

ON THE FUNDAMENTAL DILEMMAS OF ARCHITECTURE— AS—PROFESSION...*

Received on June 7, 1985

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* What follows is a shortened version of the introductory chapter plus some concluding remarks of the PhD dissertation entitled: "Towards Professional Legitimacy and Power: The Struggle, Achievements and Dilemmas of the Architectural Profession Through An Analysis of Chicago 1871 - 1908", University of Pennsylvania, 1982. The Chicago research, comprising the bulk of the dissertation was treated as a case study to illustrate the issues discussed here; therefore its omission does not substantially impair the coherence of this piece which merely intends to question architecture in terms of the professional model.

The problem of architectural legitimation is a very ancient one, the main question being: what is it that architects and architecture have to offer in the way of knowledge and expertise which sets them apart from say, builders, surveyors or engineers and indeed, the public at large?

(P. Dickens, "The Hut and the Machine: Towards a Social Theory of Architecture", Architectural Design, n. 1-2, 1981, p. 20).

Just as "men wore clothes before there were any tailors", physicians, architects etc. have existed -at least since Hippocrates and Imhotep long before explicit claims to a 'professional' status were made and institutional recognition searched. Furthermore, the idea behind professionalism goes back to the enlightenment when traditional forms of authority like the Church, the Guild etc. were challenged by secular reason and meritocracy was presented as an alternative to aristocracy in the aspiration for power.¹ So what is marked by the 19th. century is not the birth of professions themselves, but a redefinition of professionalism within the context of a market oriented society and the birth of a corresponding discourse expressed in institutions, speech, addresses, writings, publications etc.

HISTORICAL CONTEXT: THE RISE OF THE PROFESSIONAL MODEL

The rise of professionalism as a distinct movement in the Western world corresponds to 'the great transformation' of the 19th. century when economy and society were radically reorganized around market principles.² The social reality of the 19th. century provided a favorable atmosphere for the professions since their claims responded to the need for the 'self-protection' of the society against the evils of the market system. The promise to bring order to chaos, to provide remedy for diverse problems and to do all this with a devotion to society at large, not surprisingly appealed to society at a time when "... the self-regulating market was a 'satanic mill' destroying the human and natural substance of the society."³ In this context, the professionalization of architecture is also meaningful since architecture promised precisely what the 19th. century city lacked: a planned, healthy and beautiful physical environment from individual buildings to the urban scale. In other words, the legitimacy of professions already existed in a society suffering from the consequences of an unprecedented growth, urbanization and industrialization. Writing at the end of the 19th. century, E. Durkheim viewed market-oriented society as an 'anomic state of affairs' where active forces and human greed had to be checked by social rules and moral power.⁴ Hence professional ethics and the ideal of serving the society at large, were themes of utmost significance for him. The provision of what he calls 'normative regulation' was the fundamental role that

1 E. Hughes formulates this as the transition from a 'sacred division of labor' ("where a person is born to his trade and station"), to the 'secularized division of labor' of the Modern world. (E. Hughes, Men and Their Work, Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1958, p. 26).

2 K. Polanyi, The Great Transformation, Boston: Beacon Press, 1957.

3 K. Polanyi, *Ibid.*, p.3.

4 p. 3 of the classic preface "Some Notes on Occupational Groups", that appeared first in the 1902 edition of E. Durkheim, Division of Labor in Society, New York: The Free Press, 1964 (1893).

professional groups were destined to play within the social order. With respect to this role, medicine and law were referred to as the 'ideal-type' professions. They were the first to establish their institutional identities, constituting thereafter the model for all professional aspirations including that of architecture.⁵ As early as 1776, Adam Smith was saying:

We trust our health to the physician, our fortune and sometimes our life and reputation to the lawyer and the attorney. Such confidence could not safely be reposed in people of a very mean or low condition. Their reward must be such as may give them that rank in the society which so important a trust requires.⁶

When affinity to law and medicine implied such power and prestige, it is not surprising that architecture took them as models, frequently expressed with the slogan that "...engaging an architect is the same as retaining a lawyer or putting yourself under a doctor's care".⁷

Meanwhile a second group of professionals, the engineers represented the promise of science and technology in the service of society. The rise of professionalism was also a modernization process; a product of "... the advance of science and cognitive rationality and the progressive differentiation and rationalization of the division of labor in industrial societies."⁸ In the same years that E. Durkheim assigned a moral power to professionals, another theme frequently praised was their scientific rationality. T. Veblen, representing this latter emphasis in its extreme and particularly fascinated by the 19th. century advance of engineering, attached an emancipatory potential to science based expertise, rationality and technical competence. For him, all these characteristics qualified the engineers for more power in regulating society - a task that could not be left to the irrational greed of businessmen. He wrote: "... the material welfare of the community is unreservedly bound up with the due working of this industrial system and therefore with its unreserved control by the engineers who alone are competent to manage it."⁹ Thus the seeds of technocracy were sown by his writings calling for an efficient and ideal society run by experts. Such fascination with the achievements of technology and engineering appears to be quite common in the second half of the 19th. century. L. Sullivan's admiration of the constructive engineering mind is a recurrent issue in his autobiography, based upon which he is frequently associated with his contemporary Chicagoan T. Veblen.¹⁰

INSTITUTIONAL INDICATORS OF A PROFESSION:

The search for professional recognition is basically an effort to establish the legal and institutional means through which standards and rules of practice are set, access to the ranks of the profession controlled and authority installed. The successive emergence, in the second half of the 19th. century, of the 'institutional forms of control' of professions, is identified by many sociologists as "a natural history of professionalism" (E. Hughes), or "an invariant progression of events" (H. Wilensky). First, the task becomes a full-time occupation. Then the professional association and a system of formal education are established. The next step involves the plea for legal support to control and limit admission to the professional body, i.e. for diploma, qualifying exams, licensing etc. And finally the establishment of a written code of ethics becomes indispensable for professional identity, to define and regulate services,

5 In fact, largely based upon its own claims, architecture is usually included in this category of ideal-type professions-for instance in T.J. Johnson, *Professions and Power*, London: McMillan Press, 1972, p. 16.

6 A. Smith, *The Wealth of Nations*, Edinburg: Oliphant, Waugh and Innes, 1817, v. I, p. 171.

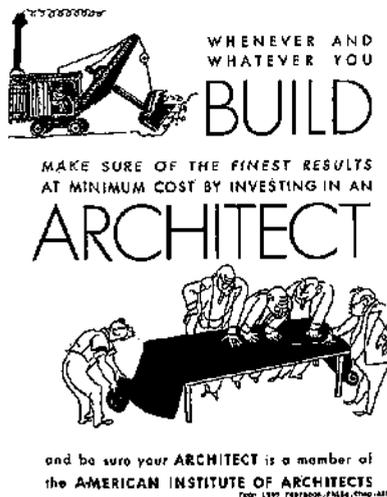
7 quoted from an AIA slogan in the yearbooks of the Philadelphia Chapter of AIA.

8 M.S. Larson, *The Rise of Professionalism*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979, p. xiii.

9 T. Veblen, *Engineers and the Price System*, New York: The Viking Press, 1936 (1921), p. 69.

10 For instance in H.S. Commager, *The American Mind*, Chapter XIX "Architecture and Society", New Haven: Yale University Press, 1950, p. 400.

11 The sequence is taken from H.L. Wilensky, "The Professionalization of Everyone", *The American Journal of Sociology*, v. LXX, n. 2, Sept. 1964, p. 148.



12 See N. Shaw ed., *Architecture: A Profession or an Art?*, London: J. Murray, 1992.

13 See T. Bannister ed., *The Architect at Mid-Century: Evolution and Achievement*, AIA Report, New York: Reinhold, 1964.

responsibilities, compensations, and expected conduct.¹¹ (See Table I for the process of professionalization in the U.S.).

The establishment of the institutional forms of control, by the architectural profession is not a uniform process in the Western world but presents differences from country to country. Yet it is possible to make the general statement that, in contrast to societies with strong central governments and state bureaucracies to initiate, regulate and control professional activity, England and the U.S. represent the rise of professions from civil society without state intervention and as the anti-thesis of bureaucracy. In fact, the model of 'ideal-type' professions, with its emphasis upon the independent, free practitioner, was initially based upon the latter. In both countries, architecture has basically followed the sequence of events that Wilensky has defined as 'professionalization'. Architectural associations were established as the first step before schools or other institutional forms. While RIBA dates back to 1834, the AIA was established in New York in 1857 to be subsequently diffused through a system of local chapters. The struggle for the professionalization of architecture was long and limited in achievement. Membership and effectiveness of the professional associations were marginal for decades. In fact in England, in spite of the early appearance of RIBA, other institutional forms of control were not established until the turn of the century. Pupilage (i.e. paying a premium to an architect for working in his office and receiving instruction) long remained as the major source of architectural training. And the idea of professionalism itself was strongly opposed in the last decade of the 19th century, by the so called 'Memorialists' who viewed architecture as an 'art' and not a 'profession', lamenting its divorce from the liberal arts of painting and sculpture.¹²

Meanwhile in the U.S., significant ground was gained in the professionalization process, notwithstanding the fact that the actual effectiveness and limits of it were trivial with respect to the total building activity over the country. From the 1860's on architectural schools were founded (MIT in 1860, University of Illinois in 1867, Cornell in 1868) while Ecole des Beaux Arts in Paris continued for decades to be the primary source of influence on architectural education. All through the second half of the 19th. century, successive attempts were made towards more elaborate legal recognition, systems of training, credentialing and licensing, and the formulation of a professional code of ethics.¹³ Licensing was installed from 1897 onwards, Illinois being the pioneer state; the written code of ethics was formulated in 1909 after years of debate and discussion. (See Table II for the professionalization of architecture in the U.S.).

PROFESSIONALISM AS A RESTRUCTURING OF SOCIETY:

The rise of professionalism marks a major theme in sociology, whereby a distinct group appears in modern society characterized, first, by a particular belief system, or professional ideology attributing them an 'unattached' status above and beyond particular class interests and oriented towards the welfare of the society at large; and secondly, by a specific body of knowledge and techniques acquired through a lengthy and systematic period of training, appropriately designated as 'cultural capital' by the sociologist A. Gouldner. This "capitalization of culture" and its "ideological justification" constitutes the process of professionalization which essentially involves three major realms of activity: to create a demand for the cultural capital, to define and control its supply and to guarantee its competence and efficiency.

Therefore, in their struggle for professionalization, the first task of architects was the formation and legitimation of a professional market, i.e. to find clients and persuade them of the indispensability and superiority of the architects' services. The new and complex building types of the 19th. century (railway stations, banks, offices, warehouses, factories, exhibition halls, hotels, offices etc.) inevitably constituted an appropriate context.

The second task was to restrict access to the professional ranks only to those possessing the appropriate credentials set by the profession itself. The institutional strategy for this is a system of credentialing, examining and licensing procedures, always with specific reference to the "protection of the public" theme. The introduction of diploma, license etc. discredits and often outlaws those not possessing them, not necessarily because they are less competent, but because opinions and preferences come to be dominated by professional criteria. As Terence J. Johnson also remarks, "...charlatanism and quackery are, in this sense, a creation of professionalism and not the cause of it... Practice can be unqualified only where a monopoly of skill by one group exists."¹⁴

¹⁴ T.J. Johnson, *Professions and Power*, London: McMillan Press, 1972, p. 57.

For the architects of the late 19th. century, the process of exclusion and social closure was essentially directed at groups doing similar work - namely builders, contractors, developers, surveyors, draftsmen and amateur architects. Professional elitism and an effort to install their distinction from and superiority over these groups, characterized architects' relationship to them.

The professional demand for exclusion of 'outsiders' is accompanied by a professional culture, i.e. a set of attitudes, behavior patterns and life styles reinforcing the distinct identity of the professional group. Thereby, the self-image is centered on the professional role making individuals define themselves as 'architects' rather than anything else. In the late 19th. century, professional associations of architects have acted as the foci of professional culture and social life with elite aspirations. As followed in the proceedings, the AIA Conventions were accompanied by dinners, banquets, sightseeing tours and informal chats.

Finally, the third task of the architectural profession was to appeal to scientific methods and technology and to skill and efficiency in performing work, i.e. to install the meaning of 'professional' as the opposite of 'amateur'. Power and privilege were to be the natural and legitimate consequences of those superior qualities of a professions. This was a demand for a "professional conquest" as the title of a paper to the 1889 AIA Convention suggested:

The control and management of the entire enterprise - everything that is included in the words 'how to build, where to build and what to build' should be left to the control of the profession entirely and not merely submitted to them (architects) for advice and clerical services.¹⁵

¹⁵ J.W. Yost, "Professional Conquest", paper to the 23rd Annual AIA Convention, Cincinnati, Ohio, Oct, 1889, Proceedings, pp. 76 - 77.

This demanded, in the second half of the 19th. century, not only the need to seek competence in the engineering aspects of the profession, but also to organize office practice on more efficient and modern lines to cope with the magnitude and complexity of new building tasks.

INHERENT DILEMMAS OF ARCHITECTURE—AS—PROFESSION:

In these three process of professionalization, the specific nature of architecture poses problems due to which it is not easy to reconcile architecture with the professional model. The difficulty arises from the position of architecture doubly strained between 'profession' and 'art' on the one hand, and between 'profession' and 'business' on the other. Its art content and its business component are the two aspects of the architectural profession that are intrinsic to its definition while simultaneously undermining its legitimacy as a profession.

Since Renaissance, the architect has presented himself primarily as an 'artist' distinct from the builder who was "a mere instrument to the architect" (Alberti), or "a third class person whom the architect must always control" (Philibert deL'orme).¹⁶ The art content has been the essence of the definition and self-image of the profession. The dichotomy architecture versus building was indispensable for 'architecture' to exist at all - as expressed on so many occasions. The so-called Memorialists were the major opponents of the professionalization of architecture in England at the end of the 19th. century. Echoing Pevsner's distinction between the bicycle shed and the Lincoln Cathedral, they said: "...to call a man who builds the slaughter house or the coal-store 'an architect' is no different than calling the man who sound the foghorn on a Thames steam-boat, 'a musician'."¹⁷ For them, the art content of architecture was in sharp contradiction with the aspirations to a professional status. They were sure in 1891 that, "under any reasonable system of definition, art and profession must run into different categories; the professional 'architect' is a contradiction in terms."¹⁸ The claims to a professional status undermined the definition of the architect as an artist like the painter or the sculptor-as lamented by the Memorialists:

Our proper field is not confined to the office; we are, or should be, still more at home in the workshop or the building sheds; our brethren are not the lawyer and the doctor, but the craftsman and the artisan. If architecture is ever to live again amongst us, the professional idea must disappear.¹⁹

By the turn of the century these views were no longer capable of reversing the trend in the Western world: as far as institutional and official recognition was concerned, architecture was included among the professions. However each step in the professionalization of architecture has revealed contradictions and has provoked debate ever since.

First, with the emphasis upon architecture/building distinction, architecture embraces only a limited territory and is far from being an indispensable professional service.

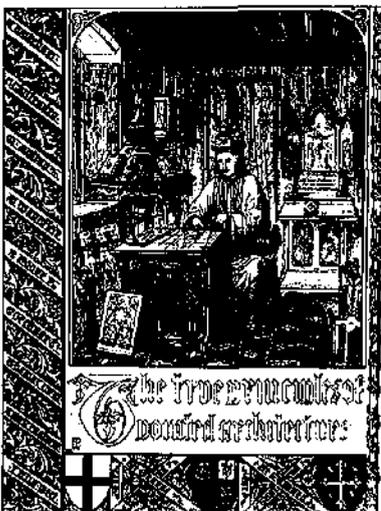
Secondly, apart from leading to the marginal indispensability of the profession, the art content of architecture also renders the establishment of institutional forms of control problematic. When talent and creativity are involved, the difficulty in deriving the cultural capital of the profession completely from education is evident. "An architect is born, not made" says the opponents of the professionalization of architecture, with substantial truth in it. Furthermore, in architecture, the definition of incompetence has a three-fold dimension derived from the Vitruvian trinity; the public may suffer not only from unsafe construction (firmness), but also from design unfit to the purpose (commodity) or unpleasant to the eye (delight). Given the complex nature of architecture, it

16 C. Wilkinson, "The New Professionalism in the Renaissance", in S. Kostof ed., *The Architect: Chapters in the History of the Profession*, New York: Oxford University Press, 1977, p. 131. Wilkinson cites episodes of conflict between the Renaissance architects and the building trades, such as the dispute between Milanese local builders and Filarete, or the instance when the stone masons' guild arranged for Brunelleschi to be arrested (p. 133).

17 J.T. Micketwaite, "Architecture and Construction", in N. Shaw ed., *Architecture: A Profession or an Art?* London: John Murray, 1892, p. 25.

18 E.S. Prior, "The Ghosts of the Profession", in N. Shaw ed., 1892, p. 114.

19 T.G. Jackson, "Introduction" to N. Shaw ed., 1892, p. xxviii.



20 R. Blomfield, "The Institute Examination and Architecture", in N. Shaw ed., 1892, p. 39.

is not possible to standardize, test or license architectural competence, the essence of which is "...the faculty of design - the one faculty par excellence which qualifies a man to be an architect."²⁰ The Memorialist protest against RIBA examinations marks this difficulty, but also ignores the fact that unlike painting and sculpture, architecture has to be a 'safe construction' before it can be 'beautiful':

Legislation has at least reached the domain of art, and it has been seriously proposed to charge Parliament with the duty of providing the public with good architecture and properly qualified architects....To a true artist, his art is an individual matter purely between himself and his artistic conscience. No stamp of government approval on his work can have any value in his eyes...Why is it thought to be possible to protect the world from bad architecture while we are to be left to take our chance of escaping unforunate investments in worthless canvass and dishonored marble.²¹

21 T.G. Jackson, "Introduction, to N. Shaw ed., 1892, p. vii.

The difficulty has always been present. License and registration have been institutionally installed and reproduced for the sake of the professional image but they have always been only partial/marginal measures of architectural competence. Almost a century after the initial appearance of the idea of licensing architects, a continuing debate prevails in the U.S. on whether design can be measured by exams or not. And the dissatisfaction with the current NCARB exams is frequently expressed.²²

22 See for instance, N. Richter, 'Registration: Riding into the Sunset Laws', AIA Journal, May 1980, v. 69, n. 5, pp. 46-48.

When the art content cannot be taught, standardized or tested, professional claims to authority become difficult to put forward since scientific rationality as the basis of authority cannot be presented as an ideological resource. Architecture is, by definition, not equal to engineering and in each period, artistic creativity is presented as being above and beyond mere technical competence - as something 'poetic' (Sullivan), 'unmeasurable' (Kalin) or 'passionate' (Corbusier). Hence, given a specific design problem the profession can offer no single/best solution to be unconditionally accepted. The architect's task, or the design process, is a search for alternatives, for the optimum synthesis of various factors.

Furthermore, the idea of 'design-as-synthesis' makes it difficult to reconcile the architect's task with specialization, rationalization, efficiency etc. characterizing the prevailing tendencies in the 19th century:

Thus architects themselves had chosen an extremely problematic basis on which to define their profession: they defined its specific character in terms of absence of specialization, or rather of the coming together, in their field, of a multitude of unrelated specialties; a difficult option in a century where economic development and the logic or liberalism encouraged the division of labor and ever-increasing specialization. The engineer was the perfect product of this mechanism.²³

23 J. Aillagon, "Viollet-le-Duc and the Role of the Architect", Architectural Design, AD profile, n. 27, 1980, p. 26.

Meanwhile, the inevitable business component of the architectural profession challenges the ideology of 'profession as the anti-thesis of business'. Every professional service is essentially a market relationship, i.e. the exchange of expertise or cultural capital with incomes. However, when the professional

service has only marginal indispensability, lacking a large, heterogeneous mass clientele, competition for commissions is likely to be more severe and affinity to a business relationship, more difficult to avoid. A client is indispensable if the building is to be designed and erected at all. The essence, if not the name of 'patronage' has always prevailed in architectural practice, in spite of the contrary professional ethos. In the search for commissions, competition is inevitable in spite of the profession's attempts to prevent it through institutional forms of control. Meanwhile, the principle of professional/artistic autonomy theoretically discredits a client-oriented practice, which conforms to the demands and priorities of the client. An 'above-client' attitude is presented as the appropriate professional conduct. Yet the profession was always strained by the dilemma between its own discourse and the realities of architectural practice where the less authoritative the nature of the architect-client relationship was, the more the number of commissions the architect was likely to receive.

The legitimacy of architecture as an 'art' and as a 'profession' is always challenged by the realities of the market. In successive periods, the same lamentation was repeated that "...architecture has ceased to be an art and has become a business; a fashionable business carried on by business methods on business principles."²⁴ (See Table III)

²⁴ L. Eidlitz, "The Architect of Fashion", *The Architectural Record*, vol. 3, no. 4, June 1984, p. 351.

THE LEGITIMATION CRISIS OF THE ARCHITECTURAL PROFESSION:

A survey of professionalism in architecture reveals that it first emerges as a 'status' (second half of the 19th. century), before it becomes an 'ideology' or belief system (first half of the 20th. century).

In this context, Modernism emerges in the early 20th. century as the first conscious effort to bridge the gap between ideals and reality; to deal with the dilemmas posed by the difficult position of architecture between artistic integrity, business imperatives and the professional model. Regardless of the questions concerning the validity of the underlying professional ideology and of the disappointments with its actual results, Modern Movement was the first systematic consideration of themes like social concern, stylistic unity compatible with a unified view of life experience, reconciliation of art and technology etc.

Before everything else, we observe in the Modernist discourse, an attempt to deal with the marginal indispensability of the architectural profession, by expanding the architect's realm of responsibility and by attaching a social relevance to it.

The Modernists had made the heroic movement towards declaring an all-embracing professional territory and had implicitly come closer to denouncing the building/architecture dichotomy:

Of the achievements of the Modern Movement as an ideology, none is more startling than its aggressive manner of staking out new territory. A sewage plant, a bus stop, a power station, the ramps for the seals in the zoo: no assignment is too small or too humble. The laying out of new communities, the reshaping of a city, the planning of each and every aspect of what is spoken of significantly as the built environment: no assignment is too large or too grand...As for the economically most important sector of construction, popular housing, this is taken for granted as belonging within the modern architect's domain.²⁵

²⁵ C. Jameson, "Modern Architecture As An Ideology", *VJA*, v. IV, *Architectural Journal of the CSFA*, University of Pennsylvania, 1980, p. 20.

So the Modern Movement marks and justifies a substantial growth in the architect's sphere of involvement and power. Theoretically at least, the architectural profession was presented as embracing the design of all buildings for almost the whole range of social strata. The social vision of the 'pioneers' of Modern Movement were revolutionary with respect to a profession which, hitherto lived on the commissions of the gentry and the wealthy. However, it has to be stated at this point that, whether the client is the wealthy or the government, as long as clients are often not the actual users and the actual users cannot afford to be clients the profession remains detached from the people it proposes to serve.²⁶

26 A. Lipman explains that with the rise of the mass clientele, the architectural profession was more and more separated - administratively and socially - from the mass of users and occupants. (A. Lipman, "The Architectural Belief System and Social Behavior", *British Journal of Sociology*, v. 25, July 1969, pp. 190-203.

Such an endowment of all types of building with a potential for architectural dignity marks an effort to eliminate the split between work and leisure, between business and life. It is an attempt to change prevailing mental structures all together. This unified outlook to life was reflected in the ideal to eliminate the dichotomy between the useful and the artistic. A new aesthetics would be the means to achieve this unity, one that would at the same time "...confront the engineer in his domain and pose in architectural terms, the principle of efficiency which governed machine production."²⁷

27 M.S. Larson, 1980, p. 15.

The critique of the Modernist attempt is an immense issue beyond the scope of this overview. Yet the common denominator of all critical views emphasize that architectural solutions cannot precede changes in mental structures and intention alone is either not sufficient, or short-lived in effect. The Modernists constituted an aesthetic avant-garde when tastes and preferences were shaped by an old aesthetics and were the products of a different social order. They wanted to eliminate dichotomies in style when dichotomies in life had too deeply settled.

This critique of the Modern Movement - a critique which is now two decades old - has drawn attentions not only to the shortcomings of the functionalist aesthetics and design principles, but also to the underlying professional ideology that 'expert' solutions of architects (or of professionals in general) can bring about lasting transformations in social relation.²⁸ It is observed that formal criticism of the architecture of the Modern Movement is only a partial critique that has to extend to the professional belief system within which these forms have developed; and that, if high-rise slabs are rejected as mistakes without further and deeper critique, the mistake will be repeated in other architectural forms.²⁹

28 See A. Lipman, 1969, pp. 190 - 203.

29 C. Jameson, 1980, p. 21.

With the waning of this professional belief system and the assessment of the contemporary position of architects in the market, the legitimation crisis of architecture-as-profession is once more on the agenda.

The claims to social relevance are challenged by the results of the Modernist attempt, and the ideology of detachment from business is challenged by the market. Hence, the legitimacy of calling architecture 'a profession' - with respect to the initial professional model - is openly questioned.

Although architecture is acknowledged to be 'a profession' in common language and among lay people, serious doubts exist among architects themselves. In a recent questionnaire, the question was "whether they thought architects 'professional status is as high as doctors' or lawyers" 57% of architects are recorded not to have thought so, while 60% of the non-architects have replied in the affirmative.³⁰

30 "Practicing Architects", *AIA Journal*, Jan. 1978, v. 6, n. 1, p. 60.

Robert Gutman's assessment of the contemporary situation of the architectural profession makes this clear:

The comparison of architecture with law and medicine indicates that architecture is really more of an entrepreneurial profession than a liberal profession. The architect must go out into the community and seek work; he cannot expect to rely on people coming to him, as lawyers and physicians generally can. The challenge to the architect is to find a way of creating a desire on the part of the public to use his services in preference to the services of another type of building designer.³¹

31 R. Gutman, "Architecture: The Entrepreneurial Profession", *Progressive Architecture*, n. 5, 1977, p. 56.

Architects are conceived more as artists designing for a few powerful clients (no longer individuals but corporations), than experts with authority whose services are indispensable. This 'degree of professional power' separates architecture from the status of medicine and law to which it has always looked as models:

Where the consumers are a large and heterogeneous group, any attempt by the occupation to extend technically based authority to a broad social control of practice is likely to be more successful than in contexts where there is a single client or a small group of powerful clients...While the legal and medical associations have been listened to with respect in England on such diverse issues as the economy, juvenile delinquency, drug use and the organization of social welfare, the collective voice of architecture is muted even in areas directly associated with building policy.³²

32 T.J. Johnson, *Profession and Power*, London: McMillan Press, 1972, pp. 51 - 52.

Apart from the marginal indispensability of the architects' services, and the marginal effectiveness of professional architects with respect to the total building activity, the nature of the construction process itself contains serious disadvantages for architecture-as-profession. Before everything else, the demand for architectural services is dependent upon the fluctuations of the construction industry within the market - an industry which suffers most and recovers latest from economic depressions.³³

33 R. Gutman, 1977, p. 56.

Furthermore, compared to the physicians' authority over the whole system of medical care, architects have less control over the building trades where contractors, plumbers, carpenters etc. are independent entrepreneurs "whose collaboration in the building process results from a lengthy process of negotiation and bargaining."³⁴ The weakness of the architectural profession in the market leads to an entrepreneurial attitude; a client-oriented practice even at times, to the expense of professional/artistic autonomy. Larson marks the discrepancy between academic/professional rewards and the market rewards as an indication of the weakness of the architectural profession:

34 R. Gutman, *Ibid.*, p. 56.

Powerful professions should have the power to make their internal reward system 'count' on the market. Conversely, where a profession's market is structurally subordinate, market imperatives are carried into the working of the internal system of rewards and even beyond it, into the definition of what is a relevant cognitive base for professional practice.³⁵

35 M.S. Larson, "Social Structure and Research Priorities in the Architectural Field", unpublished paper, p. 18.

Today, the professional consensus is that "unprecedented competition is bringing an increased emphasis on marketing and a broadening of services that could make architecture look less like a profession and more like a business as time goes on."³⁶ Hinting at the collapse of the professional ethos, competition has heightened and the profession has become more market conscious, with architectural offices devoting a major portion of their activities to the search for commissions, diversification and marketing of their services.

The AIA itself is urging architects to become developers, in open conflict with the initial code of ethics which limited the proper architectural service to the design function. And the majority of the architects believe that they should offer services beyond a mere 'designing activity'. This means "...the expansion of the traditional architectural practice ethics with the newer approach to

responsibility through opportunity" as one of the partners of a giant corporate architectural/engineering firm (with affiliate branches in development, real estate and construction) expresses.³⁷ Regulation of fees and the measures to prevent competition (which has always been the major concern of the profession), are openly questioned with the rise of 'consumerism' seeing architects as no less selfinterested than any other 'sellers of services' and asking for the final removal of anti-competitive elements.³⁸ Another indication of the loosening of the initial professional code of ethics in favor of a more market-conscious practice, is the debate concerning the ban on paid advertisement of architectural services. Advertising was regarded as "lowering the dignity of the profession" and this ban was adopted in 1909. After successive periods of revision and reconsideration, it was recently removed in 1978.³⁹

The brief history of architecture-as-profession, marks that the initial professional model has become an ideology not even capable of obscuring the reality of architectural practice anymore. First, the ideal to unite the architect's role as an 'architect' and as 'a socially concerned intellectual' in one single function is given up in favor of a more market-conscious architectural practice, following the social reality rather than attempting to lead it. Secondly, the conception of the 'professional' is more as an 'entrepreneur' although the initial professional model has emerged as the anti-thesis of business. And it is more as a 'specialist' in a large, complex organization (i.e. the architectural/engineering/construction firm) although the initial professional model is based on the free, independent practitioner.

ARCHITECTURAL "PROFESSION": THE PROMISE OF A FAILURE....

The waning of the current professional ethos is a necessary condition for the emergence of a new relationship between needs, contemporary tools and personal satisfaction.

(I. Illich, Towards a History of Needs, New York: Pantheon Books, 1977, p. 17).

The concluding remarks about the legitimacy of architecture-as-profession leads to further thoughts about 'professionalism' itself. With the contribution of sociological analyses which view professionalism within the larger framework of social structure, it is observed that the initial professional model has come to serve a predominantly ideological function; it has become an image whose persistence in social practice provides justification for inequality of status.⁴⁰

36 "Practicing Architects", AIA Journal, Jan. 1978, v. 67, n. 1, p. 34.

37 "DMJM: A Profile", Progressive Architecture, June 1972, p. 74.

38 H. Fleming, "Architecture and Consumerism", AIA Journal, May 1980, v. 69, n. 5, p. 51.

39 M.E. Osman, "To Advertise Or Not To Advertise: Footnotes from History", AIA Journal, v. 67, n. 14, Dec. 1978, pp. 55-57.

40 M.S. Larson, The Rise of Professionalism, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979, p. xviii.

Therefore, since the claims and ideals of the professional model has become an ideology (also in architecture), it is better demystified than reproduced. Professionalism is not necessarily a sacred form of organizing modern life, with an unquestionable superiority of competence, ethics and ideals. Instead, it is a form of control which, no doubt provides expertise to cope with the magnitude and complexity of tasks, a substantial amount of quality control, and often a genuine concern with the problems that society encounters; but which also contains implicit elitist and monopolist tendencies. Therefore, architecture's 'failure' to attain a 'true' professional status may paradoxically be its strength. In its incapacity to attain some of the privileges and power attached to this status, it may have well avoided some of the threats embedded in professionalism when viewed as specific form of domination. Once the 'inevitability' and 'superiority' of professionalism is given up, the bright side of the conflicts outlined through the study, starts to appear.

Before everything else, the marginal indispensability of the architectural profession, makes a monopolistic professional control unlikely and irrelevant. The contradiction in professional discourse is demystified: architects are designers only of 'special' buildings (specificity being a function of the size, complexity and purpose of the building) while there is still room for builder activity, vernacular architecture, self-help schemes, amateur designers etc. Once it is accepted that "to build, one needs land, money and political power; so the architects are, generally speaking, the hired hands of those who have the land, the money or the power",⁴¹ then, the rest of the need for buildings has to be dealt with outside the professional framework. This may be the basis of a different outlook; one oriented towards the sharing of cultural capital rather than toward a jealous appropriation of it by the profession. The objective may be to educate people in matters of architecture rather than to reproduce a wide ignorance and dependency upon experts.

Secondly, the art content of the profession and the non-existence of a single and correct solution for a specific design problem does not allow the process to be dominated by the ideological power of 'scientific rationality and expertise'. It includes, by definition, room for critical thinking in the form of aesthetic criticism. No architectural design decision is an irrefutable expert judgement, and in this sense, the technocratic threat is less likely to come real. Furthermore, 'design' being a synthesis of various factors, the architect's task extends beyond a mere technical problem solving, into contemplating the very nature of the problem. In this context, using Gouldner's definitions, the architect potentially is a complex social persona, embracing both the 'technical intelligentsia' (who operate within the given boundaries using their technical skill to solve a given problem) and the 'humanistic intellectuals' (who challenge the boundaries and are, before everything else, critical).⁴²

Finally, the recent tendencies towards a more realistic assessment of the business component of architectural services help to see through the professional ideology surrounding the reality of architectural practice. The architect is primarily a seller of expertise, not necessarily any less self-interested or more altruistic than anybody else. And in a market-conscious practice, the clients' priorities and tastes enter as factors to be considered rather than ignored with professional contempt and elitism. Furthermore, the effect of market imperatives as a mechanism for quality control and improvement of professional services cannot be ignored. Hence, the problem with architecture being more market conscious is not the business orientation itself but the inherent difficulty of the architectural profession that the client is often not the actual user (s) of

41 H.Harms in "Symposium on Politics and Architecture", VIA, v. IV, Architectural Journal of the GSFA, University of Pennsylvania, 1980, p. 166.

42 A. Gouldner, "Prologue to a Theory of Revolutionary Intellectuals", TELOS, n. 26, Winter 1975 - 76, p. 4 He bases the distinction upon T. Kuhn's concepts of normal' versus 'critical' science.

the building, but the investor or the owner of it. It is the discrepancy between whom a profession ideally claims to serve and whom it actually does.

In short, due to the inherent conflicts between the professional model and the specific nature of architecture-as-profession, it is easier for architecture to break away from the ideology of this model and from accompanying professional pretensions. This is not necessarily a call for total de-professionalization in an Illichian manner, but it is a rejection of professionalism as a specific form of domination. It is not a call for the abolishment of professions, but a plea for a critical reconsideration of everything implied by professionalism, and for a search for alternative forms of organization which make use of expertise without seeking to turn expertise into a source of exclusive power and authority. Finally, it is a call for viewing professional roles as only one part of participating in social practice. It is an exciting, even if utopic vision of Andre Gorz that the ideal future rests with "all those people who no longer identify with their job and tend to consider it marginal to the meaning of their lives."⁴³

43 A. Gorz, quoted in A. Hirsh, The French New Left, Boston: Southend Press, 1981, p. 246

ÖZET

MESLEK OLARAK MİMARLIĞIN TEMEL ÇELİŞKİLERİ ÜZERİNE...

Ondokuzuncu yüzyılın büyük toplumsal dönüşümü ve pazar mekanizması etrafında yeniden örgütlenişi sırasında, meslek modeli de bütün kurumsal göstergeleriyle birlikte (meslek örgütleri, eğitim kurumları, yayın organları, lisans ve denetim yasaları gibi) ortaya çıkar. Meslekler, benzeri görülmemiş bir büyüme, kentleşme ve endüstrileşmenin getirdiği toplumsal çalkantı ve çevre sorunlarına çare bulmayı vaatmektedir. Mesleki söylemi haklılaştıran iki araç vardır: bir yanda mesleki bilgi/uzmanlık/rasyonellik, diğer yanda ise sınıflar ve çıkarlar üstü olma iddiasındaki meslek ideolojisi—ki birincisi mühendisliği, ikincisi de tıp ve hukuku meslek modelinin en tipik örnekleri yapmıştır.

İşte mimarlık da ondokuzuncu yüzyılın ikinci yarısından itibaren meslekleşme sürecine girmiş, kurumsal örgütlenmesini tamamlamış ve iktidar, otorite, ayrıcalık talepleriyle meslek modeline sarılmıştır. Ne var ki, mimarlığın, her ikisi de farklı biçimlerde meslek modeline ters düşen "sanat" ve "ticaret" boyutlarını içermesi, bu iki uç arasında gerilmiş özgün statüsü, ideal anlamda bir meslek olabilmesini olanaksız kılmıştır. Meslek olarak mimarlık, her zaman için toplam inşaa faaliyeti içinde marjinal kalmış; sanatsal ve ölçülemez yönleriyle her zaman öğretilmesi, test edilmesi ve nesnel formlere bağlanması güç olmuş; öte yandan da müşteri ve pazara olan bağımlılığı ile, özellikle tıp ve hukukta ifade bulan meslek ideolojisi ile çelişmiştir. Mimarlığın bu özgün statüsü onu bir yanda tekelci ve teknokratik bir bilim/meslek ideolojisinden, öte yanda da resim ya da heykel misali bir özgür sanat modelinden ayırmaktadır ki, gerek bilim ideolojisinin, gerekse de 'sanat için sanat'ın ayrı ayrı sorgulandığı çağdaş dünyada, mimarlığın en güçlü yanını bu özgün konum oluşturmaktadır.

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APPENDIX

Table 1

THE PROCESS OF PROFESSIONALIZATION

	Became Full-Time Occupation	First Training School	First University School	First Local Professional Association	First National Professional Association	First State License Law	Formal Code of Ethics
Established:							
Accounting (CPA).....	19th cent.	1881†	1881†	1882	1887	1896	1917
Architecture.....	18th cent.	1865	1868	1815	1857	1897	1909
Civil engineering.....	18th cent.	1819	1847	1848	1852	1908	ca. 1910
Dentistry.....	18th cent.	1840‡	1867	1844	1840‡	1868	1866
Law.....	17th cent.	1784	1817	1802	1878	1732	1908
Medicine.....	ca. 1700‡	1765	1779	1735	1847	Before 1780	1912
Others in process, some marginal:							
Librarianship.....	1732	1887	1897	1885	1876	Before 1917	1938
Nursing.....	17th cent.	1851	1909	1885	1896	1903	1930
Optometry.....	1892	1910	1896	1897	1901	ca. 1935
Pharmacy.....	1646	1821‡	1868	1821‡	1852	1874	ca. 1850
School teaching.....	17th cent.	1823	1879	1794	1857	1781	1929
Social work.....	1898(?)	1898	1904	1918	1874	1940	1948
Veterinary medicine.....	1803	1852	1879	1854	1863	1886	1866
New:							
City management.....	1912	1921	1948	After 1914	1914	None	1924
City planning.....	19th cent.	1909†	1909†	1947	1917	1963	1948
Hospital administration..	19th cent.	1926†	1926†	1933	1957	1939
Doubtful:							
Advertising.....	1841	1900(?)‡	1909(?)‡	1894	1917	None	1924
Funeral direction.....	19th cent.	ca. 1870	1914	1864	1882	1894	1884

Source: H.L. Wilensky. "The Professionalization of Everyone". The American Journal of Sociology, v. LXX, n. 2, Sept. 1964, p. 145.

Table II.	PROFESSIONALIZATION OF ARCHITECTURE IN THE U.S.			
	1800	1850	1900	1950
EDUCATION		●1860 MIT	●1867 Univ. Of Illinois ●1868 Cornell	●1912 ACSA ●1911 20 arch. schools ●1898 9 arch. schools ●1930 53 arch. schools
ASSOCIATION	●1803 Workshop of Vitruvius New York	●1856 AIA (did not continue)	●1857 AIA ●1867 System of Local Chapters	●1884 WAA ●1889 Amalgamation of WAA and AIA
LICENCING			●1897 Illinois License Law	●1920 NCARB ●1939 NAAB ●1951 License Laws completed in all states
CODE OF ETHICS			●1909 AIA Professional Code of Ethics	

Table III. The Inherent Dilemmas of Architecture - as - Profession

PROCESSES OF PROFESSIONALIZATION	PROFESSIONAL IDEOLOGY	THE PROFESSIONAL MODEL	ARCHITECTURAL PROFESSION
FORMATION / LEGITIMIZATION OF THE PROFESSIONAL MARKET	<p>service to society at large rather than to specific groups</p> <p>superior technical competence and superior professional ethics</p>	<p>whole society as client -all-embracing professional territory</p> <p>INDISPENSABILITY OF PROFESSIONAL SERVICES VS PROFESSIONAL SERVICES AS LUXURY</p> <p>client = user or receiver of the service VS client = the owner or the investor</p> <p>PROFESSION VS BUSINESS</p> <p>expert decision independent of client judgement/power of expert authority VS dependence upon client priorities / weakness of expert authority</p> <p>AUTONOMY VS PATRONAGE</p>	<p>elite/privileged clientele - restricted professional territory</p> <p>PROFESSIONAL SERVICES AS LUXURY</p> <p>client = the owner or the investor</p> <p>BUSINESS</p> <p>dependence upon client priorities / weakness of expert authority</p> <p>PATRONAGE</p>
EXCLUSION / SOCIAL CLOSURE	<p>protection of the public against incompetent and dishonest practice</p>	<p>practice outside the professional framework outlawed by legislation</p> <p>MONOPOLY VS MARGINALITY</p> <p>proper professional service defined in terms of diploma, exams, license etc.</p> <p>PROFESSION VS ART</p>	<p>building activity beyond the professional territory silently sanctioned</p> <p>MARGINALITY</p> <p>difficult to teach, test, standardize or license architectural competence</p> <p>ART</p>
MODERNIZATION / RATIONALIZATION	<p>professional faith in technology, industry, scientific rationality and efficiency</p>	<p>incorporation of science and new technology into the profession's cultural capital</p> <p>SCIENCE/TECHNOLOGY VS ART/STYLE</p> <p>rationalization of work; specialization and division of labor VS holistic nature of design -as-synthesis; architect as a 'generalist' rather than a 'specialist'</p> <p>SCIENTIFIC RATIONALITY/SPECIALIZATION VS ARTISTIC CREATIVITY/SYNTHESIS</p>	<p>disparity between the new technology and historical styles</p> <p>ART/STYLE</p> <p>holistic nature of design -as-synthesis; architect as a 'generalist' rather than a 'specialist'</p> <p>ARTISTIC CREATIVITY/SYNTHESIS</p>