insertion of bodies into the machinery of production and the adjustment of the phenomenon of population to economic processes. But this was not all it required, it also needed the growth of both these factors, their reinforcement as well as their availability and docility; it had to have methods of power capable of optimizing forces, aptitudes, and life in general without at the same time making them more difficult to govern."
(Foucault, 1981, p141)

Thus the health and the discipline of populations, by way of controls and regulations, became a necessary condition for the growth and profits of capitalism. This regulation of the social body was based on new principles of domestic organization and as alliances between the family and the state, between medicine and household, were formed, the family became the locus of rationalization and personal asceticism. In summary then Foucault argued that the rationalization of the body and of populations by new combinations of power and knowledge, was a result of the effect of population densities which threatened the political order of society in the nineteenth-century. With the utilization of medical science to control bodies and populations the close relationship between asceticism and capitalism becomes obvious.

One peculiar feature of the mode of production in late capitalist society, however, is that it does not require an ascetic mode of desire. Pleasures are produced by the process of commodification and elaborated by the circuit of consumption. The modern location of dieting has become almost the reverse of its eighteenth-century position. In a society where religious notions play very little part in general culture, health itself becomes the justification for dieting. Whereas, previously, religious medical dieting sought to achieve the control of the 'passions' in the inner body with a regime of purges and restraints, the consumer diet seeks to enhance the surface of the body - the cosmetic signs of desirability - by the practices of body maintenance and hedonistic calculation, and the amplification of desire, not ascetic restraint, becomes

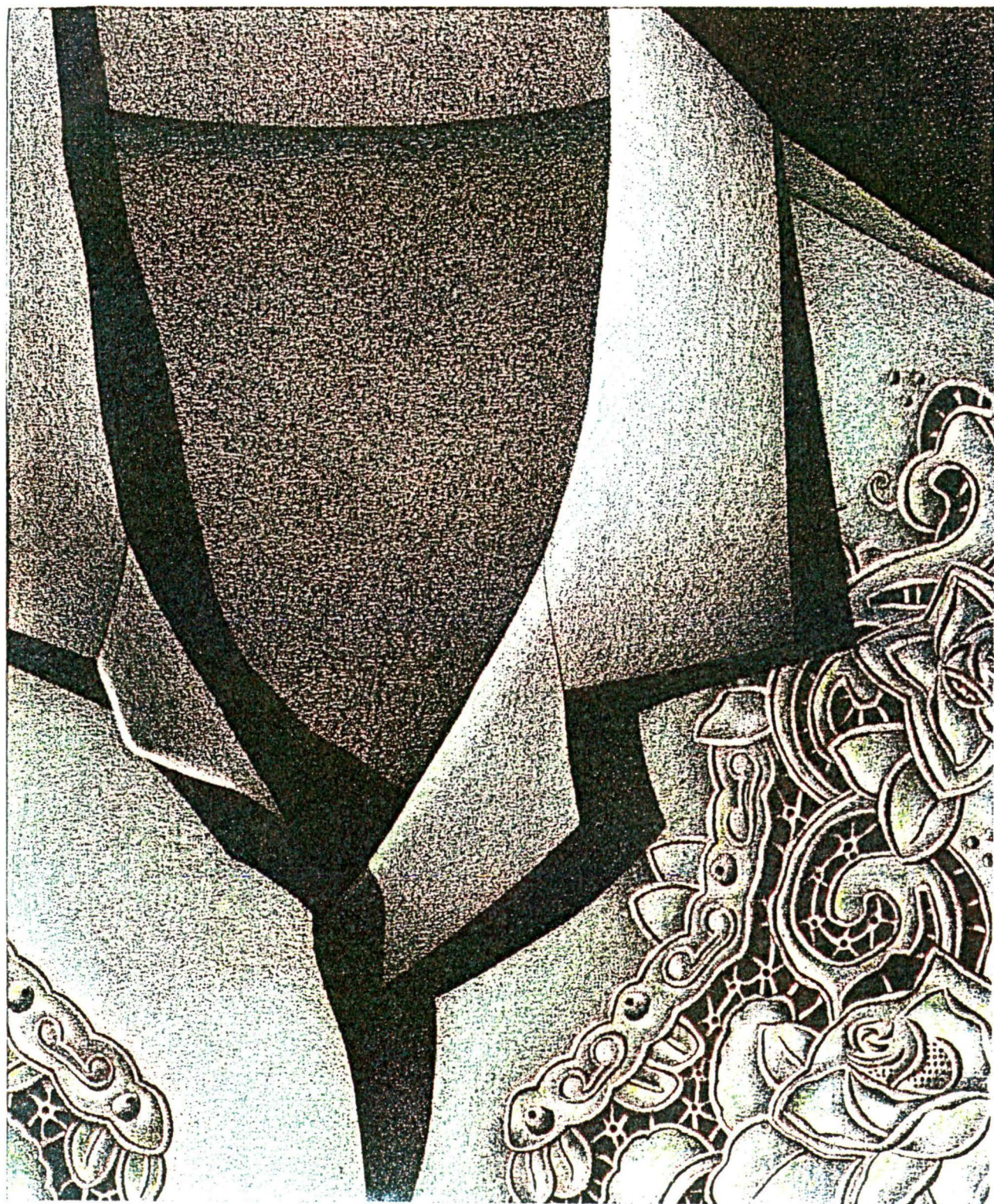
the regimen of bodies. Thus in becoming more organized around calculating hedonistic choices by advertising the stimulation of need and luxury consumption, late capitalism does not so much suppress desire as express it, produce it and direct it towards increasing want satisfaction.

Asceticism has been transformed into practices which promote the body in the interests of commercial sensualism.

In summary, it can be said that this new ethic of managerial asceticism, which defines premature ageing, obesity and unfitness as sins of the flesh, is the contemporary version of the Protestant ethic. Capitalism has promoted hedonism throughout the class system as a life-style to be emulated and valued. So as strange as it seems this new hedonism, although perfectly geared into the market requirements of advanced capitalism, is also compatible with ascetism. Hedonistic fascination with the body exists to enhance competitive performance. We exercise and diet not necessarily for their intrinsic enjoyment, but to improve our chances of sex, work and longevity:

"Within a consumer culture the body is proclaimed as a vehicle of pleasure: it is desirable and desiring and the closer the actual body approximates to the idealized images of youth, health, fitness and beauty, the higher the exchange value. Consumer culture permits the unashamed display of the human body."
(Featherstone, p21)

The new asceticism of competitive social relations exists to create desire. The irony lies in that by becoming desirable we also suppress desire. The consumer regime of the post modern period simultaneously stimulates and suppresses desire in the interests of increased consumption. The essential cultural contradiction of late capitalism lies here between the asceticism of production (the work ethic) and the hedonism of circulation (the ethic of personal consumption).



"Searching for Identity - Towards Recovery"

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THE NEW HEDONISM

In the weight-conscious West the human body has become the ultimate commodity. The body, both male and female, has come into prominence as a meaningful object - as a cultural product of creative subjectivity. Diet, exercise and psychoanalysis all contribute to the constitution of contemporary subjectivity as health, success and self-fulfilment are rolled into one entity. The cult of the body beautiful and the recent heightened theoretical focus on corporeality are not disparate phenomena. Both are related to the experience of 'personhood' in the post-modern world and are a part of the latest manifestations of the Western cultural prototype of 'individuality'.

The equation of the body with notions of 'truth' and 'self' particularly from the 1960's onwards "began to promise freedom ... a new tomorrow, liberation ... a different body, one that is newer ... more beautiful." (Foucault, 1981, p7) The transformation of the body is associated with that of the mind and with this is a transcendence of both in the new found discovery of self/soul. These notions are socially transferred to the body and emerge with the emphasis on an "individual's desire over his/her own body." (p53) Thus body awareness can only be acquired through an "effect of an investment of power in the body ... exercises ... glorification of the body beautiful." (p56) An investment now eroticized and promoted in various ways from "suntan products to pornographic films." (p57) Such excitations and incitements provide the social conditions of possibility for the emergent notion of the 'thin sexual body' and its connections with conceptions of 'self' and 'truth'.

This new slim, fit body - through which the 'inner' and 'outer' world of selfhood are joined - is a product of a specific feature of calculating hedonism as the ethic of late capitalism which promotes 'slimness' to the narcissistic ends of personal happiness, social success and social acceptability:

"The instrumental strategies which body maintenance demands of the individual resonate with deep-seated features of consumer culture which encourage individuals to negotiate their social relationships and approach their free-time activities with a calculating frame of mind. Self-preservation depends upon the presentation of the body in a culture in which the body is the passport to all that is good in life. Health, youth, beauty, sex, fitness and positive attitudes which body care can achieve and preserve." (Featherstone, p80)

Thus dieting and exercise have come to represent a sexualization of society in which we are forced to be sexually acceptable in order to be socially acceptable. One's social acceptability has not always depended upon the appearance of the outer body. Although a link between a person and her material presence can be traced through Western history, the uncertain status of the distinction between the 'inner' and 'outer' selves has had divergent expression at different times. In feudal culture the body was seen as 'lascivious flesh' bound in servitude to the soul. The possession of a soul rendered the subject both mortal and immortal. By comparison, the post modern formulation of bodily presentation, or appearance, as both the mode and the medium of subjectivity appears to invert this position. The body is the focus of selfhood insofar as the identification of the inner person has become partially defined by a new experience of corporeality. 'Finding yourself' is today a common cultural quest and one's body is instrumental in solving this 'puzzle' of self-knowledge. The inner world seems to have become transmuted to external flesh.

As such the ethic of individuality has, in the post-modern period, assumed the guise of 'autonomy'. People have become accustomed to thinking of themselves as individual actors in a world "the self proclaimed destiny of which is the transcendence of anachronistic nature". (Lynch, p135) Appearance, which may be changed at will has become the medium of exchange in this 'society of strangers' so everyone is, in some sense, able to create her own identity. Yet even as people represent themselves as 'creative projects' they are still constituted in part by their past and lived presence. The different emphasis for women and men in relation to the general cultural ideal, is one of the most obvious examples of this because hand-in-hand with autonomy comes the tension of a constitutive embodiment hard to overthrow. Bodily form is consonant with social and personal

identification to a greater extent for Western women than for Western men. The term 'woman' or 'female' assumes a sexually differentiated definition of self-hood, yet the premise upon which this assumption rests presumes an androgynous ideal of individuality in that sexuality is regarded as the key to 'self-knowledge' and sexuality is a matter of individual creativity of free-choice. Thus for women investment in constant representation of an identity is compounded by the traditional dichotomies defining 'femaleness'. Texts such as "The Body Principal" and Jane Fonda's "Workout" adhere to this construction of a separate women's autonomy and self-liberation, promising new freedom in a new body and healthy sexuality. Losing weight has come to signify "getting closer to our real selves" or "essence as women". (Fonda) Thus contemporary female experience is a mixture of traditional definitions of 'womanhood', as integrally connected with the body and the new focus on the autonomy of (bodily) identity and the 'malleable' sexuality associated with this.

To the extent that modern culture can be described as narcissistic in encouraging pseudo-liberation through consumption, therapy groups, the health cult and the norm of happiness, anorexic self-obsession with appearance may be an extreme version of modern narcissism. It could be said then that if hysteria in the pre-modern period was an illness which expressed a crisis of scarcity and delayed time - the problem of waiting for maturity in the transition from one household to another - anorexia in the twentieth-century is an illness of abundance and presentation - the location of the embodied self in social space. Anorexia is largely the product of contradictory social pressures on women of affluent families and an anxiety directed at the surface of the body in a system, organized around narcissistic consumption. Anorexia is a dramatic expression about the ambiguities of female gender - of self-image, of identity, of sexuality and of femininity - in contemporary Western society.

ANOREXIA NERVOSA - A DEFINITION

Like hysteria anorexia is almost entirely an illness specific to women. It is estimated that only one in ten 'victims' is male. The gender specificity of the illness is also suggested by the temporal nature of its onset namely in the period between puberty and menopause.

Anorexia is primarily characterized by the relentless pursuit of a thin body size, with an exaggerated dread of weight gain, often despite emancipation, and to the detriment of other physical and psychological aspects of the individual's life. Over time achievement of ever decreasing weight becomes a sign of mastery, control and virtue. This so-called 'control paradox' of anorexia nervosa can be seen in near religious terms as asceticism, that is an attempt to attain 'spirituality of goodness' through the subordination of the flesh. Food refusal

"is a defense against the original fear that eating too much, of not having control, of giving in to their biological urges ... This accumulation of power is giving her another kind of weight." (Bruch, p4-5)

Anorexia is chosen as a defense against confusion between opposites - compliance/independence, maturity/childhood; sexuality/neutrality. While the anorexic cannot adequately control the exterior world of contradictions, she can at least control herself through the ascetic regime of dieting - this is her peculiar compelling path to selfhood, individuation and personal perfectibility. However, the anorexic becomes involved in a spiral she cannot escape. Her pattern of asceticism requires obligations which cannot be met so that lapses in self-indulgence are regarded as imperfections which drive her into further enforcements of the regimen. Thus an initial act of governing the body to achieve identity and autonomy is replaced by an anarchy of the body which denies the will of victim who responds with intensified controls and the mortification of the body leads not to personal freedom but to mental enslavement.



"Searching for Identity - The Rebirth"

No M Scott '83

Bruch has related a core predisposition of anorexia to an overall sense of 'personal ineffectiveness' which she describes as

"anorexics experience themselves as not being in control of their needs, behaviour and impulses, as not owning their own bodies, as not having a centre within themselves. They act as if their bodies and behaviour were the product of other people's influences and actions. (Bruch, 1962, p190)

Betty Friedan calls this condition "anomie" which she defines as

"that bored diffuse feeling of purposelessness, non-existence, non-involvement with world ... a loss of identity, or merely as the problem with no name." (Friedan, p181)

Feelings of ineffectiveness and lack of a sense of personal identity derives to a great extent from early parent interactions especially between mother and daughter in a conflict of dependence and autonomy. In this context it is an act of rebellion which breaks the social bonds created by nurturing. The anorexic's search for individuation and autonomy is thus fought out in a political language of opposition to the bonding created between family members. Anorexia becomes a disorder of social relations - an alternative disruptive regime. So although anorexia is often considered to be a disorder of eating, in the most precise sense this is incorrect. The drive for thinner shape is secondary to concerns about individuation and the fears about the consequences of achieving a mature shape.

The anorexic's distorted self-perceptions of the body and the denial of reality led to a sense of adhedonia with a desire to remove the physical and live only through her mental being. This mind/body split results in a symbolic sacrificing of the body and the rejection of the body and the withdrawal of feeling from it, become denials of its significance as an expression of the individual's being. This sense of removal from the body can be seen in the way anorexics perceive themselves as statues, dolls and puppets. These images can be explained as an unconscious manoeuvre to cut off and repress sexual and body feelings which are perceived as alien or threatening. By becoming a doll, a statue or mannequin the anorexic deadens her body and depersonalizes it.

It is indisputable that the precise circumstances leading to the developing of anorexia nervosa in any one individual will be highly variable and consist of complex interactions between contributing forces. It is important to recognize that particular deficits within the individual, personality traits, cognitive styles and inappropriate perceptual disturbance, are relevant. Pertinent as well are certain familiar characteristics and interpersonal patterns that may interact to initiate dieting, weight loss and the pursuit of thinness which tragically becomes so self-destructive.

However for the purpose of this thesis which has looked at the nature of illness and its relationship to societal structures, I propose that much evidence tends to make sociocultural explanations of anorexia nervosa highly probable.

SOCIOCULTURAL ASPECTS

"Whatever may be the inequalities between women they all suffer, even unconsciously, the same oppression, the same exploitation of their bodies, the same denial of their desire. It is a specific social and cultural structure which deprives women of their desires and of the possibility of their expressing it, because language and the systems of representation cannot 'translate' that desire." (Irigary, p10)

Since anorexia is primarily a female disorder, increasing in incidence, social explanations of it in Feminist terms are especially plausible. Much recent literature on the illness has been motivated by a critique of the position of women to the extreme stresses and contradictions they experience being female and acceptably feminine in a consumer society where male criteria of aesthetics predominate (Chernin). Anorexia nervosa raises the question of whether the human body - its size, weight, gestures and deportment - is shaped in accordance with cultural criteria of appropriateness.

Certainly during other periods in history cultural attitudes towards physical appearance have played a role in facilitating illness. The wearing of corsets in the nineteenth-century is one example of the way in which certain values can mediate the appearance of the body. At this time the unrestricted body came to be regarded as symbolic of moral licence - the loose body reflected loose morals. At the same time the corset was an emblem of a leisure class since a corsetted woman was unable to perform manual labour. Thus a number of pressures - moral, economic and status - encouraged women to shape their bodies to fit the current ideal of desirability. The obvious interpretation of this development in fashion is that the corset which debilitated and inhibited active movement, and caused respiratory and menstrual problems, was in effect a "physical manifestation of women's forced submission and dependence upon the male." (Davies, p163)

At other times, particular illnesses have been romanticized and the look associated with them has become desirable. Sontag graphically documents this phenomenon in her account of how the agonizing wasting illness, tuberculosis was glamorized in the nineteenth-century.

Tuberculosis was "one index of being genteel, delicate and sensitive. It became rude to eat heartily. It was glamorous to look sickly." (Sontag, p28)

The idealized look or image for women has varied over time and across cultures and at times parts of the female body have acquired an almost fetishistic focus. For many societies plumpness in females is admired and in some cultures it has even been considered as a second sexual characteristic. (Rudofsky). Obese women have often symbolized fertility and strength and where food is scarce their body fat is an overt sign of wealth.

During the twentieth-century in Western society, there have been shifts of preference with regard to the feminine form. Favour was shown for a buxom appearance in the early part of the century, followed by the flat-chested flappers of the 1920's and a return to bustiness and an hour-glass figure in the 1950's. Recently preference has once more returned to thinness as attractive. The reasons for the recent trend are complex. To some degree it may be a positive response to the increasing understanding that obesity does carry a risk for a variety of serious illnesses. However, just as in the last century, a 'look' has evolved and it has come to be associated with other positive attributes. The media have capitalized upon and promoted this image and through popular programming have portrayed the successful and beautiful protagonist as thin. Thinness has become associated with self-control and success.

Thus in our culture women's form becomes symbolic of character. The obese woman is not simply fat, she is out of control. The unrestrained body is a statement about unrestrained morality. To control women's bodies then is to control their personalities, and represents an act of authority over the body in the interests of public order organized around male values of what is rational.

The most striking feature of this ideal slim body is that it is reminiscent of adolescence - a version of an immature body. It is no coincidence that this sexual ideal is an image which connotes powerlessness. A large woman is certainly not a figure to invite the dominant meanings which our culture attaches to femininity. She is impressive in ways that our culture's notion of the feminine cannot tolerate. Women in other words must always be seen as women and not as impressive persons with definite space.



"Searching for Identity - I am, I am, I am."

No M Scott '83

This sexually immature body of the current ideal also represents a body which is sexual - it 'exudes' sexuality in its vigorous, vibrant and firm good health - but it is not the body of a woman who has an adult and powerful control over that sexuality. The image is of a highly sexualized female whose sexuality is still one of response to the active male. This image has strong parallels to the corset in that both these examples illustrate the submissive nature of women in a society organized around patriarchal values and institutions. Chernin supports this by arguing that society's increasing demand that women should be thin is tied to the fact that our culture is dominated by men and the challenge of the woman's movement has caused men to feel threatened. She suggests that a woman obsessed with the size of her body, wishing to make it smaller, may in fact be expressing the fact she feels uncomfortable in this culture.

The ideal body is also evidence of pure devotion to an aesthetic ideal of sexuality. This ideal sexuality is limited sensuality; the ideal excludes a form of sensual pleasure which contradicts the aspiration for the perfect body. Again it is a statement about a form of sexuality over which women are assumed to have no control. To possess a woman's sexuality is to possess the woman, to possess the image of a woman's sexuality is also in some way, to maintain a degree of control over women in general. So when a woman is upheld by society as beautiful, she expresses with her body, the values currently surrounding women's sexual behaviour. A glamorous image of a woman is particularly powerful in that it plays on the desire of the spectator in a particularly pristine way: beauty or sexuality is desirable exactly to the extent that it is idealized and unobtainable. The perfectly beautiful woman in the glossy clothes' and cosmetic's advertisements holds out a vision of perfection which few can ever attain and the desire for such perfection is displaced onto desire for the products they advertise.

Women are thus constantly addressed and their desires constantly courted. Desire is endlessly defined and stimulated. Everywhere female desire is sought, bought, packaged and consumed. Female desire is courted with the promise of future perfection, by the lure of achieving ideals - ideal legs, ideal hair, ideal homes, ideal relationships. Women's desire sustains them, but it also sustains a way of living. The pleasure/desire axis sustains social form which keeps things the way they are. Pleasure is not an external emotion above history or critical investigation. Pleasure can be created or

stage-managed. The representations of female pleasure and desire serve to produce and sustain feminine positions. These positions are neither distant roles imposed on women from outside, nor are they essential attributes of femininity. Feminine positions are produced as responses to the pleasures offered to women; women's subjectivity and identity are formed in the definitions of desire which encircle them. Female desire is constantly lured by discourses which sustain male privilege.

On another level glamour images are in many ways about surface appearance. Because these ideal women are 'made up', constructed, fabricated or falsified, these images promote the idea of women as being put together, composed of surfaces and defined by appearances. Because of this construction of woman's bodies and appearance, the powerful image of the ideal female body is subjected to fragmentation. Photographs and film images are often composed in such a way that a particular bodily part is emphasized. Although it is not difficult to find examples of fetishized representations of the male body it is much more often the female body and its representation which receives this kind of treatment. Mass-circulation 'girlie' magazines routinely go in for mild forms of fetishism, with their emphasis on women's breasts and buttocks. The conventions of these images construct the body as spectacle and the female body is spectacle because parts of it - the parts that say - "this is woman" - are pleasurable to look at. These images construct sexual difference in representation by defining in terms of bodily parts marked culturally and within the context of the image as feminine. Their conviction is once again that sexuality equals femininity.

Similarly in women's magazines the body is often talked about in terms of different parts, 'problem areas', which are referred to in the third person "flabby thighs ... they". The result is that women tend to think about their bodies in terms of parts, separate areas, as if these parts had some separate life of their own. This means women are presented with a fragmented sense of the body.

Because women feel compelled to make themselves attractive in these ways by submitting to this cultivated image they are more often than not preoccupied with images - their own and other people's. They are

concerned with how they appear to the outside world and how they perform under the external gaze. Many women regard their bodies as something made-up and put on display. Thus women find they have a dictated identity and ultimately see themselves and other women, through men's eyes. 'Success' for many women is equated with their ability to triumph over their bodies' need for food and project a desirable physical image in line with cultural dictates about desirability. Most women know to their cost that appearance is perhaps the crucial way by which many men form opinions of women. For this reason, feelings about self-image get mixed up with feelings about security and comfort. Self-image is enmeshed with judgements about desirability. And because desirability has been elevated to being the crucial reason for sexual relations it sometimes appears to women that the whole possibility of being loved hangs on how their appearance is received. This meshing of desirability, security and comfort with visual appearance may account for what has previously been recorded as women's narcissism.

Taking into account that illness more often than not reflects social contradictions it seems indisputable that anorexia nervosa is, in part, a protest by women to the pressure placed upon them to conform to the cultural ideal that dictates their 'womanness', desirability and sexuality. Anorexia like other women's illness, is part of a symbolic struggle against forms of authority and an attempt to resolve the contradictions of the female self, fractured by the dichotomies of reason and desire, public and private, body and self.

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A W O M A N ' S P L A C E

the Implications of Technology
and the Built Environment
on Women's Lives

INTRODUCTION

"We live in a world of alien objects not created by our fantasies or needs. The tools, the technological information, our architecture, even the intellectual and spiritual discourse of our time is male dominated." (Sachs, p493)

We live in a world designed by men. The expression 'man-made' refers to a vast range of objects that have been designed and fashioned, for the most part, by them. Most of the jobs associated with design and planning are performed by men. Most technical, scientific, managerial and aesthetic expertise is in their possession. Design is informed by conceptions of progress as a process of realization of human potential, for the social good. This notion is overlaid with the idea of progress as technical advancement. It is perceived as primarily cultural in its orientation and effects.

It is the intention of this paper to present the view that design practice and theory, specifically within the areas of domestic technology and architecture, operate with distinctive notions about women and 'femininity'. By formulating and organizing women's time, skills, work and habitation of space, design contributes to the masculine dominance of women and reinforces the social myth that a woman's 'proper place' is in the home.

Although Feminists have long identified the home and the social relations of domestic and personal life as a primary area of female subordination, it is only recently that consideration has been given to the role domestic technology and planning plays in reinforcing gender differences and the sexual division of labour in our capitalistic and patriarchal society. This sexual division of labour is seen to be 'functional' to capitalism and has become a defining feature of it. The division of labour in sexual terms as we experience it takes highly specific forms. It refers to the allocation of work on the basis of sex, within both the home and the workplace. It operates through a series of dichotomies which, on the one hand, refer to male and female spheres and, on the other hand, correspond to social divisions that are characteristic of capitalism i.e. public/private; work/non-work; production/consumption.

Although it is widely recognized that these gender divisions of labour are socially and historically constructed there still exists a persistent notion of them all as natural, inevitable and unchangeable. There is, however, nothing inherent in any form of employment which makes it either appropriately female or male. In regard to the division of labour, no other social relations are affected so strongly by direct references to supposed biological differences in characteristics and abilities of men and women. Gender is not just about biological difference: it is about power, the domination of men and the subordination of women, and is maintained by the creation of distinctions between male and female spheres. It is the reproduction of these distinctions which account for the persistence of the so-called 'naturalness' of it all. Whereas men are considered to have some control over the creation of their social world, women, it seems, are limited by biology because they bear children.

With continuing misuse of machine technology by men, the powerful link between modern technology and masculinity is reinforced. One of the ways in which this sense of power and control is maintained is in relation to women's position in the home for it is there that social norms, dictated by a range of technological and planning means, intervene to reinforce the stereotype of woman's place as wife, mother and supervisor of the home.

TECHNOLOGY AND ITS IMPLICATIONS FOR WOMEN

Broadly speaking technology is the service of making things from food and shelter through to medicines, spacecraft and electronics. It marks a transformation for humanity - from being purely dependent upon nature to trying to manipulate it. The social institutions of technology constitute perhaps the most powerful of all social interest groups in our society. It is only during the past two centuries or so, under the particular form of economic organization characteristic of industrial capitalism, that technology has become an obvious and dynamic social force. The forms technology takes and the pace with which it develops are often assumed to be historically inevitable. Technology does not however have an inherent dynamic quality of its own but is designed in the interests of particular social groups and against the interests of others.

Although technology in its current form increasingly affects both men's and women's lives, for the purposes of this paper it is my intention to deal specifically with the idea that technology has a far greater impact and social repercussion for women because it contributes to the maintenance of the sexual division of labour and hence their subordination. Technology has in fact become an important and vital tool in the maintenance of our patriarchal society. This situation exists because ultimately the power of modern technology emanates from the ruling classes and as in other areas of patriarchal and capitalistic society, those with social power are predominantly male. They are the heads of industrial, military and government organizations who make decisions about which types of technologies to develop, buy or sell. So although the shape of modern technology impinges on women's lives at every point, from paid work to childbirth, by and large women are largely absent from the powerful institutions that shape it. Women neither generate nor construct new technologies, but are rather, its passive recipients.

On a very fundamental level modern technology is alien to women because it relates to an 'other' world of which women have not been a part. Because of their lack of understanding it appears mystifying and frightening. By contrast, men's relationship to technology is generally more active. The imbalance in women's and men's relationship to technology underlies women's present alienation from it. While many women use machines, fewer women than men will attempt to repair them if something goes wrong. Why is it that men more often acquire the skills to do so while women do not?

First, because technology is seen as a male activity it is socially appropriate and acceptable for them to acquire such skills, and, secondly, socialization has given men the confidence needed to use those skills. It is the lack of technical understanding and the associated lack of confidence that contributes to the sexual division of labour and the subordination of women.

An insight into why it is in men's interests to maintain this sexual division of labour can be found partly in Hartmann's recognition of the material benefits to be gained from the oppression of women. Patriarchy she says is:

"...a set of social relations between men which have a material base and which, though hierarchical, establish or create interdependence and solidarity among men that enable them to dominate women ... In the hierarchy of patriarchy, all men, whatever their rank in the patriarchy, are bought off by being able to control at least some women." (Hartmann, p14)

A further understanding of the advantages gained from the continuation of this division can be found in two critical aspects of society: production and reproduction. Engels speaks of "production and reproduction of immediate life" as the two pivotal activities in all societies, meaning:

"...on the one side the production of the means of existence, of food, clothing and shelter and the tools necessary for that production; on the other side of the production of human beings themselves or the propagation of the species. The social organization under which people of a particular historical epoch live is determined by both kinds of reproduction." (Engels, p71)

AIR CONDITIONERS AMPLIDYNES ANALYSERS ARC WELDERS AMPLIFYERS ALARMS AEROMETERS
ACTINOGRAPHS ADDING MACHINES ALTERNATORS AMPHOMETERS BATTERIES BELTS BOTTLES
BOOK-KEEPING MACHINES BILLERS BREATHALYSERS CANNERS CAPACITORS CIRCUIT BREAKERS
CLOCKS COIN BOXES CALORIMETERS COLOURMETERS COMPUTERS CONDENSERS CAN OPENERS
CARD PRINTERS CONDUCTS COUNTERS CONTROLS CONVERTORS CONVEYORS CRYOSTATS CUTOUTS
CAMERAS CONTACTORS CALCULATORS DENSITOMETERS DISPENSERS DETECTORS DISH WASHERS
DUST PRECIPITATORS DYNAMETERS DYNAMOMETERS DREGGERS DECODERS DIGITAL WATCHES
DISTRIBUTORS DETAINERS ELECTRODES ESCALATORS ELAVATORS EVACUATORS EVAPORATORS
ELECTRONIC TUBES ENLARGERS EXCELLORATORS FANS FILTERS FREQUENCY CHANCERS FUSES
FURNACES GAUGES GARBAGE DISPOSERS GEARS GENERATORS GRINDERS GEIGER COUNTERS
GUILLOTINES GYROSCOPES GALVANOMETERS HEAT EXCHANGERS HONERS HELICOPTERS
HAMMER PRESSES HEDGE TRIMMERS HARVESTERS INSULATORS INVERTORS INDUCERS
INCINERATORS INCUBATORS ISOLATORS INDICATORS JIGSAWS JACKS JACKPLANES JOINTERS
JACK-KNIVES JIGGLERS KINEMATOGRAPHS KINESCOPES LAMPS LOUDSPEAKERS LAWNMOWERS
LATHES LINISHERS LASER BEAMS MAGNETS MASS SPECTROMETERS MOTORS MULTIMETERS
MOTOR GENERATORS MICROWAVE OVENS MINERWINERS MISSILES NOISEMETERS NUMERICALLY
CONTROLLED PUNCH PRESSES OSCILLOGRAPHS OSCILLATORS ODOMETERS OUTBOARD MOTORS
PANELBOARDS PERSONNEL MACHINES PHOTOELECTRIC CELLS PLANNERS
PUSH-BUTTONS POTENTIOMETERS PRINTERS RADIATION DETECTORS RELAYS REACTORS
RECORDERS RECTIFIERS REDUCERS REMOVAL CONTROLS REGISTRARS RESISTERS RHEOSTATS
SELSYNS SERVOS SOLENOIDS SPRINGS SORTERS STACKERS STRAIN GAUGES
SPECTROPHOTOMETERS SPECTROSCOPES STARTERS SWITCHBOARDS SWITCHES
TAPER RECORDERS TACHOMETERS TOASTERS TELEMETERS TELEVISION SETS TIMERS
TELEVISION CAMERAS THERMOCOUPLES THERMOSTATS TORQUEMETERS TURBINES
TRAFFIC CONTROLS TRANSISTERS TELEPHONES TRANSDUCERS TRANSFORMERS UNIVERSAL
MOTORS ULTRASCANNERS VISCOSIMETERS VACUUM CLEANERS VACUUM GAUGES
VACUUM TUBES VIBRATION METERS VINDORS VIDEOS VENDING MACHINES
VISUAL DISPLAY UNITS VAR METERS WATER HEATERS WHEELS WIRELESS METERS
WASHING MACHINES X-RAYS SPECTROMETERS YOGURT MAKERS ZYMOMETERS



The ways in which reproduction and production are organized vary enormously from culture to culture. But in all cultures there is a division of labour organized to some extent along sexual lines. And this sexual division of labour usually implies a sexual hierarchy. Although women and men may be mutually interdependent in terms of the contribution they make to social welfare, they are rarely equal in terms of the control they have over the way society is organized.

To further our understanding of the imbalance of power between men and women, and how and why it exists in contemporary western culture it is relevant to reconstruct the events that led to the growth of science and technology which established patriarchy as the dominant philosophy of the twentieth century.

The Evolution of the Masculine Philosophy

Modern western science, or natural philosophy as it was initially called, developed rapidly in Britain in the seventeenth-century with the establishment of the Royal Society. The ideals of this Society were aimed at raising a "Masculine Philosophy ... whereby the Mind of Man may be ennobled with the knowledge of solid truths."

These "solid truths" were to be derived from a combination of experimentation and reason rather than from the passive observation and contemplation practiced by medieval scientists.

The roots of the masculine philosophy lie in the Judaeo-Christian tradition which is based on a dualism and which makes a clear distinction between man and the rest of nature. Nature was associated with women and was viewed as mysterious, creative and potentially threatening. Natural philosophy offered men a way of overcoming this threat by "penetrating" nature's inner secrets to make "her subserve our purpose" and thereby achieving the "Empire of man over Nature". Francis Bacon appealed to the "true sons of knowledge" to turn their "united forces against the Nature of things" and bind her "to your service ... making her your slave." (Easlea, Chapter 3).

The masculine philosophy was supported by the doctrine of Christianity which was a product of several traditions brought together into a coherent view of patriarchy by the institutionalized casuistical theology in the thirteenth and fourteenth-centuries. From within this framework women were viewed as carnal, more 'base' than men, and were considered to be sexually voracious. They were regarded as a continual temptation to 'purer' men and thus a potential source of mockery to men's lesser sexual staying power. These views came from three sources: ancient Judaism, the Essene sect and Greek civilization. The impact of both Essenism and Judaism on early Christian teaching was to define women as dangerous because of their natural impurity and to treat women as requiring close patriarchal supervision in the interest of legitimate property inheritance. This definition of women was further reinforced by Greek, in particular Aristotelian, philosophy which saw women as basically domestic workers with a moral value far below that of men. Women were associated with necessity and toil because the privacy of the domestic sphere was regarded as deprivation by contrast to the freedom and rationality of the public sphere of politics and sport dominated by men. These ancient anxieties about women were increasingly formulated into an intellectualized theology that strengthened the notions of the inferiority of women in early Christianity and have continued to exist since then in patriarchal societies.

The rise of Protestantism further reinforced the growth of modern science by legitimizing the natural philosophers' search for "solid truths" and granting them significant licence to interfere with nature. Whereas in the medieval period the Catholic God had regulated Christian society through custom and divinely ordained social hierarchy (social class being determined by birth and kings ruling by 'divine right') the new Protestant God dealt directly with the individual's conscience, which meant the new philosophers need no longer refer to the authority of priests. In contrast to the medieval scientists who had tended to be generalists the new natural philosophers were extremely focused in their concerns. Their work was geared explicitly to solving the pressing technical problems of the day, so producing practical inventions which would be of use to the ruling powers.

Concurrent with these developments, there emerged a new economic order based on capitalist relations of production. Complex social and economic factors contributed to this development. The late eighteenth-century saw an unprecedented mixing of scientists with early engineers and manufacturers, bringing a shift in power and influence away from the monarchy and Parliament towards the rising industrial areas. By the nineteenth-century science and technology became increasingly interrelated as government and private companies began to invest in research and development programmes. Eventually whole new science industries, notably chemical and electrical, emerged. This alliance of the new philosophers with the new political order of the time was probably the most important reason for their ascendancy over the Hermetic magic tradition.

Thus science and technology has involved the male appropriation of methods for acquiring knowledge and the creation of a new male hierarchy to administer and approve that knowledge. Technology is not only central to the immense productive dynamism of capitalism but is also a vital aspect of modern patriarchy. It enables men to exercise unprecedented domination over the natural world and over society. It is hard to avoid the conclusion that the particular shape of these technologies and the social context in which they are used to retain power, is related to male control of both.

Technology in the Home: Capitalism and the Creation of Housework

Housework, in the sense of work done in the home by a housewife, is a relatively modern invention. It is a uniquely capitalist phenomenon that resulted from the re-allocation among family members of work done in the home prompted by the advent of industrialization. Another feature of housework is that it is uniquely patriarchal because it is usually done by a particularly gendered person: the housewife.

In all ages people have an idea of what constitutes 'normal' family life, although this varies from one point in time to another. Whether this stereotype actually represents the average does not really matter insofar as the idea of the norm influences people's aspirations and behaviour. Tension between ideology and material reality has been a constant feature of family life and housework of the capitalist period in history.

Before the Industrial Revolution the family was generally the major unit in production, making goods for immediate consumption and for exchange on the market. There was little distinction between 'home' and 'work' as the home was the place where most forms of work were performed. In both the cities and the country people most often lived in extended families complete with live-in employees. Women, children and men all played a vital role in production. The conception of women's proper work embraced a much wider range of activities than it does today.

With the event of Industrialization factories began to cluster together in towns promoting the development of local markets and loosening the ties between employers and employees. People began to move from the country to the towns in search of work. They left their extended families behind and established smaller family units close to the factories. This increased urbanization encouraged new businesses and new techniques that successively stripped off aspects of unpaid work and moved them into the capitalist money economy.

It was during this time - when craft knowledge waned and capital replaced land as the basis for accumulating wealth - that women increasingly 'lost out'. They were denied access to capital at the time when this was becoming an essential pre-requisite for remaining in business. Ownership by means of production became a right reserved for men. As married women had no separate legal identity from their husbands with respect to personal property they were effectively barred from capitalist entrepreneurship in their own right. Women's dependence on men was further reinforced by the government of the day which, in order to avoid the responsibility of having to house the increasing number of poor migrants from rural areas, changed the Poor Law so that a wife and children became the financial responsibility of the husband.

As the productive process moved out of the home, it appears to have been regarded as natural for men to act as the external economic representatives of their families. We can see the development of capitalism as a process whereby men used their traditional hold on property and their authority inside the family as a basis for beginning to operate in the economy outside it. Men's authority over their own families was translated over time into male dominance in supervisory jobs.

The 'right' place of men in the workplace brought with it changes in attitude about the 'right' place of women in society, enabling men to consolidate their supremacy in paid work. More than any other group, the Evangelists set the moral tone of the nineteenth century. They saw women as the means to improve the moral qualities of the opposite sex who were liable to be polluted by their involvement in the world of industry and paid work. These feelings are expressed by Hall:

"When the husband should return to his family, worn and harassed by worldly cares or professional labours, the wife, habitually preserving a warmer more unimpaired spirit of devotion than is perhaps consistent with being immersed in the bustle of life, might revive his piety." (Hall, p90)

Thus the creation of housework resulted not only from changes in technological and economic organization of society but also from shifts in ideology which governed people's expectations of housework and housewives.

By the first half of the nineteenth century the image of childhood was being altered as much as were the notions of woman's 'rightful place'. In pre-industrial times and the first century of the Industrial Revolution, children were treated as miniature adults in most respects. Reformers were successful in reinforcing the position of women in the home by extending the period for which children were considered dependent and in need of nurturing. The ideal image of the 'model' baby was promoted with a growing emphasis placed on measurement and standardization in infant feeding patterns.



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Child study became an expanding field with claims being made that only through understanding the development of children could the development of human society be achieved. Special emphasis was placed on women's role as the bearers and shapers of the personalities of this new breed.

The increased importance placed on childcare was paralleled by the promotion of the great virtue of cleanliness (next to Godliness) and domestic hygiene. These efforts involved the domestic science movement and the introduction of domestic science education. The 'germ theory of disease', which became popular in the 1890's provided a rationale for extending the amount of housework which needed to be done. The introduction of domestic science brought with it the idea of progress in standards of hygiene: specifically the idea of a continuing progress without limit. Precise details of the housewife's daily and weekly routine stressed the desirability of regularity and household management a rational, work-type activity. Women's magazines of the time urged the housewife to

"rise at 6.30 am, eat only a little, sweep
the dining room, prepare breakfast, dust the
dining room, give the family breakfast, do the
lunches while the family eats, clean the
kitchen ... "

and so on to the rest of the house. Explicit instructions such as "a good sweeper goes before the broom" are given as well as general principles.

The "material feminists" of the day - so called because they dared to define "a grand domestic revolution" in women's material conditions (Hayden, p3) - aimed to raise the status of women generally by validating and improving the body of skills entailed in the role of housewife. However, their demands for improved methods in housekeeping further reinforced the appliance manufacturers' interests in mass markets and justified the production of appliances suitable for the individual woman user rather than for common use. These domestic commodities were promoted as labour-saving devices that would improve standards in the home. Ideals of health and cleanliness were promoted in order to expand commercial markets. It was not, however, only manufacturers that encouraged these ideals: the government also stressed women's specific contribution to modern life. Women were to act together with men to build a family world and to make,

"her home her factory, her husband and children a worthwhile job." (Wilson, p22)

This unity of both commerce and government signalled the marshalling of forces to promote the home as the focus through which to build this imaginary unit and reinforce the segregation of male and female roles and thus provided the justification for further consumption.

Technology in the Home: Consumption

"Despite the women's movement, despite labour saving devices, despite 'Kramer vs Kramer', in our collective social mythology women are still firmly lodged in the centre of the home."
(Lloyd, p150)

Although increasing numbers of women work outside the home, most evidence confirms they still go home to do the housework (Oakley, Lloyd, 1975, Russel). The tendency for men to do slightly more housework in recent years has had little impact on wives' housework time. When men do housework they usually select non-routine tasks, such as repairs, while women do the more routine cooking and cleaning. In most cases, the more nominally 'high tech' a device is the more male-dominated its use (Bereano, p164). Non-routine work is intrinsically more satisfying than routine work and high-tech machines are more interesting - though not necessarily more difficult - to use than 'low-tech' ones. There is also a tendency for men to do jobs around the house that are associated with power and control leaving the less interesting and unrewarding work to women. Such is the case of one man who

"declined to do the vacuuming because it wasn't an upright model that you pushed backwards and forwards in a forceful manner; dragging a cylinder about and poking a nozzle into corners just wasn't the same thing." (Ingham, 1984)

Not only are women chief homemakers and workers, their position in society is still viewed primarily as that of wife, mother, nurturer and carer, (Bryson, Wild). Biology has played a large part in initially anchoring women in this role and in the home, the emphasis on childbearing and rearing keeping them there. Today, with the recognition that only a few years of most women's lives need to be spent

as full-time mothers, new social and economic demands have superseded biology in holding women in this position.

Underlying the moral and social exhortations and expectations of advertising literature, television, radio and newspapers that echo the message that women's real fulfilment is in the home, lie the practical needs of the economy. The successful survival of the modern economic system requires increasing consumption. What we have experienced since the Industrial Revolution is a major shift from housework as production to housework as a consumption activity. Consumption involves not only 'using up' but the acquisition and transformation of commodities. In mass consumption society these tasks have expanded. While it may be true that new technologies have improved the conditions of work in the house, it cannot be simply assumed that they are labour-saving or that they are developed for that purpose. Whereas labour-saving is a basic imperative when profits have to be maximized and labour costs cut, it is not when the work is unpaid. As capital removes production from the household, it also expands market relations and increases the necessity of 'purchasing' the means of life. Thus shopping takes up a higher proportion of women's time than it used to. (Vanek, p116)

There are numerous ways in which increased consumption has increased women's work. Many domestic appliances provide services inside the household which might formerly have been done outside. This has the effect of raising qualitative demands. The tyranny of the whiter-than-white wash is now for many a daily event rather than a weekly one. Another example is the microwave oven which may indeed be able to cook a meal in three minutes but gives rise to a situation whereby the efficient housewife may be required to serve a different meal to each individual family member rather than one meal for all.

A further inconsistency between an appliance's claimed 'performance' and its actual use is the distortion of the scale of economy of time and effort. The use of mixers to provide omelettes for two hundred certainly saves time and effort, but with the same operation for a family of four, a proportionally larger time is spent preparing and cleaning the machine. There is, it seems, a positive correlation between the number of appliances owned and household worktime, suggesting that the proliferation of small tasks has been task-extending rather than task-eliminating. (Spengler, p249)

Such are the liberating effects of technology. Evidence suggests that it will release women from domestic chores or break down the sexual division of labour. On the contrary, technology often removes the work men, not women, used to do in the home. Gas and electricity have relieved men of the responsibility of the chopping of wood, rubbish disposal units and dishwashers remove men from the responsibility of washing up or putting out the garbage (Bose, p295). Lighter paints and do-it-yourself kits have meant women are taking over a substantial area of household repairs and lawnmowers are even being given as Mother's Day gifts for the "liberated woman". (Game, p156)

Women may also face appliances with formulated ideas about their relation to these machines as gendered users. These ideas are mediated by socialization, education, training and practical use. Machines used in the home take on different aspects to those used in the outside workforce. The machines in the office or factory represent labour in exchange for pay, at home they represent

"the complex pleasure and drudgery of caring; of performing tasks in exchange for material support in kind, or ascribed social status as females."
(Goodall, p55)

As such, domestic appliances have affected women's relation to themselves as operators possessing skills. The machine determines that only a prescribed task be performed according to the mechanical possibilities within the timescale of operation. Because this requires a minimum of technical knowledge and little personal intervention the woman's intellect and technical skills are not called upon and her relation to the machine becomes a passive one. Men's relationship to machinery is, on the other hand, most often one of higher economic reward and social status. This situation has eventuated because men's access to technology has been far more extensive thus placing them in a position to have more detailed and critical understanding of the equipment they operate.

Machinery has, as well, accrued a body of meaning in which gender determines use. The small size of some appliances is related not only to desirable kitchen size but also to assumptions about femininity - strength and dexterity are social constructs heavily inflected by gender. Men regard sewing machines as too 'fiddly' and women may be put off using certain tools and appliances because they are too heavy or unwieldy. Thus the sexual division of labour evolves partially as a product of ideology of what is or is not appropriate to male and female roles.

Whilst mechanical appliances usually determine a specific task, many of the forms taken up by micro-electronic products on the other hand do not signal particular uses in their presentation. Domestic appliances begin to take on a similar appearance to other computerized forms. For example, the microwave oven looks like a television. In this way an element of parity is emerging by dissolving categories of objects into generalized meaning - high-tech, space-age and so on. the parallels between technical developments for the home with the world at large in effect suggest that women too are reaping the benefits of modern technology. Ironically, however, manufacturers by marketing their products directly to the identity of the user - for example, a rose displayed on a new ceramic hotplate - leave no room for doubt about the users of particular innovations. So representations frame the use of objects and present the user back to herself with a particular range of skills and characteristics to be construed as appropriate to the user as possessor of feminine qualities.

So far we have looked at the effect of design activity through and by material and ideological forces. On a more subtle level design also actively intervenes on material objects at a symbolic level.

Institutions and professionals associated with public management of design values and products, seeking to hegemonize the field of functionalist aesthetics, (undoubtedly for commercial interests) actively engage in the education of consumers, moulding them by articulating regimes of presentation and regimes of social practice.

Social meanings inscribed in objects offer themselves as use-values in certain contexts for certain groups of subjects - use-values in the form of pleasure. Commodities can be seen to play a vital part in organizing and harnessing desire and pleasure for consumption. By interfering with the perceived desire for intellectual and manual proficiencies objects become embodiments of social sexual identity and value. By taking the domestic home as a means of desire and pleasure it is possible to posit the construction of private and public pleasure, gendered and classed in "the form of bricks and mortar" (Goodall, p60). This generally takes the form whereby household members are divided by spatial use, (for example, the feminisation/masculination of certain rooms) tasks and social identity.

Consumption in this way becomes very much to do with our expression of, even construction of, ourselves as feminine or masculine beings. This works differently for men and women. While advertising does stress the virility of male products it rarely claims that the product is 'essential' to masculinity, but rather that the product is compatible with it. With women, however, advertising is for the most part directed at her need to please, because women are generally more vulnerable insofar as they need to depend on the approval of others, husbands, boyfriends, children and even pets. In purchasing goods women have to balance the priorities of household needs with desire for an imaginary identity. By making discriminatory choices and selecting certain items women increase their status by displaying taste and intellectual skills. Thus

"The wall to wall carpet or avocado bathroom suite offers status in material form and signals the desirable skill of discrimination." (Goodall, p61)

Shopping becomes substantially about the purchase of approval and the construction of an appropriate self-image.

Conclusion

The relationship between science, technology and housework is complex. Nonetheless, it is clear that to a large extent the character of housework depends on the state of the development of technology

inside and outside the home. Housework was created through an alliance between patriarchy and capitalism for economic gains at the expense of women's unpaid work in the home. Under this system women have been re-deployed in the home in the form of their dependency upon domestic commodities and domestic work as essential to their 'woman-ness'.

We have seen how one important aspect of scientific and industrial technologies is the constant search for higher standards in the absence of criteria for knowing when these standards have been reached. It is because of this increase in the quality stakes that housework has increased quantitatively, rather than becoming redundant. Goodall suggests that women have unconsciously consented to this and that this consent and submission to feminization

"may take the shape as merciless cleanliness, pleasure in efficiency or the purchase of the frilly four-poster bed as an index of consent to body sexual practice and representation." (Goodall, p60)

Resistance to feminization of the home - valium taking, slovenly housework as refusals of quality performance - is explained by dominant medical or social discourse as the tensions of modern life.

It seems unlikely that even if more women were actively involved in technical design that there would be much change in the sexual division of labour because design values whether they are defined by functional form or aesthetic appearance are produced by cultural, social and economic priorities, and policy and action. What is at issue is the structure of patriarchal capitalistic society and its interests in maintaining the 'naturalness' of the nuclear family, for it is this system which locks women and men into particular roles and reinforces women's subordinate role.

A MAN'S WORLD, A WOMAN'S PLACE: WOMEN AND THE BUILT ENVIRONMENT

"The wife is more sharply affected by physical and social planning than the husband ... It is she who must push her pram over unmade roads or wait on draughty corners with children for a public transport service which can be indifferent and uncoordinated." (Philips, 1968)

Space reflects social organization. Once space has been bounded and shaped it is no longer merely a neutral background: it exerts its own influence. The environment imposes certain restraints on our mobility and, in turn, our perceptions of space are shaped by our capacity to move about whether by foot, mechanical or other means. Mathews in her study of community action has noted that social identity is partly determined by the "physical and spatial constituents of the group's environment" in other words, space defines the people in it (Mathews, 1980) and as such behaviour and space become mutually dependent. (Ardner, p12)

Space can also be a means of access or limitation and as such spatial organization can be understood as an instrument of control in the maintenance of a hierarchy of economic and social relations (Ardner, p12). All buildings have particular ideas built in them that reflect the dominant values in our society and who or what is important and who is not. The relative size and impressiveness of rooms and buildings, the relationship of spaces to each other and the people whose convenience is given priority all help to define what is normal, what is better or worse in our society. If a block of flats looks

"like a filing cabinet or prison, we are right in thinking this carries ideas about the status of the people living there." (Boys, p10)

Thus, our built environment is made in accordance with a set of ideas about how society works, who does what and who goes where. The initial decisions to build are made by those owning or having control over large sums of money. The client or developer is nearly always a man or a committee consisting almost entirely of men, simply because very few women occupy positions of power in social organiz-



ation and because men own or control most of the wealth. The client or developer will brief an architect, ninety-five percent of whom are men, who acts in response to the client's instructions. It is extremely rare for an architect to make any attempt to consult those who will actually use the building. Professional codes of conduct and 'normal' practice do not encourage them to do so. Architects usually have little to do with the existential problems of different sections of the population and their different environment needs, and may be biased against or totally oblivious to others. In this way, the mass of 'anonymous' persons are moulded into a passive role and the needs of less articulate or less powerful groups, such as women, children and the elderly, are apt to be unexpressed and overlooked. Lack of consideration may show itself at all levels of decision-making, from the layout of kitchens in council houses, or public buildings made inaccessible to people with prams or wheelchairs, to the whole relationship between home, workplace and other facilities which may affect women differently to men.

Much of our environment has been designed on the basis of stereotypes of women's and men's work, their respective 'proper' locations and their relative importance. The arrangement of cities, the distances between homes, workplaces and other buildings reinforces the assumption that paid workers are men, working for most of the day away from the home with little or no responsibility for its day-to-day running or for childcare. This man's view of the world, far removed from the problems of home life, has resulted in an environment that is inadequate for women in many areas. For example, buses and trains with impossible boarding systems that take no account of babies, prams and bags, shops where shopping is impossible for small children, work situations and universities without childcare facilities, tower housing blocks that result in mental breakdowns and homes that aggravate the increasing number of battered wives and babies.

It is the concerns of this next part of this thesis to look at the ways in which women are limited by the physical environment in general terms but more specifically in the case of the suburban home.

Women, the Home and Suburbia

The making of the physical environment is still being affected today by notions about proper settings for women which come directly from the nineteenth-century. Since then social reformers, planners and architects have emphasised the importance of the home environment and home life as an antidote, almost an exchange, for the ugly excesses of capitalist development.

The growth in industrialization broke the previous simple economic patterns and the accompanying social transformation altered the traditional structure of the family and along with it the concept of the home. The change was originally confined to the upper and wealthy middle classes while the poor lived in an essentially pre-industrial way until the end of the nineteenth-century when an improved standard of living began to extend itself to all classes. The affluent classes were effective in establishing a model which was to lead to the eventual embourgeoisement of all classes. This model was a resolute embodiment of gender differentiation. Woman became the economically dependent housewife and man the supporter of wife and children.

The change in emphasis upon the role of women as consumers, as opposed to producers, was brought about by the gradual displacement of work from the home and the increasing emphasis on higher living standards. The family emerged as a moral and spiritual entity with child and adult roles sharply differentiated. The notion of a languishing and helpless female lent itself to the division of labour and to patriarchal authority within the home. 'Home' was considered a most important national institution. The internal planning of the house maintained a way of life that strictly categorized each person to a socially acceptable pigeon-hole. Within this framework women were excluded from the world of work, education and politics. Spatial arrangements were used to control accessibility and enforce segregation of sex and class. The result was an elaboration of rooms and buffer zones - smoking rooms and studies for men, parlours and boudoirs for women, adults quarters, childrens quarters, servant quarters and guest quarters - linked together by an intricacy of doors, corridors, stairs and ante-rooms. The Victorian well-to-do home illustrates how ideas about the nature of things is built into the structure of our environment. (Strong, p464)

Towards the end of the nineteenth-century the working class began to acquire the idea of the home as being a place of privacy for one family, centred on the rearing of children. The Model Dwelling Movement in Britain played an influential part in these developments with their interest in uplifting the quality of life and in educating the poor to a 'socially accepted standard of living'. The techniques of industry and the faith in rationalism reached into the home and the goal of designing the house for efficiency became paramount. Le Corbusier reigned: functional architecture triumphed. The house became a "machine a habiteur". (Lloyd, p192)

During this period a group of Feminists, concerned with winning control, recognition and rewards for women's work, challenged two characteristics of industrial capitalism. First, the physical separation of household space from public space and secondly the economic separation of the domestic economy from the political economy. To overcome patterns of urban domestic space that isolated women and made their domestic work invisible, these 'Material Feminists' developed new forms of neighbourhood organization with housewife co-operatives. They proposed new spatial design and building types such as the kitchenless house, day-care centres, public kitchens and community dining clubs. By redefining housework and the housing needs of women and their families, they pushed architects and urban designers to reconsider the effects of design on family life. For sixty years they expounded one powerful idea: the notion that women must create feminist homes with socialized housework and childcare before they would become truly equal members of society.

Suddenly, however, it all ended. Women's magazines stopped warning women against domestic appliances which did not meet their real needs and no longer advocated co-operative household services. The abrupt change was a result of the end of World War I - defence industries needed new markets and the returning soldiers needed jobs. These Feminists were seen as a serious threat with their talk of housework co-operatives, so in order to secure new markets, the idea of the single family suburban home on its own plot of land was proposed. Advertising and marketing firms spent millions of dollars promoting the glories of the domestic housewife and the science of the new religion of mass consumption. Women were to be

kept busy in homes built to encourage consumerism. Beginning in the 1920's and accelerating in the 1950's and 1960's advertising became a major industry promoting appliances, cars and other products in the setting of the suburban 'dream home'. The Feminists' challenge to architects, planners, designers and developers of technology, to free women for greater control of their own lives, was buried.

With the growth of the suburban home, towns were separated into various activities, each with its appropriate location and setting. This was called 'zoning' and closely approximated stereotypical ideas about man's use of the environment. The wage worker sells his labour power as a commodity for a definite period of time, in exchange for a money wage. The rest of his time is his own and there is a rigid separation of his life into work and leisure. His wages are spent on commodities consumed away from the workplace. Thus production and consumption are two separate activities emotionally and physically. For the housewife, however, this works differently because the home

"...is her place of work but she does not go elsewhere for leisure. So in her life there is no rigid work/leisure distinction either in physical location or in time."
(Gardiner, p205)

Thus the growth of the suburbs polarized women as never before, with the archetypal image of the home based on the nuclear family unit greatly restricting the possibility of individuality.

Today the notion that a 'woman's place is in the home' is perpetuated by certain design guides produced by government departments to set standards for 'ideal' homes. In these guides the dynamics of everyday life for women are profoundly misunderstood because they are based on the stereotype view of 'nuclear family life'. Architects use these guides as if they provide 'objective' information rather than 'value-laden' assumptions about women's social role. The texts are written from a masculine viewpoint, by men, for men, and about women and children. They reinforce the identification of the designer with the male 'breadwinner' by referring to him as 'you' and the woman as 'housewife' and 'she'. For example:

"How far does the housewife have to carry the rubbish from the kitchen to the storage area and can she manage it without going through the living areas?" (Doe, 1974)

The lack of understanding, by designers, of the real problems encountered by women isolated in the home is further exemplified in the current trend for 'housing estates'. These estates provide individual dwellings grouped around a series of protected spaces enclosing 'nature'. Although each house is linked only informally, together they make a separate territory usually divided from the surrounding environment. This suggests a leisured home life based on a 'village-like' rural setting and is an attempt to respond to the visual monotony and coldness of much suburban housing of earlier decades.

The intermediate space between the house interior and the outside world was theoretically supposed to serve a double function. First as space that brings women and families 'together' to make friends, share tasks and so on and secondly as a protected outside space for women and children to enjoy at leisure away from the 'dangers' and 'difficulties' of the 'outside world'. Unfortunately, the isolation many women suffer from in taking sole charge for domestic labour and childcare is not necessarily relieved by the mere proximity of other women in the same position.

The physical patterning of these 'natural' settings contain many assumptions about women's lives. For example, the rural meandering paths imply that the journeys of women, children and the elderly are without purpose. The implication is that journeys that are not fast or in straight lines are not really going anywhere. These paths in reality underline the physical distance between homes and shops and workplaces, in turn making outings for women with children even longer. In fact, many different architectural forms seem to work in a similar way to exaggerate the distance of facilities from women at home whether in lifts, stairs, cul-de-sacs or winding roads of suburban layouts.

An internal feature of these housing forms is the open-floor plan designed to 'liberate' the woman by merging much of the internal space into communal living areas. The idea is to use available space more efficiently, to break down traditional divisions between formal and informal behaviour and lessen housework. But in reality it has not only increased the housewife's work but given her less space

to herself:

"I still have to do the cooking, cleaning, supervising and screaming. Having to do it in plain view of my family is the only thing that's new. I have to clean up the kitchen constantly because messing up the kitchen means messing up the dining room and living room too. It's a new kind of tyranny developed by a male architect not only to perpetuate my role as an all-purpose servant, but to eliminate my privacy." (Chatfield-Taylor, p58)

Space Beyond the Home

The ideals envisaged in these housing estates and suburbs is based on the notion of a distinct division between a leisured setting that contains home and a work environment physically elsewhere. This split functions with the assumption of one hundred percent ownership of cars. Women have unequal access to this most dominant form of transport because the family car is mostly used by their husbands to get to work. They are therefore disproportionately less mobile than men. The sheer physical distance between certain activities and the suburbs and housing estates on the outskirts of cities exaggerate the difficulties of the less mobile. As much effort needs to be expended in getting from place to place, the carless population may have less choice open to them in terms of jobs, friends, leisure activities and other facilities off public transport routes and consequently tend to lead a more 'local' existence. (Scott, p187) Thus women are not only locally based through their allotted role as housewives and mothers, but also by the arrangement of physical space which supports, perpetuates and naturalized the difficulties of access to resources beyond the local neighbourhood.

Penalties for women who are mobile may work in trivial ways such as in jokes about female car drivers to much more intimidating responses to women who do not appear static or localized, such as women hitchhiking or out by themselves "deserve to be attacked or raped." (Boys, p41)

Women's movement outside the home is further proscribed by the way in which certain stereotypical ideas about female and male behaviour are connected to particular locations. Recent studies have revealed that many men perceive women's sexuality as partially defined by their location and attempt to enforce and perpetuate those definitions. Cockburn's findings reveal that men think of women as 'pure' or 'sullied' depending on their location. The women who were mentally contained within the home environment, the men's wives and daughters were to be kept in the first category i.e. pure, the women in the workplace outside the home were described in the second with their perceived sexuality constantly discussed and routinely joked about. (Cockburn, p184) This implies that the built environment makes 'appropriate' settings for different activities which contain 'messages' about 'proper' gender roles in those places. The implicit threat of rape is conveyed in terms of certain prescriptions which are placed on the behaviour of women and through 'commonsense' understandings which naturalized gender appropriate forms of behaviour. Both the threat of rape, couched in terms of prevalent social stereotypes, and the conventionally accepted ways to avoid such an experience - being in some places rather than others, doing some things and not others - are conveyed and continually reinforced along with a whole range of values concerning female sexuality. (Smart, 1978) Women know that at base these prevalent ideas about appropriate behaviour and locations are not adequate protection against attack. Despite media and male 'surprise' when 'inappropriate' women in 'inappropriate' places are raped and assaulted, most women do not feel safe in many places. Thus, in a society that values 'freedom' of mobility women are still much more localized than men who continue to some extent to maintain women's 'out-of-placeness' outside the home.

Conclusion

In their current design, spatial capacity and form and their relation to workplaces homes make reorganization of paid and personal life virtually impossible. The great suburban dream-home based on the nuclear ideal with all its trappings is no longer appropriate for most people with less than forty percent of households fitting this model. The modern family is characterized by a widening generation gap, increased instability and the breakdown of the 'nest' notion

of nuclear family life. The household unit of parents and two children with the husband in more or less permanent employment is rapidly becoming a mythological heritage of capitalism.

Housing and environment dilemmas cannot merely be solved by more efficient housing prototypes. Whatever the future housing will be it will need to represent new facts of social life because no single prototype will address all or even most of the issues. More than ever our housing like our society must be characterized by diversity.

FINAL WORDS

"It is the subordination of women which enables the minimal 'maintenance' of housing, transport and public facilities. In the end, if the system still 'works' it is because women guarantee unpaid transportation (movement of people and merchandise), because they repair their homes, because they make meals when there are no canteens, because they spend more time shopping around, because they look after others' children when there are no nurseries, and because they offer 'free entertainment' to the producers when there is a social vacuum and an absence of cultural creativity. If these women who 'do nothing' ever stopped to do 'only that', the urban structure as we know it would become completely incapable of maintaining its functions." (Castells, p177)

The household remains as a unit of consumption and reproduction with women excluded from the public domain precisely because it is in the interests of certain dominant groups to support the social myth that women's 'proper place' is in the home as wife and mother. The current trends in household technology and the built environment continue to reinforce patriarchy even though most indications suggest that capitalism and patriarchy are mutually incompatible.

Patriarchy as a political structure sits logically on the economic base of the household; capitalism is based on commodity - exchange between individuals. Thus there is an underlying contradiction between capitalism which promotes individualism, freedom and universalism and patriarchy which relies on the traditional household structure. It seems, however, that it is more accurate to say that capitalism requires 'limited' individualism, since it excludes women in practice from citizenship. Insofar as patriarchy survives it is largely a defensive ideological reaction against socio-economic changes which have significantly eroded male dominance in both the public and the private sphere. What remains is 'patrism' (Turner, p155) which is a culture of discriminatory, prejudicial and paternalistic beliefs about the inferiority of women. Patrism is expanding precisely because of the institutional shrinkage of patriarchy which has left men in a contracting power position.

In order to restructure his complex relationship between capitalism and patriarchy it is necessary to look closely at the home environment because it is the disparate relationship between the two spheres, public and private, which most broadly characterizes the issues surrounding the subordination of women. For whilst designers and planners continue to produce products and buildings that reinforce the nuclear family ideal in the interests of capital gains there will be little hope for a redefinition of the family in terms of equality and diversity.

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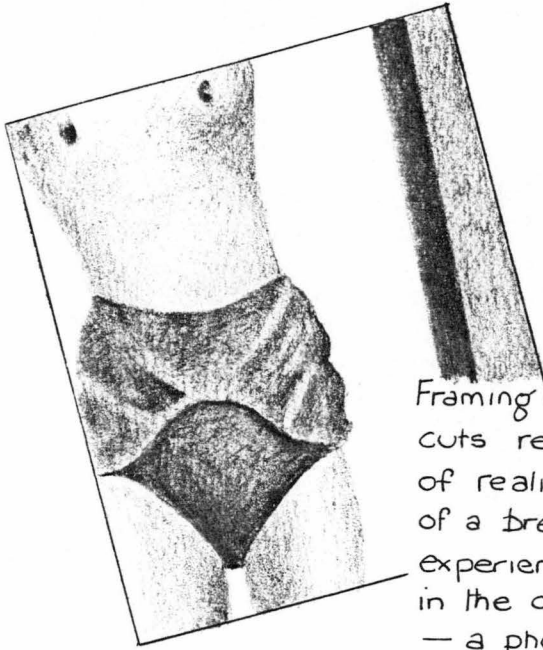
Working Notes
and
Documentation

FRAGMENTATION; FETISHISM

"I adore women my eyes are in love with them —"
(J. H. Lartique - photographer)

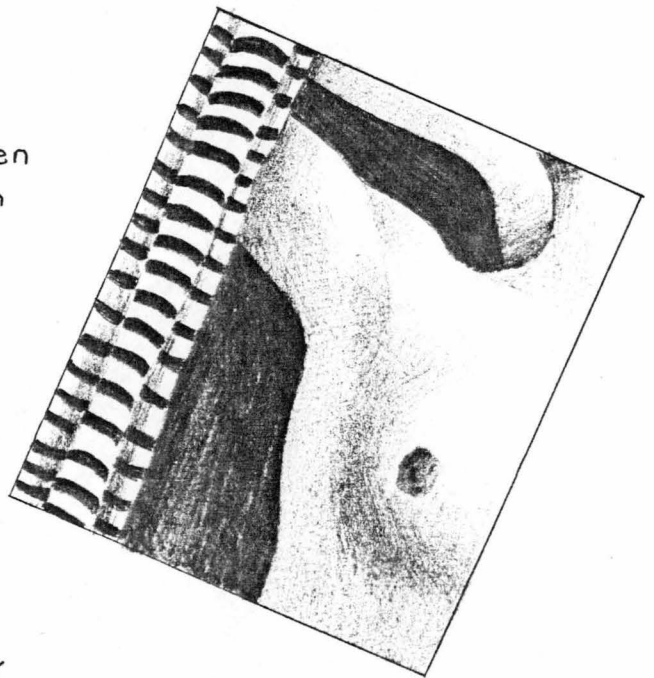
Mirror image/ photographic image — pivotal parts in female desire.
Women's experience of sexuality composed of ideologies and
feelings about self-image — ie socially proscribed ideal.

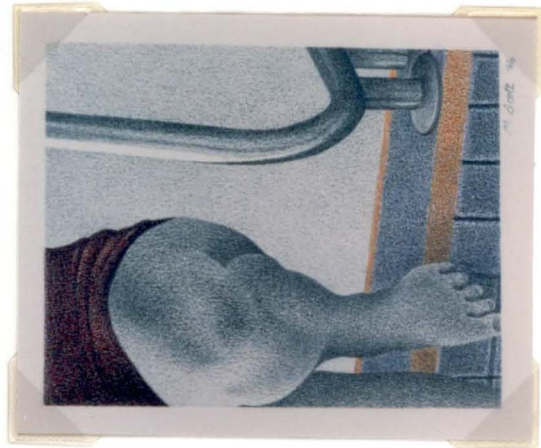
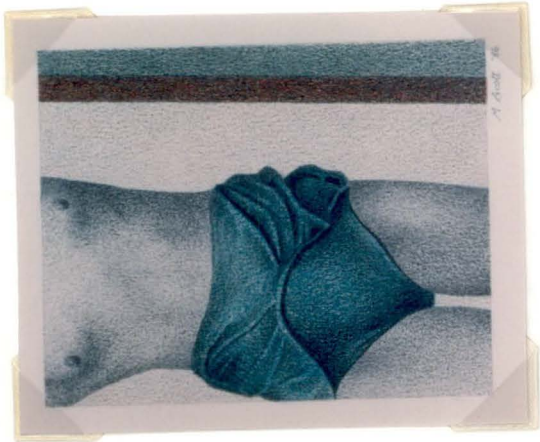
Western culture gives priority to
visual rather than other sensual
impressions eg Tv/film, photography
— obsession with looking
and recording images.



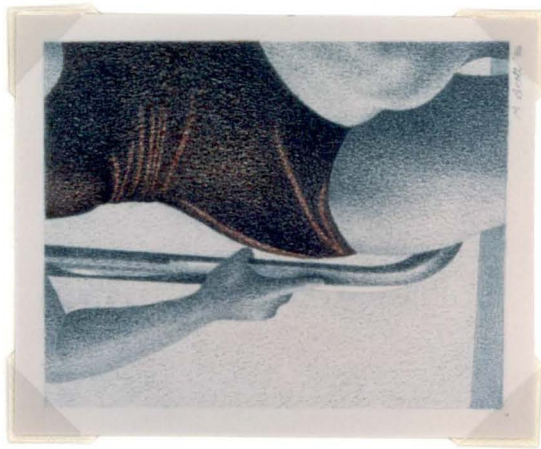
Framing edge of image cropped
cuts represented image out
of reality at large — an indication
of a break in the simultaneous
experience of the real — a rupture
in the continuous fabric of reality.
— a photographic "snap shot."

Images largely controlled by men
— photography an extension
of male gaze → use images
of women in ways that
make men feel comfortable
(connected to security
and power) — a form
of voyeurism — an
obsessive distancing
→ taking sexual pleasure
by looking rather than being
close to particular object of
desire — thus a means of staying in control



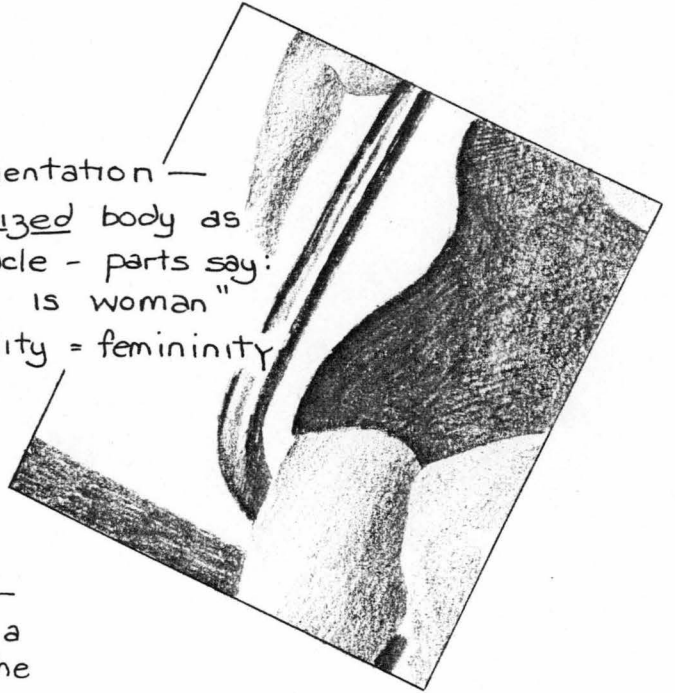


1.

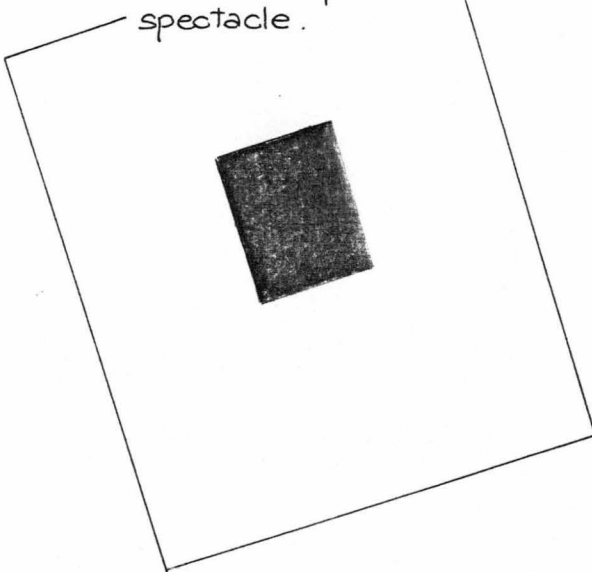


Fragmentation within the image of the human body (in particular pornographic photography) - a particular bodily part emphasized - fragmented / cut up by frame. Abstracted bodily parts may be regarded as an expropriation of the subjects individuality - (ie - gestures of dehumanization)

Fragmentation —
fetishized body as
spectacle - parts say:
"This is woman"
sexuality = femininity

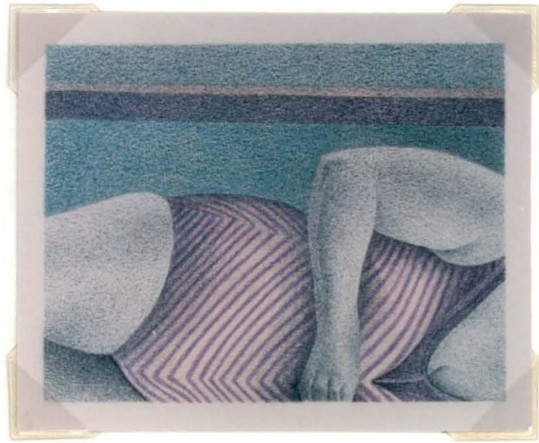
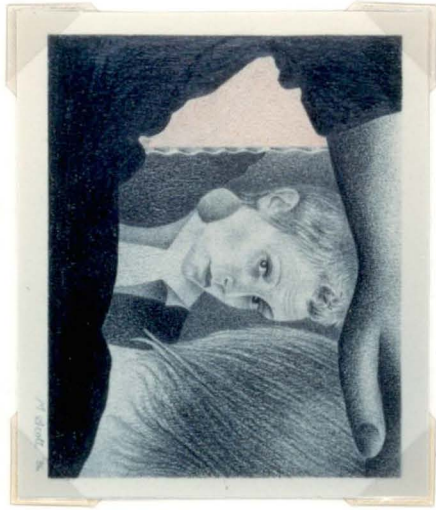
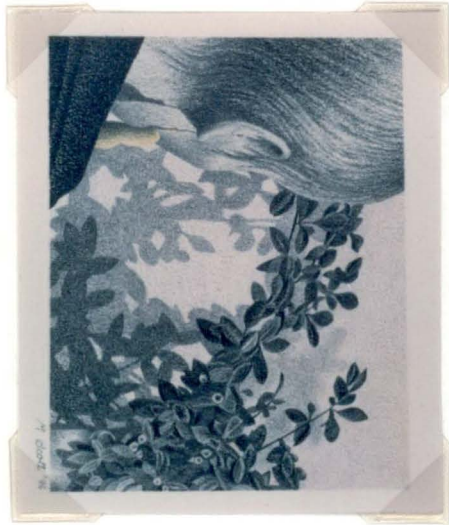


Small image in
surrounding space —
draws viewer in — a
form of intimacy — the
viewer becomes voyeur
— the body becomes
spectacle.



Pornography preoccupied with
signifiers of sexual difference
and sexuality (breasts,
buttocks etc) constructing
women as sexual objects.
Image addresses spectator
as desiring — image
constructs woman's
sex as other, as 'object'
of masculine gaze. Equates

femininity with femaleness —
femaleness with sexuality and female
sexuality with a particular part of the female anatomy.



GIRL ON THE WALL

Performing self — "looking glass - self" — cannot exist outside the gaze of others, identity embodied in external sources; appearance creates our identity. Human body shaped in accordance with cultural criteria of appropriateness. Commodification of the body. Women made-up of parts; constructed; fabricated; put together, composed of surfaces and defined by appearances. Put on display — created by male gaze — parts fragmented, fetishized, sexualized. Dictated identity.

"Everytime I go to catch a train an image stares down at me,
Oh everytime I buy a magazine an image stares out at me
And I feel so insecure — 'cause I know one thing for sure,
That the girl in the mirror ain't the same as the girl on the wall.
'Cause I'm overweight, underweight, too strong, too frail
I got lifeless hair and dirty fingernails;
Too dry, too greasy, adolescent, middle-aged,
I'm a prisoner locked in a body cage.
Flat-chested, big-busted, flat-footed, fat-faced,
Big-bottomed, short-legged, and my nose is out of place;
Too pretty, too ugly, too forward, too shy —
I got no self-image and I wonder why.
Every day I'm walking down the street, I feel every eye on me
Oh, everyone that I meet, I wonder who do they see?
Perfection in disguise
With regimes and alibis
And the girl in the mirror
Ain't the same as the girl on the wall
Ain't the same as the girl.

Margo Random 1983

Body image integral to self-image. Body promoted as "finding one's self — success / fulfillment"

Lacan — "The mirror stage" divulges subject as profoundly split between the unconscious and conscious representations — of coherence and fragmentations. Body image integral and essential to identity — is linked to a process of identification within the mirrors of others' desire.



2.



3.

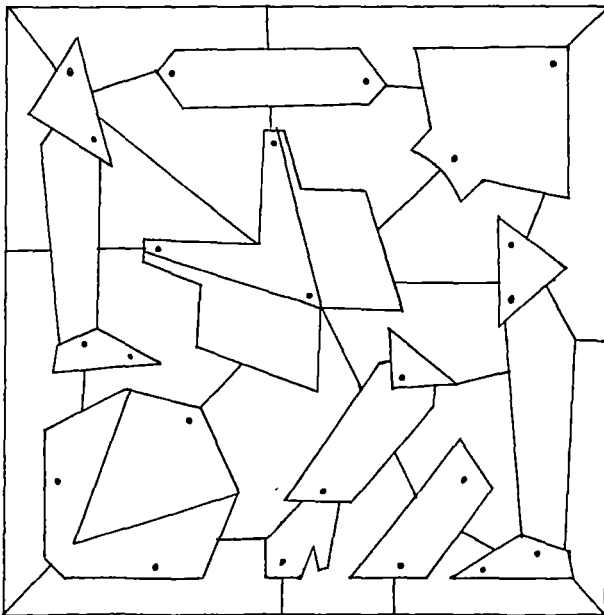
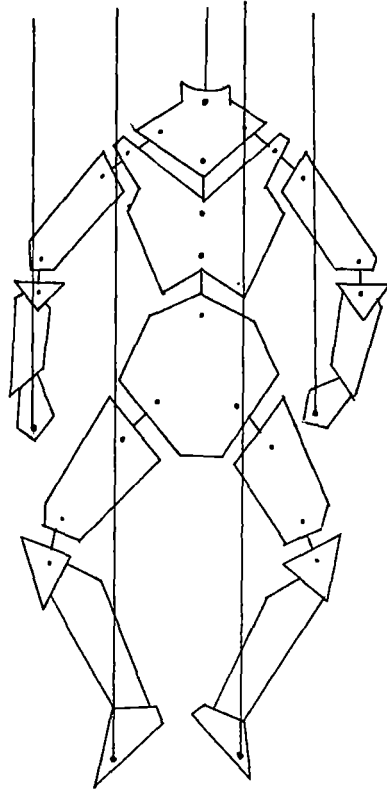


4.

MANIPULATION ; ENTRAPMENT

Puppets , dolls , mannequins — lifeless , motionless , unable to act by themselves — manipulation by external forces — personal "ineffectiveness" — not being in control of needs , behavior , impulses — not owning one's body — body a product of external influences and others actions — sense of loneliness , emptiness , lack of emotions , thoughts , feelings — a void — isolation — cut off in boxes , contained and confined . Body bits strung together rigidly .

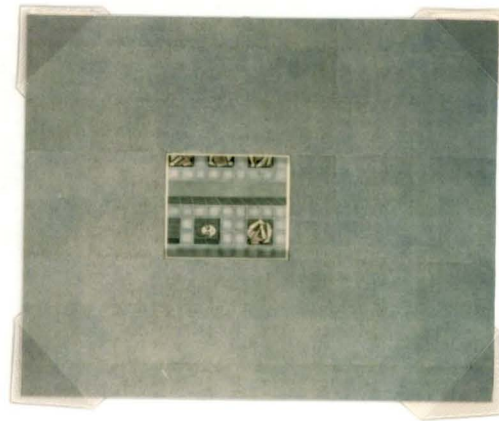
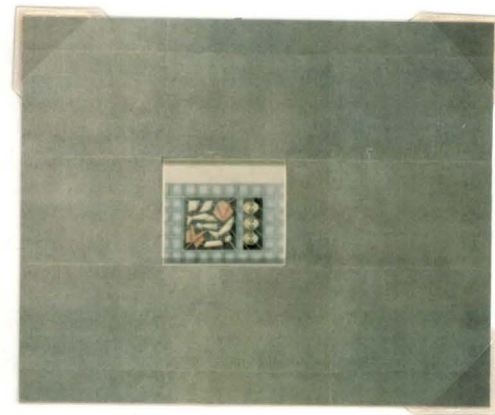
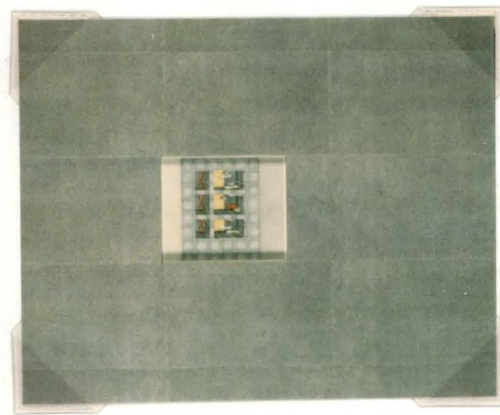
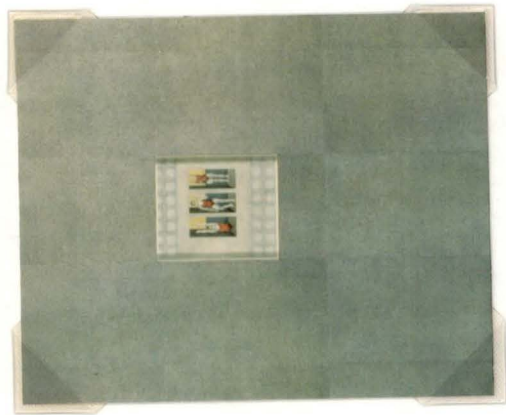
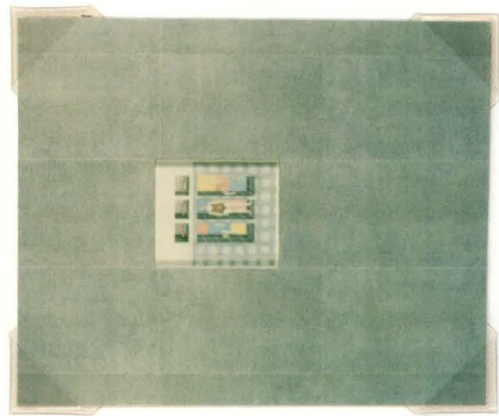
Listen —
Lay off and leave me alone
Left not to rest in peace
But linger and roam
In Limbo
Where I'm known
Not loved and loving —
but known
And left alone
Lost
Among lifeless ,
Slabs of stone
Hard and cold
and all
Alone .



SWIMMER — androgynous, faceless, unknown - depersonalized . Fear of femininity "anxiety" of the feminine body as a non - repressed and unrepresentable object . Femininity experienced as real and immediate the blind spot as symbolic process analysed by Freud . Androgyny — safe ; contained .

GOGGLES — like a mask — no identity : non-being : inner feelings and characteristics hidden ; safe — eyes the centre of knowledge .

TILES — cold , rational , clinical Also a veneer , a surfacing , a facade , trapped in external body . Unemotional ; suppression of desire . A grid structure , reinforcing obsessive rigidity and discipline . Confined and encased in stone . Living yet not living .



MIND / BODY DUALISM ; ASCETICISM

"disembodied spirit and a disenchanted body"

Jung - psyche - "androgynous" made up of feminine / masculine. Wholeness of psychological structure requires both. The psyche (cultural conditioning?) spontaneously characterizes some qualities as masculine, others as feminine ----

MASCULINE

mind discriminates, analyses
separates, refines - "objective"
analytic, active, tough-minded
rational, unyielding, intrusive
counteractive, independent
self-sufficient, emotionally -
controlled, confident.

FEMININE

knows relatedness, has an intuitive
perception of feeling, has a tendency
to unite rather than separate -
"subjective, intuitive, passive, tender-
minded, sensitive, impressionistic
yielding, receptive, empathetic
dependent, emotional, conservative

mind/body dualism characterizes Western philosophy - product of male objectification of women, i.e. men separated themselves from the "physical" and exalted the abstract or rational as being characteristically human. The physical or bodily was projected onto women and rejected as lesser or less "real" -

"The dominant male culture is separating men as knowers from women and nature, as the objects of knowledge, evolved certain intellectual polarities which still have the power to blind our imaginations" (Dinnerstein - Cont. Fem. Thought)

PATRIARCHY = MALE = REASON = SUPERIOR

NATURE = FEMALE = EMOTION = INFERIOR

SNAKES - phallic; masculine; symbol of unconscious, the procreative male-force - but also androgynous (self-creative); coiled / knotted = power, dynamic, knowledge

WEBS - symbol of the labyrinth (mind/male) - making the way difficult - entrapment; intention of confusing, puzzling (requiring knowledge)

TILES - rational, cold - tiled panelling a backdrop to figures - making them appear drowned or grotesquely dissected on a mortuary slab.

Sacrificing body a symbolic act - a denial of its significance as an expression of one's being - also denial of reality
Body as a location for exercise of will and personal control over desire - spirituality through subordination of the flesh -

mind/body = spirit / flesh

self denial / restraint = control of desire

control of desire = goodness / spirituality

unrestrained body = unrestrained morality

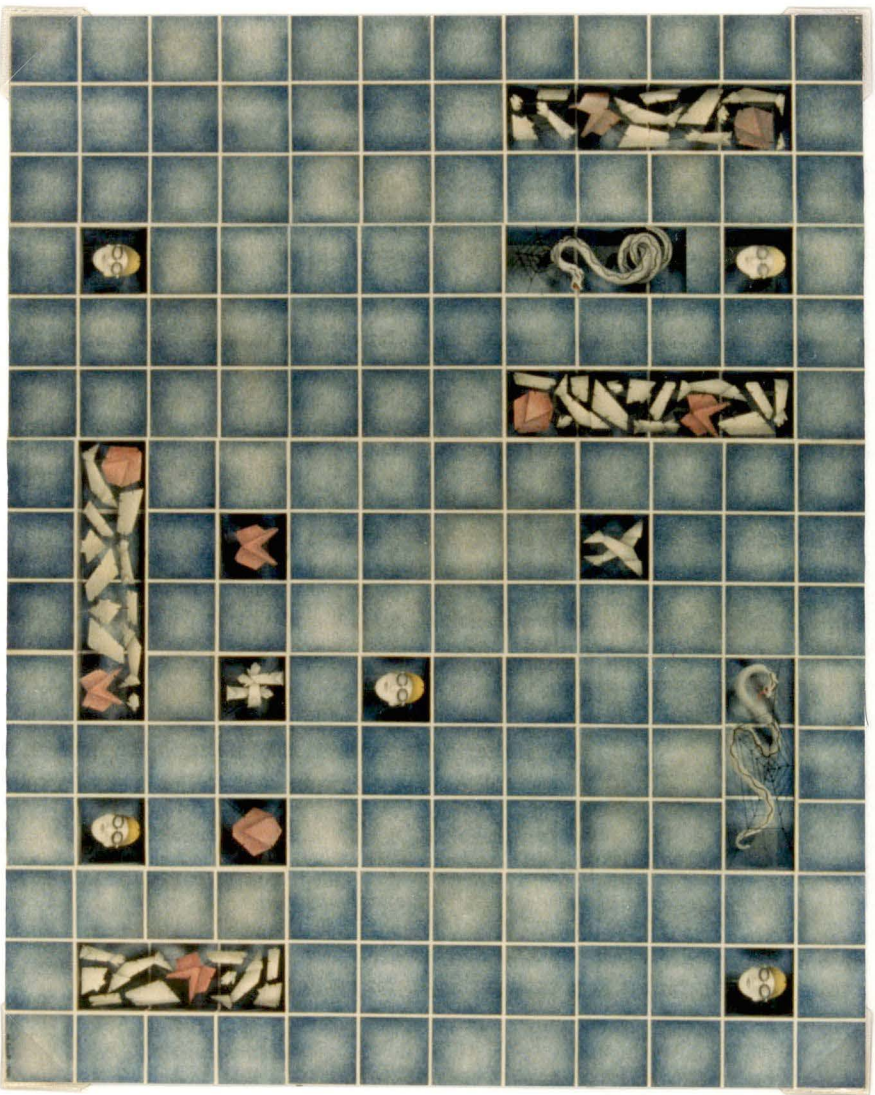
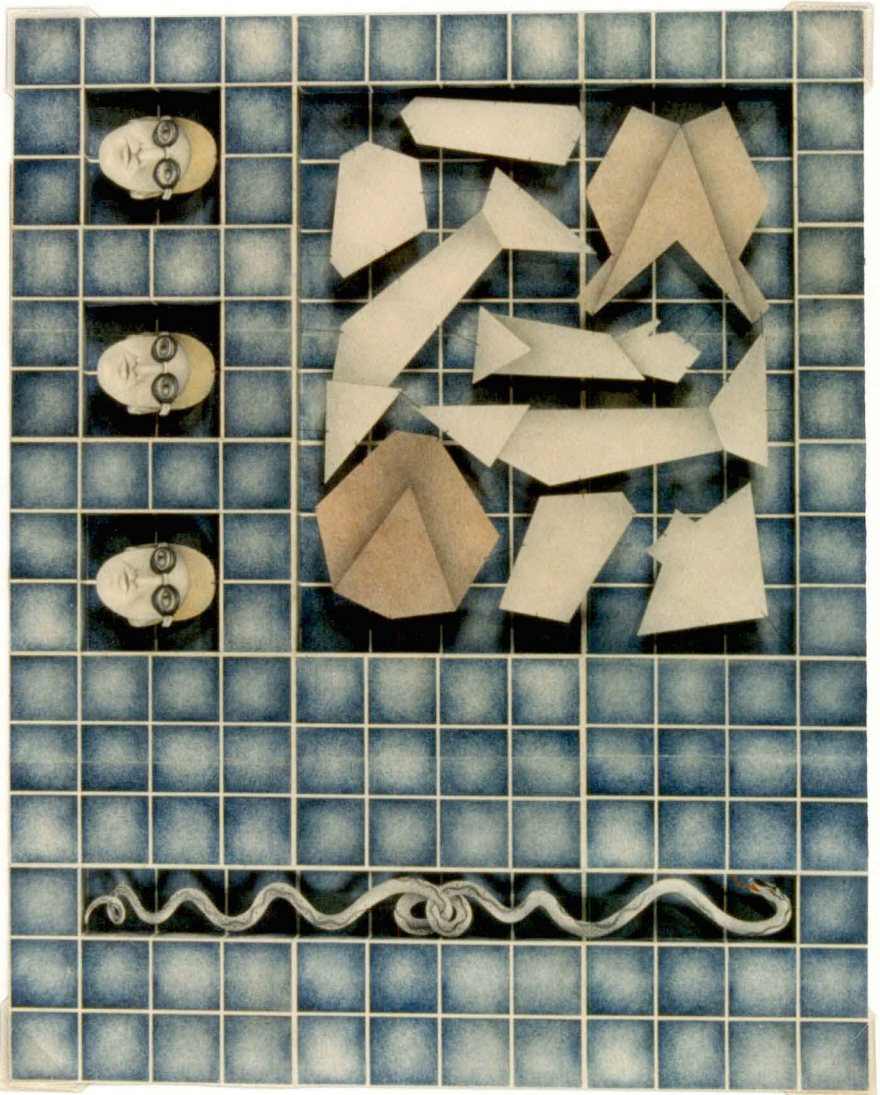
suppression of femininity = desire for male objectiveness

ideal body = success / fulfillment

ideal body = truth + self = individuality

individuality = joining inner (mind) + outer (body) =

spirituality / freedom / enlightenment.



SUPPRESSION OF DESIRE

WEB - exclusion; illusion
SHELL - female principle sexual passion

SNAKE: deceit; temptation; slavery - the snake led mankind into bondage - SPIDER: creator, the (male) Supreme Deity; the weaver of the web of illusions; laying snares; ceaseless building and destroying.

Images of horror largely correspond to phobic objects: as in Freudian theory the phobic object always signify a regression an absence, through regression of desire the process of fracturing the self, the repression of desire in the constitution of my social body my social self. We are bound to suppose that a unity comparable to the ego cannot exist in the individual from the start: the ego has to be developed. (Freud). Lacan terms the initial process of ego constitution the 'mirror stage' a moment of violent separation where the self is forcibly split from the 'other' which is then repressed as the unconscious and effectively locks desire inside the hopelessly incomplete, mutilated self... these images reflect fragmentarily repression of desire and alienation. This is the alienation that comes along with the splitting of the "fragile shell of consciousness" from the others that are both outside - the world of objects and inside the unconscious (Rob Horne)

ROSE - sensuality; heavenly perfection emblem of Venus; red = desire. Seduction; red = desire.

The division of psychological characteristics results in the symbolic roles of the mermaid and the minotaur. The MERMAID, yearn for the soul - they can only get through marriage with a mortal; sensual pleasure - "the deceitful lures of the flesh": "Anima" - The feminine and chthonic part of the male; beauty personified. The fearsome MINOTAUR gigantic and eternally infantile - offspring of a mother's unnatural lust, male representative of mindless, greedy power insatiably devours human flesh; lives in a labyrinth (mind / knowledge); lives on human sacrifices.

"LIVING DOLLS AND REAL WOMEN"

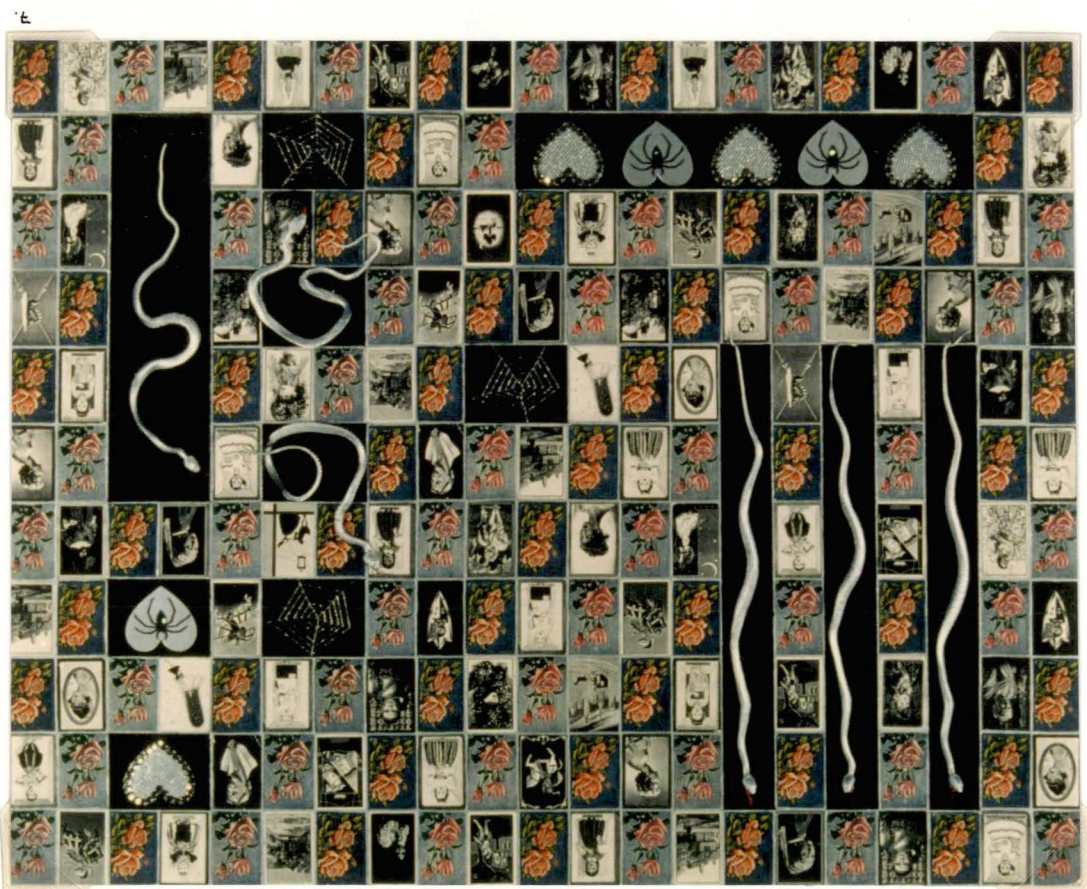
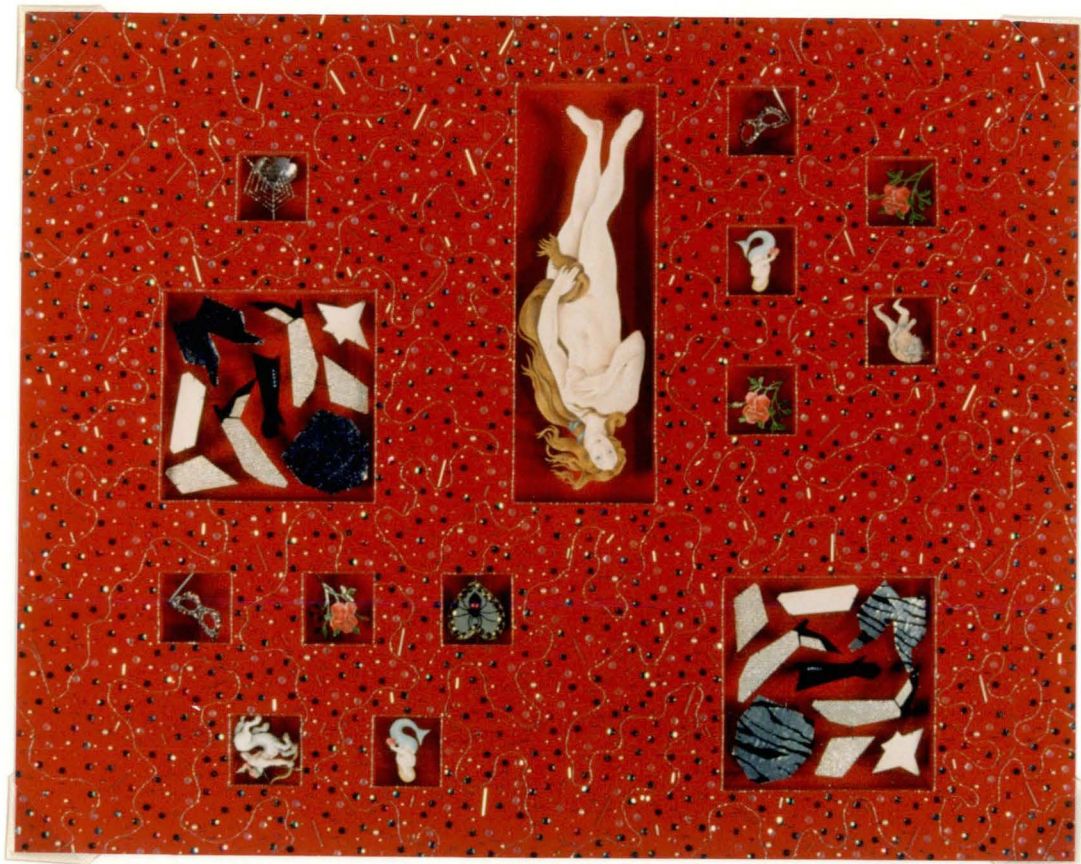
VENUS - perfection; ideal woman beauty; desires; the passions

- trapped within our desires - contained within our femininity. Female desire - sought, bought, packaged and consumed - reinforces the division of responsibility opportunity and privilege between men and the patterns of psychological dependency of women. Our desires for perfection - ideal legs, ideal figures, ideal relationships - contain us within our roles ...

A fear of sensuality / femininity, confusion between desire and fear of many connotations of feminine dress. Is fashionable dress "part of the oppression of women or is it a form of adult play. Is it part of empty consumerism or is it a site of struggle symbolized in dress codes? Does it muffle or create the self (Elizabeth Wilson) "skirts / high shoes" - artificial gender distinction nature of feminine dressing is superficial in essence - yet desire exits for graceful, elegant, sensuous, colourful clothes ...

MASK - protection, concealment non-being; hiding one's identity

DESIRE - velvet, lace, tulle, satin, silk, damask, tapestry, taffeta, brocade = feminine / sensuous / emotions = danger entrapment, confinement



SYMBOLIC SACRIFICE

"There is a strange power in bog water which prevents decay. Bodies have been found which must have lain in bogs for more than a thousand years, but which although admittedly somewhat shrunken and brown are in other respects almost perfect"

Danish Almanack 1837

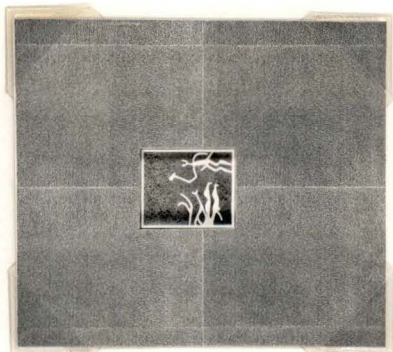
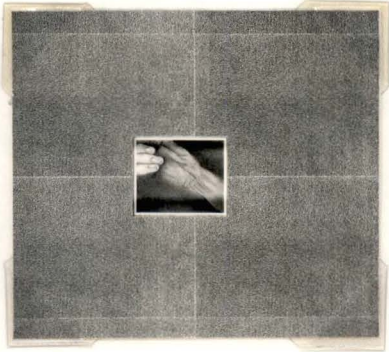
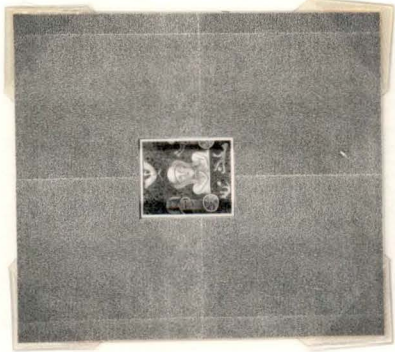
Perfect bodies buried in watery graves, forever preserved for the human gaze — as subjects of inquiry and dissection.

The symbolic sacrifice of bodies - sacrifices for the control of harvest and fertility

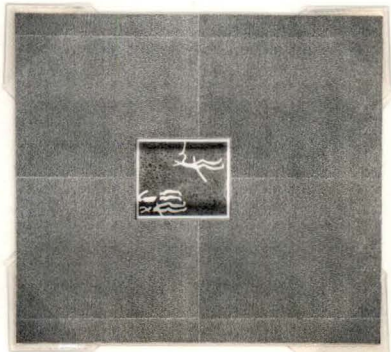
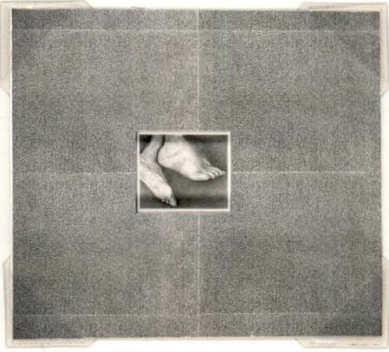
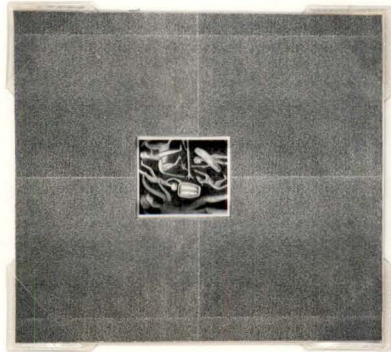
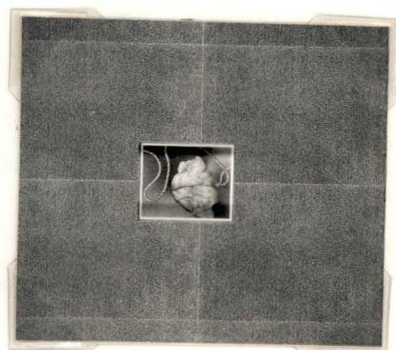
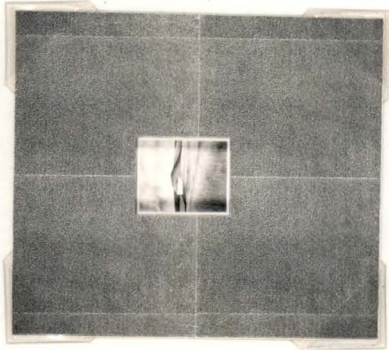
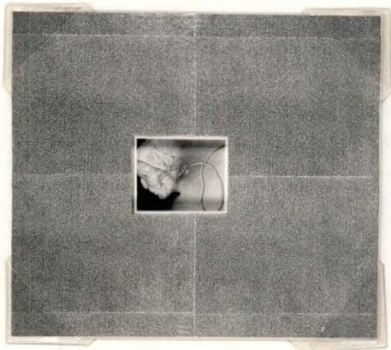
---- nothing in common with usual burial customs --- characteristic of sacrificial deposits to the gods ---- goddess of fertility prominent ---- it is she who ensures the rhythm of the crops ---- death in autumn; winter sleep ----- spring awakens to a new life with the promise of a rich harvest ---- for which individuals are sacrificed ---- to be transformed into a new glory ----

The seduction of surface appearance of textures — the hands, the feet, the stubble on the chin. Seduction of body surfaces; the outside shell. The seduction of the appearance of women; the gaze; surface qualities displayed. Self-body sacrifice symbolic of transformation and control. Body sacrifice through suppression - desire for perfection ie self-acceptance.

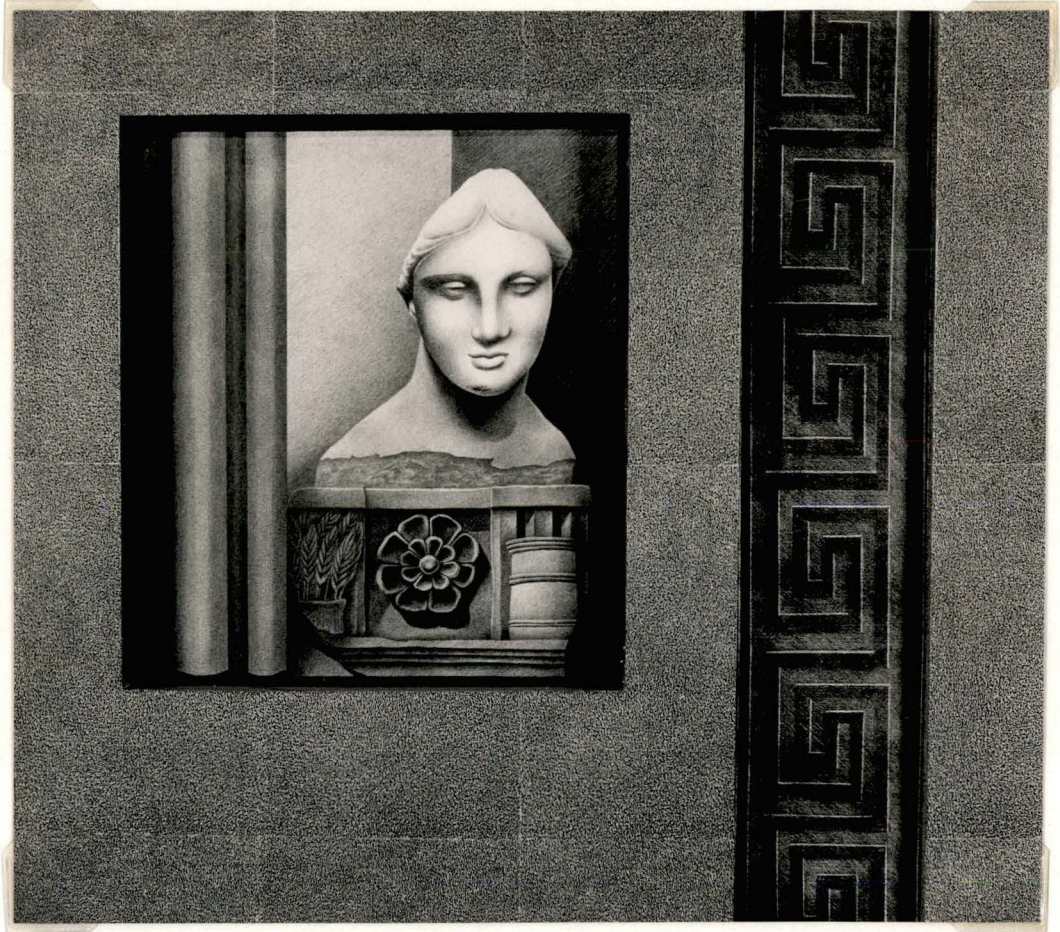
Enclosure; encasement, preserved in stone / concrete — headstones in graveyards.



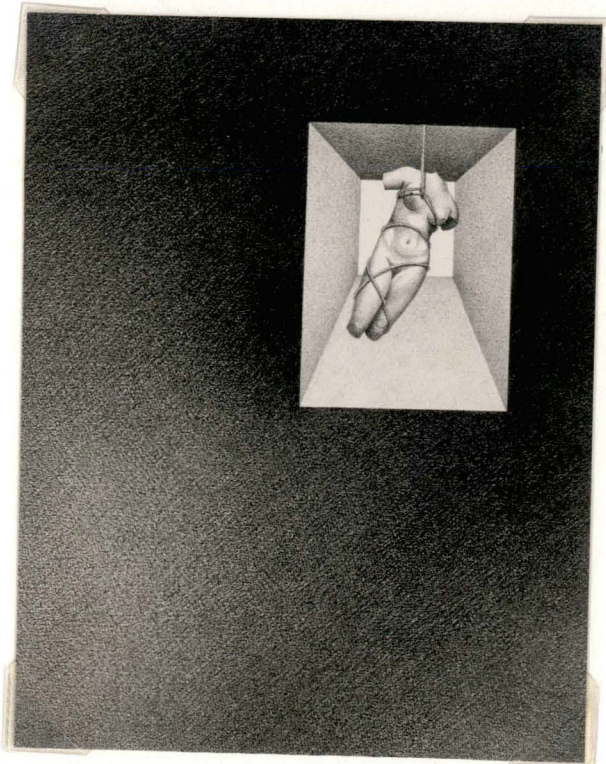
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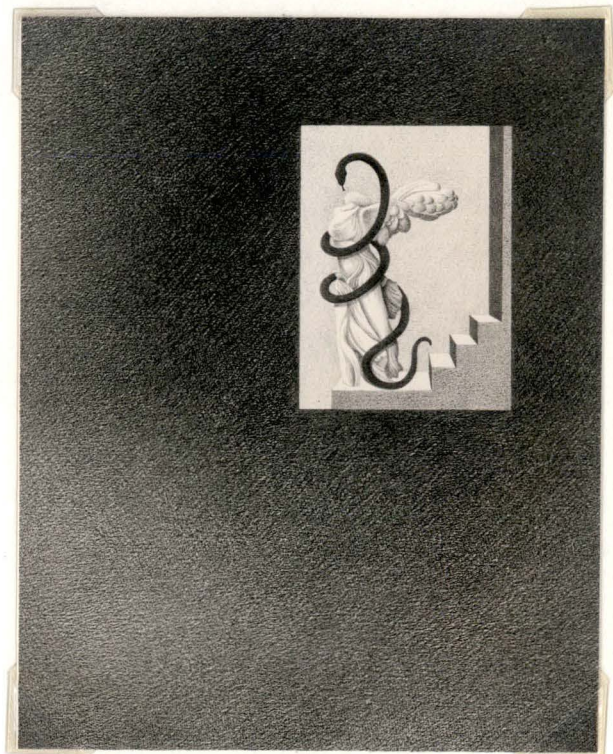
PERFECTION ; CONTROL



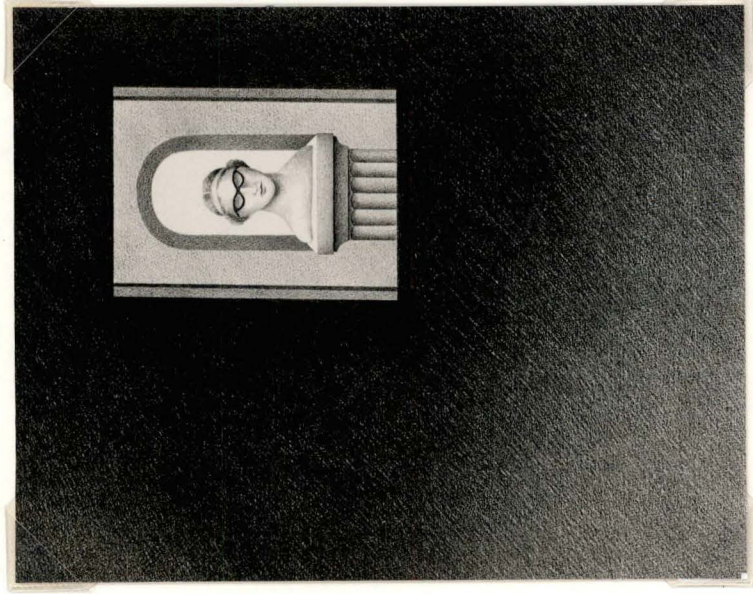
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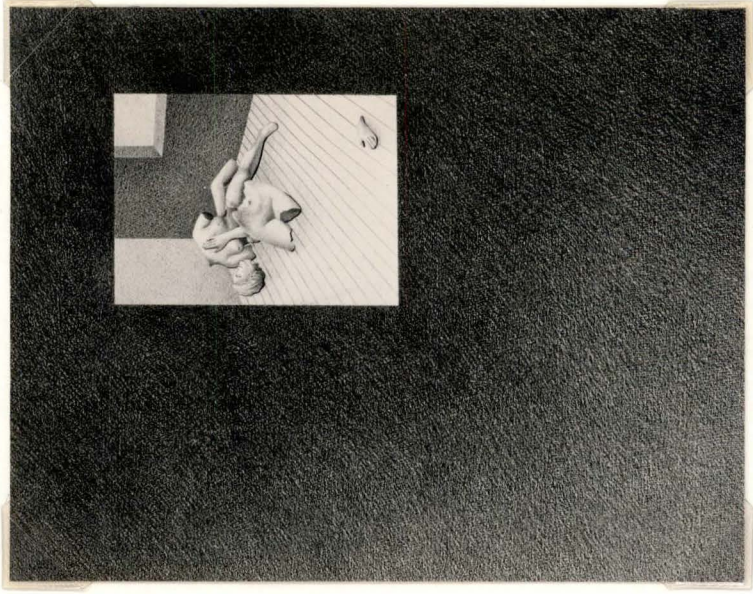
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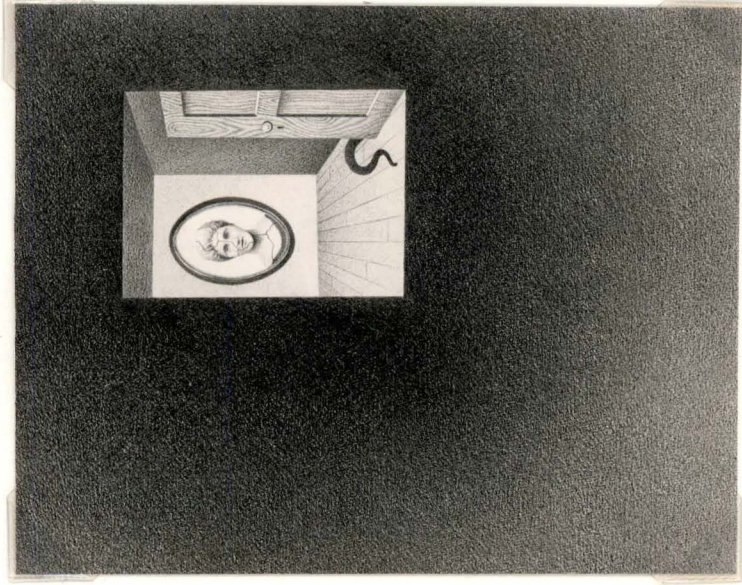
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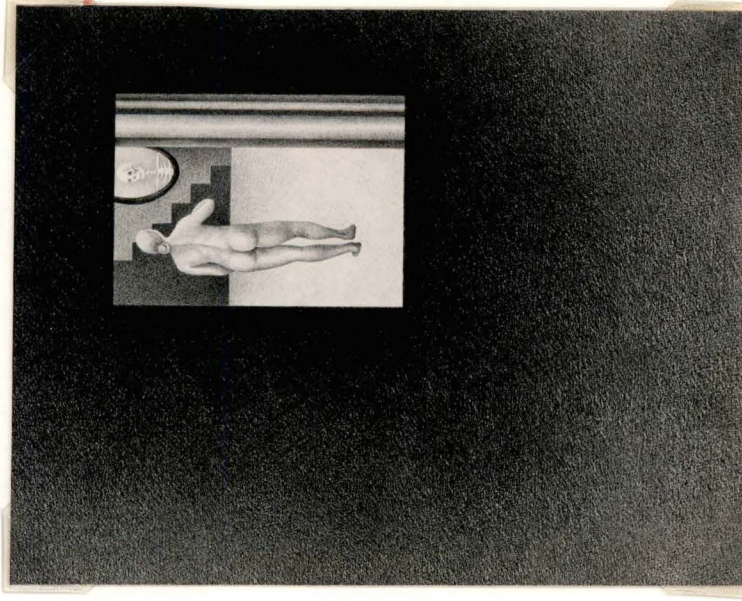
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14.



15.



16.

LIST OF WORKS

- (1) THIS IS WOMAN 1-12, 1986
Pencil and colour pencil on paper
Image size 93 x 74mm; actual size 510 x 365mm
- (2) THIS IS WOMAN, 1986
Mixed media
360 x 275 x 110mm
- (3) FRAGMENTATION, 1986
Mixed media
355 x 270 x 110mm
- (4) WEB OF DESIRE, 1986
Mixed media
370 x 270 x 110mm
- (5) THE VOID 1-6, 1986
Mixed media
Image size 295 x 250mm; actual size 1190 x 960 x 55mm
- (6) DISEMBODIED SPIRIT, DISENCHANTED BODY I and II, 1986
Mixed media
1200 x 980 x 80mm
- (7) ILLUSIONS 1987
Mixed media
1200 x 970 x 60mm
- (8) DECEPTION IN DESIRE, 1987
Mixed media
1200 x 940 x 80mm
- (9) SACRIFICE, 1987
9 Panels; mixed media
Image size 180 x 150mm; actual size 730 x 650 x 60mm
Total size 2250 x 2010 x 60mm
- (10) UNVEILING PERFECTION, 1987
Mixed media
1120 x 1010 x 60mm
- (11) PRISONER IN A BODY CAGE, 1987
Pencil on paper
Image size 395 x 317mm; actual size 1065 x 790mm
- (12) ILLUSORY VICTORY, 1987
Pencil on paper
Image size 395 x 317mm; actual size 1065 x 790mm
- (13) PERFECTION IN DISGUISE, 1987
Pencil on paper
Image size 395 x 317mm; actual size 1065 x 790mm

- (14) RESORTING TO HARSH MEASURES, 1987
Pencil on paper
Image size 395 x 317; actual size 1065 x 790mm
- (15) ILLUSION IN PERFECTION, 1987
Pencil on paper
Image size 395 x 317; actual size 1065 x 790mm
- (16) STAIRWAY TO NOWHERE, 1987
Pencil on paper
Image size 395 x 317; actual size 1065 x 790mm