Care Trouble
Thinking through gendered entanglements in architecture

Elke Krasny

Is architecture a form of care? How to think, practice, build and write architecture as care? The following reflections are indebted to my growing concern that architecture today, very much dominated by the form-follows-capital mantra, must be more fully understood as a care practice. A closer look reveals that there is virtually no limit to care in architecture. This includes architecture in all its different phases and stages, from the organisation of shared work in an architectural office to the completion of a building, from interactions with clients and contractors to labor conditions on construction sites, from considerations of material flows in architecture to maintaining or repairing existing buildings, from educating future architects to writing about architecture.

Yet historically there has been a separation between architecture and care structured around the axes of gendered symbolic, political and knowledge power and its concomitant division of labor. Since care is crucial for architecture in all its manifestations, it is important to gain a critical understanding of the discursive process through which architecture was historically separated from the work of care. This process is deeply rooted in the binary system of traditional Western thought with its cultural, epistemological, material, philosophical, political, social and technical consequences of organising difference as a structure of gender hierarchy which devalued its feminine part.

This essay sets out to explore care trouble in architecture and invites a radical rethinking that suggests architecture can be practiced as care. Relatedness, interdependence, co-implicatedness and connectedness, both on the ontological as well as the political level, have been central to feminist theo-

rising. Looking at the fundamental task of architecture, which, in the broadest definition possible, is the provision of shelter, we come to see that architecture and care are deeply implicated in one another. Such care provided through architecture is indispensable to human life and survival. Despite the obvious care function of protecting humans from sun, wind, snow or rain and giving the support necessary for the vital functions of everyday living, architecture has been firmly associated with autonomy and not with dependency. Unlike other binary oppositions like nature-culture, private-public or reproduction-production, the architecture-care divide has never been named as such. My analysis of central moments in canonical architectural discourse in antiquity, in the Renaissance period and the Enlightenment era, renders legible the discursive manoeuvres underpinning the architecture-care divide. I am particularly interested in thinking through the entanglements of architecture, care and gender using a cross-disciplinary approach that brings together feminist care perspectives in political theory and science-and-technology studies along with feminist art and architecture history. I build on the work of care thinkers like Joan C. Tronto and Maria Puig de la Bellacasa in addition to the scholarship of critical art and architecture historians Catherine M. Soussloff and Despina Stratigakos. A comprehensive and comparative analysis of the architecture-care divide goes beyond the scope of this essay and awaits further discourse analysis and historical-materialist research.

Even though philosophy, cultural studies and, more recently, science-and-technology studies have brought new perspectives to traditional architectural history, in the wake of the work of Gilles Deleuze and Michel Foucault, concerns such as biopolitics, control, power and representation have overshadowed a critical engagement with care. Only very recently, practitioners, researchers, thinkers and scholars in architectural history and theory have turned to care and reproduction in architecture. Such recent work can be found in the volume *Social Reproduction in Architecture. Politics, Values, and Actions in Contemporary Practice*, edited by Doina Petrescu and Kim Trogal in 2017, the curatorial research project *Care + Repair* (2017-2019), curated by Angelika Fitz and Elke Krasny and the contributions in *Caring Architecture. Institutions and Relational Practices*, a volume edited by Catharina Nord and Ebba Högström in 2017, which adopts a narrower view on care than the essay here and specifically examines institutions of organized care such as hos-

pitals or assisted living. What we see taking shape across the contributions mentioned above is a new perspective on architecture as care.

This essay traces the architecture-care divide historically. It aims to contribute to the recent efforts of thinking about architecture as care, efforts that are urgently needed today to counteract austerity impositions and hyper-competitive, neoliberal capitalism that pits architecture and care against each other in the most brutal ways.

The architecture-care divide

With shelter central to human life and survival, architecture is without a doubt a most important form of care. The following normative definition of care provided by Berenice Fisher and Joan Tronto in 1990 is useful to my purpose here as it supports the claim that architecture is a form of care. This is their broad and general definition of care and involves

> "everything that we do to maintain, continue, and repair our 'world' so that we can live as well as possible. That world includes our bodies, ourselves, and our environment, all of which we seek to interweave in a complex, life-sustaining web." (Fisher and Tronto 1990: 103)

Taking this definition to look at the functions performed by architecture, we see that architecture not only gives the support necessary to maintain and sustain human bodies, but it is also intricately intertwined with the environment. Thus, we can conclude that architecture has obligations regarding care, namely, to contribute to living in the best way possible. Even if we assume agreement, on the most general level, with the notion that architecture constitutes a form of care, the hierarchical symbolic, political, economic and knowledge power that is traditionally associated with this discipline suggests that the idea of care is profoundly troublesome. The kind of work that is identified as care has historically been sexualized and racialized. The subject positions assigned those who (must) perform care labor come with the burdens of political exclusion and the economic realities of un(der)paid labor.

For the analysis of the gendered dimension and uneven distribution of power between architecture and care, I look to political philosophy as it

developed public sphere theory and care theory, which must be understood as interdependent. Beginning with Aristotle's *Politics*, care has been assigned to the private sphere. (Tronto 2013: 25) This allocation has had an impact upon the organization of gender along the public-private axis. Historically, this divide barred women's access to the public sphere, in cultural, political, social, economic, material and educational terms, because as dependent figures who were identified with care work, they were denied access to this realm. (Tronto 2013: 25)

Canonical architectural discourse reveals that the knowledge power of architecture was organized along the public-private axis. Not only were architects considered to be important players in the public sphere, but they were the ones who gave shape to this divide by articulating the differences between the public sphere and the private sphere in spatial terms. Indeed, this has always included the realm of care, namely the making of the private sphere. Because architects had to have intimate knowledge about the home to conceive the best possible spaces for it, the design of the private sphere was included in the portfolio of the art of building. We see that architecture was always implicated in care. Yet discursively and ideologically, canonical writings on architecture and the professionalization of architectural education did everything possible to separate architecture from the threat of feminization posed by care work.

Care was kept at a distance, very much leading to "women's absence in architecture." (Stratigakos 2016: 1) Looking for care trouble in architecture renders legible these gendered entanglements. For example, the canonical architectural discourses guaranteed this discipline's dominant position in traditionally gendered binaries. When considered in relation to autonomy, citizenship, creativity, knowledge and power, architecture and care occupied very different positions. Even though it was always taken as a given that architecture does in fact provide care, the discursive orientations I will trace here circumvented care to refute its threatening association with dependency, feminization and denigration.

The following three sections of this essay provide an analysis of canonical formations central to architectural discourse. My first example is the distinction made in antiquity between the building of huts in imitation of nature and the acquired expertise distinct to the art of building as described in Vitruvius' *Ten Books of Architecture*. The second example looks at the establishment of architecture as an independent art that is different from neces-

sity-driven craftsmanship in the Renaissance era. This is found in Leon Battista Alberti's *De re aedificatoria. On the Art of Building in Ten Books*. In historical-materialist terms, such a distinction was the condition for the emergence of the concept of the artist-genius. The third example concerns the birth of the modern architect during the period of the Enlightenment, which was based on the introduction of a new, systematic educational model that linked architecture to the idea of free and equal citizenship. Taken together, these examples allow us to see the ideological maneuvers that resulted in architecture as separate from care; they also render legible the complex ways in which gendered entanglements are entwined in architecture and care.

The analysis here is based on a close reading of the three, above-mentioned moments that are central to the definition of architecture and the idea of the architect. It will reveal that architecture defined as the *art of building* carried out by the independent *artist-genius*, and later by *free and equal citizens*, was effectively organized around the gendered divide between architecture and care. The idea of a woman architect is absent from the canonical writings of Vitruvius and Alberti. When women are mentioned, it has to do with their bodies inspiring architectural elements, their bodies inflicted by matters of pregnancy or with the gendered division of public and private spaces. Women are mentioned fifteen times in Vitruvius' *Ten Books on Architecture*. They are statuary hewn in marble (4), have ill-health during pregnancy (58) and their footprints translate into the proportions of the slender columns for a temple to Diana (103). In addition, they are mentioned regarding the spatial arrangement of gender-separated, yet jointly heated, rooms at the baths (157). (Vitruvius 1960: 4, 58, 103, 157) Women are mentioned eighteen times in Alberti's *On the Art of Building in Ten Books*. Again, much of it has to do with bodily matters. What is of interest to us here is that Alberti describes the division of space according to gender. Whereas men were forbidden from entering the private quarters of women in a home (Alberti 1755: 343), it was a criminal act for a woman to go into temples associated with masculine sacrifice, such as the Temples of Martyrs. Likewise, men were prohibited access to temples linked to femininity, like the Temples of the Virgin Saints. (Alberti 1755: 370) Women were not considered as potential students when the *École Polytechnique* was established during the French Revolution. This Enlightenment institution with its model public education that gave birth to the modern architect only accepted women students in the second half of the twentieth century. No mention is made of women architects in these

canonical moments in architectural discourse. Yet these discourses are very much concerned with drawing a line between the provision of structures needed to sustain everyday life, i.e., care, and the independent creation of lasting, beautiful and useful architecture. Care trouble in architecture points to gendered knowledge power, the division of labor underlying the architecture-care divide as well as the historical exclusion of women from the concept of the architect.

The art of building: More than shelter

Among the most influential writings on architecture dating back to antiquity are *The Ten Books of Architecture* written by Vitruvius in 30 BCE. In his mytho-historical account *On the Origin of the Dwelling House*, presented as the first chapter of the second book, Vitruvius constructs a narrative leading to the development of human dwelling. (Vitruvius 1960: 38–41) First, the fire was discovered. Then, humans gathered around it. Finally, this gave rise to the construction of shelters. The knowledge required for building was acquired through mimesis. According to Vitruvius, this activity followed a specific order. Constructing shelters was first learned through imitating nature, that is, by observing how birds build their nests. Then, humans gradually learned the techniques of construction by imitating each other, and them made improvements and refinements to optimize their shelters. (Vitruvius 1960: 38)

Constructing dwellings is a part of everyday life, carried out as needed by everyone who is fit to do it. The narrative depicting the origins of dwelling and its provision of shelter was thus firmly conceived as something natural. Dwelling knowledge was learned from nature and therefore a part of it.[1] This account lays the foundation for a nature-culture binary that separates

1 Even though my focus here is on the discursive mechanisms as they pertain to gender, we can easily discern here another power knowledge effect of the nature-culture divide. Centuries later Bernard Rudofsky named this anonymous architecture or architecture without architects. This introduces a hierarchical and colonial distinction between authored and signatured architecture based in culture and non-authored, anonymous or indigenous architecture rooted in nature. Bernard Rudofsky published his book *Architecture without Architects: A Short Introductioin to Non-pedigreed Architecture* in 1964 on the occasion of an exhibition by the same name he curated at the Museum of Modern Art in New York.

protective dwelling from architecture. This discursive move can clearly be tracked in Vitruvius' chapter on the *Education of the Architect*, which can be found in the first part of the first book of his treatise.

Vitruvius defines architecture as the result of the coming together of all the arts. (Vitruvius, 1960: 5–14) This definition not only clearly renders architecture legible as culture, but from the onset assigns a position of hierarchy to architecture among the other arts. Had the knowledge required to perform the work of an architect been learned via imitating nature, this would have presented a profound challenge to the independence of their creators and their production of aesthetic surplus value. Vitruvius goes beyond the nature-culture divide, as he employs metaphorical language that links the knowledge power of architects to warfare. And it also marks a point in his treatise where the gender of the architect is made explicit. Men who engage in architecture are armed with knowledge, and this includes expertise about all the arts. Education gives men this armature of erudition. Vitruvius describes the kind of knowledge necessary for making architecture, distinguishing between those who have manual skills but lack academic learning and those who are only versed in theory and abstract ideas. He concludes that architects need both kinds of expertise, "like men armed at all points, have the sooner attained their object and carried authority with them." (Vitruvius 1960: 5) No language could be further removed from care than the language of war. And, this knowledge power, which fortifies architects to master architecture, must bridge the divide between theory and practice. Only the combined efforts of manual skills and theory can equip the architect to achieve works of culture. Vitruvius goes on to list in detail the education necessary that will supply the architect with his armor of knowledge. This includes drawing, geometry, history, philosophy, music, even medicine, law and astronomy. (Vitruvius 1960: 5–6)

Imitating nature is, of course, not included as a strategy to acquire knowledge to create dwellings. Instead, Vitruvius reveals the kind of person who is best suited to become an ideal architect. Not only must an individual have a thorough education, but also be endowed, indeed armed, from the onset with a unique disposition: "Neither natural ability without instruction nor instruction without natural ability can make the perfect artist." (Vitruvius, 1960: 5)

What opens up between *The Origin of the Dwelling House* and *The Education of the Architect* is the deep schism that separates nature from culture. Care,

provided by dwellings in the form of shelter, is a mere imitation of construction knowledge that everyone can find in nature. Architecture, on the contrary, reconciles practice and theory because it unites all the arts with the combined knowledge power of astronomy, geometry, jurisprudence, music and philosophy. Architecture is learned through culture. And we begin to comprehend that a profoundly gendered and hierarchical knowledge power regime is being established here with the making of dwellings and the art of building placed on their respective sides of the nature-culture divide. Yet the politics of gender do not stop at this point, because human nature comes into play too. A specific type of person, identified as the artist-genius during the early modern period, is introduced into the equation. The contours of this individual, who requires both natural ability and profound knowledge gained through education, were first outlined in antiquity as part of the conditions that must be met to become the perfect artist. This is instructive when regarding the long durée of the *genderinflicted* and *genderconflicted* entanglements of architecture and care. It is through Vitruvius' natural ability argument that care was essentially behind the discursive as well as the concrete historical and material boundaries that prevented women from being regarded as capable of becoming architects. Historically, women were not only considered to be part of nature, and not culture, but they were also believed to have an "essential, caring […] nature." (Kirk 1997: 347) Taken together, these assumptions about women did not make them obvious candidates who could be educated to become perfect artists as described by Vitruvius.

Before moving on to the next influential episode in the architecture-care divide, I want to focus attention on care trouble in architecture. While the nature-culture divide appears as a clear-cut separation that distinguishes mere protection from the art of building, the three qualities named by Vitruvius as being necessary to architecture are not easily divorced from care. Taken together, "[…] durability (*firmatis*), convenience (*utilitas*) and beauty (*venustatis*)" result in architecture. (Vitruvius 1960: 17) What is of interest to me in identifying the traces of care trouble in canonical architectural discourse is the Latin term *utilitas*, which can be translated as convenience or usefulness. Both suggest a closeness to care. Let me join *utilitas* with *venustatis*. This brings us to convenient beauty or beautiful convenience, useful beauty or beautiful usefulness. Joining them together shows the effort with which architectural discourse sought to resolve the troublesome nature of

care in architecture. There was clearly an awareness of architecture's implication in use, including its everyday use, to provide the support necessary *that we can live as well as possible*. Yet durable, lasting architecture had to go beyond the merely useful. Beauty elevated the care provided through architecture to the *art of building*.

Architect-genius: More than a craftsman

The early modern period of the Renaissance witnessed a continuation of the influential Vitruvian discourse. This is evidenced by Leon Battista Alberti's choice of a title for his treatise: *De re aedificatoria. On the Art of Building in Ten Books*. Written during the 1440s and 1450s, in 1485 it became the first book on architecture ever to be printed. Like Vitruvius' enduring influence, Alberti's writings shaped thinking about architectural practice, history and theory for centuries to come. Even though Vitruvius and Alberti focus on the historic legitimization and definition of architecture, the same concept of the architect can be traced through their discursive operations.

With the nature-culture binary fully articulated since antiquity, and with architects considered agents of culture, the Renaissance period built on this existing dualism and added a significant new component to it: the dichotomy between *mestiere*, craftsmanship, and *arte*, architecture. This hierarchizing split negotiates the tensions between necessity and autonomy, dependence and independence, learned skill and creative genius.

In the preface to his treatise, Leon Battista Alberti slightly pauses the flow of writing and inserts a definition of the architect. I will quote him here to tease out the implications for the knowledge power regime underlying the concept of the architect-genius and its historical-materialist consequences. Distinguishing the architect from the "carpenter" or the "joiner," Alberti insists that only a person who by "sure and wonderful Art and Method" in combination with "Thought and Invention" can imagine and realize architecture. (Alberti 1988:3) According to Alberti, the distinction between the skilled workman and the architect is determined by the latter's intellect and creativity, qualities that enable him to be a master. Unlike the skilled workman, the master-architect is freed from having to bow to necessity. This distinction serves to prevent a work of architecture from being reduced to mere necessity or simple purposefulness. While the architect is elevated to the

position of the thoughtful and inventive master, the craftsman is demoted to serving as the master's instrument. The architect and the craftsman are not considered equals because the architect occupies a position of authority.

Before I go on to locate this separation in the material conditions of the modern period in Italy, I examine Alberti's continuation of Vitruvius' line of argument, which keeps care trouble in architecture at bay. Again, it is the marriage of beauty and utility that is used to elevate architecture to its foremost status. The value of beauty that transcends mere necessity is argued to be of general use to mankind. The usefulness of beauty is thus firmly linked with autonomy and independence as opposed to necessity and dependence, qualities that are conventionally associated with the labors of care. The architect is conceived of as the master endowed with intellectual and imaginative abilities, who is able to create the "greatest beauty" for the "uses of mankind." (Alberti 1988: 3)

The *mestiere-arte* divide is not merely an ideological construct. It reflects material and economic reverberations in the organization of knowledge power regimes and the distribution of work during the early modern era. Art historical scholarship has identified fourteenth century Italy, when Alberti's treatise was written, as the period that witnessed the *mestiere-arte* separation. What is of importance in our context here is that architecture took the lead in this historical process of separation, becoming the first artistic discipline to align primarily with creative genius, or *arte*, and distance itself from craftsmanship, or *mestiere*. (Soussloff 1997: 67)

Read through a historical-materialist lens, independence is not only a concept constitutive to the individuality of the modern subject, who was historically gendered male and embodied in the most exemplary way in the figure of the genius, but also as the result of shifts in knowledge power regimes and economic struggles. The independence of architects was based on their rejection of the stranglehold of the guilds that had previously kept as an exclusionary secret the knowledge power of craftsmanship, thus regulating access to the professions. This independence from the kind of knowledge, that had been handed down through generations and was protected and prescribed by the guilds, is rooted in the architect's work. According to Alberti, this work goes beyond tasks that have a purely practical nature to engage in those that require extraordinary mental activity, or the efforts of genius. (Alberti 1755: 687)

Independence, a much-glorified idea in the Western history of consciousness, is the precondition that allows for the genius to be in possession of abilities such as intellectual strengths and creative capacities. (Alberti 1755: 3) Regarding the specific conditions of fourteenth and fifteenth century Italy, this meant breaking away from the rules of tradition and convention that were upheld by the guild system. So, independence became associated with another trope of early modernity, the trope of the new. The credo of this conceit is that only independent thought, which is not bound by tradition, can move forward and overcome the limitations of the past. Independence, the opposite of dependence, also must be read literally as a condition for genius. It is helpful to turn to political theory to raise awareness regarding the gendered exclusion of women and all other dependents from the concept of the genius. The independent-dependent opposition is connected to the binary of public and private. Tracing the impact of this split and its gendered dimension back to Aristotle, Joan C. Tronto writes: "The way that franchise was conceived was to exclude those who were dependent." (Tronto, 2013: 25) This not only organized public and political life, but equally the classed, gendered and racialized division of labor. Furthermore, independence, and not dependence, determined who could become a genius-architect. Independence therefore meant freedom from the mundane reproductive labors of care. Architects and architecture had to repudiate care on the level of those who performed the labor of this discipline and, on the level of building, the work that is produced. Necessity tied to purpose is characteristic of care, that is, something we need to thrive and to survive, something we want to "get us through the day," like the buildings we live in, which give us the support required to maintain, restore and repair ourselves. Meanwhile, such need-based necessity is transcended by architecture through the notion of the *greatest beauty* for the *uses of mankind*. (Bellacasa, 2017: 87) Free from these constraints, architecture makes its claim to a kind of beauty that can be used, a beauty made useful by architects who think and invent independently. Nothing, therefore, could be further from genius than care. While care speaks of dependency and thinks of subjects as interdependent from the start on both the ontological and the political level, autonomy stands for subjects who are assumed to be independent. The care trouble in architecture, which comes with the idea of the architect-genius, points to a deep problem regarding the conception of the modern subject. Whereas independence is understood as the ideal condition of the modern Western subject that exists

in opposition to the subordination and neediness of dependence, the concept of interdependence has neither been central to the historical trajectories of political thought nor to formative ideas in architecture.

Furthermore, architecture was not only integral to the discursive formations that gave rise to the independent subject of the artist-genius but is central to these arguments. In *The Absolute Artist. The Historiography of a Concept*, art historian Catherine M. Soussloff explores the genealogy of the idea of the artist-genius. She argues that the first full-fledged biography to portray the artist-genius is Antonio Manetti's *Life of Filippo Brunelleschi*, written in the 1480s. (Soussloff 1997: 43) "Thus the concept of 'the artist' emerges concurrently with the elevation of the media, architecture and painting, and their originator, Brunelleschi." (Soussloff 1997: 67) It is no surprise that an architect, Brunelleschi, was the subject of the quintessential biography that gave rise to the concept of the artist-genius.

Biography, a Greek composite meaning life-writing, is the literary form that gave birth to the artist-genius, who could also have been called the architect-genius. Yet this "professional genre" could not have been further removed from everyday life and its drudgeries. (Soussloff 1997: 24) According to Alberti, he was independent of practical, necessary tasks, thus distinguishing the architect-genius from that of the craftsman and the daily labor of reproduction. (Alberti, 1755: 687)

We clearly see here the central axes of the regime of gendered knowledge power and the division of labor that rendered the architect-genius an independent figure by freeing him from the toil of repairing, maintaining and preserving daily life. It has barred women's entry into architecture precisely because of the social conventions that made them dependent and associated with the necessities, duties and responsibilities of care. Placing architecture above care, and consequently "men above women," kept the existing "gendered hierarchy" intact. (Tronto, 2013: 79)

Modern architects: Free and equal citizens

The institutionalization of modern architectural education takes us to the period of the Enlightenment. In 1794, with the opening of the *École Polytechnique* in Paris, the first school for modern architectural education was inaugurated. Architectural education, much like other academic training in the

sciences, technology and practical arts, comprised part of the political and economic reordering that was rooted in the Enlightenment concept of the modern subject. In his monograph, *The Making of the Modern Architect and Engineer,* Ulrich Pfammater traces the rise of modern architectural education. There are two observations concerning his study, which includes the formation of modern and systematic architectural education, that matter to the concerns here: the gendered idea of citizenship and the notion of welfare as distinct from care. Firstly, the equality and freedom mantra of the French Revolution not only defined the status and the privileges that come with citizenship, but it also rendered women and people of color, that is, those who were excluded from the idea of citizenship and consequently from the legal status conferred onto subjects through it at that time, unequal and unfree. Therefore, the gendered and racialized concept of citizenship made the new educational model that shaped the modern architect an exclusive one. As citizenship historian William R. Brubaker points out, not only the formal institution, but also the political imaginary of citizenship was shaped by the French Revolution and its 1789 *Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen*. (Brubaker 1989: 30)

No mention is made of women. They remained outside of the political idea of citizenship. The historical gendering and racializing of citizenship, both ideologically and state institutionally, resulted in the exclusion of those identified through bodies other than male and white. "Slaves, wage-earners and women were initially ruled out of active citizenship […] Even when dependency was redefined, […] (in 1848) women remained unacceptable as citizens." (Scott, 2005: 37)

Therefore, bodily differences formed the foundations of the idea of citizenship, rendering it deeply gendered and racialized. Even though the Western history of ideas has celebrated the French Revolution as giving birth to the concept of abstract and universal citizenship, the opposite was the case. Citizenship was very much embodied, and not an abstract ideal. According to gender historian Joan Wallach Scott, "[…] the difference of sex was not considered to be susceptible to abstraction" for the French Revolutionaries. (Scott, 2005: 37)

The body identified as male was constitutive to the notion of citizenship. And, by extension, the body identified as male was prerequisite to being granted access to higher education and consequently to the modern professions, such as architecture. Therefore, architecture defined as a profession of

"free and equal citizens" was clearly not open to women who, because of their bodies and their dependency, were excluded from citizenship.

Secondly, the idea of general welfare defined care in such a way that gender hierarchies were reinforced, even though architecture was considered important to the general well-being of society. Let us look at how the period of the Enlightenment rendered architecture as a form of "men's caring," that is socially and politically different from women who "care 'naturally'." (Tronto 2013: 70) Because architecture was considered relevant to general welfare and individual happiness, we clearly see that architects had a social obligation to perform a kind of care work. While the political and philosophical discourse of the period did assign architecture the task of welfare, the ideological orientations of this discourse insured this was never confused with the kind of caring labor that is performed by women daily in the private realm.

General welfare clearly provides and requires care. This form of care, which the Enlightenment era saw as a public responsibility in democratic societies, was simply not identified as care to uphold the gendered ideal of masculinity, thus establishing "men's caring" as "non-caring care." (Tronto 2013: 72–73) This formulation articulated the Enlightenment version of the public-private binary in existence since antiquity. General welfare was expected to carry out tasks to support daily life, but to do so at a distance or an indirect manner, and not in the first-hand way that is normally associated with the work of care. (Tronto 2013: 70) Tronto uses the example of the eighteenth century formation of the police to illustrate how men's caring was defined by the notions of "protection" and "production." (Tronto, 2013: 70) The two terms are useful here to identify architecture's contribution to general welfare, and to see how the care provided by architecture was thoroughly gendered masculine. Protection is a central function of architecture, with architecture providing it in the form of useful and convenient beauty. Production can be aligned with the earlier idea of the independent architect-genius and, when examined through a historical-materialist lens, it fully conforms with the advances of capitalism and its values during the eighteenth century.

The institution of a new model of architectural education was an integral component of the work of protection and production. And as Pfammater points out, the need to be systematic and learned lent a high social status to the profession of the modern architect. He also helps us to tease out how

care trouble in architecture was negotiated in the Enlightenment concept of the modern architect. "Through the ideas developed by the new culture of education, the modern architect and engineer attained a similarly respected status in France in the 19th century as that of the scholar in the *Ancien Régime*." (Pfammater 2000: 98)

Public welfare is linked to individual living conditions. This renders the venue where direct and intimate care is given a task for architecture. Therefore, the disassociation of architecture from the feminine, and ultimately feminized, underpaid, undervalued and exploited forms of care had to be fully ensured. General welfare was a public function which included the provision of the private living conditions of individuals. Architects had to be experts about caring domesticity yet remain independent from it.

Equally important to the politics of the architecture-care divide is that caring duties, specifically the dirty work of daily reproduction, were not included in the idea of general welfare. The provision of care was not associated with the status of citizenship, while the provision of architecture was clearly linked to the status and privileges of free and equal citizens.[2] The concept of citizenship was closely connected to ideas about general welfare and perpetuated the gendered knowledge split concerning power and the division of labor in the architecture-care divide.

The institutionalization of Enlightenment architectural education resulted in extending the concept of the architect to include the free and equal citizen who made important contributions to the general welfare and ideals of a democratic society. Even though older models of architectural education were already part of the Beaux Arts tradition in seventeenth century Paris, Pfammater argues that the birth of the modern architect is linked to the introduction of polytechnical education at the Parisian *École Polytechnique* in 1794/95. (Pfammater, 2000: 8)

Women students were not allowed to enrol. Therefore, women were excluded from the early and formative years at this institution, which shaped the making of the modern architect. They were equally excluded from being

2 In her 2005 essay, "Care as the Work of Citizens. A Modest Proposal," Tronto has suggested to consider carrying out care work as a basis to receive citizenship. (Tronto 2005: 131) This not only counteracts the long-held tradition in political theory to separate care from public life, but her proposal also presents a political move in times of a precarious, globalised care workforce very often denied the status and privilege of citizenship in their countries of work.

of service to the general public. Pfammater expresses his puzzlement over women's exclusion given that women in France were actively engaged in both philosophical circles and Enlightenment endeavors. (Pfammater, 2000: 248) Yet he fails to make the connection to the gendered and exclusionary concepts of citizenship, general public and welfare. Thus, the *École Polytechnique* remained an all-male institution for 176 years until 1970, when changes in the law granted entry to women. (Pfammater, 2000: 248) This so-called universal educational model was based upon exclusionary concepts of citizenship, equality and freedom, and resulted in the deeply gendered concept of the modern architect.

Women architects

When women first appeared as architects at the end of the nineteenth century, public discourse by fellow architects immediately constructed them as a threat to the profession. Despina Stratigakos has lucidly analysed this in her 2016 book, *Where Are the Women Architects?* Meanwhile, the architecture-care divide, as I aim to tease out in the following section, unsettled the profession's gendered foundations.

A 1911 article by German architect Otto Bartning raises the question: "Should Women Build?" (Stratigakos 2016: 8) He puts forward a strong argument for the architect's autonomy, which he sees undermined by meddlesome housewives who interfere with it by bringing their "often troublesome wishes" to the design process. (Stratigakos 2016: 8) An even worse scenario arises when women, assigned the gender role of caring labor at home, should desire to become architects themselves. In the German architect's view, protection against feminization was in order, as "not female architects but rather supremely manly men" were now required. (Stratigakos 2016: 8)

With women beginning to enter the profession, new discursive ammunition targeted the trouble surrounding care, trying to keep it at bay and ensure that the profession stayed masculine. One line of argument was to relegate women to designing those spaces in the home that are clearly marked as sites of reproductive labor, from "the non-public housekeeping areas of the home" to "kitchens and cellars, and closet-rooms and servants' sleeping rooms." (Stratigakos 2016: 6) What we have here is a design program for women architects made up of the most narrowly defined spaces that are

used exclusively by those who perform the caring labor within private homes. This explicitly spells out the architecture-care binary as it underlies the gendered division of labor in architecture.

In lieu of a conclusion: Toward *carearchitectures*

While the thrust of this analysis was epistemological and historical in orientation and sought to reveal how care trouble in architecture underpinned this profession's deeply gendered foundations, my interest is to move beyond the architecture-care divide to find ways of repairing its harmful and damaging effects. My goal is to encourage more caring architectural practices that ultimately overcome and de-binarize this split.

Inspired by Donna Haraway's non-dualistic concept of "emergent naturecultures," I want to express my hope that it is possible to move toward *carearchitectures* in as many stages, phases and directions of architecture imaginable. (Haraway 2003: 1) Much scholarly work will have to be done to trace multiple architectural histories of care that go beyond the hegemonic architecture-care divide. Today, *carearchitectures* are much needed to do everything possible *to maintain, sustain and repair our "world" so that we can live as well as possible*. Such *carearchitectures* would include more than human worlds extending their care to humans, non-humans and the environment alike. This is crucial to arrive at a more even distribution of the protection and support that *carearchitetures* can provide. For example, Maria Puig de la Bellacasa has drawn attention to work "that foregrounds the importance of repair and maintenance of technology infrastructures as practices of care supports." (Bellacasa 2017: 43) Care most certainly includes the repair and maintenance of architecture as part of what we call infrastructure. But I would go beyond that and claim that *carearchitectures* always embody the idea of how they can be better sustained, repaired and maintained to provide lasting and ongoing support. Understanding architecture and care as being intrinsically entwined is as much a scholarly endeavor as it is a political project.

I will end with a quote by Alberti to make his view of architecture useful for present and future *carearchitectures*: "For it is certain, if you examine the Matter carefully, it is inexpressibly delightful, and of the greatest Convenience to Mankind in all Respects, both public and private." (Alberti, 1755: 3)

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