EDUCATION AS A FUNCTION OF COMMUNITY: PAUL GOODMAN'S CONCEPT OF THE EDUCATIVE CITY

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ABSTRACT

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It was the intention of this study to organize and clarify Paul Goodman's proposals and plans for a Utopian Community. In order to gain some perspective on Goodman's work as a community planner the Radiant City Plan of Le Corbusier and the Broadacres City Plan of Frank Lloyd Wright were reviewed. The Radiant City Plan was presented as an example of the modernist approach to city planning. The Broadacres City Plan was chosen as representational of the decentralist-functionalist approach to planning.

Goodman criticized Le Corbusier's plan because it was a plan to maintain the social, political, and economic status quo. Goodman's criticism of Wright's Broadacres was that it was not a city plan at all, rather it was a rural plan. Wright's plan was geographically decentralized. Goodman, on the other hand, plans for sociological and political decentralization.

Goodman perceives the city as the physical background against which human activity occurs. A city plan must be one which is conducive to healthy human growth. Therefore, it must be a plan which considers the selection and use of technology, political and economic institutions, the education of people and the physical plant.

The main concern of this study was to explicate Goodman's notion of education as a function of community. Goodman proposes an educative city as the appropriate arena in which the education of our youth can occur.

Goodman's view was that any city plan that would facilitate the development of community would have to meet the following criteria. First, it would have to consider the selection and use of technology. It must have a technology which is efficient in human terms. Second, it must provide for an economic arrangement that allows for local autonomy with national interdependence. Third, it must provide a physical plant which is catalytic to face-to-face contact without pressure or manipulation. Fourth, it must encourage local and national political initiation and discourse. And last, it must provide a city which is open to the self-initiated experimentation and inquiry of its youth.

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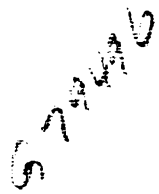

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER I

CITY PLANNING AS A VANTAGE POINT FOR EDUCATIONAL THOUGHT

Introduction to the Study

If we want to understand and appreciate human behavior we must observe dynamic human action against its "static" background. People and places are interwoven into the fabric of society. Hence when we undertake to study a society or any of its operative parts or institutions, we are faced with the problem that we cannot isolate an institution from people or the people from the place--place being not only the immediate physical (both natural and artificial) surrounding but also the accumulation of history. As Goodman has said, we accept "the man-made background itself as the inevitable nature of things; we do not realize that somebody drew some lines on a piece of paper who might have drawn otherwise. But now as engineer and architect once drew, people have to walk and live."[1] Once we have this statement in mind it becomes easier to understand the thrust of Paul Goodman's social criticism and the purpose and direction of his so-called "Utopian" proposals.

Paul Goodman's analysis of education has been pervasive. He has not only challenged teaching methods, administrative organization, competency of teachers, and lack of equal educational opportunity, but also our basic concept of how to educate our citizens. Goodman has criticized the public school system as a social institution.

Contrary to an all too commonly held notion, Goodman is concerned with the building and renovation of our institutions and our cities, and not just their abandonment. He has proposed numerous plans and methods for drawing up plans. Goodman's largest efforts have been in the planning of cities with special concern for the educational opportunities in them. This thesis will be concerned with Paul Goodman as planner, builder and educator. It is the intent of this thesis to organize and clarify his concept of what education should and can be. In order to do this we must consider the context in which learning occurs. Goodman does not limit his proposals to formal education. When he does deal with the more formal aspects of education he does not necessarily mean within the walls of a school building. Education, formal and informal, is an ongoing life experience. Hence, to understand and appreciate Goodman's comprehensive and Utopian educational proposals we must first gain an understanding of the physical and social context. The background upon which we

perceive the foreground is the idea of education as a function of community.

In an effort to understand the city and the city as community, this chapter will recapitulate some of the major ideas of city planners and architects who have had an important influence on American city planning. In chapters two and three, Goodman's "Utopian City" and social organization will be discussed. Specifically, Chapter II will deal with the nature and use of technology and economics; Chapter III with politics, concepts and practice of work and domestic life. Education is interwoven with these ideas and practices, and educational themes will be evident throughout. Chapter IV will deal specifically with education, while Chapter V will serve for summary and conclusions.

Two City-Planning Perspectives

City planning, as an at least quasi-social science, has a history of only two centuries. During the eighteenth century some thinkers began to recognize that man's forms of thought, work, leisure and even of existence importantly were conditioned by his physical surroundings. The general assumption of city-planning can be roughly stated thus: The characteristics of physical environments--quantitative and qualitative--are reflected in all aspects of both individual behavior and, more broadly, culture. Sometimes that assumption is given a "hard" reading, leading to a

rigid environmental determinism, but, more often (and more properly) the characteristics of physical environments are construed as contributing, and not exclusively determining, variables in the culture-shaping process.

The importance of physical environment to education has been recognized for a long time, at least since Dewey placed the purchase of movable furniture high on his priority list for the University of Chicago Laboratory School. Attention has been given to the aesthetic quality of the learning environment and, more recently (due partly to the influence of the ideas of Marshall McLuhan) to the effects of the media environment on learning style and efficiency. For the most part, investigation of the relationship between physical environment and learning has been conducted on what might be called the micro level--that is, it has centered on the classroom environment. The working supposition of this thesis is to the effect that learning can also be looked at from a macro perspective, through an inquiry into the literature of city planning.

That supposition has been explored in some depth by Paul Goodman, and it is Goodman's thought on city-planning and education that is the point of departure for this study. The city as an educational environment is a recurrent theme in Goodman's work. Indeed, his large novel, Empire City, which Goodman himself considered to be his most important work, has the educative effects of

the physical environment as a major thematic concern. These remarks aim at an exposition, systematization and, perhaps, a clarification of Goodman's views on that topic. In order to place Goodman in a disciplinary perspective, however, it should be helpful to consider first the positions of two other major figures in the history of city planning--Frank Lloyd Wright and Le Corbusier.

As a reaction to the growing ugliness which accompanied the industrial progress of the nineteenth century, several city planners and architects turned their attention to the formulation of "Garden City" plans. Basically Garden City plans are those designed to segregate the industrial area from the living area of a city. These plans called for the establishment of a protective area of land which separates industrial and commercial centers from agricultural and domestic sectors. These plans called for a very low population density and therefore put the people great distances from their work.

One of the most important critics of the Garden City was the architect Le Corbusier.[2] He reasoned that the Garden City plans were not city plans at all; they were suburban plans. Garden City plans did not deal with the problems of how, in our increasingly technological society, areas of high population density could be beautiful and livable. Le Corbusier believed that city planning must reflect and account for the functions that occur within

large cities. To Le Corbusier a city plan must accept political and economic realities, while it seeks to make life in the city more convenient and pleasurable. He looked upon all decentralized city plans as attempts to regress to times past. His plans on the other hand were attempts to find beauty, efficiency, and human value in the new cities.

Greenbelt and Garden City plans were attempts to conform with the geography of the area. Le Corbusier, to the contrary, believed that "the city is man's grip upon nature."[3] This operation is one in which man seeks to control nature to the extent of establishing the "conditions of nature" in the heart of the city. The main approach in achieving this goal was to free the land, that is to build upwards rather than horizontally.[4]

The challenge to make large industrial cities more livable was seen by Le Corbusier as the most important task of the time. The severity and urgency of the problem is attested to in his writing. In 1927 Le Corbusier offered the following as the root cause of the social upheaval of the day:

> The various classes of workers in society today no longer have dwellings adapted to their needs; neither the artisian nor the intellectual. It is a question of building which is at the root of the social unrest of today; architecture or revolution.[5]

Le Corbusier's solution to the problem:

> Economic law unavoidably governs our acts and our thoughts. The problem of the house is the problem of the epoch. The equilibrium of society depends on it. . . . We must create the mass-production spirit. The spirit of construction of mass-production houses; the spirit of living in mass-production houses. The spirit of conceiving the mass-production houses. . . . [If we do this with an] objective point of view we shall arrive at the House-Machine.[6]

He wanted to completely overhaul architecture and city planning to reflect the geometry of machine forms which he felt reflected the new technology.

Le Corbusier arrived at these conclusions on the basis of his analysis of the change from pre-technological man to the technological man of today and tomorrow. In 1927 Le Corbusier reasoned that the unrest of modern man was partly due to the disillusion of family life and the frustration which man felt as a result of the absence of the application of the machine to domestic life. He sees the history of man as having evolved extremely slowly until the late 19th century. At that time the presence of the industrial revolution was being felt. Historically, man worked with simple tools and his hands. He worked at home, decided how to work, on what to work and when to work. His family was always around him. His children worked with him and, under his guidance, became craftsmen. Work and family were harmonious. When this was so, society was stable and exhibited little change. But as of the middle

of the nineteenth century this stability--the result of "work organized within the family unit"--began to falter. Industrialization brought intricate machinery to man's work. Specialization and centralization became commonplace. It was no longer the case that a man could work with and train his sons. Instead men were selected for jobs by bosses who were interested exclusively in efficiency. Mass assembly line production resulted in a man making only a small part of a product. Le Cobusier realized that the pride of the craftsman had disappeared.[7] Add to this the fact that man has more leisure time (in 1927 the eight hour day was widely initiated) and Le Corbusier saw the demise of the family. What would man do with his time? He has a home which provides lodging but nothing else. Le Corbusier felt that the workers' houses (apartments) were so hideous that once within its walls man was so demoralized that he could not relate to his family nor could he wisely or creatively make use of his new found leisure time.

Men work with machines and see their value and benefit. But they are unable to take advantage of the machine for their personal lives. As for the intellectuals, they suffer the same fate. Because the high degree of precision and technology to which they have become accustomed at their jobs is lacking in their homes.[8]

The new technology and the machine aesthetic were the answers for Le Corbusier. Man must realize the beauty and the benefit that will accrue from the machine and apply these in order to liberate his humanity. Le Corbusier reasoned that only a highly centralized and capitalistic society could take full advantage of technology. Therefore, he planned cities which were centralized, mass-produced and large; yet he felt that they kept human-scale, were harmonious with nature, and efficient.

An example of a Le Corbusier city plan will illuminate his ideas. It must be kept in mind though, that with few exceptions he was satisfied with the political and economic institutions of his day. The "captains of industry" were model citizens to Le Corbusier.[9]

> Business has modified its customs; it bears a heavy responsibility today; cost, time, solidity of the work. Engineers in numbers fill its offices, make their calculations, practice the laws of economy to an intensive degree, and seek to harmonize two opposed factors: cheapness and good work. Intelligence lies behind every initiative, bold innovations are demanded. The morality of industry has been transformed: big business is today a healthy and moral organism. If we set this new fact against the past, we have Revolution in method and in the scale of the adventure.[10]

Between 1931 and 1934 Le Corbusier developed his plan for the "Radiant City." The population density for the Radiant City would be three to four times that of the Garden City. Greater population results in higher land value in that area. Le Corbusier saw this increase in

assets as the kind of incentive that was needed in order to secure the financing of the Radiant City.[11] The new technology made available the engineering and construction techniques which make it possible to build upward rather than outward. In the Radiant City plan all the buildings are to be built on stilts or "pilots," thereby freeing the entire ground level of the city for parks, trees, lawns and lakes. The buildings were to be prefabricated and assembled on location. Thus, the techniques of mass production could be employed to keep the construction costs to a minimum without sacrificing strength and durability.

The Radiant City was to be a "Green City." But unlike the Garden City the greenery was to be within the heart of the city. Buildings would have roof gardens and parks, people would live in "apartment houses with no breaks between the units, a ribbon of housing winding in an unbroken pattern across the city."[12] Within these continuous apartment houses there would be several levels of streets. The indoor streets would be for communal services, i.e., child care centers, laundry service, food preparation, etc. The bottom level would be for sports activities. The grounds around these buildings would be for gardens, parks, playgrounds, lakes, etc. "It will be possible to cross the entire residential area from end to

end, in any direction entirely in the open air or entirely sheltered from sun and rain."[13] All motor traffic would be either on raised expressways, for passenger traffic, or on railed service roads, for the delivery of goods, fuel, etc., to homes and shops in the apartment complex.

The Radiant City plan also called for

> special nurseries for very young children outside the apartment houses, actually in the parks; though they will be directly connected to the apartment unit in which the parents live by a corridor sheltered from the elements. These nurseries will be surrounded by greenery. They will be run by qualified nurses and supervised by doctors--security-selection-scientific child rearing.[14]
>
> The schools too will be outside the apartment houses, set in the midst of the parks. For each pair of apartment units (one on each side of a double elevator shaft, each of which will be used by 2,700 people) there will be a kindergarten for children between the ages of 3 and 6, then a primary school nearby for children between the ages of 7 and 14. The schools will be reached by an avenue running through the park for a distance of from 50 to 100 meters.[15]

The residential section described above is roughly the center section of this rectangular city. Moving away from the residential area in one direction we would find the hotels and embassies (as were appropriate). In the next section we find the railroad stations and airports. On the other side of this would be the business or financial center and moving farther out from here would be government buildings.

Traveling from the residential area in the opposite direction we find a section of the city for factories of light industry then a section for warehouses and furthest away the heavy industry.

Le Corbusier believed that large cities could be attractive and interesting places to live. But, he did not think that they were for everyone. He once wrote that "our cities are bulging with human detritus, with the hordes of people who came to them to try their luck, did not succeed, and are now all huddled together in crowded slums."[16]

> The city must be cleared of all the dreams that have burned their wings, the miscarried lives, the dead embers of men and homes and communities that have accumulated around the city's bright furnace and are not stifling it with their dead and sooty weight.[17]

His solution required the modernization of the farms and villages outside of the city. He felt that once this was done those people who had come to the city in order to escape the rural areas would return to the countryside. Hence, Le Corbusier designed the Radiant Farm and the Radiant Village.

The Radiant Farm was based on the family unit. It was modern and efficient, but not large-scale mechanized farming. The farmhouse was to be a standardized house,

> the entire conception of this farmhouse is dominated by esthetic and ethical factors: light, cleanliness, immaculate domestic equipment. Once he had been provided with a tool so modern and so clearly designed, the peasant will come to love it and look after it as well as he does his horse or his pig. In taking good care of his house he will also be taking good care of himself, and that is a first foundation for the essential joys of life.[18]

The center of the country side would be the Radient Village. These are envisioned as cooperative centers which "include a communal silo, machinery storehouse, and a cooperative store. A village club would provide a center for communal life, and an apartment house would replace the single family housing of the traditional village."[19]

Le Corbusier's vision was to reduce as much work as possible from the farm and to bring all the modern conveniences to the village. When this was accomplished he believed the people, mostly the poor, would go to the countryside to live. Hence, people who are unsuited to live in a city would no longer live there.

Basic to all of Le Corbusier's plans is his unrelenting faith in the plan.

> Now the plan is the determination of everything; it is an austere abstraction, an algebragation; and cold of aspect. It is a plan of battle . . . Without a good plan nothing exists, all is frail and cannot endure, all is poor even under the clutter of the richest decoration.[20]

In order to implement his plans Le Corbusier felt that there must be strong central authority. This

authority would have to convince the people that these highly rigid and standardized dwellings were the answer to their unhappiness. Le Corbusier reasoned that discipline was needed in order to enact his scheme for the renovation of the land. "We must establish a program, work on the program, realize that program . . . . We must spread the blessings conferred by order across the whole land."[21]

Plans proceed from within to without, hence the individual room is designed first then the apartment then the building as a whole, etc. Le Corbusier believed that even his grandiose plans maintained human scale because of the goodness of his plans. The proportional relationship of man to his room, of the room to the building, etc., were consistent mathematical relationships and hence were pure.

Frank Lloyd Wright was a leading 20th century architect who was diametrically opposed to the city plans of Le Corbusier and his underlying philosophy. He was not in agreement with Le Corbusier's notion that the city could be regenerated by the application of the new architecture. Wright opposed any thought of saving the city by merely rebuilding it with new material and a new aesthetic. He compared the city to a diseased organism. It has a form of cancer--centralization--that is growing and choking the city to death. Centralization then is

the problem that must be dealt with. According to Wright any attempt to rebuild the city along centralist philosophy would merely house the problem in new buildings.

In order to understand Wright's proposals one must understand his analysis of the growth of centralization and its corresponding disruption of the growth of democracy. According to Wright large cities are unnatural and therefore, undemocratic. There are three economic "artificialities" which are responsible for the growth of centralization. They are as follows:

1. Rent of land--leads to overcrowding and poverty
2. Rent of money--is an unearned reward and is the greatest unnatural commodity
3. Rent of ideas and inventions--i.e., patents concentrates money and provides the bases for the creation of "captains of industry."[22]

These forms of rent are extrinsic unearned increments. As a result of their existence, money becomes the property of fewer and fewer; it becomes a commodity that only a few can distribute. It is more valuable than work. Once money is centralized greater centralization follows because it is easier for the financiers. Control is easier when a corporation is organized hierarchically. Obviously, this vested interest needs to protect itself, therefore it encourages, even creates a government in its own image, i.e., bureaucratic and centralized. In order to legitimatize their power and protect and continue the flow of their unearned increments these financiers create

droves of lawyers and squads of police, whom they alone control. An educational system is encouraged which would prepare the people to take their place in the system without criticizing centralization and concentration of money.

The democratic state that "was conceived as the free growth of many individuals as individuals: men free in themselves, functioning together in a unity of their own will and making; averse to institutions" has been lost in the industrial revolution, in war, and in the "haphazard big building of the big haphazard city that being over-built, has run away."[23]

In Wright's analysis the skyscraper of the big city is a "tower of Babel that finds its apex in exaggerated false fortunes and success in exaggerated manufacturing enterprises in exaggerated cities for exaggerated profits. All a kind of deflation of manhood to exploit mankind as a kind of profitable to the profitiers."[24]

Wright perceives the skyscraper of today's big cities as the monument to the corrupt illegitimate capitalist. Sky scaperism represents the epitomy of false standards and ultra-capitalistic centralization. It is a monument to the victory of the machine over the individual. The abuses of individuality by the masters of the "three great increments" brought reactionary consequences; "the ultra-conservative rich man, a pseudo culture wherein art

is only a makeshift . . . and a national characteristic of defeat."[25] And to Wright the worst reaction of all is our tendency to take personality for individuality. The wealthy men with their personal idiosyncracies, the so-called "rugged individualists" who have concentrated money and power are mistaken to be the fruits of democracy. Wright believed that true creative ability is the first concern of individuality and hence the cornerstone of democracy. Therefore, he reasoned that there can be no defense of democracy as long as personality is mistaken for individuality.[26]

Centralization serves the "captains of industry" in their efforts to extend their control. It results in greater authority in fewer hands, the distruction of democracy in the process of creating a feudal state. In short, Wright argued that the concentration of money, machinery, power and people is the root cause of human misery. Democracy with freedom can only be achieved through decentralization.

By the proper use of machine power a decentralized community could be built. But it cannot be done without that essential "interpreter of humanity"--the creative architect. In Wright's analysis, philosophy, religion, economics and politics have failed and only organic architecture can interpret the modern era. Organic architecture is based on "an inner discipline of principle

. . . man is a noble creature of his own ground, integral as trees . . . . Architecture is organic only because intrinsic. [It is] concerned with the integrity of innate structure" of nature (including man).[27]

Decentralization requires that there be an educational revolution to educate the people; so that they can use machinery rather than be used by it, to the possibilities of organic architecture, and to help them realize that they are able to free themselves from the "tower of feudalism."

During the 1920's and 1930's Wright and his associates were concerned with illustrating and clarifying the concept of organic architecture. They did this by making a model of a city to set down what a decentralized city could be like if built in accordance with their philosophy of architecture. The result was the Broadacre City Plan

Broadacres City was to be based on what Wright considered to be the three "inherent rights" of man. They are:

1. The social right to a direct medium of exchange
2. The social right to his place on the ground--land to be held only if used and improved.
3. The social right of ideas by which and for which he lives--the public ownership of inventions and discoveries.[28]

Obviously, these rights are the antitheses to the three forms of rent or unearned increments.

Broadacres is a regional plan more than it is a city plan. Because Wright is concerned not with some very limited land area, rather the countryside on the whole. "Broadacres City would be everywhere and nowhere."[29] The architectural features of Broadacres would rise naturally from the ground and follow its topography. Integration of the buildings and the land is the basic architectural goal. Hence, the buildings would be as varied as the land and the functions it served. These regions would have "centers" or county seats which would serve to connect and co-ordinate when needed.

> Petty diverse partitions of property, willful deformations of natural beauty by conscienceless utilities, like those pole and wire men, perpetual defacements by advertising in sordid self-interest becoming common everywhere to iritate the sensitive citizen, would be unpardonable crimes against the landscape.[30]

Wright's model made up during the late 1920's was of one of these regional centers. It was a four square mile area designed for 1400 families. It was an integrated plan where industrial plants are positioned next to farms, without any concentration or "industrial parks." All production, distribution, self-improvement, and enjoyment would be within a 10 to 40 minute travel (most often within 10 minutes) from one's home. Tall buildings would not be erected near other buildings; they would stand in small green parks. Although most people would live in private dwellings there would be apartment houses for transients and others who may desire to live in them.

These apartments would be co-operative in nature and would be in "spacious gardens on the ground in the outskirts of a neighborhood."[31] Hospitals and schools would be situated along the same plan but would be only one story high. They would be public and free to all. Farms would be about ten acres in size and would impregnate the landscape helping to insure decentralization and making fresh food readily available to everyone. With regard to arts and crafts there would be small studios and workshops throughout the city.

There would be community centers consisting of golf courses, race tracks, zoo, aquarium, planetarium, botanical gardens, art museum, libraries, galleries, opera, etc. It would be an entertainment center owned and operated by the people of that community who use the facility as spectators, but more importantly as exhibitors, performers, and producers. In Broadacres children would attend a primarily agrarian-oriented "Garden School." A school would consist of several small one story buildings. It would have practice-shops and gardens for the children to use, to build and to cultivate. Wright believed that we should educate "for life in the free city and education should be had by doing--by life experience at a tender age."[32] He felt that specialization should be discouraged, because education should be "foundational," i.e., an educated person is one who can understand organic

architecture and who comprehends his place in the universe. Therefore, Wright's "Garden School" would be concerned with having a child learn the "properties of line and color or the chemistry of good design . . . the nature of his bodily functioning . . . agriculture, plan-reading" and "the cosmic rhythms of sun, moon, and stars, elemental in art." The child should learn the effects of dreaming, planning, breeding, dancing, singing, and building on himself and on mankind.[33] The "Garden School" would be for children ages four through seventeen or eighteen.

Broadacres would also have a university. It would not be a highly specialized trade school. Rather, it would be a center for the study and exploration of "the principles of universality." Wright wanted the university to be highly selective and to choose individuals who have demonstrated "some gift of perception that would make further research on his part among the eternal mysteries of the cosmic order seem desirable--both for him and for the society to which he belongs."[34] The university is for deeper study of "organic laws," it is the "vision of society." The findings of the university should be freely communicated to everyone.

The university would be a retreat for students and teachers. There would be no examinations, no curriculum ("race course"), no standardizing of any kind. Wright envisioned the university to be directed by a group of

"father confessors." There should be "one such leader chosen each by scientists, artists, philosophers, architects, poets and if one could be found a statesman should be added to this leadership"--he would be a philosopher or metaphysician not a politician.[35]

Broadacres would also have other centers for education. The design or style centers would be for the study of industrial technology. These centers would be the education of designers, architects, and all "machinery--using crafts." The design centers would be for experimentation. Students would work with design and build new machinery. It would consist of all industrial arts so that these bodies of knowledge and those persons skilled in them could freely communicate with and learn from one another in cooperative research. Wright would have manned such centers with a limit of twenty students each. The students would reside at these centers and would spend four hours daily of physical work on the soil. They would spend seven to nine hours per day between design and work in shops. This system is based on voluntary co-operation. The goods produced by these centers would be sold at roadside markets. Wright believes that these "good and beautiful things" would serve as a good example for industry and people in general, thereby serving the function of consumer education. The style centers would be kept in further communication with the people by broadcasting on

radio and television. These centers would be in communication with the universities and could have some connection. As with the university there would be no examinations or diploma. Competence must be demonstrated through work.

> Such active work-units in design, were they truly dedicated and directly applied to the radical culture of indegenous style and the building of our city, would at last stimulate popular growth as light stimulates the growth of a garden. Officialdom would diminish or change its character entirely, in indeed there were a need to continue its services, as we know it.[36]

These regional centers would be connected by a system of superhighways "laid down sympathetic to terrain, threading hills and plains with safe grades everywhere."[37] As with all forms of transport these superhighways were to be elemental features of architecture. Safety, beauty and integration with the land are the tenants with which all would conform.

Paul Goodman's objections to Le Corbusier's thinking and to the Radiant City plan, in particular, centers around Le Corbusier's unquestioning faith in technology and his belief in large corporate capitalism. The Radiant City is designed for efficient administration of big business. Le Corbusier, criticizes Goodman, was trying to maintain the status quo and it was that social order, economics, and political philosophy which was responsible for the unrest and miserable living conditions in the cities. Furthermore, the "Radiant City was a paper

city; its activity is the notion of draftsmen, typists, accountants, and meetings of the board."[38] Le Corbusier's concern was for the growth of business but he fails to consider the growth of the human being. He seems to think of people as workers only--as tools of industry. For example, Goodman notes that one of the reasons Le Corbusier insisted on standardization of individual apartments and of the furniture therein was to make workers more mobile. If living quarters were the same a worker and his family would only have to move their personal belongings. Hence there would be less reluctance to being transferred from plant to plant, thereby making one of the costs of production more flexible which adds to the profitability of industry. These implicit concepts of human nature, human worth, job and community, to Goodman, are totally absurd. Le Corbusier conceives of men as machines for work. He does not allow for expressions of personality or gratification of human animal instincts.

In light of Le Corbusier's interest and faith in technology Goodman finds it strange that "he suggests nothing but the rationalization of existing means for greater profits in an arena of competition. . . . His aim is neither to increase productivity as an economist, nor, by studying the machines and the processes as a technologist, to improve them."[39]

A concise summary of Goodman's evaluation of Le Corbusier is this statement from Communitas:

> Apart from a peculiar emphasis on athletic sports and their superiority to calisthenics (!), this planner has nothing, but nothing to say about education, sexuality, entertainment, festivals, politics. Meantime, his citizens are to behold everywhere, in the hugest and clearest expression in reinforced concrete and glass, the fact that their orderly freedom will last forever. It has 500 foot prisms in profile against the sky.[40]

Goodman is in general agreement with the decentralist philosophy of Wright. Especially with respect to industrial production and local political control. But like Le Corbusier, Wright put too much emphasis on the automobile. The automobile to Goodman is one of the major examples of our misguided society. It is a representation of how our "interlocking institutions" have gone out of control. The social cost of automobiles is horrendous and the auto is a major factor contributing to the demise of the city as a desirable plan in which to live.

As far as the social organization of Broadacres, Goodman can only say that the plan does not indicate how this social philosophy would be implemented. Goodman does see Broadacres as an "attempt to bring farm values to an industrial town," and is based on the notion of "sturdy individualism." Unfortunately, Broadacres "does not promise much excitement, much existential novelty, nor does much for high culture."[41]

> The importance of Broadacres as a community plan lies in Wright's willingness to select values, going with or against current trends as suits his free intuition. But his intuition is limited. He aims at the integration of urban and rural life, but he seems, by the time of Broadacres, to have lost what feeling he had for the city and the factory. He does not tell us how to make industrial life humane and worthwhile; his presentation of industries, factories, industrial location, transport, the division of labor, is extremely sketchy, often inferior to existent facts.[42]

The city plans presented in this chapter do not allow for or plan for the growth of man. If a plan is to make any sense to Goodman it must consider the relationship of the physical environment to physical, social, psychological, political and economic activities and expression of man. The chapters that follow will explore Goodman's proposals for an educative city.

FOOTNOTES: CHAPTER I

[1]Paul and Percival Goodman, Communitas (New York: Vintage Books, 1960), p. 3.

[2]Le Corbusier was born October 6, 1887 Charles-Edward Jeanneret in La Chuerx-de-Fonds, Switzerland, of French ancestry. In 1923 he assumed the name Le Corbusier (after his southern French ancestors) to distinguish between the architect and the painter, Jeanneret. Hence his architectural works (books and buildings) were signed Le Corbusier and his other art Jeanneret.

[3]Peter Blake, Le Corbusier Architecture and Form (Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1960), p. 27.

[4]Ibid., pp. 24-28.

[5]Le Corbusier, Towards A New Architecture (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1946), p. 250.

[6]Ibid., p. 210.

[7]Le Corbusier believed that workers could have a sense of collective pride in the work and hence he was not at all critical of continued specialization. In fact, it is basic to his architectural approach.

[8]Le Corbusier, Towards A New Architecture, pp. 250-269.

[9]Captains of industry refers to financial leaders of capitalistic industry.

[10]Le Corbusier, Towards A New Architecture, p. 264.

[11]Le Corbusier believed that international financing could be secured and this would serve as a deterant to war for "who would bomb his own property?"

[12]Le Corbusier, The Radiant City (New York: The Orion Press, 1967), p. 113.

[13]Ibid., p. 115.

[14]Ibid.

[15]Ibid.

[16]Ibid., p. 321.

[17]Ibid., p. 197.

[18]Ibid., p. 326.

[19]Norma Evenson, Le Corbusier: The Machine and the Grand Design (New York: George Braziller, 1969), p. 23.

[20]Le Corbusier, Towards A New Architecture, p. 166.

[21]Le Corbusier, The Radiant City, p. 138.

[22]Frank Lloyd Wright, When Democracy Builds (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1945), p. 11.

[23]Ibid., p. 23.

[24]Ibid., p. 16.

[25]Ibid., p. 19.

[26]Ibid., pp. 22-26.

[27]Frank Lloyd Wright, The Living City (New York: Horizon Press, 1958), pp. 91-92.

[28]Walter Gropius, Le Corbusier, Meis van der Rohe, and Frank Lloyd Wright, Four Great Makers of Modern Architecture (Record of Symposium, 1961; New York: Trustees of Columbia University, 1963), p. 57.

[29]Wright, The Living City, p. 110.

[30]Ibid., p. 114.

[31]Ibid.

[32]Ibid., p. 183.

[33]Ibid., p. 184.

[34]Ibid., p. 185.

[35]Wright, When Democracy Builds, pp. 110-112.

[36]Ibid., p. 194.

[37]Ibid., p. 196.

[38]Goodman, Communitas, p. 44.

[39]Ibid., p. 48.

[40]Ibid., p. 84.

[41]Ibid., p. 89.

[42]Ibid., pp. 92-93.

CHAPTER II

TECHNOLOGY

A central issue in city planning is the relation between man and his technological environment. In this chapter several constructions of that relationship will be examined.

Le Corbusier's Radiant City Plan epitomizes the notion of fitting men to the technology. Le Corbusier designed a city for maximum efficiency of production in accordance with the day's most efficient technology. His concern was to advance the technical quality and to lower costs of production by maximum use of mass-production techniques, standardization and centralization. He reasoned that a community that could best do this would prosper. Therefore, people would work fewer hours per week and have higher wages and hence be better able to use their leisure time. Le Corbusier recognized the hardship and human suffering that accompanied the industrial revolution with its adverse effects on family life. Yet he believed that man's basic malady was jealousy--the jealousy of not being able to take advantage of the high technology in his domestic life.

For Le Corbusier the selection of the type of technology was completely dictated by the capitalist market place. The technology which produced the highest profit margin to the captains of industry was the technology to be employed. He felt that this would result in the products being less and less expensive and hence more readily available for purchase by the wage earners.

Furthermore, he considered grace, style and beauty to be properties of the machine. Aesthetically, man's pleasure was thought to be derived from operating machines or living in a machine house.

A strong distinction made by Le Corbusier between production and consumption is a common error according to Goodman:

> In capitalist or state-socialist economies, efficiency is measured by profits and expansion rather than by handling the means. Mass production, analyzing the acts of labor into small steps and distributing the products far from home, destroys the sense of creating anything. Rhythm, neatness, style belong to the machine rather than to the man.[1]

The basic problem is the dichotomy of ends and means.

In making a selection of modern technology Goodman starts with the following observation:

> Men like to work and be useful, for work has a rhythm and springs from spontaneous feelings just like play and to be useful makes people feel right. Productive work is a kind of creation, it is an extension of human personality into nature.[2]

But, under conditions of economic work, mass-production, high centralization and routine, there is, on Goodman's view, no sense of instinctive pleasure and men dislike their jobs.

Technology must be selected that is most humanly efficient. A humanly efficient technology is one which maximizes the opportunity for men to perform with, to use a pet phrase of Goodman's, "grace, force and beauty." These are not to be properties of machines but of man. The technology must not perpetrate the dualism of work and pleasure. Hence, it must be a technology which permits men to be in charge, to make decisions, and to direct their activities. The process of doing must have intrinsic worth.[3]

Goodman recognizes that his definition of efficiency is unorthodox and is at variance with Le Corbusier and with Wright. But he points out that in failing to recognize the fallacy of the dualism between work and pleasure, they have neither been able to propose plans or analogies which are efficient in human terms (in the case of Wright) or efficient in purely economic terms (in the case of Le Corbusier).

Goodman does not believe that in order to achieve human efficiency that we must "turn back the clock to conditions of handcraft in a limited society" or plan for a demographically decentralized and agrarian oriented

society. For Goodman the problem is not with modern technology but with the thoughtless application of technology as a means for wrongheaded and dehumanizing ends. We must maintain a perspective of the "whole scene." We must recognize the totality of costs and the implications of use of technology and the style or organization of production.

Although Goodman is basically decentralist he recognizes that there are some functions best served by highly centralized and automated technology. The problem is "to decide in what functions the automatic and computer style is not relevant, and there to curtail it or forget it."[4] We see that in Goodman's view technology is not a part of science but is a branch of moral philosophy.[5] The technologist must work to reduce the complexities of life in an effort to reduce the obstacles to being. This is not to argue that research on new ideas should not be carried forward but the practice of putting new technologies into operation for their own sake without adequate thought should cease. The present trend of applying technology to the production of trivialities in an effort to expand the economy, mainly for partisan political motives, is a gross hinderance to quality living.

Goodman believes that "the chief moral criterion of philosophic technology is modesty, having a sense of

the whole and not obstructing more than a particular function warrants."[6] Our society has become over-technologized and must strive to simplify. We have reached a point where new improvements interfere with the quality of life. The complexities of life have become overbearing and dehumanizing. How can we use technology to help build a human community? One answer to this question was given by Le Corbusier to centralize and homogenize, i.e., to make all living places identical so that mobility does not necessitate so much dislocation. But Goodman's answer is to "build communities where meaningful voluntary association is again possible; that is to decentralize."[7] Unlike Wright, Goodman conceptualized decentralization as a type of social organization which requires the psychological and sociological use of geography but not geographical isolation.

Goodman believes that we must "decentralize where, how, and how much is expedient." But he does not propose a system in an attempt to achieve this maxim, rather he makes suggestions for research and experimentation which may produce answers to these empirical questions of how, where and how much? One proposal of Goodman's of particular relevance to this chapter is to decentralize the pursuit of pure science and applied technology. The research and experimentation which must occur, if we are to find solutions to our problems, has been lacking because we have

centralized the scientific enterprise. Today we have big science which is financed by big corporations, big universities, big foundations and big government. (In fact, the big universities and foundations may merely be extensions or fronts of big government which in turn may be an extension of big business.) The scientific brain power of our society has been pre-empted. They have been set to predetermined tasks. Scientists become "personnel, pursuing the goals of the organization."[8] We have ceased to have open-minded scientists following their own thinking and investigating that for whatever reason, they deem worthy of investigation.

Goodman contrasts this state of affairs with the state of science research during the period from the sixteenth through the eighteenth centuries. He calls this the "heroic age of modern science." During the heroic age "science was not the social orthodoxy. Indeed, a disproportionate number of the natural philosophers were exploring forbidden territory and publishing defiantly."[9] But today we have a self-contained and self-correcting system of science. Goodman points out that

> the majority of significant advances have not come from big corporations and big universities, and have not been sponsored by foundations and government. They have come from lonely (and often rejected) individuals, random amateur inventors, partnerships, tiny firms where the scientists, technicians, and craftsmen have a chance to talk to one another.[10]

The remedy for today's situation, according to Goodman, is not to do away with subsidizing science but to subsidize small independent scientific inquiry. He proposed that one-half the budget of the National Science Foundation and the Institutes of Health be "directly allotted as subsistence incomes of $5,000 to any and all who demonstrate a concern for scientific tinkering and speculation."[11] This proposal is exemplary of Goodman's basic thinking that when subsidies are used that they be given with "no strings attached" directly to people and not to institutions that would make people into personnel.

Goodman perceives science as human adventure. It is in pursuit of knowledge and is autonomous. It should depend on individual genius and is directed by personal ethical choice. Scientific research must be carried on, as long as "scientists and technologists have a political responsibility for the consequences of their work; they must fight for its right use and inform and alert the public."[12]

There are two ways in which we can bring about this concept of science and the rules for scientists and technologists. One is by decentralizing the findings of research in an effort to "maximize the number of minds and interests involved," as in the above proposal. Secondly, we can accomplish two things through education. We can dispel the commonly held awe and reverance for

science and the blind belief in technology as omnipotent. Secondly, we can educate technologists rather than merely train technocrats. A technologist must study and understand the physical environment, human ecology and the biosphere. He must be able to understand the whole of his activities. He should study social sciences and humanities. To accomplish this, "technology must have its proper place on the faculty as a learned profession important in modern society, along with medicine, law, the humanities, and natural philosophy, learning from the others and having something to teach them."[13] Goodman draws attention to the plasticity of technology as its "more useful property." It offers as alternatives "choices of power, raw materials, location, tooling, and a surplus for transition and retooling."[14] Its value is then that it can help us to decentralize our society where decentralization is desirable. The selection and use of technology, in an effort to build a more mixed and less interlocking society, depends on humane criteria. Goodman gives the following criteria "for humane selection of technologies: utility, efficiency, comprehensibility, repairability, ease and flexibility of use, amenity, and modesty."[15]

Utility as a criterion refers to the standard of being able to provide for the basic subsistence of an area, i.e., food, shelter, medicine and clothing without producing other effects which may be harmful. Furthermore,

utility means making people self-supportive. Because once a people are freed from druggery, starvation and disease, but otherwise left to themselves, they can make their own decisions regarding future employment of technology. In our present condition we have certain technologies imposed upon us which lock us into more technological interference. Or a decision is made to introduce some "technological improvement" which necessitates the destruction of a neighborhood, the building of more superhighways, the centralization of administration, the establishment of county government, etc. In emerging societies technology is brought in which emulates that of the large over industrial nations. Often there is a corresponding centralization of political control in order to implement the "new" technology. Often traditions of the culture "must" be abandoned and there is a general disruption of life. The resulting kinds of cities, jobs, government and environment that the society has are often interlocked with the technical development. When the choice of a technological style disrupts a culture, necessitates further changes, or interferes with the possibility of face to face spontaneous human interaction it violates the criterion of utility.

The criterion of comprehensibility refers mainly to machines both in design and operation. If men are to be the masters of the machinery they employ they must be

able to understand how it functions. To some extent this lack of comprehension is responsible for the popular mistique of the machine. Homage paid to technology, and the blind unquestioning faith in its appropriateness and the trust paid to its ability to solve our problems are partly a result of our lack of comprehension of its nature and functioning. The closely related criterion of repairability by the user combines with comprehensibility to release man "from the bondage to a system of service men." If these two criteria are met it would reduce the anxiety which many people experience because they do not know how to judge the quality of the machines they buy. Furthermore, when we are ignorant of the machinery we tend to let the experts judge. All too often they are wrong-headed and have vested interests. We slowly lose any countervailing power and the situation is soon out of control.

Relevance requires an understanding of purposes of a technology. The mere fact that we can do something is not sufficient reason to do it. Goodman uses the example of medicine. Because we have advanced in this science to the point where we can keep a person alive, as a vegetable, does that mean that we should? What does it mean to "be alive?" Another example is in education. We can apply Skinner's technology of teaching.[16] Yet for what purpose?

Should we condition our children simply because we have the means to do so?

The criterion of amenity requires that we weigh our judgment in the total environmental context. The technological developments in highway construction are applied with what seems to be total disregard to amenity. Often we take the best land when we should either be using the swamps or not building at all.

Modesty is important because without it we often violate all of the other criteria and we interfere with the usefulness of what we have by multiplying it. For example, the increase in production of automobiles has not resulted in the masses of people being able to travel through a city more quickly or conveniently. In mass communications we often send so many messages that they are all meaningless and become noise.[17]

These criteria serve to do away with the dichotomy of selection and use of technology. To Goodman they are indistinguishable. He is neither pro nor con on the use of technology. Rather he believes that each instance must be judged separately by those people who might be affected. The notion of separation between production and consumption of science and technology is a fallacy. The production consumption fallacy is most prevalent in the area of economics to which we will now turn.

> The fallacy of the dualism of production-consumption emerges when an immensely productive economy overmatures and lives by creating demand instead of meeting it; when the check of the free market gives way to monopolies, subsidies, and captive consumers; when the sense of community vanishes and public goods are neglected and resources dispoiled; and there is made-work (or war) to reduce unemployment, and when the measure of economic health is not increasing well being but abstractions like the Gross National Product and the rate of growth.[18]

If Le Corbusier's Radiant City would have come to fruition it would have been the over-ripened production society described above. Wright recognized this for he saw it in contemporary America. Yet he failed to come to grips with the problem of a society with large urban centers[19] destined to be a part of a world economy. Wright's Broadacres City offers us a decentralized local economy, but without any system of relating to the whole economy. There is lacking any provision for the masses who chose not to be agrarian. He pays little attention to localities giving mutual aid. Although Goodman respects and values the self-sufficient nature of Broadacres he perceives it as being needlessly unrelated to the entire society.

Furthermore, Goodman sees distinct human advantages to centralizing the production and distribution of certain goods. He proposes a mixed economy--one that is decentralized where possible and is centralized where it is beneficial. His concern is for a harmony between

means-ends and the "elimination of the difference between production and consumption."

The main problem inherent with centralization is that it is a style that "makes for both petty conforming and admiration for bigness. The more routine and powerless people are the more they are mesmerized by extrinsic proofs of production and power."[20]

Goodman believes that if we decentralize as much as possible we can create a system of social organizations in which people deal more directly with each other. They would have to deal with fewer middle men (both economic and governmental) and would have better contact with their environment. When people are directly in charge, initiating their own behavior and directly perceiving its consequences they have a clear understanding of themselves and of community.

Goodman's economic concern is not with how much goods cost but with how well people live. Abstractions like the Gross National Product are mainly useless in evaluating an economy. What does give a good indication of economic well being is "to notice how much the various expensive products and services of corporations and government make people subject to repairmen, fees, commuting, queues, unnecessary work, dressing just for the job, ..." [21] The trouble with our centralized interlocked economy is that we create demand rather than meet it. We have a

surplus economy. Unfortunately, we have not put that surplus to work to do away with starvation or poverty. We have instead created a huge advertising industry to sell us our useless and worse than useless products. We have been trained to think of work as a means of attaining money. The reason for the money is to purchase products. But, Goodman points out, these are not products that we have a need for, but products that the economy needs to sell.

Goodman lists the following areas where excessive centralization is grossly expensive:

1. Where staff and overhead are the chief costs (social, personal and artistic services)
2. Where the cost of distribution or servicing outweighs the savings in centralized production. In this area there are many social and hidden costs that are not generally identified as part of this operation. Farming and processing and distribution of food fall within this category.
3. Where central planning and rationalization go beyond the flowing changes and contingencies of life and lead to overcommitment and inflexibility.
4. Where the departmentalization and standardization, which miss the uniqueness of each person, produce imbalances and positive damage that must then be expensively remedied.[22]

Goodman argues for a regional economy. A regional economy can produce a very substantial amount of goods. Yet, these would only be a fraction of the necessary goods. Therefore, the various regions must cooperate and interact and that is what distinguishes regionalism from Wright's provincialism.

"Economy of things rather than money"--this formula is the essence of regionalism. The people of a region draw on their local resources and cooperate directly, without the "intermediary of national book-keeping with its millions of clashing motives never soluble face-to-face."[23] Goodman proposes that people in each region work to maintain the subsistence of the region. In this way they are not interlocked with some abstract national goal nor interlocked with national politics. A region would have enough farming to feed itself, enough industry to shelter it and enough medical care. Beyond this point, every plan to expand the economy could be considered on its own merits. The criteria Goodman offers for any expansion or the continuance of any economic activity is whether the activity is worthwhile and efficient for the way of life. In some cases expansion would meet the criterion in others it would fail. In some regions the people may decide to expand their economy and to spend more time on industrial work for economic compensation. But, in any case there would result more regional autonomy and self-subsistence and more personal choice and initiative.[24]

In the case of farming, the decentralist approach of farmer cooperatives for growing, processing, and marketing regionally is efficient. It abolishes the middle man, the food processors, and makes small farming profitable. If this were achieved Goodman feels that many more people

would return to small farming. This would help decongest the cities and provide a better existence for farmers. In addition to farming most of the service enterprises could be profitably decentralized. There are many other enterprises which should be centrally organized and as automated as possible, as long as they meet the criteria presented in this chapter.

FOOTNOTES: CHAPTER II

[1]Goodman, Communitas, p. 153.

[2]Ibid.

[3]See chapter on Work and Domestic Life.

[4]Paul Goodman, People or Personnel and Like a Conquered Province (New York: Vintage Books, 1968), p. 11. These two books have been published in one volume. References will be made to the specific book, not the entire volume.

[5]Paul Goodman, New Reformation: Notes of a Neolithic Conservative (New York: Random House, 1970), p. 7.

[6]Ibid., p. 9.

[7]Goodman, People or Personnel, p. 14.

[8]Goodman, Like a Conquered Province, p. 306.

[9]Ibid., p. 304.

[10]Ibid., p. 307.

[11]Ibid., p. 308.

[12]Goodman, New Reformation, p. 44.

[13]Ibid., p. 8.

[14]Paul Goodman, Utopian Essays and Practical Proposals (New York: Vintage Books, 1962), p. 4.

[15]Ibid., p. 35.

[16]See B. F. Skinner, Technology of Teaching.

[17]Goodman, Utopian Essays and Practical Proposals, pp. 22-48.

[18]Goodman, Like a Conquered Province, p. 270.

[19]Although Goodman does qualify when he states "there is a limit of urban density and urban sprawl beyond which no form of social organization, centralist or decentralist can cope. Urban crowding creates a peculiar climate of both too many social relations and a kind of sensory and emotional deprivation." People or Personnel, p. 17.

[20]Ibid., p. 19.

[21]Ibid., p. 117.

[22]Ibid., pp. 120-122.

[23]Goodman, Communitas, p. 170.

[24]Ibid., pp. 170-172.

CHAPTER III

POLITICS, WORK, AND DOMESTIC LIFE

For Goodman, political institutions are deliberate social experiments. When they are decentralized each unit can experiment more freely and if the experiment does not work well it does not affect the whole society. When it works well the news can be communicated to others and may work to larger advantage. Government should be an "existential act of ordinary citizens" and not an independent institution. The political history of the United States has been one of centralization and the creation of government as super-institution. Even the programs that were intended to countervail the concentration of political power and governmental control have led to the opposite. Goodman writes

> Each step of the way--primaries, referendum, regulatory agencies, increasing the years of compulsory schooling, progressive income tax, muckraking, women's suffrage, right to organize, minimum wage, social security, etc., etc.,--promised to be a revolutionary democratizing of society . . . have cumulatively added up to the one interlocked system of big government, big corporations, big municipalities, big labor, big education, and big communications . . . .[1]

Under these conditions the sense of anomie and powerlessness spreads from the bottom to the top. The

complaint of powerlessness has been heard from the uneducated, the unemployed man on the street, presidents of large corporations and universities and the president of the United States. The political question then is: can democracy work in a large highly technological society? Goodman's answer is that it can if we decentralize it and people turn their attention to the immediate and relatively simple matters such as housing, shopping, being informed, and making a living. We must first place value on democratic initiative in these areas. All institutions should be sensitive to citizenship. As Goodman puts it, "The society in which I live is mine, open to my voice and action, or I do not live there at all."[2] The degree to which institutions are not open to the voice and action of citizens is the degree to which Goodman is opposed to them. The kind of community that Goodman wants is characterized by

> direct democracy, decentralized decision making, a system of checks and balances that works, [and] less streamlined elections. [This system] should condone civil disobedience vigilant over authority, crowds on the streets, riot when the provocation is grave.[3]

He wants a politics that is libertarian, populist and pluralist.

It is important to realize that Goodman's emphasis is on participation, initiation and decentralized decision-making. His politics are not a politics of power. As a

pacifist and anarchist, he warns that history has shown that power seeks to aggrandize itself. It has been the development of power and sovereignties that has brought war and destroyed community. Goodman feels that we must substitute function for power. Power is an abstraction and serves as an extrinsic motivation whereas function is intrinsic. Power as a superstructure coerces and frustrates living functions--biological, social and psychological. "Normal activities do not need extrinsic motivations, they have their own intrinsic energies and ends-in-view . . . ."[4]

Only behavior that is intrinsically motivated can be strong, efficient, inventive, well structured or spontaneous. This is the type of behavior that Goodman assesses as healthy and normal for a free society.

According to Goodman the only time power is legitimate is when it is ad hoc. When it is functional it is for a specific purpose, usually an emergency, and lapses when that immediate function is served.

Furthermore, Goodman warns that there is a fatal danger in the notion of getting power in order to accomplish some good end.

> There is a vicious circle, for (except in emergencies) the very exercise of abstract power, managing, and coercing, itself tends to stand in the way and alienate, to thwart function and diminish energy and so to increase the psychology of power.[5]

The centralization and use of abstract power creates the feeling of helplessness and emergency, which in turn is the rationale used to exercise more power. Hence, the emergency is chronic rather than immediate.

The only way to achieve a peaceful community of voluntary associations is to repudiate the politics of power. We must live without authority and replace power with peaceful functioning.

A good illustration of this idea is Goodman's notion of police administration. He states that the reason for having police is to serve the function of keeping the peace and not the exercise of power to enforce conformity. Goodman, therefore, proposes that the administration of police be run by the community or neighborhood. The policeman should be from that community. If we have these conditions then "the enforcement and the interpretation of the law would be in accordance with local public sentiment."[6]

This proposal is consistent with Goodman's thinking that the best means of creating community is to let the people take the initiative, to make decisions and to act.

Goodman's solution to the problems created by large urban cities is to build cities or reorganize existing cities so that "meaningful voluntary association" is possible. Often this means the decentralization existing forms of political and social organization. For large existing cities, he proposes that each neighborhood should

have a local City Hall. These neighborhood city halls should have a great measure of autonomy yet work with one another on those things which are felt to be mutually advantageous. The neighborhood administration should

> control transit, sanitation, museums, etc., whatever is necessarily or conveniently controlled "by a local city hall" . . . . Taxes could be collected centrally and much of the take divided among the neighborhoods to be budgeted locally.[7]

This proposal provides a central place in each neighborhood which is responsible for the administrative functions of that neighborhood. People know where to go with problems or with suggestions. The people are more likely to know one another and the neighborhood administrators. It is easier to identify problems and to communicate with and organize the people of the community. Local direct government has a much better chance to deal with the peculiar problems of a neighborhood, the kinds of problems that "are lost in the inner politics of central bureaucracies that have quite different axes to grind."[8]

This type of political organization makes it much easier for a citizen to initiate action because he is dealing with people in a relationship which is "grounded in acquaintance and trust." Goodman points out that this proposal is not workable for all neighborhoods. The major problem is that some areas are so densely populated that they must be physically and not only administratively decentralized. When a city or some part of a city becomes

too heavily populated there exists a "peculiar climate of both too many social relations and a kind of sensory and emotional deprivation. Instead of contact and communication, there is noise and withdrawal."[9] He sees that this population growth in the inner city is occurring simultaneously with a depopulation of rural areas. His proposals plan to reverse this trend. One of these proposals is to board three to six children from over-populated areas of cities with a farm family in depopulated areas. The program would be voluntary and for one year's duration with the option to return. The farmer would be obligated to feed the children and not to mistreat them. The children would be expected to go to country schools and to work around the farm. There would be some kind of inspection. Goodman lists some of the advantages of this plan as follows:

1. To give farmers a source of cash by growing people.
2. To cut down overcrowding in city schools and avoid the need for building new schools for which there is no space. (A new school for twelve hundred in New York City costs $2,500,000.)
3. To save the now under-used country schools in depopulating areas. And also upgrade them.
4. Radical improvement in the education of slum children. At present, a child of thirteen will not have been half a mile from home in his entire life. A radical change of environment is far more liberating than "upgrading" the curriculum.

5. 4-H has expressed interest in the chance of doing an exciting useful job in giving these children a social life and introducing them to a new world. It enables 4-H to play a vital role in the problems of urban life.
6. Racial integration (preferably the kids would be mixed Negro, Spanish, White).[10]

Goodman feels that the best age for the children would be ten or eleven years old. At that age there would be little risk of separating the children from their homes too early and would avoid the problems of puberty. It is Goodman's hope that at least a small percentage of these children would return to the rural life as adults.

This proposal could be financed partly by the city schools on the basis of the number of children less they have to account for, and partly by federal agencies such as Health, Education and Welfare.

Another of Goodman's proposals is to provide incentives for families to live in rural areas. There are several ways in which this could be done: by making welfare payments relatively more generous for families living in rural areas, and by providing additional financial incentives for those families operating small farms. Another approach is to do away with most of welfare and provide a guaranteed annual income to everyone but not one that would account for all of the differences in local cost-of-living.

When Goodman speaks of decentralization, a mixed system and politics, he is quick to look to communication. Mass communication has great potential. It can be an effective and wholesome community tool or it can serve the function of political manipulation and control by brain-washing. If mass communication is centrally controlled the "danger is at the level of a constitutional crisis, for with brainwashing even democracy-by-consent becomes impossible."[11] He has proposals which would guard against the misuse of mass communication both for existing society and for his utopian community. Goodman's approach is consistent with his notions of a mixed system. We should centralize in those areas of communication which would be benefited from centralization, and decentralize others. Examples of "news" that can be adequately, if not best, covered by large centralized broadcasting networks and news agencies are sports events, large ceremonial events, political conventions, reports of moon rockets, etc. Most other "news" topics need to be covered by many independent and politically and socially divergent communications organizations. This can be brought about by instituting a small tax-on-profits in the communications industry and by directly allocating this revenue to non-profit groups and companies so that they will be financially able to operate.

This would not unduly harm the large networks, book publishers, magazine companies, etc., and should provide enough aid to independent groups who would need less money because they would not be engaging in the expensive on-the-spot coverage of large extravaganzas.

Returning to decentralized community planning lets us look at some of Goodman's main notions of city planning. Goodman believes that the "sophisticated philosophy of community development is to have no good at all, but to be a catalyst. The best means of creating community is to delegate power. Participation means initiating, deciding, acting."[12] His intention as a community planner is to design plans that foster face-to-face human relations; to provide a physical layout which encourages citizens to interact and to initiate. Hence, one of the important architectural components espoused by Goodman is the notion of squares or piazzas.

The piazzas would be closed squares. They are not to be intended for vehicular nor pedestrian traffic. They are to be designed so that people would congregate and spend some time there. Goodman describes what such piazzas might look like.

> On one side of the piazza opens the factory; another entrance is a small library, provided with ashtrays. As in all other squares, there is a clock with bells; it's a reminder, not a tyrant.
>
> The leisure of piazzas is made of repetitive small pleasures like feeding pigeons and watching

> a fountain. There are ways of being with the other people and striking up conversations. It is essential to have outdoor and indoor tables with drinks and small food.
>
> There is the noise of hammering, and the explosions of tuning a motor, from small shops a little way off. But if it's a quieter square, there may be musicians. Colored linen and silk are blowing on a line--not flags but washing! For everything is mixed up here.[13]

If the piazzas are to be the leisurely places that Goodman wants them to be then man's condition of work, notions of leisure, and domestic life must be quite different than they are at the present. First let us look at the topic of work. As Goodman has put it:

> Bosses and managers could far more directly improve the conditions of work if, instead of indulging in paternalism, they would cut out the unnecessary authoritarianism and time controlling that in fact make people dependent and spiritless. In any big office, for example, a good part of the day is spent by a good many people doing nothing and trying to look busy. In such an office it is a big deal and a subject of gratitude if, on a hot day the boss dismisses people early! Isn't this childish? . . .[14]

A good example of the unnecessary authoritarianism is the insistence on punctuality. Goodman contends that in most cases punctuality is required for discipline's sake and not for reasons of efficiency. The problem with discipline in this context is that it creates an unhealthy dichotomy. It does this by establishing

> the work in an impersonal secondary environment where, once one has gotten out of bed early in the morning, the rest easily follows. Regulation of time, separation from the personal environment; these are signs that work is not a way of life; they are methods by which, for better or worse,

> work that cannot be energized directly by personal concern can get done, unconfused by personal concern.[15]

In Goodman's conception there are four principles of production that must be met in order to have viable citizens for a humanistic community. They are:

1. A closer relation of the personal and productive environments, making punctuality reasonable instead of disciplinary, and introducing phases of home and small-shop production; and vice versa, finding appropriate technical uses for personal relations that have come to be considered unproductive.
2. A role for all workers in all stages of the production of the product; for experienced workers a voice and hand in the design of the product and the design and operation of the machines; and for all a political voice on the basis of what they know best, their specific industry, in the national economy.
3. A schedule of work designed on psychological and moral as well as technical grounds, to give the most well-rounded employment to each person, in a diversified environment. Even in technology and economics, the men are ends as well as means.
4. Relatively small units with relative self-sufficiency, so that each community can enter into a larger whole with solidarity and independence of viewpoint.[16]

At first glance these principles might seem to add to the costs of production but Goodman observes that when people are acting autonomously and are intrinsically committed to their work there are economies all along the way.

> They do not watch the clock. The available skills of each person are put to use. They eschew status and in a pinch accept subsistence wages. Administration and overhead are ad hoc. The task is likely to be seen in its essence rather than abstractly.[17]

Keeping in view the advantages of the above proposal Goodman cautions that this approach should not be universal. Here as with his other proposals he stresses the need for diversification and experimentation. He realizes that there are some areas of production which may not best be served by the above approach. For example, "where business is timed by the mails, where machines use a temporary source of power, being on time and on the same time as everybody else is essential to efficiency."[18] Furthermore Goodman feels that in our economy we need not be overly concerned with efficiency. We must remember that the crucial questions raised by analyzing cost are "moral, psychological, and political."[19]

A person's job should be founded on "psychological and moral as well as technical and economic grounds. The object is to provide well-rounded employment."[20] A man is engaged in his work by his style and skill. Work "is a solid means of finding one's opportunities, things worth while, useful, and honorable to do and be justified by."[21] He must have control over the method of production and the utility of the product.

These ideas are in marked contrast to Le Corbusier's attitude that style and grace are properties of machines. Goodman's thinking is very similar to Wright's--that machines be used skillfully, honestly and gracefully by men who have these qualities. Le Corbusier, like Goodman,

recognizes that men are unhappy with their jobs and that this unhappiness or anxiety permeates their basic functioning and overall attitudes. Le Corbusier's proposed solution to this problem was twofold: to give men better housing and to automate and routinize jobs to the greatest extent possible in order to lower the number of hours a man had to work. Goodman, on the other hand, argues that we must abolish the separation between work and domestic life in general. A satisfactory productive life is integrally related to one's personal and family condition and vice versa.

A man cannot be a strong husband and father if he "does not feel justified in his work and independent in the world."[22] When a man's job does not provide "man's work" it erodes his self-respect, which, in turn, results in his disesteem with his wife and his children. Man must retain his spontaneity, free spirit, and good humor. If he is forced to relinquish these qualities in order to "make-a-living" he does so at the cost of "worthwhile life."

Goodman believes that one way to bring out a more desirable domestic life is to do away with the separation of work and home life. He wants a community plan that allows for much of production to be carried on near or at home. Domestic work which utilizes the economic and personal capabilities of members of a family should be commonplace. This is technologically and economically

possible due to the availability of small power tools. Goodman points to the example of small family farming, where the productive and income producing aspect of family life is a cooperative effort. This type of relationship could easily be achieved for families engaged in industrial and craft productions, because of the large range of inexpensive labor saving devices. There would actually be less time involved in industrial production for a family than there is required of the small farmer.

For those jobs that cannot be done at home the men must be aware of the whole of production and not merely with some specialized function. The understanding, management, planning, etc., of production must be done by the workers.

Goodman's planning includes the notion of integrated industrial-agricultural productive arrangements. His approach is similar to Frank Lloyd Wright's. Goodman gives us the following as the main points of an integrated regionalism.

1. Diversified farming as the basis of self-subsistence and, therefore, small urban centers (200,000).
2. A number of mutually dependent industrial centers, so that an important part of the national economy is firmly controlled. (The thought is always to have freedom secured by real power.)
3. These industries developed around regional resources of field, mine, and power.
   Diversified farmers can be independent, and small farms have therefore always been a basis of social stability, though not necessarily of peasant conservatism. On the other hand, for the machines now desirable,

> the farmer needs cash and links himself with the larger economy of the town.
>
> The political problem of the industrial worker is the reverse, since every industry is completely dependent of the national economy, for both materials and distribution. But by regional interdependence of industries and the close integration of factory and farm work-- factory workers taking over in the fields at peak seasons, farmers doing factory work in the winter; town people, especially children, living in the country; farmers domestically making small parts for the factories--the industrial region as a whole can secure for itself independent bargaining power in the national whole.[3]

It is obvious that for the proposals to work there must be a radical change in education. Basic to all of Goodman's proposals is the idea of a free and self-initiating human being, who is aware of himself as a man and his relationship to the context within which he is defined. Goodman has many proposals and plans for education. Some are short term "stop gap" measures which can be envisioned as steps toward improvement, and others are basic concepts to what education in a community should be.

FOOTNOTES: CHAPTER III

[1]Goodman, People or Personnel, p. 45.

[2]Paul Goodman, The Society I Live In Is Mine (New York: Horizon Books, 1962), p. viii.

[3]Goodman, New Reformation, p. 138.

[4]Goodman, People or Personnel, Appendix I, p. 180.

[5]Ibid., p. 186.

[6]Ibid., p. 157.

[7]Ibid., p. 16.

[8]Ibid.

[9]Ibid., p. 17.

[10]Ibid., pp. 199-200.

[11]Ibid., p. 61.

[12]Ibid., p. 157.

[13]Goodman, Communitas, p. 164.

[14]Goodman, People or Personnel, p. 159.

[15]Goodman, Communitas, pp. 154-155.

[16]Ibid., p. 155.

[17]Goodman, People or Personnel, p. 113.

[18]Goodman, Communitas, p. 154.

[19]Goodman, People or Personnel, p. 123.

[20]Goodman, Communitas, p. 157.

[21]Paul Goodman, Growing Up Absurd (New York: Vintage Books, 1956), p. 142.

[22]Ibid., p. 122.

[23]Goodman, Communitas, pp. 158-160.

CHAPTER IV

GOODMAN'S EDUCATIONAL PERSPECTIVE

Although Goodman's educational views are widely known by now, a brief exposition of them is a necessary prelude to his conception of the educative city. Goodman's analysis of education is that it is a "long process of learning to cope with the physical environment and the culture of one's society, is part of the human condition; and in every society the education of the children is of the highest importance."[1]

Unfortunately, in our society we have concentrated and aggrandized a formal, monolithic school system which has become part of our total interlocked system. This interlocking of the educational system with big corporations, big foundations, and big government has resulted in education losing touch with its basic function. Instead, the schools serve the interest of those vested groups with which they are connected. As a result the people who are most concerned and intimately involved, the children, the teachers and parents, have no say in the running of our schools.

Goodman argues that every child should be educated to the fullest extent possible. He favors the public funding of education because it is a public good and necessary for the community. But, in the United States, public education has "gotten out of hand." It is commonly held that schooling is education, that long continuous years of attendance are necessary for schools to be effective, and that schools must prepare people by granting degrees, licenses, certificates, etc. Goodman's view is that school attendance at the secondary and college level for most of the young is a waste of human resources; because "there is no single institution, like the monolithic school-system programmed by a few graduate universities and the curriculum reformers of the National Science Foundation, that can prepare every body for an open future of a great society."[2]

Goodman agrees with John Dewey that the heart of any philosophy is its philosophy of education. And like Dewey, he believes that the main purpose of elementary education is democratic socialization and learning of the basic skills so that one can be an effective citizen and a contributing member of a worthy community.[3] Therefore, Goodman sees the aims of early education to be to "unblock and animate, so that school becomes a place of excitement and growth."[4] Schooling should "be tailor-made according to each youth's interests,"[5] and "to protect the

developing human powers that are abused by many of our ways of working, and therefore to try radically to alter much of our economy and society in order to build an educative society."[6]

In order to do this "a teacher must try to reach each child in terms of what he brings, his background, his habits, the language he understands . . . the philosophic aim of education must be to get each one out of his isolated class into one humanity."[7]

The main obstacle to achieving an educative society is the

> dehumanization of modern times . . . language is reduced to be a technology of social engineering, with a barren conception of science and technology and a collectivist conception of community. This tendency has been reinforced by government grants and academic appointments, and it controls the pedagogy in primary schools.[8]

Secondary schools and college are not a continuation of elementary education, rather that is when we "begin to orient to careers and it occurs after puberty, and jobs and sex are usually not best learned about in academics. The bother is, however, that the long schooling is not only inept, it is psychologically, politically, and professionally, damaging."[9]

> Thus at present, facing a confusing future of automated technology, excessive urbanization, and entirely new patterns of work and leisure, the best educational brains ought to be devoting themselves to devising various means of educating and paths of growing up, appropriate to various talents, conditions, and careers. We should be experimenting with different kinds of school, no

> school at all, the real city as school, farm schools, practical apprenticeships, guided travel, work camps, little theaters and local newspapers, community service. Many others, that other people can think of. Probably more than anything, we need a community, and community spirit, in which many adults who know something, and not only professional teachers, will pay attention to the young.[10]

Goodman offers several proposals for improving the way in which we educate the young. Some are for formal schooling, others are for informal or incidental education, vocational training, self-study and experimentation and on-the-job training. We will now examine these proposals and Goodman's reasons for suggesting them.

1. Goodman claims that, since a normal child can make up the first seven years of schooling in "four to seven months of good teaching," for some children there should be no school at all. The "children should be selected from tolerable, though not necessarily cultured homes. They should be neighbors and numerous enough to be a society for one another and so that they do not feel merely 'different.'"[11] One advantage of this proposal is that it provides for more human contact. "Human contact destroys standardization. It sometimes explodes, often produces novel responses, is always messy."[12] Goodman feels that human contact is essential to growing-up, is worthwhile and is an efficient way to learn in the long run. He grants that it is hard to evaluate and may not

serve administrative goals. If this experiment were tried we would be able to attain some empirical information on the relative worth of school versus no schooling at all. In America at this time there is no evidence, merely speculation.

2. "Dispense with the school building for a few classes; provide teachers and use the city itself as a school--its streets, cafeterias, stores, movies, museums, parks and factories."[13] There should be one teacher per ten pupils. Goodman points out that historically education occurred incidentally. Children were not excluded from the economic work and social tasks of the adults. The children learned from the contact with their environment. They saw first hand what society, city, various jobs and institutions were like.[14]

3. Similarly, "both outside and inside the school building use appropriate unlicensed adults of the community--the druggist, the storekeeper, the mechanic--as the proper educators of the young into the grown-up world."[15] The advantages of this proposal would be to help break down the separation between adults and children, help develop better relationships between professional teacher and the community, make schooling more realistic by having contact with people who are actually working in the field. Furthermore, as the Woods Hole Conference pointed out,[16] people who are actually involved in an enterprise approach it

and work at it in a way which is usually quite different from the way it is taught in schools by people who are not daily involved in that profession.

4. "Make class attendance not compulsory in the manner of A. S. Neill's Summerhill. If the teachers are good, absence would tend to be eliminated; if they are bad, let them know it."[17] Basic to this proposal is Goodman's belief that it is only through intrinsic motivation that human endeavor can be trully productive. The compulsory nature of schooling presents a serious threat to the growth of freedom. In addition, this proposal provides a teacher, as a professional, with the kind of feedback, from his clients, which is most appropriate.

5. "Decentralize an urban school (or do not build a new big building) into small units, 20 to 50, in available store-fronts or clubhouses. These tiny schools, equipped with record-player and pin ball machine, could combine play, socializing, discussion, and formal teaching. For special events, the small units can be brought together into a common auditorium or gymnasium, so as to give the sense of greater community."[18] These schools should consist of children of all ages and should not be graded.

These mini-schools would be largely administered by the teacher, children, and parents. Ideally there would be about twenty-eight children to four teachers.

These four teachers are:

1. A teacher licensed and salaried as in the present system. Since the present average class size is twenty-eight, these are available.
2. A graduating college senior from one of the local colleges, perhaps embarking on graduate study. Salary $2000. There is not lack of candidates, young people who want to do something useful and interesting in a free setting.
3. A literate housewife and mother, who can also prepare lunch. Salary $4000. Again there is no lack of candidates.
4. A literate, willing, and intelligent high school graduate or dropout. Salary $2000. No lack of candidates.[19]

The staff and the students should (in cities) be racially and socio-economically mixed. There would be considerable cost savings with this approach. It would eliminate much of the cost of building maintenance and totally eliminate the cost of new schools. The administrative costs would be almost totally done away with because there would be no need for principals and secretaries. Equipment and material could be purchased as needed, although this would negate the financial advantages of central buying. There would be much less waste because most of the waste is a result of being supplied with unwanted texts and materials.[20] Since the teachers and parents are involved there would be no need to hire truant officers and little need for remedial personnel, since this proposal allows for a great deal of personal contact. One of the main reasons for this proposal is the increased ability to have the children learning in a natural setting. There is ample opportunity for exposure to the city and its

resources. It would be a simple matter to individualize the instructional approach. For example, the "organic approach" to reading and writing developed by Sylvia Ashton-Warner could be easily applied in a mini-school.[21]

Children presently are not learning to read very well. Goodman claims "A great neurologist tells me that the puzzle is not how to teach reading, but why some children fail to learn to read. Given the amount of exposure that any urban child gets, any normal animal should spontaneously catch on to the code. What prevents?"[22] To Goodman the answer is obvious, the school prevents because it is a hostile and "alien style, banning of spontaneous interests, extrinsic rewards and punishments."[23] These practices which make the school alien are due to bureaucratic size.[24] Furthermore, remedial efforts have met with little success, mainly because they have neglected "the sociological effects of the official school itself, the school building, the classroom routine."[25]

6. "Use a pro rata part of the school money to send children to economically marginal farms for a couple of months of the year, perhaps six children from mixed backgrounds to a farmer."[26]

7. "Instead of putting all the new capital and operating money into new schools, I propose supporting or underwriting existing or new non-scholastic educational environments for bright, under-achieving youth, e.g.,

community radio stations, local newspapers, little theaters, design offices."[27] The reasons for these proposals are (a) it would help meet a real social need of communities. The need for independent cultural media is great in the United States. It is needed in order to countervail mass media. But small independents have a very difficult time paying the operating costs and this proposal would help financially. (b) Many students who drop out of school are bright. But the scholastic environment simply does not suit them. "They need real products to show, not examinations that have been passed." (c) The types of environments that would be selected are ones that could provide a well rounded and yet practical education. (d) There would be a financial saving to the tax payers because of the lessened need for new school buildings. (e) This experience may lead some of the students to find a vocation that they really feel right in and one in which they do a service to the community. (f) This experience increases the chances that some of these students will want to continue their education.[28]

8. Establishment of Youth Work Camps. The principle behind this proposal is Goodman's belief "that there is an intrinsic relationship among middle adolescence, living in camps, and the need for work and a certain kind of work. Camps and the right work are not for that age, a device for an emergency but are a natural institution

of society."[29] Camps could provide a comparison against which the community's ability to provide a good environment for youth could be judged. Youth camps enable adolescents to get away from their families, to experiment more freely, to find themselves and hopefully their vocation. These camps would have various kinds of worthwhile projects to work on--conservation, rural rehabilitation, urban reconstruction, etc. It could provide paid employment.[30]

9. Establish small prep schools of sixty. These would be associated with and run by colleges. The teachers would be three graduate students who might otherwise be used as college teaching assistants. The prep students would attend classes for about three hours per day with the remainder of their time being used "for more useful adolescent pursuits, whatever they happen to be."[31] In this set-up the student-faculty ratio would be twenty to one, which is less than at a typical high school. The graduate assistants would be paid $3,000 apiece. For an additional $5,000 secretarial assistance and equipment could be purchased and rent could be paid. The per student cost would be $300. Hence, there would be about a $1,000 savings per student as compared to a typical city high school. These prep schools would be directly geared toward college admission. Goodman believes that with

three hours of daily preparation that any bright adolescent would be able to become well prepared for college. With this plan the preparation costs less and co-opts much less of the adolescent's valuable time.[32]

10. Goodman proposed that colleges require applicants to spend two years after high school in a maturing activity. Examples of such activities are working for a living, community service, volunteer service (hospital, settlement house, Vista), travel (that met some standards of purposefulness), "independent enterprise in art, business, or science, away from home, with something to show for the time spent."[33]

The beneifts of this plan are "to get students with enough life-experience to be educable on a college level, especially in the social sciences and humanities," to give adolescents a chance to find some purpose for going to college (so that they might be intrinsically motivated), to relieve the colleges from the role of in-loco parentis, and to change the routine of continuous lockstep education.

The maturity and experiences that this allows the students are especially important if colleges are going to try to emphasize "method, background reading, criticism, and research, and offer a range of choice or prescription quite baffling to most 17-year olds."[34] Goodman feels that if we must continue to require so long a time in schooling that it is essential to provide breaks and

return-points to safe-guard the students from regimentation and the spirit-breaking which accompanies long continuous years of schooling.

11. Goodman proposes that colleges "abolish grading and use testing only and entirely for pedagogic purposes as teachers see fit."[35] In support of this proposal Goodman claims "that grading hinders teaching and creates a bad spirit." Grading places the emphasis not on learning but on passing the exams. Furthermore, Goodman points out that grades and exams are used to cover-up the fact that in most areas colleges do not know what is good performance. Therefore, doing away with this practice will encourage colleges to try to find out what a task well done is and what is good performance. Grading to some extent hinders the student from growing-up. It keeps him in a position of inferiority to the adults and forces him to play useless games of needless competition with his peers. Grades are a form of extrinsic motivation. The perpetuation of this dependence on external valuation and rewards is a threat to spontaneity and growth. Goodman sees value in testing when it is done in order to find weaknesses in learning or teaching and is then used for constructive purposes. But aside from the use of testing in order to gain information, insight, or other pedagogical reasons, they should not be used.

An important disadvantage of grading is that it often obscures valuable information and prevents a teacher from getting to know his students better and thereby helping them more. For example, often it is the case that a bright, hard working student fails because he was poorly prepared for his college studies or simply has not caught-on yet. A teacher that recognized this could help, but the student is no longer available for help--he has flunked out. Another possibility is that a student fails because the work is not worth doing. But teachers do not have to pay attention to him because they feel he is merely making excuses for his failure. And for the opposite case, Goodman asks what kinds of things are learned from being coerced and bullied into passing tests.[36]

12. The establishment of and for the breaking-up of large universities into smaller colleges. This small college should be relatively self-contained and self-administering, within the larger administration. The size of these colleges should be small enough to insure face to face relations among students and teachers and to be able to recruit by acquaintance. It should not be so small as to prevent the possibility of having a well-rounded assortment of students and teachers. Using the central administration as a coordinator, these small colleges could share expensive materials, books, and exchange teachers. In this way colleges could have local

autonomy while maintaining the economy of centralized purchasing. The aim of this proposal is to "get back to teaching-and-learning as a simple relation of persons, and to make the teaching-and-learning more committed, more for keeps."[37] Furthermore, the small colleges would have more opportunity to do away with those aspects of large universities which academicians have been criticizing so frequently. They are "the business and government financing, the divisiveness of administrative rules, the lack of personal contact, the irrelevant methods of accountancy, the specialist pride of faculties, the closed minds and conformity of students."[38] Without these incumberments it would be easier for the college to work more actively as part of the local community and to be a part of it. If this is to happen the colleges must have a teaching staff which is composed of "a faculty with a permanent staff of full-time tenured teachers, people who have a special calling for teaching and veterans who have retired to it, and many practicing veterans who also have a permanent association with the university, some temporarily teaching full time, some teaching part time."[39] With this composition of faculty with its abundance of independent and distinguished professionals it would be very difficult for them to be controlled or coerced by the central administration. They would be members of the community, know the people and their situation and hence

be in a better position to cooperate with them or conflict with them whichever would be appropriate. Especially with regard to the professions, this interaction, cooperation and conflict, is essential if the colleges are to make sense of their preparation of students for the professions and if the professions are to exercise "their appropriate right in the world as the legal opposition and watch dog of society."[40]

Goodman proposes a general curriculum outline for these colleges. The freshman year is to be devoted to exploration. There should be plenty of free choice and adult attention and support. It should provide a chance for students "to achieve identity, to discover and accept who they are, and to explore and find real opportunities to realize themselves."[41] Throughout the college years students should have freedom, the freedom to study what, when, and as much or as little as they like. The senior year should have courses of group therapy. This is important because it is the time when students are about to choose careers, deciding on marrying or not marrying. They need support and help in making these decisions.

The teachers must be free to teach what they want. If they feel it is worthwhile and that they have something to give, then the course is worth having. If the students "want either to learn something particular or to find out what it is that they want to learn. This is enough for a school."[42]

13. The last proposal of Goodman's that we will consider is to go outside of the present framework of colleges. Goodman proposes that bands of scholars seceed from colleges and establish their own "schools," "there they can teach and learn on their own simple conditions."[43] Goodman makes the proposal mainly because he believes that in our present condition this is more practical than proposal 12.[44] The administration who presently controls the universities would not permit the decentralization of the large universities because it would do away with their control. The general aims of this new "school" or "community of scholars" would be the same as in proposal 12. The main differences would be in size and funding. These groups would be smaller and more hard pressed to use the resources of the local community. Generally, these would be small groups which would have to cooperate and give mutual aid in order to provide for facilities. This "community of scholars" would use the local city or university library. The teachers would have to settle for less salary, but the students would not have to pay more tuition.

Since this group could not grant degrees or give licenses some cooperative arrangements would have to be worked out with a local college and with graduate and professional schools. In the case of colleges the student might be allowed to matriculate into the senior

year. Goodman prefers the route of making arrangements with graduate and professional schools whereby students could be selected by their individual merits, rather than records and B.A. degrees.[45]

These proposals fall within two major categories--proposals for the improvement of present modes of formal education and proposals for basically different ways of educating both formal and informal. Regardless of the categories there is a common thread which runs through most of Goodman's proposals. He offers us the use of the city as an arena in which the education of the young can take place. This in turn, is related to his notions of what a humanistic community should be like. Goodman agrees with John Dewey when he says "the essence of a philosophy of education is the study of how to have a world."[46] To Goodman, "the ideal of city planning is for the children to be able to use the city, for no city is governable if it does not grow citizens who feel it is theirs."[47] Goodman's proposals can be seen as an effort to achieve this type of city and the use of the city for this ideal. Therefore, we see his seriousness when he claims that the goal of early education (elementary level) is a modest one "it is for a small child, under his own steam, not on a leash, to be able to poke interestedly into whatever goes on and to be able, by observation, questions, and practical imitation to get something out of it on his own terms."[48]

In American society the physical plant and the social environment are out of human scale. Children accept the city and social plan as inevitable facts of life. This situation is the crux of the problem.[49] Goodman's solution is a modern Progressive education. Goodman defines Progressive education as an "attempt to naturalize, to humanize, each new social and technical development that is making traditional education irrelevant. It is not a reform of education, but a reconstruction in terms of a new era."[50] "What the progressive educator thinks of as the 'nature' of the child, which he is trying to conserve and nourish, is what he intuits will work best in the world."[51]

The basic positions of progressive education are:
- To learn theory by experiment and doing.
- To learn belonging by participation and self-rule.
- Permissiveness in all animal behavior and interpersonal expression.
- Emphasis on individual differences.
- Unblocking and training feeling by plastic arts, eurhythmics and dramatics.
- Tolerance of races, classes, and cultures.
- Group therapy as a means of solidarity, in the staff meeting and community meeting.
- Taking youth seriously as an age in itself.
- Community of youth and adults, minimizing "authority."
- Educational use of the actual physical plant (buildings and farms) and the culture of the school community.
- Emphasis in the curriculum on real problems of wider society, its geography and history, with actual participation in the neighboring community (village or city).
- Trying for functional interrelation of activities.[52]

Goodman feels that from this type of education children learn that any concrete problem can initiate a useful process, that their natural motives are the best, to respect experimentation, that ideas must be tested by present action and most importantly they "learn that no society is unchangeable and unamenable to practical intellect."[53]

FOOTNOTES: CHAPTER IV

[1]Goodman, New Reformation, p. 68.

[2]Paul Goodman, Compulsory Mis-education and The Community of Scholars (New York: Vintage Books, 1962), p. 141. These two books have been published in one volume. References will be made to the specific book, not the entire volume.

[3]In the Dewian sense, see John Dewey's Democracy and Education.

[4]Goodman, Utopian Essays and Practical Proposals, p. 116.

[5]Goodman, New Reformation, pp. 87-88.

[6]Goodman, Utopian Essays and Practical Proposals, p. 257.

[7]Goodman, Compulsory Mis-education, p. 21.

[8]Goodman, New Reformation, p. 119.

[9]Goodman, Compulsory Mis-education, p. 140.

[10]Ibid., p. 141.

[11]Ibid., p. 32.

[12]Goodman, Community of Scholars, p. 280.

[13]Goodman, Compulsory Mis-education, p. 32.

[14]Goodman, New Reformation, pp. 68-69.

[15]Goodman, Compulsory Mis-education, p. 33.

[16]See The Process of Education by Jerome S. Brunner.

[17]Goodman, Compulsory Mis-education, p. 33.

[18]Ibid., p. 33.

[19]Goodman, New Reformation, p. 97.

[20]Goodman, People or Personnel, p. 104.

[21]Goodman, New Reformation, pp. 98-99.

[22]Goodman, Compulsory Mis-education, p. 26.

[23]Ibid.

[24]For examples, see Goodman's People or Personnel, pp. 51-55.

[25]Ibid., p. 204.

[26]Goodman, Compulsory Mis-education, p. 34.

[27]Goodman, People or Personnel, p. 202.

[28]Ibid., pp. 201-203.

[29]Goodman, Utopian Essays and Practical Proposals, p. 264.

[30]Ibid., pp. 263-273.

[31]Goodman, People or Personnel, p. 105.

[32]Ibid., pp. 104-106.

[33]Goodman, Compulsory Mis-education, pp. 124-125.

[34]Ibid., p. 120.

[35]Ibid., p. 127.

[36]Ibid., pp. 127-130.

[37]Goodman, Community of Scholars, pp. 296-297.

[38]Ibid., p. 295.

[39]Ibid., p. 303.

[40]Ibid., p. 305.

[41]Ibid., p. 306.

[42]Ibid., p. 315.

[43]Ibid., pp. 295-322.

[44]Ibid., p. 324.

[45]Ibid., pp. 323-336.

[46]Goodman, New Reformation, p. 69.

[47]Ibid., p. 90.

[48]Ibid.

[49]Goodman, Growing-Up Absurd, p. 73.

[50]Goodman, Compulsory Mis-education, p. 40.

[51]Goodman, New Reformation, p. 81.

[52]Goodman, Growing-Up Absurd, pp. 81-82.

[53]Goodman, Utopian Essays and Practical Proposals, pp. 288-289.

CHAPTER V

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Chapters II, III, and IV laid the necessary background from which one can understand Goodman's proposal for an educative city. Basic to understanding Goodman's ideas is his belief that the physical plant and human activity are intimately and mutually interdependent. The physical plant must be expressive of people's values, it must be in "human scale." There must be a good proportion of ends and means, so that these are not easily confused. Goodman's city esthetic then is that "the beauty of community plan is the proportion of means and ends."[1] Therefore, the city must represent "a means of livelihood and ways of life."

In Chapter I we reviewed Frank Lloyd Wright's Broadacre City Plan. This plan was functionalist--form followed function. Le Corbusier and the "modernists" went a step further with their plans to what Goodman calls constructivism. Constructivism is "the theory that since the greatest and most striking impression of any structure is made by its basic materials and the way they are put together, so the greatest formal effect is in the construction itself, in its clarity, ingenuity, rationality,

and proportion." It can often be described as an abstract sculpture. In contrast, Goodman describes himself as a neo-functionalist. His architectural criterion is "form follows function when the function is worthwhile and is consistent with other human functions."[2] We see from this that to Goodman a community plan represents the sum of one's understanding, judgment, and values. If we examine Goodman's plans and goals for city planning, keeping in mind his educational proposals, we can notice that the two--city environment and education--are linked together by the notion of human function. As his educational proposals all flow from a desire to so structure conditions that human energy is released, so, too are his notions about the arrangement of cities. We can finally see as well, that though Goodman's proposals are often small and piecemeal, they have their roots in a comprehensive and integrated vision of a decent human society.

Goodman proposed that a city be built according to the following plan. The center of the city would contain squares (an example of a square is presented in Chapter III). These would be of two general types--quiet squares and busy squares. A quiet square would consist of restaurants with windows and outdoor tables, areas of grass with trees and fountains, a library, small shops, apartment houses, possibly a church, town hall, or guild hall. A busy square would have some of these features plus some noisier

enterprises such as small repair shops, factories, and athletic fields. There would be offices of various businessmen and professionals.

Around this center would be the small diversified farms (four acres) and the schools. This area would also have most of the small houses--although there would be apartment houses in the center section for people who work there and want to live there. Yet all the children would live in this area and all would go to the schools located there. The third area going outward from the center would consist of industrial agriculture and dairying. The outermost section would consist of grazing land and open country.

Now let us consider each of these areas from the point of view of Goodman's neo-functionalism and see what makes this city a community and an educative city.

Goodman believes that a democratic society can exist only if the people are completely uncoerced and free to initiate. We must have peaceful communities of voluntary associations. Goodman proposes squares located in the center of the city to serve as the background for these associations. This is why the squares should provide activities and services which make it conducive to linger in the squares. By providing a physical plant which makes it easy for people with various interests to meet, to talk, and to get to know one another is a large step to counter

the feeling of anomie. Goodman's city could be a large metropolitan one, where the feeling of anomie grows quite readily except when people have plenty of opportunity to interact under relaxed and free conditions. The presence of offices, town hall, guild hall, factories, library, etc., are to be in these squares not in order to segregate them from the farms and children but to make it likely that people of different views and experience come into contact with one another. The squares are designed to provide a plant that is psychologically conducive to spontaneous contact and initiations.

Goodman refers us to an earlier time in American history when the need for centralized authority was small. During the first half century of the United States the town meetings and the spirit of congregationalism predominated. People did not need a sovereign nor an abstract concept of authority. They were able to govern themselves because there existed a trust and faith in each others' humanity. This faith was an outgrowth of acquaintance. There was planty of face-to-face contact.

As far as the architectural style of these squares are concerned it would be decided on individually by the people who would live and work there. There would be no need for them to look the same. Goodman proposed that a competition be held to elicit from the people plans for the construction or reconstruction of these neighborhoods.

The people could first elect a team of architects and engineers who would have the job of implementing the plans. They would also run the contest, that is, publicize it and collect the plans. Then there would be a series of open town meetings at which the merits and demerits of the various plans would be discussed. Then a time period for these plans to be redone, if necessary, by those who offered them, with the assistance of the architects and engineers if desired. Finally, the plans would be resubmitted, discussed, and the people would vote on them. Goodman believes that this would help create a sense of belonging and involvement in community. The government, the administration of the city, must be open to the voice of the people. That is one of its functions.

> The say of a neighborhood in its destiny can be meaningful only if the neighborhood has begun to be conscious of itself as a community. For this, mere 'consent' or 'participation' is not enough; there must be a measure of real initiating and deciding, grounded in acquaintance and trust.[3]

"The bureaucratic administration of a city by top down management may be able to provide consistency of architecture but this usually results in its losing touch with the local sentiment and function."[4] With regard to cost efficiency Goodman feels that the planning approach outlined above would probably cost less than centralized city planning, but he warns that the "vital questions that are raised by analyzing cost are moral, psychological and political."[5] Goodman's city is decentralized so that each

square is a neighborhood--not "geographical isolation, but a particular sociological use of geography."[6] It is decentralist in that it allows for and follows "the actuality of living in an urban community, where housing, schooling, shopping, policing, social services, politics are integrally related."[7]

Although Goodman is decentralist, he does not deny the advantages of some forms of centralism. For example, he describes an apartment house in a square where an urban family is making a meal. They go about this as follows:

> The ground floor of the building is not only a restaurant but a food store; the farmers deliver their produce here. The family cooks upstairs, phones down for their uncooked meat, vegetables, salad, and fixings, and these are delivered by dumbwaiter, cleaned and peeled--the potatoes peeled and spinach washed by machine. They dress and season the roast to taste and send it back with the message: "medium rare about 1845." The husband observes, unfortunately for the twentieth time, that when he was a student in Paris a baker on the corner used to roast their chicken in his oven. Simpler folk, who live in smaller row houses up the block, consider this procedure a lot of foolishness; they just shop for their food, prepare it themselves, cook it, and eat it. But they don't have factory jobs; they run a lathe in the basement.[8]

We see from this that Goodman wants a city that allows for very different life styles.

Let us consider the jobs that people have in this city. We see from the above quote that some people are engaged in home work. They are mostly craftsmen. Their work and domestic life are integrated not unlike Le Corbusier's recounting of the work and life style of the

pre-industrial revolution craftsman. But Le Corbusier was willing to relegate this to the past and replace it with collective pride. Goodman, on the other hand, designs a city where this is again possible.

We have seen in earlier chapters the difference between Le Corbusier's and Goodman's definitions of efficiency. Goodman's craftsmen are all efficiency experts, that is, they know what they are lending their hands to and are in the business of judging the relation of ends and means.[9]

Yet Goodman is not trying to merely turn the clock back. He feels that the wise use of technology allows for more leisurely and humanistic pursuits. He is not opposed to using the most advanced technology to build and manufacture as long as the technology results in the "simplification of life; general security, and an increase in choice and liberty."[10] Therefore, in Goodman's plans, the technology is "directed primarily to provide basic necessities, standard conveniences, and routine services."[11] When the technology is applied to housing it must satisfy several criteria:

> (1) Good functioning at a minimum standard; (2) Considerable mobility, combined with exchange ability, to allow freedom of location; (3) Mass production of the fewest possible types consistent with freedom of selection on crucial basic issues; (4) Longevity of 10 to 20 years; (5) Adaptation of the types to various communal environments, e.g., those in which public utilities are available, those where they are not available, etc.[12]

Technology can "provide all manner of things for everybody" or it can be used to produce only a few things "accompanied by a minimum regulation of time, living arrangements, and habits of life." Citizens of Goodman's city would have a guaranteed minimum income and could then freely decide how much more, if indeed any more, money they wanted. There would be sufficient outlets for crafted products and exotic farm goods and the opportunity to work in high paying, highly technologized productive activity, to allow a person free choice.

Furthermore, Goodman would use the technology in transportation. His proposals would call for mass transit, to avoid making the city unusable for pedestrians and bicycles. There would be service roads but they would not invade the squares and would be limited in number. A superhighway would connect these city centers and continue out into the open country.

The second section of the city would contain the small farms, the schools, and small houses. This section would be within bicycling distance. A great many of the people who work in the center of the city would live on the farms. Goodman wants to create a symbiosis of urban and rural, by three approaches first having small farms very near the center of the city, secondly by having many non-farmers live on the farm land, and thirdly by having all elementary schools located in the small farm area.

Each of these three approaches to the integration of rural and urban has its own advantages. In the case of the geographical proximity the advantages are the ease of getting into the city to sell fresh fruits, vegetables, poultry, dairy products and meats, thereby providing a direct market for small farmers and giving the people who live in the centers fresh, unprocessed non-pre-packaged food. The direct exchange between the grower and the consumer does away with the "middle man." The food quality would be better and the cost less when it is grown and sold locally without being packaged. Another advantage of being so close to the centers is that it is possible for a small farm (four acres) to provide a reasonable living for a family. Because the farms are small a family can easily run one and because the selling is direct there is enough profit to make this style of life attractive. It diminishes urban migration.

The reasons for having many non-farmers live on the farms are many. The main ones are to provide children with a more natural environment during their earlier years, to provide greater contact among farmers and non-farmers and to provide an elementary education for all children "in the natural environment where there are many children and furnish a society for one another."[13] Goodman feels that the best society for growing-up is other children. By locating the elementary schools in this section of the

city and having both farmers' children and non-farmers' children attend, serves to remedy the injustice of some areas paying more for education than others and of having vastly different sums spent on education from school to school.

The next area going out from the small farms is for industrial agriculture and dairying. These enterprises require greater size and more automation. People who work in this enterprises could also be able to live in the area of small farms and small houses without having to commute great distances to work. The land beyond this area Goodman designates as open land. Some of his open land would be game preserves, other parts grazing land, etc., but this land is not for city expansion, it is not to be built up. When there is a need for more housing, industry, etc., a new city should be planned and built.

The aim of Goodman's plan "is to create a human-scale community, of manageable associations, intermediary between the individuals and families and the metropolis; it is to counteract the isolation of the individual in mass society."[14] It is an integrated yet decentralist plan, not geographically but sociologically. Based on the notion that man's freedom and democracy by participation depend on man's being able to keep his spontaneity, style, grace, and force. He must initiate his behavior, he must be free to act intrinsically and he must deal with his

environment which encourages face-to-face associations.

It is one with the following characteristics:

- People use technology rather than being used by it;
- Technological advancement is decided on in order to simplify life, to conquer disease and end blight and famine;
- Jobs are desirable for the intrinsic rewards of being useful to one's community;
- Leisure is not idle time but time used to expand oneself, to create, to be engaged in useful, rewarding activity--such as politics;
- Education is a normal part of growing up into the community and an integral part of the life of the community;
- A teacher's job is to see to it that the community is worth growing-up into, and to see to it that the community provides the kinds of experiences which one can "grow-up into;"
- Job training is participation and initiation into a craft or profession;
- Conflict is not avoided, but welcomed and peacefully faced and dealt with;
- The channels of communication are open to all and are not allowed to be pre-empted by any group or groups;
- People can live in decent poverty without the pressure to be co-opted into doing work that they do not care to do;
- Humanity is built into every enterprise;
- Competition is voluntary, serving human ends and is not "heightened to the point of creating anxiety and regimentation;"
- There is no attempt to remake human nature;

- There is a sense of belonging which is an outgrowth of being a part of the community on one's own terms.

- There is a sense of world community and one humanity;

- There are functional regions rather than national states where life is simple enough to be comprehensible;

- There are workers' management, guild association, and authentic professionalism;

- There is production for use;

- The sources of responsibility and the ways of growing up are multiplied.

Although Goodman is willing to make community proposals he reminds us

> however, the thousand places that one plans for have mixed conditions and mixed values. The site and history of a place are always particular, and these make the beauty of a plan. Different people in a place want different things, and the same people want different things.[15]

Yet we must "learn the essential things, how to cope with the modern plight."[16] One of the essentials that we must learn to handle is conflict. Conflict can be very useful in developing a sense of community. If there is a style of face-to-face interaction than conflict retards the development of rationalization and stereotypes. Face-to-face interaction encourages a continuous give-and-take, when contact is maintained conflict can be resolved with growth being the outcome.[17] But this will not happen unless we have a scientific attitude (as Dewey, Veblen, and Thomas Huxley use the term). Such an attitude is

present when people are critical, objective, accurate, and modest; when they share a community of inquiry, and live in the absence of superstitions and taboos.[18] When a community faces the problem of living together, it is able to "argue out their morals as they go along, they are able to change them and invent something new. [Community] . . . is not a model according to a prior scheme, but a physical cause drawing on a powerful social energy."[19]

Goodman realized that there exists a need for planning. There is either a plan or "no plan at all." When there is no plan it is too easy to lose sight of the endeavor and to feel incompetent and to leave the matter with the so-called experts. Hence, we give up our initiative, our freedom, and anomie results. When making plans all areas must be treated as a unit. "If you're going to do any good physical or social planning, you'll find the areas will be unified because the human animals are unified."[20] Physical planning should facilitate, help actualize, and perfect valuable social motives. Planning must take into consideration the social, economic, and political conditions that prevail and that are held to be of value.

For a plan to work, the physical plan

> is only trivially important compared to the really important thing: neighborhood functions. And in order to make any community function work as community, you must give the community authority, power to make decisions. The only way you will

> ever get any neighborhood planning that amounts to anything is to dare to decentralize the administration and allow local initiative.[21]

Goodman is not suggesting that one can give initiative, but one can stand aside and not interfere with another's right to exercise initiative and make decisions. Yet there are some things that we ought to plan for:

> To eliminate the intermediary, that which is neither use, nor making for use. We ought to cut down commutation, transport, administration, overhead, communications, hanging around waiting. On the other hand, there are very similar functions that we ought to encourage, like travel and trade, brokering, amenity, conversation, and loitering, the things that make up the busy and idle city.[22]

Goodman believes that there is a great deal of similarity between designing an intentional community and making an educational proposal.

> One provides for the physical, economic, social, and psychological needs of the members hopefully better than in ordinary society. Yet the overwhelming evidence of all such places is that they do not survive unless there is some nonrational motive, religious or naturalist or pacifist, that makes them have to survive.[23]

Goodman believes that in both city and educational planning "to find value in operations and materials, to dignify workmanship and the workday, to make consummation less isolated, more in-process-forward, to be growth as well as good,"[24] we must remember that the means color and define the ends. They are inseparable.

This was the bases of Dewey's pragmatism, of Wright's architecture and Goodman's utopian thinking. What Goodman said of Dewey and Wright is also appropriate

to say of him: that he "wanted to train, teach--perhaps accustom is the best word--the new generation to the actualities of industrial and technical life, working practically with the machinery, learning by doing. People could then be at home in the modern world, and possibly become free."[24]

FOOTNOTES: CHAPTER V

[1]Goodman, Communitas, p. 17.

[2]Ibid., pp. 3-21.

[3]Goodman, People or Personnel, p. 16.

[4]Ibid., pp. 75-94.

[5]Ibid., p. 123.

[6]Ibid., p. 15.

[7]Ibid.

[8]Goodman, Communitas, p. 165.

[9]Ibid., pp. 170-172.

[10]Goodman, People or Personnel, p. 135.

[11]Ibid., p. 35.

[12]Goodman, Communitas, p. 207.

[13]Ibid., p. 166.

[14]Goodman, Utopian Essays and Practical Proposals, p. 157.

[15]Goodman, Communitas, p. 221.

[16]Ibid.

[17]Goodman, Utopian Essays and Practical Proposals, pp. 120-122.

[18]Ibid., pp. 23-28.

[19]Goodman, The Society I Live In Is Mine, p. 127.

[20]Ibid., p. 128.

[21]Ibid., p. 132.

[22]Goodman, New Reformation, p. 199.

[23]Ibid., p. 103.

[24]Ibid., p. 199.

[25]Goodman, Compulsory Mis-education, p. 42.

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