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The Terms of Dwelling: Re-Theorizing Housing Through Architecture

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Table of Contents

Table of Contents

Urban Planning (ISSN: 2183–7635)
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Editorial

The Terms of Dwelling

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Abstract
This thematic issue re-articulates the question of housing as an architectural and planning problem and examines how architecture can contribute to reduce the divorce between housing provision and architectural research. The articles included in the issue investigate the terminology used to designate housing as a way to question the relation between housing, architecture, and planning, and investigate and theorize the language of housing in relation to the emergence of new and varied modes of inhabiting. Built on a heterogeneous corpus of terms, the articles offer a new outlook on the current housing crisis and the role of architecture in it. The papers unpack selected housing terms via close historical inquiry of specific case studies, housing typologies, policies and codes, discourses, and schemes, and contribute to explore the social, economic, political, and design dimensions of housing by inquiring the origin, evolution, codification, and diverse usage and meanings of selected terms. This collection of terms defines a theoretical frame to recasting architecture as a crucial aspect of housing provision, reconnecting design to policy and finance, and laying the ground for envisioning the capacities of architecture in a post-neoliberal society. Specific terms, concepts, and notions are examined by the authors in relation to their understanding in the housing discourse and practice, while other terms are analyzed in relation to their multiple origins and changing meanings, when terms migrated in diverse fields (normative, political, planning, administrative, financial) or across countries, disciplines, and cultures.

Keywords
architecture; housing; housing crisis; planning; terminology; theory

Issue
This editorial is part of the issue "The Terms of Dwelling: Re-Theorizing Housing Through Architecture" edited by Yael Allweil (Technion—Israel Institute of Technology) and Gaia Caramellino (Politecnico di Milano).

In the framework of the contemporary global housing crisis, housing has a central, unquestioned role for individuals' access to employment, education, and political citizenship. Thus, the current global crisis involves remarkably similar issues, even if the concrete causes of housing disparity seem unrelated. Whether access to housing is challenged through war and persecution, lack of formal planning, or the growing unaffordability of housing as a market product, the effects are the same: the reappearance of substandard tenements, lack of housing options, involuntary displacement, and growing spatial and economic inequality.

For several decades, architecture has been glaringly absent from both the analysis of and responses to the housing crisis. This is in stark contrast to the history of 20th-century modern architecture, in which architects played a decisive role in defining mass housing as a social need to be provided as a public good. Then, housing design and production constituted the ground for architectural and planning experiments, playing a crucial role also in the shaping and transformation of the urban fabric.

Two dominant interpretive frameworks were proposed for this lack. The first is explained by the state's detachment from the national housing project in the mid-1970s, the dismantling of the welfare state and privatization, and later the neoliberalization of housing markets. In this analysis, the social framework for housing

as a public good has been removed. The second framework points to the tight constraints of housing design, even at the high end of the market, by regulatory and financial considerations, leaving little room for architects' expression. Consequently, "architecture" as cultural product is often seen as separate from "housing" as a socio-economic need.

Nonetheless, the past few years saw the re-emergence of the question of housing design in architects' education and theoretical research. Re-theorizing the architecture of housing as an intrinsic part of the social, financial, political, and territorial aspects of dwelling is an urgent component of the critical assessment of past and current experiences and the goal of providing insights to tackle contemporary challenges. This thematic issue of *Urban Planning* intends to question how the architectural discipline can contribute to reduce the divorce between housing provision and architectural research, as well as re-articulate the question of housing as an architectural and planning problem.

The issue proposes to investigate the terminology used to designate housing as a way to question the relation between housing, architecture, and planning culture, and rethink the language of housing in relation to the emergence of new and varied modes of inhabiting.

The articles included in this thematic issue explore several terminological aspects of the architecture of housing by taking an architectural and urban history approach to the study of terminology. The articles unpack selected housing terms via close historical inquiry of specific case studies, housing typologies, policies and codes, discourses, and schemes. They contribute to explore the social, economic, political, and design dimensions of housing by inquiring the origin, evolution, codification, and diverse usage and meanings of selected terms.

Fijalkow (2022) provides a historical analysis of the circulation of the concept of *housing need* between the social sciences and architectural design fields in France since the second half of the 19th century until today. The article looks at three time periods: the beginning of housing policy which defined "good housing" as opposed to inadequate housing; the debate surrounding the notion of "need" in mass construction since the 1950s; and contemporary persistence of forms of inadequate housing. Vais (2022), in turn, addresses the term *systematization*, as it was used in Romania during the 20th century. The article investigates the sources of the term and the changes in its meaning and in the practice it named, in each phase of its evolution: from its emergence at the turn of the 20th century and its adoption as label for scientific urbanism during the interwar period, to its political instrumentalization and projection on large scales in spatial planning during the late socialist period, and its rejection in the post-socialist years. Lameira et al. (2022) study the term *affordable* as associated with the scientific, theoretical, institutional, and academic discourse on residential architecture in Portugal over the last 100 years. Investigating other terms linked with affordable housing, such as "económica" (economical), "pobre" (poor), and more recently "custos controlados" (controlled costs/low-cost), this article encompasses the shifts in the meaning of the term "affordable" and broadens the contemporary discussion of the housing problem in relation to the type of property and target audience.

Several contributions to this issue analyze culturally-specific and situated terms, concepts, and notions, and consider them in relation to their understanding in the housing discourse and practice. They provide a new insight on urban and planning cultures, forms, and policies over the 20th century. Schwake (2022) explores the changing terms used to define *frontier settlement* in the Israel–Palestine context since the 1920s, indicating the ways in which terminological changes, from "homes" to "assets" and from "pioneers" to "stakeholders," mask an inherently consistent process of frontier settlement. Rousset (2022) studies the politics of localism in German architecture and planning by examining the ideal of the "small house" (*Kleinhaus*) as an antidote to the substandard tenement apartment in housing debates in Germany prior to WWI. Dragutinovic et al. (2022) identify the concepts of *self-management* and social ownership of housing in the post-WWII period in Yugoslavia as an important legacy of Yugoslav urban planning and housing policies, emphasizing their potentiality for rearticulating the dialogue between public and private, engaging citizens in decision-making and co-creation of the urban reality. Ben-Asher Gitler (2022) explores *mixed-use housing* of the post-WWII period as an experiment that articulated urban hierarchies by integrating elements belonging to the different scales of the city into housing plans. She analyzes the terminological frameworks proposed by Team 10 in Europe and Denise Scott Brown and Harvey Perloff in the US, tracing how these evolved into groundbreaking designs that redefined the architecture of mixed-use housing. Coricelli (2022) studies the co-'s of *co-living* and distinguishes between co-housing, based on bottom-up initiative of dwellers subscribing to a contract of cohabitation, and co-living communities generated exclusively through economic accessibility. Explicitly targeting the urban middle-classes willing to live simultaneously together and apart, the co- involves collective-living, convenient-living, and community-living. Izar (2022) explores the meanings of *self-building* as the prevalent mode of urban production in the fast-paced urbanization in African cities and regions, by studying incrementality, emplacement, and erasure in Dar es Salaam's traditional Swahili neighborhoods. Self-building as long-term urban production modes represents a form of popular urbanization characterized by long temporalities, which simultaneously facilitate and are facilitated by affordable and incremental forms and processes of home building.

Looking at the lexicon used to discuss dwelling, other articles examine the multiple origins and changing meanings of the terms, when shared by diverse fields (normative, political, planning, administrative, financial)

or migrating across countries, disciplines, and cultures. Sometimes crystallized or re-invented through images produced to advance specific spatial or social meanings, this lexicon brings together diverging local and global realms, acquiring an international dimension with diverse implications at local level. Pacheco (2022) studies the role of the post-war transnational consultant Otto Koenigsberger in housing and planning development. The article traces overlooked knowledge channels outside of mainstream geopolitical frameworks that decolonize architectural education, and examines the notion of *generalist* in redefining both the profession and the professional involved in housing research and design. De Vos and Spoormans (2022) study the evolving vocabulary used for *collective housing* in Belgium and the Netherlands, as local traditions and contemporary policy place collective dwelling again on the agenda of architecture and planning. Allweil and Zemer (2022) examine the confluence of New Brutalist architecture and the consolidation of market-produced middle-class housing estates. The article looks at a large, Team 10 inspired estate in Tel Aviv as an arena for exploring the architectural ethics enabling the persistence of a *middle-class community*. Caramellino (2022) addresses the radical reconceptualization of the notion of *neighborhood* as advanced by American architects during WWII in response to the new political, cultural, and economic conditions of the war, reconfiguring the organizational principle of the "neighborhood unit," and transferring the discourse from the domain of urban sociology and technical planning to the realm of the American profession.

Built on a heterogeneous corpus of terms, the articles in this thematic issue, with their diverse aims and angles, contribute to the development of a new outlook on the current housing crisis and the role of architecture in it. This collection of terms defines a theoretical framework to investigate housing as architecture, and explore architecture's capacity to envision a post-neoliberal society.

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Conflict of Interests

The authors declare no conflict of interests.

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Article

The Notion of Housing Need in France: From Norms to Negotiations (19th–21st Centuries)

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Abstract
This article aims to show how the concept of "housing need" has circulated between the social sciences and architectural design fields in France since the second half of the 19th century up until today. France is a particularly rich example for developing this sociohistorical overview over a long span of time, through three time periods: the beginning of housing policy which, during the hygienist period and in legal devices and statistics, defined "good housing" as opposed to inadequate housing; the debate surrounding the notion of need illustrated through an examination of mass construction since the beginning of the 1950s, in particular, that of large social housing estates which developed in response to the housing crisis and the increase of slums; and the contemporary period, that raises many questions faced by architects and urban planners concerning the persistence of forms of inadequate housing and the development of individual aspirations for well-being.

Keywords
architecture; housing needs; norms; Paris; social sciences; urban history

Issue
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1. Introduction

The notion of "housing need" is the focus of a significant amount of literature in numerous countries (Balchin, 1981). It intersects demographic growth—in particular the evolution of a number of households—with housing construction (Ytrehus, 2000), very often finding itself with inadequacies, which are expressed in terms of household type (i.e., family, single person, young people, workers, elderly), housing type (depending on size or status, such as social or public housing, private rental sector, homeownership, etc.), and location (i.e., tension zones in the property market). This type of statistic is intended to guide the strategies of governments confronted with the "housing crisis" at different levels (Heslop & Ormerod, 2019; Kleinman, 1995; Schwartz, 2011). However, while it does make it possible to highlight inequalities, it struggles to identify latent needs that are not expressed explicitly (such as young adults as they move out of their parents' home) and that tend to diversify alongside changes in contemporary lifestyle (for example, single-parent families, reconstituted families, or couples who live apart; Baron Pollak, 1994). Furthermore, this type of statistic can also be critiqued for its narrow understanding of what is considered housing, as a diversity of forms continue to emerge in this domain—such as co-living, co-housing, tiny homes, temporary or time-share occupancy statuses—as well as more marginal forms, whether desired or imposed, such as year-round camping or ecological yurts (which are not taken into account by statistics; O'Dell et al., 2004).

The problem of scarcity, speculation, and housing inadequacy has given rise to mass protests throughout the world: France (2007), Israel (2011), Spain (2012), Great Britain (2016), Argentina (2018), and Chile (2020). According to the United Nations, in 2020, the homeless represented 800 million people worldwide, with slum-dwellers in developed countries corresponding to

a similar figure (862 million; UN-Habitat, 2020). This reflects the brutal inadequacy of housing (Sassen, 2014) as well as eviction mechanisms. While the right to adequate housing is stated in Article 25 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, statistics that measure housing issues—such as overcrowding, lack of facilities (like missing bath or toilet), a leaking roof inside the house, or insufficient natural light—showed that, in 2009, 5.5% of vulnerable households were located in the EU (Turkington & Watson, 2014). These indicators demonstrate the difficulties faced by national housing systems in responding to a demand that is not only statistical, but that also reflects the lifestyles of diverse populations.

Considerations of quantitative housing need, however, have not always been disconnected from qualitative and architectural dimensions. This article aims to show how the concept of "housing need" has circulated between the social sciences and architectural design fields in France since the second half of the 19th century up until today. The notion of circulation makes it possible to understand processes of interpretation and commonality between the different fields of thought (Fijalkow, 2018) but also to better grasp the normative narratives of experts.

France is a particularly rich example for developing this sociohistorical overview over a long span of time, i.e., through three time periods. It allows us to first identify the beginning of housing policy which, during the hygienist period, can be seen in the public interventions of Baron Haussmann (1852–1870), and in legal devices and statistics defined "good housing" as opposed to inadequate housing. Second, the debate surrounding the notion of need is illustrated through an examination of mass construction since the beginning of the 1950s, in particular that of large social housing estates which developed in response to the housing crisis and the increase of slums (Cupers, 2014). Finally, the contemporary period raises many questions faced by architects and urban planners concerning the persistence of forms of inadequate housing and the development of individual aspirations for well-being.

2. Comfort and the Notion of Need: Theoretical Aspects

Our approach to housing need integrates Foucault's (1977) theory on governability of the self and the power of panopticon within housing, insofar as comfort facilities establish domestic practices (i.e., sanitary facilities in the 19th century, or home automation in the 21st century). Nevertheless, we distance ourselves from an intentionalist perspective, considering comfort in housing as an interdisciplinary and professional field according to Bourdieu's theory (Cohen, 2011) that is the subject of negotiations, interpretations, and reconstructions (Barthe et al., 2014). Expressed through norms, comfort thus reveals power relations between actors (such as the state, landlords, or professional organizations) while also expressing the practices of inhabitants with memories of norms, but who depend on facilities imposed by policy direction.

Indeed, the notion of norm with respect to housing is represented at several levels. On the one hand, there are construction requirements, such as room size and sanitary facilities; on the other hand, there are social and behavioral requirements, such as hygiene rules. Norms are thus imposed both on builders, who must respect a certain quality in order to enter the market, and on residents, in order to gain access to housing and not get evicted. Moreover, if certain norms primarily aim to make housing tradeable on the market, they are also affected by the social practices that distinguish different types of housing. Indeed, the housing standardization process, which is based on the installation of basic utilities (i.e., sanitation, ventilation, lighting, heating, etc.), inevitably confronts the practices of inhabitants.

Norms and standards were therefore at the heart of state implemented housing policy when it appeared in the 19th century as part of the fight against housing inadequacy and the construction of social housing. Today, this policy works as a field structured by actors, opinions, and rules of action in which the state still plays an important, if not dominant, role. In France, "good housing" is defined by the Civil Code as well as the Housing and Urban Planning Code (in the name of public health and for the preservation of the planet). More recently, however, it has come to be defined by private actors through "certifications" which certify housing quality in terms of energy consumption. These certifications are a guarantee of quality and contribute to the value of buildings (Fijalkow, 2018). Like Bourdieu, we can thus speak of a normative field of housing which involves architects, developers, landlords, local authorities, and associations (McKee, 2011), all of which claim to have the skills to define what is "good housing." Within this framework, there are conflicts of legitimacy between actors, negotiations between those in a dominant position, and an integration of social issues when they threaten the social equilibrium. In recent years, this has even further complexified with the arrival of private actors and environmental construction norms which address both construction quality and household energy practices. Like in other European countries, France is witnessing a decentralization of norms, impacting both local authorities and private actors (Bevir et al., 2003).

The notion of comfort has simultaneously evolved on an individual scale. According to historian John E. Crowley (2001, p. 291), the notion of comfort, introduced in the 19th century in Great Britain and the United States, encompasses a technical definition: "self-conscious satisfaction with the relationship between one's body and its immediate physical environment." As demonstrated by Miller (1983), suburbanization in the United States throughout the 20th century has rendered comfort increasingly technological,

integrating utilities (i.e., sanitary, household appliances, recreational) and systems (i.e., running water, heating, ventilation, home automation) that involve energy expenditure. Le Goff (1994) shows that, in France, the ideas of economic development and comfort are interconnected in such a way that comfort is considered a legitimate result of progress and a way of displaying social status. In France, the National Institute of Statistics and Economic Studies began classifying elements of comfort in the 1946 census, taking into account whether housing consisted of a kitchen, utilities, a lavatory, electricity, gas network connection, water network connection, and sewer connection.

Comfort can therefore be seen as a set of technical, social, and cultural mediations constructed as social norms according to the collective representation of an era. This is highlighted in the work of Shove (2003), who proposes to analyze the dynamics that lead to the search for comfort and what defines it, rather than supposedly objective factors. Her generational and cultural analysis highlights differentiated relationships to technical tools, consumption, social distinction, and well-being. Furthermore, she remains attentive to various cultures and histories of housing, demonstrating homogenizing factors.

3. Hygienic Needs: A Bedroom Policy and the Architects

During the 19th century, housing became a political question and coincided with the search for norm-setting mechanisms. At the time, Engels' (1845/1935) famous book and essay on the question of housing (1887) were part of the dominant line of thought in literature, politics, philosophy, and economics, and were heavily influenced by the epidemics that affected European countries. Public health thus brought together doctors, politicians, and demographers.

In France, the Law on Inadequate Housing of 1850 targeted rental apartments that were "liable to threaten the life or health of inhabitants." (according to the text of the law, first article). Municipalities wishing to apply the law (which is optional) may appoint a special commission made up of a doctor, an architect, and a member of the health and human services office. The commission is tasked with going on-site and mediating between the landlord, the town hall, and the tenant or neighbor who filed the complaint. It also has the power to enforce construction work or expropriate (Fijalkow, 2000).

Baron Haussmann, for example, used the law on unfit housing to strengthen his initiatives in working-class neighborhoods. However, his actions mainly catalyzed the decree-law of 1852 on the streets of Paris, which was much more authoritarian. While his transformation of Paris raised the "average standing" of the city and made it attractive for the bourgeoisie, no improvements were seen in the housing conditions of the poor. Walter Benjamin (1989/2009) denounced Haussmann's extravagant urban planning, which left many slum-dwellers in the shadow of great "advancements" (large, straight boulevards lined with trees and apartment buildings made of stone). After the Paris Commune, the Inadequate Housing Commission hardened its doctrine, thanks to engineers who managed the municipal water authority as of 1869.

The consistency of insalubrity diagnoses still raised questions, however, and a universal definition of poor housing seemed necessary in order to rationalize public action. Du Mesnil, faithful successor to Villermé, wrote numerous articles on housing conditions for the *Annales d'Hygiène Publique et de Médecine Légale*, the journal that piloted the hygiene movement after the cholera outbreak of 1832. After a long period of debate, the City of Paris created a permanent office to organize its statistics in 1881, appointing Jacques Bertillon, doctor and demographer, as director.

In 1896, Bertillon published the first housing conditions census and mapped the overcrowding of housing. He claimed to be measuring "poor housing" although he was primarily quantifying "household congestion." Nevertheless, for the first time, a statistical evaluation of housing was conducted. Bertillon measured overcrowding in terms of "people per room." "Rooms" were considered spaces in which a bed could be placed, with a minimum dimension of 2 by 1.5 meters. Census surveyors asked households to indicate the number of "rooms" with a fireplace, as well as if the apartment contained a toilet. The results revealed that 23% of households lived in overcrowded housing, and the overcrowding map clearly outlined the working-class neighborhoods in the north-east of Paris (Figure 1). For "moral statistics," overcrowding thus reflected demographic behavior (Fijalkow, 2000). After the Paris Commune of 1871, the "moral order" dominant in politics, religion, and society sought to implement a plan to reduce overcrowding and to increase the birth rate through the construction of social housing in each arrondissement of Paris (Hanson, 2010).

How does this translate in terms of architecture? To understand the "needs" expressed by the statistics of Jacques Bertillon, it is necessary to explain what qualifies as "good housing" in the post-Haussmannian context. This period lauded an apartment inspired by the aristocratic hotel. In Haussmannian apartments, we generally find a beautiful entryway with a hallway granting access to each room. Facing the street are three adjoining reception rooms, made up of a living room, a dining room, and a bedroom. These rooms received fine architectural attention and were adorned with fireplaces, marquetry floors, and moldings. At the time, the courtyard side of the apartment was reserved for the kitchen and the servants. The partitioning of reception rooms, private rooms, as well as bedrooms and their sanitary facilities is a basic principle found in Haussmannian apartments (Eleb, 2021).

Thus, when Bertillon deplored that "in too many Parisian dwellings, working-class families live together,

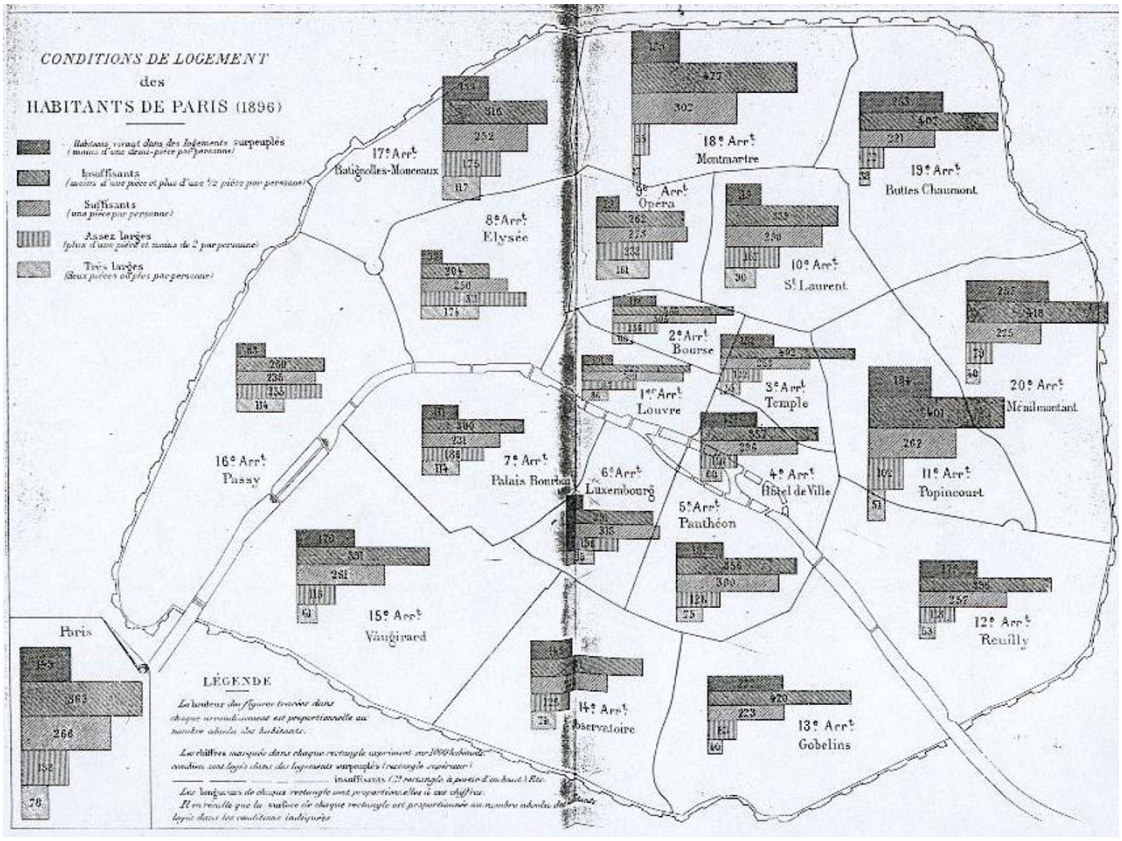

Figure 1. Housing conditions. Source: Bertillon (1894).

parents and children alike, in the same room" (Bertillon, 1894, p. 9), he referred to the architectural principles of Haussmannian housing divided by "room," "heated," intended for the "conventional, large family," and designed by architects trained at the Fine Arts School (École des Beaux-Arts). This design was opposed to the working-class way of living together in the same room in buildings built by owners.

In the second half of the 19th century, the first social housing projects were inspired by Haussmannian principles. In 1849, architect Veugny's program for the Cité Napoléon included separate rooms and water access on each floor. The housing estate was comprised of collective facilities, like a wash house, a bath house, and a children's shelter, while also preserving the autonomy and privacy of families (Bruant, 2011).

Architects were invited to participate in competitions planned by social housing organizations. Some of them, who had read Bertillon's works, gave a broader understanding of the notion of "hygienic architecture," citing Alberti's writings (Daly, 1878). Emile Trélat (1821–1907) introduced a "hygiene course" at the École Centrale d'Architecture, within which he explained the concepts of physiology and environment. Hygiene, however, remained less present at the Beaux-Arts de Paris. Louis Bonnier (1856–1946) appeared as an exception, building low-cost housing (*habitat bon marché*) in the Seine region, and contributing to reports on the "tuberculous blocks of Paris" alongside Paul Juillerat. He suggested that social housing architecture consisted of "sincerely adapting to successive needs" (Bonnier, 1920, p. 30). Augustin Rey (1864–1934), however, built the first *habitat bon marché* for the Rothschild Foundation, giving way to ideas on ventilation and natural lighting (Rey, 1927) which were later applied in Le Corbusier's Radiant City, in 1935.

4. The Normative Notion of "Needs" During the Post-War Reconstruction and Social Housing Projects

After World War II, the post-war reconstruction revealed a housing shortage, due to both collateral damage and construction delays that began at the start of the century. The housing crisis could be seen in the shortage of available housing, along with their poor and deteriorating conditions. This gave way to intense public debate, as well as social movements calling for government intervention (Castells et al., 1978).

In 1946, Duon and Lenain published a survey study on housing conditions in Paris for the National Institute of Statistics and Economic Studies, in which they found that a third of housing units had outdoor toilets and only 20% had running water. "Need" thus translated in terms of utilities, especially those related to heating and hygiene. The Ministry of Reconstruction also asked private teams to study certain areas of degraded housing by focusing on household behavior. Thus, the Economy and Humanism Team inspected each apartment in order

to identify the housing characteristics. Heads of households were asked to answer a survey which aimed to measure the "sociability" of the inhabitants (whether they had a regular job, how the household was managed, furniture quality, lifestyle) and the "adequacy" of housing (i.e., ventilation, natural light, water supply). This made it possible to distinguish between types of families (i.e., "normal," "re-educable," etc.) as well as types of housing (i.e., inadequate, overcrowded, unhygienic, etc.; Auzelle, 1949).

With this type of survey, understandings of the notion of "need" go beyond that of technical equipment, taking into account the education of families by categorizing those who should be supported and referred to transitional housing. This type of reasoning was in line with pre-war socialist thinking on the question of "normal housing." In 1943, Henri Sellier (1883–1943), one of the pioneers of social housing, was reflecting upon post-war housing and stated in an article entitled "The Definition of Normal Housing" that its technical factors must take into account human habit (Sellier, 1943). "Need" as a concept thus required "adaptable" housing, a reflection which ushered the contribution of the social sciences. In 1953, the government finally adopted strong measures to finance and organize construction, and a process of social housing stock hierarchization was therefore put in place.

In social housing—known as HLM (*habitation à loyer modéré*) since 1950—distinctions developed between populations corresponding to different needs. Construction norms thus allowed for the HLM to be hierarchized by social standing. A distinction was created between HLM "A" and HLM "B," which was based on whether the kitchen was designed to be used for meals. If so, it was considered HLM "A" and the size of the kitchen increased in detriment of the living room; if not, it was considered HLM "B" and the living room was prioritized. Housing managers justified this distinction with a more "rural" and "working class" version, and it was adopted by many architects of the post-war reconstruction period (Dubuisson, Prouvé, Lods). In 1957, architect Jean Prouvé (1901–1984) developed a project along the same lines, but which was aimed at the poorest populations. It consisted of a minimalist, less expensive housing development that was well equipped with heating and hygiene facilities. Here, we can observe the appearance of social hierarchy processes and a search for standardization.

To this end, a convergence of views between demographers and modern architects, who were attentive to the functioning of rooms and occupancy norms, can be seen. In 1946, the scientific journal *Population*, published by the French Institute for Demographic Studies, examined this pertinent issue. Demographer Alfred Sauvy promoted housing policy as a vehicle for birth rate policy, asserting that "the aging of our heritage, a consequence of human aging, is an important and essential cause for our current impoverishment" (Sauvy, 1946, p. 441). In the same publication, the renowned architect Le Corbusier proposed a functionalist action program based on his "modulor" model, in which he expressed:

> What is the key element of the apartment? The bedroom. We are all familiar with this room: square-shaped with a bed at its center, a lightbulb hanging from the ceiling…it's the quintessence of inhospitable. Each member of the family, children and parents alike, must be able to have their own private haven, where they can be "left alone," where they can have their own workspace, where there is enough room for physical activity. (Le Corbusier, 1948, p. 420)

Le Corbusier's understanding of "needs" led to a normative understanding of housing practices. This convergence, around the notion of "need," and in favor of a normalized and hierarchized architecture based on lifestyle, was accepted by sociologist Chombart de Lauwe. In his research, the concept of overcrowding remained central in the evaluation of needs. As the first French urban sociologist in the post-war period, Chombart de Lauwe established an index based on the number of people per room as well as the surface area. This index allows us to:

> Determine thresholds below which physical diseases and behavioral disorders are likely to appear…below a certain surface area, family life becomes more and more difficult to bear. The woman, harassed by her children and exhausted by laundry, quickly burns out in a house that she cannot even arrange to her liking or keep clean. (Chombart de Lauwe, 1956, p. 80)

According to the author, this threshold is situated between eight and 14 square meters per person. It also supported the journalistic narrative on Sarcellitis, an illness found in large housing estates that especially impacted the psychology of women and children (see Sarcelles, Figure 2). It corresponded to the position of sociologists who, like the hygienists of the 19th century, wanted to have a say in architectural projects, which turned out to be a failure with regard to the economic conditions of large housing estate production.

Hygiene and well-being were concepts that guided his approach to housing needs. This minimalist and functionalist vision of responding to needs was widely shared at the time. It fell in line with the considerations of Doctor Goromosov (1968) of the World Health Organization on physiological needs and the microclimate of housing.

At the end of the 1960s, however, a sociological alternative emerged when Henri Lefebvre (1968) revealed the working class need for a "right to the city" and an appropriation of space, in the face of "de-urbanizing urbanization." Criticism of large housing estates thus took on another dimension, simultaneously combining social, symbolic, and architectural factors. In response, Chombart de Lauwe tried to distinguish between "needs" and "aspirations," referencing the work of Maslow (1954)

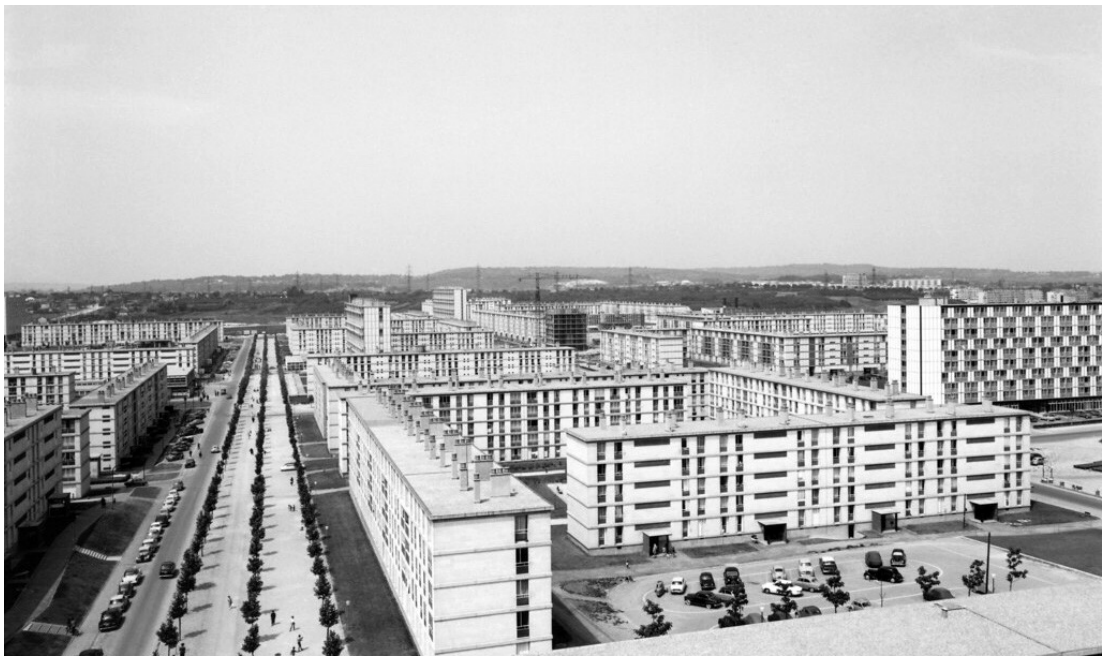

Figure 2. Sarcelles, an emblematic case. Source: INA (2018).

who placed self-esteem at the very top of the pyramid of needs. Indeed, if "needs" refer to physiological factors, "aspirations" express the attachment of a social group to their space. This also conforms to the principles of social morphology analysis established by Maurice Halbwachs and Marcel Mauss, founders of housing sociology. Halbwachs considered that "the material forms of society act upon it, not by virtue of a physical constraint, as a body would act, on another body, but by consciousness that we take of it" (Halbwachs, 1938, pp. 182–183).

Based on this theoretical view, Chombart de Lauwe agreed with the point of view of public authorities regarding the "needs" of populations in terms of technical equipment, while also considering lifestyles and the emerging trend that questioned the appropriation of urban spaces, revealing himself to be quite critical towards modern urban planners and architects.

5. Current Period (Since 1990): The Search for Essential Features and "Quality" in Architecture

Since the 1990s, the notion of need has covered several dimensions, linking social science research and public action. The first is poor housing and residential vulnerability, which reappeared in 1995. According to the Abbé Pierre Foundation (2021), which relies on official data from the National Institute of Statistics and Economic Studies, there are nearly four million people in France living with housing difficulties. This includes the homeless, those living in camps, households in situations of overcrowding, and those with energy insecurity. There also exists fewer extreme situations of "residential vulnerability," which stem from property value, lack of residential flow, social tension between landlords and tenants, and distance to work location. The conclusion shared by political institutions, housing actors, and civic action spheres is a quantitative increase in housing construction. This, however, only allows for the needs of new households arriving each year on the housing market to be met. The existing housing stock, a third of which was built before World War II and which houses young, immigrant, and disadvantaged households (Lévy & Fijalkow, 2010), would also need to be renovated, which would involve significant financial efforts from public institutions. Public policy tools to fight against inadequate housing buildings are being developed, although they remain insufficient. Tenants can also report indecent housing conditions to a judge. However, some landlord unions, and even those who build public housing for home ownership, are in support of a minimalist trend in terms of housing norms. To make the market more flexible and to reduce their costs, they oppose construction norms that are too numerous and that pose too many constraints (Fijalkow, 2015). Although inordinate, their positions lead to a reflection on the essential features of housing. For this reason, recent decrees requiring builders to adapt housing to be handicap accessible were made more flexible.

The second type of need involves considering the desires of inhabitants through participatory devices that give voice to users. This method, in accordance with Lefebvre's proposals, more often concerns the surrounding environment than the interior of housing, except in certain cases of collective production. It is more often applied in social housing districts targeted by public policies (Cupers, 2011). In the context of pauperization, the consideration of needs includes the demand for security and public spaces, but also the difficulties resulting from

divisive processes and a lack of residential opportunities, in particular for young working people and marginalized populations, and, recently, little towns. Criticism of housing standards, however, also leads to the increasingly widespread practice of collaborative architecture in housing associations. This can lead to the collectivization of services that were previously integrated into housing.

The third type of need relates to sustainable housing and the control of energy expenditure. In this context, a recent decree has led us to consider heating difficulties in certain poorly insulated apartments as a characteristic of inadequacy and poor housing that affects underprivileged populations. Among other demands, the Gilets Jaunes movement that erupted in the fall of 2019 also underlined the difficulties of the low middle class living far from their place of work and their considerable energy expenditure for travel. For them, the concept of "need," or "aspiration," expresses a need for integration and environmental control.

Faced with these forms of housing needs, the architectural responses turned out to be negotiated responses (Eleb & Simon, 2014) depending on the recipient: public housing, social housing, private housing, or low-cost home ownership. They could address housing surface area, in order to counter its declining trend over the last 20 years, according to a recent report by Lemas (2020). The idea of "an additional space," necessary for storing belongings, extending functional rooms, or receiving guests, is intended to be a response to various needs. This concern is linked to the need for more storage space, unlike changes dictated by the optimization of resource use. This issue coincided with the demand for greater flexibility in housing depending on the family structure: conventional, single-parent, stepparent, or the presence of young adults and the elderly.

A good architectural example is the renovation of the Bois-le-Prêtre Tower in Paris, which extended each apartment to include a "winter garden." The search for additional space was fundamental to the rehabilitation of this building built in the early 1960s. It consisted of adding a three-meter-wide extension to the apartments through a self-supporting structure surrounding the perimeter of the tower, comprised of a two-meter-wide winter garden and a one-meter balcony. In addition, this project opened a dialogue with the inhabitants, who constituted the competition jury in 2005. Residents were first presented a show apartment, which was followed by a resident vote, resulting in favor of the rehabilitation project. The architects Fréderic Drout, Anne Lacaton, and Jean-Philippe Vassal then began implementing the renovation. Tenants were able to participate in the process through workshops.

The quality of outdoor public space and services is also illustrative of the architectural objectives which set out to meet the needs mentioned above. In this regard, the Parisian project known as Diapason is also exemplary. Vegetation is omnipresent in the community garden on the ground floor, in shared green terraces, on private balconies with plants, and in vegetable gardens. Energy performance even exceeds regulatory requirements. The set-up of the operation consisted of a particular construction method: Individual private buyers came together in a cooperative (Diapason group) to create their own housing project, as part of a development initiative for the City of Paris. The project mainly focused on the sharing of spaces and facilities: 14 apartments share a vegetable garden, common storage areas, a laundry room, a shared studio for guests, a bicycle storage room, and a workshop. This architectural interpretation reveals that the notion of comfort, and therefore of need, falls within a dimension that is both emotional and moral in terms of household. Not only were everyone's desires taken into account, but it was also important that the place of residence be the outcome of a chosen community's expression, and that it carries the ethical values of solidarity and ecology.

This discourse responds well to the reflections of certain essayists, architects, and sociologists on the essential qualities of housing seen from the point of view of the individual. For Chollet (2016), the search for "home" is a fundamental value that opposes mechanisms of the phenomenon of living space reduction that she refers to as the "great eviction." Gallagher (2007) provides an American example of this theory in his book *House Thinking*, which aims to show how the arrangement of each room in the American home reflects the person who lives in it, and also conditions their behavior. Sartoretti (2013), in turn, raises the question of industrial apartment furniture production, which homogenizes and universalizes living conditions. These reflections show that housing is at the center of conflicting values, divided between the needs of individuals, ecology, and material comfort. In terms of heating materials, for example, the range of values, which are increasingly sensitive to eco-citizenship, puts in tension the aspiration for "civic frugality" (and, therefore, ecologic) and the hedonism of comfort that enlarge the sense of the "needs." In a recent survey, we showed that, while many homeowners do not seem ready to adapt their heating and while others seek to regulate their habits with the help of technology, all of them allude to the search for well-being and comfort (Fijalkow & Maresca, 2018).

6. Conclusions

The history of the notion of "need" allows us to identify the narratives and values on which housing policies and their architecture are based. This historical overview attests to the succession of norms carried out by different actors with different objectives, as well as the processes of interpretation from one professional field to another. During the hygienic period, the concept of overcrowding dominated the debate on the definition of good housing and allowed architects to emphasize the importance of rooms. During the modern period, the notion

of need enabled the emergence of technical standards and the hierarchy of forms of housing that were justified by the search for adaptation. Today, contrary to the discourse put forth by Heidegger in 1951, the ethics of inhabiting does not reside in its isolation, as philosophers once thought, but in its capacity for individuality and hospitality, as contemporary experiments have shown (Sennett, 2018). In this respect, social housing organizations, which played a central role as a meeting place between social sciences and architecture in the first two periods, are less present today. This has the effect of being more attentive to the inhabitants, of developing new procedures for negotiating standards between the actors, but of dispersing the reflection on the quality of housing.

Our exploration of the question of "need" shows that three trends are exercised today in the field of housing: standardization, hierarchization, and the search for alternatives. In a context of hybridization of forms of housing production, both private and state-led, and of lifestyle and demographic reconstruction, we are witnessing a dynamic of archipelization; that is, a diversification of needs. This results in the multiplication of systems of norms, values, and sub-markets. In this sense, France offers a particular trajectory of the evolution of the notion of "need," illustrated by a strong assumption of responsibility for housing by the public authorities in the 20th century. The progressive privatization requires comparisons with other countries, particularly after the Covid-19 pandemic, which forced the State to intervene in social and economic life and to rethink the notion of housing quality.

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Conflict of Interests

The author declares no conflict of interests.

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Article

Systematization: A Key Term in 20th-Century Romanian Urbanism

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Abstract
This article addresses the term "systematization" as it was used in Romania during the 20th century. It investigates the sources of the term and the changes in its meaning and in the practice it named in each phase of its evolution: from its emergence at the turn of the 20th century and its adoption as a label for scientific urbanism during the interwar period, to its political instrumentalization and projection on large scales in spatial planning during the late socialist period, and its rejection in the post-socialist years. It shows how a term can radically change its connotations, ranging from desirable to destructive effects. It exposes the variable distance between systematization as a concept and systematization as a concrete practice. The scientific and disciplinary aspects of systematization are addressed, highlighting its relation to the fields of architecture and urbanism. Its political relevance as an instrument for the authoritarian and respectively totalitarian Romanian state is shown, serving their interest to act on the territory on a large scale. Housing is also addressed as a central subject of systematization. The aim of the article is, first, to draw a history that apprehends the entire evolution, from emergence to dismissal, of a term that marked Romanian planning for a century; and second, to show that beyond its local history, this term is relevant for understanding the more general relationship between scientificity and political instrumentalization in modern urbanism and architecture during the 20th century.

Keywords
20th century; housing; modern urbanism; Romania; scientificity; socialist planning; systematization

Issue
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1. Introduction

When the Romanian communist regime fell in December 1989, "systematization" was one of the infamous notions that had to be abolished, a pejorative term designating the destruction of villages, mutilation of cities, and razing of the center of the capital, Bucharest. This extremely negative perception, earned in the last years of the communist regime, was projected back onto a notion that had been used for many decades, and which most of the time had stood for progress and modernization.

In the general sense, "systematization" is a neutral technical notion. It refers to an act of organization that creates a rigorous order in the logic of systems—integral structures of hierarchized interdependent components. It has been used mostly in contexts where it functioned at an abstract level (e.g., "systematization of knowledge"). In architecture and urbanism, introducing a systemic order into space was a rather common modern idea. However, the word "systematization" itself, in this context, was not at all common. Romania in the 20th century was one of the few places in which the term occupied a central stage in the conceptualization of spatial planning and design. Actually, there is no other country where the term made such a pivotal and enduring career. "Systematization" has been a key term in Romanian urbanism for almost a century.

It does not mean, however, that Romanian systematization was an exceptional notion. It was just an instantiation, albeit extreme, of the scientificity claim in modern planning. At its highest moments, systematization devised an order that was abstract and generic, and where geometric regularity prevailed over real territories. The fascination for perfect spatial symmetries, along

with borrowings from hard natural sciences like biology, had an enduring place in modern planning. Historian Eric Mumford (2018, pp. 197, 257–259) showed that biologist Ludwig von Bertalanffy's "systems theory" has reached a worldwide audience, notably through works like Walter Christaller's in the 1930s, and its principles were applied through various formal regulations, before and after World War II. By the mid-1970s, Alexandru Sandu, professor of urbanism at the Ion Mincu Institute of Architecture in Bucharest, explained the systematization of urban and rural localities, which had just been formalized into law, by referring to, among others, Walter Christaller's geometric networks of dispersed centralities (Sandu, 1974, p. 52). Romanian systematization was inspired by "systems theory" and was part of the hard scientificity trend in modern planning. Its evolution into an instrument for the political regime to enforce a total abstract order upon the real territory was intrinsic to its very logic of systemic thinking: This is what this article claims.

The notion has been studied before in the Romanian context, but only in partial perspectives and for either interwar or socialist periods. The purpose of this article is to develop a long-time perspective and draw the story of the term systematization over the entire period it was in use in Romania, from adoption to rejection, following the transformations of its meaning throughout this evolution. The research is mainly conducted on historical published materials—lexicons, school and professional manuals, articles, and books of the respective periods. It dwells upon the writings of selected personalities with authoritative influence on urban theory and practice at their time, who articulated a reflection on the notion of systematization. Eventually, Romanian history is also related to larger contexts, to show the relevance of this case study for the wider story of the notions of scientificity in modern planning.

2. Pre- and Inter-War Systematization

2.1. Emergence of the Term

The idea of spatial development was conducted systematically, and its appropriate terming emerged in Romania during the late 19th century. For instance, in 1883 the Forestry Act authorized the Ministry of Agriculture, Industry, Commerce and Domains to hire foresters from abroad. They were expected to make several "systematic plans of development" (*planuri sistematice de amenagiament*) of forests, to serve as practical learning grounds for the students of a new school where forestry was taught scientifically (Ministers' Council of Romania, 1903). The word "systematic" meant that the forest would be developed with a method, which could be imported as foreign expertise and taught in formal education as scientific knowledge.

This systemic approach did not concern urban environments at the time. Romanian cities were enduring significant modernizations, but these were rather disparate interventions—boulevards, squares, streets, buildings—the city being their mere background. Urban regulations epitomized the liberal interests of the bourgeoisie, for whom urban space aesthetics were important, but freedom of individual developments prevailed over administrative limitations. Bucharest, for instance, was described as a municipality totally deprived of regulatory power (Berindeiu, 1891) and many accounts depicted Romanian cities as utterly chaotic.

The first official use of the term systematization in an urban planning context in Romania occurred in the competition call for a "general plan of systematization" for Bucharest in 1906. The word was so new that in the competition brief the spelling was still uncertain; both "*sistematisare*" and "*sistematizare*" were used (Primăria Bucuresci, 1906). The text mentioned "the systematization of streets," explaining they should be organized in a hierarchical system, and "the systematization of the city," meaning the city would be treated as "a harmonic whole" (Primăria Bucuresci, 1906). This was the first attempt to take a holistic view of the urban development of the capital. However, the final contribution of this competition consisted in the introduction of the term only. The resulting plans were considered unsatisfactory, and they were moreover lost, along with the city archive, during the German occupation of 1916–1918 (Davidescu, 1941, p. 172).

Once emerged, the term began to be used also in reference to older city plans, designating more or less coherent previous attempts of putting order into the organically developed Romanian cities. The 1855 plan for the city of Focșani was a "veritable systematization plan" and so was the "Bucharest systematization plan" from 1885–1887 (Sfințescu, (1933a, pp. 79–80), although the word had not been used at those times: *avant-la-lettre* "systematizations" appeared in hindsight.

2.2. From Term to Method

The most important role in introducing and strengthening the term belongs to urban engineer Cincinat Sfințescu, "the father of Romanian urbanism" (Udrea et al., 2015, p. 6). He defined city planning as "a scientific procedure where you look to establish the relationships that exist, should exist, between the whole and its elements" (Sfințescu, 1916, p. 2). He also pleaded for "borrowing from foreign countries" (Sfințescu, 1916, p. 17) the notions of urban practices that were lacking in Romania.

Sfințescu (1933a, p. 86) was the author of "the first general project of the systematization plan" for Bucharest, decreed in 1921. Apart from holding office in the city administration, he also held the chair of urbanism at the Architecture Academy in Bucharest, which presented him with the opportunity to address the urban field as a rigorous discipline. He thoroughly researched the education programs and the practice of urbanism

elsewhere. In 1931, for the International Federation for Housing and Town Planning in London, of which he was a member, he made an extensive report about the state of the discipline taught in the US, Germany, Switzerland, England, France, Poland, Holland, Spain—and Romania. The report was also published in Romanian (Sfințescu, 1932). Although the programs were exposed in detail in this survey, the term systematization was totally absent, as if it were not a necessary notion for the science of urbanism.

Whichever technique we use, Sfințescu wrote, we must establish the terminology first (1934b, pp. 1–2): In urbanism in general—"an eclectic science, as many other applied sciences"—and especially in which the Romanian language is concerned, the terminology is not yet settled. "I have collected 38 various names for urbanism," but all this wording, often arbitrary and partial, is only creating confusion in the discipline, he remarked (Sfințescu, 1933a, pp. 17–18). None of these many names for urbanism was systematization, but whenever Sfințescu referred to the context of practice, to actual examples of city plans, systematization seemed to be the preferred term. While describing the "regional systematization plan" (*planul regional de sistematizare*) of New York City and highlighting "the deeply rooted scientific spirit in American nature and organization today," Sfințescu used "systematization" to translate the word "planning" (Sfințescu, 1934a).

Indeed, the term was already well established in the language of Romanian professional practice and stood as a translation for a variety of other foreign terms. For instance, in reference to the competition for the Belgrade plan, the French "*plan de réorganisation et d'agrendissement"* was translated into Romanian as *"plan pentru sistematizarea orașului"* ("plan for the systematization of the city"; Bolomey & Davidescu, 1924).

Until the early 1930s, the term was still vague and versatile. There were other terms in interchangeable use with "systematization," probably because there were many sources of inspiration. Sfințescu explicitly used "systematization" (*sistematizare*) as a synonym for several things—for "ordering" (*a orândui*), "regulation" (*regulare*), and "improvements" (*ameliorări*; Sfințescu, 1916, pp. 29, 62, 64)—but he also wrote about "improvement and systematization" as if they were two different things (Sfințescu, 1916, p. 62). He used "systematization" as a general term for the "mechanism" of urban transformation, but when addressing the Bucharest systematization project more specifically, he used the notion of "regulatory plan" (*plan regulator*; Sfințescu, 2015, pp. 43, 51).

A similar usage can be found in Italian. The Statute of the Italian National Urbanistic Institute of 1930, which was presented in extenso in Romanian in the journal *Urbanismul* (National Urbanistic Institute of Italy, 1932), employed the word *sistemazione* in a general sense, while the technical projects were officially named *piani regolatori* (Istituto Nazionale di Urbanistica, 1930). Referring to an urban competition for *piani regolatori* in Italy, Sfințescu gave the translation *planuri de amenajare* in Romanian (Sfințescu, 1934a, p. 6), explaining that " 'systematization' is a narrower notion comprehended within the sphere of the notion of *amenajare*" (Sfințescu, 1934b, p. 2).

So, systematization was both more general and narrower a notion and did not replace the other existing words that it sometimes doubled. All in all, systematization seemed not to be a basic—necessary and constitutive—term for urban planning, but rather a derivative one, designating a certain manner of addressing urban interventions; not a term of "what" but of "how," denoting the systematicity and scientific approach in planning.

2.3. Architecture vs. Urbanism

In the 1930s, architects took over the discourse on systematization from urban engineers. Sfințescu was an engineer directly involved in urban administration. Alexandru Zamphiropol, an architect and urbanist educated in France, came up with the sort of discourse characteristic to international architectural milieus. He drafted a systematization plan for Bucharest in 1931 (Figure 1) and offered it to the city council (Zamphiropol, 1934), apparently to no avail. For him, the leading idea was to define a clear modernist agenda: "The essential law of modern progress is the law of separation and specialization of functions and is imposed in the very structure of the city"; "the organization of the city has to assure maximum yield with minimum effort," he wrote (Zamphiropol, 1935, p. 4).

Indeed, modern architects at the time were just beginning "to learn the planning métier" (Domhardt, 2012, p. 174), and by 1933, for the fourth CIAM, they had developed the functional city concept. Although no architect represented Romania at the CIAM, many Romanian architects were educated in France and Germany and this kind of discourse appealed to them too. So, for Zamphiropol (1936, p. 4), urbanism did not mean alignments, some functional arrangements, monumental perspectives, and landscapes, "but to transform the city into a useful instrument appropriate to modern life." A distinction Zamphiropol made was between terms and method: "There are terms known today: urbanism, planning (*amenajare*), systematization, and other analogous technical expressions we have been familiarized with"; unfortunately, they were applied "without a well-defined method" (Zamphiropol, 1936, p. 4).

The main concern architects had was the ineffectiveness and uncertainty of systematization. In the early 1930s, they complained that Bucharest—supposedly the model for the entire country—was still transformed by "fragmentary systematization studies," while the general systematization plan was not yet enforced (Enescu, 1933). Architects would have preferred urban space to be controlled both overall and in detail.

Figure 1. Alexandru Zamphiropol's systematization plan for Bucharest, 1931. Source: Zamphiropol (1934, p. 43).

Architects took the lead with the "master plan of systematization" (*planul director de sistematizare*) for Bucharest, decreed in 1935. Its authors were well-known figures of the architectural profession: Duiliu Marcu, G. M. Cantacuzino, R. Bolomey, I. Davidescu, and T. Rădulescu (only the latter was an engineer). Their take on the notion of systematization reflected the general *zeitgeist* of the 1930s: "The organization of the city is an act of authority" (Marcu et al., 1937, p. 294). Either Bucharest becomes a capital that affirms the premises of authority and the will of organization, or it becomes a "monstrous disorder." But what do "the will of organization" and "premises of authority mean"? They are called "urbanism" (Marcu et al., 1937, p. 295).

2.4. Housing

The 1935 Systematization Plan for Bucharest also brought about a deeper focus on the housing problem, and specifically on housing for the poor (Figure 2). It does not mean the question had not been addressed before. Sfințescu (1933a, p. 71) had called housing

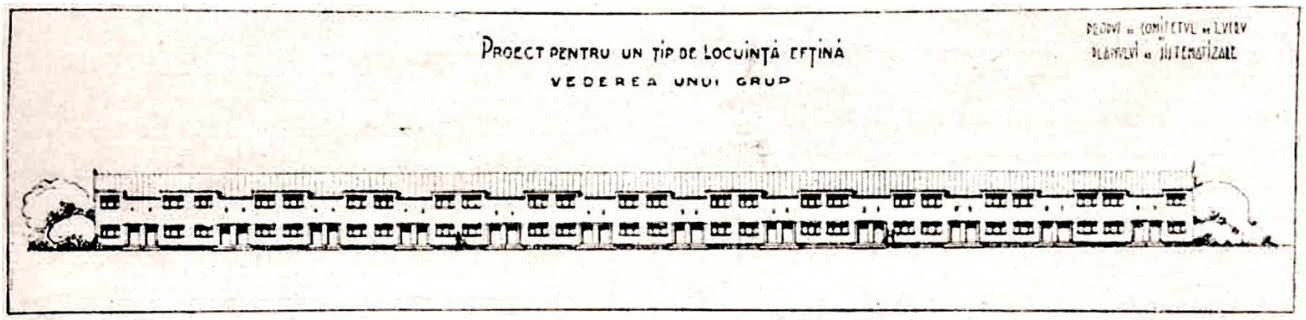

Figure 2. Low-cost housing project proposed by the "working committee" of the 1935 Bucharest Master Plan of Systematization. Source: Vîrtosu (1937, p. 68).

"the main problem of present-day urbanism," which only a "pseudo-urbanism" could neglect. He praised the Communal Society for Low-Cost Housing (*Societatea Comunală de Locuințe Eftine*), established in 1911, for building "aesthetical and hygienic" new districts (*cartiere*; Figure 3) and called them "the practical urbanism of our times" (Sfințescu, 1933a, p. 86).

The study documenting the housing question for the 1935 Bucharest Systematization Plan showed, however, that in Romania this issue had been addressed very late, on a rather small scale, and that low-cost housing (*locuințe eftine*—literally "cheap housing") accommodated relatively better-off state employees (Figure 4). Urban peripheries remained truly miserable; 82% of the homes in Bucharest did not have a bathroom (Vîrtosu, 1936). The solution was to learn from the West. Recent "workers' housing" built in Vienna, Frankfurt, Rotterdam, or Berlin were presented in the *Urbanismul* journal and their typologies taught in courses on urbanism (Davidescu, 1936).

The problem was the distance between what was known and promoted in theory and what was actually achieved. Even though several laws—the Law of Administrative Unification of 1925, the Law of Local Administration of 1929, and the Administrative Law of 1936—demanded all cities to devise systematization plans, few were actually made, and they all had difficulties in application (Davidescu, 1941).

2.5. All-Scale Totalitarian

At an abstract level, systematization could work at all scales. It emerged at the city level but was also scaled down to narrower objectives, e.g., a street or a square (Sfințescu, 1934b, p. 2), and up, to "regional systematization plans," addressing the surrounding communes in an area of interdependence with the city (Sfințescu, 2015, pp. 60–61). "By induction," even the "urbanistic organization for the territory of an entire state," "the rationalization of a country" was considered (Sfințescu,

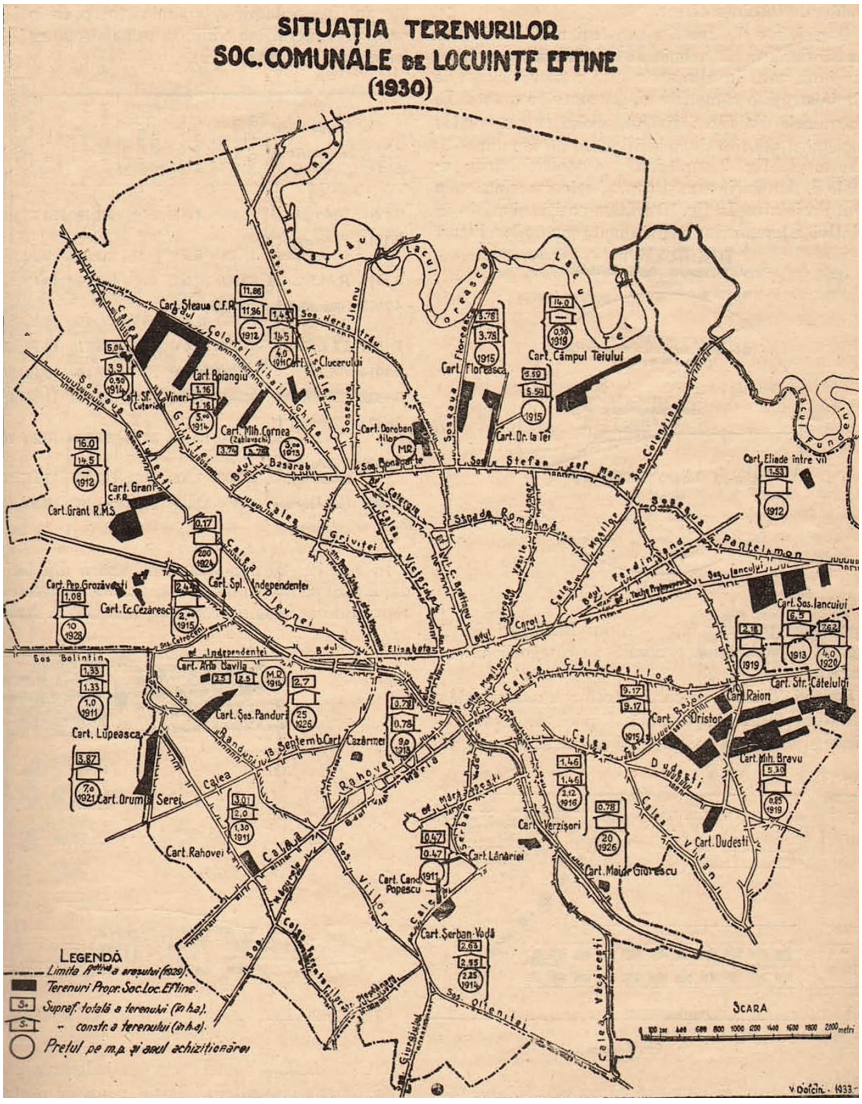

Figure 3. Plan of Bucharest showing the land attributed for parcellation to the Communal Society for Low-Cost Housing. Source: Sfințescu (1933b, p. 277).

Figure 4. Housing built in Bucharest by the Communal Society for Low-Cost Housing before World War I. Source: Sfințescu (1933b, p. 283).

1933a, p. 294). For this largest scale, Sfințescu did not use the word systematization, although the idea of systematicity was inherent to it; he called it "superurbanism." The idea of "superurbanism" was essentially to transform the national territory into an integrated system. Cities were hierarchized as primary, secondary, and tertiary, and were imposed an "optimal urbanistic index" and "population ceiling"; the "optimal size of the city" was the "basic problem of superurbanism" (Sfințescu, 1933a, pp. 295–296).

Sfințescu (1933a) put the idea into the European context. Italy had a "national urbanistic plan equivalent to superurbanism"; "Russian superurbanism" aimed at the destruction of the old bourgeois cities and the creation of big new cities, and Germany promoted the return to villages. In Romania, urban density was too small, so adjustments had to be made. Sfințescu further developed the Romanian case in comparison, noting that his superurbanism was more than what Italians called "*bonificare integrală*" (*bonifica integrale*) or land improvement. It was also different from the "organizing action" in Soviet Russia. His superurbanism was closer to the recent *Reichsplannung* in Germany, "with which we find many similarities," sharing the aim of "rationally using the entire territory" (Sfințescu, 1934b, p. 98). It is quite relevant that, for radical interventions at a national scale, the best references found were the three main totalitarian regimes of the time.

Sfințescu called this approach "totalitarian" explicitly. Under the name of "national urbanism" and enacted "by totalitarian means," "superurbanism" was "one of the creations of the totalitarian style of our epoch" (Sfințescu, 1938, p. 341). In question was "the future of the nation" and "the future prevails over the present, just like the general national interests prevail over the local and the local over the individual" (Sfințescu, 1938, p. 342).

It was at the territorial scale that systematization seemed to work best. The Romanian state was still young in the interwar period, made up of regions with a very diverse history and culture. All plans of territorial organization, even those for interventions at smaller scales, were more or less bound for the idea of national integration. "Today we have to see far and wide," wrote the authors of the 1935 Bucharest systematization plan (Marcu et al., 1937, p. 299). They acknowledged the fact that what they "systematized" was the capital of Great Romania, the unified country that was no longer a state of eight million people, like before the Great War, but one of 18 million (Marcu et al., 1937, p. 299). The state pursued administrative unification and tried to increase Romanian presence in the newly acquired territories, where "minorities" prevailed.

Romania was also a predominantly rural country, and the population was not homogeneously distributed throughout its territory. These were motivations for the state to promote sweeping spatial reorganizations. Agrarian reform allocated expropriated land in ownership to peasants, which led to "village systematizations" and "new model settlements" (Stănculescu, 1925). These were followed by "colonization," "transplantation of peasants from regions with higher population density into regions with lower density, where free lots were available"—like "in Dobrogea, Cadrilater and on the Western border" (Rădulescu, 1941, p. 118). All these were "techniques of rationalization" achieving

"the optimal usage of the national territory" and "optimal distribution of the population over the territory" (Sfințescu, 1938, pp. 341-342).

In the last years of Great Romania, during the so-called "royal dictatorship," systematization projects could be immediately realized, imposed by law with explicit instructions for application (Sfințescu, 1939). Typically, these projects were accompanied by detailed urban plans, including the creation of "civic centers" (Opari, 1939; Figure 5). Civic centers emerged during the 1930s as part of systematization projects. The fact that they seemed more of a concern than housing in these plans attests to the interest of the authoritarian regime in being represented through architecture. To this end, and through this designed centrality, urbanism was architecturalized and aestheticized. Just before the end of the regime, this was the climax of systematization: full-scale control of the territory through dispersed centralities designed in architectural detail—a history that was to be repeated.

3. Communist Systematization

3.1. Reviving the Term

After the communist regime took power in 1948, the notion of systematization was adapted to the new imperative of socialist development. It was addressed by the *Practicing Architect Handbook*, edited in three volumes between 1954 and 1958, which contained "norms, design principles and technical solutions tested in practice during the grandiose process of constructing socialism and communism in the USSR" (T. Chițulescu et al., 1954, p. 13). Although the manual was intended as a vehicle for Soviet design concepts, the notion of systematization was reduced to its technical dimensions and not addressed in reflective terms. The concept was thus ideologically cleaned, to be made available for use in the changed political environment.

Systematization was presented as a "design method" and defined as a project category: "The projects for the

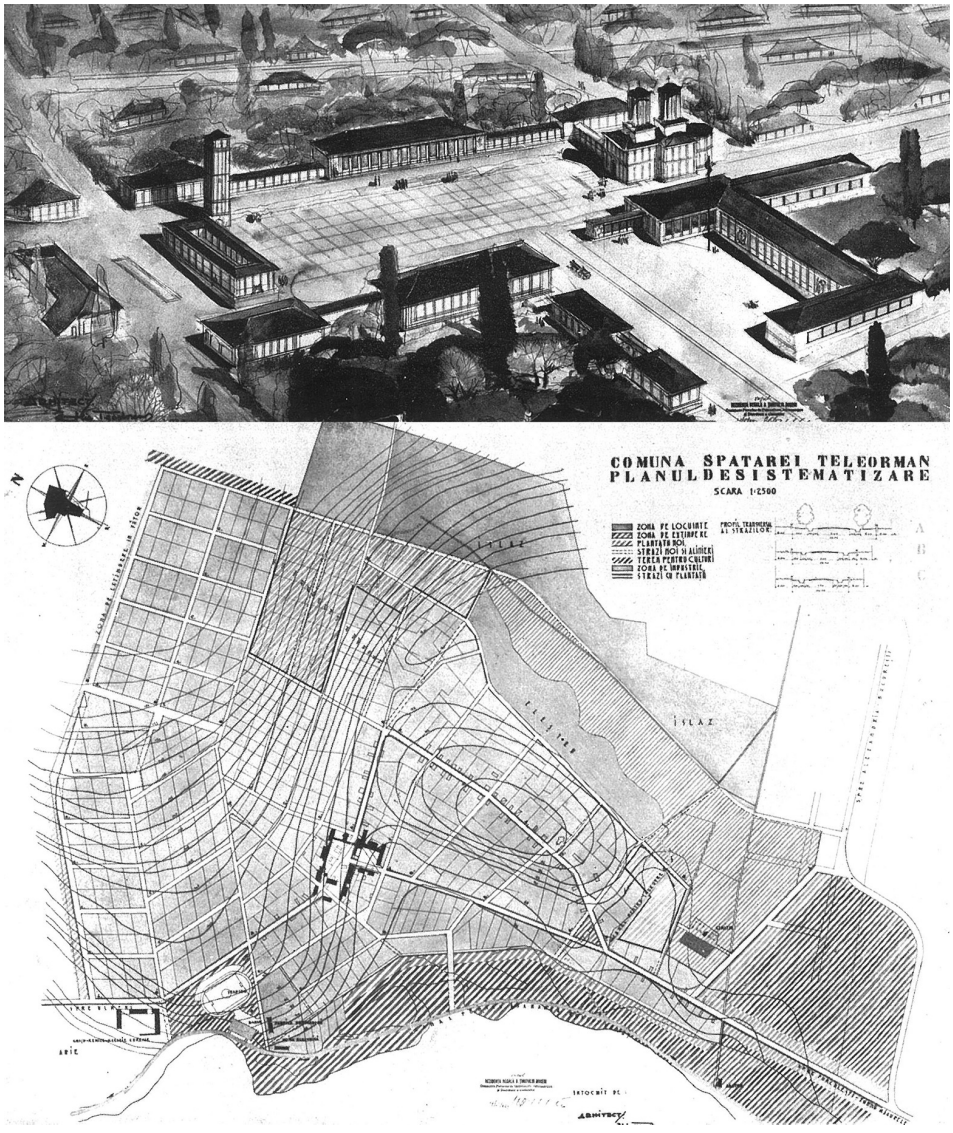

Figure 5. Systematization plan of a commune (Spatarei), including the project for a civic center. Source: Opari (1939, p. 10).

construction of new cities and those of reconstruction and rational development of the existing ones bear in general the name of 'systematization plans' "; they could be local, territorial, or regional (T. Chițulescu et al., 1958, p. 305). The notion was deconstructed up to the point of losing its main idea; functions in the city were simply presented sequentially, not as elements in a system. Industry, housing, and green areas were detailed most extensively. A significant aspect was that industrial enterprises and localities were treated as equals in regional systematization. The distribution of new industry into the territory was even considered the first concern of regional systematization; the development of localities was made only after economic infrastructure (T. Chițulescu et al., 1958, p. 484). Industrial development took the lead in systematization.

Particularly important attention was given to rural systematization (T. Chițulescu et al., 1958, pp. 484–507). Romania was still a predominantly rural country and the issue of modernizing the village was of utmost relevance, especially as the co-operativization of agriculture was in full swing during the 1950s. Rural systematization concerned the creation of new villages and the restructuring of the existing ones, just like in the interwar period, except the neutral notion of "village center" replaced the civic center (T. Chițulescu et al., 1958, p. 498).

The coordinated organization of the entire territory of the country was addressed by territorial systematization, which determined the location, size, role, and profile of localities according to state economic plans. It avoided excessive concentrations and guided industrialization particularly towards underdeveloped regions, like Moldova and Oltenia (Spiride, 1959). The balanced distribution of "productive forces" throughout the national territory, in order to homogenize the unequally developed country, remained a major concern under the communist regime—like in "superurbanism" before. In many ways, the concept of communist systematization was a continuation of the one from the 1930s.

With the notion thus outlined, it was up to practice to really define communist systematization. The first application addressed the heavy industry centers, like Hunedoara, Galați, Ploiești, Iași, and Stalin City (Brașov), as well as seaside resorts (Locar & Evolceanu, 1959). Resorts had been systematized by the previous regime too, but the industrial cities, the strongholds of the working class, reflected the priorities of the new regime.

The need for rapid applicability of systematization plans brought about a simplified notion: the "systematization sketch," which became mandatory for all cities in 1958. The "sketch" was a rather vague master plan, which had to be accompanied by other plans at lower scales. Its principle was that less detailing implied more flexibility and thus long-term applicability. In the kind of paradoxical argument that characterized the regime's rhetoric, this was presented as a new concept of "complex design," where all projects were drafted together—general systematization plans and detailed systematization plans, but also investment plans, which were considered of outmost novelty and importance for systematization (Locar & Evolceanu, 1959).

3.2. Housing

One major difference between interwar and postwar systematizations was the attention bestowed on housing. Mass housing development became the most important preoccupation, after industrial development, in systematization under the communist regime. Housing followed industrial investments closely throughout the country. The experience of the 1950s showed, for instance, that where new industrial investments were relatively small, about 25–30% of the employees had to be accommodated in new housing; where investments were big, new housing was needed for 40–50% of them (Spiride, 1959). From the introduction of systematization sketches in 1958 until around the mid-1970s, systematization plans would be almost synonymous with extension plans for large housing estates.

The housing estates built before 1958 had been conceived on smaller scales, in the socialist-realist style. The *Handbook* of 1958 (T. Chițulescu et al., 1958) was still illustrated with beautiful compositions of "cvartals." It was published at the very moment when this notion was abandoned, its concept being criticized as formalistic, unrealistic, "spectacular aestheticizing," preoccupied only with the monumental aspects, and eventually inapplicable (Locar & Evolceanu, 1959).

The notion of "microraion"—another Soviet planning word, defined by the *Handbook* as the "component unit of the residential zone, immediately superior to cvartals" (T. Chițulescu et al., 1958, p. 349)—would be in use for another decade and prove to be more adaptable to the new low-cost imperatives. Interpreted in a less formal sense than the "cvartal" as a functionally complete urban unit, the microraion served as the basis for the passage to more efficient housing estates built in modernistic forms (Figure 6). After 1958, the Athens Charter open-space urbanism was widely adopted in Romania (Lăzărescu, 1977, p. 65).

The large housing estates of the 1960s were the outcome of an efficient production line. First, there was an investment project. Then, adapted to it, a systematization sketch for the locality was drafted, followed by a detailed systematization plan for the housing estate. Finally, housing type designs were chosen from a catalog (Figure 7) and the estate was built. Technical-economic indexes—density, floor area, number of units, cost indexes, etc.—were decisive.

The idea of systematicity was entirely revived. A *Systematization Handbook*, edited in 1969, explained the hierarchic structure of the habitation zone: from the level of the apartment, whose functions were partially externalized and provided at a collective level, to the "housing group," which could share utilities such as a heating plant; to the "complex urban unit," a term that

Figure 6. Model for Gheorgheni district (microraions I and II) by the architects Augustin Presecan, Vasile Mitrea, and Aurelian Buzuloiu, Cluj, 1964. Photo by N. Kulin. Source: Direction of Systematization, Architecture and Constructions Design of Cluj.

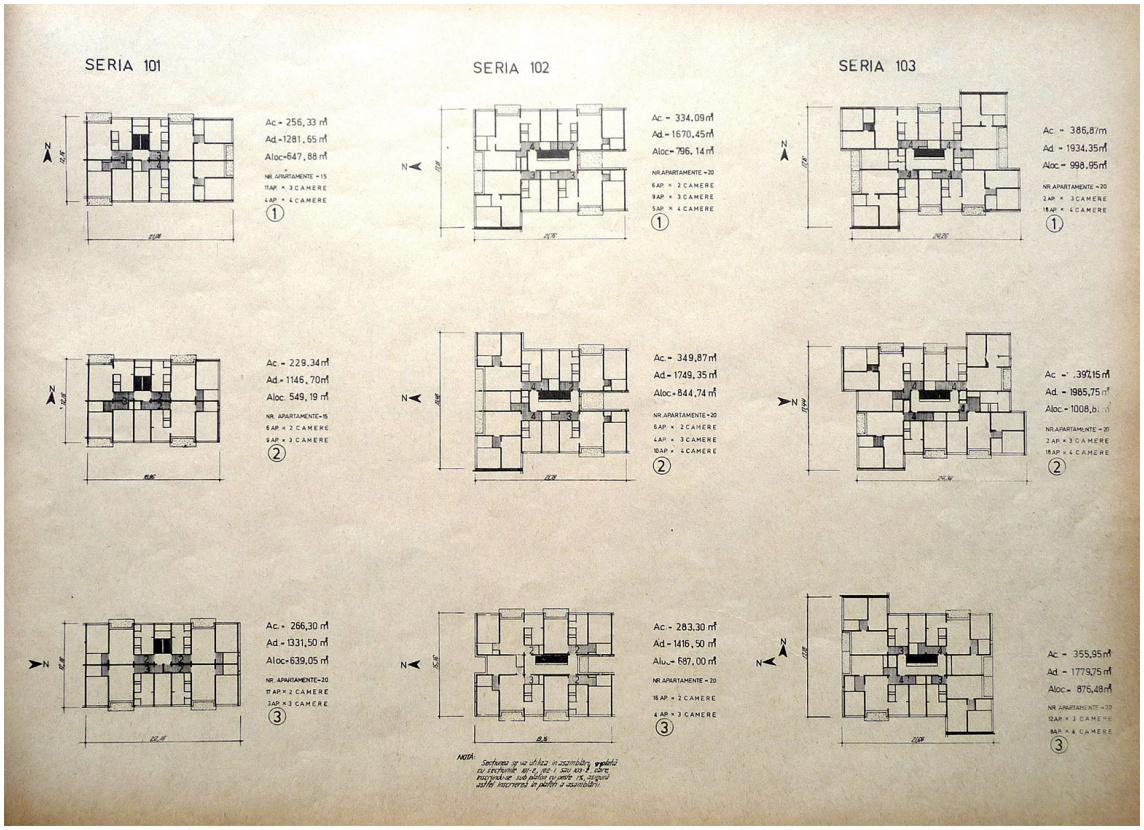

Figure 7. A plate from directive project no. 1361/1967 designed by Institutul de Proiectare pentru Construcții Tipizate (The Design Institute for Type Constructions). Source: The Institute for Studies and Projects for Systematization, Architecture and Typification (1971).

had just replaced microraion (by name only, as principles remained the same); to a "complex" made of at least two of such units; to a "district" (*cartier*), comprising several complexes (Figure 8); to the locality, composed of a few districts; and finally to the system of localities (G. Chițulescu & Rău, 1969, pp. 70–75). This all-scales abstract construct, along with modernistic architectural language, provided uniformity to mass housing developments in the entire country. The homogenization of the built environment throughout the national territory was achieved essentially through housing systematization.

3.3. From Practice to Science to Political Instrument

The late 1950s was the moment of "the leap from empiric urbanism to scientific urbanism" (Laurian, 1959, p. 47). From then on, a general belief in the efficiency of systematic methods prevailed. For architect Gustav Gusti, the "scientific fundament" of territorial organization was all about thinking in systems. Settlements were organized in an urban, rural, or mixed urban-rural interconnected "system of systems," incremental in size and complexity. Each city and village had an "optimal size" according to its role within this "system of complex territorial systems," which was a form of "guided and planned urbanization, proper to our country" (Gusti, 1967, p. 39). For all its scientificity, systematization was politically directed.

Architect Gheorghe Sebestyen also remarked that the main change in systematization since the early 1960s was its transformation from a technical activity into a scientific one. The key in understanding this change, he claimed, lied in a new connotation of scientificity itself: "the scientific research of the future," that is, the "prospective character" of systematization (Sebestyen, 1974, p. 10). The idea that systematization must expand from spatial to temporal relevance was also stressed by sociologist Gheorghe Chepeș. The city was made of people and objects in correlation—a complex system of information and energy connections. Therefore, "according to systems theory," Chepeș (1971, p. 58) claimed, "prospective thinking" and "modern procedures of prognosis" should be used in systematization. However, he also concluded that the "regulator" of this complex system was eventually a "decision body."

The most advanced advocate of science in systematization was architect and professor Mircea Enache, who promoted mathematical instruments in planning. He referred to planning systems in the US and UK—a change in inspiration sources that characterized the relative political liberalization of the late 1960s and early 1970s in Romania. The US was advancing new systems planning methodologies and the emerging field of computer science, of which Enache was a passionate supporter. He addressed the various terms for "systematization" and the differences between the practices they named. In the US, Enache explained, "*sistematizare complexă*'' was called "comprehensive planning." "Strategic planning" (i.e., complex systematization) and "operational planning" (i.e., physical

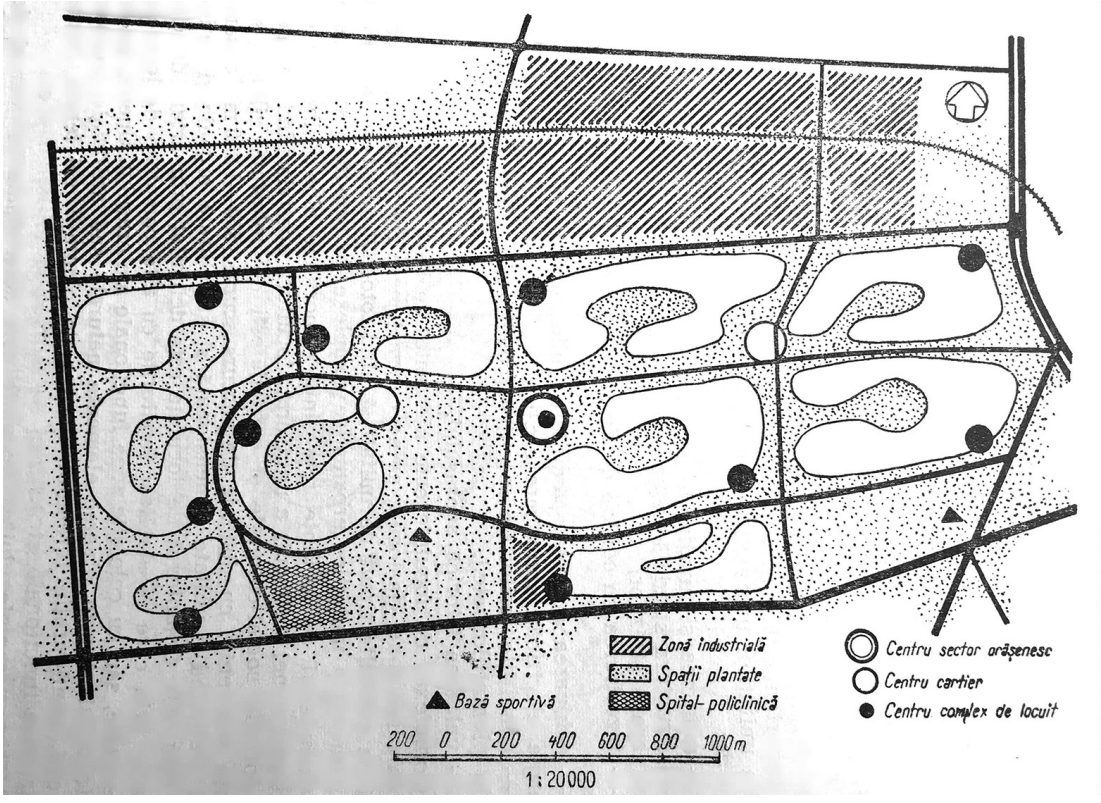

Figure 8. Scheme of housing district organization in complex urban units. Source: G. Chițulescu and Rău (1969, p. 72).

systematization) were two different things. "Complex systematization" was strategy, oriented towards objectives in the long term, while current "operational systematization" was tactics, oriented towards realization. In Romania, urban systematization was strongly normative, physical, and strictly deterministic; therefore, it must be changed, by adopting more flexible instruments and methods of prognosis, simulation, statistics, and nuanced mathematical models, to be able to deal with open and uncertain horizons (Enache, 1974).

In the quest for scientificity, Romanian architects were in tune with a more general *zeitgeist*. By the mid-1970s, on both sides of the Iron Curtain, an acute awareness of the limitation of world resources led to a renewed technocratic belief in perfect scientific models and systems thinking (Kegler, 2017). However, what appealed to communist regimes in particular was the idea of total system control, i.e., systems theory as a means to effectively dictate over real space. In the USSR, for instance, the need for cost-effective housing engendered a discourse on cybernetics as mathematical meta-science, which was developed as the "science of cost-saving optimizations" and translated into comprehensive planning. It devised a "meta-scale approach," which led to the organization of the entire country as a centrally governable system of optimizable subsystems (Kurkovsky West, 2019).

For the Romanian communist regime, mathematical instruments and systems science did not serve for open-ended planning, but for legitimizing political decisions and increasing the control over the way to a predetermined future. The moment when architects' discourse on science reached the climax, around the mid-1970s, was also the moment when the Systematization Law (1974) set the definitive ways in which systematization would work from then on.

3.4. Architecture, Urbanism, and Systematization

When housing started being addressed as a mass phenomenon in the late 1950s, it was the moment of passage "from the architecture of the building to the architecture of the city" (Gusti, 1959, p. 33). This was another leap, in scale, from architecture to urbanism: urbanism seemed more important than architecture during the 1960s. Nevertheless, in Romania, urbanism was not a distinct profession and was practiced by architects. Urbanism was taught in architecture school (the Institute of Architecture Ion Mincu in Bucharest) and architects were more or less trained to act as urbanists too. However, they were not prepared specifically for the technical questions of systematization.

Systematization as a profession emerged in the early 1960s when the Institute of Constructions in Bucharest began training "systematization engineers." Formalized in this new academic program, systematization became a disciplinary field in its own right. Architects received it almost with "hostility," as an unwelcome "competition." But the motivation of this program was precisely the fact that architects practicing urbanism were overwhelmed by the growing scale of infrastructure developments and new interventions in the territory (Vernescu, 1967).

Systematization was also taught in technical schools of architecture (a lower college specialization, preparing technicians to assist architects and engineers), with its own *Systematization Handbook* (G. Chițulescu & Rău, 1969). The *Handbook* gave separate definitions to "systematization" and "urbanism," but also associated them inseparably. Both were academic disciplines, both were scientific, both were "concrete activities" concerned with the "creation of new cities and the transformation of the existing ones" (G. Chițulescu & Rău, 1969, pp. 3–4). Urbanism was somehow broader because it included the operations of systematization, but also narrower because it was limited to the urban scale and systematization was not. However, the difference was by no means clear-cut, not least because both disciplines were still practiced mainly by architects. Not even the subtle distinctions that architect and professor of urbanism Alexandru Sandu developed in a later *Lexicon* (Sandu, 1988a, 1988b)—assigning urbanism mostly with culture and knowledge, and systematization with practice and action—really went beyond the idea of their major overlap.

In the mid-1970s, Gustav Gusti (1974, p. 20) defined systematization as the latest arrived in a series of disciplinary specializations. Depicting the successive emergence of architecture, urbanism, and systematization starting from constructions, he considered all four as having the same disciplinary rank. About a decade later, a *Small Illustrated Lexicon of Systematization Notions* (Cardaș, 1983) gave another explanation, in a diagram showing systematization as an intricate relationship between interventions at urban, regional, and territorial scales (Figure 9). The entire *Small Lexicon* itself—a book that was small only in format, but in content was so comprehensive that it included all imaginable notions of planning—bore witness that systematization had become an all-inclusive field, engulfing urbanism entirely, and even parts of architecture.

Nevertheless, architects remained prime actors in the otherwise multidisciplinary systematization projects. During the 1970s and 1980s, architects in Romania received diplomas awarded by the Ion Mincu Institute of Architecture (the only graduate school of architecture in Romania at the time), attesting their "specialization in architecture and systematization." Architecture, urbanism, and systematization together built up one syncretic profession of "architect." The architectural perspective upon all scales of spatial planning was thus provided by default.

3.5. Full-Scale Totalitarian

The Romanian Communist Party brought systematization to the center of its interests in 1967 (Ionescu, 1969,

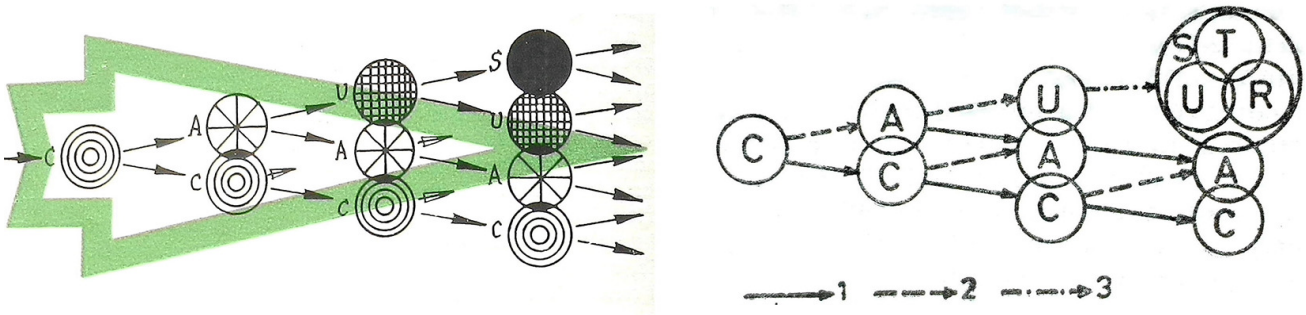

Figure 9. Diagrams of the relationship between constructions, architecture, urbanism, systematization, and urban, regional, and territorial scales. Sources: Gusti (1974, p. 20; left) and Cardaș (1983, p. 307; right).

p. 64). A formal political program of national systematization was launched in 1972. This program also recuperated the concept of "civic center" (Romanian Communist Party, 1972, pp. 476–498), which marked the shift in the power's interest towards being represented through architecture—just like during the late 1930s.

Housing concepts also changed. After a series of laws—Housing Law (1973), Systematization Law (1974), and Streets Law (1975)—higher density was imposed and open urbanism gave way to compact housing estates, specific to intensive urban growth. Slabs were dressed along streets (*placare*) and housing estates were composed in "precincts" (*incinte*; Lăzărescu, 1977, pp. 21, 65–66)—not unlike the former "cvartals" of the early 1950s. Housing systematization was also transformed by a renewed interest in architecture's monumental expression.

The most radical objective was the systematization of villages and the reorganization of the system of localities (Figure 10). Sub-optimal villages—too small, too sparse, and too many—were supposed to be phased out and the population moved into fewer compact localities, upgraded to a quasi-urban status, and endowed with new civic centers. This implied a redistribution of the population at a geographic scale and a redesign of the spatial structure of entire social systems into a hierarchy of dispersed centralities.

The analogy with Christaller's theory of central places (Pascariu, 2011) with its hierarchized geometric pattern ordering the system of settlements is indeed relevant. Similarities could be found even in more sinister implications, as Christaller initially applied this theory for dislocating the population in occupied Poland during World War II. With its Nazi past forgotten, the theory has been recuperated in the West in the late 1960s (Bustin, 2020), precisely at the time when the Thaw allowed Romanian architects to enjoy some western documentation. The *Small Lexicon of Systematization Notions*

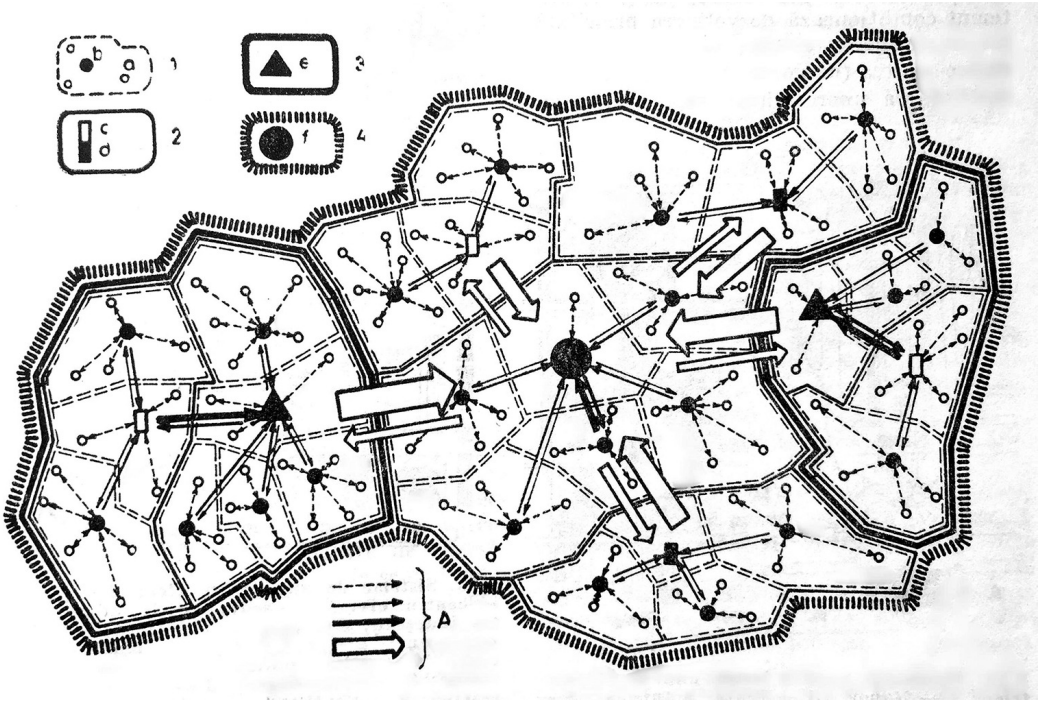

Figure 10. A system of localities diagram. Source: Cardaș (1983, p. 303).

(Cardaș, 1983, p. 140) mentioned Christaller's "hexagonal theory." But Romanian systematization retained the idea of the top-down/bottom-up exchange structure between higher- and lower-ranked localities, rather than the "rings" of connectivity between equally ranked ones (Christaller, 1933/1966, pp. 224–225). While Christaller's theory stressed interconnectivity, Romanian systematization stressed hierarchy. Nevertheless, they shared a preference for graphic expressions—the aestheticization of the abstract spatial order—and also shared their significance: population control in the name of a geometrically balanced settlement system.

The radical restructuring of thousands of villages and towns was planned in Romania after the 1974 law, but it only started being enacted in the late 1980s. In 1986, 3,931 of the 13,123 existing villages were proposed to be demolished and the population relocated; however, only about six of them, in the proximity of Bucharest, have been razed, and 29 towns have been rebuilt at 90% (Fezi, 2013). Along with the demolition of the Bucharest historic center, this made Romanian systematization infamous worldwide.

The term and the extreme practices it stood for were among the first things abolished after 1990. Systematization as a field was officially renamed *urbanism și amenajarea teritoriului* (urban and territorial planning). Urbanism became independent from architecture after 1997, when an academic program training proper urban planners was created in a new Faculty of Urban Planning, at the (renamed) University of Architecture and Urban Planning Ion Mincu in Bucharest. A change in the planning paradigm occurred once Romania joined the liberal globalized world. Architects and urbanists are now able to pursue the most topical ideas of the contemporary *zeitgeist*.

Today, one of the most seductive ideas is the "system city." Cities and territories are now described as "complex systems," founded on "intelligent" infrastructural systems, and are addressed with "mathematical models of the processes of biological and natural systems" (Weinstock, 2013, pp. 17, 23, cover 4). Methods are borrowed from hard sciences dealing with complexity and adapted to the new digital paradigm. Globally interconnected computers are processing high-volume data and "the whole surface of our planet" is taken into consideration as one ecosystem. Moreover, "quasi-Orwellian operational models" observe cities through their "interconnected infrastructure systems, to facilitate their control" (Fournier, 2013, pp. 125, 128). In these contemporary forms of systematicity, digital tools are revolutionary, and terms are arguably different—but basic ideas are not.

4. Conclusion

This article tried to underline the importance of long-time perspectives. In addressing a key concept such as systematization, drawing its whole story was important for comprehending the continuity of its core ideas, but also understanding how these ideas evolved and were redefined, by each context the term emerged in. In Romania, systematization had two successive lives: before and after World War II. There were a few notions in systematization that traversed both periods: the urge of modernization, the look for efficiency through scientific methods and systemic thinking, the need for a reliable instrument to control spatial development, and the unitary coordination of spatial interventions throughout the country. The two climaxes in the life of systematization also looked similar: Each regime in its last and most dictatorial phase tried to enforce radical spatial change with maximum impact on all scales, in the name of systematization. Up to a point, history repeated itself. However, what is most striking in the long history of systematization is the great distance not between its meanings during the two periods, but between theory and real effects in each of them, between architects' intentions and what systematization became eventually.

Another point was the critical question of whether scientific and technocratic expertise, claiming the neutrality of its instruments, could ever be truly free from political interference. The article showed how in two different political regimes the result was arguably the same. The most common interpretation is that those in power confiscated the neutral technical instrument and (mis)used it. When historian Dennis Deletant (1995/2015, Chapter 8) drew a thorough political history of systematization under Ceaușescu's regime, for instance, he presented it as Ceaușescu's program entirely, remarking that he didn't leave any decisions to architects. Systematization appeared as just an instrument, which turned destructive in the hands of communist power. However, the fact that the professional expertise had nothing to do with it is not entirely true. The intrinsic disciplinary logic of formal scientification, plus the architecturalization and even aestheticization of planning, also contributed to what systematization would become. If we consider the long-time perspective moreover and address systematization also in contexts before and after the communist regime, we see that the very idea of systematization always assumes the entanglement with a power that could enact it—its geometric lines of force could always emerge only within a power field.

Last but not least, a crucial point was that systematization should be understood as a core concept of modern urbanism. Professing rationality, efficiency, abstraction, and rigorous geometric order, systematization was about 20th-century modernity in its outmost radical expression, as a way to achieving pure ideal forms of spatial organization: It was a concept of outright modernism. The fact that systematization began as a promise of modernization and progress and ended as an oppressive totalitarian tool, which had to be terminated, emulated modernism's evolution. Also, the certain fascination that systematization exerted was mostly at a discursive level. Most of the time, the rhetoric of systematization

prevailed over real enactment; and when change was eventually imposed upon real space, the process became violent and unsustainable. This could be a warning for today's discourses of radical modernization. The terms in which the present-day paradigms of systematicity are expressed prove they are situated in continuity rather than in rupture with the radical discourses of modernization of the 20th century.

What history teaches us eventually is that terms can endure for a long time and adapt to renewed contexts. Words may vanish and the notions they name still survive. As conceptual tools, they bear the risks of becoming purposes in themselves and being misused. The term systematization, in Romania, paid the price for the misuse of the tools it named: The word was eradicated from the professional language. The top-down enforcement of its radical method into real space may be momentarily delegitimized too, but its basic idea, that our inhabited environments are best addressed as systems of interdependence, on all scales, has by no means been invalidated.

If we eventually try to dissect systematization terminologically, we may distinguish between the term, the concept, and the idea of systematization. Systematization as a term is quite transparent, with its etymology immediately graspable. Consequently, it is a word straightforwardly translatable, transferring almost as such through different languages and various disciplinary jargons. It is a word that is still alive and functional. Systematization as a concept (and what was developed here) is the meaning the term acquires in a specific context. The concept moves through scientific disciplines and professional practices, crossing specific cultures, instantiating itself in certain places and at certain moments in time. It denotes the search for systematicity, that is, the action of putting a coherent order into all things and addressing an entire "world" in its immeasurable complexity—but its actual meaning depends on the "world" that it engages in; in our case, it was the planning of the spatial environment of a country in a century. Because dealing with such complexity is a challenge that could never be fulfilled in its entirety, the concept of systematization is always specific and context dependent. The concept of systematization can be grasped only in variable local and temporal, and indeed partial, understandings. Finally, if we try to extract the idea of systematization—some constant meaning beyond any historical case, the essence of what systematization is—this could be to understand, find, and enhance the interconnectedness in all things. But then, nothing exists outside history. The idea behind the term could be articulated only from all its possible historical conceptualizations. This is what this article, with its idiosyncratic concept of systematization, contributed to.

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Conflict of Interests

The author declares no conflict of interests.

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Article

Affordable Futures Past: Rethinking Contemporary Housing Production in Portugal While Revisiting Former Logics

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Abstract
This article focuses on a specific term associated with the scientific, theoretical, and academic discourse on housing architecture in Portugal. Over the last 100 years, the term "affordable" has frequently been used in the vocabulary of urban housing in Portugal, being linked to other words commonly used in housing construction, such as *económica* (economical), *barata* (cheap/inexpensive/low-cost), *pobre* (poor), *cooperativa* (cooperative), or even *custos controlados* (controlled costs). Therefore, we propose to explore the multiple appropriations and contemporary shifts in its original meaning, seeking in this way to: (a) further stimulate the contemporary discussion on types of buildings, public housing programmes (i.e., following a historical perspective), contemporary housing policies (e.g. Basic Housing Law and New Generation of Housing Policies), refurbishment policies, new regulations, and new models for the middle classes (in Portugal); (b) share perspectives about the updating of this concept and the materialisation of its respective types and models in contemporary architectural practice; and (c) build bridges between the past and the present (public and private models and solutions, and shifts in the target audience). Although a wide range of different words was used to describe "affordable housing" in Portugal from the early 20th century to the first decade of the 21st century, it is essential to stress the importance of several newly emerging concepts. In recently implemented laws, concepts such as *economicamente acessível* (economically accessible) and *custos controlados* (controlled costs/low-cost) encompass the shifts in the meaning of the term "affordable" and broaden the contemporary discussion of the housing problem in relation to the type of property and target audience.

Keywords
affordable housing; ageing in place; energy efficiency; housing policies; Portugal; state-subsidised housing

Issue
This article is part of the issue "The Terms of Dwelling: Re-Theorizing Housing Through Architecture" edited by Yael Allweil (Technion—Israel Institute of Technology) and Gaia Caramellino (Politecnico di Milano).

1. Introduction: Rethinking Housing Production Through a Guide to Specific Terminology

As in other international contexts, today the construction of affordable housing raises several questions, given the significant escalation in house prices (Xerez et al., 2019, p. 68). There is a lack of housing solutions not only for the disadvantaged population but mostly for the middle classes who cannot afford to rent or buy houses in the property market. In this sense, the Portuguese housing crisis is due, in part, to the lack of affordable homes—in other words, homes that are accessible to ordinary people. To put it simply, these phenomena can be seen as the result of the strategies and policies pursued during the last few decades, in accordance with a neo-liberal ideology of reducing the role of the welfare state (P. R. Pinto, 2009): selling off the state housing stock, for example, or giving banks (financial capital) the role of regulating access to housing, through benefits for house buyers (Aalbers et al., 2020; A. C. Santos, 2019). As can be seen in several European countries (A. Santos et al., 2016), these policies have promoted the deregulation of

all social sectors, especially housing (T. C. Pinto & Guerra, 2019; Ribeiro & Santos, 2019).

As house prices have been rising dramatically in Portugal, just as in many other European countries, there has been a natural shift in housing policy. In the last few years, among other factors, we can observe:

- A shortfall in the number of dwellings available for rent or purchase, as the market is unable to supply solutions at affordable prices;
- A sudden increase in tourism in cities such as Lisbon and Porto, which has led to the uncontrolled proliferation of short-term rentals;
- An apparent deregulation in terms of public policies (Xerez et al., 2019, p. 68), which cannot prevent speculation in the property market.

Understanding the challenges of affordable housing makes it necessary to address the complex set of trends and factors in play, such as income and wealth, and, naturally, social, economic, and urban factors. For most low- and middle-class families, household income is the primary factor that determines housing affordability. Nevertheless, in this article, we are not focusing on how housing affordability is currently measured in Portugal, or its definition (which would be a whole field on its own), but how the concept of affordability is evolving in Portuguese "language," among policymakers, architects, and researchers.

This article proposes a diachronic reading that was made possible by the production of a specific book (Figure 1). The *Guide to Specific Terminology in State-Subsidized Residential Architecture in Portugal [1910–1974]* (Lameira & Rocha, 2019) was published in July 2019 under the scope of the research project "Mapping public housing: A critical review of the state-subsidised residential architecture in Portugal (1910–1974)'' (Ramos, Gonçalves, et al., 2021). This book seeks to clarify the broad set of concepts, terms, and denominations associated with the discourse on housing architecture in Portugal. The guide consists of two distinct sections: programmed housing (1910–1974) and housing. The first of these is directly connected with the several state-subsidised housing programmes implemented in Portugal (legislative context, bibliographical references, and an exemplary listing of the built housing); the second section encompasses a set of terms frequently used in research related to urban housing,

Figure 1. Cover of the printed edition of the *Guide to Specific Terminology in State-Subsidized Residential Architecture in Portugal [1910–1974]*. Source: Lameira and Rocha (2019).

including some relevant terms in the construction of a parallel between the Portuguese reality and the context of other countries.

The term "affordable" is dealt with in some detail in this book, since most state-subsidised housing programmes from the First Republic (1910–1926) until the fall of the dictatorship regime in Portugal, in 1974, were designed, precisely, to build economic housing.

The article is divided into three main sections: The first section establishes a perspective regarding the promotion of affordable housing from the beginning of the 20th century to the present day, namely focusing on the different public programmes implemented since 1910; the second section explains the contemporary housing initiatives currently being implemented in Portugal; and the third section focuses on the housing challenges that will be faced in the next few years in terms of affordable housing in Portugal.

2. From Past to Present: A Panoramic Overview of Shifts in the Concept of "Affordable"

The question of low-income housing in Portugal has been addressed by various authors in regard to certain aspects or geographies (Almeida, 2010; Janarra, 1994; Portas, 2013; Queirós & Pereira, 2012), making the relationship that exists between ideology, welfare policies, and housing one of the most challenging and longest-lasting subjects of study. As was the case in a number of other European countries (A. C. Pinto & Martinho, 2016), the first social welfare policies were implemented by a corporatist authoritarian government (Pereira, 1999; P. R. Pinto, 2009; Rosas & Garrido, 2012), leading to measures that addressed the basic needs of the poor. Nevertheless, the state introduced such measures under the assumption of a political form of social control (Gonçalves, 2018; Ramos et al., 2014, 2018, 2020; Ramos, Gonçalves, et al., 2021, pp. 2–3), which had implications for the housing solutions that were adopted—dwelling types, layouts, urban models—throughout the programmes implemented until 1974 (Ramos, Pereira, et al., 2021).

2.1. State-Subsidised Programmes (1910–1974)

In Portugal, between 1910 and 1974, the term "affordable" was commonly used to identify low-cost housing solutions for certain strata of the population with variable incomes: the "petite bourgeoisie," composed of service personnel, state officials, and factory managers; in other words, individuals who had sufficient income to afford the house and insurance payments and, above all, displayed good political conduct. This term was appropriated by the main initiatives in housing construction implemented by the different political regimes from the First Republic (1910–1926) to the Estado Novo dictatorship (1933–1974), in the form of various housing programmes (Silva & Ramos, 2015; Gonçalves, 2018). One important example from the First Republic was the Social Housing District programme (Bairro Social Decree-Law No. 5443 of 26 April 1919; Figure 3), while the main housing programmes of the Estado Novo regime included the Affordable Houses programme (Casas Económicas Decree-Law No. 23052 of 23 September 1933; Figure 2), the Houses for Poor Families programme (Casas Para Famílias Pobres Decree-Law No. 34486 of 6 April 1945), and the Affordable Rented Houses programme (Casas de Renda Económica Law No. 2007 of 7 May 1945). "Affordable housing" is the term most commonly associated with the expression *casas económicas*, whose direct translation would be "economical houses."

The links between the different programmes implemented until 1974 were weak, without there being any coherent housing policy evolving over time. They should therefore be seen as a reaction to political circumstances (corporative policies, state exhibitions, international events, natural disasters, among others) and a response motivated by specific political decision-makers. Globally, all actions in the field of housing were intended to combat the misery and human degradation that prevailed, above all, in Porto and Lisbon, seeking to abolish (or conceal) the image of dirty and unhealthy cities with a mass working population. Disregarding the few new residential neighbourhoods initiated by the

Figure 2. Alto da Ajuda (Lisbon) affordable housing estate: Phase 1, 1934–1938 (reference a223 in Mapa da Habitação [MdH] database). Source: Novais (n.d.).

republican governments (1910–1926), which had ideological social support, investment in housing under the Estado Novo regime (Salazar's dictatorship) was not primarily intended for proletarians. The focus was on attracting public employees and skilled workers to support the government (Patriarca, 1995a, 1995b). Only much later were local policies such as the Improvement Plan of Porto (Decree-Law No. 40616 of 28 May 1956) and the Plan for Constructing New Housing in Lisbon (Decree-Law No. 42454 of 18 August 1959) able to reach workers who had only very limited resources.

In that sense, the ideological lines that determined the characteristics and differences of the programmes can be summarised as follows:

1. Over the course of the short duration of the First Republic (1910–1926), the state put into practice its ideological wish to attend to workers' social needs by improving their quality of life, through government decisions linked to guaranteeing housing and education (for example) as basic rights and as a necessary foundation for greater social development. However, the few programmes that were launched—the Affordable Houses Neighbourhood programme (Bairro de Casas Económicas Decree-Law No. 4137 of 25 April 1918); the Social Housing District programme; and the Affordable Houses Regime (Regime das Casas Económicas Decree-Law No. 16055 of 22 October 1928)—were insufficient to guarantee the completion of large neighbourhoods. The underlying causes of this situation were, among others, the permanent political and social unrest, the lack of financial resources, which had been depleted by the First World War, and, above all, the inability to establish technically effective and non-corrupt local and central organisations that were willing to plan, design, and undertake work in this area (Gonçalves, 2018).
2. Incidentally, this aspect served as one of the main arguments for the implantation of the totalitarian state, the Estado Novo regime, that immediately followed the Portuguese First Republic. The implementation of the New State Decalogue explained that "the individual exists socially as part of natural groups (families), professions (corporations), territories (municipalities), and it is in this capacity that all necessary rights are recognised" (Decálogo do Estado Novo, as featured in a government advertisement poster in 1934). From this statement, we can more easily understand the political importance and the long duration of the first and the most coherent housing programme implemented by the regime—the Affordable Houses programme (Casas Económicas; Decree-Law No. 23052 of 23 September 1933)—which was conceived as a political weapon for ensuring stricter social control and became both a reference and a counter-reference for all other actions in the housing field until the 25th of April revolution, in 1974.
3. The various programmes implemented by the Estado Novo regime (Figure 5) reflect a complex bureaucratic web, totally centred on the figure of the dictator, with the capacity to design, build, manage, and allocate houses, as well as to monitor whoever inhabited them, responding to the regime's corporate ideology. We should not conclude that this implied a coherent housing policy. Instead, it was the result of fierce internal struggles, waged between the powers and the services, and allowing one programme to move forward while another one was forced to retreat.
4. Among the programmes created by the Estado Novo regime, there were three that had an eminently social function due to their circumstances, such as those relating to resettlements (public events and infrastructures), natural disasters, and manifest poverty: the Demountable Houses Programme (Programa das Casas Desmontáveis Decree-Law No. 28912 of 12 August 1938); the Houses for Poor Families programme; and the Plan for Rehousing Disaster Victims (Plano de Realojamento dos Sinistrados Decree-Law No. 48240 of 17 February 1968).
5. After the Second World War, and compared to other European states, studies of the national territory identified Portugal's underdevelopment as resulting from the contradictions in the adopted development model (Murteira, 1979; Patriarca, 1995a, 1995b; Pereira, 1974), which, together with a policy of industrial protectionism, made it difficult to sustain the "single house" model and its programmes. Nonetheless, the advent of a new generation of technocratic politicians with international training allowed for a prudent extension of the housing question to other types of dwellings, becoming more aware of economic efficiency and the capacity to create the most significant number of homes in a short period. In particular, and together with the former Affordable Housing Programme (1933–1974), based on single-family housing, the construction of multi-family housing blocks in the modern architectural style came to be accepted, such as the Affordable Rented Houses programme and the Controlled Rent Housing programme (Casas de Renda Limitada Decree-Law No. 36212 of 7 April 1947). These new programmes, built by young modern architects, gave rise to the creation of some large-scale neighbourhoods, shaping the growth of the first urban peripheries (Tavares, 2016).

These programmes contributed to the construction of a significant number of dwellings (Figures 4 and 5) across the country and motivated the development of other

HABITAÇÃO PROGRAMADA

TIAGO, Maria da Conceição (2010). "Bairros Sociais da I República: projectos e realizações". in *Ler História* Nº 59. Repúblicas: Culturas e práticas.

[s.n.], (2000). "As Ilhas, as Colónias Operárias e os Bairros de Casas Económicas". Porto, Pelouro de Habitação, Câmara Municipal do Porto.

[s.n.], (1956). "Plano de Melhoramentos 1956-1966". Porto, Câmara Municipal do Porto / Direcção dos Serviços do Plano de Melhoramentos.

Fig.2 e 3 Bairro Social da Arrábida [© Gisela Lameira]

programa de habitação

Bairro Social [BS]

Programa de habitação suportado através do Decreto-Lei 5443, de 26 de Abril de 1919. Regulamento para a construção dos bairros sociais.

EXEMPLOS
(4 inventariados a 02.2019)

Bairro Social do Arco do Cego [Fig. 4 e 5], Lisboa, 1919-1935 | Arnaldo Adães Bermudes, Frederico C. de Carvalho, Edmundo Tavares.
GPS: 38.739694N, 9.140287W

Bairro Social da Covilhã, 1919 | Nogueira Júnior, Campos Melo (eng.), Jorge Coutinho (eng.).
GPS: 40.282575N, 7.511536W

Bairro Social de Alcântara, Lisboa, 1919 [demolido] | [s.n.].
GPS: 38.713044N, 9.183718W

LEGISLAÇÃO ESPECÍFICA

Decreto-Lei 5443, de 26 de Abril de 1919
Ministério do Trabalho, 11ª Repartição da Direcção Geral da Contabilidade Pública
Diário do Govêrno n.º 87/1919, Série I de 1919-04-26

"Tornando-se indispensável ao Governo realizar uma operação de crédito para custear as despesas de construção do bairro operário a que se refere o decreto-lei Nº 5397, de 14 do corrente, bem como de mais quatro bairros destinados a operários e às classes menos abastadas;
Considerando a conveniência da construção desses bairros, para acudir com obras produtivas à crise da construção civil, substituindo por trabalhos de utilidade pública as reparações improvisadas, nem sempre de necessidade absoluta; (...)
Artigo 1.º É o Govêrno autorizado a negociar na Caixa Geral de Depósitos um empréstimo de 10.000 contos, destinado à compra de propriedades, aquisição de materiais e ao pagamento das restantes despesas relativas à construção de cinco bairros para habitação de operários e das classes menos abastadas."
(DL 5443: 687, 688)

40

Decreto-Lei 5481, de 30 de Abril de 1919
Ministério do Trabalho, Secretaria Geral
Diário do Govêrno n.º 90/1919, Série I de 1919-04-30

"Considerando que é da máxima utilidade e economia subordinar a administração superior da construção dos Bairros Sociais a uma entidade única;
Considerando que, para essa administração poder prestar todos os benefícios a exigir, é mester conceder-lhe toda a autonomia administrativa;
E atendendo a que se torna necessário dar cumprimento ao disposto no artigo 2º do decreto, com força de lei, nº 5443, de 26 do corrente;
Hei por bem, usando a faculdade que me confere o nº 3 do artigo 47º da Constituição Política da República Portuguesa, aprovar o regulamento que faz parte integrante do presente decreto e com ele baixa assinado pelo respectivo Ministro (...)".

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SILVA, Raquel Henriques da (1997). "Bairro Social Arco do Cego". in A. Becker, A. Tostões, W. Wang (coord.), *Portugal: Arquitectura do século XX*, Lisboa, Prestel.

[s.n.], (1920). "Os bairros sociaes". in *Ilustração Portugueza*, N.º 746, pp. 392-393.

Bairro Social da Ajuda, Lisboa, 1919 [demolido] | Norte Júnior, Luís Cristino da Silva, Alexandra da Cunha, Assunção Santos.
GPS: 38.711164N, 9.198644W

Fig.4 e 5 Bairro Social do Arco do Cego [© Gisela Lameira]

41

Figure 3. Social Housing District (Bairro Social), 1919. Notes: This double-page spread represents the *Bairro Social do Arco do Cego*, Lisbon, 1919–1935, which was completed during the Estado Novo regime (reference a216 in MdH database). In these pages, we can also find information about the specific regulation that gave rise to this housing programme and some bibliographical references. Source: Lameira and Rocha (2019, pp. 40–41).

organisations and promoters with administrative and financial autonomy, designed to solve the housing problem, such as the 1969 fund for the development of social housing schemes (Fundo de Fomento da Habitação).

What distinguishes the housing policy in Portugal from other regimes—some authoritarian and corporative in Europe—is Salazar's "obsession" with private property. Having as a primary focus the construction of a middle class, this fact can be seen as constant throughout the regime, directly or indirectly prevailing in most implemented housing programmes.

The implemented programmes were based on different property regimes. For example, the specific Affordable Housing Programme (Decree-Law No. 23052

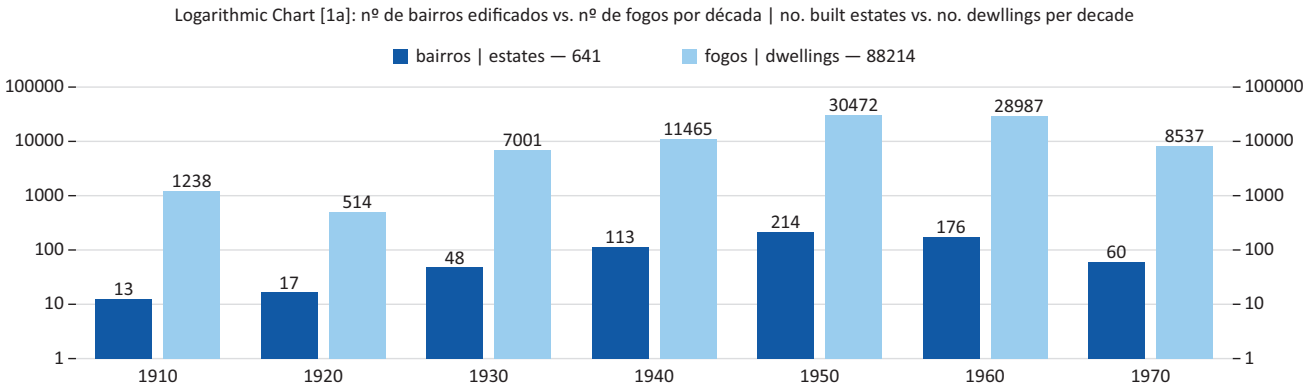

Figure 4. Linear chart with information about the number of dwellings built in each programme. Note: The universe is composed of built estates and dwellings built between 1910 and 1974, included in the MdH database. Source: Ramos, Gonçalves, et al. (2019).

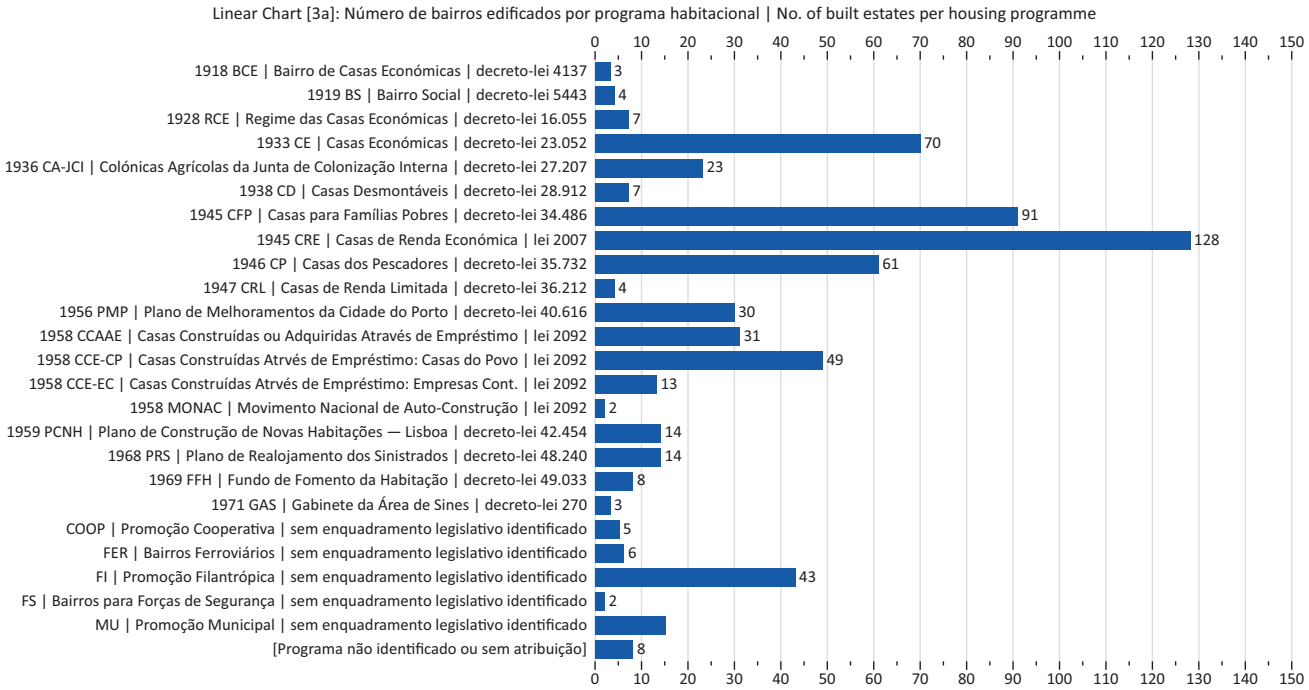

Figure 5. Linear chart with the number of built estates per housing programme. Note: The universe is composed of built estates and dwellings built between 1910 and 1974, included in the MdH database. Source: Ramos, Gonçalves, et al. (2019).

of 23 September 1933) was based on a rental-purchase principle (the monthly rent paid off the value of the house within 25 years), with the result that the buildings passed from the public to the private sector, even allowing for the apartments to be subsequently sold to other owners.

The rental-purchase system (Propriedade Resolúvel) presupposed a contract of conditional ownership, which allowed the state to sell the property, with the buyer also making a commitment to fulfil certain obligations, not only financial ones but also mostly those relating to family and moral behaviour, i.e., in keeping with a political ideology. If these conditions were not rigorously followed, the property could be lost, which happened in some cases (Silva & Ramos, 2015, p. 261). This system was mainly intended to create better conditions for access to property (Decree-Law No. 23052 of 23 September 1933) and was also used by the regime in other housing programmes and contexts. The system not only enabled the state to generate a class of small homeowners but also created the conditions to further extend these housing policies.

The authorisation to sell the homes built under the Affordable Houses programme came afterwards, in October 1975 (Decree-Law No. 566 of 3 October 1975), already after the end of the regime in April 1974. However, the "rent to buy" principle associated with this programme was only fully abolished in 1982 (Decree-Law No. 329 of 17 August 1982).

The rental dwellings built under the Affordable Rented Housing Programme (Law No. 2007 of 7 May 1945), despite not having been conceived originally with this aim, could be acquired by the inhabitants in 1977, under the terms of a specific piece of legislation (Decree-Law No. 419 of 4 October 1977). The buildings originally constructed for rent were divided into autonomous units and transformed into a horizontal property regime at that time. However, this case differs from the previous one, since it clearly formed part of the state policy of selling off the national housing heritage, in keeping with an emerging neoliberal ideology. With these strategies, the state transferred the housing heritage both to banks with "interest subsidies" and to the private sector with the "financialisation" of the property market.

The Plan for Constructing New Housing in Lisbon (Figure 6) is also worthy of consideration, as it included three of the most extensive urban developments built in Lisbon in the early 1960s, namely the neighbourhoods of Olivais Norte, Olivais Sul, and Chelas. These interventions also revealed the influence of international practices: Olivais Norte followed the principles of the Athens Charter, Olivais Sul presented some brutalist features, and Chelas suggested the experiments of Alison and Peter Smithson's Golden Lane (1952) and Robin Hood Gardens (1962–1972; Ramos, Gonçalves, et al., 2021, p. 11). This housing programme established a general plan for the construction of affordable rental housing in the city of Lisbon, which involved several housing developers (Agarez, 2018; Heitor, 2004; Ramos, Pereira, et al., 2019). In Porto, the Improvement Plan (1956) allowed for the construction of 14 neighbourhoods and more than 6,000 dwellings within 10 years. This public initiative was a significant process of socio-territorial transformation in the region (Queirós, 2016).

Figure 6. Neighbourhoods of Olivais Norte and Chelas: General views (Plan for Constructing New Housing, 1959). Notes: This double-page spread shows the neighbourhoods of Olivais Norte (buildings type IID, 1958–1960, reference a188 in MdH database) and Chelas (Pantera Cor-de-Rosa housing complex, 1972–1980, reference a534 in MdH database, and the Cinco Dedos housing complex, 1973, reference a536 in MdH database). In these pages, we can also find information about some bibliographical references. Source: Lameira and Rocha (2019, pp. 77–78).

Furthermore, some unexpected projects were initiated towards the end of the regime, such as the Agualva-Cacém estate (Figure 7), in Mira-Sintra, designed between 1965 and 1970. The Agualva-Cacém estate represents almost a new town prototype with different housing densities, urban equipment, and common green areas, built in an extensive territorial area (Ramos, Gonçalves, et al., 2021, pp. 11–12).

2.2. From 1974 to Early 2000s

The same architects who worked on the more recent housing programmes, such as the Affordable Rented Houses Programme (1945), and were more receptive to the modern architectural style, were called upon to develop new forms of housing and processes for the participation of residents, which in turn gave rise to the Local Ambulatory Support Service (Serviço de Apoio Ambulatório Local [SAAL]; Ministerial Order of 6 August 1974). This approach, strongly marked by the research that Nuno Portas (Dias, 2017) was already conducting at the National Laboratory for Civil Engineering, introduced specific subjects, namely self-construction, evolutionary housing, and the participation of residents, all of them linked to a strategy of closer approximation to local cultures.

The SAAL emerged shortly after the revolution of the 25th of April 1974, although new housing policies and proposals for different architectural typologies were already being debated before this, namely through participants such as Nuno Portas, along with some international experiences. The SAAL intended to address the accentuated housing shortages all across the country, in a participatory process with the direct and active involvement of the population (Portas, 1986). Some of the architectural examples of the SAAL programme were the São Vitor and Bouça estates in Porto (Figure 8).

Also in 1974, the Housing Development Contracts programme (Contratos de Desenvolvimento para Habitação Decree-Law No. 663/74 of 26 November 1974) was created, which was an amendment to the previous programme of Controlled Rent Housing. The Housing Development Contracts programme stimulated the construction of "houses of social interest" (Antunes, 2019, p. 11), thus increasing the housing supply for the urban middle class. This programme underwent

Figure 7. Agualva-Cacém affordable housing estate in Mira-Sintra, 1965 (reference a267 in MdH database). Photograph by © Tiago Casanova. Source: Ramos, Gonçalves, et al. (2019).

successive changes and a major restructuring in 1985, which oriented the programme towards the guidelines of Controlled Cost Housing (Habitações a Custos Controlados), with the purpose of decreasing the action of the state and enabling renters to purchase their own houses (Antunes, 2019, p. 11).

The construction of Controlled Cost Housing began in the 1980s, with homes being built both for sale (Decree-Law No. 220 of 26 May 1983) and for rent (Decree-Law No. 110 of 17 April 1985). Among the promoters were the Housing Cooperatives (Cooperativas de Habitação Decree-Law No. 730 of 20 December 1974 and Decree-Law No. 737-A of 23 December 1974), through access to special housing credits. The cooperative system includes both individual and collective properties, given that, in the second case, the dwellings can

Figure 8. SAAL in Bouça Estate (Porto). General views in 2013: Phase 1, 1973–1978 (reference a826 in MdH database).

remain as the property of the cooperative. The Housing Cooperatives contributed to the construction of hundreds of complexes around the country, with São Mamede Infesta (1985), Matosinhos (1979–1984), and Contumil (1979–1986) representing some of the more relevant examples in the north of Portugal.

Subsequently, in 1993, the Special Rehousing Programme (SRP; Programa Especial de Realojamento Decree-Law No. 163/93 of 7 May 1993) was introduced, with the aim of eliminating the slum areas existing in Metropolitan Areas of Lisbon and Porto and providing conditions for the relocation of the residents in these low-cost homes. As a result, this programme had a substantial impact on the social and territorial development of these metropolitan centres. For the development of the SRP, contracts were later made between municipalities, the National Housing Institute (Instituto Nacional de Habitação) and the Institute for the Management and Sale of the State Housing Heritage (Instituto de Gestão e Alienação do Património Habitacional do Estado; Antunes, 2019, p. 12). In 2003, the SRP was revised (Decree-Law No. 271/2003 of 28 October), being particularly notable for its promotion of urban rehabilitation instead of the acquisition or construction of new housing. Later, in 2004, PROHABITA (Decree-Law No. 135/2004 of 3 June) emerged, being developed through agreements between municipalities and the National Housing Institute. However, unlike the SRP, this programme served the entire national territory. This programme was also notable for favouring the rehabilitation of existing buildings over the creation of new constructions and underlining the importance of improving the energy efficiency of social buildings (Antunes, 2019, p. 12).

Currently, the state even financially supports the construction or purchase of Controlled Cost Housing, both for permanent use and under rental conditions. These houses must comply with the specific requirements imposed by Ordinance No. 65/2019 of 19 February, which incorporates the objectives of the New Generation of Housing Policies, approved by the 21st Constitutional Government (Council of Ministers Resolution No. 50-A/2018, of 2 May). The main changes introduced by the new legislation include rehabilitation, rental housing at reasonable costs, principles of environmental sustainability, and support spaces for living (Ordinance No. 65/2019 of 19 February).

The government approach to the housing problem has involved progressive investment in the construction industry, leading to the building of homes through special financing policies, as can be seen, for example, in the Council of Ministers Resolution of 24 February 1976, which established one of the first versions of a subsidised credit regime for homeownership. However, this regime was rapidly abolished, and in 1983 the subsidised credit (*crédito bonificado*) system was introduced (*Diário da República*, No. 7/1983, Series II of 10 January). These subsidised credit support measures thus gradually replaced the public promotion of controlled cost housing until they were abandoned in 2002.

Following the crisis in the construction market and the growing demand for rented accommodation, in 2006 the New Urban Rental Regime ("Novo Regime do Arrendamento Urbano") was created, with the aim of establishing a special regime for updating old rents (Law No. 6/2006 of 27 February). However, recurrent problems in the urban rental market, such as the difficulties in undertaking rehabilitation works on rented properties or the protracted nature of eviction processes, led to further revisions of the law in 2012, 2014, and 2017. During this period, other programmes and initiatives for rental accommodation emerged, such as Door 65 (Porta 65) for young people (Decree-Law No. 308/2007, of 3 September), the Social Rental Market (Mercado Social do Arrendamento, 2012), and the Rehabilitate to Rent (Reabilitar para Arrendar, 2013) programme.

Most of the financing and promotion of state-subsidised housing in Portugal is regulated by the Portuguese Institute for Housing and Urban Rehabilitation (Instituto da Habitação e Reabilitação Urbana). This public institute—officially created through Decree-Law No. 207/2006 of 27 October—is also responsible for managing and providing maintenance for the existing social housing stock, as well as for promoting and putting into practice public policies relating to accessible housing solutions.

Together with the government and specialised teams, the Portuguese Institute for Housing and Urban Rehabilitation developed the *Strategic Housing Plan 2008–2013* (Guerra et al., 2008) and the *National Strategy for Housing* in 2015 (Council of Ministers Resolution No. 48/2015 of 15 July). These documents reflected the goals and guidelines of housing policies in these periods, most notably the progressive investment in the use of existing buildings through incentives for urban rehabilitation and the growing interest in boosting the rental market.

3. Contemporary Strategies: Public Housing Programmes in Force in Portugal

Given the current housing crisis in Portugal, several programmes have been implemented as a result of the New Generation of Housing Policies. These programmes are directed at different fringes of the population (young people, middle classes, the poorest strata of the population, landlords, investors, and people who want to move to the countryside), targeting several types of solutions for rental housing, refurbishment, urban regeneration, etc.

The Basic Housing Law (Law No. 83/2019 of 3 September) promulgated on 6 August is also a reaction to the shortage of affordable housing solutions, addressing the need to guarantee the role of social housing and to promote its access through rents based on the specific incomes of families.

Financial support or subsidies for rental models (instead of ownership) and rehabilitation strategies are the most notable instruments for the promotion and management of housing. The same discussion has centred on policies for the refurbishment of the current housing stock and new regulations.

The approved regulation of the New Generation of Housing Policies (Figure 9) defines several programmes that represent clear shifts in housing policies compared with the ones that were in force until the early 2000s:

a) From a policy centred on the supply of public housing for the most deprived to a policy oriented towards universal access to adequate housing.
b) From a housing policy whose main instruments were based on the construction of new accommodation and support for the purchase of a home to a policy that favours rehabilitation and rental.
c) From a housing policy centred on "houses" to a policy that places "people" at its centre.
d) From a centralised and sectoral policy to a multilevel, integrated, and decentralised model of participatory governance.
e) From a reactive policy to a proactive policy, based on shared information and knowledge and on the monitoring and evaluation of results (Council of Ministers Resolution No. 50-A/2018 of 2 May).

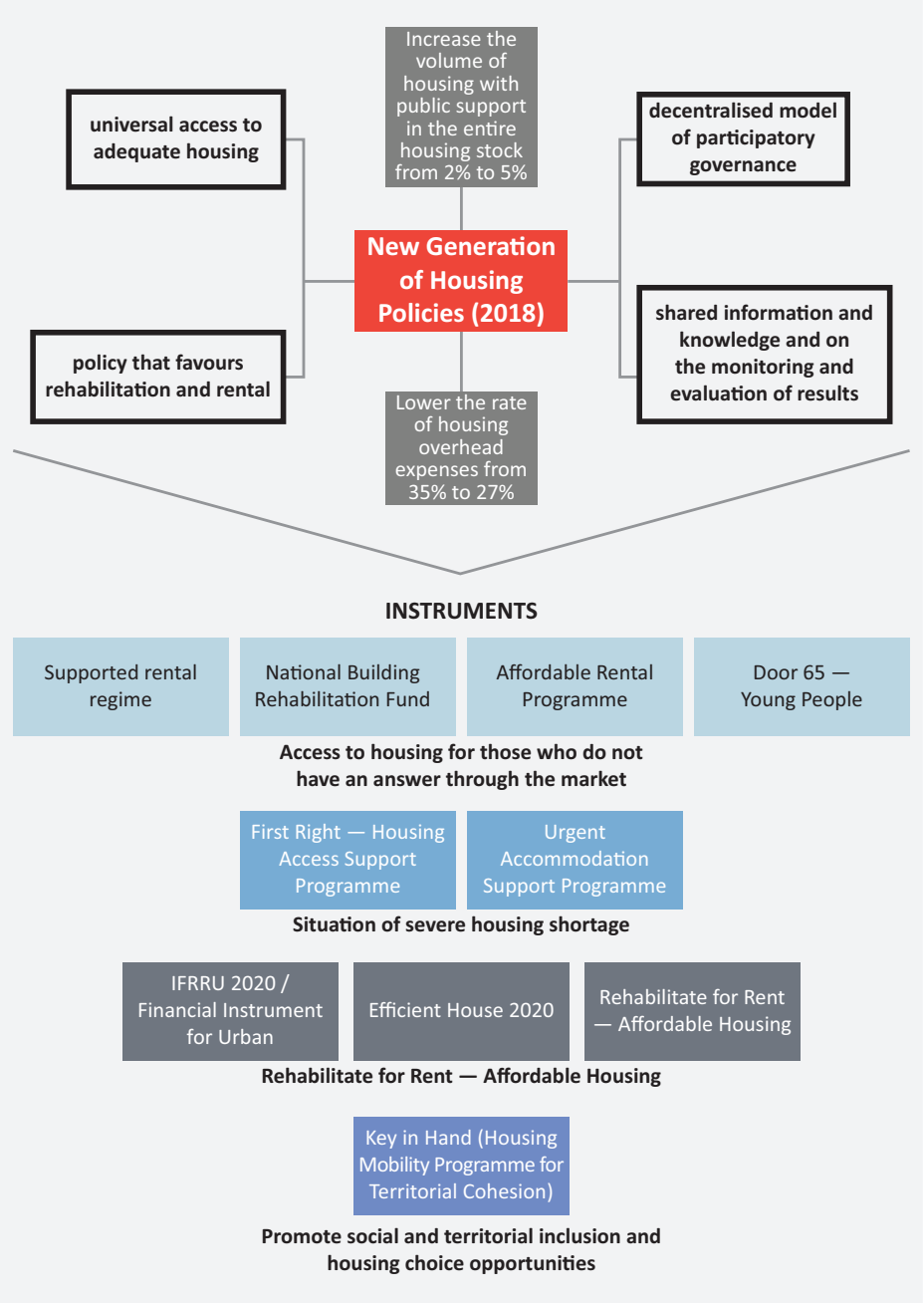

Figure 9. New Generation of Housing Policies (2018): Goals, principles, and key instruments.

Another clear shift is the setting of quantitative targets to be reached in the medium term:

a) Increase the volume of housing with public support, in the entire housing stock, from 2% to 5%, which represents an increase of about 170,000 dwellings.
b) Lower the rate of housing overhead expenses from 35% to 27% (Council of Ministers Resolution No. 50-A/2018, of 2 May).

In order to achieve these goals, the following strategic objectives are pursued, and the following instruments adopted:

a) Respond to families that live in a situation of severe housing shortage:

    - First Right—Housing Access Support Programme (1º Direito—Programa de Apoio ao Acesso à Habitação; Decree-Law No. 37/2018, of 4 June): According to the Housing Portal, "First Right—Housing Access Support Programme seeks to support the promotion of housing solutions for people who live in undignified housing conditions and who do not have the financial capacity to bear the cost of access to adequate housing. The Programme is based on a promotional dynamic predominantly aimed at the rehabilitation of buildings and their subsequent rental. It also invests in integrated and participatory approaches that promote social and territorial inclusion, through cooperation between sectoral policies and bodies, between central, regional and local administrations and between the public, private and cooperative sectors" (Portal da Habitação, 2019a).
    - Gateway—Urgent Accommodation Support Programme (Porta de Entrada—Programa de Apoio ao Alojamento Urgente).

b) Guarantee access to housing for those who do not have an answer through the market (among other instruments, such as instruments to promote security and stability in rented accommodation, supply capture instruments, and price and housing accessibility indicators):

    - Affordable Rental Programme (Programa de Arrendamento Acessível Decree-Law No. 68/2019 of 22 May): Like the Controlled Rent Housing Programme, implemented in 1947, the Affordable Rental Programme is designed to promote the supply of rented accommodation at prices below the market rate. This housing programme recognises as a priority the need to respond to new housing needs. It has been extended to populations with intermediate incomes who are currently unable to access adequate housing in the market without this involving an excess burden on the family budget, as stated in the implemented regulation.
    - Door 65—Young People (Porta 65—Jovem; Ordinance No. 4/2018 of 4 January; Law No. 87/2017 of 18 August). According to its platform (Portal da Habitação, 2019b), the "Porta 65—Jovem" programme is a system of financial support for rental accommodation taken out by young people and is regulated by a set of legal diplomas. It seeks to regulate incentives for young tenants, living either alone or in cohabitation, encouraging the stimulation and promotion of the rental market and the rehabilitation of degraded urban areas. This programme supports the renting of residential houses, allocating a percentage of the rent as a monthly subsidy.
    - Supported Rental Regime (Regime do Arrendamento Apoiado Regulation No. 84/2018 of 2 February; Law No. 32/2016 of 24 August). The Supported Rental Regime is applicable to dwellings owned by the state or local authorities, with rents being calculated according to the income of the households for which they are intended.
    - National Building Rehabilitation Fund (Fundo Nacional de Reabilitação do Edificado; Council of Ministers Resolution No. 48/2016 of 1 September).

c) Make rehabilitation the main form of intervention at the level of buildings and urban development (among other actions: strategic urban development plans, urban rehabilitation action plans; strategic urban development plans, integrated action plans for disadvantaged communities; urban rehabilitation programme for social housing districts (energy efficiency); rehabilitation project as a rule; measures to promote regular maintenance and full use of the building):

    - Rehabilitate to Rent—Affordable Housing (Reabilitar para Arrendar—Habitação Acessível): According to its online portal and regulations (Instituto da Habitação e da Reabilitação Urbana, 2019), the programme seeks to finance the rehabilitation of buildings of 30 years or more, which, after rehabilitation, should be used predominantly for housing purposes. These fractions are intended for letting on a controlled rent basis. Decree-Law No. 175/2012 of 2 August (Basic Law of Portuguese Institute

for Housing and Urban Rehabilitation); Decree-Law No. 307/2009, in the wording given by Law No. 32/2012 of 14 August (Legal Regime for Urban Rehabilitation) and by Decree-Law No. 136/2014 of 9 September; Law No. 80/2014 of 19 December (Controlled Rent Regime); Decree-Law No. 53/2014 of 8 April (Exceptional Regime for Urban Rehabilitation).
- Financial Instrument for Urban Rehabilitation and Revitalisation (IFFRU 2020), seeking to support building rehabilitation and to promote energy efficiency.
- Efficient House 2020 (Casa Eficiente 2020), which proposes a system of repayable loans to private individuals (owners or tenants) for the development of interventions in residential buildings that promote environmental sustainability, mainly through the improvement of energy and water efficiency and the management of urban waste.

d) Promote social and territorial inclusion and housing choice opportunities:

- Housing Mobility Programme for Territorial Cohesion "Key in Hand" (Chave na Mão; Notice No. 14754/2019, regulation in public consultation process) allows families residing in territories subjected to strong urban pressure, who wish to move their residence to low-density territories, to make their homes available at affordable rents.

4. The Housing Challenges Facing Portugal in the Next Few Years

The challenges that Portugal has had to face over the last five years have been huge, and only at the beginning of 2020 did the instruments of the New Generation of Housing Policies, defined in 2018, begin to be implemented. Some of the most recent programmes, such as the Affordable Rent Programme, implemented in 2019 (Decree-Law No. 68/2019 of 22 May), are already being questioned as a way of bringing these instruments closer to the specific needs of each territory (Travasso et al., 2021).

The housing crisis was naturally aggravated by the Covid-19 pandemic, which not only highlighted the shortage of housing solutions, but has mostly underlined the lack of architectural quality of the current housing stock, with evident deficiencies in terms of comfort, salubriousness, liveable areas, access to the exterior, etc. (Century21 Portugal, 2021).

Housing has a significant impact on healthy living and the ageing of the population, so it is expected that, over the following years, the question of housing "affordability" in Portugal will be further confronted with a series of assorted factors, such as an ever-larger older population (Figure 10) and the need to consider the house as a sustainable and adequate asset in the long term (European Commission, 2017).

4.1. Ageing in Place and Lifelong Housing Challenges

As the population grows older, social policies are beginning to shift from the provision of institutionalised care to keeping the elderly in their homes as a healthy solution for the ageing problem (Fernández-Carro, 2013; Mestheneos, 2011). New challenges for the housing market and housing design can therefore be expected to appear (Carvalho, 2018; Matias, 2016), namely the need to provide adequate housing to all households, in view of the discrepancies between the demographic changes and the housing stock available in Lisbon (Garha & Azevedo, 2021). Although a National Strategy for Active and Healthy Ageing has already been defined for 2017–2020 (proposal by the Interministerial Working Group, Order No. 12427/2016, still not in force in 2022), it does not focus on built environments or housing requirements in the near future. Nevertheless, this strategy was recommended for update and subsequent approval in the Resolution of the Republic Assembly No. 146/2021.

Major changes in housing policies in this area, which have already been introduced in other countries over the

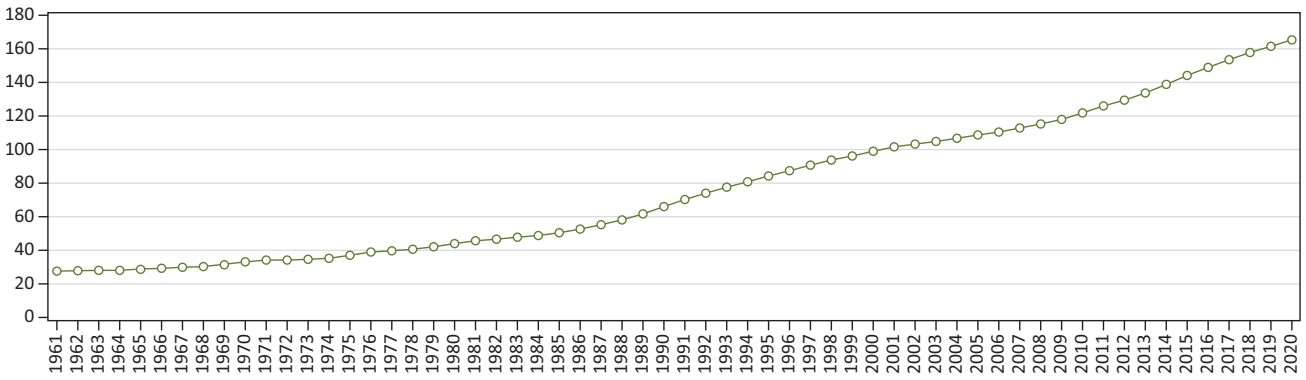

Figure 10. Ageing index per year (ratio %). Source: PORDATA and Fundação Francisco Manuel dos Santos (2021).

last few decades (Lifetime Homes Standards, UK; Lifelong Housing, USA) require a necessary revision of the current legal framework in Portugal and call for the involvement of a wide range of different stakeholders, namely the government, planners, housing promoters, builders, estate agents, the financial system, and the tenants or buyers of the dwellings.

Overall, future discussions of this question must be centred on the house as an asset that can meet the needs of inhabitants in the long run, considering specific or permanent changes in the circumstances of their daily lives (Mosca et al., 2019).

This means that, from the point of view of housing design, a series of extra capabilities must be considered, in addition to the question of the improvement of accessibilities, which has been regularly addressed in Portuguese legislation since 2006 (namely, Decree-Law No. 163/2006 approves the accessibility regime for buildings and establishments that receive the general public, public roads, and residential buildings; Decree-Law No. 125/2017 updates to the previous decree-law; Ordinance No. 301/2019 defines the design methods for improving accessibility for people with reduced mobility in existing residential buildings). This approach includes: the development of manuals of good practices, checklists, and lifelong housing certification models; services for analysing architectural and urban projects; and reports on recommendations for housing policies. It is essential to emphasise the need for a holistic perspective in housing design and intervention on the built fabric, not isolating problems and solutions. Thus, this vision implies globally re-analysing the house, particularly the questions of accessibility and energy efficiency, while also viewing integration in local communities as essential for an inclusive architecture that offers a better quality of life.

4.2. Energy Efficiency Retrofit in Social Housing Districts

Some of the issues relating to the improvement of the energy performance of buildings and the promotion of sustainable cities were already mentioned in the legislation of the New Generation of Housing Policies (Governo da República Portuguesa, 2017). Under the scope of such rehabilitation, the plan proposes a set of policy instruments, with an emphasis on the Urban Rehabilitation Programme in Social Housing Districts (Energy Efficiency), which supports interventions in affordable housing buildings aimed specifically at energy and environmental issues. This legislation also covers the remaining housing ensembles with instruments such as Efficient House 2020, which promotes interventions associated with energy and water efficiency and an improvement in urban solid waste management (Governo da República Portuguesa, 2018; idealista, 2018). However, this project only provides special conditions for loans, mainly promoting a partnership network between the Portuguese State, national banking entities, and private civil construction companies.

These themes are gaining increasing importance and attracting greater government attention, which is reflected in the current incentives and aiming for results (Figure 11; ADENE, 2018). An example is the Support Programme for More Sustainable Buildings, which consists of a contest launched on 7 September 2020 for the financial support (maximum 70%) of small interventions in houses dating from before 2006 (Order 6559/2020 of 23 June; Order 6070-A/2021 of 21 June).

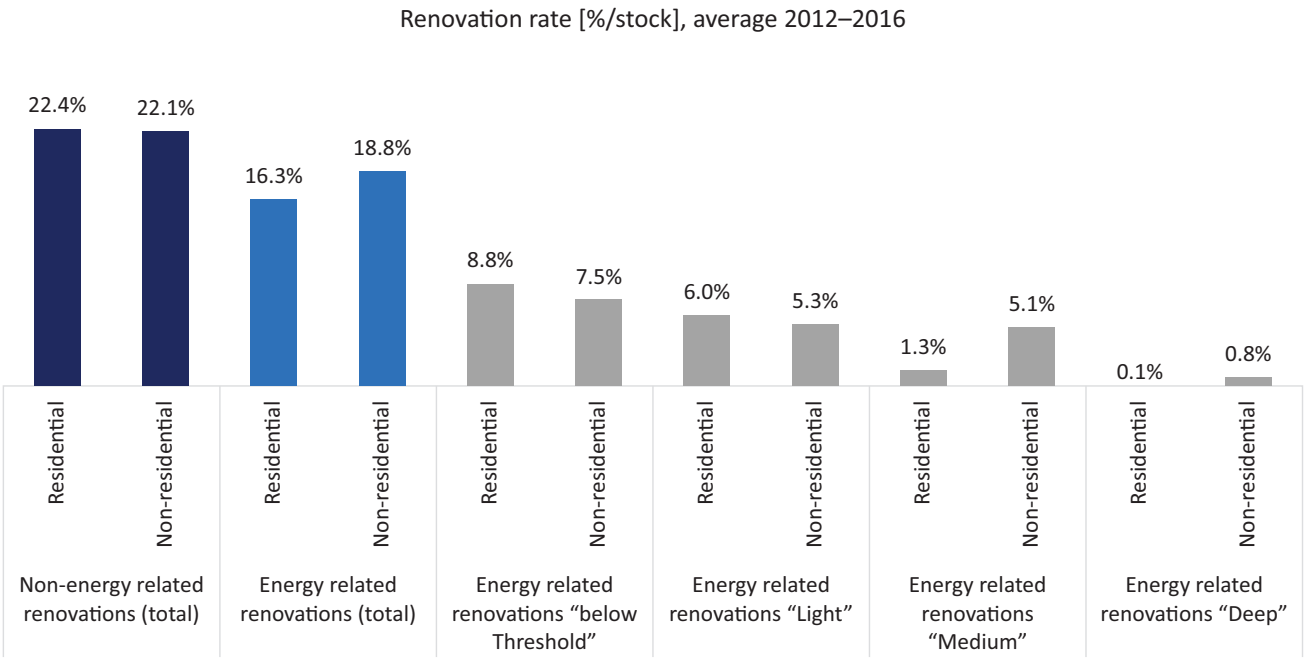

Figure 11. European Commission final report: Portugal's data, 2012–2016. Source: European Commission (2019, p. 175).

This programme is designed for private owners and seeks to improve the energy efficiency of buildings.

Furthermore, with the aim of improving energy performance in buildings, new legislation was recently introduced through Decree-Law No. 101-D/2020, which transposes the EU Directive 2018/844 and part of the EU Directive 2019/944. This document establishes the requirements for NZEB buildings—buildings with high energy efficiency and low/almost zero energy consumption needs, which are covered by renewable energy sources.

In this context, it is essential to reinforce the adoption of measures relating both to the type of construction (social) and to its geographical and climatic conditions. The transposition of Central European standards to the national reality does not necessarily represent an improvement in housing.

5. Futures Past: Final Notes

"Futures Past" is an expression inspired by Koselleck's (1979) and Lowenthal's (1985) books. This short 100-year overview of housing policies and discussion of the term "affordable" underlines that the housing issue has been a "political weapon" throughout history and continues to be so nowadays. A review of the different housing promotion initiatives throughout the 20th century reveals that the current housing crisis can only be resolved through strong state support for municipal housing development, as shown by the results obtained between 1910 and 1974 (Ramos, Gonçalves, et al., 2021). Municipal initiatives, such as the houses built under the Improvement Plan for the City of Porto (1956), and the plan for the construction of new housing with affordable rents (Decree-Law No. 42454 of 18 August 1959), implemented in Lisbon, provide strong evidence that state support for the development of municipal housing is a powerful solution for overcoming housing crises. Such support does not need, however, to involve the construction of public housing (or housing financed 100% with public funds), and can be applied in other ways.

The question of "affordable housing" has never been related solely to solving the problem of housing shortages for the most disadvantaged classes in society, since, throughout the 20th century, there were several initiatives aimed at an emerging middle class, such as the Affordable Housing Programme (1933) or the Controlled Rent Housing Programme (1947), for example. Moreover, it should be stressed that, in Portugal, at that time, several solutions were tested as a way of promoting housing and homeownership, ranging from renting to resolvable income (for 25 years), or the financing of house building initiatives based on the ownership of the residents (housing cooperatives, for example) or direct purchase (state-subsidised credit).

Nevertheless, during this long period of time, there were clearly some ideological changes introduced in terms of housing policies, underlining the shifts that were taking place in the role of the welfare state (P. R. Pinto, 2009). This phenomenon can be clearly observed in the strategies that were implemented to encourage house purchases from the late 1970s until 2002. Nowadays, different strategies are being pursued, as has already been described.

A general overview of the current implementation of the housing policy defined by the government, namely the preparation of legislative and regulatory projects, clearly shows that the focus is on four integrated sectors: housing, urban rehabilitation, rented accommodation, and the management of the housing heritage.

The most evident change in the past 20 years, especially after the revision of the SPR, in 2003, and the implementation of PROHABITA, in 2004, has been the extension of the scope of action to rehabilitation, instead of new housing construction, and, most of all, to invest in rental solutions instead of homeownership. It should also be noted that, during the 20th century, the state promoted the construction of affordable housing, with a limited number of organisations being particularly prominent, namely the Housing Fund. Nowadays, however, the government is investing in the diversification of the different bodies involved, the instruments and financing models, as stated in the New Generation of Housing Policies.

Certain initiatives began to gain momentum in the late 1980s, especially Cooperative Housing. In this case, the state's investment ended up translating into a profit for the owners, who, once the period during which they were prevented from selling their houses had expired, ended up placing them on the real estate market.

Another controversial housing measure in Portugal that ended in September 2002 was the Subsidised Credit Regime, associated with the process of the financialisation of the housing market already mentioned in Subsection 2.2, which is nowadays only available to citizens with disabilities. Public investment in the acquisition of new housing, through subsidised credits, resulted in massive investments being made by the state, which are still being paid for in the annual state budget. This policy also seems to have left many households hostage to mortgages, a situation that, in times of crisis, has resulted in dramatic problems of non-payment, forcing the state to intervene with a moratorium of the debts, in order to prevent the loss of the house and the insolvency of certain banks. The following years witnessed a change in housing strategies, which resulted in a greater investment in rented accommodation and the progressive promotion of rehabilitation, rather than incentives for homeownership.

The Covid-19 pandemic has led to the emergence of a number of new themes, such as "healthy housing," naturally related to the questions of "ageing in place," "lifelong housing," and "energy efficiency retrofits." It is expected that in future years, in Portugal, the term "affordable," which is currently understood as generally meaning "accessible" (i.e., something that an ordinary

citizen can rent or buy), will broaden its meaning to include adaptability, accessibility, ageing, independent living, and other related concepts. Finally, it is essential to state that thinking about affordable, inclusive, sustainable, and lifelong housing is also a matter of intergenerational justice (Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, 2019).

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Conflict of Interests

The authors declare no conflict of interests.

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Article

From Homes to Assets and From Pioneers to Shareholders: An Evolving Frontier Terminology

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Abstract
Frontier settlements played a key role in the formation of Israeli society and its territorial project. In the pre-statehood years and during the first decades after the establishment of the state of Israel, settling the frontiers formed one of the main national objectives, securing the nation's control over space while promoting a unified local identity. Appropriately, settlement practices and discourse focused on pioneer rural communities and industrial towns, with a clear emphasis on housing units and residential estates. With the privatisation of the local economy, the national settlement development mechanism was privatised as well, the former state-led enterprise was harnessed to the interests of the market, and the earlier focus on housing was thus replaced by a property-oriented approach. This article studies the transformations in Israeli frontier settlement practices while analysing their changing modes of spatial production and the terminology they relied on. Studying the development process of Tzur-Yitzhak and Harish, two Israeli localities on the border with the occupied Palestinian West Bank, this article demonstrates how they first emerged as small-scale rural settlements and eventually turned into corporate-led projects. Presenting the geopolitical and societal interests behind both case studies, as well as the manner their proposed planning altered over the years, this article illustrates the transforming modes of production and the evolution of the local settlement terminology, demonstrating the shift from a pioneer-oriented to a market-led frontier settlement.

Keywords
frontiers; housing; Israel; Palestine; pioneers; privatisation; terminology; territoriality

Issue
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1. Introduction: Conquering the Frontier

"The Conquest of the Desert" was the theme of an international exhibition hosted by the state of Israel in 1953, representing the main achievements of its first five years and reflecting its main ideology. The exhibition functioned as a governmental propaganda tool, demonstrating the Israeli "pioneering spirit" as well as its industrial and agricultural accomplishments that developed the local "wilderness" (Gruweis-Kovalsky & Katz, 2012, p. 173). Conquering this *wilderness*, as mentioned in the Hebrew name of the exhibition (not desert), has been a dominant concept in Zionist ideology since its inception (Kemp, 1999, pp. 78–80), forming an integral part of the Zionist efforts to "redeem" Palestine through organised purchases, settlement, and agriculture while stimulating a national renaissance in the Jewish historical homeland (Schwake, 2020b, p. 350). Palestine was thus a frontier area to be domesticated by "blooming the desert" (Sufian, 2007, p. 263) while simultaneously fostering the formation of a new national Jewish identity that is spiritually and physically connected to the local landscape. This idea corresponded with the well-known concept of "a land without a people to a people without a land," portraying Palestine as an empty, undeveloped, and unsettled area waiting for redemption (Said, 1979, p. 9). With the focus on creating a shared national identity, it was by the act of settling the "land without people'' that the "people without land" would become a nation.

This article claims that the frontier domestication discourse continued to accompany the national territorial agenda after the establishment of the state of Israel in 1948, all the way into the 21st century. The terminology of this discourse constantly evolved, adapting to the new territorial tools and the modes of production the Israeli geopolitical project relied on. Examining the cases of Tzur-Yitzhak and Harish, this article analyses the transition from a socialist to a post-socialist and neoliberal mode of frontier domestication, and how the focus shifted from relying on houses to relying on properties and from pioneers to investors. Analysing urban plans, architectural drawings, protocols, policy reports, and marketing strategies, this article examines the transforming modes of production the Israeli frontier domestication mechanism relied on and its evolving terminology.

2. Frontier Domestication

Before examining the transforming terminology of Israeli settlements, we must first focus on the term *frontier*. When speaking of frontiers, it is crucial to separate them from *borders*: While the latter are delineated lines drawn on maps that receive a physical manifestation that defines the juridical boundaries of a political entity, the definition of the first is much more ambiguous. Being areas and not lines, frontiers come in different widths, which either lay between two neighbouring states or form unclaimed territories that have not yet been formally incorporated into an adjacent political entity (Prescott, 1987, pp. 36–40). As such, according to Mbembe (2003), the term "frontier" usually refers to undeveloped and sporadically settled areas which have not yet been colonised, or ones that are settled by indigenous populations the colonising settlers consider as part of the desolate and wild scenery waiting to be settled, tamed, and claimed. The *wilderness* the Zionist ethos sought to conquer by settling the *land without people* thus distinctly corresponds with Mbembe's insights.

In the post-Westphalian era of modern states ruling over clearly defined territories, the act of frontier settlement turned into a state-led spatial practice of enforcing juridical control over a certain area and applying its sovereignty (Prescott, 1987, pp. 30–40). Therefore, in modern times, frontier settlement became a nation-building tool, intended to delineate borders, forming and an integral part of the state's *territoriality*, which is the action of bounding space (Elden, 2010, p. 757). This fusion of bounded space and sovereignty is what Agnew (1994, p. 56) referred to as the "territorial trap," which is the transformation of states into containers of societies situated in confined territories. Similarly, Arendt (1951, p. 282) spoke of the western trinity of state–people–territory, highlighting the fact that in the nation-state it is only the areas populated by the ruling ethnic group, which is the nation, that enable the state to enforce its sovereignty. Correspondingly, the formation of the post-World War I successor states, as Arendt (1951) noted, was characterised by population exchanges, transfers, and resettlement campaigns, intended to achieve ethnic homogeneity. Consequently, territoriality through ethnic homogeneity creates a zero-sum game, leading states to enact settler-colonial methodologies, where "access to territory," as Wolfe (2006, p. 388) mentioned, forms the "primary motive" to replace one population with another. Building on Prescott (1987), Elden (2010), Agnew (1994), Arendt (1951), Wolfe (2006), and Mbembe's (2003) definitions, we could claim that frontiers are areas that have not yet been incorporated into the trinity of state–people–territory, and by settling them, states are able to impose both their empirical and juridical sovereignty over them (Ron, 2003). Frontiers might be external, beyond the state's official borders, or internal, within them (Yiftachel, 1996), and they might be rural or urban (Pullan, 2011). Nevertheless, they remain exempted from the state's sovereign territory as long as they are not fully domesticated.

Territoriality in the form of frontier domestication takes the shape of an archipelago of enclaves and exclaves, expanding their home political entity. As Weizman (2006) explains, these function as a system of exterritorial settling points and connecting lines, disconnected from the undomesticated frontier surrounding it. This temporary situation remains until the frontier is domesticated and larger populations are able to migrate and inhabit it while incorporating it into their primary origin state. Suitably, as Pullan (2011) claims, domesticating frontiers, even when carried out by outlaws or vigilantes, is a directed activity, controlled by political and economic centres as a means for territorial expansion. Accordingly, the American "wild west" and its affiliation with individualism and personal freedom was a coordinated state of disorder, directed by the growth interests of urban capitalists and their interests to domesticate the western frontier (Hirst, 2005; Turner, 1962). Correspondingly, building on Lefebvre (2009), Brenner and Elden (2009) claim that territoriality is inseparable from the "state mode of production," ensuring constant accumulation through growth (Brenner & Elden, 2009, p. 365). To understand the mutual relationship between territoriality and the state's modes of production this article examines the transformation of the first and the manner in which it continues serving the latter, focusing on the Israeli geopolitical project, the changing modes of production it relied on, and their corresponding terminology.

3. Evolving (Israeli) Frontier Terminology

In Israel, frontier domestication constantly relied on the construction of territorial housing settlements. As I have previously shown, the production mechanism of these settlements significantly transformed, shifting from a socialist to a post-socialist and neoliberal mode of frontier domestication (Schwake, 2020b, 2022). The physical and spiritual role of the frontier was maintained; yet,

to adapt it to the changing modes of production, its terminology constantly evolved, and while in the early statehood years the discourse focused on terms such as the *pioneer* and *dwelling unit*, these gave way to the *homeowner* and the *house*, which eventually led to the *investor* and the *asset*.

The *pioneer* and the minimal *dwelling unit* were an integral part of the pre-statehood frontier settlement efforts, carried out by the various Labour Zionism movements (Figure 1). Small, scattered, and rural-oriented, the pre-statehood settlements served the purpose of rapidly enlarging the area populated by Jews. Simultaneously, they promoted the development of a new, local-based, Jewish identity. The *Halutz* (XE "Halutz"), the pioneer, was the main executor of these efforts. He was the prototype of the *New Jew*, an ideologically-motivated, adventurous, and firm character, involved in conquering the wilderness through settlement and farming, constituting the ideal Zionist protagonist and an inverse image to the diasporic Jew, which was usually depicted in anti-Semitic lines as a wandering merchant (Kimmerling, 1983). Settling the frontier (XE "Frontier") was thus an act of *hagshama* (XE "Hagshama"), the fulfilment of one's individual calling as part of the greater national mission.

The pre-statehood frontier settlements were the ideal dormitory of the pioneer, as seen in their spatial arrangement. Promoted by the Socialist–Zionist hegemony, the frontier settlements were rural communal communities. These included mainly the *Moshavim* and *Kibbutzim*, which consisted of a public core that contained the main shared functions, depending on the level of communality, surrounded by rings of either private dwellings in the former and shared units in the latter (Schwake, 2020b, 2022). Therefore, despite small spatial nuances, the pioneers and their minimalistic units were the basis of both typologies and their arrangements corresponded with the ambitions for a unified community (Figure 2).

After the establishment of Israel in 1948, the intention of creating a unified identity based on territory continued. However, led by a state with defined borders,

Figure 1. Workers in Kibbutz Gal-On. Source: Kluger (1946).

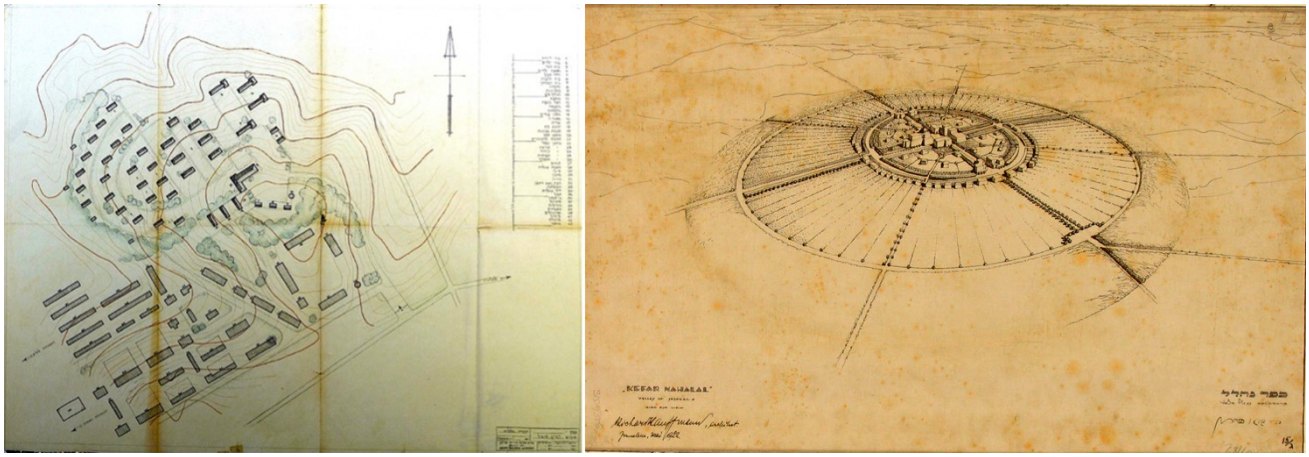

Figure 2. Left: Kibbutz Shoval. Right: Moshav Nahalal. Sources: Sharon (1946) and Kauffmann (1922).

the focus shifted to what Yiftachel (1996, p. 493) termed as the "internal frontiers"—areas with an Arab majority within Israeli borders, which now needed to be settled by Jews and domesticated. The rural focus was accompanied by a larger, state-directed, and more urban endeavour, seen in the peripheral development towns built throughout the 1950s. Though primarily settled by newly migrating Jews that were not directly affiliated with the ruling Socialist–Zionist hegemony, the development towns reverbed the ideals of pioneering and minimalism, forming an urban- and industry-oriented version of the New Jew and the new state's territorial project (Z. Efrat, 2019, p. 451). Corresponding with the Socialist–Zionist ideology of the 1950s, in the new medium-scale development towns the focus remained on the communal aspects, consisting of an array of reproduced spartan housing estates, sharing a common public space (E. Efrat, 1994). The pioneer, rural or urban, and his minimalistic dwelling unit, detached or part of a residential estate, were thus the main actors in frontier domestication (Figure 3).

The increasing privatisation of Israel, which began in the late 1960s, shifted the focus towards the *homeowner* and the detached *private house*. At the same time, the occupation of the Palestinian West Bank, in 1967, expanded the internal frontiers to be domesticated and provided the needed platform for the new mode of production. Nevertheless, local economic, cultural, and societal changes promoted increasing individualisation and a growing emphasis on private family life (Ram, 2008). Correspondingly, the local mode of spatial development shifted towards suburban outlines with detached family houses (Gonen & Cohen, 1989). Accordingly, the newly developed territorial settlements followed similar lines, becoming much more suburban and consisting of detached or semi-detached single-family units, enabling a large number of Israelis to pursue the suburban dream of a privately-owned house (Allegra, 2017; Newman, 2017). Applying American-style tract-housing layouts, the communal focus was abandoned and the individual and his private home turned into the main executors of the national territorial agenda (Schwake, 2020b, 2021, 2022). If earlier the frontier was domesticated by the pioneer, now it was domesticated by the *quality-of-life* settler, his home, and daily commute (Yacobi & Tzfadia, 2018). The production and consumption of housing were thus the main means in the national geopolitical project.

Eventually, with growing state-led privatisation, the *investor* and the *asset* became the main factors of frontier domestication. To facilitate territorial development in times of increasing neoliberalisation the state began promoting a series of market-oriented measures in order to redirect private capital and stimulate its accumulation in its internal frontiers (Maggor, 2015). Consequently, with the local neoliberal turn, the national territorial mission advanced from the former focus on production and consumption to an emphasis on investment. The private home, therefore, gave way to the *asset*, and the pioneer was replaced by the investor and speculator. Nevertheless, the new *laissez-faire* approach continued the territorial terminology that defined the *national priority* of a certain site according to its ability to enhance Jewish presence, create an Israeli settlement chain, and dismantle Arab sequences (Benvenisti, 1984, p. 29). Therefore, while in the pre-statehood and early statehood years the Israeli territorial project could have been described as a "housing regime" (Allweil, 2016, p. 12), by the 1990s it would be more accurate to define it as a *property regime*.

Retaining the zero-sum territorial game meant that the frontier domestication approach was maintained and continued to evolve over the years. Accordingly, the various settlements in the occupied Palestinian territories (Allegra et al., 2017; Dalsheim, 2008; Segal & Weizman, 2003; Weiss, 2011), or within Israel proper (Falah, 1991; Shafir, 2018), continued to follow the focus on achieving territorial dominance through the settlement of Israeli Jews on the expense of Palestinians. In their recent article, Allegra and Maggor (2022) analyse the Israeli

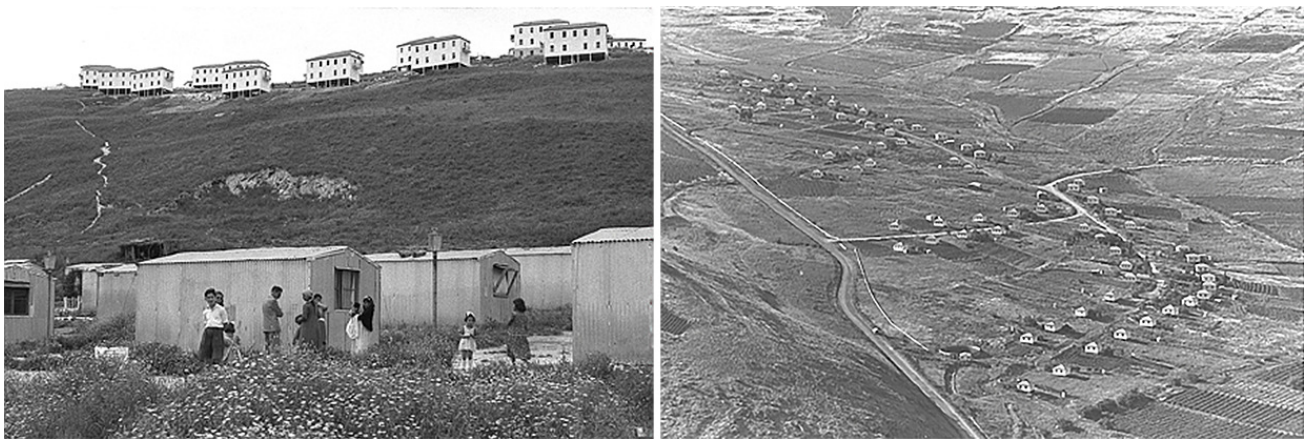

Figure 3. Left: Yokneam development and interim camp for Jewish migrants. Right: Moshv Migdal. Sources: Cohen (1952, 1962).

settlement campaign in the West Bank since the late 1980s as a process of *metropolitanization*. In that sense, if earlier the frontier consisted of the areas that were not cultivated by Jewish farmers, it gradually began turning into the areas not fully incorporated into the main Israeli metropolises and their market-oriented rationale. Tzur-Yitzhak and Harish, the focus of this article, illustrate how this process evolved and how the frontier terminology took shape. Located along the border with the occupied Palestinian West Bank (the Green Line), both sites were an integral part of the state's efforts to secure its control of this frontier area (Figure 4). Gradually, the growing involvement of private capital drastically changed their mode of frontier domestication as well as their residential typologies. Accordingly, what began as small-scale rural-oriented projects, focusing on *pioneers* and their *dwelling units*, gave way to suburban settlements and their *homeowners* and *private houses*, which were eventually replaced by *investors* and their *assets*.

4. Pioneers and Dwelling Units

Tzur-Yitzhak and Harish today are market-led developments comprising a hybrid of urban and suburban typologies, yet both were initially rooted in the rural sector. Respectively, they first relied on *pioneers* and their minimal *dwelling units*. Tzur-Yitzhak began as an extension of the neighbouring Tzur-Nathan, established in 1966 as a temporary outpost by soldiers from the Nahal Corps, whose military service included settling sites of territorial importance in small groups, referred to as a *Gar'in* (literally meaning "seed" or "kernel"), managing the construction of the initial infrastructure and the development of agricultural functions before handing it in to a civilian settling group (Douer, 1992, pp. 13–17). Tzur-Nathan was part of a territorial plan initiated in 1960 by the Israeli military in collaboration with the Jewish Agency and the Jewish National Fund, the two main institutions in charge of allocating sites and resources for the establishment of new settlements. The plan was called the "Frontier Fortresses Plan" and included the construction of new rural settlements along the Green Line, which then functioned as the border with Jordan, and was often referred to as the *eastern frontier* (E. Tal, 2016, p. 14), thus fortifying the defence line through its settlement. Correspondingly, the name Tzur-Nathan literally meant the "Fortress of Nathan," referring to the aforementioned plan on the one hand, and to Nathan Simon—a Jewish philanthropist from Passaic, New Jersey, who donated to the Jewish Agency and Jewish National Fund—on the other (Figure 5).

The temporary and permanent settings of Tzur-Nathan relied on a pioneer-oriented focus. The transitory site consisted of five prefabricated and minimalistic concrete dwelling units, arranged around a shared public core (The Jewish Agency for Israel, 1974). These were the soldiers' dormitories, clubhouse, and shared kitchen. The buildings were distinctively minimalistic, lacking all ornamentation, decorations, or complexities, forming the ideal dwelling units for their pioneer inhabitants. The transition into a permanent civilian settlement took place in August 1967, shortly after the occupation of the Palestinian West Bank from Jordan, when Israel began controlling both sides of the Green Line. The civilian settling group first occupied the former military units, while the planning and construction of the permanent phase were underway, taking the form of a Moshav Shitufi, a communal agricultural settlement consisting of private households yet with a shared system of supplying means of production and marketing produced goods (The Jewish Agency for Israel, 1969). Accordingly, the planned setting consisted of a shared public area in the middle of the settlement, surrounded by clusters of six private households sharing a common entrance area, with a cooperative zone for workshops and other agricultural functions. A system of pedestrian paths tied the different functions and areas together, making sure the individual households were properly connected to

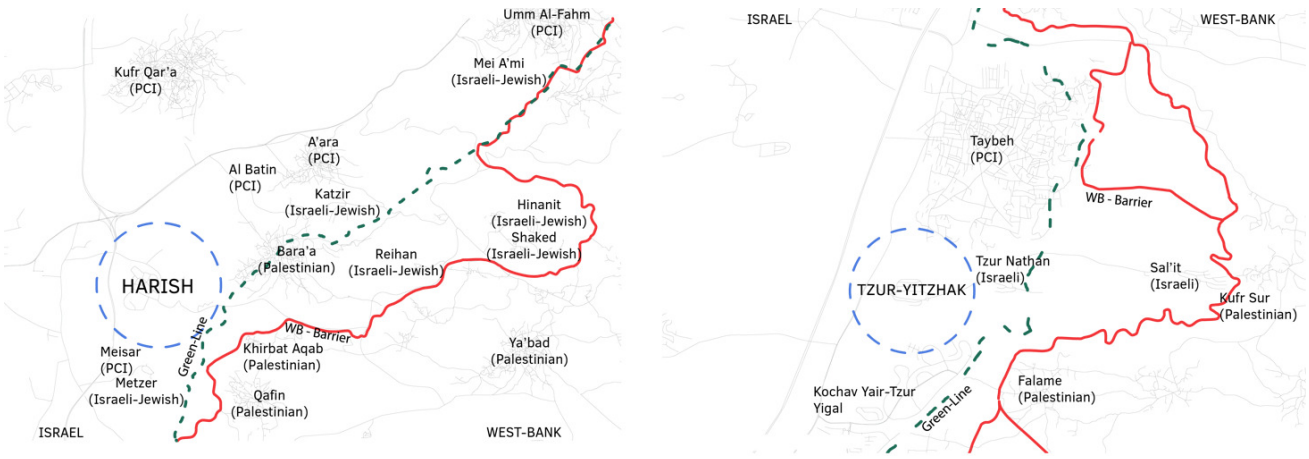

Figure 4. Harish (left) and Tzur-Yitzhak (right) along the Green Line (green, dashed) and the West Bank Barrier (red) in 2015. Note: PCI—Palestinian citizens of Israel.

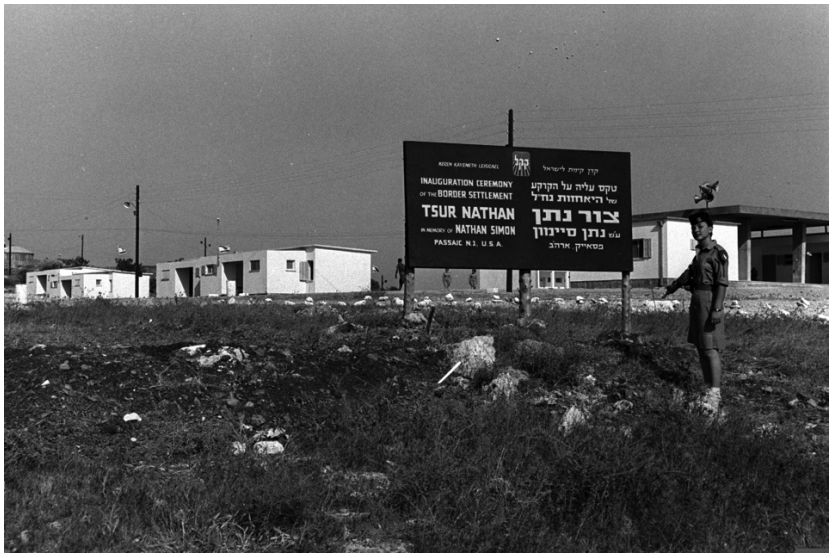

Figure 5. Nahal soldiers in Tzur-Nathan. Source: Milner (1966).

the community while emphasising the public core, which was placed in the settlement's highest point (Figure 6). With the intentions of enhancing Israeli control along the Green Line, the Jewish Agency promoted several plans to expand Tzur-Nathan during the 1970s, extending the rural Moshav westwards towards the current site of Tzur-Yitzhak (Settlement Department, 1977).

Harish was planned almost 15 years after Tzur-Nathan, yet it initially took a much more communal and Spartan character. The settlement site was mentioned in the plans of the Jewish Agency in the late 1970s to strengthen Jewish presence in Galilee and on the eastern side of the Green Line (Schwake, 2020a, pp. 5–6), continuing the efforts of the "Frontier Fortresses Plan" and even including several sites that were mentioned in the 1960s, at that time not yet fully developed (E. Tal, 2016, p. 34). The future site of Harish was coupled with an adjacent spot, forming a territorial wedge intended to prevent the formation of a cross-border Arab connection between the Palestinians living east of the Green Line, and the ones in its west, living in the towns of the Wadi A'ra region inside Israel. Connected to the rural pioneering discourse of frontier domestication the site was given the name *Harish*, literally meaning "plough," and the neighbouring settlement was named *Katzir*, literally meaning "harvest" (The Jewish Agency for Israel & World Zionist Organisation, 1989, pp. 4–10). While Katzir was settled by a civilian group, Harish followed the Nahal course, just like Tzur-Nathan. Correspondingly, the outpost consisted of rows of prefabricated and minimalistic dwelling units placed along the topographic lines, surrounding the clubhouse and communal kitchen which were located on the highest point, emphasising the communal aspects (Figure 7).

Kibbutz Harish represents a more pioneering mode of frontier domestication, despite its later date of

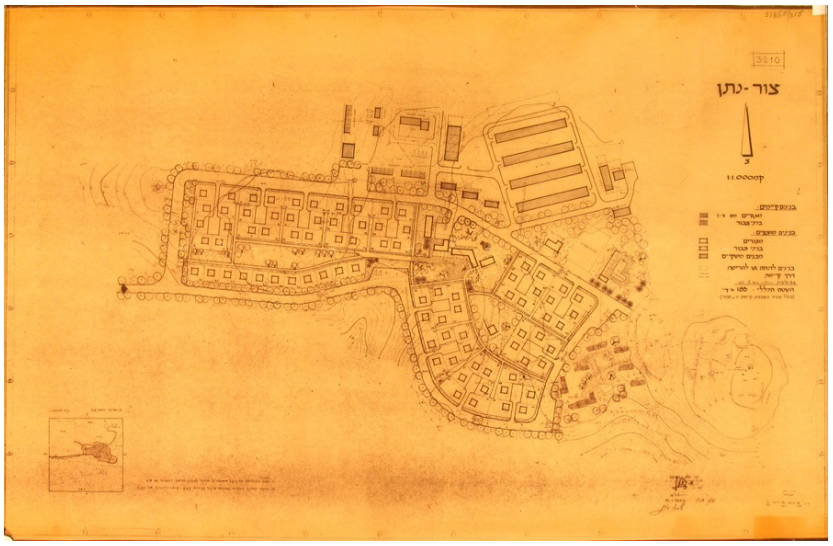

Figure 6. Tzur-Nathan. Source: The Jewish Agency for Israel (1969).

Figure 7. Left: Temporary site of Harish. Right: Outline plan for Kibbutz Harish. Sources: The Jewish Agency for Israel and World Zionist Organisation (1981, 1984).

construction. While the soldiers began inhabiting the site and developing the adjacent farming plots, the Jewish Agency and the National Kibbutzim Movement began drafting the plans for the permanent phase. Fitting the promoted communal aspects, the planned layout followed the typical lines of a kibbutz, comprising an open and shared public core that included the main communal functions, which was surrounded by minimalistic dwelling units that were to house the different members. With dwelling units being divided into areas according to the different age groups—couples, singles, youth, and children, all placed on a shared open public space–the setting of Harish matched the pioneering frontier ideals, where the significance of the individuals derived from being part of the community, and not from their distinctive private characters. Nevertheless, Kibbutz Harish lasted only a few years, and the plans for the permanent phase were never realised. The bankruptcy that faced the National Kibbutzim Movement during the 1980s and the inability to find a properly organised settling group put an end to the vision of Harish as a stable communal rural settlement (Schwake, 2020a, p. 6).

The pioneer and rural phase of both sites came to an end in the mid–1980s, shifting to a new mode of production. With the growing emphasis on suburbanisation, as well as the constant decline of the agricultural sector, Harish, and the extension of Tzur-Nathan anticipated a different future. In the 1990s, the state promoted the new "Stars Plan," which included the construction of a series of suburban settlements along the Green Line, replacing the former rural focus of both sites with a new mode of spatial production (Nahoum Dunsky Planners, 1991). Accordingly, the Jewish Agency gave way to the Ministry of Construction and Housing (MCH), transforming the mode of frontier domestication discourse and its implementation.

5. Homeowners and Private Houses

With the new territorial-suburban vision, the state relied on the production and consumption of real estate as a means to encourage development. Accordingly, in both sites, it endeavoured to promote an image of an attractive settlement with high living standards and persuasive affinity to nature in order to attract "strong" young families, which would grant both projects an appealing image and thus stimulate construction and sales (Tznovar Consultants, 1993, pp. 1–10). Fittingly, the development strategy focused on conducting special sales, targeting a specific type of upper-middle-class potential homeowners by offering them spacious private houses in affordable prices, gentrifying both sites and enabling the continuation of development according to the preferred economic rationale. In that sense, the pioneer gave way to the commuter, a new quality of life settler, domesticating the frontier by turning it into a banal suburban environment of private houses (MCH's Directorate for Rural Construction, 1995a). Neighbouring Katzir, for example, which was merged with Harish into a unified local council named Tel-Eron, went through substantial transformations, turning from a community-oriented ex-urban outpost in the early 1980s into a family-focused suburb, with private parcels and cul-de-sacs a decade later (Figure 8).

This gradual process was much more straightforward in Harish and Tzur-Nathan. Kibbutz Harish was evacuated after its failure, turning the site into a clean slate to be planned according to the new mode of production. In Tzur-Nathan, the expansion was originally planned as

Figure 8. Mitzpe Katzir in 1981, 1985, and 1994. Sources: The Jewish Agency for Israel (1981), Arye Sonino Architects (1985), and Lavi-Bar Architects and Planners (1994).

a direct extension of the rural settlement, yet archaeological findings and land ownership issues prevented the formation of a sequence between the original Moshav and the new project (The Jewish Agency for Israel, 1980). Therefore, here as well, the MCH enjoyed larger freedom to adapt the new plan to the current mode of production. Accordingly, the MCH promoted typical suburban layouts, consisting of low-rise and low-density residential environments, with a high emphasis on integrating with the natural landscape (MCH's Directorate for Rural Construction, 1995b). Both layouts were enlarged tract housing settings that resourcefully subdivided the site into smaller parcels to be marketed to private developers and homeowners. With the growing individual focus, areas of public functions that earlier were the focal point in rural and urban settlements were now pushed to the leftover space in the intersection between roads and streets, which due to their irregular shape were of lower economic feasibility and thus comprised the least real estate value; hence, dictating the settlements' hierarchy according to real estate considerations. The homogeneity of the plans continued into the dwelling units. Accordingly, the focus here was on creating reproducible housing compounds, efficiently implemented across the new settlements, and gradually developed, starting with single and double-family houses in the first parts and moving on to the denser three-story and terraced tenements in later phases. Nevertheless, despite the enlarging scale, the denser typologies were to be designed as enlarged private houses, with pitched roofs, separate entrances, setbacks, private gardens, and roof terraces (Figure 9).

Marketing and populating both sites proved to be a troublesome effort to the MCH, causing it to implement new planning approaches and promotion campaigns. In Harish, the MCH created an oversupply of dwelling units by marketing 300 apartments in medium-density buildings alongside the low-rise private houses. Despite the efforts to attract different high-profile groups and to develop additional low-rise private houses, Harish suffered from a vicious circle of lack of interest and development that put the project on hold for more than a decade (MCH's Urban Planning Department, 1993, p. 2). In Tzur-Yitzhak, the MCH was more careful, deliberately delaying the project's implementation. Moreover, the state was worried that the newly built dwelling units would attract Palestinian citizens of Israel, which would ironically *Arabise* both territorial settlements. Therefore, attractive private houses were a doubtful advantage, as they might attract the wrong homeowners, as seen in the case of the Arab Ka'adan family, who after a years-long legal battle were allowed to move to Katzir, a precedent the MCH was afraid of repeating (Rubenstein, 2000, pp. 1–2). Therefore, the state began enacting new selective measures by tendering sites to pre-organised housing associations that exclusively existed of Jewish

Figure 9. Left: Housing typologies in Harish. Right: Tzur-Nathan project. Sources: Moshe Zur Architects and Planners (1992) and Meir Nir Architects (1997).

members, such as "The Pioneers of Tzur-Nathan" (Rabin, 1999, p. 2), or designating Harish as an exclusive ultra-Orthodox city (Rubenstein, 2001).

The initial failure of both projects indicates that the MCH might have rushed in applying a new mode of production, yet instead of relapsing, it chose to enact an even more corporate-led process. Approaching the ultra-Orthodox (*Haredi*) Jewish sector, which is characterised by large and impoverished households, meant that these were now targeted by the MCH as the new desired homeowners in Harish, and the same goes for the housing associations in Tzur-Yitzhak. The private home, or apartment, and the homeowner remained the main triggers of development, and, to ensure that the homeowner belonged to the pursued ethnic group, the government enacted selective criteria, whether by designating the site to a specific clientele or by marketing parcels to an exclusive housing association. Nevertheless, the dependence on private developers caused the MCH to start enacting more corporate-oriented measures that would transform the initial suburban-like character of both projects. Harish was separated from Katzir and placed under a special planning committee, while the new scale of construction threatened the rural profile of Tzur-Nathan, causing it to ask for separation from the new project, which the state turned into an independent settlement named Tzur-Yitzhak. Yet, planned on lands leased to Tzur-Nathan, the latter was entitled to one-third of the future dwelling units in the new project (D. Tal, 1999), completing the accurate transformation of the *pioneer* into an *investor*.

6. Investors and Assets

The post-2008 Israeli housing crisis transformed the national frontier domestication method as the state began relying more on large scale corporations. Due to a sharp increase in property values Israel witnessed an unprecedented rise in real state demand, whether for its use as housing or as an investment (Boruchov, 2018). As a result, peripheral and undesired projects suddenly turned into attractive real estate opportunities. The construction of the Trans-Israel Highway and the completion of the West Bank separation barrier that cut off the area along the Green Line from the occupied Palestinian territories relieved sites like Harish and Tzur-Yitzhak from their marginal affiliation. Therefore, the increasing demand of the middle-class secular Jewish public for dwelling units enabled the MCH to strictly rely on the private sector.

Consequently, the state enacted a prompt pro-business strategy, intended to attract investment to accelerate development. In Tzur-Yitzhak, the MCH promoted a series of new adjustment plans meant to tune the approved layout to the "demands of the market" (Cohen Lifshitz Architects, 2008, p. 2). This included redistributing the arrangement of different uses inside the settlement, like changing the location of the settlement's public buildings with the residential parcels that were located near the Arab town of Taybeh and as a result suffered from low interests (Lori, 2011, p. 2). Other amendments included optimising the permitted area of construction by increasing the overall number of apartments and raising the height of buildings while decreasing construction costs and enhancing future incomes, thus remodelling the original vision to ensure profitability (Schwake, 2021, pp. 15–16).

In Harish, the financialised turn began as a turf battle between the ultra-Orthodox and secular sectors. Eventually, after several petitions and court hearings, the general real estate market took over the development of the city and while in the early stages the MCH relied on privately organised housing associations, this quickly gave way to private developers. To stimulate the pro-investment climate, the MCH issued a series of new outline planning schemes and even tendered an entire neighbourhood to a single private developer while securing a governmental grant of 1,000,000,000 NIS (approximately 300,000 USD) to encourage development (State Comptroller of Israel, 2016, p. 629). To appease the ultra-Orthodox sector, the government dedicated a new city in the southern Negev for its exclusive use, away from the booming real estate market of Harish.

To adapt the layout of Harish to the new financialised mode of production, the MCH enacted the same measures as in Tzur-Yitzhak. Accordingly, it permitted the increase of the overall number of dwelling units, as well as the allowed height of buildings. The gross density in Harish, meaning the total sum of dwelling units divided by the overall area, was not significantly changed, rising by a mere 20%, from 2.2 units per dunam to 2.6. Nevertheless, the net density, dwelling units per residential areas, rose by 60%, going from six units per dunam to almost 10 (Mansfeld-Kehat Architects and Planners, 2012; Moshe Zur Architects and Planners, 1992). Accordingly, the alterations in the city's layout were mainly meant to ensure the profitability of investment and to continue the market-oriented approach. With the new financialised mode, the settlements' layout turned into two-dimensional settings intended to maximise profits, creating buildings that are three-dimensional excel sheets of cost-efficiency. Therefore, while earlier plans included some variations, the new plans of the 2000s were based mainly on recreating the same dimensions of a single repetitive parcel (Rubenstein, 2001), eventually leading to the implementation of similar housing typologies across both projects (Figure 10).

As a financialised mode of production, the development of Harish and Tzur-Yitzhak was accompanied by a vast promotion campaign. The first emphasis of the different advertisements colour pieces, and commercials focused on the affordability of apartments in both sites, the usual affinity to nature, and the easy commute to the main metropolitan area. The PR campaign in Harish went further, including a specially designed online platform, as well as an open collaboration with Israel's largest


Figure 10. Left: Tzur-Yitzhak, 2010. Right: Harish, 2016. Source: Wikimedia Commons.

news website, *Ynet*, in a special section called "Building a City" that includes a series of endorsed colour pieces promoting the image of a young and vibrant community. Besides the usual emphasis on education, parks, accessibility, and affordability, even LGBT presence in Harish was cynically used for marketing purposes (Schwake, 2020a, p. 10). Yet the most striking tool in the marketing process is the use of the constant increase in real estate prices in both projects, framing an apartment in Tzur-Yitzhak or Harish as a sound investment (Levi & Bahor-Nir, 2018; Tzur, 2018). While this illustrates an ironic situation where the success of new housing projects initiated by the state to fight increasing prices are measured by increasing prices, it mainly emphasises that in the new financialised mode of production, which seeks to continuously expand development as a means to attract further private investment, the shareholder and speculator replaced the simple homeowner. Not surprisingly, unofficial reports of the MCH estimate that half of the apartments in Harish were bought as assets by investors (Levi & Bahor-Nir, 2018; Tzur, 2018), relying upon derivative rents to generate profits, demonstrating the financialisation of the efforts to domesticate the Israeli frontier.

7. Conclusions

The frontier, as a concept referring to areas not yet settled or not yet developed, continued to accompany the development of the local built environment even in the 21st century. Nevertheless, the manner in which the frontier was domesticated corresponds with the prevailing socio-economic relations and modes of spatial production. Here it is worth mentioning Lustick's (1993, p. 44) definition of normalising territorial expansion, in which a territory becomes "an integral part of the state, not as a problematically occupied asset… [but when its status becomes] part of the natural order of things for the overwhelming majority of the population." Therefore, the state's geopolitical "territorial strategies" (Allegra & Maggor, 2022) had to constantly adapt to the dominant geoeconomic rationale of the "production of territory" (Brenner & Elden, 2009), and rely on a corresponding terminology that ensured it would become "part of the natural order of things." Accordingly, the terminology of frontier domestication and its physical materialisation continuously evolved, shifting the focus from pioneers to homeowners, and from homeowners to investors, while passing from dwelling units to private houses, and from private houses to assets. Nevertheless, this evolution was far from being a smooth and preplanned process but rather consisted of a series of ad hoc decisions intended to repeatedly adapt the state's territorial project to the changing economic, cultural, and social climate. Therefore, as the state began shying away from uncompromising and purely ideological settlement methods, it began politicizing seemingly apolitical endeavours—the real estate market. The decades-long transition from a quasi-socialist to a privatised and neoliberal mode of spatial production, as seen in Harish and Tzur-Yitzhak, demonstrates how the "free market" is actually a product of state policy, and how the allegedly colour-blind neoliberalism forms a political tool in the zero-sum logic of state–people–territory. Therefore, if Lefebvre's state mode of production is a directed nationalization expansion campaign that commodifies space as a means to facilitate further accumulation (Lefebvre, 2009, p. 233), then in Harish and Tzur-Nathan it was the commodification of space that enabled its nationalization, completing the domestication of the frontier by incorporating it into the state's real estate market.

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Conflict of Interests

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Article

The *Kleinhaus* and the Politics of Localism in German Architecture and Planning, c. 1910

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Abstract
As an antidote to the substandard tenement apartment, the ideal of the "small house" (*Kleinhaus*) was ubiquitous in housing debates in Germany before World War One. Denoting a modestly sized two-story family house aligned with the street, it had its origins in the Middle Ages, during which it was constructed to serve the humble domestic needs of urban craftsmen who lived and worked in thriving trade cities including Lübeck, Bremen, Hamburg, Augsburg, Nuremberg, and Ulm. For modern promoters of low-density alternatives to the tenement, the *Kleinhaus* was an ideal model for mass appropriation. Unlike foreign and untranslatable dwelling models like the "villa" and the "cottage," the *Kleinhaus* conveyed something that was both urban and quintessentially Germanic. It was thus enlisted by housing reformers to strengthen local cultural identity whilst raising the standards of the nation's housing stock. This article examines the significance of the *Kleinhaus* in fostering dialogue between the fields of architecture and planning, and considers its embeddedness in a wider project of cultural nationalism in pre-war Germany.

Keywords
affordable housing; architectural typology; cottage; family; Germany; Heimat; localism; nationalism; photography; urban design

Issue
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1. Introduction

After stumbling off the main road of Glockengießerstrasse and encountering them in a narrow alley, one could be forgiven for momentarily forgetting one's urban location in the center of Lübeck's old town (Figure 1). Unified by a plain coat of whitewash and a generous pitched roof, these alley houses exemplified a residential type that by the early 20th century came to be known as the "small house" (*Kleinhaus*). The *Kleinhaus* typically described a house of no more than two stories, which could be detached, duplex, or terraced, but which was easily recognizable as a self-contained single-family unit by the presence of three windows and a separate entry that was aligned directly with the street—usually a cozy residential path concealed from the main traffic artery. Clad in brick or plaster and featuring a shingled pitched roof with dormers and a chimney, its exterior was necessarily modest and contained minimal ornamentation. The exemplary *Kleinhaus* was likewise economical in plan, featuring usually no more than four rooms, with a combined kitchen and living room as the locus of family life on the ground floor and separate bedrooms for parents and children on the upper floor. It sometimes contained a small private garden with a stable to accommodate a few chickens and perhaps even a goat (Behrendt, 1916, pp. 210–212).

Relics of late medieval and early modern planning, residential quarters of *Kleinhäuser* ("small houses") could still easily be found in historic trade cities like Lübeck, Bremen, Hamburg, Augsburg, Nuremberg, and Ulm in the late 19th century, even after frequent outbreaks of cholera led many reformers to decry their presence in the name of public health. They received

renewed appreciation in the first decade of the 20th century, initially amongst art historians and conservative promoters of heritage protection, but increasingly amongst urban reformers and architects who saw in the *Kleinhaus* an ideal dwelling type that could provide a more locally-inflected solution to the much debated "housing question." By examining the presence of the *Kleinhaus* in housing debates, this article establishes the turn to localism as a constitutive feature of German architectural modernism and the nascent field of planning. From its historical rediscovery to its codification in planning, the *Kleinhaus* became a powerful nationalistic tool to reinscribe traditional values of the family and community into the fabric of modern urban society.

Figure 1. Residential lane off Glockengießerstraße 41–3, Lübeck, constructed in 1612. Source: "Gandorps Gang – Hof" [Gandorps Gang – Courtyard] (1925), © Bildarchiv Foto Marburg.

2. Discovering *Heimat*

Late 19th-century German architectural culture can largely be characterized by the growth of national self-consciousness and a widespread desire to rediscover historical building and applied arts traditions. From the work of amateur photographers to anthropologists, efforts to document and codify national dwelling styles were widespread and engaged diverse layers of the population. In these efforts, Germany was certainly not alone. Amongst the nations of Central Europe keen to shed the influence of French academicism, the discovery of national folkloric artifacts, such as simple houses and their material contents, proved to be a widespread phenomenon in the larger global process of nation-building (Baycroft & Hopkin, 2012). In Germany, the localism movement was encapsulated in the pervasive term "*Heimat*" (homeland). While the term still largely holds connotations of nostalgia and mourning over the loss of cultural tradition, historians have nonetheless shown it to be an ideologically multivalent phenomenon that helped German citizens construct a national identity based on cultural pluralism and regional heterogeneity (Applegate, 1990). The *Heimat* movement left its most tangible mark on literature, painting, music, and indeed architecture, but its influence in German society ran much deeper, shaping debates ranging from environmental protection to the design of school curriculum (Blackbourn & Retallack, 2007; Jenkins, 2003; Rollins, 1997).

In the sphere of architectural history, a growing body of literature has established the pervasiveness of localist thinking amongst modern German architects and urbanists (Jerram, 2007; Lampugnani & Schneider, 1992; Rousset, in press; Umbach, 2009). From "national romanticism" to "architectural nationalism" to "vernacular modernism," present architectural historiography offers a wealth of conceptualizations that have generated nuanced perspectives on German society's hunger for tradition in the late 19th century and beyond (Miller-Lane, 2000; Schwarzer, 2016; Umbach & Hüppauf, 2005). However, the influence of *Heimat* in the spheres of housing and urban planning is less understood—perhaps because the term "mass housing" is habitually taken in architecture to mean houses that aesthetically express a modernizing process of social abstraction that devours traditional social order and the possibility of placeness. Yet, when the professional discipline of planning (*Städtebau*) was born in Germany in the early 20th century, it was, from the beginning, deeply committed to the study of traditional local social housing models that could act as design prompts for new urban developments.

Photography quickly became the favored tool for documenting local architecture amongst amateur *Heimat* enthusiasts and heritage professionals alike (Joschke & Brown, 2012). Beginning in the 1880s with the founding of the field of "house research" (*Hausforschung*), books on pre-modern northern European dwelling cultures were rife but were largely limited to reproducing diagrams, drawings, and old artworks depicting traditional dwellings (see, e.g., Essenwein, 1892; Stiehl, 1908). Architectural photography was already well established in Europe, especially in France and England via programs to document national monuments, especially churches (Ackerman, 2002). The increased use of the magic lantern projector in educational departments in art history across Europe and the United States at the end of the 19th century created wide markets for photographic slides depicting works of art and architecture. A student of art historian Herman Grimm (among

the first to integrate slides into art history lectures), the photographer and art historian Franz Stoedtner amassed a huge collection of photographic slides from his travels around Germany. In 1895, he established the Institute for the Science of Projection Photography (Institut für wissenschaftliche Projektionsphotographie), an agency specializing in art and architecture slides for reproduction in lectures and publications (the collection now forms the core of the Bildarchiv Foto Marburg; Buchkremer, 2013, pp. 386–387).

One of Stoedtner's most popular collections dealt exclusively with the new field of urban design (*Städtebaukunst*). This collection included around 800 photographs of old urban maps, artistic panoramas, and original photographs of historic city streets. Where the Austrian art teacher Camillo Sitte traveled to Italy to hand-sketch piazzas from watchtowers in order to write his famed handbook on city planning (Lampugnani, 2009, p. 26; Sitte, 1889), with the help of Stoedtner's and other similar collections, books on urban design history could be written at a rapid pace. This new genre of documentary photography turned old German cities into sites of important lessons for young architects. Notions of authenticity and *genius loci* in architecture were hitherto typically attached to rural farmhouses that spoke to what was perceived to be the heart of the nation—the peasanty (Redensek, 2017). The growth of an urban design photographic archive cultivated new interest in buildings that captured the activities of a thriving class of urban merchants and craftsmen who forged Germany's path into the early modern world.

The simultaneous invention of halftone printing in the 1890s allowed photographs to be printed cheaply and effectively alongside text, and a market quickly emerged for photographic books on local urban building traditions. The two best-known books were undeniably architect and conservative ideologue Paul Schultze-Naumburg's volume *Kulturarbeiten: Der Städtebau* [Cultural Works: City Planning] (1906) and architect Paul Mebes's (1908) *Um 1800* [Around 1800]. Both collections celebrated the modest, matter-of-fact style of middle-class domestic architecture that characterized early 19-century German cities. The three-volume *Die schöne deutsche Stadt* [Beautiful German Cities] (Baum, 1912; Wolf, 1911, 1913) utilized a wealth of materials amassed from slide agencies, heritage protection enthusiasts, and amateur photographers to offer a wide-ranging survey of simple domestic building traditions dating back to the Middle Ages. The goal of these and similar volumes was to extend popular appreciation for *Heimat*, but also to train the architect's eye in identifying classic Sittean urban design principles, including picturesque grouping and enclosed intimate streets. These books were not intended to be encyclopaedic or especially historically rigorous. Their textual contents offered little in the way of art-historical precision, typically eschewing details like construction dates, builder names, styles, and building types. They were principally designed for readers to immerse themselves in the images and intuit from them a modern spirit of objectivity.

A handful of old philanthropic residential complexes emerged in photographic urban design literature as exemplary models for new housing construction. At the onset of the early modern world, philanthropic housing arose in response to the growing financial wealth of patricians in German trading cities, whose religious sense of obligation drove them to establish foundations to serve the lower stratum of urban society (Tietz-Strödel, 1982, pp. 6–26). Popular in the Hanseatic cities of Hamburg, Bremen, and Lübeck were "dwelling corridors" (*Wohngänge*), that could be found tucked away in narrow block interiors (Figure 2; Kohlmorgen, 1982). They typically housed widows of merchants and boatsmen

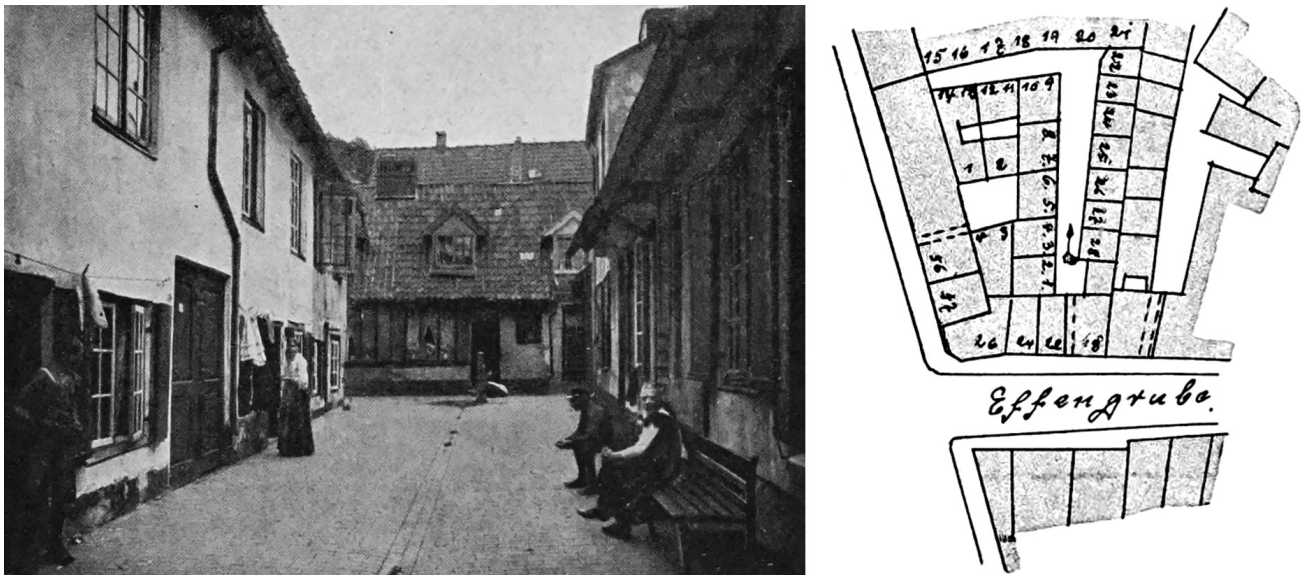

Figure 2. Photograph and plan of Blohmsgang dwelling corridor in Lübeck. Source: Harms (1907, plate 86).

and were named in honor of their wealthy donors. Lübeck boasted the best-preserved dwelling corridors (Bruns, 1920, pp. 38–40), including Glandorps Hof (1612) and Füchtings Hof (1649).

Modern critics considered these dwelling corridors to be exemplary works of socially-relevant urban design: They were suitably economical to reflect the modest means of their occupants, but likewise picturesque and cozy in their interiority and subtle positioning off the busy traffic road (Behrendt, 1916, pp. 216–220; Wolf, 1913). Built ad-hoc as infill in the block interior, these spaces might not appear to differ much from the notorious tenement block courtyards that characterized densely populated cities like Berlin. But in the eyes of reformers, philanthropic dwelling corridors were more than mere empty voids. Lined with flower beds and sitting benches where neighbors could gossip, they were imbued with rhythm and character. A personal ground-level entry into each two-story house offered a humane scale and individualizing element for residents, while the houses' positioning in united rows gave the complex a transpersonal feeling, avoiding the bourgeois tendency for individual aggrandizement through elaborate ornamental features. As one critic noted in reference to Füchtings Hof, the dwelling corridor felt like a city within a city, forming a "little realm of its own" (Bruns, 1920, p. 38).

Images of other notable housing complexes in Ulm and Nuremberg built to accommodate single families were also circulated via Stoedtner's collection, further capturing the aesthetic of the socially-informed row house type. Built in 1488 to accommodate the families of Swabian fustian weavers brought in to bolster the city's textile trade (Schnelbögl, 1961), the Nuremberg housing complex aptly named "Seven Rows" (*Sieben Zeilen*; Figure 3) featured rows of three small two-story dwellings with entries located on quieter lanes off the main streets, which could serve as play areas for children. It is not difficult to speculate on what modern observers might have been expected to learn through Seven Rows: While suitably integrated into the existing cityscape, they appear distinctly ready-made, offering a glimpse of what contextually-sensitive standardized and rationalized modern housing might look like. A 1620 project in Ulm that provided housing for families of the city's militia was also significant (Figure 4). This project absorbed many of the tactics of Lübeck's ad-hoc corridors in a more systematized and standardized fashion, integrating the principle of the quiet residential street into an entire housing quarter, in effect developing the modern notion of the residential community or "neighborhood unit." The architecture follows a familiar formula, with the austerity of the plain-coated exterior offset by generously pitched roofs that assert a distinctly domestic feeling.

The Fuggerei housing complex in Augsburg garnered the most attention in urban design literature (Figure 5; Baum, 1912, p. 113; Schultze-Naumburg, 1906, p. 62). Established in 1516 by the notable Fugger banking family and carried out by the master-builder Thomas Krebs, it provided cheap rental accommodation for the city's poor craftsmen and their families. Containing 52 single-family dwellings, the residential complex brought together many notable principles that account for its positive reception amongst early 20th-century planners (Tietz-Strödel, 1982, p. 48). The layout of its free-standing rows conveyed a modern attitude of good economy, modest means, and mass standardization, while two gated entries (locked every evening) gave the complex a closed-off and communal spirit. More innovatively, it accommodated back gardens for each house, ensuring privacy and a degree of self-sufficiency for every family. Its dwelling plans were also highly rationalized. Local Augsburg historian Joseph Weidenbacher identified three main types of dwellings in the Fuggerei, ranging from dwellings with a kitchen and two rooms to

Figure 3. Left: Photograph of Nuremberg's Seven Rows. Right: Map highlighting the Seven Rows. Sources: "Sieben Zeilen" [Seven Rows] (1918, © Bildarchiv Foto Marburg) and Kuhn (1921, p. 102).

Figure 4. Left and center: Photographs of Ulm's militia housing quarter from the collection of Franz Stoedtner. Right: Map highlighting Ulm's militia housing on the border of the city wall. Sources: "Soldatenhäuser" [Soldiers' Housing] (1900, © Bildarchiv Foto Marburg) and Kuhn (1921, p. 105).

dwellings with a kitchen, chamber, and three rooms. Guided by the "innate benevolent spirit" and "working ethos" of the Fugger family, the economical rationale that underpinned the Fuggerei, for Weidenbacher (1918), made it an ideal model for new workers' housing.

The Fuggerei was also socially significant because it was the first philanthropic entity to be bound to an independent housing foundation rather than to an existing religious body (Adam, 2016, p. 3). Unlike the housing projects in Ulm or Nuremberg, it did not serve a particular civic institution or trade. While philanthropic housing across Europe in the early modern era typically served single people whose circumstances caused them to seek institutional aid (such as widows, nuns, or the sick) the Fuggerei purely served families by virtue of their working ethos and belonging to the city. As such, the housing complex was unique in operating as a preventative mechanism that symbolically placed the secular institution of the family at the heart of modern urban society.

3. Terming the *Kleinhaus*

The housing models cited above reflected values that ran contrary to established planning practice in Germany. Since the publication of German planner Josef Stübben's canonical handbook *Der Städtebau* [City Planning] in 1890, the field of planning expressed little concern for housing design, remaining devoted to issues of street traffic and hygiene. In imitation of Haussmann's Paris, Stübben promoted a schematic Baroque aesthetic as a

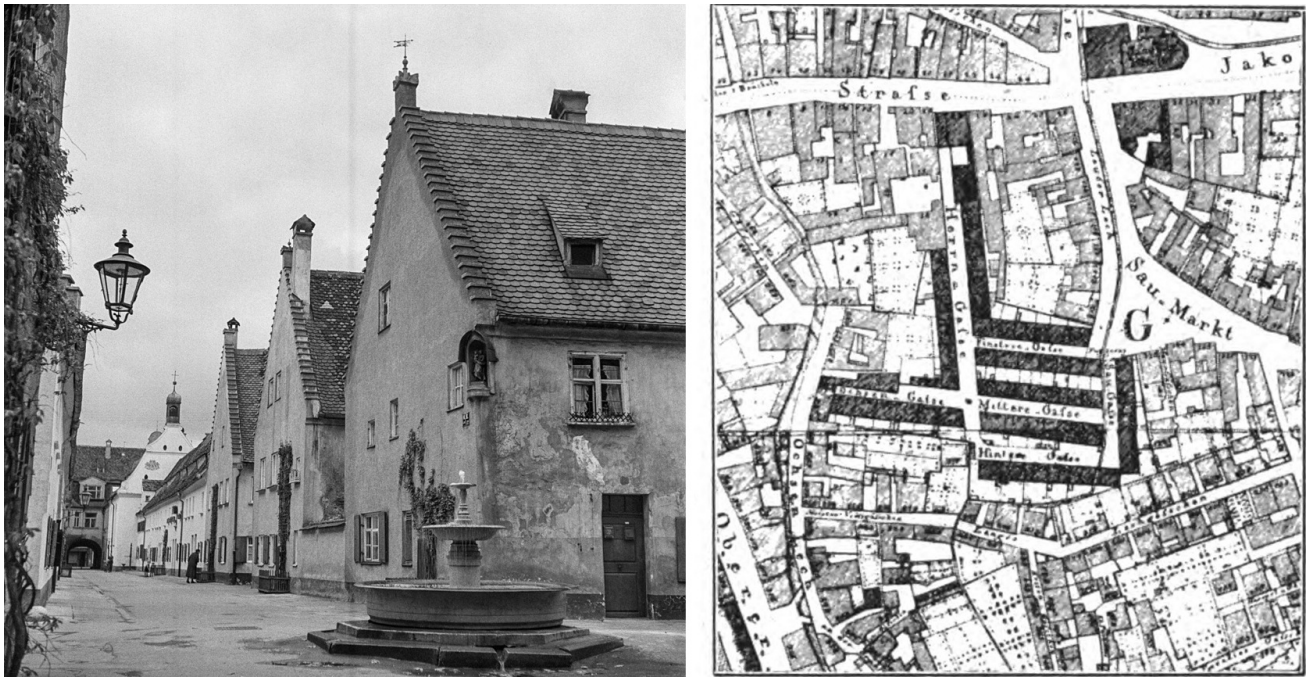

Figure 5. Left: Photograph depicting a street in the Fuggerei. Right: Map highlighting the plan of the Fuggerei. Sources: Aufsberg (1939, © Bildarchiv Foto Marburg/Lala Aufsberg) and Kuhn (1921, p. 105).

template for urban renewal in Germany, which *Heimat*-inspired urbanists described disparagingly as a "cult of the street." The image of Paris as an emblem of cultural modernity would soon be challenged by the increasing influence of the English garden city movement in Germany, which brought housing to the center of debate. Planners Raymond Unwin and Barry Parker's urban designs for the garden suburbs of Letchworth and Hampstead, which incorporated low-density, low-rise small houses inspired by the Arts and Crafts movement, were praised by German architects like Hermann Muthesius for their sensitivity to context and local tradition (Eberstadt, 1909a; Muthesius, 1904–5/1979).

If critics like Muthesius praised the typological clarity of the "English house" and proposed it as an ideal suburban vernacular, a comparable "German house" still awaited discovery (Stalder, 2008). Founded in 1903 by German architect Theodor Goecke and Sitte (who died before the first issue's release), the journal *Der Städtebau* became a vital organ for reporting on English developments, provoking debate about how international garden city ideals could adapt to local conditions. In a message to their readers in the journal's inaugural issue, Goecke and Sitte declared that, amongst other tasks such as regulating traffic, providing healthy and comfortable dwellings, and accommodating industry, a chief goal of the nascent field of urban planning was to nurture a "true love of *Heimat*" (1904, p. 1).

While not one to wax lyrical about the beauty of his native town (the city of Worms), the economist Rudolf Eberstadt became a central figure in promoting a localist ethic in city planning circles, whilst recognizing the need to systematize knowledge of house forms in ways practicable for planning authorities. Eberstadt's influential *Handbuch des Wohnungswesens und der Wohnungsfrage* [Handbook for Housing and the Housing Question] (1909b) proved critical in giving terminological precision to housing forms at the intersection of architectural and planning cultures. Prior to the handbook's publication, there existed no term in the German language that could be considered akin to the now-prevalent English term "housing," used to describe a relatively autonomous field of knowledge. The term *Wohnung* (dwelling) was most frequently used in political, statistical, and social-scientific fields to describe the household unit. The emergence of the *Wohnungsfrage* (literally the "dwellings question") in the late 19th century was largely limited to the arena of political debate between bourgeois reformists over how best to balance economical demands with concerns to improve the moral lives of the lower classes (Bernhardt, 1998; Bullock & Read, 1985; Kastorff-Viehmann, 1979).

Eberstadt offered a progressive voice on the housing question, sympathizing with the working classes and emphasizing the need for comprehensive planning to curb private speculation. At the same time, he betrayed a more typical bourgeois conservatism in his willingness to draw sharp lines between the normal and the pathological to explain housing conditions. In the introduction, he explained that:

> The science of dwelling circumstances has, like medicine, its physiology and its pathology; it is an investigation of normal and abnormal conditions; it must recognize and acknowledge both. The investigation of the general normal conditions is the job of housing [*Wohnungswesen,* literally "the business of dwelling"]; the understanding and explanation of individual anomalous, unsatisfactory, sick conditions is the area of the housing question [*Wohnungsfrage*]….The housing question and housing have thus the same external area in common, but their methods and goals are different. The science of housing has, as I would like to define here, the goal of realizing the best conditions for the production, use, and assessment of human dwelling. (Eberstadt, 1910, pp. 1–2)

In his efforts to establish housing as a rigorous science, Eberstadt developed a typo-morphological approach that would become a mainstay in urban design research, providing urban street, block, and dwelling typologies that could standardize communication across the architectural and planning fields (Albrecht & Zurfluh, 2019; Claessens, 2004). Historical research formed a crucial part of this approach. In the first section of the *Handbook*, Eberstadt traced the evolution of small housing construction back to Antiquity. His cultural frame of reference was narrow, idealizing the archetypal two-story, three-window house that served rapidly growing urban communities across the Germanic lands from the 12th century onwards, which he termed the *Kleinhaus* (although none from this century survived).

While this term was hitherto occasionally (and ambiguously) used in late 19th-century housing literature simply to describe a small dwelling detached on all sides, analogous to the English "cottage," in Eberstadt's hands, it came to be infused with a sense of stylistic clarity, aesthetic purpose, and national historical fate. Emphasizing close ties between this simple, schematic house type and the socio-economic context of home-ownership and urban belonging, the economist went as far as to suggest that its introduction was of "far-reaching importance" to the political and economic development of the middle-classes during the Middle Ages (Eberstadt, 1910, p. 41).

In another sub-section on the "Artistic consideration of house forms," Eberstadt reproduced the *Kleinhaus* model copiously in photographs of a handful of still-surviving pre-modern philanthropic complexes, including Augsburg's Fuggerei, Lübeck's dwelling corridors, and Ulm's militia housing—models which he held to be ideal (Eberstadt, 1910, pp. 204–211). As cities of declining economic importance and increasing touristic value in the 19th century, the sense of longing for *Heimat* is palpable in their visual presence in the *Handbook.* At the same

time, they betray a somewhat patronizing gaze on the modest lifestyles of the traditional underclasses. Many of the houses reproduced in the *Handbook* appeared derelict, bearing significant resemblance to the back-to-back terraces that were simultaneously being condemned in England for their poor ventilation. Hygienic concerns aside, for Eberstadt these models told a story of historical continuity and gradual organizational perfection according to the distinct social requirements of the hard-working family. As such, they reflected more than poor housing—they encapsulated a reformist impulse that was authentically middle-class in its aspirations to eschew outward ostentation and strive for autonomy, familial comfort, and privacy.

As a house form that could be detached, duplex, or terraced, the *Kleinhaus* as an ideal "normal" dwelling challenged the established hierarchy of values in the housing debate that positioned the economic value of the high-density tenement model against the moral and hygienic value of the low-density cottage model. Defining the healthy dwelling became less a matter of density and more a matter of historical authenticity and conventionalism. Typo-morphological correctness according to historical precedent would naturally bring all external factors shaping the healthy dwelling into equilibrium. The architectural merit of a house was defined by its capacity to render its social content legible. Tenement buildings, Eberstadt argued, were not capable of developing their own artistic sensibility. They could be covered with columns and caryatids and "still appear much uglier because they appear more untrue. The dwelling house must express its purpose, to belong to the person, to offer him freedom, security and possession, and only where these conditions are fulfilled can the external form become artistically well designed" (Eberstadt, 1910, p. 257). To illustrate his point, Eberstadt reproduced an image of a typical tenement building beside a complex of *Kleinhäuser* (Figure 6). The differences for readers of the *Handbook* were intended to be stark: On the left stood a façade shielding an indiscriminate mass of living space; on the right stood houses that demonstrated full correspondence between social content and exterior form.

After Eberstadt's *Handbook*, images of rustic pitched roofs and picturesque streets went from being scattered fragments appreciated strictly by *Heimat* enthusiasts to concrete strategies in the urban planner's toolbox. Underlying the pragmatism of this endeavor lay a deeper impulse to fashion myths about the long-durée of modern social housing—a history structured by the secularization of the philanthropic institution and the rise of global trade cities in the early modern world. By privileging the *Kleinhaus* as the standard for "normal" modern housing conditions, the *Handbook* placed the historical autonomy of the traditional urban middle-classes at the center of an urban design agenda in Germany, whilst making this house form operative in responding to the logic of future metropolitan growth. In contrast to the planning of the tenement city as a veritable Potemkin village, modern urban planning became a matter of grasping how the "big city" (*Großstadt*) as an organism interacted with the *Kleinhaus* as its most basic cell.

4. Fabricating the *Kleinhaus*

In the decade following the publication of the *Handbook*, the term *Kleinhaus* became ubiquitous in architectural and planning discourse. As the closest thing to a national

Figure 6. Comparison of an apartment complex and a row of *Kleinhäuser*. Source: Eberstadt (1910, p. 259).

type, it came to express the same level of stylistic clarity and sense of middle-class virtue as the "English house" (Breuer, 1914; Former, 1912; Muthesius, 1918). Much like the English house, the problem posed by the *Kleinhaus* was that of finding a balance between monotonous standardization and the saccharine picturesqueness of typical *Heimat* art. In his post-war handbook *Kleinhaus und Kleinsiedlung* [Kleinhaus and Small Settlement], Muthesius (1918, p. 227) argued that the *Kleinhaus*, as an organically evolved object, "recalls the perfection that our machines, weapons, and airplanes experience through continued progress in manufacture." He assured his readers that the monotony created out of its progressive standardization—from its window frames to its floor plan—would necessarily be tempered when adapted to local (*örtlich*) idiom, and would thus never be boring (1918, p. 224–231).

Muthesius singled out a few large housing projects, including the garden cities of Hellerau and Staaken, as chief representatives of modern *Kleinhaus* construction. These garden cities successfully evoked the romantic image of the small town in their architectural conventions (albeit largely perverting traditional examples through their weakened social connections to the city). Founded in 1908 and financially aided by the Hellerau Building Cooperative, the Hellerau garden city, just outside of Dresden, provided cheap rent or homeownership to the working and lower-middle classes. Likely for the purposes of cost and heating insulation, nearly all construction in Hellerau consisted of low-rise row houses. Architect Heinrich Tessenow produced the most infamous designs in his contribution to Hellerau, stripping the *Kleinhaus* back to its essential elements as a lesson in middle-class self-restraint (Ekici, 2013). Other contributions by notable architects Georg Metzendorf, Richard Riemerschmid, Muthesius, and Kurt Frick emphasized the more local traditionalistic elements of the *Kleinhaus* model (Figure 7), incorporating eyelid dormers and rustic roof shingles and shutters.

While the balance between asceticism and romanticism proved delicate amongst the architects involved, all of the houses in Hellerau encapsulated the social ethos underpinning the historical *Kleinhaus* model in their commitment to achieving a rationalism and conciseness in floor plan. All emanated an enclosed and complete familial existence between their four walls. Muthesius's floor plans demonstrated a rationalized coordination of rooms according to the needs of the family, recalling the typification processes that guided the design of the Fuggerei. These plans featured all the conventional elements of family living, including the scullery, water closet, kitchen-cum-living room (*Wohnküche*), a separate living room on the ground floor, and the parents' bedroom and separate children's bedrooms according to gender on the upper floor (Figure 8). The private gardens attached to Muthesius's dwellings were also distinctly no-fuss and practical, containing stables for livestock.

Constructed by the Imperial Office of the Interior (*Reichsamt des Innern*) to house local factory workers in munition production, the Staaken colony near Spandau, Berlin (1914–1917) by architect Paul Schmitthenner was an ambitious experiment in floor plan standardization (right down to its door handles; Oppenheimer, 1917, p. 8). It featured just five variations in plan across 800 dwellings, all of which were modest in size but featured a generous kitchen-cum-living room as the central

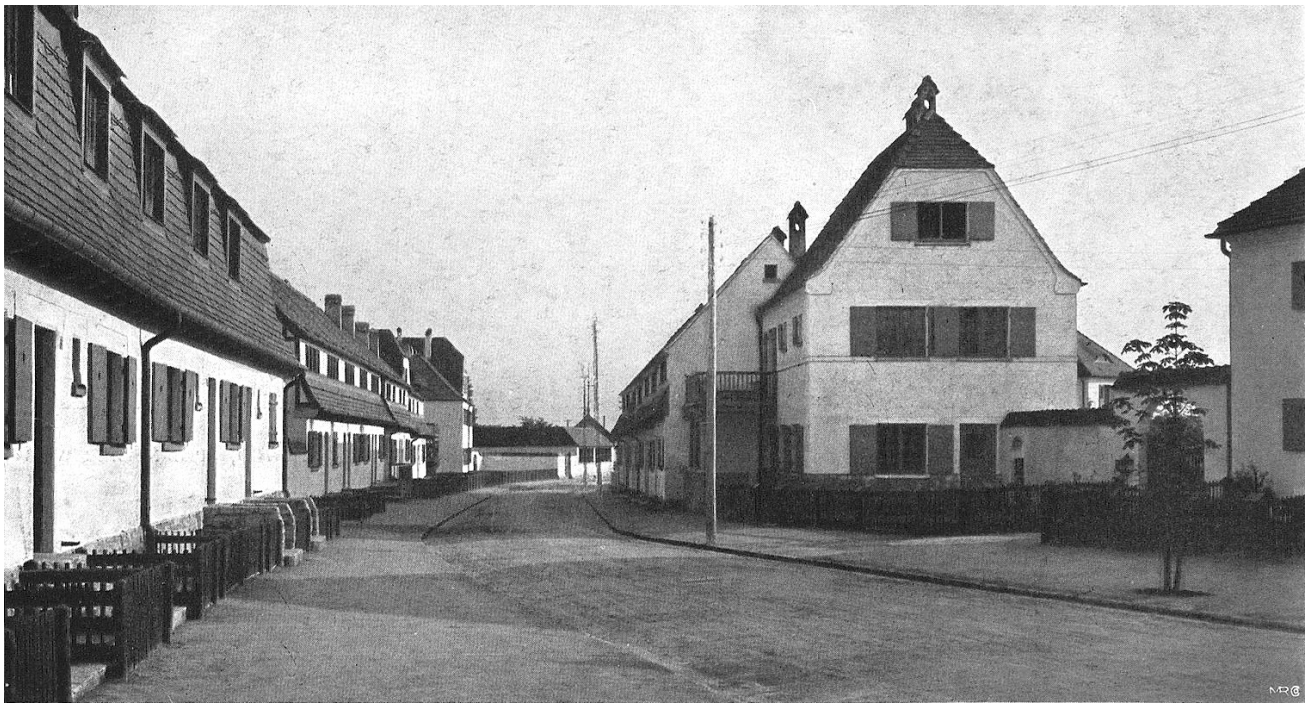

Figure 7. Photograph of Riemerschmid's housing group on the street "Am grünen Zipfel." Source: Breuer (1911, p. 458).

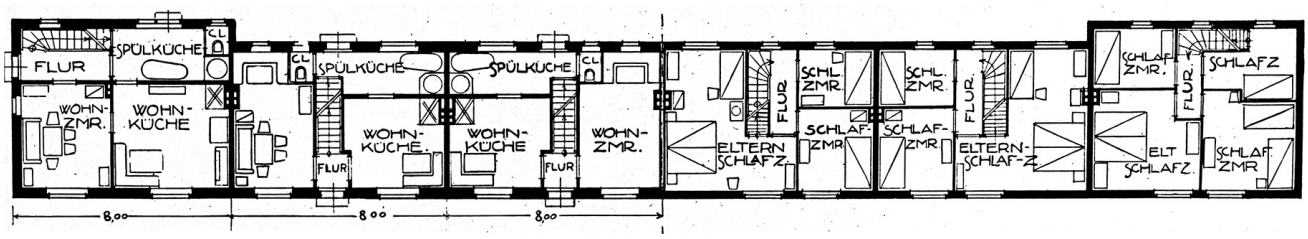

Figure 8. Muthesius' floor plans for a housing group in Hellerau, 1909. From the collection of Franz Stoedtner. Source: "Grundriß der Häusergruppe "Beim Gräbchen" in Hellerau" [Plan of a housing group "Beim Gräbchen" in Hellerau] (1909), © Bildarchiv Foto Marburg.

family hearth and a private yard big enough for livestock (Voigt, 2012, p. 18). Schmitthenner's various façade designs cited traditional decorative features of northern German old towns, from a Dutch gabled Baroque style to a more restrained classicism (Figure 9). Far from turning the colony into a pastiche of historical quotation, the overriding pragmatic demands of the *Kleinhaus* as a basic socio-aesthetic model kept them homey but restrained. Equally significant was the incorporation of artistic urban design principles, such as gates that enclosed streets and reasserted an interior-like character—in effect relocating Sittean principles from the church and square to the residential community as the new locus of civic life.

Figure 9. Schmitthenner's housing on the street "Zwischen den Giebeln" in the Staaken garden city, Spandau, Berlin. Source: Vorsteher (1978), © Bildarchiv Foto Marburg/Dieter Vorsteher.

For conservative critics, Staaken successfully captured the civic spirit of the traditional Brandenburg village without feeling imitative (Schmitz, 1919; Stahl, 1917).

Further west, architect Hugo Wagner's designs for workers' housing near Bremen (Maraun, 1995) were similarly praised by architectural critics for incorporating a rustic local idiom whilst reflecting a modernist sensibility through their commitment to decorative restraint and uniformity. Wagner was a vocal promoter of the movement for *Heimat* protection (*Heimatschutz*) in Bremen, and traditionalist critics positioned his work within an organic lineage of authentic northern German *Kleinhaus* construction (Eberstadt, 1910, pp. 254–255; Högg, 1909; Seeßelberg & Lindner, 1909). His private projects, which included cheap and rustic duplex housing in the workers' colonies of Einswarden (1908) and Burg-Grambke (1910; Figure 10), might have easily been mistaken for surviving remnants of an early housing foundation project. The strictness of their uniform façades was offset by alternations of densities and gable configurations that gave rhythm and variety to the streetscape. Wagner's standardized floor plan designs played an equally reformist role in providing a generous kitchen-cum-living room to serve as a family hearth (Figure 11). Family-oriented reformists praised the adjoined ventilated stove and sink area, which maintained health standards whilst enabling the housewife to sufficiently oversee household activity (Kelm, 1911, p. 142).

While all of these modern emulations of the *Kleinhaus* interpreted the model differently according to local tradition, what united them was a shared commitment to standardize the floor plan based on what they perceived to be the glue holding urban society together: the family hearth. In his praise of new suburban developments including Hellerau and Staaken, critic Walter Curt Behrendt maintained that the "kitchen forms the real center of family traffic in the *Kleinhaus*. Here the housewife controls, the children play, the meals are taken, the family is brought together around the 'domestic hearth' during the free hours of the evening, like the times of the old German middle-class houses [*Bürgerhauses*]" (1916, p. 208). In its ability to mold the worker into an upright citizen, Behrendt (1916, p. 228) argued that the suburban *Kleinhaus*, with its hearth and vegetable patch, "creates a bond that binds the population to the soil of the fatherland once more."

Figure 10. Wagner's housing for workers in Burg-Grambke, Bremen, 1910. From the collection of Franz Stoedtner. Source: "Arbeiterkolonie" [Workers' Colony] (n.d.), © Bildarchiv Foto Marburg.

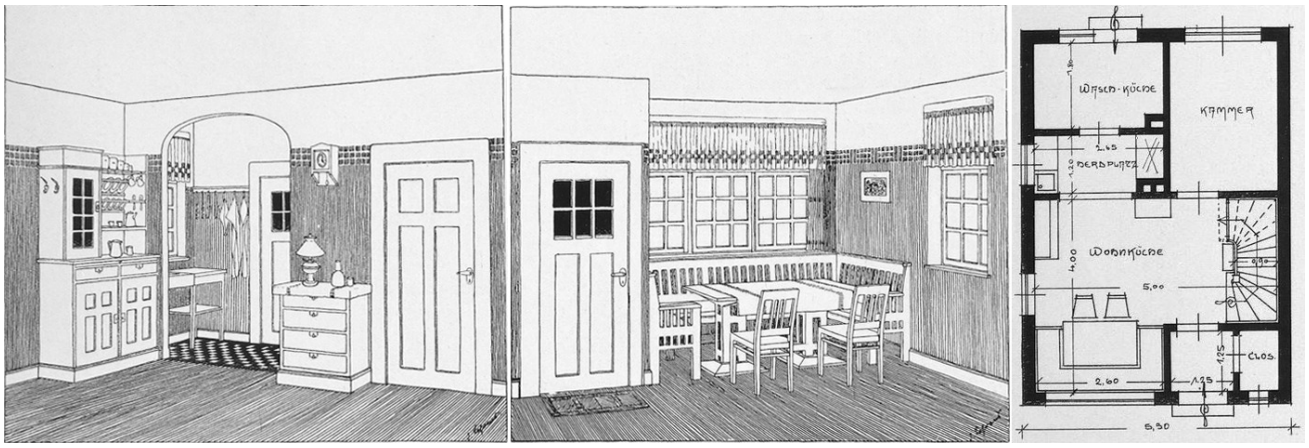

Figure 11. Wagner, Lotz, and Schacht's designs for the workers' colony of Einswarden, Bremen. Left and center illustrates the kitchen-cum-living room and right illustrates the floor plan. Source: Seeßelberg and Lindner (1909, p. 45).

5. Conclusion

While this house model lost much of its cultural import in the 1920s as new terms like the "minimum dwelling" (*Existenzminimum*) gained momentum in modernist circles and sidelined traditionalist positions, it continued to serve as an aspirational object for the nation's lower middle-classes and remained the dominant house type in Germany well into the 1960s (Lorbek, 2018). By examining the emergence of the *Kleinhaus* in professional and popular discourse, this article has sought to demonstrate that, in Germany at least, efforts to clarify housing terminology around singular ideals were closely tied to the process of nation-building. In its ability to mobilize national historical myths about civic responsibility and local belonging, the *Kleinhaus* remained a central part of early 20th-century efforts to address Germany's housing shortage (Muthesius, 1918; Wolf, 1919). Its historical rediscovery, codification, and fabrication involved energetic cross-disciplinary dialogue between the fields of art history, architecture, and planning. It was a dialogue that reflected, foremost, cultural anxieties over carving a place for the local out of an increasingly homogenous template of European modernity.

Conflict of Interests

The author declares no conflict of interests.

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Article

Self-Management of Housing and Urban Commons: New Belgrade and Reflections on Commons Today

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Abstract
The concepts of collective management of housing and urban spaces are being revisited within the contemporary discussions about community-driven approaches and practices and, in particular, related to the revitalization of residential neighbourhoods. This research identifies the concepts of self-management and social ownership of housing in the post-World War II period in Yugoslavia as an important legacy of Yugoslav urban planning and housing policies. Although they were subsequently neglected, these concepts can contribute to contemporary global discussions about housing affordability and the role of community in ensuring spatial and social equality. New Belgrade mass housing blocks—the main site for testing the new dwelling concepts, in terms of both policies and modernist design—are the object of this research. The article is mainly a theoretical analysis of the issues of common interest and engagement, common good, and common spaces which played a decisive role in its design. The study applies interpretative and correlational research methods in re-theorizing these concepts and their underlying narratives. It traces how the perspectives on the collective practices and spaces evolved over time, revealing a correlation between changed social practices and the spatial deterioration of the New Belgrade mass housing blocks. The study highlights the importance of both collective practices and common spaces for addressing housing issues, emphasizing their instrumentality, and potentiality for rearticulating the dialogue between public and private, engaging citizens in interactive and inclusive decision-making and co-creation of the urban reality.

Keywords
common spaces; community; dwelling concepts; New Belgrade; post-war housing; self-management; urban commons

Issue
This article is part of the issue "The Terms of Dwelling: Re-Theorizing Housing Through Architecture" edited by Yael Allweil (Technion—Israel Institute of Technology) and Gaia Caramellino (Politecnico di Milano).

1. Introduction

The article's subject matter is twofold: First, it revisits and re-theorizes Yugoslav concepts of self-management and social ownership of housing, presenting the main ideas, their implementation, and contradictions in practice. It focuses on New Belgrade, a modernist neighbourhood developed in the second half of the 20th century, which was the main site for testing these concepts of collectivity. The article analyses the narratives behind it, focusing on housing policies or types of governance and ownership, but also urbanization, or modernist design and construction processes (Section 3). Second, it correlates the changing perspectives on these concepts and practices with the phenomenon of urban decay and housing deterioration in order to understand the causalities and problematics of housing deterioration, and in particular of the common spaces that played a decisive role in the design of these neighbourhoods (Section 4). The article argues that there is a correlation between the changed social practices—in particular, the disappearance of self-management and social ownership—

and the spatial deterioration of the New Belgrade blocks. Moreover, it aims to establish a bridge between the historical forms of decentralized governance and recent discussion of *the commons*. The study is positioned in a specific contextual framework but also interrelated with a broader socio-cultural and theoretical discourse. As such, it contributes to contemporary global discussions about housing issues, housing deterioration, and community-driven approaches and practices for creating and managing change in the built environment, especially for the revitalization of residential neighbourhoods.

2. Theoretical Framework

Urban decay and devaluation are common attributes of post-war (World War II) mass housing areas. Yet the levels and types of decay or devaluation differ significantly and are usually differentiated by ownership and governance models (public, social, rental, non-profit, socialist, collective, etc.), and how those changed over time. Although the question of context was suppressed in modernist planning of new neighbourhoods in terms of being its "prosthetic extension" (Wigley, 1991), modernist principles were adapted to the specific social, political, and economic conditions of a region, country, or city (Komez-Daglioglu, 2016). The magnitude of mass housing problems depends mostly on these conditions and is interlinked with contextual specificities.

The correlation between the social practices in housing—the ownership and governance models in particular—and the spatial qualities is addressed in this article. It discusses both the emergence and early decades and the more recent period characterized by transformed social agreements—privatization of the housing units—and its spatial implications. Privatization, or rather the commodification of housing, alters the notion of dwelling from a human right into a commodity. However, housing unaffordability is not the only repercussion, but also socio-spatial inequalities and deterioration in existing residential neighbourhoods. This issue is especially relevant for post-war mass housing areas and the case of New Belgrade, which is the object of this research.

The article argues that the issue of *territoriality* of the mass housing areas, the behavioral patterns of inhabitants—in particular in relation to the undifferentiated common spaces within the New Belgrade blocks—is not related exclusively to proprietary rights, but also the right to *appropriate* and use the common space. Although the use and governance rights derive from what a proprietary scheme allows, the proprietary rights are not sufficient to trigger responsibility over space. Accordingly, both ownership and governance models that would allow and encourage collective use, management, and control of the common spaces, need to be (re)considered. The problem of the privatization process in the case of New Belgrade is addressed by Mojovic (2006, p. 6):

> The privatization comprised purchase of apartments only and common spaces in fact remained public property with the common right of use. It means that there is no condominium type of ownership and that ambiguity creates conditions for constant decay of all multi-apartment buildings.

Mojovic correlates the ownership situation with responsibility for the space, which is in line with Newman's (1972) defensible space theory that focused on the question of semi-public spaces, especially on the aspects of community, territoriality, and collective and individual responsibility for the common spaces. Newman stresses that inhabitants should become key agents in ensuring safety in a neighbourhood, yet the physical layout of a neighbourhood would need to be restructured for that. He argues that the more people who share a territory, the less each individual feels a right to it. He, therefore, suggests segmenting undifferentiated spaces in a neighbourhood into private, semi-private, semi-public, and public spaces. More recent scholarship on Newman, in particular Knoblauch (2018) and Cupers (2020), argues that the concept of territoriality is key to understanding the shift in housing policy. As Knoblauch (2018, para. 4) explains:

> According to Newman and his collaborator, psychologist George Rand, territoriality especially was sorely missing in modern housing projects. Large undifferentiated grounds had created community but now discouraged the necessary "decision to act," because "proprietary rights" to the area had not been honored.

The critical point of Newman's territoriality conception is that it contests the notions of inclusive, democratic use of open space, as the open spaces should remain *open.* This is also a point on which Jacobs' and Newman's views differ. According to Jacobs (1961), a special value of the open space is its dynamic characterized by the social interaction of strangers in which, as noted by Crestani and Pontes (2018, p. 49), "individuals share a common experience of the world." The idea of both residents and strangers having a right to appropriate the public space is reflected in Lefebvre's right to the city, as the right of a *citizen-citadin* to participate actively in the control of the territory and in its management (Lefebvre et al., 1986, and Renaudie et al., 2009, as cited in Blagojevic, 2014, p. 302).

Tijerino (1998, p. 324), referring to Elias' (1939/1994) *civility*, proposes a semantic transition from *defensible space* to *civil space*: "Physical incivilities such as abandoned properties manifest a decaying and unsafe neighborhood, while built environment elements such as well-kept front yards construct the perception that a public space is cared for, hence, it is protected." Based on this, we can argue that underused spaces evolve into decayed and unsafe spaces, and spaces that are used and cared for, protected, well-maintained, and safe.

In his study of post-war housing, Priemus (1986) describes the *management* factor as an explanatory and decisive one for the operational problems of post-war housing estates. He also stresses the importance of involving residents in housing management. He refers to the concept of co-management, claiming that residents should be not only housing consumers but also "co-managers of a dwelling" (Priemus, 1986, p. 175). Yet, as he notes, the link between residents and housing management is often non-existent. However, it should be noted that Priemus focuses on the West European non-profit rental sector, whereas co-management strategies were already very much present in Yugoslavia, but, in this case, as part of the *socially-owned housing* (see Section 3.2). How housing was produced and owned had a major impact and should be understood as a factor complementary to the management or governance factors.

While co-management ideas were being promoted in the Netherlands (Priemus, 1986), they were starting to be suppressed in Yugoslavia due to a paradigm shift in ideology, both political and architectural. Referring to Lefebvre's reflections on *autogestion* and fascination with the Yugoslav self-management, Smith (2016, p. 230) argues: "For him [Lefebvre] the kind of *autogestion* advocated by Proudhon or the actual self-management forms that emerged in Tito's Yugoslavia had either failed economically or been assimilated by capitalism."

As Hirt (2008, p. 787) argues, the East European post-socialist changes fit well into the framework of a global "modern-to-postmodern urban change." Outlining the process of transforming socialist into capitalist cities, Hirt (2008) connects post-socialist urbanism with postmodern urbanism, highlighting several factors behind this urban transition, including privatization (commercialization and change of ownership model) and reversal of roles between the public and the private sector (directly influencing governance models).

Although neglected within the post-modernist discourse and post-socialist context, these ownership and governance strategies are re-emerging nowadays in different studies on participation, community engagement, and integrated, just, and inclusive planning and urban development, especially in relation to housing questions. Furthermore, the questions of commons, common interest, and processes of *commoning* are integral to these studies. Therefore, Yugoslav concepts of self-management and social ownership of housing, and their implementation, or contradictions in practice, need to be further investigated, emphasizing their instrumentality and potentiality as tools for citizen empowerment.

3. New Belgrade Dwelling Concepts and Emergence of the Self-Management and Social Ownership of Housing

New Belgrade (Serbia, or, at the time of construction, Yugoslavia), one of the largest modernist post-war mass housing areas, mainly built in the 1960s and 1970s, is today Belgrade's biggest municipality, covering an area of around 4,000 ha with around 250,000 inhabitants (see Figure 1).

Since the beginning, its urban development strategies were strongly related to the socio-political context. This context was constantly changing during the 20th century (see Figure 2), leading to discontinuity in

Figure 1. Map of Belgrade and New Belgrade. Source: Anica Dragutinovic, adapted from Bing Maps (https://www.bing.com/maps).

planning and constructing the modern city, as well as in its further urban development strategies and policies (Dragutinovic et al., 2018).

The underlying narratives have been studied, focusing on participation and governance in planning, building, and living in New Belgrade. The initial concepts, and how the "planned" was realized have been studied, revealing dichotomies between (a) top-down planning and self-made urbanity (Section 3.1) and (b) formal participation and informal hierarchy (Section 3.2). Special attention was paid to the specific concepts of Yugoslav self-management and social ownership, discussing their emergence and the contradictions in these concepts in practice. The timeline of key historical events and Yugoslav policies related to the development of these concepts is presented in Figure 2.

3.1. Dichotomies in Planning and Constructing New Belgrade: Top-Down Planning vs. Self-Made Urbanity

In the first post-war years, from 1945 to 1948, as plans were made for rebuilding the devastated country, the issue of Belgrade's "extra-territory"—the marshy land on the left bank of the Sava River—resurfaced. As Blagojevic argues, it was a perfect site for "establishing a supra-historical reality and construction of the capital city of 'people's democracy,' later, socialism" (Blagojevic, 2007, as cited in Dragutinovic et al., 2018, p. 188).

Similar to Chandigarh (India) and Brasilia (Brazil), in this post-war period New Belgrade was conceived as a city to symbolize a new beginning, a "tabula rasa" city with a nation-building agenda. It was conceived as an administrative, cultural, and economic centre of the newly founded Socialist Yugoslavia (Dragutinovic et al., 2018). The planning and construction of a new city were initiated by the communist regime and its leader Marshall Josip Broz Tito. At that time the country was poorly equipped for construction; it lacked specialized workers and experience. Therefore, the top-down planning came in parallel with the hand-made urbanization: The first construction workers were Yugoslav youth brigades (see Figure 3).

As Stefanovic (1969) notes, from 1948 to 1951, this volunteer workforce laboured on covering the marshy terrain and building infrastructure for the new, emerging city. The most important construction sites were the highway through New Belgrade, the railway line, riverbanks and quay landscaping, parks, as well as Hotel Yugoslavia and many other major buildings. "The striking thing to the foreign visitors is that a great number of people do actually take part in this reconstruction work gladly and with great pride in its results," as underlined in *The World Today* (P. A., 1948, p. 334).

A few years after work began, significant political and ideological changes (the split with the Soviet Union in 1948) disrupted the Yugoslav economy and with it the

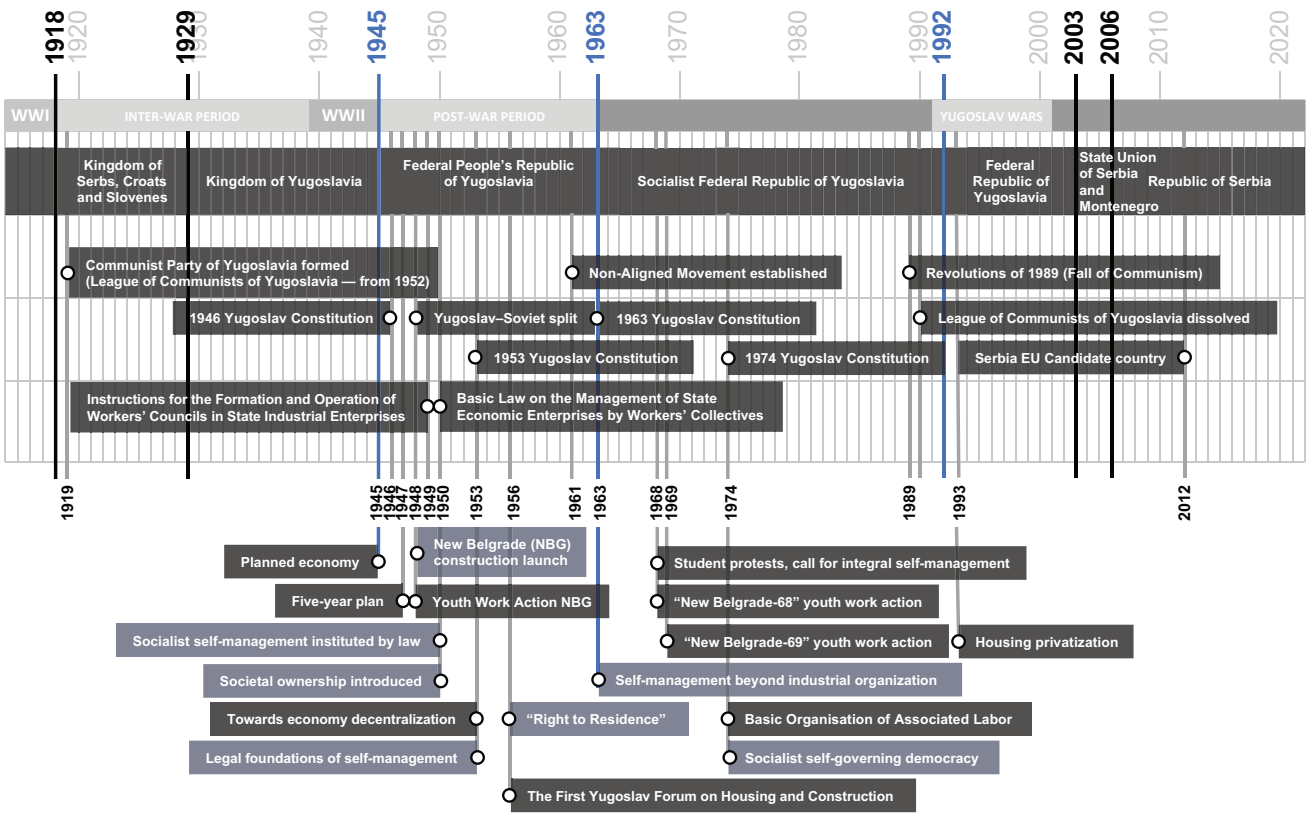

Figure 2. Timeline of historical events and policies related to the emergence of key ownership and management concepts. Source: Anica Dragutinovic.

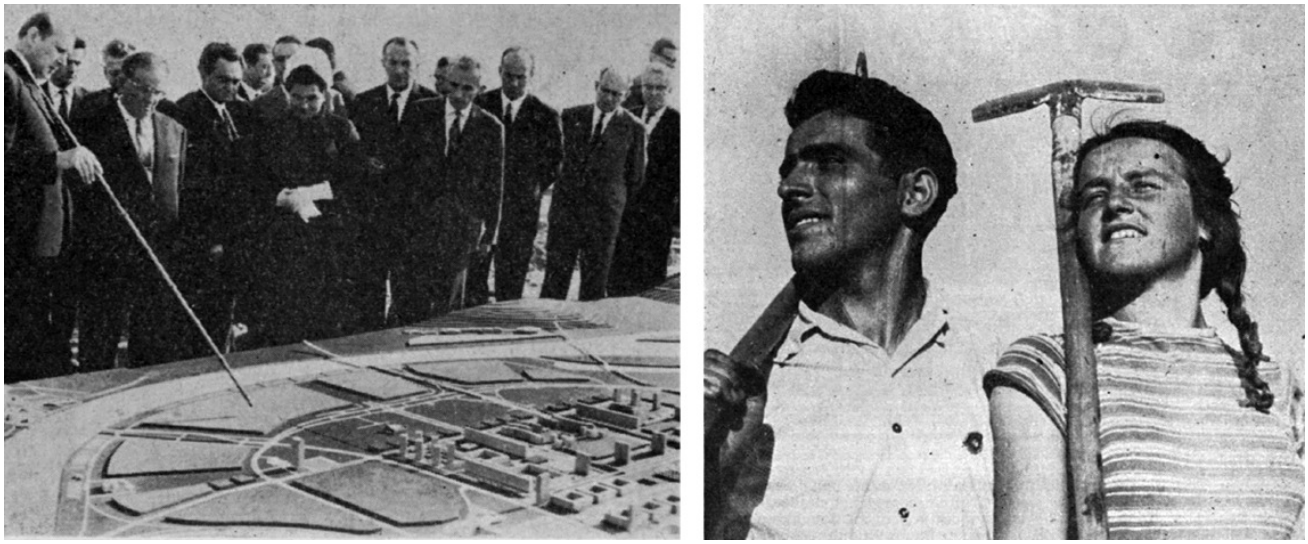

Figure 3. Planning New Belgrade (left) and constructing New Belgrade: The first construction workers in 1948—Yugoslav youth (right). Source: Stefanovic (1969, pp. 47–48).

construction of New Belgrade. During the next 15 years, the plans for New Belgrade went through several iterations. Due to decentralization, New Belgrade lost its role as the administrative center of Yugoslavia. Moreover, the housing shortage came to the forefront, and New Belgrade was largely constructed in 1960s and 1970s as a city of housing.

Urban and architectural practice during this period was diverse, and, as Hirt (2009, p. 296) argues, the design of New Belgrade blocks was of "superior architectural quality" with an "imaginative design language." The modernist housing landscape was composed of blocks as the main urban units, comprising large-scale residential buildings of diverse typology (see Figure 4), extensive common green areas, and complementary facilities, such as kindergartens, schools, local community centres, etc. (Petricic, 1975). In terms of size, for example, Central Zone blocks were 600 × 400 m, each housing approximately 10,000 inhabitants. Blocks 1 and 2, the so-called experimental residential neighbourhoods, were the first local communities realized as a whole in the period between 1960 and 1963 (Stojanovic, 1975). Construction of the Central Zone blocks followed—e.g., Block 23 was realized in the period between 1973 and 1976 with approximately 2,100 flats and 7,560 residents (Stjepanovic & Jovanovic, 1976).

In this period of intensive construction of New Belgrade, the 1960s and 1970s, the approach and technology changed. The construction of the New Belgrade blocks was directly related to innovations in prefabrication, and it was, therefore, more supported by experts and industry. Accordingly, the role of youth workers in further urbanization of New Belgrade changed as well, or rather the model of their participation was different. The main office for the construction of New Belgrade required a significant number of unskilled workers, so the youth brigade idea was still relevant. However, it was now implemented in a form of paid work under contract with the investor. New Belgrade-68 was the first remunerated work action and functioned as a business. This was a major change and resulted in an increased interest among young people. More than 20,000 people applied for the 5,000 places in that first work campaign. Nevertheless, the income was rather symbolic, so, in fact,

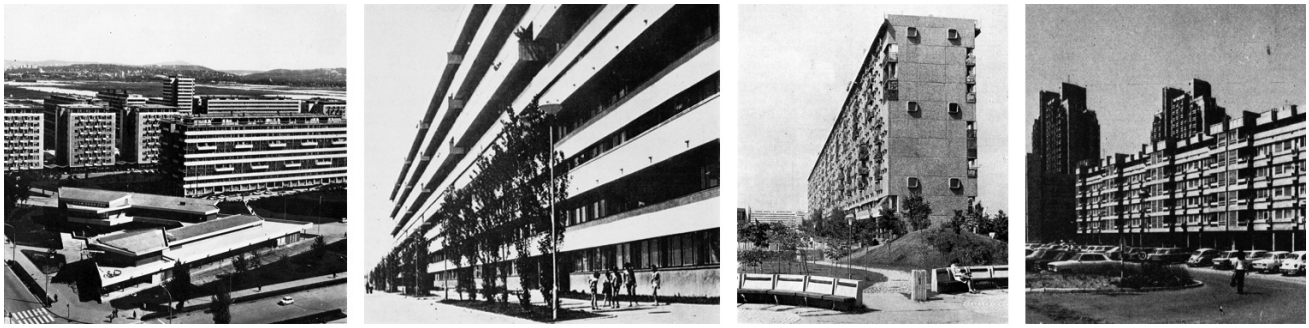

Figure 4. New Belgrade blocks (from left to right): (a) Residential buildings and local community centre in Block 1 (1963), (b) residential building in Block 21 (1965), (c) residential building in Block 28 (1974), and (d) residential buildings in Block 23 (1974). Source: Stojanovic and Martinovic (1978, pp. 150 [c], 209 [a], 230 [b, d]).

the collective spirit and socialization were still the main drivers of the Yugoslav youth brigades (Stefanovic, 1969). The work actions were a perfect platform for testing the governance principles of the socialist society and acted as a school of self-management (see Figure 5).

3.2. Self-Management and Social Ownership: Between Formal Participation and Informal Hierarchy

New Belgrade was the main site for testing new dwelling concepts and the housing policies behind them. As Blagojevic (2007) explains, the housing policy during New Belgrade construction was completely subordinated to the conditions of social ownership under socialism. New Belgrade was the biggest construction site in Yugoslavia, providing socially-owned flats for tens of thousands of inhabitants. Minimum dwelling for the low-income and vulnerable groups (known as public or social housing) was further developed and translated into *minimum for maximum*, minimum for equality (and is known as socially-owned housing; Dragutinovic et al., 2019).

It is important to stress that *socially-owned housing* in Yugoslavia differed from what is known as *social housing*. The term denotes a form of ownership (not privately owned but owned by society) and is not related to the demographic profile of the residents. Socially-owned housing addressed a much wider social circle than social housing. The main aim was to enable better conditions of living for *everyone*. In the conclusion of the First Yugoslav Forum on Housing and Construction, in 1956, the "right to residence" was defined as a basic legal institution providing to working men one of the most important means of life (Blagojevic, 2007, p. 134; see Figure 6).

The main organizational unit in housing construction was a housing community. It was conceptualized as an association of citizens inhabiting a housing block (Blagojevic, 2007). The housing communities were identified with the so-called local communities and acted as territorial units for the organization and implementation of the self-management concept. Nevertheless, the housing communities were usually communities of co-workers as well, which often blurred the line between the governance setting within the neighbourhoods and enterprises.

New Belgrade's housing was financed by a social housing fund, which was decentralized in the 1950s: It was devolved to the state and city authorities and *socially-owned enterprises*, which became the formal investors. Thus, the social ownership of housing in Yugoslavia was based on a *cooperative ownership model*—related to the enterprises owned and managed by the workers. As the socially-owned enterprises were organized according to the workers' self-management system, after the construction of a building or a neighbourhood, the enterprise (workers themselves) was responsible for the distribution of flats to the workers according to the ideal of social justice (Petrovic, 2001). As Jakovljevic (2016, p. 11) argues, "from its inception in the early 1950s, self-management was the main mechanism of Yugoslavia's transition from a 'totalitarian' to a 'liberal' society." Yet there were a lot of inconsistencies in practice, which became increasingly pronounced as time went by. As Krstic (2018, p. 18) explains, "managerial staff members found it easier to get flats than workers, for those with higher education it was easier to get flats than for those with lower education." The concepts of equality, fairness, and social justice in the self-managed process of construction and distribution of flats were destabilized due to the informal hierarchy. Furthermore, differences in power among different enterprises were present as well. This affected the housing standards. For example, the Yugoslav People's Army had its own apartment standards manual, as well as being usually entitled to the most prominent locations. Moreover, the concept of self-management was not coherent, but rather an experiment that changed

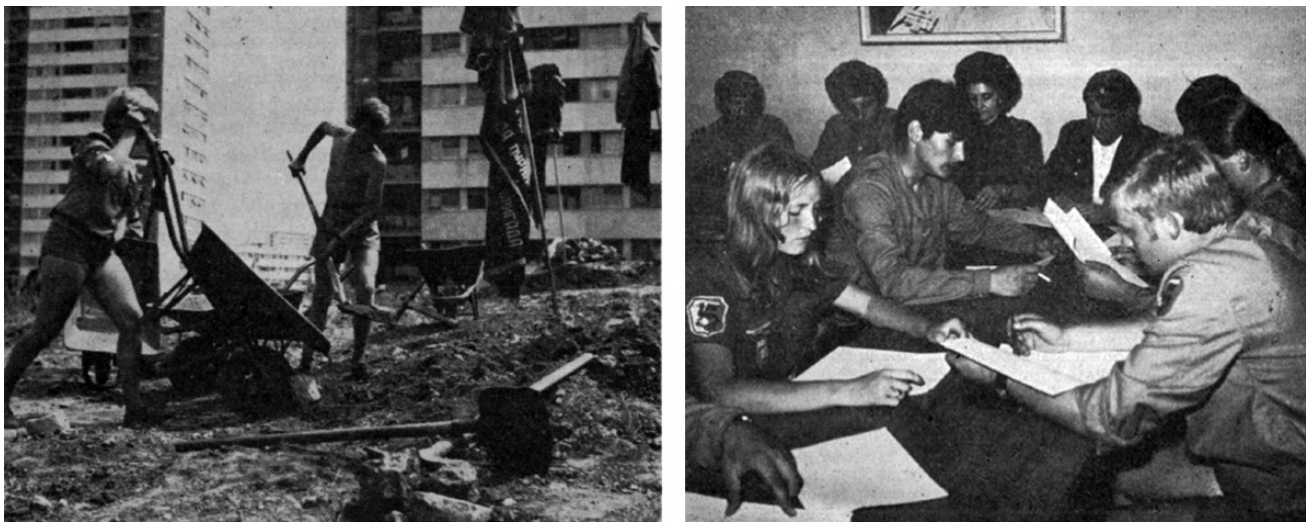

Figure 5. Constructing New Belgrade two decades on (1968, left) and New Belgrade-69 self-management (planning the work actions, 1969, right). Source: Stefanovic (1969, pp. 57 [left], 64 [right]).

Figure 6. Ilija Arnautovic's linear building in Block 28, New Belgrade, 1974. Source: Stare slike Novog Beograda (2013; © Photograph by Olivera Sumanac, 1975).

over time. Yet, as Jakovljevic (2016, p. 14) states, "not a single alteration to this ongoing experiment was initiated from 'below,' by organized workers." In 1968, French students and workers demanded *autogestion* as a viable alternative to capitalism; in Yugoslavia, students called for the consistent implementation of self-management in the form of an *integral self-management*, in which "a collective effort is facilitated through solidarity and inspiration instead of through hierarchy and command" (Jakovljevic, 2016, p. 13). Lefebvre's fascination with self-management, as direct democracy in the city, overcoming both the state and the market, was restored in his proposal for the improvement of the urban structure of New Belgrade (see Section 4.2), albeit as a utopian understanding of self-management (Stanek, 2011).

By the 1980s, the housing issues had increased and, as Krstic (2018, p. 19) points out:

> Became one of the main sources of discontent in Yugoslav society, first of all among the young, whose working career unfolded in an economy which was already undermined to a large degree by the neoliberal reforms, which no longer promised 'flats for everyone.'

4. Urban Decay and Devaluation of New Belgrade Blocks

This section considers the physical decay and devaluation of New Belgrade blocks in relationship to (a) changed ownership, maintenance relations, and suppressed importance of the community (Section 4.1) and (b) modernist planning, or rather the performance of the plans, and further post-modern and contemporary urban practices eliminating common spaces (Section 4.2).

4.1. Urban Decay and Devaluation vs. Ownership, Maintenance, and the Role of Community

The Yugoslav system of workers' self-management and social self-government was crucial to the planning process. As such, the funding model for New Belgrade's construction (see Section 3.2) consequently governed the ownership situation, policies, and management of the housing.

Social ownership of New Belgrade blocks was "based on the ideological premise of the right to a residence as a universal right for the common public good" (Blagojevic, 2014, p. 302). The social ownership status blurred the line between public and private spaces within the blocks. The flats were indeed the most private zones, but even the flats were not privately owned. The fine gradient towards the public was further supported by common spaces within the blocks, for example local community centres and urban common spaces. The collective ownership, and therefore the design of the blocks as a whole (from private to public spaces, or individual to collective spaces), was supposed to enable communal and participatory use of the facilities (Dragutinovic & Pottgiesser, 2021).

Stanek (2011), while drawing attention to Lefebvre's fascination with self-management, points out that it was a utopian understanding of self-management rather than a historical reality, thereby highlighting the contradictions in the Yugoslav system, including "the ambiguous status of social ownership, which led to a conflict

between holders of ownership rights and holders of management rights, and the dichotomy between formal participative decision-making processes and the informal hierarchical domination of the Communist Party" (Stanek, 2011, p. 243).

The contradictions inherent to the socialist policies and institutions, as well as the values of social justice, equality, and common good, contributed to the destabilization of these very principles. As Petovar and Vujosevic (2008) argue, the concept of common interest as the basis for planning was undermined, and increased conflict between the individual (partial) interest and common interest became the main issue in urban planning and practice. Furthermore, a radical transformation of ownership followed: "Substitution of state ownership for the former social ownership replaces the right to a residence by that of occupancy right and, following privatization, by private property right" (Blagojevic, 2014, p. 304).

However, the change in ownership status that followed, in the 1990s, did not resolve the conflict between ownership and management rights (and responsibilities), but only deepened them. During the so-called post-socialist transformation, New Belgrade housing was privatized. The privatization of housing was restricted to the sale of socially-owned flats to sitting tenants and the political elite at extremely low prices (Petrovic, 2001). As Petrovic (2001, p. 215) points out, this created "new subventions out of the budget and reproduced privileges in housing." By the end of 1993, 95% of socially-owned housing in Belgrade had been privatized. New Belgrade housing was practically shared among the people, and it served as a "shock absorber" during the post-socialist transition (Petrovic, 2001). The privatization of the flats was followed by the transformation of the open spaces. As Blagojevic (2014) notes, the open common spaces were subdivided, privatized, and programmed for functions that had been lacking during the socialist period (business, retail, banking, gambling, and religion; see Figure 7).

As a result of the privatization process, each flat within the huge residential buildings became privately owned and usually owner-occupied, with a diverse social structure. The privatization meant a transfer of responsibility for the huge structures to the residents. However, the ownership change was not followed by clear regulations about management and maintenance, leading to disrepair and urban decay. Moreover, the economic problems that emerged as a result of the socio-political changes the country was facing created affordability issues and precluded any investment in maintenance. Even the spatial resources that were available were not being used. The residents took care of their private space, their own apartments, but the common spaces and elements suddenly became nobody's. Besides the lack of regulations and thus of any clearly defined formal responsibilities, willingness decreased as well.

Figure 7. Block 28, New Belgrade: "Old and new spaces." Source: OginoKnauss (n.d.).

The stifled sense of community and interest in the common activities and spaces made these spaces obsolete (see Figure 8).

Underutilization and problems with maintenance of the common spaces in the blocks were the main arguments put forward by the city authorities to justify the sale of urban development land and the promotion of intensive construction in New Belgrade (Milojevic et al., 2019). Usurpation of the common spaces, their privatization, and commercialization have continued up to the present day. These processes contested both the modernist landscape and the socialist policies. The questions about opportunities for the collective and cooperative appropriation of space remain largely unresolved (Blagojevic, 2014). The elimination of the common spaces and lack of citizen participation are intensifying socio-spatial polarization and contesting one of the main roles of planning, which is to safeguard against overexploitation of common goods.

4.2. Urban Decay and Devaluation vs. Modernist Design, Post-Modern Critique, and Contemporary Urban Practices

Discontinuity in the planning and construction of New Belgrade reflected changes in the socio-political context, but also the activities of CIAM and shifting perspectives on modernist planning. New Belgrade was planned and mainly built according to the principles of the Athens Charter (Blagojevic, 2007), despite these principles having already been questioned during the CIAM congresses of 1951 and 1953 (Perovic, 1985).

As Perovic (1985, p. 221) points out, the insistence on "functionalism" and "ultimate" form led to "the 'solution' of reserving disproportionally large areas for future individual activities which lie unused for decades, resulting in a monotonous, vague area, which looks more like a sketch on the ground than space where people live" (see Figure 9, center). This critique, which dates from 1985, is part of the post-modernist discourse and already post-socialist thinking. The issues of the New Belgrade urban fabric identified by Perovic are traced overtime here in order to understand how they contributed to the contemporary problems of the blocks.

The unfinished modernist project (1985) found itself in the midst of a paradigm shift that entailed abandoning the original ideology, both politically and architecturally. The disrupted modernization opened up a critical framework and reflections on the past. Studying *lessons of the past*, Perovic (1985) compared the New Belgrade urban fabric with a number of historical cores and important public squares around the world. As this study shows, "the exaggerated open areas and size of buildings" signified the loss of human dimensions (Perovic, 1985, p. 221). Referring to Jacobs (1961), he pointed out the importance of urban compactness for the liveability

Figure 8. Block 23, New Belgrade. Source: Anica Dragutinovic (photograph taken by Zorana Jovic for the student workshop "Reuse of Common Spaces of New Belgrade Blocks: Co-designing the Urban Commons," Belgrade, September 2020).

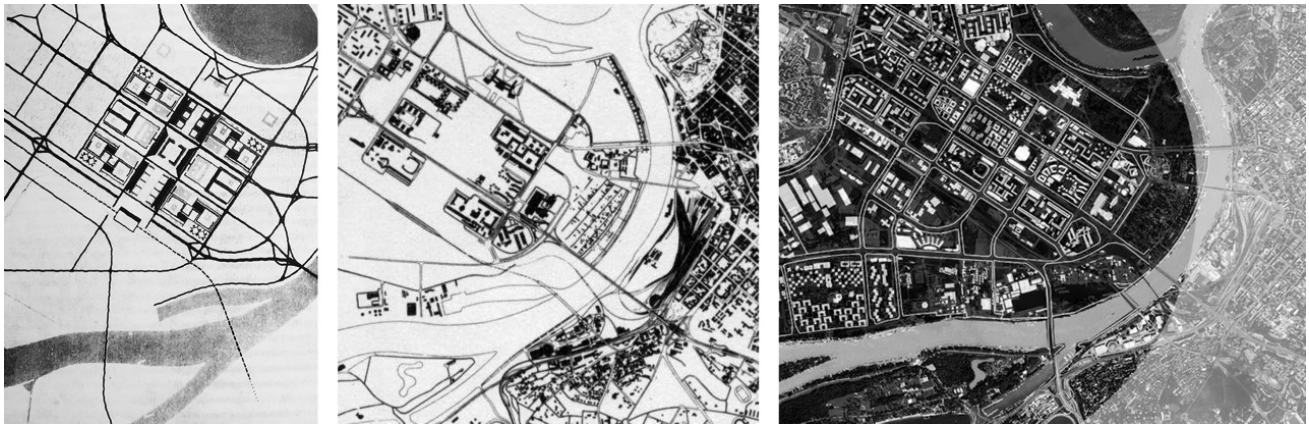

Figure 9. New Belgrade's urban fabric: The 1960 plan for New Belgrade's central zone by the Urban Planning Institute's working group (L. Lenarcic, M. Glavicki, M. Mitic, D. Milenkovic, and U. Martinovic; left); New Belgrade's urban fabric in 1985 (center); and New Belgrade's urban fabric in 2018 (right). Sources: Blagojevic (2007, p. 182; left); Perovic (1985, p. 227; center); Anica Dragutinovic, adapted from Bing Maps (right).

of the neighbourhood. The lack of human dimensions is a very important aspect and contributing factor to the devaluation of New Belgrade. This has been addressed many times in critical theory and (re)design proposals; however, it has not been addressed in urban practice and later development of New Belgrade. Perovic (1985, p. 221) also claimed that a huge, vague area is "unattractive for other functions," such as banks, department stores, and design offices. Although there was indeed a lack of other functions besides residential and mainly public services at that time, Perovic's correlation is questionable. It could be argued that the mono-functionality was not due to a lack of attractiveness but was a product of the post-war planning and socio-political discourse: The *other* functions were simply not foreseen until then, as market-oriented urbanism had yet to appear in the next period.

What is also evident from Perovic's comparative figures—although not explicitly discussed in his study—is the undoubted low-density issue of New Belgrade's urban fabric. Nevertheless, densification was one of the main characteristics of his proposal for the reconstruction of New Belgrade's central zone. In his proposal, Perovic (1985) identified the focal points and pedestrian routes as the main elements. The conception was probably influenced by the emerging theory of urban phenomenology and Lynch's (1960) elements of a city. However, their approaches differ significantly: Lynch's approach is participatory and human-centred, while Perovic's is rather formalist.

Nevertheless, a year later, the question of human dimensions was addressed in another proposal for the reconstruction of New Belgrade. This proposal, which was also a critique of the functionalist city, addressed similar spatial issues to those raised by Perovic, but in direct correlation with the social issues. It was the entry of Pierre Guilbaud, Henri Lefebvre, and Serge Renaudie in the International Competition for the New Belgrade Urban Structure Improvement entitled "The Future of New Belgrade." The team's interdisciplinary approach presented the idea of the "right to the city" as the right to appropriate the urban space. The main principles of the design were diversity (not only of the spatial elements but also of social relations), overlap of multiple urban experiences, and respect for specificities and identity. As Stanek (2011) notes, a very important aspect of their proposal entailed reinforcing existing centralities in each neighbourhood rather than creating a new city centre for New Belgrade. The political connotations of the project—a call for the right to the city and urban citizenship and a return to self-management—was not in line with the apolitical tone of the competition, which was based on the premise that "only the modern urban structure of New Belgrade needed improvement, and not the society" (Blagojevic, 2009, as cited in Stanek, 2011, p. 240).

Both the urban structure and society have changed since then, although not in line with Lefebvre's thoughts. Post-modernist discourse continued to influence new constructions for some time, and recent urban practices have transformed it further (see Figure 10). The urban landscape of modernity began its metamorphosis into a business centre at the beginning of the 21st century. The process was driven by international capital with companies investing in the construction of large retail, leisure, and business facilities (Waley, 2011). However, the main problem is that none of the investments was related to the improvement of the modernist blocks, nor did they address social relations. Instead, these practices are only intensifying socio-spatial polarization, usurping the common spaces, and devaluing the existing blocks.

5. Concluding Remarks: Self-Management and Urban Commons Today

This article re-theorizes the aspects of community engagement, territoriality, and collective and individual responsibility in relation to the common spaces of residential neighbourhoods. The study is interrelated with a

Figure 10. New Belgrade in 2020. Source: Anica Dragutinovic (photograph taken by Zorana Jovic for the student workshop "Reuse of Common Spaces of New Belgrade Blocks: Co-designing the Urban Commons," Belgrade, September 2020).

broader socio-cultural discourse but positioned in a specific contextual framework. Focusing on the case of New Belgrade, it examines the ownership and governance models specific to this project: the self-management and social ownership of housing, which constitute an important legacy of Yugoslav planning and policies from the post-war period. The article analyses the narratives behind it, highlighting the possibilities of housing production, ownership, and management beyond both the state and the market. However, it also shows how the "planned" turned out in reality and discusses its spatial implications.

The urban common spaces that are the most neglected, underused, and dilapidated components of post-war mass housing areas—in particular the New Belgrade blocks—are at the same time crucial to the quality and vitality of these neighbourhoods. They are understood as spatial platforms that allow interaction, active participation, and, therefore, (re)articulation of the processes of commoning and collective management of the neighbourhoods. Moreover, they have the potential for (re)articulation of the dialogue between various sectors, unlocking the potential of institutions and individuals and engaging citizens in interactive and inclusive decision-making and co-creation of the urban reality. Therefore, an alternative is needed to the privatization of common areas, that would act in the interests of the local community by remaining accessible to and used by the community. The common spaces with specific ownership status—distinguished from public space, as noted by Stavrides (2018)—need to be preserved as such, as they provide spatial porosity and transgress the "conventional notion of private and public space, reflecting the broad array of social configurations and living constellations in which we live today" (Gruber, 2018a, p. 140).

Therefore, both ownership and governance models that would allow and encourage collective use, management, and control of the common spaces need to be (re)considered and (re)conceptualized in order to address underutilization and the problem of maintenance and management of the blocks and their common spaces. As this article argues, the problem of territoriality of common spaces and behavioral patterns is not exclusively related to proprietary rights, but also to the right to *appropriate* and use common space. Moreover, not only the *right* to use but also the collective and individual *responsibility* for the common spaces of residential neighbourhoods, and the neighbourhood as a whole, needs to be considered.

The study reveals a set of socio-spatial factors that should be foreseen when addressing the problem of the urban decay and devaluation of New Belgrade blocks. The questions of (a) the vitality, multi-functionality, and human dimension of the blocks—in terms of spatial attributes—and the questions of (b) urban citizenship, self-management, and appropriation of the urban space—in terms of social factors—have been addressed. Moreover, reinforcing the existing centralities in each neighbourhood rather than creating a new city centre, a specific design strategy suggested by Lefebvre's team, should also be considered. To support this strategy, the existing infrastructure of common spaces, both indoor, such as community centres, and outdoor, such as open common areas, needs to be reaffirmed and positioned as crucial to the revitalization of the New Belgrade blocks.

The unfinished character of these spaces allows for *option spaces*. Nevertheless, they need to be programmed, or multi-coded, in order not to be underused or misused (anymore). Social relations are "integral to the production of space that will ultimately make

commons sustainable and resilient" (Gruber, 2018b, p. 169). As Stavrides (2018) argues, the commons are shaped by people who believe themselves to be equally responsible, both in maintaining and repeatedly questioning them. Furthermore, common spaces question the notion of community as well, focusing on the user, not only as a resident, but also as a *citadin*. As Stavrides (2018, p. 18) notes, common spaces should "spill beyond the boundaries of any existing community; outsiders, foreigners, and newcomers should be invited into them, constantly." Therefore, they are crucial for the question of urban citizenship and offer a framework for bottom-up governance as a form of direct democracy in cities.

The case of New Belgrade and the governance and ownership models related to it can improve the understanding of contemporary discussions about the *commons*, linking historical forms of decentralized governance—such as Yugoslav self-management in local communities—and contemporary discourses on urban commons. Both concepts are addressing the questions of common interest, social commitment, and community engagement, and bringing them into the urban discourse and urban development. The article emphasizes the instrumentality of such governance models as tools for citizen empowerment and community engagement towards effective collaborative urban governance—a model applicable to other mass housing projects and beyond.

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Conflict of Interests

The authors declare no conflict of interests.

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Article

What's in the Mix? Mixed-Use Architecture in the Post-World War II Years and Beyond

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Abstract
Mixed-use housing (MUH) has proliferated in recent years, largely in connection with high-rise mixed-use housing and large urban developments. Whereas housing architecture integrating additional functions has been designed throughout history, post-World War II architects proposed innovative ideas and designs for modern MUH. This article explores MUH of that period as an experiment that articulated urban hierarchies by integrating elements belonging to the different scales of the city into housing plans. I analyze the terminological frameworks proposed by Team 10 in Europe and Denise Scott Brown and Harvey Perloff in the United States, tracing how these evolved into groundbreaking designs that redefined the architecture of MUH. I demonstrate how architects negotiated terms such as "habitat," which engaged community, as well as "human association" and "urban reidentification" in their practice. Thinking about these terms, I propose accessibility, participation, reuse, and diversity in formal design as elements from the recent past that can provide tools for rethinking present and future MUH.

Keywords
Alison and Peter Smithson; Denise Scott Brown; habitat; Harvey Perloff; mixed-use housing; modern architecture; post-World War II architecture; Team 10; urban planning

Issue
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1. Introduction

Buildings designated for several predefined uses are probably as old as architecture itself. In the twentieth century, several groundbreaking architectural theories, such as those of Team 10, Metabolism, and the megaform, as well as debates over high-rise buildings, engaged housing as a basis for mixed-use architecture. In the past few decades, multiunit housing schemes that designate spaces for additional functions have proliferated. However, this phenomenon seems to exist "under the radar" of architectural history and theory, with little discussion of what was or should be incorporated into housing, the challenges of mixing uses, and the possibilities that these present. This article examines the concepts of mixed-use housing (MUH) in the post-World War II era and beyond. It interrogates the functions incorporated in MUH and the motivations for its design. In so doing, I seek to analyze the term "mixed-use housing" and offer insights as to this terminology's transformations over time.

The consideration of MUH as a term of dwelling, as this thematic issue proposes, involves differentiating it from mixed-use urban neighborhoods and zones. The sociocultural agendas of MUH are, nevertheless, intrinsically connected to the larger urban plan. This liminal characteristic—of belonging to both urban schemes and architecture—may provide a partial explanation of the fact that current research proposes little in the way of clearly defining MUH and that it has not received targeted historical consideration (Coupland, 1997; Mualam et al., 2019). Thus a key contribution of the present study

is the proposal of such a definition, acknowledging that it should be open-ended and flexible. To do so, I engage MUH as a distinct design problem. I seek to close a theoretical and historical gap by exploring modernist MUH as an architectural typology and investigate how this term was understood during the second half of the twentieth century. Moreover, the present discussion contributes to invigorating current debates on MUH and calls for a re-exploration of the full breadth of architectural possibilities available for this typology.

I first propose a definition for MUH, followed by a brief consideration of interwar developments. I then revisit key post-World War II urban and architectural concepts, identifying those aspects within them that, I argue, engaged MUH as a design idea. This discussion focuses on the theories and practices of Team 10 and, across the Atlantic, on Denise Scott Brown's interpretation of the latter, as well as on Harvey Perloff's "town intown" theory. I then examine the application of these ideas in connection with several key examples. In the concluding sections, I offer some thoughts on how modernist principles can provide tools for rethinking MUH as a typology and reflect on the diverse terminologies that define MUH today.

My methodology applies architectural history research that engages theory and explores practice through several case studies. I identify theories that addressed MUH and single out projects that shed light on the evolvement of MUH. These projects were selected following a comprehensive investigation of the architects' publications, secondary sources, and current studies on postwar housing architecture. The main case studies discussed in this article are projects conceptualized from the outset as MUH and whose basic design approach considered mixed-use as an inherent and central aspect. Some of these projects are known, but I have also attempted to highlight designs that have not been subject to in-depth research to date and others that merit renewed examination, which contextualizes them within the study of MUH as a distinct architectural-historical phenomenon. Furthermore, in relying on recent housing scholarship that has demonstrated the importance of global comparative studies (Glendinning, 2021; Stanek, 2020), I seek to convey a broad geographical perspective. Therefore, I present projects from Europe and the United States, as well as experimentation in Israel and Morocco; I also consider Japanese Metabolism and its discourse with Western ideas. I argue that the conceptual and formal connections between them were grounded in an international discourse that related similar concerns.

MUH research also has to address the players involved, that is, who participates in framing the requirements of the mixed-use dwelling and in creating the interaction that will address various—often conflicting—needs (Gualini & Majoor, 2007). It is also important to ask who has access to the MUH project, that is: Are the various uses of the MUH complex available only to its residents, or are they public, as in the case of shops? These aspects of agency and access have been discussed in housing scholarship that deals with the social and economic incentives and implications of housing and mass housing projects (Brown, 2017; Cupers, 2014; Wright, 1983). Although I touch upon these issues only briefly, the work of the scholars who have investigated them in depth reveals the importance of researching MUH in the context of state mechanisms and ideologies of gender and racial discrimination.

These global, national, social, and architectural perspectives underscore the importance of defining MUH and examining the terminology associated with it. In what follows I propose such a definition and consider these terminologies through a historical lens.

2. What's in the Mix?

In broad terms, MUH relates to dwellings that integrate functions beyond the residential unit. Delving deeper into its definition, however, requires engaging MUH as both a cultural issue and a design strategy conditioned by time and place. The time frame that provides the basis for my definition is post-World War II housing. In selecting this time frame, I follow recent research that identifies modern postwar housing as a distinct phenomenon that developed in the framework of the industrial, technological, and digital revolutions, and is the outcome of urban processes related to geopolitical transformations and capitalist and neoliberal economic systems (Majerowitz & Allweil, 2019; Mota & Allweil, 2019).

Relating to the postwar period, Francis Strauven defined MUH as architecture that integrates dwelling and additional urban functions, which were historically separated either structurally or by divisions into zones and districts (Strauven, 1998). Using this definition as a departure point, I argue and will demonstrate herewith that an important characteristic of the integrated urban functions is that they belong to different hierarchies of the city. I additionally enlist two interrelated criteria for defining MUH. First, MUH forms a comprehensive *architectural whole* by design. As such, it should be differentiated from housing proximate to urban functions conceived separately. Second, MUH functions enable diverse social interactions that transcend daily domestic activities, so they articulate a different relationship with their urban environment, one that impacts interactions with other urban facilities. These MUH functions may include commerce, recreation, education, and more. This criterion also suggests that basic utilities routinely planned for many housing complexes, such as a multipurpose activity room, a laundry room, and/or common landscaping elements such as lawns and playgrounds, do not answer to the definition of MUH.

As this article also explores transformations in the terminology that defines MUH and offers a reflection on its present status—one that is grounded in historical analysis—its contemporary conceptualization should be

considered. Presently, MUH is framed within discussions of large urban developments (LUDs) and high-rise buildings termed "hybrid" or high-rise mixed-use (HRMU) development. These combine mass housing and various uses and services that, as observed by several scholars, serve to generate municipal and commercial profit (Majerowitz & Allweil, 2019; Mualam et al., 2019; White & Serin, 2021). These financial goals differ dramatically from the resident-oriented design considerations that formed the core of modernist MUH.

In the following sections I demonstrate how the latter resident-oriented approach was developed into a distinct architectural typology that emerged within discussions of concepts of urban hierarchies, scale, and habitat.

3. Interwar Experimentation

To evaluate the importance of approaches developed for MUH after World War II, it is helpful to review some major developments of the interwar period. In the aftermath of World War I, modular housing and mass housing were both revolutionized in their designs as well as in the political and economic systems that developed and sustained them, such as municipalities that built them and policies that produced social housing (Glendinning, 2021). Important debates regarding the design of housing took place in the framework of broader urban discourses, dominated at the time by the idea of the "neighborhood unit" and the concept of zoning urban functions (Glendinning, 2021). These influential urban theories, which were implemented in numerous new plans, dictated the separation of housing from most other urban functions.

Despite this overarching principle, some architects did experiment with integrating urban functions and housing, both in vision and reality. In 1922, in his Ville Contemporaine, Le Corbusier, for example, who was among the most important formulators of CIAM's urban zoning concepts, introduced a scheme of twelve-story apartment buildings whose bases integrated various urban functions (Marmot, 1981). These included a theater, restaurants, and sports facilities. While Le Corbusier's plans of that period remained on paper, several innovative complexes, such as Highpoint in London by Lubetkin and Tecton (1933–1938) and, more famously, the Narkomfin apartments in Moscow by Ginsburg and Milinis (1928), were indeed built (Marmot, 1981; Mumford, 2019). They included communal rooms and shared functional rooftops intended for the residents' use. At Highpoint, a residential swimming pool was designed in the surrounding gardens (Diehl, 1999). However, these and several other housing complexes with shared spaces remained singular experiments. Moreover, the introduction of mixed uses was not the goal or overarching concept of these complexes, so they did not produce significant terminology for MUH. Although nonresidential uses were integrated into both middle- and working-class MUH and emerged from novel, even revolutionary, social requirements, they were not approached as a design problem. Rather, their architecture was largely dictated by the apartment building as the basic design unit. As such, interwar precedents did not engender the integrative concepts of the postwar years—concepts that would present new terminologies merging urban and residential scales.

4. Post-World War II Urban Theories as Bases for Mixed-Use Housing

The post-World War II years proved a turning point in developing MUH as a novel concept. Transformations in urban and design theories intensely engaged the integration of dwellings and additional urban functions. In this section, I attempt to unpack several key theories to trace conceptual processes that promoted MUH as a distinct typology that negotiated new terms. I address Le Corbusier's pioneering designs for the Unités d'Habitation (or simply Unités) and focus on architects and planners who engaged MUH as related to the urban plan: Team 10, Denise Scott Brown, and Harvey Perloff. Their ideas are also discussed in relation to the concept of the megastructure.

Arguably Le Corbusier formulated the best-known theory for producing a mixed-use dwelling complex in Western Europe in the years immediately following World War II. His series of MUH complexes, the Unités d'Habitation, can be considered the first architectural experimentation that realized the integration of dwelling with urban functions. They were conceived in the framework of Le Corbusier's urban theory of the functional city and its four functions—dwelling, work, recreation, and transportation (Gold, 1998; Pedret, 2005). Six MUH buildings were constructed, one each in Marseille (1947–1952), Nantes-Rezé (1953–1955), Meaux (1956), Berlin (1957), Briey-en-Forêt (1959–1960), and Firminy-Vert (1965–1967; see Marmot, 1981). These were designed as narrow rectangular multistory buildings of exposed concrete that rested on visible piers and presented interlaced balconies, tightly linked across their longer sides.

Deeply invested in the problem of housing for the masses, Le Corbusier designed the Unités as novel solutions for the changing needs of urban populations. Designing MUH seemingly stood in contrast to the zoning he proposed in the functional city theory. However, Konstanze Domhardt reconciles this contradiction, explaining that Le Corbusier and other members of the CIAM did not exclude planning residential neighborhoods with functions that "belong" to the other three elements of the city, as fast-growing postwar urban centers demanded autonomous neighborhood facilities (Domhardt, 2012). Thus, the Unités represented a compact implementation of the functional city's mass-housing neighborhood. They were intended to foster communality and increase accessibility to modern urban functions, which included preschools, sports facilities,

post offices, and more. For the Marseilles Unité—the first and most famous of the six complexes—no fewer than twenty-six facilities were planned (Marmot, 1981; Rendell, 2019). Modular floor plans and design elements were also key characteristics of the Unités. These were stacked to a maximum height of seventeen stories, as Le Corbusier perceived multistory vertical circulation as an impediment to successful family life (Marmot, 1981). The architect sought to replace vertical circulation with horizontal connectivity by designing internal "streets" on several levels of the tall apartment buildings. In addition to fostering family life, these urban-inspired "streets" were perceived as enhancing spatial mobility capable of promoting interaction among residents, which traditional staircases or elevators could not provide. Hence, in the Unités, Le Corbusier introduced an architectural micro-urban environment that delineated MUH as an architectural whole centered upon accessibility to urban functions, modularity, and spatial mobility.

Transposing autonomous neighborhood facilities to a single apartment building was not, however, an obvious step. This is indicated by the fact that the first Unité, along with the few above-noted complexes designed in the interwar years, remained exceptional projects until the late 1950s. Moreover, urban and architectural theories that were developed in the 1950s and 1960s criticized the concept of the functional city and the CIAM Grid and proposed new solutions for connecting housing and urban functions. Those critiques were also reflections of the generally negative sentiments regarding cities and to the alienation that architects perceived as a corollary to contemporary urban life.

In the framework of these theories, the concept of "habitat" was developed as a new approach (Boyer, 2017; van den Heuvel & Risselada, 2005; Mumford, 2019). While both architects and historians have offered nuanced interpretations of this concept, for the purposes of the present discussion it can be described as a framework that sought to create architecture that could foster community, would be more responsive to the specific cultural needs of its inhabitants, and would improve the connection to its immediate environment (van den Heuvel & Risselada, 2005). As a term that brought to the forefront more spiritual everyday requirements and engaged the links between the dwelling and its urban environment, the concept of habitat proved to be a theoretical turning point that impacted the design of MUH.

Among the most significant theoretical contributions was Team 10 architects' framing of MUH in this new context. This was done by developing a new set of terms that connected the rather abstract concept of habitat with actual design. Alison and Peter Smithson, two of Team 10's senior members and arguably their chief ideologists, saw "human association" with the different scales—or hierarchies—of the city as key to the social interactions and connections required for creating habitat (Avermaete, 2005; Boyer, 2017; van den Heuvel & Risselada, 2005). Habitat, they argued, was created when architecture was conceived as an integral part of urban hierarchies, which included the house, street, neighborhood, and the town at large. They viewed architecture as the chief instrument in creating city dwellers' associations with the various accompanying urban functions, more so than streets and other connective elements.

Accordingly, Team 10 and other architects who shared their ideas promoted MUH as an architectural design solution capable of engendering communality within the most primary components of the urban environment, thus significantly adding to mixing functions from the various hierarchies within small-scale urban clusters (van den Heuvel & Risselada, 2005; Wagenaar, 2000). CIAM and Le Corbusier's earlier zoned functions were thus replaced by urban hierarchies. Although Team 10 admired the Unité d'Habitation for its innovations, they rejected the idea of creating a habitat by providing several prioritized urban facilities in a single high-rise building.

For the 1953 CIAM, the Smithsons, then part of the British MARS Group, presented a proposal they called the "urban re-identification grid." Their grid further explicates the role that these terms had in introducing MUH as a new design concept that could provide the spiritual everyday requirements of habitat. Figure 1 shows the left-hand part of the grid, which presented three columns: "house," "street, "relationship" (Figure 1). These terms were depicted by photographs of children jumping rope, riding bikes, and playing hopscotch in a paved open-air court. In each column photographer Nigel Henderson zoomed out, gradually broadening proportions and scale, indicating that "house," "street," and "relationship" were terms that addressed the scales of the city (for the full spread see van den Heuvel & Risselada, 2005, p. 30). The house was the basic element of the grid, yet the architects emphasized studying the "immediate environment of the dwelling unit: the matrix in which it is set; the space—covered and open—required for communal activities and services, affecting and affected by the way of life of the community" (as cited in Boyer, 2017, p. 107). The assertion that "house" and "street" are defined by the "relationship" between them assigned architecture a central role in prescribing the physical space of this relationship, enabling urban functions and creating a habitat. The new terminology introduced by the Smithsons and other Team 10 members included such terms as scales and relationships, as well as the more abstract concepts of habitat, human association, and urban reidentification. These thus created a significant conceptual and terminological shift that directly impacted ideas pertaining to MUH.

All these iterations perceived dwelling as the basic building block of urban life, yet, significantly, the idea of association with the different scales of the urban environment derived not only from criticism of earlier models but also from a re-examination of the virtues of historic cities. In relation to the grand modern urban schemes, the former evolved in a more spontaneous way over

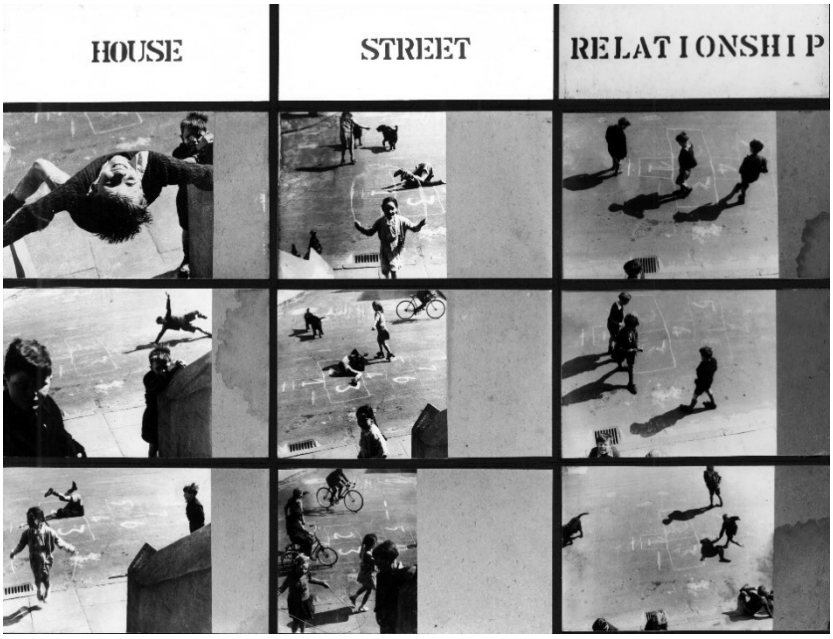

Figure 1. Urban re-identification grid: Panel 1, 1953. Source: Courtesy of Smithson Family Archive.

centuries. In this respect, the Smithsons were inspired by MARS. For example, in 1953, MARS member Erwin Anton Gutkind published *How Other Peoples Dwell and Build*, underscoring the diversification of dwelling in different locales and the importance of community as a basis for architectural thought (Boyer, 2017). As with the historic city, this perspective, which derived from vernacular and traditional architecture, afforded yet another departure point for thinking about MUH. Similarly, Alison Smithson pointed to the dense Muslim casbahs and their mixed functions (Smithson, 1974), while Aldo van Eyck sought to "re-create the traditional city's unity in diversity" (Strauven, 1998, p. 562).

To no small degree, referencing historic cities relied on sociological and urban studies from both sides of the Atlantic—studies that investigated traditional neighborhoods where low- and middle-class inhabitants resided. These studies concluded that the mixed-use character and high density of traditional neighborhoods fostered communality and urban vitality (Boyer, 2017; Cupers, 2016; Jacobs, 1961).

In the United States, several theories that considered such sociohistorical explorations can be seen to have promoted the design of MUH. In the present context, both Denise Scott Brown's critique of Team 10 and Harvey Perloff's "town intown" theory created important frameworks for MUH. In an often-overlooked 1967 critique of urban planning, Scott Brown analyzes the impact of Team 10 on such American architects as Robert Venturi, Charles Moore, and Louis Kahn (Scott Brown, 1967). She refutes what she describes as the precedence that urban planning has over architecture and discusses "the non-architect-designed parts of cities that few architects, except the Brutalists, seem to notice" (Scott Brown, 1967, p. 47). Architecture, she argues, and the design of the single building or complex in its setting are the focal points of urban functions: "Buildings and cities must be appreciated in their economic, technological and expressive functions *all at once*, since all are part of one architectural experience" (Scott Brown, 1967, p. 48, original emphasis). This reassertion of the role of architecture proposes the building as key to mixing uses and hence firmly relates to the idea of MUH. Moreover, Scott Brown's text further demonstrates that these approaches emerged from an international discourse that related similar concerns.

With marked suburban development of detached homes and the controversy regarding federal involvement in housing policies in a capitalist economy (Wright, 1983), MUH was a rather rare phenomenon in America. Moreover, the above-mentioned studies that favored mixed-use neighborhoods were slow to translate into urban plans and, as Heathcott demonstrated in his study of St. Louis, many planners continued to perceive mixed-uses in urban slums as detrimental to communal welfare, viewing them as a source of residential distress (Heathcott, 2011). Nevertheless, the postwar era saw new European influences and novel public housing programs that, for the first time, provided subsidies and municipal-owned housing on a wide scale. These offered incentives for designing innovative multiuse high-rise complexes (Prudon, 2013).

In the decade between 1955 and 1965 Chicago-based urban planner Harvey Perloff developed a novel approach that articulated new concepts of urbanism and architectural modernism. Termed the "new town intown," it focused on and underscored the concept of community. Perloff's heightened awareness of racial and economic diversity was translated into dense urban schemes for existing neighborhoods. Instead of building

"public housing *projects* and…'removing the slums' or 'doing something about run-down housing'" (Perloff, 1966, p. 155, original emphasis), he proposed gradual intervention in what he termed the "original fabric of the Intown" (Perloff, 1966, p. 157) while introducing mixed uses to encourage communality and social heterogeneity. Perloff strongly promoted mixing uses within a neighborhood and, like his European colleagues, emphasized connectivity achieved by architecture. Echoing Le Corbusier, Perloff regarded a residential tower as a "city-within-a-city" (Perloff, 1966, p. 160). As argued by Judith Martin, his was a far more pragmatic approach than Jane Jacobs's and other planners who were devising urban schemes (J. A. Martin, 1978). Moreover, Perloff's "town intown" fostered architectural design capable of implementing ideas intended for social improvement. It clearly conceived of communality as contingent on MUH and not only on a successful urban plan. Both Perloff's and Scott Brown's theories thus focused on architecture's central role in creating cities and communities; they introduced terminologies relating to extant neighborhoods, intervention, and reuse, thereby echoing Team 10's historicity.

Metabolism and the megastructure are theories that complicate any attempt to understand the evolvement of MUH in the postwar years. Formulated in Japan in the early 1960s and inspired by Team 10 and the GEAM group, Metabolism advocated a rearrangement of urban functions within novel megastructures (Deyong, 2001; Tange, 1961). However, architects such as Fumihiko Maki and Masato Ohtaka saw this rearrangement as inclusive of clear, even strict, functional zoning within the megastructure (Maki & Ohtaka, 1960). Moreover, since the Metabolist megastructure provided optimal access to all urban functions through intricate systems of highways, streets, and pedestrian routes, the hyperdense apartments or "capsule towers" included in these schemes interfaced with the other facilities and hence did not require anything beyond the dwelling unit (Imamura, 2014). The megastructures proposed by Yona Friedman, as well as by the architects of Archigram, provided additional theoretical models for increased density, mobility, and flexibility, wherein mass housing was perceived as an organic part of the mega-urban scheme (Deyong, 2001, 2008; Langevin, 2011). Like Metabolism, their approach emphasized connectivity of functions rather than their mix. Nevertheless, these innovative theories were thought-provoking in terms of how urban components relate to one another—a design problem that occupied a central place in the architecture of MUH as built.

5. Mixed-Use Housing: Invention Rather Than Interpretation

From the schemes and ideas discussed above, we can trace a process that identifies MUH as an architectural experiment that articulates urban hierarchies by integrating functions belonging to the different scales of the city into housing design. To explain how these designs function as an architectural whole—part of the definition proposed at the outset—this section considers MUH that was realized throughout the 1960s and 1970s and further explores modernist ideas that paved the way to the design of mixed-use complexes. The timeline of the MUH discussed here is represented in Figure 2 and the discussion is guided by the design terminologies that turned theory into practice.

Van Eyck's writings help to identify more clearly a shift to the architectural mixed-use project as a term of dwelling capable of creating communality. In his discussion about designing mass housing through the multiplication of dwellings, van Eyck (1962, p. 351) considered facilities at the neighborhood scale, writing:

> Each multiplicative stage should…achieve its appropriate identity by assimilating spontaneously within its structural pattern those public facilities this stage requires, and which inseparably belong to it….Those housing projects which are real sources of inspiration…demonstrate…integrating public facilities through a single complex, constructive and sequential discipline.

In the above quote, van Eyck was probably relating to the five then-completed Unités d'Habitation and the Lijnbaan complex in Rotterdam (1948–1953) built by his Team 10 colleague Jaap Bakema in his newly established partnership with Jo van den Broek. That complex comprised a pedestrian street that served as an axis for low-rise shops and high-rise housing, a design partially dictated by local urban legislation (see Figures 3 and 4; Wagenaar, 2000). Van Eyck himself, along with his firm, Van Eyck & Bosch, experimented with this type of MUH later in his career in the Sint-Antoniebreestraat project, also known as the Pentagon (designed in 1969–1975 and built in 1982–1984; see Figures 5 and 6). This project, part of the urban scheme for Nieuwmarkt in Amsterdam, was a social housing complex designed following a lengthy discourse between the architects and the residents, the latter of whom were mostly working-class natives and immigrants (Strauven, 1998). The Pentagon featured three and four stories of apartments above a row of shops and an internal court and gallery inspired by Mediterranean bazaars. This element reflects van Eyck's well-known references to ancient global vernacular architectures (Strauven, 1998; Theunissen & Kaal, 2009). The combination of vertical volumes for apartment blocks and interconnected horizontal ones for commercial functions clearly embodied the translation of urban hierarchies into terms of practical design. Shops created everyday interactions; cafés and restaurants—still in use today—increased accessibility to urban dining amenities. Also significant were the plazas and courts of both the Lijnbaan and the Pentagon. They provided open spaces that articulated height by designing varied elevations connected through

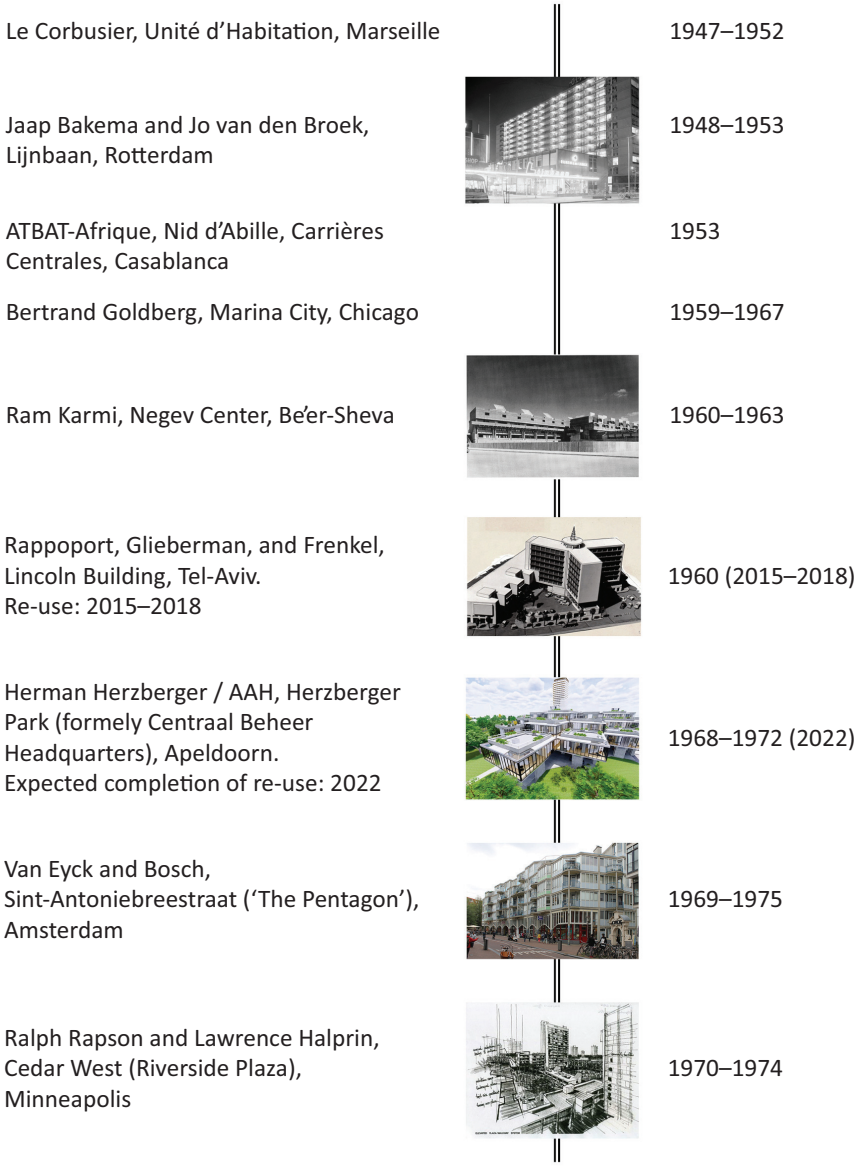

Figure 2. Timeline of postwar MUH.

stairs, thereby giving meaning to connectivity (Figures 4 and 6). These were spaces that enhanced urban reidentification through their creation of communality and recreational opportunities, as can be seen in the images of the Pentagon's internal court and people's evident enjoyment of the Lijnbaan water elements.

The Smithsons' first MUH design was the unrealized Golden Lane project (1952–1953), a mass housing complex in which they brought social interaction to the forefront of their design concerns by multiplying dwelling units and integrating facilities such as a garden room, a playroom, shops, and more. Golden Lane comprised long, multistory apartment sections that created a massive complex whose reflex angles framed the existing neighborhood. Pedestrian passages and "streets in the air" connected the complex's sections—all intended to promote community life (Boyer, 2017; Webster, 1997). Hence, additional formal elements inspired by the city, such as the "street" or "bridge" for mobility and the "square" as a meeting place, became terms of MUH, indicating that "uses" are experiential and social no less than they are practical.

The Smithsons revisited the Golden Lane project in their book *Without Rhetoric*, explaining their desire to provide an "ordering" and a form that would establish identity (Smithson & Smithson, 1973). Alison Smithson developed these ideas further in her text *Mat Building* published in 1974 (Avermaete, 2005). Writing in connection with the Smithsons' proposal for modernization of Kuwait's city center, she presented the concept of interchangeability, advocating the use of the individual "cell structure," which forms the basic module of dwellings and services so that "the size of the cell unit and its organization [would be] devised as equally suitable for several…new functions" (Smithson, 1974, p. 576). The integration of various functions into housing was

thus intrinsically tied to modularity as a design method. The concept of interchangeability or flexibility was, of course, not unique to the Smithsons but was also popular among structuralists and Metabolists (Avermaete et al., 2011; Deyong, 2001).

However, as noted earlier, ideas pertaining to flexibility did not necessarily translate to MUH. In complexes such as these, Team 10 architects had to invent forms for physically joining functions to housing, such as the courts and plazas mentioned above. Although they continued Le Corbusier's vertical experimentation in mixed uses, their approaches to architectural form, as well as to new technologies and materials, were innovative in three key ways: (a) They presented new opportunities for mobility within the complexes and in connection to the urban spaces around them; (b) they applied innovative spatial configurations to the modularity of the basic units; and (c) they engaged the relationship between horizontal and vertical masses. Thus, these and other MUH projects represented the invention of a typology within modernist concepts, rather than merely interpreting urban schemes or earlier high-rise MUH.

Figure 3. Lijnbaan, Rotterdam, 1948–1953. Source: Bakema and van den Broek (1953).

Figure 4. Lijnbaan, Rotterdam, circa 1974. Source: Skyscrapercity (2008).

Figure 5. Sint-Antoniebreestraat (the Pentagon), 1969–1975, Amsterdam, by Van Eyck & Bosch. Source: Courtesy of Ronald Klip.

Figure 6. Sint-Antoniebreestraat (the Pentagon), 1969–1975, Amsterdam, by Van Eyck & Bosch. Source: van Eyck and Bosch (1975).

As demonstrated above with van Eyck's Pentagon project in Amsterdam, engagement with place and traditional built environments played an important role in the design of MUH. Hence, in addition to looking at historic cities, vernacular integration of housing and urban functions created by traditional societies in America, as well as in third world countries, surfaces repeatedly as a model for MUH. For example, the now-renowned Carrières Centrales experimental housing in Casablanca by ATBAT-Afrique also included a mixed-use complex: The Nid d'Abille had some 100 dwellings as well as eight shops and internal courtyards that reflected facilities for urban functions inspired by the traditional Muslim Casbah (Eleb, 2000). Built in 1953, the Casablanca project was pioneering on a global scale and ensuing Team 10 projects were indebted to it. As I have argued elsewhere, the use of local forms such as the bazaar and the courtyard was dictated by climatic, residential, and communal design issues (Ben-Asher Gitler, 2021). These features added an aesthetic and symbolic terminology to such projects.

Similar design experiments continued in other locales in the Middle East and North Africa, including several MUH designs, such as architect Ram Karmi's Negev Center in Be'er Sheva, Israel (Figure 7). In this Brutalist complex, a bazaar forms the central passageway for four stories of apartments, offices, shops, and cultural facilities (Ben-Asher Gitler, 2021). An unrealized extension of the complex, a detail of which can be seen in the floor plan in Figure 8, was to include additional shops, a movie theater, lecture hall, café, restaurants, a high-rise hostel, and more. Here, too, an innovative spatial relationship was devised by pentagon-shaped spaces that cascaded along a series of stairs leading to an open plaza (Figure 8).

The application of historical or vernacular elements to complexes such as the Nid d'Abille and the Negev Center had dual interrelated objectives. One was to create a regional context—as in the above examples of Kuwait, Casablanca, and Be'er Sheva, where they contributed to establishing modernism as a progressive colonial project or national architecture. Another was to create a matrix for communality and reidentification in housing, regardless of locale, through a discursive design process grounded in precedents that were historically and sociologically recognized as successful. Thus, in designing MUH, architects tackled the details of the aesthetics and formalism of functional integration. As suggested by Alison Smithson and Scott Brown, architects' engagement with terms such as place, tradition, and history normalized modern architecture (R. Martin, 2010; Scott Brown, 1967; Smithson, 1974). Although there are significant differences between Smithson's and Scott Brown's approaches to historical appropriations, both acknowledged that these were necessary since modernism, with its innovations of scale, technology, and form, demanded mediation to promote social values. They further indicated postwar architects' variant approaches to reasserting architecture as a cultural practice (Hays, 2001). In this respect, MUH allowed not only for the "appropriation" of urban facilities as cultural spaces, but defined their visibility, which, depending on the architect and the locale, negotiated and abstracted histories and cultures (R. Martin, 2010; Scott Brown, 1967; Smithson, 1974).

In the United States, the amalgamation of urban planning and MUH was evident in Perloff's theories (Prudon, 2013). His ideas were for the first time directly applied in the Cedar West MUH in Minneapolis, a complex designed between 1970 and 1974 by leading Minnesota architect Ralph Rapson in association with Lawrence Halprin (see Figure 9; J. A. Martin, 1978). Cedar West is considered a milestone in American urban middle-class housing. Some groundbreaking postwar designs predate Cedar West—for example, Marina City (1959–1967) in Chicago, by Bauhaus graduate Bertrand Goldberg (Brown, 2017; Lucking, 2012)—but Cedar West was novel in its implementation of new federal housing policies. Moreover, its design involved a lengthy process generated by residents and additional stakeholders (J. A. Martin, 1978). Martin further distinguishes this complex from earlier American public and middle-class mass housing because of its "total community concept" and mixed uses, which were intended for an economically and ethnically diverse population (J. A. Martin, 1978).

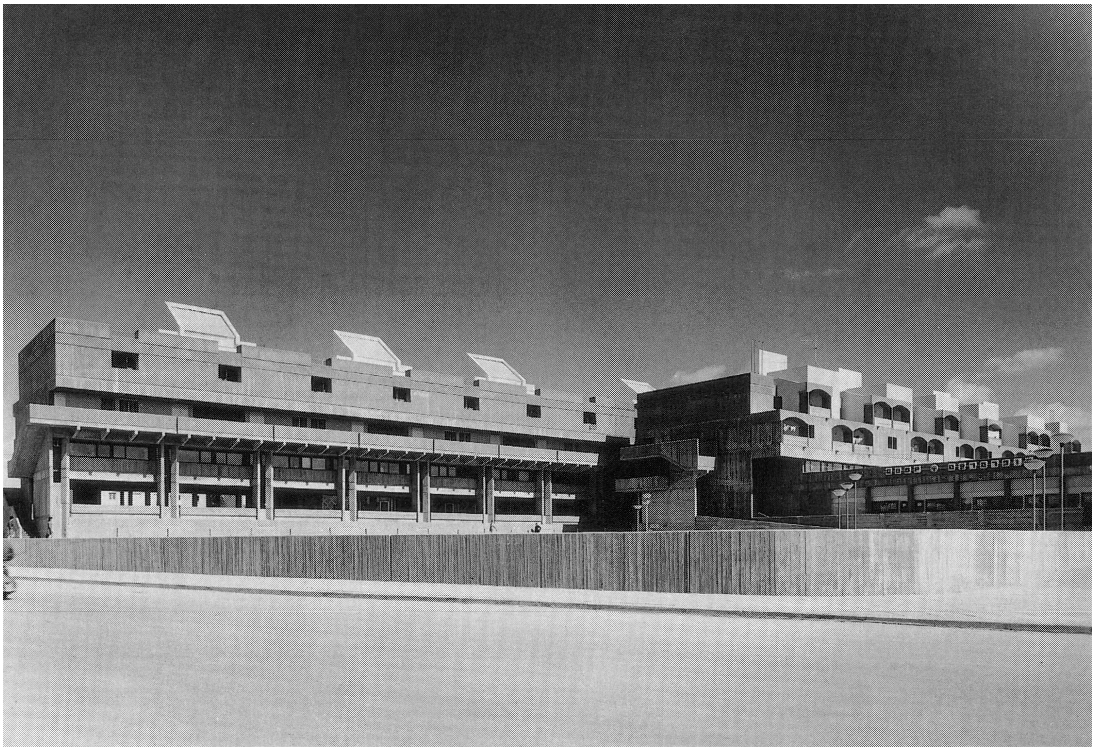

Figure 7. Negev Centre, Be'er-Sheva, 1960–1963, by Ram Karmi. Source: Karmi (1963a).

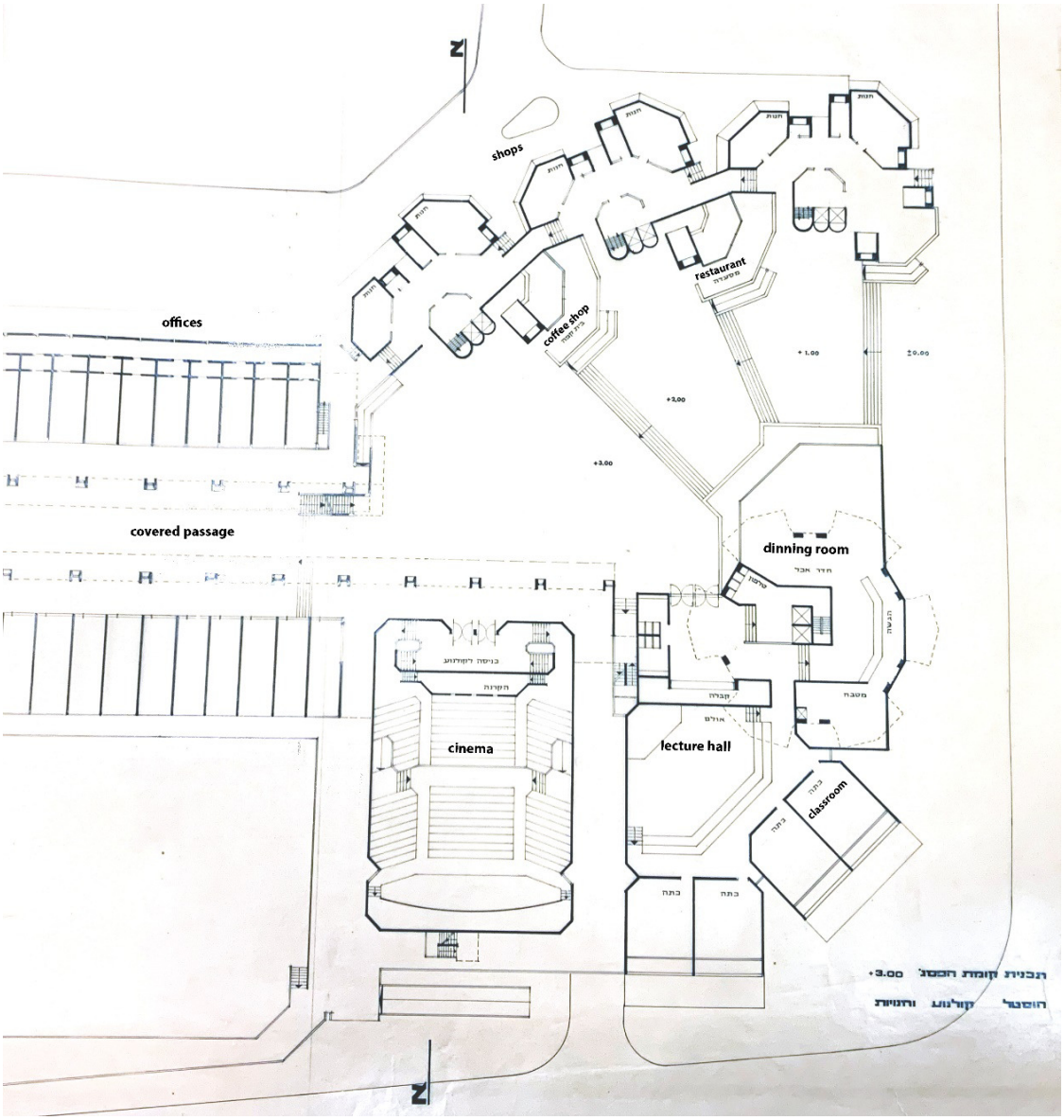

Figure 8. Negev Centre, Be'er-Sheva, 1960–1963, by Ram Karmi: Detail of plan for urban functions and youth hostel. Source: Karmi (1963b).

The European impact on the design of Cedar West was significant: The developers—not just the architects—made a special tour of European towns in 1968 and the renowned Finnish town planner Heiki von Hertzen was an adviser for the project (J. A. Martin, 1978). Known today as Riverside Plaza, Cedar West is a Brutalist complex that comprises eleven high-rises that accommodate 3000 dwellings, with commercial and community spaces that include a school, sunken plazas, playgrounds, and other facilities on the lower floors and in low-rise buildings, all interconnected by several levels of pedestrian walkways and internal passages, articulated by Rapson in Figure 9A. The buildings were designed in exposed concrete and brick, as can be seen in Figure 9B. Figure 9 also shows the buildings' varied volumes and façade depths. Their spatial arrangement formed a series of semienclosed and closed courts, which enhanced communality, minimized noise from the freeway, made good use of summer breezes, and protected from the winter chill (J. A. Martin, 1978). The dense layout and integrative functions of Cedar West indeed realized Perloff's "town intown" concept in a novel way. The complex's components created an architectural whole, reaffirming Scott Brown's above-cited emphasis on the single building or complex as the focal point for urban functions.

Postwar MUH thus represented innovative design practices engendered by novel terminologies of association with urban functions, communality, and reassessment of the terms of tradition and place. These ideas and forms were mobilized into practice through modularity and volumetric diversity. Their architecture presented creative solutions to design issues that, despite the changes discussed in the pages that follow, remain relevant and can continue to inspire MUH.

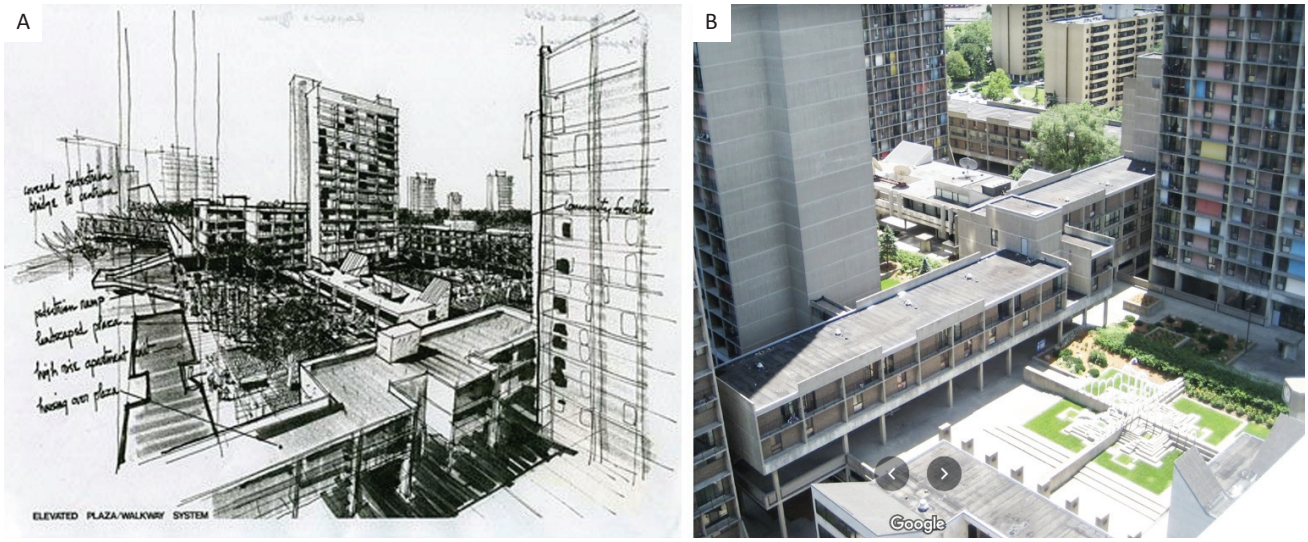

Figure 9. Cedar West (Riverside Plaza), Minneapolis, 1970 and 1974, by Ralph Rapson and Lawrence Halprin: (A) Drawing of elevated plaza/walkway system; (B) view of the central plaza in 2014. Sources: (A): Rapson and Halprin (1974); (B) Google Maps.

6. Learning From the Recent Past

Recent decades have seen profound transformations in the "terms of dwelling" that ground the design concepts of MUH and their relation to their urban environment. The first is the terminological "turn" to HRMU. As noted at the outset, much contemporary MUH is designed as HRMU that, in turn, forms part of LUDs. These new terms dictate a different set of economies and design considerations, reflected first in the new urban functions defined for them. Postwar MUH, which included schools, shops, and community centers, were perceived by Team 10 architects and Perloff as a means of creating urban association, that is, they focused on resident-oriented connections to their neighbors and their town. Today, however, facilities such as gyms, swimming pools, and spas, as well as retail spaces, are included chiefly as a profit-bearing outlet for developers (Coupland, 1997; Grant, 2002; Majerowitz & Allweil, 2019). Additionally, MUH may include governmental and public services that inherently reflect both the privatization processes some are undergoing and the state-developer relationship (Mualam et al., 2019).

In this section I consider these changes in function and terminology by examining three key issues that were identified by the postwar architects and which, I maintain, remain central to MUH design: the structuring of vertical versus horizontal spaces, access to amenities and services, and residents' participation. A fourth, separate, term is the reuse of postwar modernist architecture, which can be part of the contemporary process of architectural design in exciting new ways. Hence, this section proposes that learning from the recent past through design terms, concepts, and livable spaces can invigorate current architectural engagement with MUH as a typology.

The first issue—horizontality versus verticality—constitutes a central formal aspect with crucial social, economic, and environmental implications. Recent LUDs are often planned as HRMU clusters, whose design is defined by verticality. As argued by Reinhold Martin in his general discussion of recent (postmodern) architecture, although the design of such buildings is grounded in the concepts of "'place,' 'the street,' and 'human scale,'" their users do not experience nor are they even aware of those aspects (R. Martin, 2010, p. 164).

By contrast, postwar modernist housing reflected incredibly diverse combinations of verticality and horizontality. Le Corbusier objected to very tall buildings and Shadrach Woods of ATBAT-Afrique similarly perceived them as isolating. In America height projected a newfound "human association" through density, yet at Cedar West it was integrated with low-rise functions (J. A. Martin, 1978; Scott Brown, 1967; van den Heuvel & Risselada, 2005). However, these combinations, too, did not always produce the desired results: Much MUH was criticized as having failed to achieve its most important goals—goals similar to those described above by Martin—of urban reidentification, human scale, and socialization.

Nevertheless, over the years modern MUH has been reappraised. This is partially due to the complexes' locations, but I maintain owing in no small measure to their diverse volumes and heights. I argue that reintroducing varied heights into MUH as a design term interrelated with the above terminologies, which describe connections to place and society, can achieve these desired goals. Examination of contemporary MUH demonstrates that verticality is not necessarily a precondition of density (Majerowitz & Allweil, 2019). Moreover, articulating horizontality and verticality lends itself to new ways of exploiting modularity. A key design concept for Team 10, modularity continues to engage architects as a design

aspect engendered by technology and prefabrication, as well as by social and economic considerations. The visual and experiential versatility that modularity enables also recalls the qualities that these architects attached to traditional cities—qualities reiterated by Scott Brown.

The second term, access, is presently the subject of professional and public debates (Coupland, 1997). It seems, however, that the very interpretation of the word has changed. Team 10's terms of mobility, connectedness, and relationship, which centered on social issues, have been replaced by the more utilitarian criteria of physical and economical accessibility. Within this framework, issues of private vs. public access have become more pertinent. Whereas in postwar MUH the term access meant open to the public, in present-day MUH there are restrictions to public access that engender intracomplex discrimination. Public access is a term currently discussed at the neighborhood or LUD scale, while in HRMU access to certain amenities is precluded through exclusion policies based on ownership, the location of the dwelling, and/or the imposition of charges, which leads to physical and economic segregation (Ross, 2014; Siemiatycki, 2015; Wall, 2021). In contrast, private access to amenities in complexes is lucrative and has been shown to have the potential to transform neighborhoods in positive ways (Nethercote, 2019).

The question again arises as to how these contradictions can be resolved by design. I suggest that the term "urban hierarchies" developed by van Eyck and the Smithsons can possibly reconcile them. By designing hierarchies of access, MUH architects might be able to create a template for integrating private and public services. Such an integration could be achieved by introducing the "street" and the "square" and using them as design criteria to propose novel approaches to form and function, thus offering possibilities for MUH design other than high-rise models.

The third issue is participation. Studies of current modes of resident involvement in shaping housing reveal that while this is a socio-political process with no small measure of idealism, various types of participation have been successfully implemented (Mota, 2019; Siemiatycki, 2015). Participation was successfully carried out by van Eyck in the design process of the Pentagon and by Minneapolis residents when effecting Perloff's ideas. Through their practice, both van Eyck and Perloff emphasized the importance of inhabitants' participation in delineating their social habits and needs as well as their involvement in the design process (Avermaete, 2005; Perloff, 1966).

Finally, attention should be drawn to the reuse of postwar modernist architecture by transforming it into MUH. Reuse is a new term, yet it reflects the modernist architects' sustainable approach to MUH as a design that retains the original fabric of neighborhoods and derives inspiration from historic cities. Examples of architecture-turned-MUH have proliferated in recent years, as seen in Figure 10, which shows the Lincoln Building in Tel-Aviv (1963, Figure 10A) and Centraal Beheer Headquarters in Apeldoorn (1968–1972, Figure 10B). The Lincoln building was designed by Rappoport, Glieberman, and Frenkel as MUH with offices and retail and was recently redesignated to also fulfill a role in social housing; Centraal Beheer Headquarters was designed by Team 10 architect Herman Herzberger and is presently being transformed by his firm, Architectuurstudio HH, into a MUH complex that will integrate work and community spaces.

These criteria—of vertical and horizontal forms, access, participation, and reuse—promote discussion and reconsideration of social and cultural values for the design of MUH, as well as their visibility. In this context, visibility inspired by the diversity of postwar MUH can serve as a basis for new engagement with architecture and image—not as a spectacle but as a coupling that provokes thought on modularity, scale, and mobility when rethinking MUH within architecture's role in providing habitation.

7. Conclusion

In this article, I revisited modernist theory and practice to research the terms of dwelling in MUH and its design.

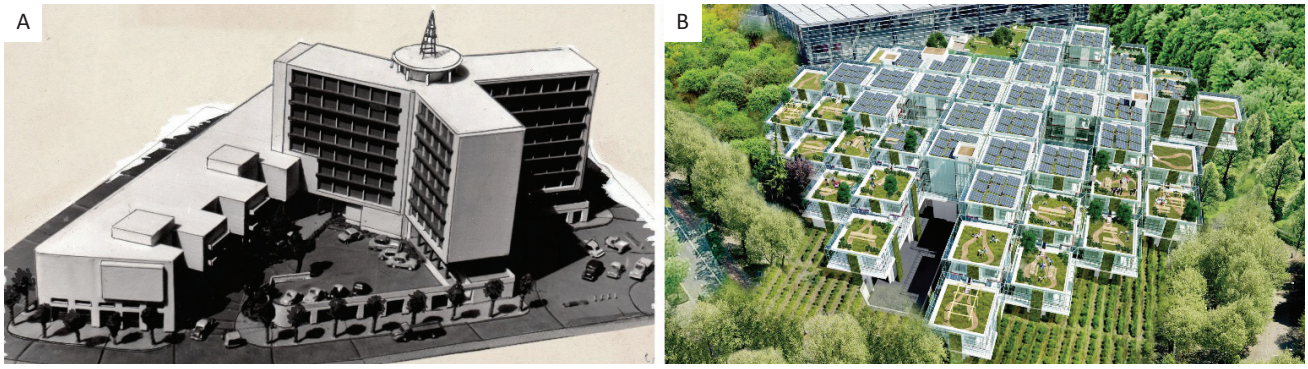

Figure 10. Examples of post-World War II buildings converted into contemporary MUH: (A) Lincoln Building, Tel-Aviv, 1963, by Rappoport, Glieberman, and Frenkel; (B) study of possible reuse of the Centraal Beheer Office Building at Housing Herzberger Park (former Centraal Beheer Headquarters), 1968–1972, by Herman Herzberger and Architectuurstudio HH. Sources: (A): Rappoport et al. (1963); (B): Herzberger and Architectuurstudio HH (2021).

I revealed postwar MUH as a novel concept that redefined the relationship between the dwelling, its immediate environment, and the city at large, which transformed interwar concepts into a fully developed design idea by introducing new terminology. Architectural historians have discussed these terms in various contexts and in connection with many case studies. I investigated several key terms as they related to and impacted the design of MUH, proposed a rethinking of modernist terminologies, explored their implementation in MUH, and thus provided an important analytical perspective on postwar design.

In summarizing this discussion of postwar theory and practice, we can trace two terminological frameworks for the design of MUH, both of which supported the ideation of mixing uses and revealed its advantages. First, a theoretical framework that engaged the terms habitat, human association, mobility, connectivity, relationship, urban hierarchies, and reidentification; this framework further established the terms for discussing the undesigned parts of cities and the concept of the intown fabric—all intended to achieve communality, socialization, and quality of life. Second, a practical framework, which formalized and gave shape to modularity, low- and high-rise volumes, passages, streets-in-the-air, bridges, open or enclosed courts, and plazas. I discussed these terminological frameworks as a basis for MUH and demonstrated that Team 10, Perloff, and Scott-Brown's ideas evolved into groundbreaking strategies that redefined the architectural design of MUH, rendering it not as a "by-product'' of dwelling or commercial streets but as a new type of urban and neighborhood habitability.

In light of these observations, I would propose that we reimagine current and future MUH as a design problem, rather than as a factor in the real estate market and the broader urban economy. To great extent, MUH is currently defined almost entirely by the state, investors, and developers (Gualini & Majoor, 2007; Majerowitz & Allweil, 2019; Mualam et al., 2019). Planning experts and sociologists address it using terms such as "vertical allocation" when investigating aspects of "urban vitality" and "environmental quality" (Kern, 2007; Mualam et al., 2019); they focus on "neighborhood resources," and restaurants and cafés have become "retail food environments" (Finlay et al., 2020). Granted, this body of research is intended to assist in producing many of the social goals aspired to by postwar architects. However, these terms, which to a great extent reflect economic considerations, are formulated and promoted by stakeholders and are concurrently developed in sociological academic disciplines. In such a discourse, architects and designers provide second and third tiers of terminological buttressing of MUH. Considering this, Scott Brown's lament that architecture has lost its precedence over urban planning reverberates and seems even more potent today. Her observation underscores the need to redefine the relationship between creating markets, planning cities or LUDs, and designing MUH.

Finally, modern postwar MUH architecture can inspire because even today it remains intricately related to current design concerns involving economies of space, culture, technology, and micro-urbanism as expressed in functions and connectivity. As Dirk van den Heuvel wrote in relation to Team 10 designers and what present-day neoliberal housing architecture should glean from them, these now historic examples remind us that housing is "not only an economic powerhouse but also an assemblage of social spaces" (van den Heuvel, 2019, p. 136). Relating these thoughts to contemporary MUH, I do not propose limiting their conceptualization and visibility to a supposed postwar historicity; rather, I argue that their architecture can and should reflect the communal and urban elements that compose them. Be they for the residents' semiprivate, complex-designated communal use or for public association, MUH should constitute design elements that create habitat, communality, and reidentification through architecture itself.

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Conflict of Interests

The author declares no conflict of interests.

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Article

The Co-'s of Co-Living: How the Advertisement of Living Is Taking Over Housing Realities

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Abstract
Co-living penetrated the urban realm both as a housing format and a neologism with fluid meaning. The co-living concept was developed by various companies in the early 2010s claiming to provide a valuable alternative to flat living in highly competitive rental markets. As a real estate product, co-living consists of all-inclusive rental plans of furnished rooms connected to fully equipped communal areas, conceived both for short-term and long-term stays. The few realized buildings combine collective spaces as laundries and co-working spaces with rooms as small as nine square meters. This kind of layout explicitly targets the urban middle-classer willing to live simultaneously *together and apart*. Differently from other housing formats, co-living is promoted through the jargon of sharing economy more than one of real-estate agencies. The *co*-root is commonly explained in companies' recurring website section "What's co-living?" as *collective*-living, *convenient*-living, and *community*-living. The emphasis on communitarian living echoes the semantics of co-housing. However, co-living *communities* differ radically from co-housing ones, based on a bottom-up initiative of inhabitants subscribing to a contract of cohabitation. In contrast, a co-living community is generated exclusively through economic accessibility. This article gives a critical insight into the mutated meanings of housing in the digital era by analysing co-living companies' narratives and their spatial counterpart in realized buildings. The evidence collected by co-living promotion contributes to addressing a broader shift in real estate towards emphasizing the experiential dimension of lifestyle over space and shelter as primary housing features.

Keywords
co-living; housing; living; real estate

Issue
This article is part of the issue "The Terms of Dwelling: Re-Theorizing Housing Through Architecture" edited by Yael Allweil (Technion—Israel Institute of Technology) and Gaia Caramellino (Politecnico di Milano).

1. Introduction

At the end of the first decade of the 2000s, the Global Financial Crisis occurred in parallel with several milestone technologies. Think of the temporal sequence of the release of the first iPhone (2007), Lehman Brothers bankruptcy (2008), the official launch of Airbnb (2009), and the release of the first version of the messaging app WhatsApp (2009). With the post-crisis austerity mindset, information technology opened the way to platform economy and sharing economy as an alternative to traditional models (Srnicek & De Sutter, 2016). In this context, several housing formats inspired by this new digital economic space penetrated the real estate market.

Co-living—which first appeared in London in the early 2010s—is the umbrella name for a multiplicity of housing products developed by the tech-friendly branches of real estate. Currently, it could be defined as a hybrid between commercial hospitality, serviced apartments, and co-working spaces. Co-living projects offer micro-units combined with collective facilities and services, compressing the private space to rooms as small as nine square meters, as in the case of The Collective Old Oak in London—one of the first built examples of co-living (see Figure 2).

The previous economic crisis of 1929 saw an analogous flourishing of rationalized and optimized housing solutions for the urban middle-classes. These kinds of

experimental buildings were promoted and debated on architectural magazines and conferences, bearing the signature of leading figures of the CIAM such as Ludwig Hilberseimer, Hans Scharoun, and Sven Markelius. Take into account the Borardinghaus in Berlin (1926), the WuWa in Breslau (1930), and the Kollektivhus in Stockholm (1935; see Aureli et al., 2019; Kries et al., 2017). On the contrary, co-living seems to be off-the-radar from the architectural debate, mainly appearing on non-architectural sources at the present day.

Currently, the co-living companies' profiles can span from the start-up environment to more traditional hospitality and real estate sectors. In any case, the focus on advanced digital tools for communication and management of the locations is a common requisite of all the studied businesses.

The realized projects span from an apartment building renovation in Tokyo to a long-stay hotel chain targeted to international students with several locations across Europe (The Student Hotel), a 500-unit building in the outskirts of London, and a privatization of a one-time pilot project for affordable housing in New York.

All the mentioned cases blend the contractual flexibility of a hotel with longer stay schemes as serviced apartments or dorms, including often co-working spaces and collective kitchens. This kind of layout addresses the younger generations of the urban middle-class, often labelled as "digital nomads," "generation x," "millennials," or "generation rent" (Gautreau & Bond Society, 2018).

"Generation rent" is a definition worth of a specification since it reveals a dichotomic condition. On the one hand, it recognizes flexible ways of working and the growing need of spaces into the city to host freelancers. On the other hand, it describes the socio-economic status of a generation incapable to become homeowners and renting for a longer span of their lives than the previous generations (McKee, 2012). For this reason, generation rent describes more a *privative* condition than an active status. It is not surprising that this class of perpetual urban renters is the main target group of co-living companies. But the inhabitant's economic status alone is not sufficient to explain the rationale of the co-living project. The fact that housing cost is the main household expenditure in most of Western societies (Pittini et al., 2019) is not only related to a widespread market unaffordability, but also to the social quest for individual and private space in the city.

According to Erik Klinenberg (2012), singularization and *solo* living represent the dominant urban conditions of the contemporary city:

> The cult of the individual spread gradually across the Western world during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. But it made its deepest impressions on modern societies in the West and beyond only in the second half of the twentieth century, when four other sweeping social changes—the rising status of women, the communications revolution, mass urbanization, and the longevity revolution—created conditions in which the individual could flourish….The collective project of living alone grew out of the culture of modern cities, not the monastic or transcendental traditions, as we often assume. (Klinenberg, 2012, pp. 13–21)

Working on the fringe between relative affordability—for a middle-class salary—and the pursue of independence, co-living companies positioned themselves as the solution to both these urban needs. To fulfil these goals, the maximum shrink of private space is balanced by externalized collective services (see Figure 1).

In architectural terms, the same dynamics characterized the abovementioned collective housing experiments of the late 1920s. Among many different examples—from the Soviet Dom Kommuna to New York's Apartment Hotels—it is worth mentioning the interest in boarding-houses by prominent figures of the Modern Movement such as Walter Gropius and Ludwig Hilberseimer. The proposals for the two *boardinghauser* respectively of 1926 and 1930 of the two German architects could be interpreted as a recognizable starting point of a typological genealogy culminating with contemporary co-living (Hilberseimer, 2012; Kries et al., 2017). The proposed typology consisted usually in a slab

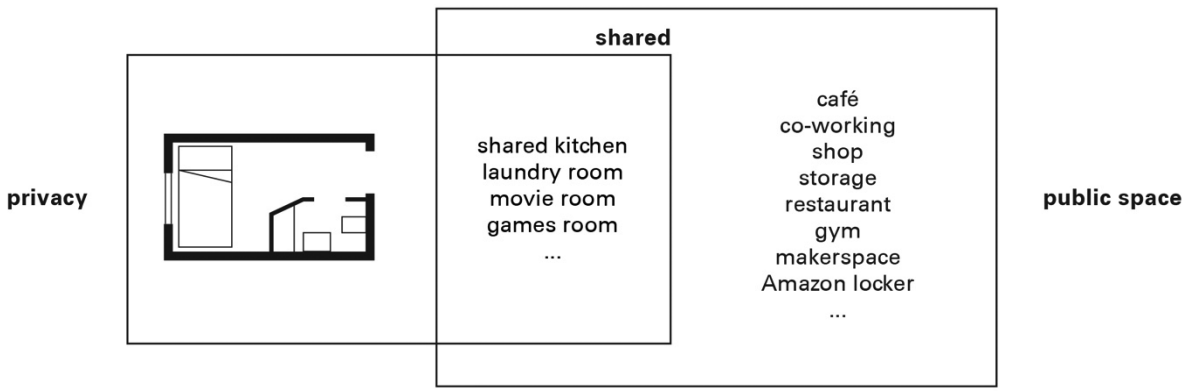

Figure 1. Conceptual diagram of co-living, showing the functional breakdown from privacy to public space.

of furnished rooms with services on the ground floor. Apart from the architectural layout, these projects were considered innovative for the inclusion of mechanic technology to optimize the services offered.

The buildings were equipped with pneumatic lifts to serve meals and with communal laundries on the ground floors (Sandoval-Strausz, 2007). According to the history of mechanization in buildings described by Giedion (2013), the technical achievements in the domestic realm of the last century were all pointed towards the simplification of household labour. Nevertheless, the notion of comfort changed radically from that time. Housing appliances such as the laundry machine or the refrigerator entered the post-war society initially as objects reserved to the urban elites, but in a few decades became products of mass consumption. This shift is crucial to understanding how the second post-war era introduced the possibility of living alone in the city without a centralized collective building.

For this reason, the co-living idea of comfort goes ahead with the simple benefits of mechanization of domestic appliances. The material and immaterial aspects of comfort contribute equally to a broader narrative of urban "wellness." For example, companies promote the comfort of co-living through intangible benefits, including superfast wi-fi connections, premium memberships, and online content (Bierbaum, 2017).

2. Co's

2.1. Definition of a Neologism

Defining co-living drawing from the academic literature is currently tricky. The only extensive and reliable definitions of this phenomenon can be found in the news media and in magazine reportages (Gautreau & Bond Society, 2018; Konrad, 2016; Outsite, 2017; Widdicombe, 2016). This lack of definition leads to several misunderstandings and threads when the concepts are transferred to the media, which tend to confuse socially aimed projects with commercial ones in a blurred discourse. For example, the Italian short term rental company Dove Vivo promotes traditional rooms for students and workers using the term co-living in place of cohabitation (Dove Vivo, n.d.).

The term co-living is a neologism of recent diffusion since it started to appear on the internet in the early 2010s. As it happened with other neologisms such as co-housing (1960s) and co-working (1990s), the consolidation of a concept can take decades. During the stabilising phase of a term like co-housing, this has often been misused by professionals and academic sources (Gresleri, 2015, p. 12). In the same way, even if mentioned as co-living, housing typologies as the Berlinese collaborative *baugruppen*, hacker "communes" of the San Francisco Bay area, or other participative forms of collective housing do not match the concept of co-living (Bhatia & Steinmuller, 2018).

Currently, the definition of co-living appears in few official English dictionaries, as the open-source Wikitionary.org, according to which "coliving" is "living together in the same residence" ("Co-living," 2017), or according to Macmillian dictionary, "a type of shared housing with communal spaces and amenities" ("Co-living,'' 2019). Both definitions fail to highlight the specificities of co-living compared to other forms of collective housing. In 2018, Wikipedia users posted a description in English, concluding that the concept of co-living overlaps with the one of co-housing, which is the opposite thesis of this study ("Co-living," 2022).

To clarify some possible meanings of the "co-" prefix of co-living, it is necessary to examine other definitions (see Table 1). Most major co-living companies reserve a section of their websites in the form of a short text from the title *What's co-living?* The fact itself that companies feel the need to explain the concept is revealing of the *newness* and instability of this notion. Several recurrent keywords emerge from the analysis of the leading operating companies' websites.

In general, in all the *What's co-living* analysed texts the employed jargon pertains more to the one of sharing economy than the one of real estate.

Table 1. Possible meanings of the "co-" prefix in co-living compared to the ones of co-housing.

IS	IS NOT
Co—living	**Co**—housing
Collective—living	**Collective**—housing
Convenient—living	**Collaborative**—housing
Community—living	**Cooperative**—housing

The statement provided by the London-based company The Collective LLC is revealing in this sense:

> Co-living is a way of living in cities that is focused on community and convenience. Live as part of a community, sharing wonderfully designed spaces and inspiring events, with the comfort of being able to retreat to your own fully furnished private apartment at the end of the day. Everything you need to make the most of city life is included in one convenient bill; rent, concierge, superfast internet, all utilities and taxes, room cleaning, exciting daily events and gym membership. So you can do the living, and leave the rest to us. (The Collective, n.d.a)

"Community" and "convenience." The recurrence of these two keywords occurs in almost all the selected texts. By the deliberate interest of co-living companies, the social aim of community-building is one of the central values incorporated in its promotion. As reported by *The Guardian* in 2019 in an article with an interview with Reza Merchant, the CEO of The Collective LLC:

Figure 2. The Collective Old Oak, London. Source: Courtesy of Nick Guttrige.

> "We're very different to a conventional property developer," says Merchant, who has said his inspiration for the Collective draws on experiences at Burning Man festival. "If our driver was pure profit, we wouldn't be doing this. There are much easier ways to make money." (Coldwell, 2019, para. 27).

2.2. Community

However, the only selection criteria to be part of a co-living *community* is the economic capacity of its members. The kind of community addressed here is a community of *strangers*, at the antipodes with the intentional communities of other forms of collective housing as co-housing. In fact, as part of this kind of *community*, a co-living dweller must accept several social rules (e.g., declare at the concierge the presence of eventual hosts, or space usage time limitations), explicitly subscribed with the agreement of the service contract (Bierbaum, 2017).

In its early Scandinavian forms, co-housing unfolded as a series of low-dense suburban housing schemes, where middle-class families gathered to build the future community and its physical arrangement. Usually, the housing buildings had no specific features, while particular attention was devoted to the communal house, that hosted various collective activities such as dinners and events. The settlement of the community was—and is—always preceded by the subscription of a cohabitation rule that regulates the uses of the shared capital among the resident community, especially in the permanent co-housing schemes aimed for homeownership (McCamant et al., 1994).

While co-housing is regulated by a contract, in co-living the determination of the community members does not precede occupation. In co-living, the supervision of rules and their surveillance through CCTV cameras is demanded to employed staff, leading to incentives and penalties for the residents usually communicated through social media or messaging platforms—as reported by the on-site investigation of Max Bierbaum in The Collective Old Oak in London (Bierbaum, 2017).

The crucial node of difference between co-housing and co-living, and the profound difference between the two types of communities they generate, resides in the organization of work. The concept of sharing collective spaces would be similar in the two cases, if

co-housing would not ask for a commitment to the residents to self-regulate and self-organize domestic labour (e.g., cleaning, cooking, maintenance). In co-living, following the tradition of the early American residential hotels (Sandoval-Strausz, 2007), domestic labour is performed by employed staff on all the levels, from housekeeping to "community management." As noted by Sandoval-Strausz (2007) in his history of the first American hotels, the issue of professionalization of domestic labour had a disruptive impact on the emancipation of women at the end of the 19th century. In contemporary society, co-housing alternative communities addressing individuals exist, but most of them remain targeted to the traditional family. Co-housing relies on the principle of efficiency in the management of an intergenerational community based on familiar bounds (Gresleri, 2015). Co-living opens to the opportunity to include the most diverse social groups, because it is *not* a proper community, but a resident group of inhabitants managed by an ad hoc staff.

The insistence of co-living companies on the concept of community is also revealing of the dichotomic relationship of co-living with the city, which characterizes its promotional narratives. The contemporary city is presented, on one side, as the natural habitat for co-livers, and, on the other, as the main cause of alienation and isolation to which co-living is presented as an alternative. As exemplified in Common's New York-based co-living company description:

> Shared living spaces, common amenities, and occasional outings provide for a true sense of community that's often lacking in large cities….Co-living is simply a way to make living in a city work better for you. (Common, n.d.)

Again, the urban nature of co-living differentiates it from many suburban co-housing schemes and qualifies its community as a sub-group of the general urban population. Therefore, each member is replaceable because it has no real commitment to a defined community.

While opposite forms of collective living as co-living and co-housing show similarities in using their collective spaces and their spatial organization (separation of private and collective functions), co-living as a term could not refer to *community*-living (see Figures 3 and 4).

2.3. Convenience

The second possible interpretation of the "co-" that emerges in The Collective LLC definition is the one of "convenience." The concept of convenience stems in this case from an explicit replacement of the more typical reference in real estate to affordability. Looking at the prices of co-living plans, it appears that the 30% affordability threshold of rent spending over salary is always surpassed on a city population average. For example, the prices for a furnished room in New York start from $2100 in the case of Starcity Carmel Place (Starcity, n.d.). Compared to the city average price for the same rentable floor area—approximately $1650 per month if considering an average price of $59 per square meter (RentCafe, n.d.)—it can be observed how the "convenience" issue is at least questionable.

In London, The Collective Old Oak offers rooms of eleven square meters at £1040 per month (The Collective, n.d.b); even here well beyond the threshold of regular rented flats—24.71£ per square meter (Nested, n.d.). It must be said that the inclusion of material and immaterial services in co-living projects is difficult to quantify, since every service (except for room cleaning) is not benefitted individually, but part of the shared services—as the laundry room or the co-working space. In their promotion, co-living companies usually draw the same comparison without explicating that most of the services are shared, usually resulting in a table where co-living is way more affordable than a regular flat rent in the same area coupled with the individual subscription to each of the services they provide. In this quote by the American company Common, this approach is evidently remarked: "Value. Common members save over $500 every month over a traditional studio apartment. Common coliving rooms are also furnished—more than a $4,000 value—and never require a broker fee" (Common, n.d.). According to Common (n.d.), each co-living member saves a total of $6000 a year, plus an extra $4000 for the initial room furnishing, which gives a total of $10000 over a year contract. Such an assumption can be considered realistic only when keeping in mind that the target population of co-living companies is a specific niche of the urban population, with specific consumption patterns.

While the economic frame of co-living is clear to understand, the issue of convenience is not bounded only to the relation with the traditional real estate products. The fact that most co-living projects include a self-sufficient microcosm of services also relates to other urban issues. The proximity of the living place and working place, and the relative mobility costs, are potentially solved by incorporating spaces for production and reproduction in a single building. The idea of the social condenser is not new in the filiation of collective living projects (Vestbro, 2008). Think of the early experiments of social utopia, such as Godin's Familistère or the Soviet Dom Kommuna gigantic dormitories with collective services (Kries et al., 2017). According to Niklas Maak, the possibility of a network of self-sufficient buildings containing the full extent of spaces for production and reproduction is still a valid alternative to the traditional urban models based on the dichotomy between city and countryside (Maak et al., 2020). The "Phalansterology" of Maak et al. (2020) is not only interesting for its radical proposal to appropriate dismissed spaces of the city to re-inhabit with co-living like projects (e.g., shopping malls, post offices, office buildings), it also highlights how the dynamics of daily life embodied in co-living are

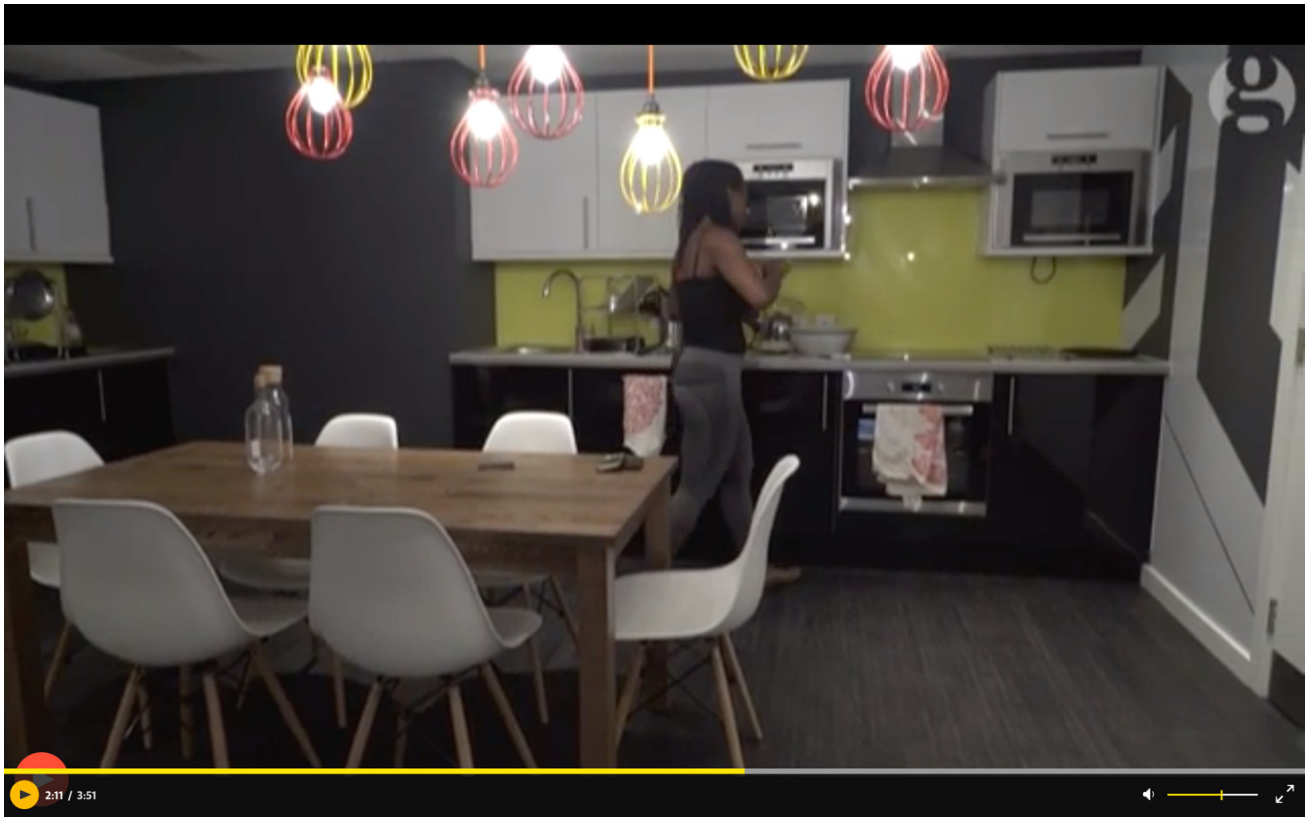

Figure 3. Collective kitchen of the Collective in London. Source: Still frame from Coldwell (2019).

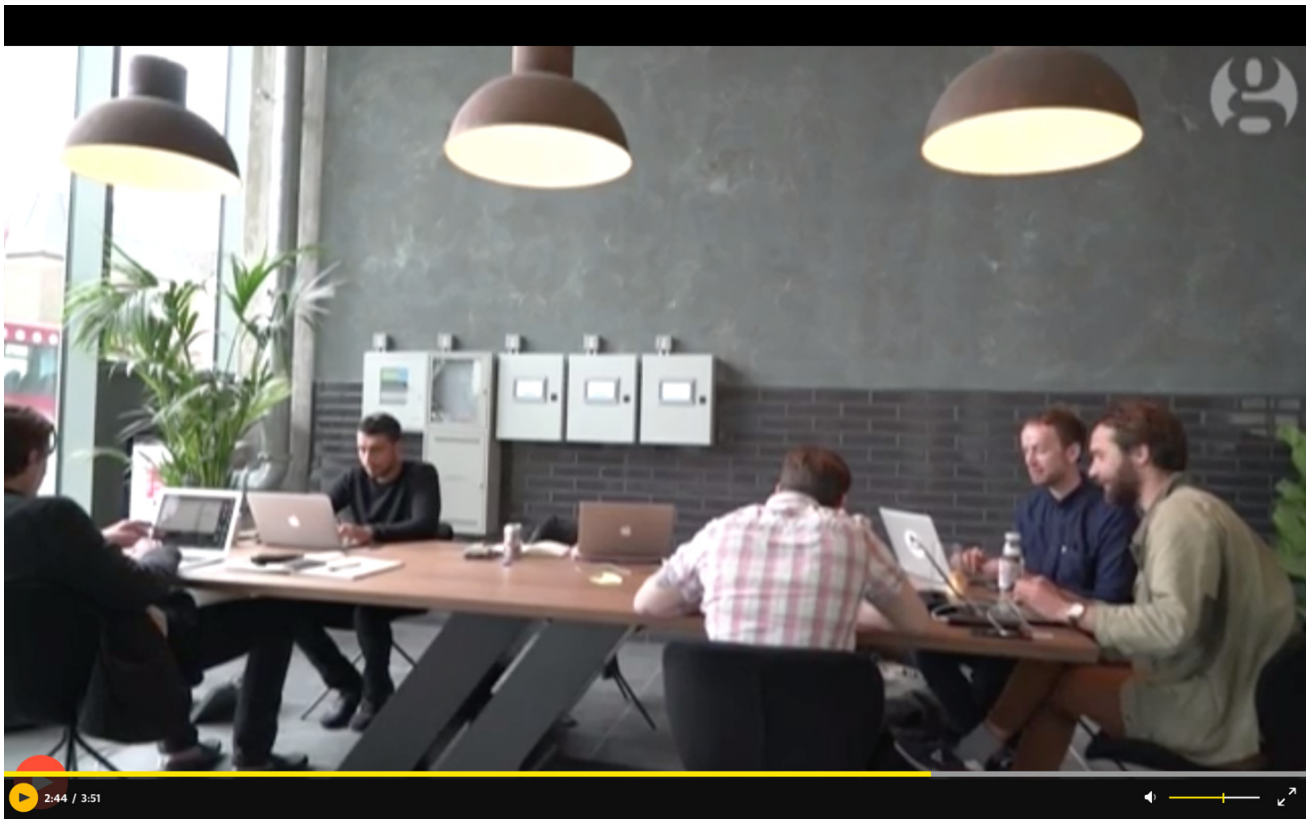

Figure 4. Co-working space of the Collective in London. Source: Still frame from Coldwell (2019).

extending beyond a niche housing model for urban middle classes. The convenience addressed by The Collective in the description of its amenities is the one of a daily urban routine, embodied in a single building:

> From morning yoga to after-work drinks, movie marathons to ping-pong tournaments, we have a space for your every move. Curl up with a good book in the library, watch the sunset from the roof terrace, nail your to-do list in the co-working space; or host a dinner party in one of the themed dining rooms. It's your choice: French bistro or Japanese tearoom? (The Collective, n.d.b)

The target of co-living is a middle-class consumer that would predictably subscribe to a gym, work from a cafeteria, and spend for a weekly laundry service. In this sense, co-living becomes "convenient" because it offers the same services in the same building and at a lower price. Plus, it addresses a specifically urban (and metropolitan) condition with all its clichés. If the co-living community is artificial, its inhabitants must understand the convenience it addresses in a specific frame. On the one hand, it is not capable of solving the housing crisis or transforming co-living into an affordable housing model. On the other hand, it can be understood as a laboratory for understanding the collective spaces of the contemporary city.

3. Living Taking Over Housing

Looking at co-living under the lenses of "community" and "convenience" peculiarly frames this housing model. On the one hand, it is not different from the other urban increasing inaccessible housing models because of its positioning on the market in a hybrid position between hospitality and traditional rental housing. On the other hand, it introduces a specific emphasis on sharing resources and the benefits of digitalization in the orchestration of daily life. The focus of co-living companies on this aspect opens a new domain of investigation on the marketization of collective comforts and shared routine activities. Since the current debate on the housing crisis is focused mainly on the dichotomy between the public and the private spheres of housing (Madden & Marcuse, 2016), this angle could reveal more subtle market tactics of commodification.

Co-living promoters' rhetoric marks a crucial shift from the focus on the shelter of *housing* to the performance of *living*, focusing on the predominance of the experiential over real needs. This attitude might be connected to one of the strategies of sharing economy, as the one employed by Airbnb starting from 2016 with the introduction of Airbnb Experiences (Airbnb, n.d.). From that moment on, the actual space of the experience became subordinate to its content. Co-living companies adopt this kind of tactics often to disguise the minimum limit size of the furnished rooms they offer. To quote the American co-living company Ollie (now Starcity):

> The co-living concept reflects the shifting value system of today's renters—values that embrace the quality of relationships and experiences over the quantity of square footage. (Ollie, n.d.)

Three driving forces could therefore summarize the shift from housing to living. First, the transformation operated by co-living companies in the description of amenities rather than the physical aspects of living space, i.e., the surface area. The pivotal element of the surface area as the key indicator of real estate promotion blurs into an experiential narrative. Secondly, the concept of affordability is replaced by the one of convenience, highlighting the mutated socio-economic conditions of the city. Inextricably unaffordable, urban life requires to rely on necessary services provided by private companies, not replaceable by public and free uses. Therefore, contemporary technology and marketing strategies do not focus on the set of spaces that can host urban life; instead, they focus on the orchestration of life itself as a product. Lastly, the space *par excellence* of co-living's *community* is the collective space of the buildings. Shared space is where the expectations of comfort and the new domestic standards unfold in co-living. The nature of this space is an overlap of different furniture and devices, often marked by claims and slogans. In the entrance hall of The Student Hotel in Maastricht, a billboard states: "HOME AWAY FROM HOME." Boltanski and Esquerre (2020) would frame this attitude into the economy of "enrichment." Instead of qualifying a given space, the economy of enrichment adds a symbolic layer to attach commercial allure to a rather generic space (see Figure 5).

4. Conclusions

The co-living housing model is ever evolving, and it would be reductive to pretend to grasp its complexity in a single study. Nevertheless, the main co-living companies offer some hints for a more detailed definition of this recent urban neologism. In their communication outlets, co-living companies insist on the concepts of "community" and "convenience." These two "co-s" are radically different from the "co-s" of the co-housing model. In co-living, the community is built top-down and based on the economic capacity of its dwellers, while in co-housing the setting of a bottom-up community is the *raison d'être* of the whole concept. Co-living is not aimed to be an affordable model and solve the housing crisis, and its praised "convenience" must be read in relation to the growing costs and consumption patterns of the contemporary city. The co-housing model was conceived also for practical reasons, but the social mission of this model cannot be compared to the one of co-living, which is explicitly aimed for mid-short stays and the urban middle classes. Finally, the terms related to co-living reveal a broader shift in the real estate industry. The traditional focus of promoters and managing companies on housing

Figure 5. The Student Hotel café in Maastricht. Source: The Student Hotel (n.d.).

as shelter and on floor area is replaced in the contemporary discourse by a narrative of experiential features and immaterial benefits.

Conflict of Interests

The author declares no conflict of interests.

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Article

Meanings of Self-Building: Incrementality, Emplacement, and Erasure in Dar es Salaam's Traditional Swahili Neighborhoods

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Abstract
Self-building is the prevalent mode of urban production in rapidly urbanizing African cities. National and international policy frameworks, as well as popular discourse, still portray self-building as an informal and temporary fix for insufficient state investment—as the exception, rather than the rule. Meanwhile, emerging literature about the Global South draws from an analysis of processes, practices, spatialities, and lived experiences of urbanization and dwelling. This literature seeks to unveil how ordinary processes such as self-building unfold in different localities and realities, challenging the reluctance of government and private actors in recognizing self-building as a long-term mode of urban production. This article contributes to this literature through an ethnographic analysis of the oldest and most common modality of self-built houses in Tanzania—the Swahili house—and its unfolding in two traditional, centrally-located neighborhoods of Dar es Salaam. It emphasizes the home and dwelling aspirations, practices, and trajectories of a predominantly low-income population settling in the city. Based on the analysis, this article proposes that the self-building of Swahili houses and neighborhoods in Dar es Salaam represents a form of popular urbanization, characterized by long temporalities that simultaneously facilitate and are facilitated by affordable and incremental forms and processes of home building through residents' appropriation of their own territories. However, in the city's increasingly contested inner-city territories, top-down policy responses and large-scale, infrastructure-led urban development generate tensions and make such a popular form of self-building vulnerable to erasure and un-homing.

Keywords
African cities; emplacement; housing transformation; incrementality; neighborhood transformation; self-building; Swahili house

Issue
This article is part of the issue "The Terms of Dwelling: Re-Theorizing Housing Through Architecture" edited by Yael Allweil (Technion—Israel Institute of Technology) and Gaia Caramellino (Politecnico di Milano).

1. Introduction

The original Swahili houses were built with mud and pole construction in East Africa's coastal towns. Around the 13th century, stone construction emerged (Steyn, 2002), with a distinctive courtyard that determined the house's inward-looking, self-contained complex (Ghaidan, 1976, as cited in Steyn, 2002). In Dar es Salaam, a contemporary version of the Swahili house was built around the areas today known as Kariakoo, Ilala, and Magomeni to house the native African population (Nguluma, 2003) during the colonial occupation (Figure 1). The planning schemes of the German and British colonial authorities enforced segregation (Armstrong, 1987), prohibiting African nationals from owning land in urban areas. Only waged workers could reside in the city (Kironde, 1992). In the post-independence period, in the late 1960s and 1970s, the Tanzanian housing company, the National Housing Corporation (NHC), expanded the construction of Swahili house in Dar es Salaam's urban districts (Figure 1) through tenant purchase schemes associated with "slum clearance" programs (Nguluma, 2003). Small builders and individuals reproduced the design throughout the city's expanding neighborhoods. NHC's direct

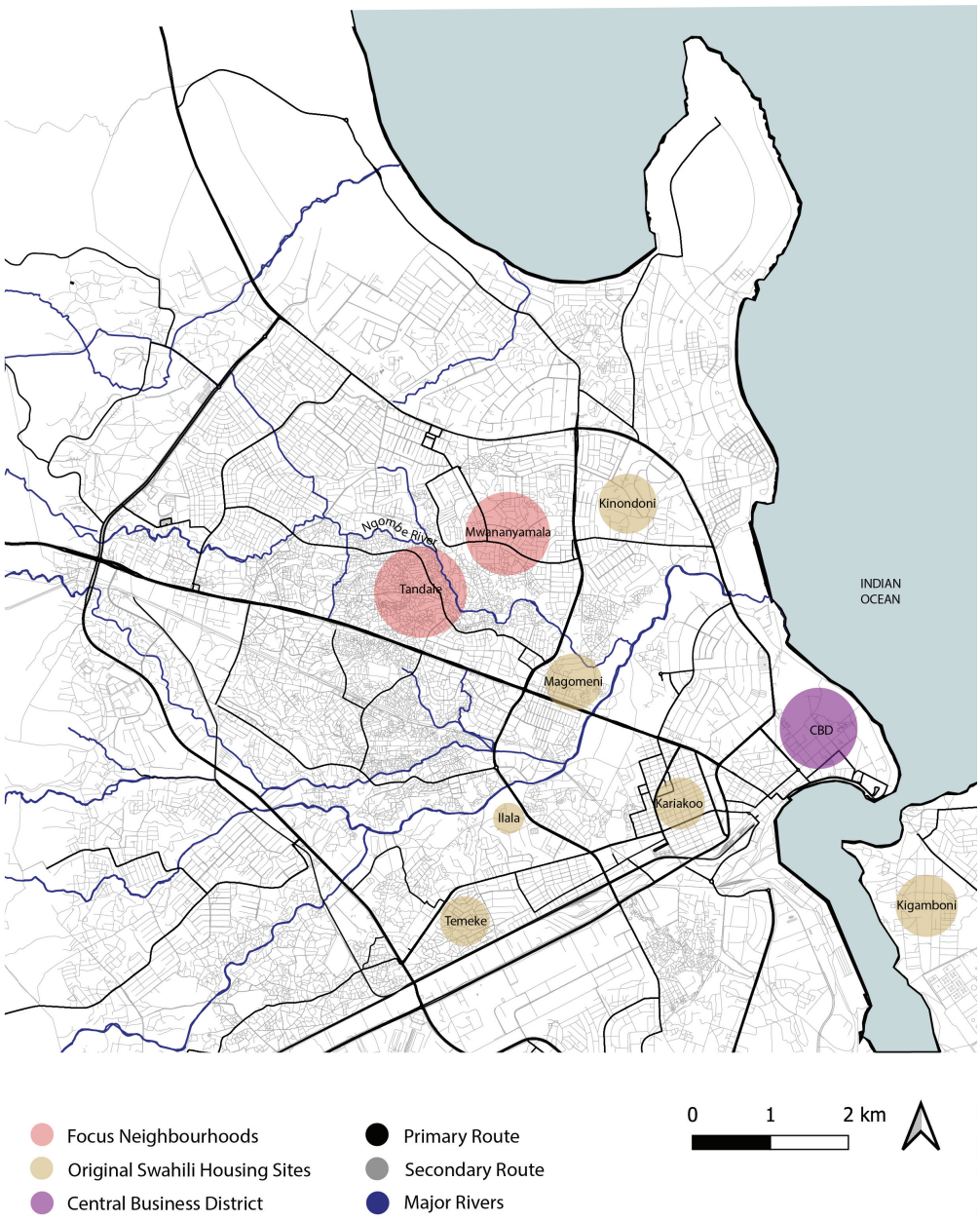

Figure 1. Dar es Salaam's urban area and location of case study areas. Source: Courtesy of Lerys Hendricks.

participation in housing low-income dwellers came to a halt by the early 1980s due to the interruption of state subsidies (Kironde, 1992). Today, most of the NHC's housing production is for the for-profit market (Izar & Limbumba, 2021).

Simplicity, flexibility, and affordability help explain the Swahili house's popularity (Sheuya, 2007). Residents alone, or with a local mason, could erect its simple structure without a plan. Typically, a few rooms were built as start-up units for the homeowners. Over time, other rooms were added for the family and/or to be rented out. The rental revenue financed the construction of new rooms and housing maintenance (Sheuya, 2007). Also, a rented room in a Swahili house represented the most affordable option for low-income tenants, often newly arrived in Dar es Salaam (Campbell, 2014).

A typical Swahili house consists of a rectangular structure with a middle corridor dividing two rows of identical rooms (Figure 2). A veranda marks the entrance, enabling a transition between the street and the interior. The central corridor connects the public outdoor space of the street with the semi-private outdoor space of the courtyard. Cooking and washing activities are placed in the courtyard, where the bathroom is also located. Inside, thermal comfort is achieved through cross ventilation along the central corridor and high open ceiling, with no separation between the front veranda and the street. Commonly, the veranda is used for commercial activities during the day and family gatherings in the evening (Figure 3). Depending on the volume of pedestrian traffic, commercial activities extend into the street in the morning. In the evening, commercial items are stored back in

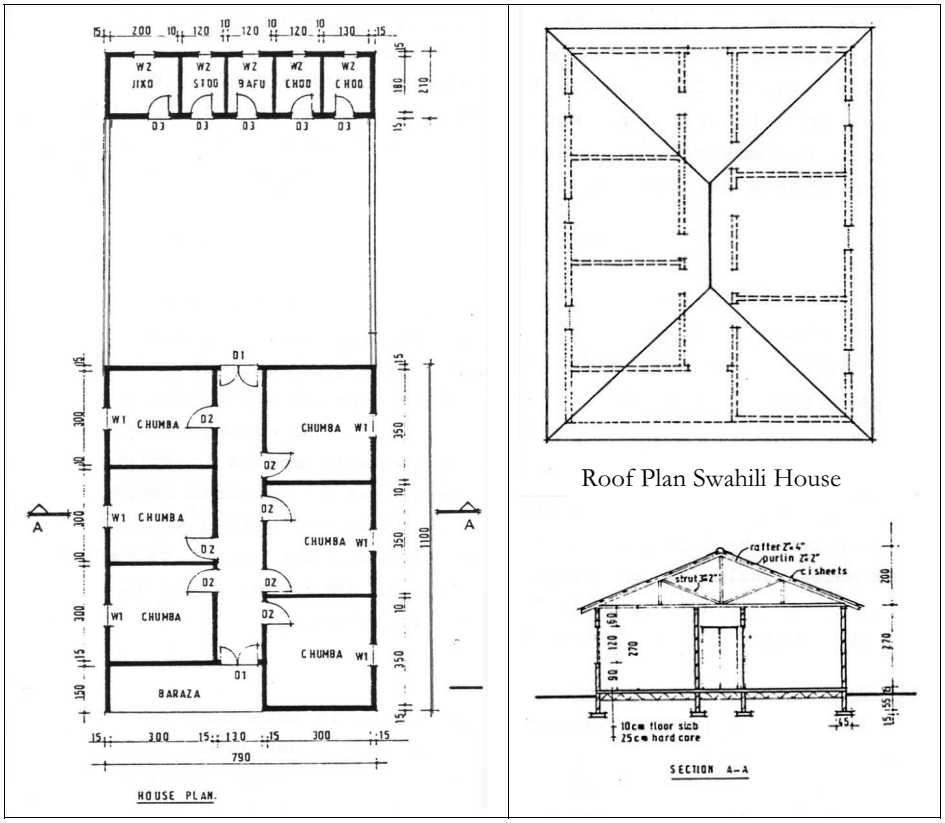

Figure 2. A plan of the modern Swahili house. Source: Nnkya (1984, p. 79).

the veranda. The courtyard, meanwhile, offers enclosure and privacy; it is where everyday activities such as laundering, cooking, resting, and playing take place (Figure 4).

More than a temporary fix for insufficient state investment in housing and infrastructure, self-building constitutes a mode of urban production (Holston, 2009), mostly, but not exclusively, in the Global South. Through self-building, urban dwellers can attain homeownership at reduced costs, investing time and energy in the building of their own home in various ways (Benson & Hamiduddin, 2017) while producing vernacular architecture (Nguluma, 2003; Steyn, 2002) with spatial and material qualities that reflect their traditions and culture (Bredenoord & van Lindert, 2014). Self-building engages urban dwellers "in a strategy through which urban territories are produced, transformed and appropriated by the people" (Streule et al., 2020, p. 1). These territories are always in the making, as "people inhabit spaces that are clearly precarious and unfinished, but with the expectation, frequently realized, that the spaces will improve and one day look like wealthier parts of the city" (Caldeira, 2017, p. 5). In the African context, self-built housing is prevalent (Groenewald et al., 2013) and unfolds primarily on unsurveyed land through processes of settlement planning and development that residents and/or local organizations run, outside of state

Figure 3. The simple layout and flexible structure of a Swahili house: The courtyard (left) and a front veranda (right), still unfinished, with a fruit stall. Source: Courtesy of Beatrice Mahagama and Leticia George.

Figure 4. Core elements of the Swahili house: The central corridor provides structure, connectivity, and thermal comfort; the courtyard offers privacy in an open space, in contrast to the public front veranda. Source: Courtesy of Beatrice Mahagama and Leticia George.

support and/or without access to financial capital (Sanga & Lucian, 2016).

In Dar es Salaam, Tanzania's economic capital and one of the world's fastest-growing cities, about 90% of the housing stock is self-built (Ministry of Lands, Housing and Human Settlements Development, 2018), in various ways. The centrally-located neighborhoods of the 1960s, 1970s, and 1980s—where the near entirety of the housing stock consists of self-built Swahili houses (Nguluma, 2003)—are denser, more compact, and with a population whose per capita income is, on average, lower than those who live in the more peripheral and sprawling neighborhoods that have emerged since the late 2000s. However, these newer suburban developments have informed the recent analyses of urbanization in the city. These analyes have associated self-built housing with the pursuit of a homeownership dream on more affordable, peripheral land (Andreasen et al., 2017) and the rise of a Tanzanian middle-class settling into post-colonial suburbs that function as a bridge between urban and rural landscapes (Mercer, 2017). Less explored in this emerging literature are the ongoing transformations in more consolidated, centrally located self-built houses in neighborhoods inhabited predominantly by low-wage workers and daily laborers.

As a contribution to the debate about housing, urbanization, and self-building in African cities, this article investigates the oldest and most common modality of self-built houses in Tanzania, the Swahili house. It employs an ethnographic analysis, grounded in two traditional, centrally located neighborhoods of Dar es Salaam's Kinondoni District, Mwananyamala and Tandale. This article belongs to a broader research project that I conducted during a postdoctoral fellowship at the Institute of Human Settlements Studies at Ardhi University (2018–2020) and as coordinator of the Dar es Salaam City Laboratory (2020–2021), an action research platform at the Institute of Human Settlements Studies. The research investigated how contemporary forms of housing production unfold in different territories, including self-built neighborhoods of Dar es Salaam. The investigation sought to emphasize the ordinary, everyday production and transformation of predominantly low-income areas (Karaman et al., 2020) and to "privilege the voices of those living in the urban peripheries in shaping conceptualizations" (Meth et al., 2021, p. 2).

The centrality of Mwananyamala and Tandale, as well as its compact urban form and close social fabric, are of special significance to local residents. These are primarily low-income dwellers who rely on their proximity to central businesses and services for their livelihood while benefiting from strong social ties (Izar & Limbumba, 2021). Currently, these neighborhoods are also experiencing rapid transformation, with numerous urban projects, led and funded by a variety of state and non-state actors including the national government, the Kinondoni District authorities, and the World Bank. Projects include the construction of a bus rapid transit corridor, large-scale residential and commercial property developments, and, under the Dar es Salaam Metropolitan Development Project, roadwork expansion and a flood prevention infrastructure project that directly affects the Tandale community. While most residents feel that their neighborhood is improving, particularly regarding drainage and sanitation, some households, especially tenants, fear that the new developments will eventually price them out of their houses and the neighborhood. Based on this understanding, two research questions underpin this study. First, how has (Swahili) self-built housing unfolded in the neighborhoods of Mwananyamala and Tandale over time? Second, to what extent do local residents' feelings of homeownership and neighborhood appropriation relate to housing and neighborhood self-building?

Semi-structured interview data with residents and builders of Swahili houses in Mwananyamala and Tandale, alongside in-depth field observations of housing and neighborhood transformation, inform this study. Analysis of policy documents supports the investigation. Field observation happened through two- to four-hour monthly visits between May 2019 and February 2020, involving a small research team and the support of a local guide. Informal conversations between residents and Swahili-speaking research team members facilitated a preliminary, collective understanding of urban transformation in Mwananyamala and Tandale. Between October and November 2020, eight semi-structured interviews were conducted with builders and residents of Swahili houses, four in each neighborhood. The limited number of interviews was due to the restrictions imposed by the Covid-19 pandemic and sought to protect both the local community's and researchers' health. Interviewee selection relied, initially, on existing contacts between researchers and the local residents, and subsequently, on the suggestions of the interviewees, according to the snowball sampling technique. Two research assistants conducted the interviews in Swahili, following a previously prepared questionnaire. Residents were asked about the process of home building that they or their predecessors were involved in, the strategies for maintaining and expanding their home, their perceptions about life in their neighborhood, the ongoing transformations, and the future. The interviews were conducted in open spaces to guarantee fresh air and ventilation and lasted about 30 minutes. All participants wore face masks. The names of the interviewees were changed to protect their identities.

The remainder of the article is organized into four sections. Next, Section 2 reviews the literature on: (a) the relationship between urban policy and political and economic reform as it relates to the expansion of self-building in Tanzania; (b) the meanings of homeownership, internationally and in Tanzania; and (c) emerging literature on urbanization and dwelling as lived everyday experiences. Section 3 describes how the self-building of Swahili houses unfolds in Mwananyamala and Tandale, while Section 4 presents the residents' perceptions and aspirations about their homes and neighborhoods—feelings of emplacement and erasure, related to notions of appropriation (Streule et al., 2020) and un-homing (Huchzermeyer, 2021). Section 5 summarizes the study's main findings, limitations, and questions for further research.

2. Housing and Neighborhood Self-Building in Dar es Salaam: Homeownership, Affordability, Local Traditions, and Customary Practices

2.1. Policy (Ir)Rationalities

A discussion about self-built housing in Tanzania concerns adequate living, particularly for low-income populations. Access to adequate and affordable housing is considered fundamental to the social and economic well-being of all Tanzanians, and the country's stability (Ministry of Lands, Housing and Human Settlements Development, 2018). However, there have been few opportunities for ordinary Tanzanians to access adequate, ready-made housing, or even self-build their homes in urban neighborhoods (Kyessi & Furaha, 2010). Presently, Tanzania has an estimated urban housing backlog of 1.2 million dwelling units, and around 400,000 of that deficit in Dar es Salaam. Individuals are responsible for 98% of the housing developments nationwide and 70% of the urban footprint corresponds to informal settlements (Ministry of Lands, Housing and Human Settlements Development, 2018).

The Arusha Declaration (1967) established in Tanzania a socialist system of self-reliance (*Ujamaa*). Land was declared without economic value and kept under state ownership, while the central government was made responsible for providing serviced plots for citizens to build their homes (Nnkya, 2021). However, Tanzania's socialism was short-lived. During the transition to a market-based economy in the 1980s, land was kept under state ownership for the benefit of all Tanzanians. However, an overly centralized, excessively bureaucratic land management system (Kironde, 1992) did not address the popular demand for land. For example, between 1978 and 1992, only 7% of the approximately 262,000 applications for urban plots were allotted (Kombe, 1994). Nonetheless, the national response to informality shifted from eradication in the 1970s to recognition, according to the National Land Policy and Land Act of 1999 (Kyessi & Furaha, 2010). Article 24 of the Constitution recognizes the right of Tanzanians to own and protect their property, giving the grounds for the regularization of informal settlements (Nnkya, 2021).

In the 1990s, comprehensive upgrading programs that combined land tenure with "aided self-built" housing and urban infrastructure were piloted in selected areas with positive results, but these programs were never implemented at larger scales (Kombe et al., 2021). Instead, during the transition to a market-based economy (1980s–1990s), and in the context of a national debt crisis, priority was given to the regularization of tenure through land titling so that propertied urban dwellers could use their homes as collateral for financing to improve their homes, neighborhoods, and livelihoods further (Campbell, 2013). Today, this market-enabling approach (Kironde, 2016) persists despite a new scenario of macro-economic growth (Izar & Limbumba, 2021), as represented by a steady GDP increase since the 2000s (World Bank, 2019). This has favored the concentration of public investment in urban projects considered strategic for economic growth, such as road infrastructure and sanitation, which also increases property values in the process (Izar & Limbumba, 2021).

Therefore, a tension exists between the reality on the ground, where housing and neighborhood self-building

has multiple meanings, and the groundless approach (Huchzermeyer, 2021) of national and local policy agendas. For example, the Dar es Salam City Master Plan, 2016–2036 (Ministry of Lands, Housing and Human Settlements Development, 2016) proposes the consolidation of self-built communities and the preservation of their social fabric. However, it does not articulate how tacit knowledge and the cultural, spatial, and ecological legacies of self-building can be considered.

2.2. Meanings of Home and Homeownership

The association between homeownership aspirations, displacement, and "tensions brought about by powerful actors whose interests are poorly mediated through contemporary governance" (Huchzermeyer, 2021, p. 193) is not uncommon in analyses of self-built housing, particularly in the African context. As a response to the disjuncture (Croese et al., 2016) represented by profit-seeking actions of powerful state and private actors on the one hand, and the needs, demands, and repertoires (Rubin, 2021) of local communities, on the other hand, critical housing studies have focused on home building and dwelling as lived experience. While the notion of home in these analyses is "complex and multi-scaled, directly tied to human well-being" (Huchzermeyer, 2021, p. 193), a crucial concern is with the loss of home for a variety of factors that can ultimately lead to conditions of "un-homing.''

Earlier literature on the meanings of home in the context of contemporary British culture stressed a relationship between homeownership and a sense of "ontological security" that residents can attain, expressed through feelings of pride, a sense of relaxation at home, and satisfaction (Saunders, 1989). Home and homeownership constituted "micro-level forms of housing consumption" (Gurney, 1995, p. 45). These supported the expansion of a "homeownership society" and a regime of private property, but not of democratic values (Forrest, 1983). As homeownership became increasingly central in the context of Western societies, analyses of home became more critical and aware of tensions between real experiences and expectations related to home (Moore, 2000).

In Tanzania, homeownership aspirations have been related to feelings of social and economic stability (Limbumba, 2010), and serve as "a source of pride and prestige" (Andreasen et al., 2020, p. 96) for those who consider it as becoming part of modern Tanzanian society (Nguluma, 2003). According to Mercer (2017, p. 13), houses and land "are not simply financial investments, but are imbued with social meaning in relation to identity and belonging….You are not a person until you build a home." It has been argued that homeownership aspirations have recently led renters to move to Dar es Salaam's sprawling peripheries to become owners of self-built homes (Andreasen et al., 2017), driven by a demand for affordable housing, as well as by a desire for semi-rural living, connected to the city's urban economy but detached from its busyness (Mercer, 2017). Campbell (2014) presents a more critical argument towards "the centrality of homeownership" in Tanzania's policy framework, placing it in parallel to the "neglect of private rental housing, both in policy and in practice" (Campbell, 2014, p. 268). In her view, homeownership represents not an aspiration but a strategy that low-income urban dwellers take to "navigate the threat of exclusion" in the city (Campbell, 2014, p. 268).

2.3. Self-Built Housing and Local Knowledge

Tanzanian urban studies have highlighted the roles, logics, and strategies of local actors (i.e., residents and neighborhood-level authorities) in the operation of informal systems of housing and land development. Nguluma (2003) described how housing adaptation (through self-building) addresses social needs, such as extra rooms to accommodate family members in a dynamic way, even in situations of limited resources (Sheuya, 2007). Kombe and Kreibich (2001, p. 1) highlighted the fundamental role that community-based organizations and local-level authorities (sub-ward leaders) play in "authenticating and registering land rights, arbitrating land disputes, checking land-use development and spatial orderliness and providing basic services," in Dar es Salaam's self-built neighborhoods. These studies offered empirical evidence of the operations of local level informal subsystems, arguing for the need to recognize and validate them, so as to complement the insufficient formal system (Kombe & Kreibich, 2001). However, despite widespread recognition of the legitimacy of informally developed private property, the "government's reluctance to involve residents as active players reinforces top-down decision making" (Ndezi, 2009, p. 85).

Literature focusing on everyday urbanism (McFarlane & Silver, 2017) addresses "the prevalence of ordinary urbanization processes in relatively poor neighborhoods where local people are the primary agents of urbanism" (Karaman et al., 2020, p. 1126), despite the government's reluctance to partner with local communities. Streule et al. (2020, p. 2) put forward the notion of popular urbanization in reference to "a wide range of actors producing urban space mostly without evident leadership or overarching ideology, but with a shared interest in producing urban space for themselves as well as their community." As a term, popular urbanization seeks to validate "spatial practices of people [who] generate not only material outcomes but also deep local knowledge…which have the potential to question hegemonic visions and strategies of the production of urban space" (Streule et al., 2020, p. 2).

Such framing in the analysis of urbanization in Tanzania is still uncommon. While understandings about the practices and knowledge of local residents acting without evident leadership are lacking, there is agreement that more varied and complex understandings can emerge from in-depth observations of everyday

urbanization processes (Kombe et al., 2021). These understandings may be able to inform conceptualizations of housing and neighborhood self-building as reflecting residents' interests and aspirations, beyond housing tenure and financial security (Campbell, 2014; Limbumba, 2010).

3. Self-Building and Swahili Houses in Mwananyamala and Tandale

Mwananyamala and Tandale are traditional, predominantly low-income neighborhoods adjacent to downtown Dar es Salaam, originally built in the 1960s and 1970s. Residents from both areas benefit from their central location, proximity to jobs downtown, and easy access to large open markets where fruits, vegetables, and household goods are easily accessible and affordable (Izar & Limbumba, 2021). Swahili houses constitute nearly all self-built homes. In 2018, Mwananyamala's population was 67,755 inhabitants and Tandale's 73,412 inhabitants (Kinondoni Municipal Council, 2018).

Historically, these neighborhoods have expanded through an informal system of commercialization of land and property, although with variations. As a neighborhood that the central government planned in the 1960s, Mwananyamala has an orthogonal street network and a number of social facilities such as schools, hospitals, and police stations. Both NHC-developed and self-built Swahili housing is distributed alongside commercial and residential buildings in a grid-like pattern and separated by setbacks. In Tandale, land was allocated informally and houses were built close together in a more compact form. The proximity to the river Ng'ombe created an organic pattern, without a clear grid (Figure 5).

Figure 5. Urban form and built-up areas of Mwananyamala (top) and Tandale (bottom). Source: Courtesy of Lerys Hendricks.

Both areas are subjected to seasonal flooding, given the absence of drainage infrastructure. However, Tandale's residents living by the Ng'ombe River experience the most flood-related housing damage.

Flexibility is a key feature of Swahili houses and neighborhood spaces, expressed by rapid transition from single to multifamily housing and from strictly residential to mixed commercial and residential use. The cyclical expansion and contraction of social and commercial activities occurs in and out of the street, from morning to evening, in a sea tide-like motion (Figures 6 and 7).

In Mwananyamala and Tandale, community-driven housing and neighborhood change do not seem chaotic or unpredictable but rather cyclical—able to accommodate small variations of use, function, and spatial organization, without clear-cut boundaries. In fact, housing flexibility there translates into highly localized, cyclical processes of functional and spatial transformation, with nuances. In Mwananyamala, most Swahili houses were adapted to accommodate small family-owned shops onto permanently converted verandas that transition the residential use in the interior and the courtyard. Daily variations in Mwananyamala occur mostly at the street level, according to changing flows of vehicular and pedestrian traffic. In the evenings, residents gather around the local food shops and open spaces for physical exercise, games, and play (Figure 8, horizontal lineup). In Tandale, daily changes happen at the household level. The verandas function as commercial stalls, mostly for food, in the morning and early evening, and as family space in the afternoon and night. These shifting functions also expand into the street, with more intense commercial activities in the morning and social gatherings in the evening (Figure 8, vertical lineup).

These daily cyclical changes happen against the backdrop of more permanent housing transformations, as well as ruptures and even erasures of the self-built fabric of both neighborhoods. In Mwananyamala, some renovations have maintained the spatiality and multifunctionality of the Swahili house. There is also an influx of an economically well-off population moving into new homes built after the demolition of old Swahili houses (Figure 9).

Figure 6. Trees and tree shades generate congregation; front verandas have shifting functions and boundaries. Source: Courtesy of Beatrice Mahagama and Leticia George.

Figure 7. Distinct spatial qualities of Swahili houses: A row of houses in Mwananyamala (left) and a courtyard in Tandale (right). Source: Courtesy of Beatrice Mahagama and Leticia George.

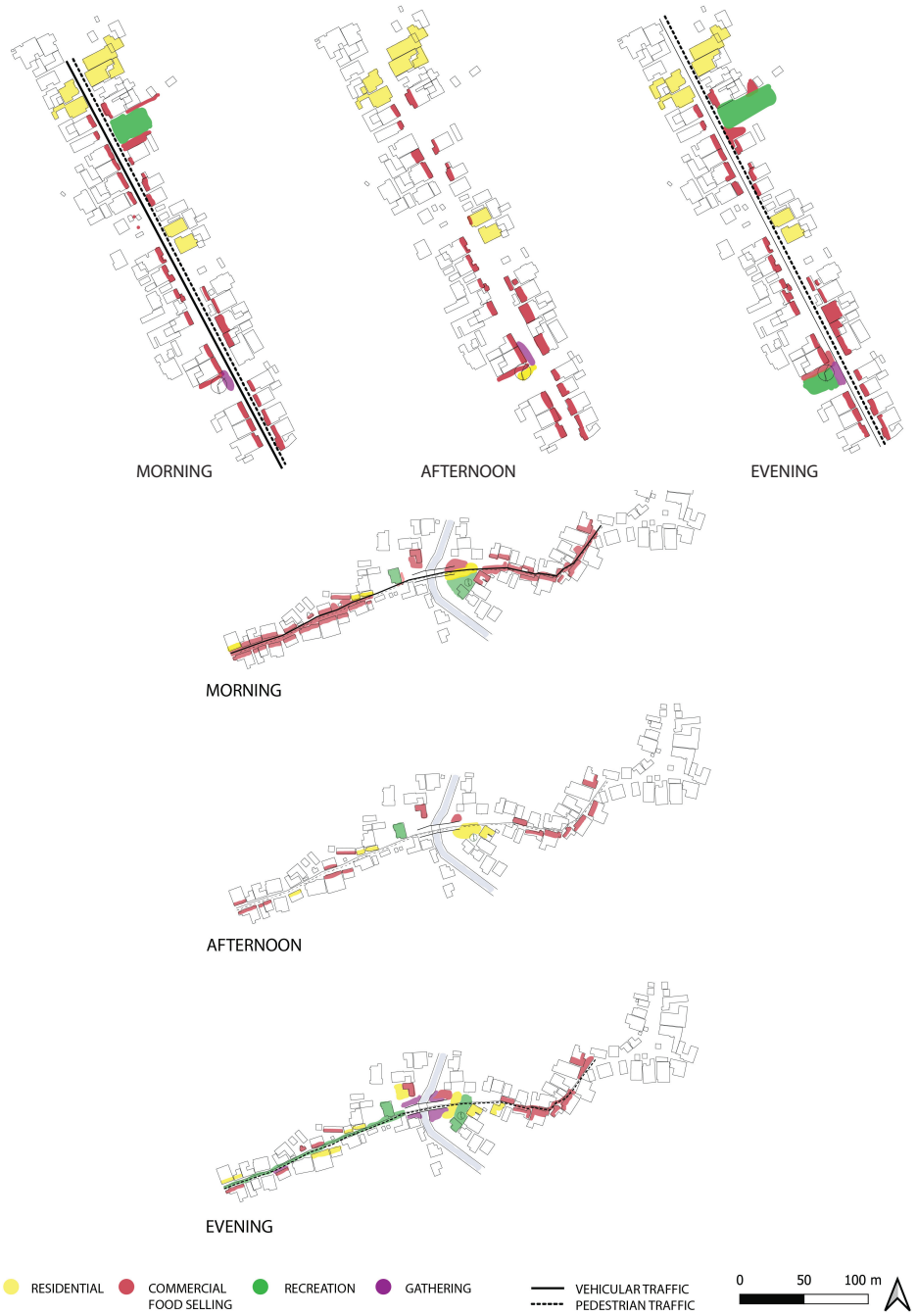

Figure 8. Daily functions, activities, and changes at a typical street in Mwananyamala (horizontal lineup) and Tandale (vertical lineup). Source: Courtesy of Lerys Hendricks.

These single-family homes are a different housing typology, detached from the neighboring houses and separated from the street by high walls. The long-time residents, while appreciating their lifestyle, also admire the new houses. During an interview, a resident of Mwananyamala shared that "when they get a chance, they will do everything in their power to make their house look modern and nice."

In Tandale, the commercial use of the Swahili homes is more intense. There is a greater presence of street vendors, due to the proximity to the open market. Housing maintenance is less in comparison to Mwananyamala. Close to the Ng'ombe River, the layout and condition of the Swahili homes were once unique. Houses were more spread out; the verandas overlooked the riverbank and natural open spaces. However, this area is currently experiencing abrupt change (Figures 10, 11, and 12). Houses are damaged by the occurrence of seasonal floods, which have been increasing in intensity as urbanization has become more widespread. The channeling of the river through the World Bank-funded Dar es Salaam Metropolitan Development Project represents a

Figure 9. Renovation (left) and conversion of a Swahili house into higher-income, single-family homes (right).

Figure 10. Damaged Swahili houses in Tandale by Ng'ombe River. Source: Courtesy of Beatrice Mahagama and Leticia George.

Figure 11. The former sandbank.

Figure 12. Large-scale infrastructure work at the Ng'ombe River. Source: Courtesy of Beatrice Mahagama and Leticia George.

type of transformation that the residents are not used to. Given the absence of community consultations, except to obtain consent to relocation, residents have limited input on what the projects will look like.

4. Residents' and Builders' Experience With Self-Building

Interview data corroborates the importance of land affordability and government tolerance of informal occupation for incremental housing construction, as Sanga and Lucian (2016) and Sheuya (2007) previously indicated. The residents of Mwananyamala and Tandale who have built their homes, or moved into houses that their parents built, demonstrate a strong feeling of belonging to the territory, described as a feeling of emplacement. Invariably, they express a desire to stay in their neighborhoods in the long term, close to their roots. Such a feeling of emplacement goes beyond discontent with, for example, poor drainage infrastructure. Similarly, residents express their desire to stay in their neighborhood, despite discontent with a lack of state support for addressing neighborhood problems like flood damage. In fact, not even the expectation of economic gain, through a possible increase in the price of their houses and the possibility to commercialize them, affects their sense of belonging to their neighborhood and desire to remain there.

The next subsections describe residents' perceptions towards homebuilding, homeownership, and their lives in Mwananyamala and Tandale. The analysis uses interview quotes to validate residents' "deep local knowledge" (Streule et al., 2020) about the production of their homes, neighborhoods, and livelihoods. Residents' repertoire of action (Rubin, 2021) simultaneously draws from and reinforces incrementality and affordability, contributing to feelings of appropriation and emplacement, as Streule et al. (2020) and Caldeira (2017) have also observed.

The interviews also highlight the tensions caused by the reluctance of district and national government actors to involve local residents in decisions about large-scale road and flood prevention infrastructure projects. These projects are crossing through the neighborhood and threatening to erase the incrementally built, popular, urban, and social fabrics.

4.1. Incrementality and Emplacement

Agnes lives at a house in Mwananyamala that her husband inherited from his parents, on a plot allocated by the government. As it was customary, Agnes' in-laws hired a local mason to build a small house, enough for the family to live in. Then, they built mud-and-pole shelters outside to be rented out. With the rental income, they gradually substituted the mud-and-pole rooms with brick-and-mortar ones. They also expanded their own house. Agnes is now a widow. Her husband was an only child, so she inherited the entire house, which she now shares with one of her own children and that child's family. She also has nine tenants. Agnes considers that her house "has a lot of meaning because this is where I have lived together with my family, without paying rent." While she would like for some improvements to happen, for example for roads to be repaved and drainage infrastructure to be developed, she has no plans to move out of the neighborhood.

Stella was born in Mwananyamala, in the house that she shares today with other family members as well as tenants. Her parents built the house incrementally in the late 1960s:

> My father was a trader, he bought foods and crops from the market and sold them to people in his small shop. Mama was a housewife. She also made rice cakes and sold them at the veranda…we still use the veranda for commercial activities. Our mother made rice cakes and so do we.

The money that her parents saved from their work paid for house construction, "first a house made of mud-and-pole, and then we built it in brick. My father did not know how to do construction, so he contracted a mason." When asked about housing maintenance, Stella explained: "We use the rent we collect so the house takes care of itself," a strong reference to the self-sustaining system that the Swahili houses provide (Sheuya, 2007), particularly to their owners. When further asked about the meaning of her house to her, she replied that "this house, apart from providing shelter for me and my family, also gives me some respect as an owner." Likewise, Stella does not want to move out of the neighborhood. Rather, she would like to "renovate my house, to make it modern. If I get the money, this is what I want to do, to make my house modern, fully renovated."

A resident of Tandale, Samia remembers how her parents built a mud shelter for them to live in. Then, as the structure started to fall apart, they contracted a mason to build a house. Samia values her house for the memories that she has, growing up there with her family, and for the security that ownership represents to her, as she does not have to pay for rent. She feels that her house is a family asset, not to be sold out but rather to be passed on to her children, nieces, and nephews: "What we inherit, we don't sell, that brings us problems," she explained during an interview.

Omari built his Swahili house in Tandale over the course of a decade. In 1975, he bought a plot close to the Ng'ombe River, moving out of the Magomeni neighborhood. Omari found Tandale to be quiet and the land cheap. He paid 200 Tanzanian shillings (TSH) for his plot in 1975, the equivalent to 65,850 TSH in 2021, or 28.6 US dollars. It took him a year of savings to buy the plot, and another year to build the first room. He used his own savings, as he did not have any support from the government or non-governmental institutions, and built the home himself. Once complete, there were six families and a total of 23 people living at Omari's house. The rental income supported his family and allowed for the incremental housing development to continue. Lately, seasonal flooding and flood damage have destroyed part of Omari's house, leading to the loss of renters and rental income, and compromising his livelihood. A senior and unemployed, Omari now relies on support from his children who grew up in Tandale and today live in other neighborhoods in Dar es Salaam.

Alphonse moved into Tandale as a tenant, renting a room in a Swahili house. After a few years, his landlord's brother sold him a piece of land where he built his house:

> I started with two bedrooms, which my wife and five children used. Then I added a third one, which is a shop now, and then later I continued with the area in front of the house. I was building very slowly, depending on [the business at] my shop. When I got a little extra money, I would buy two bags of cement and blocks, and call the mason.

Similar to his neighbors, Alphonse values owning his house:

> It is very important to me because, first of all, I get to be trusted by society. [People see] that this person has his own home, that anytime you can reach him, and even if you can't reach him, you can find someone who can help you reach him [because he has a fixed address]. So, to have a house that people know about, honestly, is something that makes you feel respected and trusted by many.

Moreover, he does not plan to move out of Tandale, even though he is affected by seasonal flooding: "We have a lot of problems with flooding, but I don't plan on leaving Tandale. I feel like it will be so hard for me to go start a life somewhere else."

4.2. On Emplacement and Erasure

Affordable land access, simplicity in the design, and flexibility in uses and functions have enabled building incrementally in Mwananyamala and Tandale, corroborating Sheuya (2007), who found that in the self-building of Swahili houses land counts for 30% of the overall cost and construction for the remaining 70%. Without any system of credit, incremental building is often the only way to afford home construction. According to Sanga and Lucian (2016), the longer the construction period, the less capital per year is spent on housing building and the larger a house, when finally completed, becomes.

In addition to the cost factor, the varied social processes that happen during incremental home building create specific materialities and spatialities, while also contributing to the feeling of emplacement that residents of Mwananyamala and Tandale express. In fact, emplacement in Mwananyamala and Tandale is rooted in the complex process of housing and neighborhood self-building, as illustrated by a comment from one of Alphonse's children:

> [After the end of Socialism] a lot of people from the countryside moved to Dar es Salaam to look for work and a place to live, so most of these Swahili houses became rentals—most of them have six bedrooms, no showers inside, no sitting rooms, no kitchen, just rooms, a corridor, and a backyard [where families spend time together]—that's how people live, this is the real Swahili culture. Another good thing about the Swahili houses is that, even though sometimes there are six different families, they all live as one family. They share everything: food, fruits, and every family will pay house rent. Sometimes when one room has a TV all people in the house will come to your room to watch movies. This will also make it easier for you to receive care when you're sick, or having a problem, they will assist you and take you to the hospital. This

> is the real Swahili life and I feel that I am special in this community.

Caldeira (2017) also argues that through the incremental construction of self-built houses, residents feel connected to their homes and neighborhoods—never fully finished, but always improving. However, in contested self-built territories, emplacement alone may not prevent the erasure of incrementally self-built structures and spaces, especially when top-down policy and development decisions are set in place. This can be observed in Tandale, with the development of the Dar es Salaam Metropolitan Development Project. The channeling of Ng'ombe River and construction of vehicular infrastructure represents a permanent, large-scale change that breaks away from the subtle, incremental logic of self-building, erasing existing and future cyclical transformations and spatialities.

Presently, there is no evidence that such erasures will lead to community displacement. However, it is evident that the mode of production represented by these large-scale developments differs from the incrementality of self-building that has, until recently, enabled the permanence of low-income residents. Omari expressed similar views during the interview. He believes that the flood prevention infrastructure will help improve the neighborhood. However, he is skeptical of whether he and his neighbors will benefit from such improvements. In fact, he believes that these transformations will drive property values up and possibly cause their displacement. Thus, Omari already foresees being un-homed.

4.3. Validation of Tacit Knowledge

Despite his willingness to stay in Tandale, during the interview, Alphonse also expressed frustration with policymakers, developers, and researchers regarding the little public attention that is given to the living conditions that he, his family, and his community experience every day. He feels that neither their lived experiences nor their tacit knowledge is validated. Moreover, he feels that there is no connection between the community and the governmental and development agencies that control the nature, scale, and timing of development projects going on in his neighborhood. Finally, he feels that developments will benefit the neighborhood, but not himself, his family, or his neighbors.

Alphonse's reference was specific to the way in which flooding has affected the neighborhood lately, and how the managers of the flood prevention project did little to interact with the community during the design stage when their experiences of small-scale drainage infrastructure could have informed the intervention:

> I wish that professionals in this country would do their job and stop playing politics. This neighborhood, for example, needs a lot of development and less political disputes. Even you, as researchers, you come and collect information but what will happen after that? How are we going to receive your feedback, or learn about how you will advise the government about this neighborhood? I think that the problem is that whatever research is done, and suggestions are given, the authorities just throw them inside their cabinets, that's the problem. You [as researchers] should raise your voices, tell some media company. If you just write this on [academic] papers, it won't be helpful.

Alphonse's call is for validation by outside actors of the community's tacit knowledge and experiences, in a way to overcome government's reluctance (Ndezi, 2009). His call is a reminder that research on everyday housing and neighborhood self-building must move beyond thick description and extract, from empirically grounded analysis, "realistically implementable principles that can inform more responsive [policy] approaches" (Huchzermeyer, 2021, p. 204).

5. Conclusions

This study is part of a larger research project on everyday housing and neighborhood self-building and transformation in Dar es Salaam, whose goal is to picture the city as a patchwork (Caldeira, 2017) of neighborhoods self-built by individuals "interested in producing urban spaces for themselves and their communities…generating not only material outcomes but also deep knowledge" (Streule et al., 2020, p. 2). This investigation also aims to challenge the reluctance of top-down policymakers to consider local knowledge and to inform more responsive approaches, in response to Alphonse's call.

This article seeks to contribute to an emerging literature on ordinary urban production and self-building in the Global South. The analysis of the Swahili house and its unfolding in Mwananyamala and Tandale emphasized the homeownership aspirations, practices, and trajectories of a predominantly low-income population as they "make their lives in the city" (McFarlane & Silver, 2017, p. 458). Based on the investigation, the article proposes that the self-building of Swahili homes and neighborhoods in Dar es Salaam represents a form of popular urbanization (Streule et al., 2020) that enables residents to produce and appropriate their territories through highly localized, cyclical processes of functional and spatial transformation.

Self-building starts from the house, from the aspiration of home and dwelling (Andreasen et al., 2017), and spills over the neighborhood through cyclical everyday activities and social and spatial organizations. As the quotes from the interviews described, being at home creates feelings of ontological security (Saunders, 1989), even as there is no single definition for home (Moore, 2000). Instead, a long temporality, often over a decade, for housing unit development to be fully built through a step-by-step process, supported by neighborhood activities that guarantee a livelihood, sets the stage for

affordable and incremental forms and processes of home building, as Caldeira (2017) proposes. The numerous cycles of housing construction, room-by-room, happen according to family savings (Sanga & Lucian, 2016), enabling the emplacement of low-income dwellers. The affordability of un-serviced land and construction materials bought in small quantities and the possibility of building incrementally—according to design and construction choices, family arrangements, and institutional responses—simultaneously make possible and constitute the self-building of Swahili houses and neighborhood spaces in areas such as Mwananyamala and Tandale.

Homeownership through self-building adds security, through tenure, for the local residents: They appreciate the stability of having a shelter, particularly during times of hardship. Affordability is a key aspiration associated with homeownership (Andreasen et al., 2017) for the residents of Swahili houses in Mwananyamala and Tandale. However, these residents are not searching for more peripheral forms of housing in the pursuit of affordability; rather, they aspire to continued emplacement in their central, self-built neighborhoods. Homeownership is also valued as a symbol of social worth, as Nguluma (2003) described, but not associated, in this context, with economic wealth as Mercer (2017) suggested in the context of the more recent and peripheral self-built neighborhoods of Dar es Salaam.

Experiences with self-building and homeownership instill in the residents a sense of belonging and emplacement, as the interview quotes and spatial analysis of everyday lives illustrated. However, groundless and fast-paced, state-led infrastructure projects can quickly change self-built landscapes, leading to the erasure of subtle spatial and social structures. These fast-paced processes abruptly change spaces that were gradually self-built, first, by keeping local residents uninformed about upcoming projects and therefore excluded from negotiation, and, second, by causing feelings of being unhomed (Huchzermeyer, 2021), either symbolically or literally, through displacement from homes and social and economic activities.

By examining the unfolding of self-built Swahili houses in Mwananyamala and inquiring about residents' perceptions of emplacement and appropriation through field visits and interviews, this study represents a unique contribution of residents' lived experiences and deep knowledge of everyday urban production in Dar es Salaam. The limited number of interviews and the reliance on contacts that the research team already had in the neighborhood might represent a limitation to the study's findings. However, data from 18 months of field visits allows for triangulation and for increasing the validity of the research findings and analysis.

Studies of everyday urbanization, dwelling, and self-building shift the focus away from community and state partnerships and towards community-based initiatives and practices (Meth et al., 2021). This knowledge is relevant and important to challenge the persisting top-down policy approaches that dismiss local knowledge and threaten communities with erasure and situations of un-homing. Future research in Dar es Salaam should continue to look comparatively at the unfolding of self-building in other centrally located neighborhoods similar to Mwananyamala and Tandale, as well as the more recent, peripheral developments.

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Conflict of Interests

The author declares no conflict of interests.

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Article

The Impact of Post-War Transnational Consultants in Housing and Planning Development Narratives: The Case of Otto Koenigsberger

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Abstract
In the aftermath of the Second World War, the progressive dismantling of previous power-nations and the independence of many countries have contributed to new political, economic, and technical processes and highly mobile flows of people and ideas. Yet, research has overlooked knowledge channels outside of mainstream geopolitical frameworks. In particular, the role and power of international aid organizations, their development assistance programs, and the impact of the emergent new actor of this phenomenon—the consultant—in housing and planning narratives deserve to be examined. This article proposes to do so by exploring the historical contribution of Otto Koenigsberger (1908–1999) as part of the first generation of CIAM-UN experts. His view of "housing as a problem of numbers" engaged him on a lifelong pedagogical and transnational political project of decolonizing architectural education and the redefinition of both the profession and the professional. By emphasizing the importance of (a new) training, it raises questions on what sort of knowledge housing may require, by whom knowledge competencies may be conveyed, and how that knowledge should be instrumentalized. The article draws on extensive archival research, findings on the protagonists and institutions involved, and the author's interviews with key players that shed light on evolving conceptualizations of "development," built environment, educational programs, and knowledge production. Ultimately, examining the terminology underlying the expertise delivered through consultancy reports vis à vis the education and skills needs contributes to a better understanding of the foundations of housing as a problematized field of architectural education.

Keywords
architectural education; consultancy; housing missions; John Lloyd; KNUST; Otto Koenigsberger; United Nations

Issue
This article is part of the issue "The Terms of Dwelling: Re-Theorizing Housing Through Architecture" edited by Yael Allweil (Technion—Israel Institute of Technology) and Gaia Caramellino (Politecnico di Milano).

1. Introduction

Recent scholarship has focused on foreign aid and foreign diplomacy as agents of construction. The current research aims to reflect on consultancy as a new modality of knowledge exchange through technical assistance and the nature of this emerging professional—the consultant—the context of their production, modes of circulation, and actual impact. The UN report on housing, which was produced in 1954 by Charles Abrams, Otto Koenigsberger, and Vladimir Bodiansky at the request of the government of the Gold Coast (as Ghana was then known), is of particular importance in this context because in one of its annexes it contains one of the first documents, within the framework of technical assistance, putting forward a proposal on specialized training. This constituted a theoretical model that linked education, the built environment, and development pursued by Koenigsberger—one of the central figures and a founding member of the Department of Tropical Architecture (DTA) established at the Architectural Association (AA) in London in 1954, and which was incorporated into the University College of London as the Development Planning Unit in 1971. Examining this particular critical reasoning and how Koenigsberger enhanced the educational development of the DTA

training programs as both a response to the housing problem and an applied theory of his early consultancy projects, particularly that of the first school of architecture in Ghana, which was founded largely due to his efforts, after his experience in India (1939–1951), offers an insight into discussions on development theories based on the empowerment of the masses through education and a de-Westernization of knowledge systems. The hypothesis is that Koenigsberger sought to engineer a certain kind of expert, following his view of the role, skills, services, and instruments in which this new professional should be trained. His innovative approach underpinned an *ante litteram* political agenda as an educator and adviser on national regional planning, urban development, sustainability, and climate design strategies, where higher education and research played a fundamental role, emphasizing the distinction between education *for* the tropics as opposed to education and research *from*, *with*, and *for* the tropics.

In fact, as soon as the UN was formed and the right to adequate housing included in the Universal Declaration on Human Rights, education began to be discussed and foreign aid advocated as something beyond material resources and architectural and planning expertise. The UN quickly established itself as an important laboratory and networking hub for Americans, CIAM members worldwide, and experts from emerging nations. In December 1946, the General Assembly called for an international exchange of technical experience and expertise on housing as part of a larger agenda described by Julian Huxley, a founding member of the Political and Economical Planning Group (PEP), as helping the "emergence of a single world culture" (Shoshkes, 2013, p. 97). The task was assigned to the Economic and Social Council and, a year later, pushed by Jacob Crane, assistant to the US Housing and Home Finance Agency, a program on housing, building, and town planning was established within the Department of Social Affairs to create an international exchange of information for housing and planning issues (Harris, 1998, p. 176). The program evolved into the UN's Expanded Program of Technical Assistance in 1949. The Department of Social Affairs organized a reconnaissance mission of experts on low-cost rural housing in South and South-East Asia, part of earlier efforts to compile knowledge and strengthen networks. The team, led by Crane, included three other international experts: Robert Gardner-Medwin, Jacobus Thijsse, and Antonio Kayanan. Between November 1950 and January 1951, they visited India, Pakistan, Thailand, the Federation of Malaya, and Singapore. The mission revealed many alternative and unknown research stations but also highlighted the lack of skilled personnel and the need for university-trained planners (Chang, 2016, pp. 167–169), a hot topic in the Anglo-American world during the previous three decades. Several chapters of the report were devoted to cooperation, education, and the important role the UN could play in providing technical assistance for the creation of "professional training facilities to address the widespread shortage of skilled personnel" (Shoshkes, 2018, p. 71; see Gardner-Medwin, 1952, p. 295; Koenigsberger, 1952c, p. 20).

2. Housing as a Problem of Numbers

Koenigsberger, a German trained as an architect at the Technische Hochschule Berlin (1927–1931), at the time of the reconnaissance mission director of housing for the Indian government's Ministry of Health in New Delhi, was already part of this emergent network crossing the path of a British Empire struggling for new ways to implement its political and economic power. He also kept ties with the American and European avant-garde, and the new machinery of foreign aid (Lee & James-Chakraborty, 2012; Liscombe, 2006). He built on many fronts over time: political, professional, scientific, and academic. During his stay in India, he became acquainted with foreign aid diplomacy and US international relations through actors such as Albert Mayer—who who worked in India as welworked in India as well, first as an engineer for the US Army during the Second World War, then as a planner and consultant—and with the ideas of his close associates about the social inadequacies of modern housing. He also exchanged knowledge and expertise with international development agencies: Crane contacted Koenigsberger and others from 22 countries in 1949 before his departure to the first UN housing mission (Harris, 1998, p. 171), and J. Tyrwhitt consulted him ahead of the 1954 Housing Exhibition at the UN Seminar on Housing and Community Improvement in Asia and the Far East in New Delhi (Shoshkes, 2013, p. 155; UN Technical Assistance Administration, 1955). Furthermore, Koenigsberger was actively involved in numerous international collaborations, intellectual circles such as MARG, the Indian "Modern Architectural Research Group" (Lee & James-Chakraborty, 2012), and professional institutions. He engaged with academe from his first year in India, lecturing at Bangalore University, Mysore Engineering College, and the J. J. College in Mumbai, where he advocated the importance of scientific research in architecture as the only way to progress (Koenigsberger, 1940). Koenigsberger was a regular contributor to publications, which he used to discuss city planning (Koenigsberger, 1946, 1949, 1953). At the same time, he maintained ties with the avant-garde Swiss and British faction of CIAM through his relations with Le Corbusier, Pierre Jeanneret, Maxwell Fry, and Jane Drew, who were working on the Chandigarh project (Liscombe, 2006, p. 159). He soon began getting international government consultancy commissions, the first in 1950 as a planning adviser to the government of Burma (Koenigsberger, 1952b).

When Koenigsberger moved to the London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine, in 1952, with a senior research fellowship to prepare a book on tropical architecture, he entered into correspondence with architects, planners, and research stations worldwide

and regularly attended conferences on the subject. At the XXI International Congress for Housing and Town Planning in Lisbon (1952), the first of the International Federation for Housing and Town Planning to have housing in tropical countries as a main subject, which brought together prominent figures (da Costa, 1952; Spielvogel, 1953), Koenigsberger used the opportunity to share his research and invite participants with "interesting material to contribute," to contact him (Koenigsberger, 1952a, p. 1). He acted as an adviser on housing matters to the Ross Institute of Tropical Hygiene and collaborated with the PEP Group on "underdeveloped countries."

He began questioning European housing and town planning teachings while in India as the government architect and planning officer in the Government of Mysore (1939–1948), and then in Delhi (1948–1951) when faced with the realities of rapidly-growing cities and the situation of migrants and squatters, he might have witnessed also during his three-year stay in Egypt (1933–1936; Lee et al., 2015, pp. 9, 17). The connection with professional, educational, and research institutions was deeply rooted in his early experiences that took place almost one decade before the first UN housing mission. He began to address the need to train qualified personnel as a prerequisite for the improvement of housing conditions in the early 1940s, advocating—as part of an immediate plan of action—the foundation of an all-India town planning institute and an institute for tropical housing that would run along similar lines to the Institute for Tropical Medicine and strengthen and expand scientific, professional, and educational organizations (Figure 1; Koenigsberger, 1943, pp. 6, 8). During the series of lectures he delivered from 1940 to 1946, he proposed creating an institute for building research in Mysore, which would produce specific investigation instead of importing knowledge from other countries (Koenigsberger, 1940). It was at this time that he started to construct a narrative on decolonizing architecture from western countries. Forging the development of a new scientific architecture was dependent on the development and expansion of the knowledge and expertise needed, which should incorporate the study of regular people—with implications for the democratization of the discipline—improving knowledge about local raw materials and constructions and sociological studies (including local traditions of government, administration, and methods of running communal affairs, daily traditions, family grouping systems, and ways of living) in connection with micro-climatography to construct new town planning systems—a theme that would become central for him. For Koenigsberger, most of what was being done worldwide was insufficient, since "pilot projects and model villages and housing estates have provided interesting experience" yet "touched only a small fringe of the problem," with it being "essential to proceed from housing projects to nationwide, comprehensive housing policies" to face unprecedented problems (Koenigsberger, 1952a, p. 2). In one of his lectures he stated:

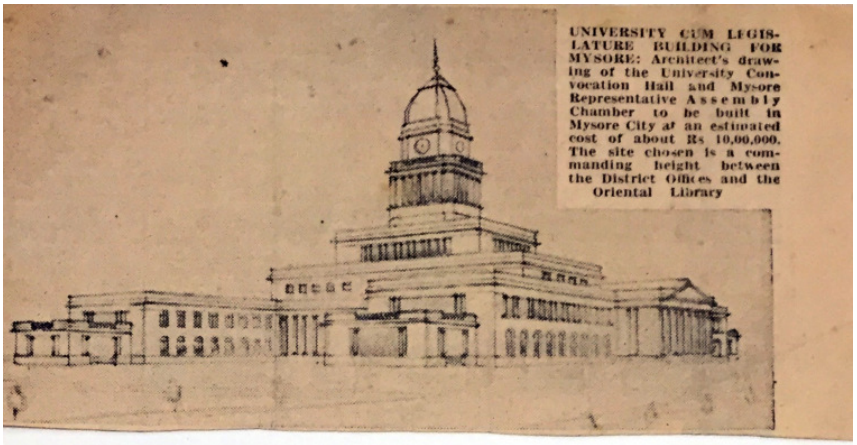
> If someone would ask me whether he should go to the West to study the Architecture of its big cities, I certainly should reply…"Yes, go there and learn how things should not be done"…because many mistakes had been done and therefore not worth copying, on the contrary he should learn from their failures, creating a truly "national style," [i.e.] of their own time and their people. (Koenigsberger, 1941, p. 2)

But it was not until his Burma report a decade later that he expanded his ideas about how research and education were of decisive importance, as the housing problem could not be overcome without solving the issue of skilled personnel (Koenigsberger, 1952b). The chapters devoted to it also focused on the importance of cooperation, particularly in providing technical assistance for the creation of professional training facilities in South and South-East Asia, in line with the recommendations of Crane's team to the UN "as a cyclostyled pamphlet" (Koenigsberger, 1952c, p. 17). In his words, "planning problems of underdeveloped regions are problems of numbers" (Koenigsberger, 1952d, p. 95).

3. Ghana: The Theoretical Model

It was precisely Koenigsberger's knowledge of numbers and his extensive contacts that secured him an invitation to join the Volta River Project Preparatory Commission (Sir William Halcrow & Partners & MMICE, 1956) as a housing and town planning consultant (Koenigsberger, 1955c). The projected hydroelectric dam in Southwestern Gold Coast was expected to have a major environmental and social impact and displace many people, a problem similar to that which Koenigsberger experienced following the partition of India and the displacement of around 14 million people. His field survey equipped him with a knowledge of the country and an acquaintance with individuals and government officials (Koenigsberger, 1954), which was very important for the UN Technical Assistance Administration's housing mission. The country was undergoing other major infrastructure developments, including the port and rail terminals in Tema (Ghana) and the new towns that were required due to foreign investment in the country, which made housing policy critical (D'Auria & de Meulder, 2010; Jackson et al., 2019).

Prior to leaving for Ghana, he noted in a letter sent with the submission of the main outcome of his Halley Stewart fellowship (a handbook on tropical housing with chapters on planning and the construction of houses in tropical countries) that its structure should be expanded to address issues that, although assembled, needed to be worked out: climate, materials, finance, and education (Koenigsberger, 1954, para. 2). This mission was decisive in further elaborating his reasonings on education, which had been left open. Those chapters were never written, and the handbook was never published. Nevertheless, its draft was used by students and staff from the beginning



UNIVERSITY CUM LEGISLATURE BUILDING FOR MYSORE: Architect's drawing of the University Convocation Hall and Mysore Representative Assembly Chamber to be built in Mysore City at an estimated cost of about Rs 10,00,000. The site chosen is a commanding height between the District Offices and the Oriental Library

P.H

HEALTH SURVEY AND DEVELOPMENT COMMITTEE

MEMORANDUM ON TOWN PLANNING AND HOUSING.

BY

O. H. KOENIGSBERGER, Dr.-Engr.,

Government Architect and Secretary, Mysore Town Planning Committee.

INTRODUCTION:
The need for planning.
TOWN PLANNING:
I. The Survey.
II. The Policy.
III. The Plan and the Programme.
IV. The Legislation.
V. The Plan in Practice.
HOUSING:
The Prohibitive Method.
The Educational Method.
The Active Method.
The Surgical Method.
COUNTRY PLANNING:
Forming of Units.
SUGGESTIONS FOR IMMEDIATE ACTION.

The population of India is growing rapidly. The country goes through a process of industrialisation. This results in urbanisation, town and cities grow rapidly, and the percentage of urban population is increasing.

India has the advantage that this process has not gone as far as in England, Belgium, some parts of the United States, and in other industrial countries. It is therefore still possible to regulate and direct this development and to prevent the wild and disorderly growth of towns and cities which is responsible for a good part of the physical, social and psychic diseases of the Western World.

Quick action is necessary. The cities of India cannot wait. They continue to grow. It will be too late to guide their development unless plans are made now alone, and put into force at once. Some of the larger cities show already slums and other signs of the diseased state which follows irregulated and unplanned development. The necessity for early action cannot be emphasised enough.

It is not necessary to dilate in this connection on the importance of planned community life for the health and the well being of the citizens nor on the bad effects which unsufficient housing, overcrowding, insanitation, noise and dirt are bound to have on the social life of the country.

There is hardly one important disease which cannot be favourably or unfavourably influenced by good or bad planning and housing:

Malaria is closely related to the selection of housing and working sites and their vicinity to water spreads, jungle, and irrigation areas. Typhoid, dysentery and cholera are depending on the more or less efficient planning of water supply, sewage disposal and marketing. Plague is in its occurrence closely related to slums and badly built grain stores and shops. Last but not least tuberculosis depends to a much greater extent on housing and congested living space than on climatic or even food conditions.

The future industrialisation of the country is bound to make all problems of this kind more urgent. Town planning, housing, and the wider subject of country planning will have to be taken up systematically if we want to save India from repeating the mistakes of the West.

TOWN PLANNING.

All planning work and particularly town planning consists of five clearly defined stages:

I. The Survey.
II. The Policy.
III. Plans and Programmes.
IV. The Legislation.
V. The Plan in Practice.

Figure 1. Otto Koenigsberger's Health Survey and Development Committee Memorandum on Town Planning and Housing, with drawing of a university building for Mysore. Source: Koenigsberger (1942).

of the course in tropical architecture in 1953. It was probably, as he himself acknowledged, the use that was made of it that "gradually developed and changed in the 'give and take' between teachers and students" over 20 years (Koenigsberger et al., 1973, p. xiii), which is revealing of what became his lifelong pedagogical and political transnational project to address development and the housing problem. The process that resulted from it, a publication with contributions from "some twenty to thirty architects, planners and builders from as many different countries assembled every year for a period of joint studies" (Koenigsberger et al., 1973, p. xiii), highlights the importance given to the production of new local knowledge over the years.

The team of experts gathered by the Yugoslavian architect Ernest Weissmann, who was at the time head of the UN-HTCP in the UN Social Affairs Division (Erdim, 2016, p. 23), included Koenigsberger, Charles Abrams (1902–1970), and Vladimir Bodiansky (1894–1966). Together they embodied the ideal of international cooperation on specific UN tasks. Abrams was a Polish-born American lawyer and one of the leading authorities in housing in the US, having helped draft the first New York City Housing Authority's housing legislation (Finch, 1975) and taught housing policies at MIT (Vale, 2018, p. 51). Bodiansky was a Russian-French engineer who had worked with the French Government on roads in the Congo, planning and building in Morocco, and dealt with mass migration issues from rural areas. In 1945, alongside Le Corbusier, he helped found ATBAT-Afrique, the African branch of an interdisciplinary research group of architects and engineers engaged in post-war reconstruction in Europe (Frapier, 2012).

The mission began in October 1954, and they visited almost every district in the territory. The report was submitted in 1956, complete with introductory studies into the country's rural and urban growth and the impact of the transitional political, economic, social, and land context. It defined targets and needs and covered various topics upon which housing policies were dependent; all expanded on in appendices covering administration, finance, education, and construction. Appendix E was devoted to technical education and contained the main underlying strategy for the success of all the others in the mid- to long-term: "The best housing policy and the most careful construction program" could not be "put into effect unless the country had the necessary technical personnel" (Abrams et al., 1956, p. 83). However, the mission called for a new profession of competent "general practitioners" along the lines of medicine, with generalists and specialists that were justified due to the shortage of qualified personnel. They should be professionals—people who know enough about planning, architecture, quantity surveying and accounting, municipal engineering, administration, and law—able to put their projects into practice. They should have the knowledge of an entire western team in the field of housing in a country in which it would take years to train the first professionals (Koenigsberger, 1955b, p. 29). The Appendix recommended the immediate establishment of a School of Community Planners and the appointment of an expert committee to develop a detailed syllabus and make the necessary arrangements to create a course as quickly as possible since there were none in the country.

While a housing adviser in Ghana, and before the publication of the first report, Koenigsberger began lobbying for the new school (Koenigsberger, 1955a). By November 1955, he had put together a team to define the course content and structure—Professor J. A. L. Matheson from Manchester and Gardner-Medwin, who was a former member of the first UN Mission of Experts and at the time professor of architecture and civic design at Liverpool University (Koenigsberger, 1955b)—and have the principal of the Kumasi College of Technology (later Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology at Kumasi [KNUST]) interested in opening it in their campus (Duncanson, 1955). The committee met in Kumasi and produced the proposal included in Koenigsberger's second report, *Housing in Ghana Part 2* (Koenigsberger, 1956), who had returned to the country as housing coordinator for seven months following the recommendations of the original mission.

There was resistance to the "general practitioner" concept at the institutional level. It was considered over-optimistic regarding the time factor and the proposed "common ground" (Chitty, 1957). It soon became clear that establishing a new school would be determined politically by UK professional standards, retaining a dependency on the Royal Institute of British Architects. Consequently, they proposed a composite four-year course split in the last three years, leading to different degrees: architecture, town planning, and building technologies (Gardner-Medwin & Matheson, 1956, p. 26). The School of Architecture, Town Planning and Building opened at KNUST in 1958 (Figure 2) and the following year the Building Research Group was established in cooperation with the Buildings and Roads Research Institute under a mutual technical assistance scheme between the governments of Ghana and the UK. The agreement was based on the assumption that the latter would provide the former with experts to fill specialist, technical, and professional roles of a temporary or advisory nature, while the former would provide local research. Funded scientific research had been common practice within the British Empire since the 19th century and was regarded to be an instrument of "economic development." Consequently, it was perpetuated by international agencies in the post-Second World War period (Chang, 2016, pp. 174–175). Nevertheless, the ideological agenda of offering technical assistance to recently independent countries shifting from exporting experts to advising existing agencies in tackling the education problem by establishing local higher education courses and addressing the housing issues over a longer term was already underway, albeit to a different standard.

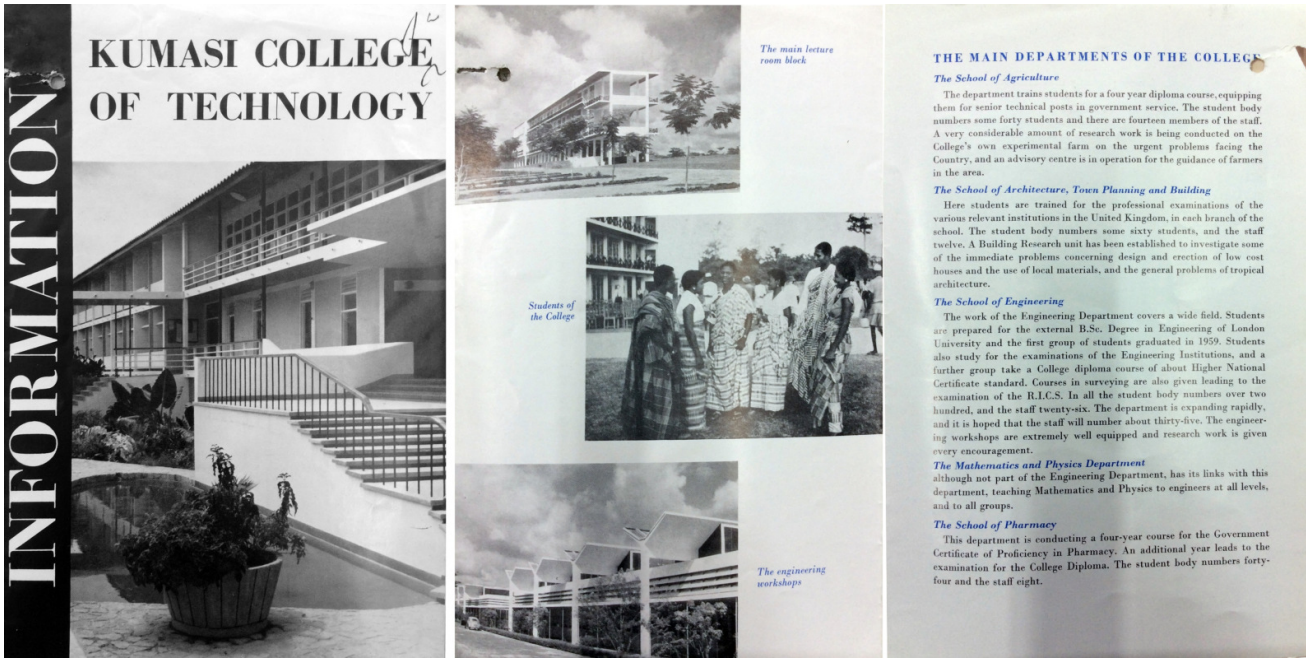


Figure 2. Kumasi College of Technology leaflet. Source: "Information: Kumasi College of Technology" [ca. 1959].

4. Department of Tropical Architecture: Applied Research

Just before the UN mission in Ghana, and following the 1953 London conference on tropical architecture, where the subject of proper education for those working in the tropics acquired special prominence, Koenigsberger, together with George Atkinson, the colonial liaison officer of the building research station, and Leo de Syllas, who had worked with Gardner Medwin in the West Indies (Jackson, 2013, p. 177), got involved in establishing a tropical architecture course with the negotiations for setting it up going on for almost a year until it opened at the AA in 1954–1955. Led by Maxwell Fry during its first three years, Koenigsberger took over on his return to London in 1957 (Wakely, 1983, p. 338). The history of the department has been portrayed as a direct translation of its name, underlying a techno-scientific approach to the architect working in the "tropics," which is paradigmatic of 20th-century scholarship on architecture and urbanism in the "Global South": a western byproduct and discourse with a global impact adapted to its local conditions. However, for over a decade, he used the AA as his headquarters for pedagogical experiences, deviating from mainstream architectural culture, discourses, and agendas at the time. Koenigsberger's critical thinking expanded the focus of the curriculum to incorporate the subjects he had been advocating as essential: sociology, geography, economics, transport and communication, land, and housing policies (Figure 3).

As expressed in Koenigsberger's lectures in India, the aim was to function almost like a regional, collaborative, interdisciplinary research laboratory, working on each country's specificities. This was possible because, for two


LEARNING TO BUILD FOR the TROPICS

THE Architectural Association School of Architecture in London is probably the only school that was founded by students, is supported by former students, and is run with the co-operation of students. This unique arrangement has proved its value.

For over 110 years the School has maintained a leading position in the professional education of architects.

It is in keeping with this position that the "A.A."—as the School is known among its students and members—was the first to establish a course in tropical architecture.

The "A.A." created its post-graduate department of tropical architecture in 1953. The department runs six-month courses on the special problems of building in the tropics. These courses have helped to fill an urgent need.

Many tropical countries have no schools of architecture of their own; others have schools which are modelled on the pattern of the established colleges and professional institutions of the West.

Building for the West

Students from tropical countries can go to Europe or the United States and attend a school of architecture, but they will be taught mainly how to build for the social and climatic conditions of the West.

It is significant that it was an African student who first drew attention to this unsatisfactory state of affairs and helped to organise the first conference on tropical architecture which was held at University College, London, in 1953.

The Tropical Department of the "A.A." was founded shortly after this conference.

Originally it was intended mainly to provide training for British architects who planned to go out to the tropics, but it has developed into much more than that.

From all over the world

It has become a centre of studies in tropical architecture which is frequented by architects from all over the world, particularly by those who want to brush up their knowledge of design and bring themselves up to date with recent research in tropical living, building and planning.

Studies at the Tropical Department of the "A.A." cover a wide field. Teaching is geared to the principle that good architecture must be based on a thorough knowledge of the people for whom we build.

The course begins with lectures on applied physiology and studies of the effects of heat on the human body and mind.

The sun is enemy number one in the tropics, and becomes an important subject of study. Students learn to understand the movement and the effects of solar radiation, and the design of protective devices against it.

Control of insulation is connected with many other problems of climatology, and with the man-made climates of cities in the tropics.

Building materials

The course deals also with the laws governing the flow of heat through different building materials and components; with the effects of tropical conditions on building materials; with problems of public health and sanitation, and with termites and other pests.

Social and economic problems are as important for the architect in the tropics as technical and climate questions.

The tropical Department studies traditions of family life and social organisation, the economic problems of the rapidly developing countries of the tropics, questions of social change under the impact of modern technology and the influence of social changes on housing and planning problems in the tropics.

Questions of administration, housing management and the control of building standards are included in the course.

A great advantage of the London location of the School is that it forms a meeting place for students from all over the tropical world. Architects from the Philippines, Hong Kong, Viet-Nam, Singapore, Malaya, Thailand, Burma, Pakistan, India, Ceylon, Indonesia, Mauritius, Iran, Iraq, Israel, Egypt, Kenya, Tanganyika, Ghana, Nigeria, Protuguese Africa, The West Indies, South Africa, Rhodesia, and Central and South America meet under its auspices, and learn from each other as well as from their teachers.

Restricted admission

The admission to the course in tropical architecture is restricted to qualified architects. Lectures are open to anybody interested in the subject.

The number of applications is growing year by year, but restrictions of space make it necessary to limit the number of full-time students to 25.

It is hoped, however, that it will be possible gradually to develop and enlarge the course and to combine teaching with research in questions of design and building in the tropics.

The new Art School of Dacca in East Bengal, Pakistan, an example of the work of Mr. Musarul Islam, a former student of the Department of Tropical Architecture of the Architectural Association School of Architecture, in London.

A studio in the Architectural Association School of Architecture, in London, which has a Department of Tropical Architecture that deals with the special problems of building in the tropics. The department is frequented by architects from all over the world, particularly if they want to bring themselves up to date with recent research in tropical living, building and planning.

By Dr. O. H. Koenigsberger

Director of the Department of Tropical Architecture at the Architectural Association School, London

The Principal of the Architectural Association School of Architecture, in London, inspecting an exhibition of students' work. The school was the first to establish a course in tropical architecture; now, the Department of Tropical Architecture is frequented by architects from all over the world.

Figure 3. Press cutting emphasizing the expanded aim and scope of the course. Source: Koenigsberger [ca. 1959].

decades, through his diplomatic relationships and efforts, the DTA attracted students from more than 80 countries, each with different backgrounds and experiences, many of them mid-career professionals ("Architectural Association Students Register Book'', n.d.), with it becoming a space of encounter for many geographies and professionals (Figure 4). This encouraged dialectic discussions and enabled the construction of theoretical bridges between otherwise disconnected geopolitical territories, over time constructing a sophisticated body of knowledge and turning the department into a favored partner for international cooperation programs. The department's brochures from 1961 to 1968 indicated indicated the construction of a narrative not bound to a codified world view of unidirectional knowledge flows (Figure 5). Its changing name over the years (DTA from 1954 to 1961, Department of Tropical Studies from 1961 to 1968, and Department of Development and Tropical Studies from 1968 to 1971), dropping the word "architecture" in favour of "studies," reflected an evolving view of the discipline, the profession, and the professional.

The awareness of the need for mass training to respond to the demands for mass housing, first expressed in the Burma report and then more consistently in the UN report for Ghana, along with a recognition of the inadequacy of the western pyramid model of professions in the face of "the immediate and urgent needs of fast-growing cities" and the need for "professional armies with plenty of men," also had an impact on the department's goals, with a different approach to matters "of technical training for mass housing," which should be split into "training small housebuilders and the provision of an elite of architects to specialize in the provision of good patterns for use by house builders" (Koenigsberger, 1959, p. 6). Evolving with the needs of non-governmental and governmental organizations, Koenigsberger defined a non-Eurocentric agenda of transnational knowledge dissemination, relating public higher education in architecture and urban planning with development studies as an alternative to those for training decision-making elites in the US and Europe. The creation of experimental short or parallel courses, which resulted later in 1966 in the splitting of the course into different and autonomous specializations, among the most resilient being housing, teaching methods, and educational building, was consistent with an overall strategy of preparing future housing consultants, delivering proper training of future educators in their home countries, and designing the educational buildings almost as a metaphorical corollary of the development strategies.

Figure 4. Photograph of a group of students from the fourth session of the tropical architecture course. Source: "A group of students from the fourth session of the tropical architecture course" [ca. 1957–1958].

5. KNUST: Research "*From*, *With*, and *For*" the Tropics

Meanwhile, the housing shortage in Ghana was getting worse. In 1960, the Government requested advice through the UN Technical Assistance Administration on relating the need for qualified planners with other workforce requirements in its development process.

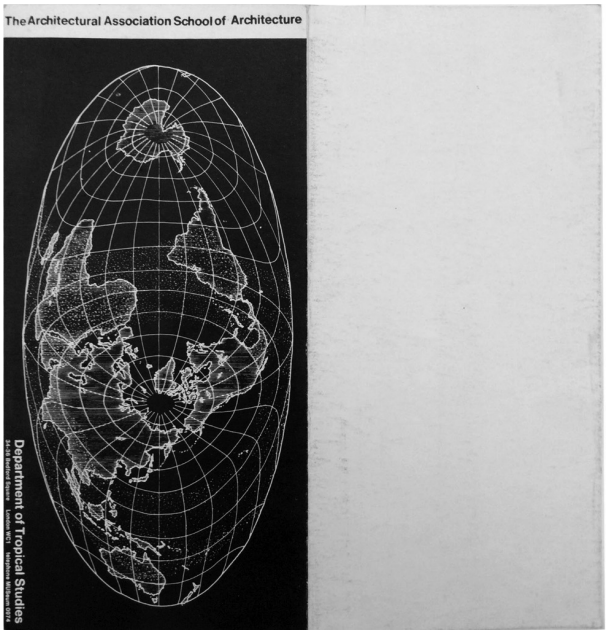


Figure 5. Department of Tropical Studies brochure. Source: "Department of Tropical Studies brochure" [ca. 1961–1968].

Professor Peter Oberlander from the University of British Columbia, on behalf of the Center for Housing, Building and Planning, recommended the establishment of an Institute of Community Planning attached to KNUST—an alternative to the existing Department of Town and Country Planning (Oberlander, 1962, p. 122), according to Weisseman's recommendations the year before for the establishment of special training centers for planning assistants in local development projects. In 1962, a UN mission on physical planning arrived in Ghana to work with the government to prepare a national development plan and found there were only 10 planning officers in the country—clearly not enough. A two-year postgraduate course in regional planning was proposed for the School of Architecture, Town Planning and Building in Kumasi, open only to selected graduates in economics, geography, civil and agricultural engineering, and architecture (Koenigsberger, 1979, pp. 149–154).

In 1963, the school situation was critical following an accreditation visit, and the university council considered closing it down. Koenigsberger persuaded them to give it another chance with support from the AA and the recently appointed director, William Allen—who was imprinting the recent architectural education policies in the school such as environmental studies and building science (Crinson & Lubbock, 1994, pp. 144–153; Zamarian, 2020, p. 123)—leading to an agreement being established between both schools. Koenigsbeger personally challenged John Lloyd, a former AA first-year master, to accept the dean's position and reorganize the course (le Roux, 2015, p. 139; J. [Michael] Lloyd, personal communication, November 24, 2016; M. Lloyd, 1999). They shared the vision that schools should become important research centers instead of just preparing students to be architects waiting for important commissions. Koenigsberger coached Lloyd in his ideas and those of Kwame Nkruma (J. [Michael] Lloyd, personal communication, November 24, 2016). In Ghana, there was a pressing need for the school to become involved with social problems given their magnitude and the shortage of available labor. Therefore, it was possible to turn most programs into live programs (Figures 6 and 8), particularly in the Volta River resettlement projects. This implied the revision and restructuring of the English-based curricula, which Lloyd found "tragi-comic in their irrelevance" and detachment from the "Ghanaian reality," with a completely new approach, since he thought "vital areas such as housing had little to do with architecture as conventionally understood but a great deal to do with politics, economics, population, and social studies" (M. Lloyd, 1985, pp. 367–368, 371).

During this period, the work involved students, staff, and the Department of Housing and Planning Research—the former Building Research Group established in 1959—in close contact with local communities, facilitated by diverse government departments and officers, such as the Department of Social Welfare, the Community Development Office, and the Principal Medical Officer. The Building Research Group, which acted as a consultant on resettlement for the government, supported by the school staff, worked with Tema Development Corporation, a public entity set up in 1952 and led by the first certified Ghanaian architect, whose housing and planning consultant was the Greek company Doxiadis Associates, which promoted a holistic understanding of human settlements through "ekistiks" and the 10 symposia Doxiadis hosted from 1963 onwards. This was a partnership that ensured a particular commitment to housing construction. The triangulation, together with the interdisciplinary seminars promoted with specialists from other departments (e.g., Kofi Asamoah-Darko from geography, C. Kwesi Graham from sociology) and international visiting teachers, focused on technologies (e.g., Buckminster Fuller, Sylvia Crowe, Eustaquio Toledo), and the proximity to officers who provided valuable field information, allowed it to cover

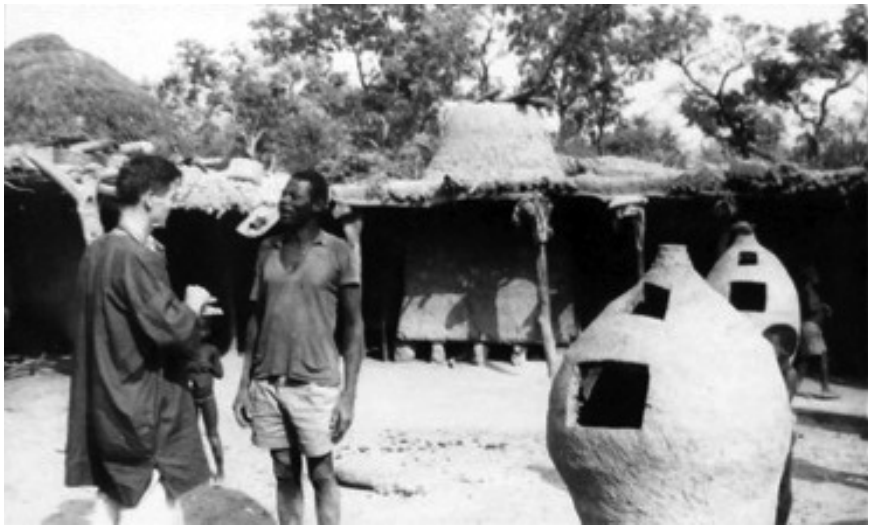


Figure 6. John Lloyd at the chief's compound in Maluwe, Northwest Ghana, 1964. Source: Courtesy of John [Michael] and Catherine Lloyd.

such subjects as rural resettlement, low-cost housing and building techniques, social building organization, etc. The close contact with the international aid machine also exposed students to very specialized knowledge techniques, such as "Project Evaluation and Review Technique," which was taught by Canadian experts (J. Lloyd et al., 1965) and provided different approaches to architecture and planning from the Eastern Europe teaching staff working there at the time (Stanek, 2020, p. 52) as well as access to occasional financial support (Figure 7).

Figure 7. John Lloyd with KNUST students on a field trip to London sponsored by British Technical Aid, June 1964. Source: Courtesy of John [Michael] and Catherine Lloyd.

The modus operandi followed the pattern of international aid reports, getting involved with specific social problems—sometimes apparently disconnected from architecture—such as malaria or river blindness. It began with a reconnaissance survey followed by topographical surveys; planning and measuring compounds; historical background; extensive statistics; interviews; and photos of spaces within compounds, of services, livestock, soil fertility, etc. (Figure 8). This was what Lloyd described as the need to develop "not only the ability to devise solutions but also the ability to diagnose and to prognosticate" (J. Lloyd, 1967, p. 142). The solution would not rely solely on on-site surveys but also on ongoing research conducted during "visual surveys of Africa"—which replaced the more orthodox (western) "history of architecture" program. The course envisioned by Lloyd was supported by Labelle Prussin, who wrote the first book on architecture in Ghana, which through extensive photographic surveys looked for the "essence of African space," and, occasionally, by Paul Oliver, who went on to publish the *Encyclopedia of Vernacular Architecture*. This was followed by courses on the effects of climate, social organization, and technology on architectural and urban forms, which became central to the design process.

These resulted in the production of original material and data by students and staff, which was shared as being something more than "just teaching architecture (in the traditional sense of it)" (J. [Michael] Lloyd, personal communication, November 24, 2016). The support used—the report—resulted from a statement about world challenges and what a non-Eurocentric education should convey in face of the complexity of housing problems. Even its title, *Kumasi Occasional Reports*, aimed to place the professional beyond the sphere of vocational training. The original scientific research produced was eventually instrumental for future work and the report sometimes turned into a manual. This happened both because of the theoretical essays and some drawings when they took the form of "theoretical housing

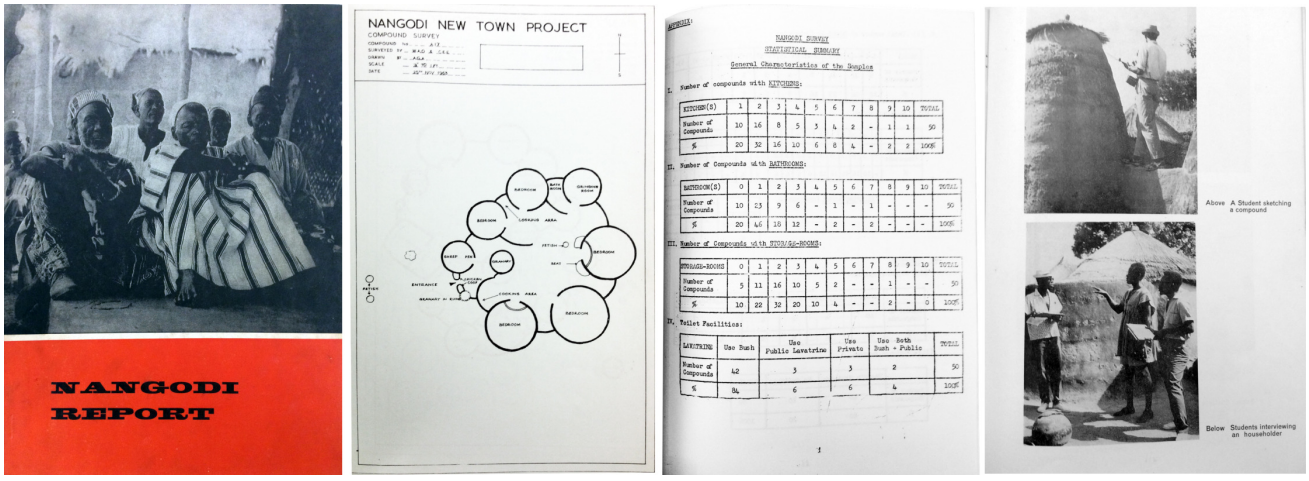


Figure 8. *Nangodi Report: Occasional Report 2*. From left to right: Compound drawing; statistical summary; students sketching a compound and interviewing a householder. Source: Lloyd et al. (1965).

schemes": that is, more of a manual of good practice to be adapted rather than as a design itself. This is the example of the work developed to respond to a complete plan for the work started two years earlier through the Nangodi project (*Occasional Report 2*), "investigating the possibilities of producing a habitable unit of any shape capable of repetition and combination…to be constructed of local soil," with the first parabolic vault, models of the parabolic houses recommended in the report and prototypes erected at Labun and Nangodi (Fullerton, 1968, p. iv). The research developed in the process and reports were largely a reflection of much of the training of former DTA students who were now involved in teaching the course and developing a method for approaching real environmental problems together with students. These included the Ghanaian graduate John Owusu-Addo (1963–1964), Anglo-Jamaican Patrick Wakely, and Kamil Mumtaz from Pakistan (1962–1963). Kamil's brother, Babar, a member of the teaching staff responsible for the 9th Occasional Report, *Transition: A Study for the Development of a Community in the North of Ghana*, had an interestingly different school path. He completed his first year at Middle East Technical University in Ankara, Turkey, which could be compared in its beginnings with KNUST, as it resulted from a UN mission just before the one in Ghana, where Abrams recommended that a second UN mission should be arranged to set up the administrative and curricular structure of a school (Erdim, 2016; Taper, 1980). Babar Mumtaz then moved to Ghana before finishing his studies in KNUST in 1967, where he immediately joined the staff. The following year he brought all that experience to the recently renamed Department of Development and Tropical Studies as a student together with the Ghanaian students Eve Adebayo and Clement Berbu Karikari (1968–1969). However, the extent of their research, because it was produced locally using the available resources, went far deeper and allowed its direct applicability.

6. Conclusion

The experience of KNUST was, in many ways, what Koenigsberger envisioned from his early days in India. It took shape throughout his life, particularly through the DTA project and the chain it was intended to constitute with its former students, such as Wakely in Ghana (Figure 9), albeit in different ways and formats with a critical approach to western models of the profession. It was a school that was based in its own country, training those who were to become its professionals, studying and producing original research about the peculiarities of their housing and planning problems. The skills taught to professionals, who were first thought of as "general practitioners," were expanded to cover various topics in which the social sciences played a significant role. The "housing specialist" was to produce expertise, conveyed through consultancy reports and translated through surveys and general schemes, policy, design, and techno-scientific oriented technical assistance. The intention was for it to be quickly instrumentalized as manuals for self-help housing and developers.

After the coup d'état, John Lloyd returned to London, taking up the position of principal at the AA in 1967. During his inaugural address he expressed the importance of academic research if schools were to have an active role in society:

> There are very many areas within the field that the profession is called upon to tackle which urgently

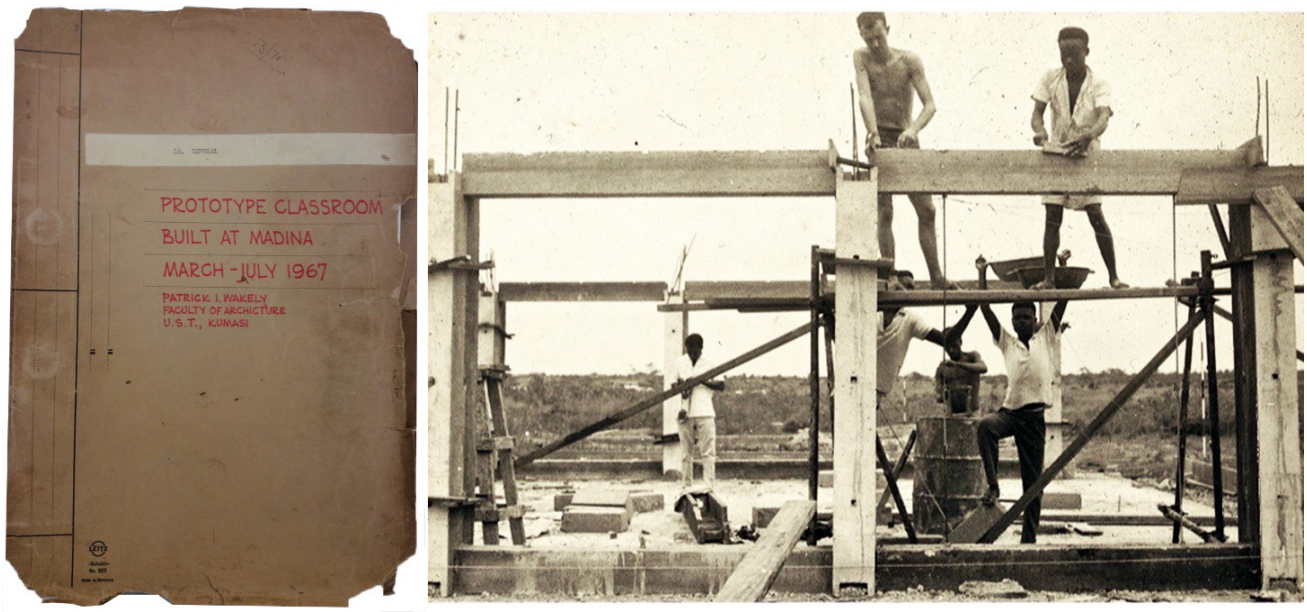


Figure 9. Patrick Wakely's prototype of a classroom built at Madina and Ghana School Building prototype, 1967. Source: Wakely (1967).

> need very deep research and development, and this task should largely be carried out by schools of architecture. If they do this, then I see one of the most important roles of the schools of Architecture in the future being the research development and ideas branch of the professional as a whole. They should be able to offer to the profession expertise and consultative services in specialized fields within which the profession itself is unlikely to be able to concentrate. (J. Lloyd, 1967, p. 141)

Great emphasis was also given to the world social, economic, and health crisis, and Lloyd redesigned the curriculum to allow an entire constellation of disciplines, shifting into a much clearer "focus on the design process so as to prepare students for a range of definitions of the architect's role" (J. Lloyd, 1968, p. 1). He decided to "involve students with real problems and urgent areas of crises" (J. Lloyd, 1967, p. 142), absorbing live tasks, and therefore making a contribution to the advancement of the society as a whole, as he had done with his students in Ghana. As described by Lloyd in the "Principal's Comments" in the school handbook, "the school aims, in its educational policy, to produce generalists" (J. Lloyd, 1968, p. 2). Lloyd's "generalist" meant a number of modes of operation (that he called attitude field) in diverse contexts (application field) translated into a three-dimensional curricular model. While the attitude field was that of the original "general practitioner," the application field was considerably expanded, questioning the general trend towards the compartmentalization of knowledge within physical disciplines.

Wakely resigned one year later and accepted a position as a visiting lecturer at the Department of Architecture in the National College of Arts in Lahore, Pakistan, which Kamil Mumtaz had been appointed to lead. Later, on Koenigsberger's invitation, he joined the Department of Tropical Studies staff to run the new specialist course on educational building, which had for three years been tested on a part-time basis, according to his own experience as advisor to the Ministry of Education in Ghana (Figure 9). Lloyd immediately established a research board, while Koenigsberger's consultancy commissions started to appear with the stamp of the Department, assuming itself as a collective body with wider geographical knowledge—consistent with his own view of the importance of local experts—and with some institutional weight. He envisioned a three-fold instrumentalization of the department's expertise. First, its ethos would be translated into practice through consultancy in housing and planning programs contributing with applied scientific research and knowledge beyond the dominant canon in "developing countries." Second, it would empower a flow of key actors in decision-making and practice as abstract agents of global development and their modus operandi as a techno-cultural apparatus. Finally, it was hoped that an interchange of staff and students could be arranged (Koenigsberger, 1964, p. 8). From there it was a small step to the creation of the Tropical Advisory Service (TAS; Figure 10). The acronym TAS would remain, but its name would later change to Training & Advisory Service, when it formally came into legal existence, getting the name right with the intentions and scope of the technical cooperation it intended

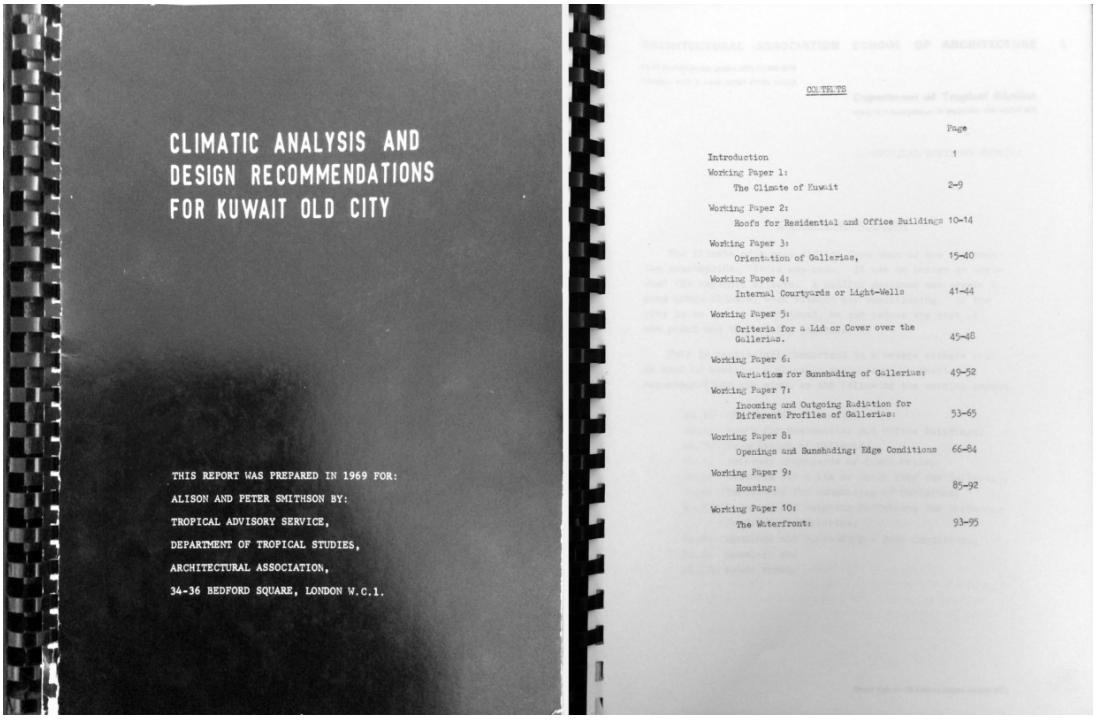


Figure 10. *Climatic Analysis and Design Recommendations for Kuwait Old City*: Report prepared in 1969 for Alison and Peter Smithson by the TAS. Source: Koenigsberger (1969).

to provide: a body of experts sharing knowledge, based in different parts of the world, able to do proper field work, as it would be later advertised. Babar Mumtaz worked for the British Foreign Office for some time, rejoining the staff in 1974 and conducting courses in urban housing in Iraq, Thailand, Pakistan, and Kenya, before becoming the first director of the unit's TAS for which he undertook more than 30 assignments in some 20 countries in Asia, Africa, and the Middle East (Wakely, 2007, p. 6).

Koenigsberger's efforts to introduce the theme of education and shaping a professional particularly suited to the problems of housing continued throughout his life through his consultancy work. That is the case, for instance, of the 1970 UN mission in Malaysia. Koeningsberger and professor Thomas Markus proposed that the existing bachelor's course in housing, building, and planning of the University of Science in Penang would focus on practical project-oriented subjects to "produce a general service practitioner in Malaysian administration" to be called 'development officers,' with the recommendation "that they should be accepted on a par with the junior members of the Malaysian Administrative Service" (Koenigsberger, 1979, p. 150). It was hoped it "would fill a need which exists in countries where the traditional administrative services are not trained or equipped to cope with the many new tasks that confront them in the implementation of regional and development plans" (Koenigsberger, 1979, p. 151). Although the suggestion was not completely welcomed, from 1976 graduate development officers were being employed by many Malaysian states and cities (Koenigsberger, 1979, pp. 150–151). However, Koenigsberger's influence through his "disciples" remained through a transnational network, responding simultaneously to shifting demands for development expertise and paradigm changes in development theory towards mass training in response to demands for mass housing.

The Truman doctrine and the whole machinery underlying foreign aid, which emerged in the second half of the 20th century, inaugurated a new understanding of the world based on the construction of a narrative about the expectation of progress for the so-called "third world countries" as a means to achieve global peace and prosperity. The word "development" defined the mode of problematization and reasoning about the most varied fields of knowledge, thus conditioning its production and circulation. Consequently, there was a cultural change in the approach to the built environment and, in particular, to housing, previously understood as belonging to the sphere of architecture, which was re-contextualized within the broader theme of community planning. Progressively at the confluence of a series of disciplines within development studies, the housing issue started to bring together economic, political, social, administrative, and geographical issues, among others, besides the constructive and design ones. The terminological dispersion of the theoretical framework of housing also led to the need to rethink the professional and the profession, oscillating paradoxically between the idea of a specialist and that of a generalist, who could cover the many themes on which housing depended. Half a century on, the concept of "development" has been questioned by many academics as a social representation of reality. However, the discourse on housing seems far from being reconciled with the issues of the object, continuing to challenge the teaching and practice of architects and urban planners, and their cultural place, which has been indelibly marked by that post-war ambition.

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Conflict of Interests

The author declares no conflict of interests.

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Article

Collective Housing in Belgium and the Netherlands: A Comparative Analysis

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Abstract
Collective housing (CH) is undergoing a revival in Belgium. Since 2009, the Flemish Government Architect and his team have been advocating CH, stressing its importance as a task for architects given the demand for affordable housing and the need to reduce the environmental impact of housing. This support for CH has converged with the work of the non-profit citizen organization Samenhuizen ("Living together") and the ad hoc initiatives taken by individual households and architects. In the Netherlands too, where there is a longer tradition of CH, the phenomenon is once more on the rise because of the housing crisis. As it is a developing topic, the terminology used for CH is also evolving. Drawing on publications on the subject in both Belgium and the Netherlands as well as on interviews with relevant stakeholders, this article sheds light on two widely published cases in both countries (pioneering and current, greenfield and conversion). These cases are compared in regard to thematic areas, based on an extensive literature study on collaborative housing by Lang et al. (2018). In addition to such aspects as the balance between "individuality" and the "collective," we compare the role played by architects in both countries. Besides similarities, we show that the historical context, and especially the housing policy of each country, has a great influence and that the role of the architect is essential in the development of older and contemporary cohousing projects.

Keywords
central living; cohousing; collective housing; housing culture

Issue
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1. Introduction

A decline in the average household size and the ageing of the population have led to a significant increase in the construction of flats by building developers in Belgium. Demolition, renovation, and the construction of housing have also been on the rise in recent years (Statbel, n.d.). The government and social-housing companies generally apply the DBFM (Design, Build, Finance, and Maintain) formula, architects being part of the developer's building team. Whereas architects used to play an independent and leading role, in DBFM their role is subordinate to that of the developer and the investor (PPS et al., 2014). However, there is a field in which architects often take the lead, namely collective housing (CH). Initiatives were taken in the 1980s already, but since 2009 CH has been directed and supported by the team of the Flemish Government Architect, an adviser to the Flemish Government who supports public clients in the design and realization of buildings, public spaces, landscape, and infrastructure (De Bruyn & Maillet, 2014; Swinnen et al., 2012). In this article we focus on Flanders, the Flemish speaking part of Belgium, since we aim to compare Dutch-language terms and

influences. However, when taking a historical perspective, we focus on Belgium since the federalization of the country is quite recent.

CH has been a reality for longer in the Netherlands, but here too the phenomenon is on the rise. A housing crisis, in regard to quantity but also affordability, has put CH on the agenda. Citizens organized in various groups are showing an interest in collective forms of living. Local, regional, and national governments are developing various programs to facilitate these initiatives.

Although CH is topical in both Belgium and the Netherlands, the drivers and mechanisms differ. We will therefore explain the historical and political context, cases, and the role of architects in these projects. In terms of methodology, we will make a comparative analysis of the discourses of policy documents and other publications on CH in both countries, complemented by interviews with relevant stakeholders. First, we address the terminology used to describe CH and each country's housing policy. Second, we present and compare two widely published cases in both countries, illustrating various types of CH and the active role of the architect. The cases combine characteristics, such as pioneering examples and recent ones, new constructions, and reuse projects. The thematic mapping of Lang et al. (2018) will be used to frame the comparison.

2. Context: Housing Policies

To understand the contexts in which CH emerged in both countries, we will briefly introduce their housing policies. Their diverging housing history has influenced current motivations and initiatives for new forms of housing.

2.1. CH in a Tradition of Homeownership in Belgium

Belgium has a tradition of homeownership. In the late 19th century already, with the "Loi sur les habitations ouvrières" (Working-class housing act; August 9, 1889), the construction of a personal home was encouraged through low-interest credits (De Meulder et al., 1999, pp. 82–83). But after World War II especially, the influential Christian Democrats in government created a favorable political climate for the massive spread of private home-building by providing substantial subsidies and facilitating mortgages. They argued for detached single-family homes in the countryside, their electoral territory. The highly influential De Taeye Act (May 29, 1948)—named after its proposer, Christian Democrat minister Alfred De Taeye—granted premiums to individual home builders as well as a state guarantee for mortgage loans equal to the full price of their home. As a result, Belgium, and especially Flanders, saw an early increase in homeownership: Today 71.6% of inhabitants in Flanders are private homeowners, mostly in detached housing (Heylen & Vanderstraeten, 2019, p. 37). The Social Democrats, on the other hand, promoted high-rise buildings and large housing complexes in urban areas. On April 15, 1949, a second housing act—the Brunfaut Act, named after the socialist member of parliament Fernand Brunfaut—made provisions not only for the regular annual financing of the construction of housing clusters by semi-governmental and recognized social-housing associations, but also for street layout, including paving, public utilities such as drainage, and open-space planning of grouped houses and flats. That act was an instrument by which to promote social housing. By comparison with the Netherlands, however, social housing remained a rather marginal part of the housing stock, ranging from 2.9% in 1957 to a peak of 30.5% in 1972 and 7.3% today (Cools, 2004, p. 170; Heylen & Vanderstraeten, 2019, p. 37).

Although Belgian inhabitants have a high residential satisfaction rate of 91% (Winters et al., 2013, p. 22), urbanists and architects saw the downside of the housing pattern. Already in 1968, Renaat Braem (1968) criticized the lack of urban planning and the disorderly landscape in his pamphlet *Het lelijkste land ter wereld* ("The ugliest country in the world"). With the 1997 "Spatial Structure Plan for Flanders," Louis Albrechts (1999) and Charles Vermeersch tried to counter the lack of a strong planning policy and promoted "devolved bundling" to counter the urban sprawl. In 2009 the Flemish Government Architect, at the time Peter Swinnen, began to pay close attention to collective living as a strategy for densification and a means to counter fragmentation. He argued that dispersed urbanization caused several problems, including congestion, destruction of open spaces, loss of coherence in natural environments, inefficient infrastructure, a huge number of utility lines, etc. Swinnen's successor, Leo Van Broeck, reached the general public by using slogans such as "Building detached houses today is criminal" (Piryns & Van Humbeeck, 2017). The current Flemish Government Architect, Erik Wieërs, is pursuing the same track. In an interview he explained that "we should no longer want to have detached houses" (Sels, 2020). In this context, it is significant that his architecture office, Collectief Noord, designed a widely published CH project in Antwerp that we will discuss further.

Outside the world of architecture, in 2000 already a voluntary organization in Flanders called Samenhuizen ("Living together") gathered people interested in collective living. Inspired by cohousing projects in Denmark, they were drawn to a formula that offered, on the one hand, sufficient privacy and, on the other, life in a vibrant community with shared spaces and activities (R. Kums, personal communication, July 12, 2021). In 2009 Samenhuizen received subsidies to conduct a survey on the state of communal living in Belgium (Jonckheere et al., 2010) and the following year it successfully applied for structural subsidies as a sociocultural movement. Since 2011, the association has become professionalized, working with a small team of part-time employees to promote communal living and support candidates. They began to receive subsidies at the time when CH was being promoted by the Flemish

Government Architect, marking the contemporary trend of CH in Belgium.

Although the Flemish Government Architect influences the public debate, gives impulses by means of projects and competitions, and advises public-sector clients, his recommendations do not have the force of law, and various regulations hinder the efficient development of CH. On February 2, 2017, however, the Housing Committee of the Flemish Parliament approved a draft decree encouraging experimental forms of housing (Vlaams Parlement, 2017). This six-year pilot project is extendable by four. During this time, projects are evaluated and, in the event of a positive assessment, regulations are adapted within the project period. As such, the government gave the impetus to develop a legal framework for alternative forms of housing that, however, is still in its infancy. In general, and despite these efforts, the procedure remains complicated and most Belgians remain skeptical due to their attachment to their own home and their desire for privacy and autonomy (Bervoets & Heynen, 2013). Moreover, they consider their home as a valuable form of pension saving that guarantees freedom, stability, and security (De Decker, 2013).

2.2. A Tradition of Collectivity in Social Housing in the Netherlands

The neighboring Netherlands has a different housing culture, characterized by social housing and national planning policies. An explicit housing policy was made possible from 1901 with the *Woningwet* (Housing act). It aimed to put an end to unsanitary housing conditions and to promote the construction of good housing. This legal framework provided municipalities with new instruments to deal with the housing need. It encouraged the formation of housing corporations and cooperatives that would build social-housing settlements. It also embedded these initiatives within an urban-planning framework, compelling municipalities to provide urban plans for city expansion and for the existing city (Heynen, 2010, p. 162; Stieber, 1998, p. 73). During postwar reconstruction, the national government drafted a centrally managed plan distributing the number of houses, the materials, and construction workers across the country. In the 1950s and 1960s, municipal housing companies and many housing associations developed social housing, financed by the state and strictly regulated by detailed standards (Lans & Pflug, 2016, p. 52). The three main political movements in the Netherlands also took measures to stimulate homeownership, each from a different angle. The Liberals did so on the basis of equal opportunities in property formation, the Social Democrats on the basis of their vision for the emancipation of workers, and the Christian Democrats on the basis of value for family life. Homeownership in the Netherlands grew from 28% in 1947 to 58% in 2019, but it still lags behind other European countries. Different from Belgium, private commissioning has failed to flourish in the Netherlands and only accounts for 15% of privately owned homes (Boelhouwer & Schiffer, 2019, pp. 3, 14, 20).

Dissatisfaction with the repetitive housing of the postwar period combined with growing prosperity generated initiatives in the late 1960s that aimed for innovation and more architectural quality in the living environment. In the 1968 national program "Experimental Housing," projects that developed new housing concepts emphasizing participation, among other aspects, were subsidized. In many new areas and urban-renewal projects, residents became actively and formally involved in neighborhood development (De Vletter, 2014, p. 47). Although a variety of *woongroepen* (residential collectives) emerged in the 1970s, it was not until the 1984 memorandum "Wonen in Groepsverband" (Living in a group) that government policies responded to this need. Typical of the Dutch context, the housing corporations were key actors in the CH projects, which was problematic because the term "communal space" did not fit their regulations. In the 1980s, legal, financial, and organizational models were developed concerning the relation between residents, association, and housing corporation, for example with regard to participation, maintenance, and management, as well as architect and tenant selection (Krabbe & Vlug, 1986, pp. 9–14).

More recently, a government report again noted increased interest in living with like-minded people as one of the main sociocultural trends, including communities for specific ethnic groups, the elderly, and collective private commissioning (CPO). The report calls for facilitating the empowerment of citizens and communities at local, regional, and national level (VROM-raad, 2009, pp. 41–51, 114). Indeed, several programs supporting housing initiatives have been launched that contain elements of CH. However, in many of the programs that provide organizational guidelines or financial support, CH is not a primary objective. Most provinces offer subsidies for CPO process management. Innovative forms of elderly housing are also supported by the national grant program "Wonen en Zorg" (Living and care) and stimulated in the 2018 competition *Who Cares* organized by the Dutch Chief Government Architect of the time, Floris Alkemade. These may involve cohousing, but not necessarily. In recent years, a new form of housing association or *woongenootschap* has revived. In this type of housing association, residents join the cooperative and have a share in the project, but the cooperative owns the housing complexes. Although a successful model in some Dutch cities, in others, like Rotterdam, negotiations with the municipality about available building land have stalled (Van den Ende, 2021). As already reported in the 1970s and 1980s, land allocation by the municipality is an important condition and therefore a means of power for the institutions (Krabbe & Vlug, 1986, pp. 11–12). In short, the strong Dutch tradition of social housing can be seen as an obstacle for new CH initiatives to break free from the organized rigidity of its main stakeholders.

3. Cohousing Terminology and Criteria

In the Dutch-speaking Netherlands and Belgian Flanders, diverse cohousing models exist and various terms serve to indicate housing concepts involving residents sharing living space(s) and a set of interests, values, and intentions. However, the introduction of *Centraal Wonen* (Central living) marked the start of 20th-century CH in the Netherlands. *Centraal Wone*n, which refers to living around central facilities, was initiated in 1969 by Lies van den Donk-van Doorenmaal, who pursued collective living as a way to free women from the burden of housekeeping and motherhood. She invited designers to come up with an efficient housing model where housework would become a more cooperative, centralized effort. After her call for action, a growing group of like-minded people developed the concept further in collective workshop weekends (Fromm & de Jong, 2020, pp. 17–20). In 1978 the national association *Centraal Wonen* defined the term as: "A way of living where residents—at least three adults—choose each other on the basis of equal rights and share a number of residential facilities" (Krabbe & Vlug, 1986, pp. 7–8). "Central living" is an umbrella term for various forms of housing whose main characteristic is the sharing of common spaces combined with the independent living of each household (Krabbe & Vlug, 1986, pp. 7–8). The projects realized under that association were called *Centraal Wonen* projects. In 2017 the name evolved to *Gemeenschappelijk Wonen* (Communal living) to include "all forms of communal living where people choose each other, are open to everyone, and bear joint responsibility: central living, housing groups, live/work communities, eco-projects, etc." (Bakker, 2019, p. 2). In the first 10 years, 36 *Centraal Wonen* projects were developed in the Netherlands (Krabbe & Vlug, 1986, p. 34). The number has now grown to more than 70. Most are still flourishing today (Krabbendam, personal communication, July 12, 2021).

In Flanders, the Dutch term *Centraal Wonen* was also employed initially, for example by Samenhuizen, but in 2009 it was replaced by the English term *cohousing* and the Dutch term *co-wonen* (co-living). Both housing forms have central units, but in cohousing projects more facilities are shared, such as a kitchen and/or meeting room, which encourages social interaction among inhabitants. Besides *cohousing*, the terms *woningdelen* or *huisdelen* (home or house sharing; to the right in the scheme in Figure 1) are also used, indicating a housing form where different households live "under the same roof" and share (parts of) the household.

Architects mostly use the umbrella term "collective housing." The Flanders Architecture Institute took the lead in defining CH as a mission for architects with the publication *Wonen in Meervoud* (Living in plurality) in 2009. The book focused on CH that was "architecture-worthy." This involved three criteria. First, each individual residential unit of a CH project needed to have the same qualities as an individual single-family home in terms of architecture, comfort, character, cost, and sustainability. Second, building in a group had to provide added value to all homes in terms of location, facilities, etc. Third, there had to be an added value for the community, the neighborhood, and even the city in terms of ecological and other benefits, such as car reduction, residential densification, the reuse of valuable heritage, etc. (Van Herck & De Meulder, 2009, p. 5).

An important milestone was the launch of the pilot project *Nieuwe vormen van collectiviteit* (New forms of collectivity; Declerck et al., 2013) initiated by the Team Flemish Government Architect. Consortia of architects, project developers, and construction firms were invited to experiment with other housing forms. CH was explicitly mentioned as an important task for architects and other actors involved in housing. Flemish cities too, more particularly their autonomous municipal companies, supported cohousing and developed their own definition. The city of Ghent, for example, defined cohousing as:

> A housing concept involving a group of people building or renovating a number of private housing units

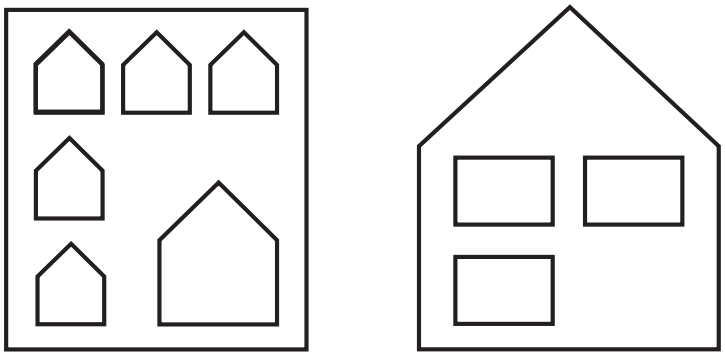


Figure 1. CH schemes adapted from Samenhuizen (2022).

> together. The housing units have common facilities. This process pays sufficient attention to the environment and the community feeling. In some cases, it is possible to participate as a tenant in a cohousing project. (Stad Gent, n.d.)

This definition stresses collaboration by a group of residents developing and building their homes. In sum, the Netherlands took the lead in CH by introducing the term *Centraal Wonen* as early as 1969. The projects realized by its associations were called *Centraal Wonen* projects. A decade later, the term also became known in Belgium but was never widely accepted. The Flemish organization Samenhuizen used the term *co-wonen*, but ultimately "cohousing" and "collective housing" became the most common terms in Flanders. In the Netherlands, that honor goes to *gemeenschappelijk wonen* (communal living) as a container term. The Flemish terms refer more to the material dwelling while the Dutch word emphasizes the act of living together.

To classify CH in the Netherlands and Belgium, there is a useful scheme by organization sociologist Peter Camp (2018). He defines four main typologies, all variants of Utopia, organized according to two criteria: sharing facilities (horizontal axis) and sharing activities (vertical axis; Figure 2). YOUtopia stands for few shared facilities and activities, with a focus on neighborhood networks. Cohousing as defined by Samenhuizen fits here. MEtopia is typified by few shared facilities but many joint activities, which is the case in care communities (e.g., assisted housing for the elderly, multigenerational houses). The two typologies with many shared facilities, and thus architectural spaces, are OURtopia and ECOtopia. OURtopia focuses on quality and cohesion in "our" neighborhood or complex. These groups cooperate in the building, renovating, and maintening process, one that often leads to specific architectural projects. In ECOtopia, residents share both many facilities and activities. They are pursuing a better world in certain aspects, as can be seen, for instance, in ecovillages and thematic residential groups. Distinguishing the typologies provides insight into the differences in motivation underlying collective living. The abovementioned *Centraal Wonen*, for example, can be categorized as ECOtopia, striving for a more social living environment. The emergence in Belgium of Community Land Trusts—where the land is shared by the corporation and members only buy (or rent) the dwelling—can also be included here, as affordability is their main concern. Cohousing as defined by the city of Ghent fits OURtopia, with a focus on the collective development process. Studying the role of architecture in CH, this article focuses on the typologies with shared facilities and building process, indicated as OURtopia and ECOtopia. In architectural discourses, the emphasis is indeed on these projects, which are usually referred to as "collective housing.''

4. Case Studies

To illustrate the active role of architects in these types of projects and to discuss how the discipline of architecture can contribute to housing as a social endeavor, we shed light on four iconic, widely published CH projects in which architects played a key role as either the initiating, driving, or visionary party. For each country we selected a pioneering older project characteristic of the early days of CH and a more recent one that now serves as an example. Second, we chose a striking greenfield development and an outstanding conversion project. The study by Lang et al. (2018) on "Collaborative Housing" serves as a basis for comparison. The extensive overview of variations in thematic areas revealed in this study is used for the comparative analysis in this article.

4.1. Pioneering Refurbishment Project

The Herring Smoking Factory was a pioneering project in Belgium and in 2010 was called the best example of a conversion of a valuable old building (Jonckheere et al., 2010, p. 49). Already in 1984, five households had their eyes on the factory, initially built in 1893 and designed in a neo-traditional style by architect Henri Thielen. At the time it occupied two parcels of land: 750 m² on Kronenburgstraat (18 m facade) and 750 m² on Scheldestraat, for the house of the factory director, a garden, and warehouses (Figures 3 and 4). The families wanted to start a cohousing project, with each family having its own house alongside a communal garden

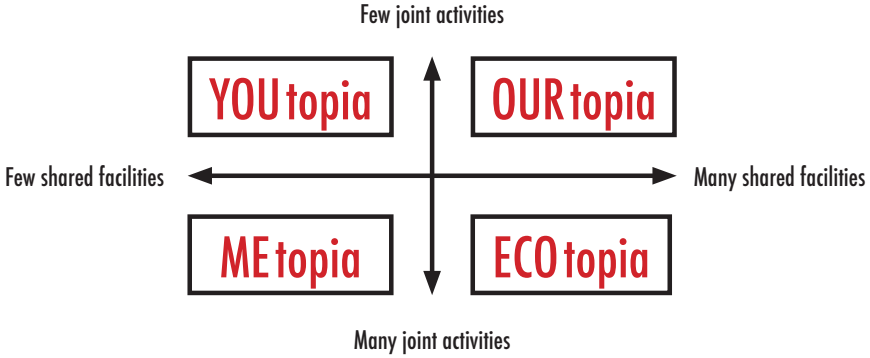


Figure 2. Scheme illustrating cohousing typologies. Source: Adapted from Camp (2018, p. 22).

Figure 3. Herring Smoking Factory. Source: Photo by Peter Vermeulen, 2022, Creative Commons.

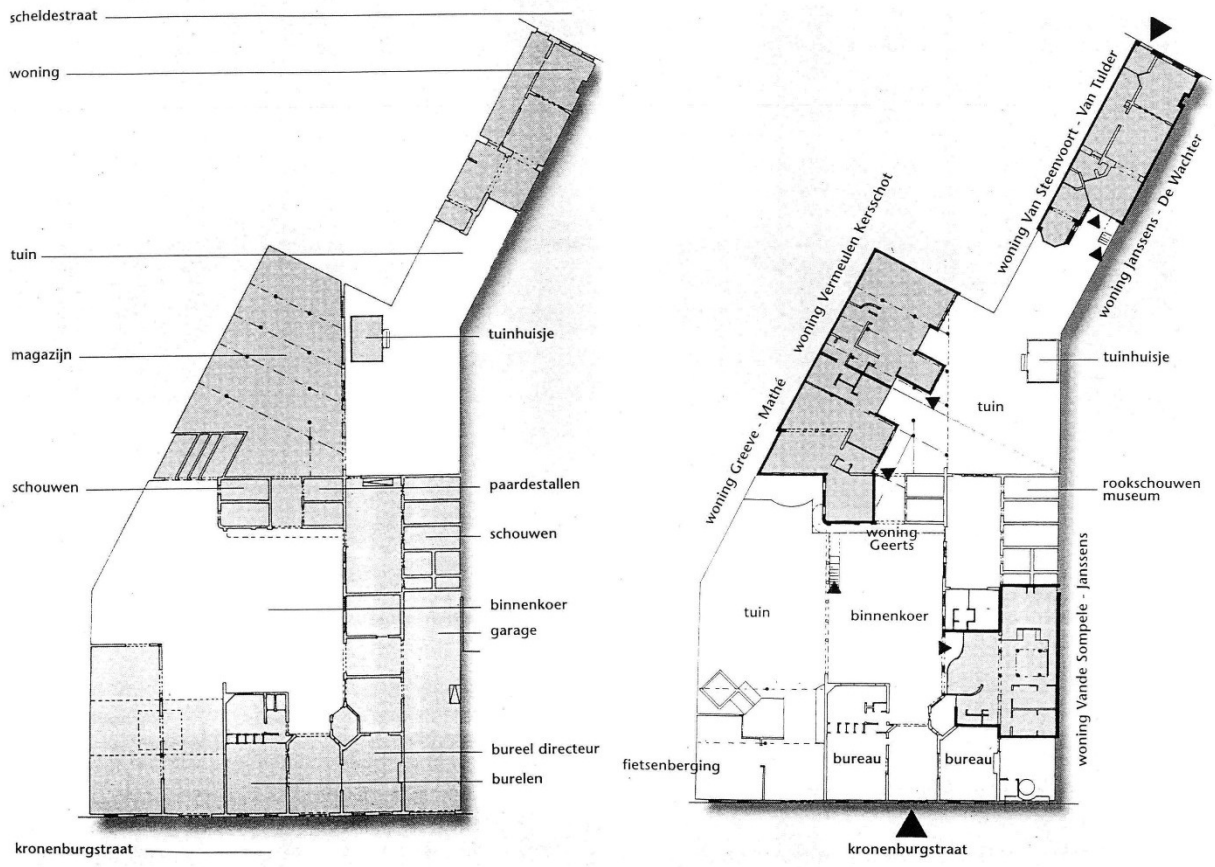


Figure 4. Original plan of the Herring Smoking Factory, with annotations by the inhabitants (left), and CH plan by Stramien and Archi-3, 1984 (right). Source: Courtesy of Peter Vermeulen.

and other common spaces. The buildings could be protected as a monument of industrial archaeology, entitling the families to grants for the renovation of the protected parts. In January 1986 the sale was concluded, but it took five years to obtain the building permit and the heritage grants.

The fact that one of the candidate inhabitants was an architect (Peter Vermeulen) was important in selecting the site, evaluating the site's potential, and moving forward in the legal and organizational process. Later, Archi-3 was invited to monitor the works to ensure the independence of the architect. In 1993 the conversion of the Herring Smoking Factory was complete. The project encompasses five spacious private houses with a private terrace each, three apartments, and two offices. Two gardens, the garden house, hen house, laundry, and bicycle shed are communal, as are two venues, each equipped with a kitchen. These two venues are used for meetings, parties, and exhibitions by the group itself as well as by friends and neighbors. Once a month, a meeting is organized to discuss practical issues, including chores. Their motto is: "Doing together what we can, so as to have more free time for yourself and for others." The project was awarded the Flemish Monument prize in 1993. It drew a lot of attention on study days and at symposia on CH and on industrial heritage because it was a pioneering project in both cohousing and the reuse of industrial buildings. It is an early example of a conversion project. Later, other buildings such as schools, castles, printing factories, and farms were also adapted to CH projects. The original cohousing inhabitants still live there, but are working on a new, bigger CH project (the conversion of an industrial laundry), where they will be able to grow old with new families (Vermeulen, 2021).

4.2. Pavilions as Infill Project

Another widely published CH project in Flanders was carried out by the architectural office Collectief Noord (Figure 5). This project was commissioned in 2011 by AG Vespa, the project developer of the city of Antwerp, and was realized on the irregular, elongated site of a former printing company. Two entrances provide access to the parcel, one of which is only for pedestrians who can cross the block from one street to the other. For the architects, it was a challenge to open up the heart of the enclosed block to create an oasis of calm, as imposed by the city, on the one hand, and to carry out a densifying residential program of living and working, on the other. Collectief Noord designed three pavilions/houses and its own architectural office. One house is situated above the gateway. The combination of red-tinted brick, concrete elements, and *claustra blocks* refers both to the surrounding informal garden walls and rear structures, and to a formal, urban architecture. A lot of care went into the outdoor spaces. Each house has an individual rooftop terrace where inhabitants can have dinner in peace, while the collective garden is designed as a real communal space that the inhabitants cannot easily appropriate because the living spaces are on the first floor while the more private spaces (bathroom and bedrooms) are on the ground floor. As such, the communal garden remains communal. No collective activities are planned, but pop-up initiatives like barbecues can always take place. The city sold the units. Architect Erik Wieërs bought one for his family and one for his architectural office, Collectief Noord. The project was acclaimed in many architectural publications as a fine example of a high-quality new-build CH project

(a) (b)

Figure 5. (a) Plan of the CH project of Collectief Noord. (b) View of the collective garden with dwellings. Sources: Courtesy of (a) Collectief Noord and (b) Filip Dujardin.

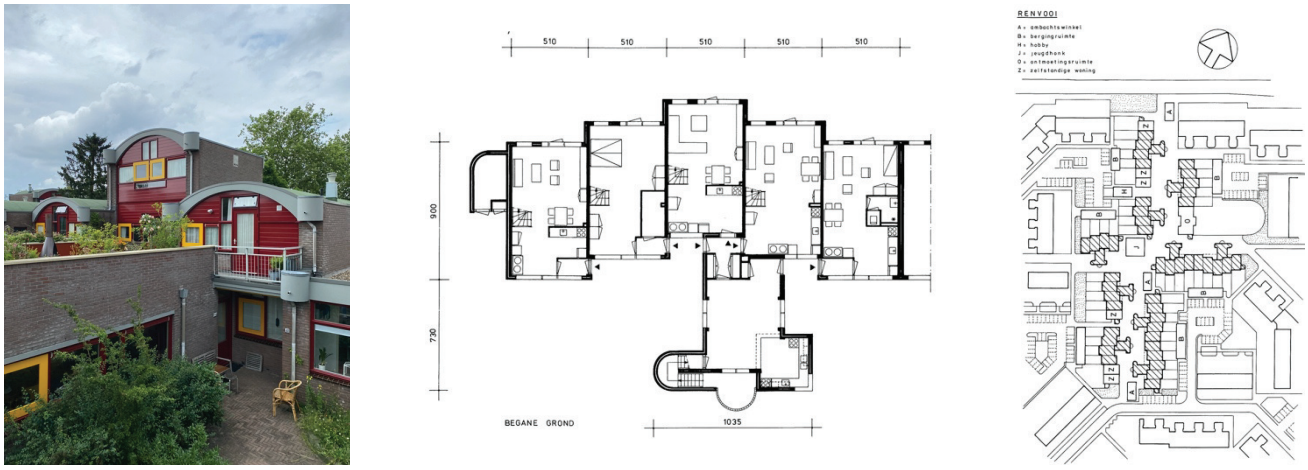
and green (semi-)public space in a densely populated working-class neighborhood that is now more an "arrival area" home to many nationalities.

4.3. Iconic CH Project

The first Centraal Wonen project was realized in 1977 in Hilversum. It is known by the name "Wandelmeent" or "Hilversumse Meent," referring to the address in the neighbourhood De Meenten. It was designed by architects Leo de Jonge and Pieter Weeda. In part due to its striking architectural design with arched roofs, organic urban setting, and brightly colored facade paintwork, this project has iconic value for Centraal Wonen as a movement. To connect the complex to the context, two public streets cross the housing blocks. The complex comprises 50 units ranging from two- to five-room dwellings, providing a diversity of residents that reflect society (Krabbe & Vlug, 1986, p. 36). A distinctive feature for most Centraal Wonen projects is the organization of collectivity on two levels—the overall project and the cluster. At the cluster level, individual units share a kitchen, laundry, and storage (Figure 6b). At the project level, all clusters share facilities such as a café, workshop, sauna, guest room, etc. (Figure 6c). The joint activities differ per cluster, as listed in 1978, from daily lunch and dinner and the shared use of backyards to weekly dinner only (Fromm & de Jong, 2020, p. 76). The irregular composition means that the many niches serve as transition areas inviting collective activities such as picnics and casual exchanges. The organizational process originated from a core group of residents. In 1972 they formed a non-profit foundation as a legal structure allowing cooperation with institutions. They found an architect who was open to participation and willing to work without payment until the site and funding were there. A site on the outskirts of the city was available and housing corporation Gooi en Omstreken agreed to act as the project developer and owner. As in many collective projects in the Netherlands, housing institutions were initially skeptical as no one knew whether the trend would last nor whether such a specifically built form, non-compliant with housing regulations, would be feasible in the long term. The Hilversum group was trusted because it was characterized by "idealism and sobriety" (Fromm & de Jong, 2020, pp. 38–40). Although the residents are tenants, they select the new residents. Candidate residents can register for selection if they are eligible for social housing and are selected by the clusters on the basis of household composition, housing requirements, and mutual expectations. After 40 years, new challenges have arisen like an ageing population and the energy transition, but the Wandelmeent is still a vibrant community.

4.4. Dwellings in an Obsolete School Building

A former school building in Rotterdam, typical of the early 20th century, consisted of two floors with three classrooms on either side of the central entrance and a long corridor at the back. The building lies in an enclosed courtyard surrounded by perimeter housing blocks, accessible by a narrow entrance from the street. The vacant school building was owned by the municipality, and the Woonbron housing corporation held the "right of superficies." In 2003 an agency named Urbannerdam, which advises on urban-renewal projects, took the initiative, with Hulshof Architects, to convert the school into nine apartments. The agency then started to recruit candidate residents to form a buyers' association and provide further guidance. The group of residents collaborated as a client in a CPO. The collective work of transforming the school and the individual finishing of the nine residences were completed in 2009. The individual homes range in size from 85 to 210 m^2 as either ground-floor units with a terrace or upstairs



(a) (b) (c)

Figure 6. (a) Centraal Wonen Wandelmeent, Hilversum. (b) Plan of individual units sharing a cluster room. (c) Urban setting in neighborhood. Source: (a) Courtesy of Van Eig, 2021.

flats with a roof terrace (Figure 7). The communal facilities consist of a spacious garden on the former school playground with bicycle storage (Zuijlen, 2013). Collective activities are organized for festive events but also for maintenance, such as "gardening weekends." This school conversion is not so much famous as an individual project but represents a broader trend in the Netherlands, that of transforming outdated buildings such as offices, shops, and industrial buildings into homes. The number of housing transformations is increasing and accounted for 13% of the total addition to the housing stock in 2019 (Goedhuys & van der Wal, 2020, p. 9). The project is also illustrative of the CPO trend, which the government sees as a model that ensures future residents control their future home, with the collective process guaranteeing social cohesion among residents (RVO, 2014). The role of the architect in CPO projects is to realise and integrate individual wishes into a joint design, making the social and organisational aspect of the profession even more important. Five architects live in the nine flats, two of whom worked at the architectural firm involved in the conversion (I. Dijkstra, personal communication, July 21, 2021).

5. Comparison

To compare the cases, we use a thematic mapping and assessment covering 195 peer-reviewed journal articles on CH (called "collaborative housing" in their article), conducted by Lang et al. (2018). They distinguish five thematic areas: sociodemographic, collaboration, motivation, effects, and context. Since we have already discussed the (historical and policy) context, we will focus on the other categories. These, in turn, are divided into subcategories. In sociodemographic terms, we can investigate the social class of the inhabitants and the demographics (e.g., young people, seniors). The topic of collaboration is divided into governance and the "continuum between 'individuality' and 'collective' " (explained below). Regarding the motivations of CH residents, we focus on the two main motivations we observed in OURtopia projects, namely the importance of affordability and the desire to create commons. Finally, we choose to dwell upon the architectural design, a topic that Lang et al. (2018) classify under the effects, since we want to pay attention to the role of the architect in CH projects, as related to the thematic issue this article is a part of.

5.1. Sociodemographic

Most inhabitants of the discussed projects belong to the middle class. They often have a background in culture and/or architecture. The Dutch Wandelmeent project is different as all residents are tenants from diverse backgrounds and the complex is owned by a housing corporation. However, in the Dutch context, social (subsidized) rental housing is available to a large proportion of the population, including middle-class groups. In Belgium, CH is mainly the domain of the middle class, with enough cultural capital to deal with regulations and other obstacles to the realization of the project, but also sufficient money and time to discuss the desired outcome. In three of the four projects, the architects live in these projects. This is not so surprising since a background in architecture is important, sometimes even necessary, to go through the whole legal, management, and construction process. The role of the architect is essential to each project, acting as they do as adviser, project manager, monument guardian, etc. In heritage projects, the architect is crucial for all practical matters. However, the inhabitants often hire a second architect to complete the process so that a certain neutrality is guaranteed (Architectuurwijzer, 2021). In terms of scale, Wandelmeent is by far the largest project with 50 units. That size is rather rare in Belgium. In terms of age, in all the projects it is predominantly young households (with or without children) that joined the project, resulting in an ageing population in the older cases, the Herring Smoking Factory and Wandelmeent. However, CH initiatives for seniors have recently been getting more attention.

(a) (b)

Figure 7. (a) School conversion, De Omscholing, Rotterdam. (b) Ground-floor plan and facade showing the apartment composition. Source: Courtesy of Gubu Architecten.

5.2. Collaboration

5.2.1. Governance

In the Antwerp Herring Smoking Factory, the residents' group is completely self-organized, as they initiated, planned, managed, and governed the project. However, here too we have to stress the crucial role played by the architect. This project illustrates the governance structure of most CH projects in Belgium, at least in the OURtopia and ECOtopia categories.

In the Flemish project of Collectief Noord and the Dutch school *conversion Omscholing*, the municipality was involved. AG Vespa acted as developer for the city of Antwerp and the municipality of Rotterdam was the owner of the former school building and the plot. In Belgium it is only in the last decade that cities have initiated and supervised CH. In 2011 SoGent (n.d.) was the first government agency to do so. In the Netherlands this ties in with an existing tradition, in which governments are important stakeholders through their ownership of land. In both cases, the architects, Collectief Noord and Hulshof Architects, were involved from an early stage and their role was essential in evoking and visualizing the possibilities of the site and project.

In the Centraal Wonen Wandelmeent project, the organizational process originated from a core group of residents who then contacted the housing corporation Gooi en Omstreken, which acted as project developer and owner. Although the inhabitants were tenants, they chose an architect beforehand and were the driving force behind the project. Also, management of the project was and still is in the hands of a residents' association, which can be regarded as a far-reaching form of self-governance under tenant conditions. This kind of process is less evident in Belgium, where renting occupies a smaller percentage and is often more a formula for the lower classes.

5.2.2. Continuum Between "Individual" and "Collective''

As Lang et al. (2018, p. 10) explain, "this theme represents a continuum between collaborative housing from the perspective of the individual, on one end, towards collaborative housing from the perspective of a "collective" phenomenon, on the other end." In all projects there is a tension between, on the one hand, the importance of "privacy"/autonomy and, on the other hand, "solidarity, social interaction, and sharing."

In almost all the projects under discussion, each housing unit deliberately has a private outdoor space (terrace or garden) because it is important to preserve the autonomy of each household. In Wandelmeent, however, several clusters share their backyards. Belgian architects are certainly aware of the importance Belgians attach to autonomy and individuality. Most Belgian cohousing projects have individual terraces or gardens, besides a communal garden or courtyard. In the Netherlands, there are more examples of the sharing of all outdoor space, sometimes providing "threshold" areas as an unfenced intermediary between the collective and private.

The degree to which the communal gardens and other facilities invite interaction and appropriation differs in the projects. In the Dutch cases and in the Herring Smoking Factory, the communal spaces are designed to facilitate and even encourage communal activities, such as joint dinners or meetings. They are sometimes even open to people from outside the project. In the Collectief Noord project, the architects were mainly concerned about the fact that inhabitants would use and appropriate the communal garden too much. They therefore designed barriers between the living spaces of the homes and the garden. They did so by placing the living spaces on the first floor and by providing more private rooms at ground level (even a little deepened). This is in line with the greater importance Belgians attach to autonomy and privacy. This difference is also reflected in the fact that Dutch homes are generally far more open to public space and their windows are considerably less screened (Cieraad, 1997).

5.3. Motivations

The motivations for CH in the discussed cases range from inhabitants seeking a different, more social way of living to those focusing on the importance of having a good, affordable home in a high-quality, child-friendly environment. The two early cases from both countries clearly belong to the former category, since living together and sharing facilities and activities (cooking and eating together), even with the broader society, are central motivations and pillars in their community. The ideals of feminist emancipation underlying the Centraal Wonen projects in the Netherlands clearly illustrate this idealistic motivation. Also, the origins of Samenhuizen in Belgium go back to a desire to organize housing differently. In the more recent projects Collectief Noord and Omscholing, the focus is rather on the latter: having a quality home in a dense urban neighborhood. In these projects, inhabitants mention how communal activities have an informal character and arise spontaneously. In the two early projects, the creation of commons, defined by Lang et al. (2018, p. 10) as a "democratic and non-hierarchical organization of housing beyond state and market, which addresses the needs of all its residents" is more specifically mentioned and formalized. These projects explicitly stress sharing activities, borrowing each other's materials, helping each other. The Herring Smoking Factory even explicitly emphasizes the fact that non-inhabitants can also make use of their facilities.

5.4. Architectural Design

In CH projects involving the conversion of existing buildings, sustainability is an important motivator, especially

the fact that these buildings get a second life, retaining embodied energy, urban structures, and identity. As they are often situated in valuable locations or have precious characteristics, they certainly contribute to the living quality of the inhabitants.

Lang et al. (2018, p. 14) point out that in some cases collaborative design practices emerge and that CH provides opportunities for collective and individual learning by residents. In most cases, the residents are indeed involved and join discussions about how to renovate and/or design their future spaces. Only in the Belgian project of Collectief Noord did the architects (one of whom later became an inhabitant) clearly keep control of the design process of the buildings, which is rather unusual. Also in De Omscholing, two architects of the involved architectural firm were future residents of the project. In most projects, the architects have a guiding role and resident participation is part of the design process. In all cases, the result is considered to be of high quality, to the great satisfaction of the residents, and leads to great appreciation within the world of architecture, seeing their inclusion in architectural publications (e.g., Architectuurwijzer, 2021).

6. Conclusion

Comparing the different national contexts, the various terms in the field of CH, and the case studies, it becomes clear that the term "collective" can refer to different aspects of "housing." The issue for residents in former and future CH projects is: What do we want to share and why? In this article we have found different aspects that may apply separately or in combination, like collective ownership and equal rights (legal); collective building process and participation (process); collective maintenance, agreements, association (organization); collective events, connection, daily routine (social); and collective facilities (economic). But, depending on the various motivations for living collectively, as also distinguished by Camp (2018) and Lang et al. (2018), different aspects play a role.

The comparative analysis between Belgium and the Netherlands demonstrates how CH is intensively discussed in both countries, although their housing traditions and policies differ. In Flanders, CH is promoted by the Flemish Government Architect and the subsidized voluntary association Samenhuizen. The most commonly used terms are "cohousing," *co-wonen* and "collective housing." However, many legal and technical issues make it complicated. In the Netherlands the government mainly has a facilitating role. In both countries, candidate residents are often the self-organizing initiators. In the past decade, cities have also initiated CH projects in Belgium. The Dutch Government supports CH initiatives but is usually not the initiator. In both countries, economic arguments are a motivation to join a CH project, offering more facilities and conveniences than one could afford individually. Although the scale of the projects generally differs, with more units in the Netherlands (50 and 9 in the Dutch cases) and smaller complexes in Belgium (9 and 4 units in the Belgian cases), both countries show a variety in the continuum of sharing few to many facilities. In the older cases, the idealist notions of collectivity and forming a community seem to be more important than in the later cases.

The main difference between the two countries is undoubtedly tied to the different housing needs and aspirations and can be related to the differences in housing culture and the organization of the housing market. In the Dutch tradition, CH is closely linked to cooperation in the building process, even if the legal developer and owner of the property is often a housing corporation. Also, in the current situation with various models combining renting and buying, there is a distinction between legal ownership and organizational and operational control. In Belgium, private ownership by individual residents in cohousing is the norm, and property, influence, and control go hand in hand.

While most Belgians are satisfied with their owner-occupied homes, groups of residents in the Netherlands see CH as a means to achieve a different quality of living. They feel they can do better than the institutions by establishing their own collectives and associations. Although in the Netherlands too homeownership has increased in recent decades and individual dwellings (homeownership or rental) are the norm, the Dutch see CH as a way of having more say in the design of their home and living environment. For the Belgians, by contrast, CH is rather perceived as a reduction of autonomy. Collectivity in organizational aspects is acceptable or even a driver for Dutch co-housers, whereas it is sometimes an obstacle for Belgians. In the continuum from individual to collective as described by Lang et al. (2018, pp. 10–11), the neighboring countries are on different sides of the collaboration spectrum. In the project of Collectief Noord, the architects were very sensitive to the need for autonomy and privacy of the individual household and the importance to keep the communal garden completely communal.

CH projects are prestigious for socially aware and leading architects in Belgium, but most Belgians remain rather suspicious. Pursuing a more sustainable model in urban planning and land use, the Flemish Government Architect has raised awareness about CH among inhabitants. Architects in both countries play a crucial role in developing the CH project, mostly in close cooperation with the residents. They can spatially facilitate the balance between autonomy and social exchange, which is a key aspect for the well-being of residents and which differs in each case. Moreover, architects are able to create added value for residents and for the broader society. The conversion of abandoned industrial and other heritage sites illustrates this, as is the case in the Herring Smoking Factory and the Omscholing school conversion. But as the Collectief Noord project and Wandelmeent demonstrate, new realizations can also create added

value for the broader society by providing collective alternatives to more traditional forms of housing, offering infrastructure to the neighborhood, and contributing to both quantitative and qualitative challenges of the housing market.

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Conflict of Interests

The authors declare no conflict of interests.

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Article

Brutalism and Community in Middle Class Mass Housing: Be'eri Estate, Tel Aviv, 1965–Present

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Abstract
Fostering functioning, place-based communities has been a major concern in architecture and planning circles since the mid-1950s revolving the issue of habitat. Using the ethics of European New Brutalism, in Israel the architectural discourse locally developed a Team 10 critique of CIAM, addressing community as the main challenge of modern housing. The failure of modern mass housing to foster viable communities is associated with, and arguably triggered by, the global shift from state-sponsored to market housing that began in the 1970s. Increasing neoliberal policies, which address housing as economic investment, further strip housing off its social role as the site for collectivity and identity. These policies sideline community in housing design. Challenging these assumptions, this study focuses on the socio-spatial dynamics of Beit Be'eri, a single-shared New Brutalist housing estate built in 1965 in Tel Aviv. Marking the beginning of the end of the Israeli welfare state, this estate was produced in the open market explicitly for well-to-do bureaucrats, civil servants, and professionals. Nevertheless, it uses the architectural and urban manifestations of New Brutalism associated with the earlier period of Brutalist state housing. The estate is cooperatively managed since its opening. It consists of a local interpretation of Team 10's call to plan the city as a big house, the house as a small city. Although its cooperative management provokes ongoing inter-resident struggles over its shared spaces, Be'eri represents a long-lasting community, fifty-years strong. Be'eri estate forms a perplexing community, where residents' individual ownership and middle-class identities clash in intricate practices of shared estate management. Based on archival, ethnographic, and architectural field research, this article unravels values of identity and senses of belonging that the brutalist estate provides to its residents. Fostering a critical view of the notion of community, it also examines the residents' persistence in the context of a neoliberal housing bubble. This article portrays how the building allows for shared management of the large estate, shaping and consolidating an active community built upon every-day struggles over shared spaces. Applying Anderson's powerful idea of the imagined community as a cultural product, we ask: Is the strong sense of collectivity in Be'eri imagined? If so, how do these imagined communities form? Upon what are they grounded? How do the intricate practices managing the estate shape its persistent middle-class identity?

Keywords
Brutalism; community; housing estate; middle class; modern architecture; Tel Aviv

Issue
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1. Introduction

Community has been one of the most perplexing terms in the history of post-war mass housing. The term sparks intense debates within the modern movement. Arguably, it triggers the articulation of New Brutalism as a new ethics for architecture (Banham, 1955; Smithson, 1962; van den Heuvel, 2015). While Corbusier-inspired Brutalism has been taken up by regimes worldwide for the purpose of post-war mass housing and monumental

government institutions, the ethics and critique of New Brutalism has been incorporated into them starting the mid-1960s. Part of post-war reconstruction and the formation of new nation states immediately after the war, mass housing focused primarily on the production of dwelling units, often using rationalized assessment tools for determining floor area, amenities, cost, and urban infrastructure. While providing good standard dwellings to citizens worldwide, Brutalist mass housing enterprises have generally not attended to issues of associations, identity, community, or sociability—issues formulating the ethics of New Brutalism (Cupers, 2014; Glendinning, 2021; Mota, 2014).

Critique of the Modern Movement—even the one framed within CIAM—has largely revolved around the social consequences of its immense success in producing these post-war habitats. After all, post-war mass housing posed architects and planners with a fascinating paradox: While millions of families who lost their homes during the war or due to large migrations following it were now housed in well serviced modernist apartment blocks, publics were unhappy with their habitats. This had significant social consequences, from France to Israel, to the U.S. and the UK. Post-war new towns and neighbourhoods worldwide were largely desolate social spaces. There, people felt anonymized and isolated. The spaces soon became sites for social and political unrest, associated with state neglect (Holston, 1989; Scott, 1998; Tzfadia, 2006; Vale, 2009; Yacobi, 2008).

As Risselada and van den Heuvel (2005) show, CIAM meetings of 1953 and 1956, focusing on the habitat, shaped the issue of habitability. The meetings labelled the issue as a fault line in the modern movement and the consolidation of an emerging generation of architects seeking to rearticulate its aims and stakes. These architects, most notedly Allison and Peter Smithson and Aldo van Eych, participated in CIAM meetings introducing terms such as identity and associations, analytical grills involving scale and typology, and methods such as ethnography and photography. Consolidating into Team 10, and eventually dissolving CIAM in 1959, they aspired to propose New Brutalism as an ethics of architecture that attends to non-material concepts, such as community, as the objects of purposeful design.

Team 10 aimed at producing traditional community in modern architecture by identifying a new set of design problems attending to the challenges of mass housing. In other words, to produce mass housing that would enable viable communal life, New Brutalist architects identified elements of housing estates as requiring design, proposed an agenda for this design, and provided terminologies for these design problems, from "house as a small city" to "threshold" (Engel, 1999; Team 10, 1968).

New Brutalist architecture ethics gained purchase worldwide, with significant impact on Israel's state-sponsored mass housing enterprise. This was especially the case in the country's periphery, in exemplary cases such as Beer-Sheba's "Model Housing." Yet, the realization of New Brutalist design thinking in mass housing estates was quickly meshed with the Brutalist mass housing of new towns of the 1950s. No real distinction in Israeli professional and popular discourse between "Brutalism" and "New Brutalism" deemed both failed attempts in producing viable communities, leading to resident desertion and demolitions (Ben-Asher Gitler, 2021; Hoffman & Nevo-Goldberst, 2017). The local and international shift from state-sponsored housing to market housing, starting in the 1970s, has been largely associated with the architectural failure of modern housing to foster viable communities (Bristol, 1991; De Graaf, 2013; Fishman, 2018). New Brutalist estates were frequently criticized in ways like the housing environments they aimed to improve. Common spaces between buildings, provided to build new community consensus, all too often turned out to be spaces of everyday contestation (van den Heuvel, 2013). Since the 1980s, due to negligence and decay, and supported by neoliberal housing policies, post-war housing environments, are gradually being demolished in Israel and worldwide. They are being replaced by new residential buildings, thus proving modern architecture's failure to foster viable communities (Fishman, 2018; Glendinning, 2021). Increasing neoliberal policies addressing housing as an economic investment disavow former aims for housing as the site for community, collectivity, and identity (Marcuse & Madden, 2016; Mota & Allweil, 2019).

In the Israeli context, however, the term "Brutalism" is identified in both professional and popular discourse with Team 10 inspired critiques of Brutalism—namely with New Brutalism. While the Brutalist architecture of the 1950s–1960s, primarily mass housing in new development towns, is identified with the Hebrew term "Shikun" (literally "housing"). Whereas the historiography of Israeli architecture of the New Brutalist generation identifies the ethical aspects of European Team 10 discourse and their influence on local Team 10 architecture, scholars, architects, and the general public have largely identified the introduction of New Brutalism as the introduction of high architecture into Shikun mass housing, distinguishing it with the term "Brutalism" as shorthand (Zandberg, 2013). The study of Ram Carmi's "Brutalist" and Avraham Yaski's "Concrete Architecture," as well as appeals to UNESCO to recognize Beer-Sheba's (New) Brutalism as world heritage site and the work of Hoffman and Nevo-Goldberst of the Tel Aviv Preservation Department to list the city's (New) Brutalist icons for preservation, all demonstrate this historiographical premise (Ben-Asher Gitler, 2021; Hoffman & Nevo-Goldberst, 2017; Levin, 2019; Rotbard, 2007; Shadar, 2014). The historiography of Israeli New Brutalism therefore discusses it as "Brutalism." This terminological messiness has generated two fascinating historiographical phenomena: (a) a confluence of Brutalism and New Brutalism, producing a critique deeply associated with the critique of mass housing; and (b) the association of (New) Brutalism with the work of renowned

architects as the introduction of high architecture to state-funded mass housing, thus a focus of the material and stylistic aspects of New Brutalism.

Unpacking the terminological messiness of Brutalism–New Brutalism in the context of Israel, this article challenges the popular and scholarly assumption that New Brutalist architecture has indeed failed in producing viable communities. To do so, it focuses on the socio-spatial dynamics of Beit Be'eri, a New Brutalist single-shared housing estate built in Tel Aviv in 1965 on a full urban block, and cooperatively managed by 192 families since its opening. A living example of a long-lasting community for over 50 years, the estate is a local interpretation of New Brutalist ethical call to plan the city as a big house, and the house as a small city. Designed by a team of noted Israeli architects including Arieh Sharon, Dov Karmi, Ram Karmi, Benjamin Idelson, Isaac Melzer, and landscape architects Lipa Yahalom and Dan Zur, Be'eri employs explicit New Brutalist design principles and won the prestigious Rokach Award for design in 1970 (Figure 1).

New Brutalist ethics for mass housing, especially those framed in Britain by the MARS group, associated New Brutalism with public housing and the lived reality

Figure 1. Top: Be'eri estate, 1970. Bottom: Be'eri estate team receiving the City of Tel Aviv Rokach Award for architecture for the estate's design (1970, September 13). Standing at the center, Mayor Yehoshua Rabinowitz. The second figure to the left and further left: Arieh Sharon, Benjamin Idelson, Chaya Karmi (widow of Dov Karmi who passed away in 1962), Zvi Meltzer, and Ram Karmi. Source: "Rokach Award" (1970).

of the working class. These ethics reflected the strong role of the post-war nation state in mass housing, using Brutalist as well as New Brutalist schemes. Therefore, much of the scholarship and popular discourse focuses on state administered public and social housing serving the lower classes. Nonetheless, several important Brutalist and New Brutalist housing estates have come to be populated by members of the middle classes. This phenomenon applies primarily to estates located in central areas of metropolitan cities. Noted examples include Le Corbusier's Unité d'Habitation in Marseille; Chamberlin, Powell, and Bon's Barbican in London; or Safdie's Habitat in Montreal. At the same time, certain post-war contexts have explicitly addressed the middle class as the target for New Brutalist mass housing, for example Italy (Caramellino & De Pieri, 2015).

Unlike many New Brutalist estates worldwide and in Israel, however, Be'eri was originally conceived as a middle-class housing estate, developed by the market rather than the state. It was constructed at the then-outskirts of the city, on agricultural lands annexed for housing construction for more middle-class urban dwellers. The city's leadership, on its part, supported "extensive organized construction" by providing additional building percentage to enable its reformist plans (A. Sharon, 1970, p. 2). Close to the estate's completion, Mayor Namir stated: "Recently, Tel Aviv has taken on a new form….Its skyline transformed by…the best of modern architecture" (Namir, as cited in Klir et al., 1965, p. 14). Marking the beginning of the end of the Israeli welfare state, Be'eri was built in the open market explicitly for well-to-do bureaucrats, civil servants, and professionals, including architect Ram Karmi and Mayor Mordechai Namir himself (Hagag, interview, October 29, 2020). The estate is composed of two towers and two blocks, surrounded by five private parks, two parking lots, an inner road, and pedestrian streets on a 13 km^2 plot (Figure 2). Be'eri estate forms a perplexing, imagined community. It clashes residents' individual ownership and middle-class identities with intricate practices for administrating uses of the shared estate, whose identity is shaped by Brutalist communal ethics and design.

The ongoing viability and the very nature of the community in Be'eri poses important questions: (a) Do housing estates on the open market, serving the self-serving middle classes, include imagined communities of shared homes? (b) If so, how do designed built environments work for (or against) these imaginations of shared community? (c) What is the role of architectural design

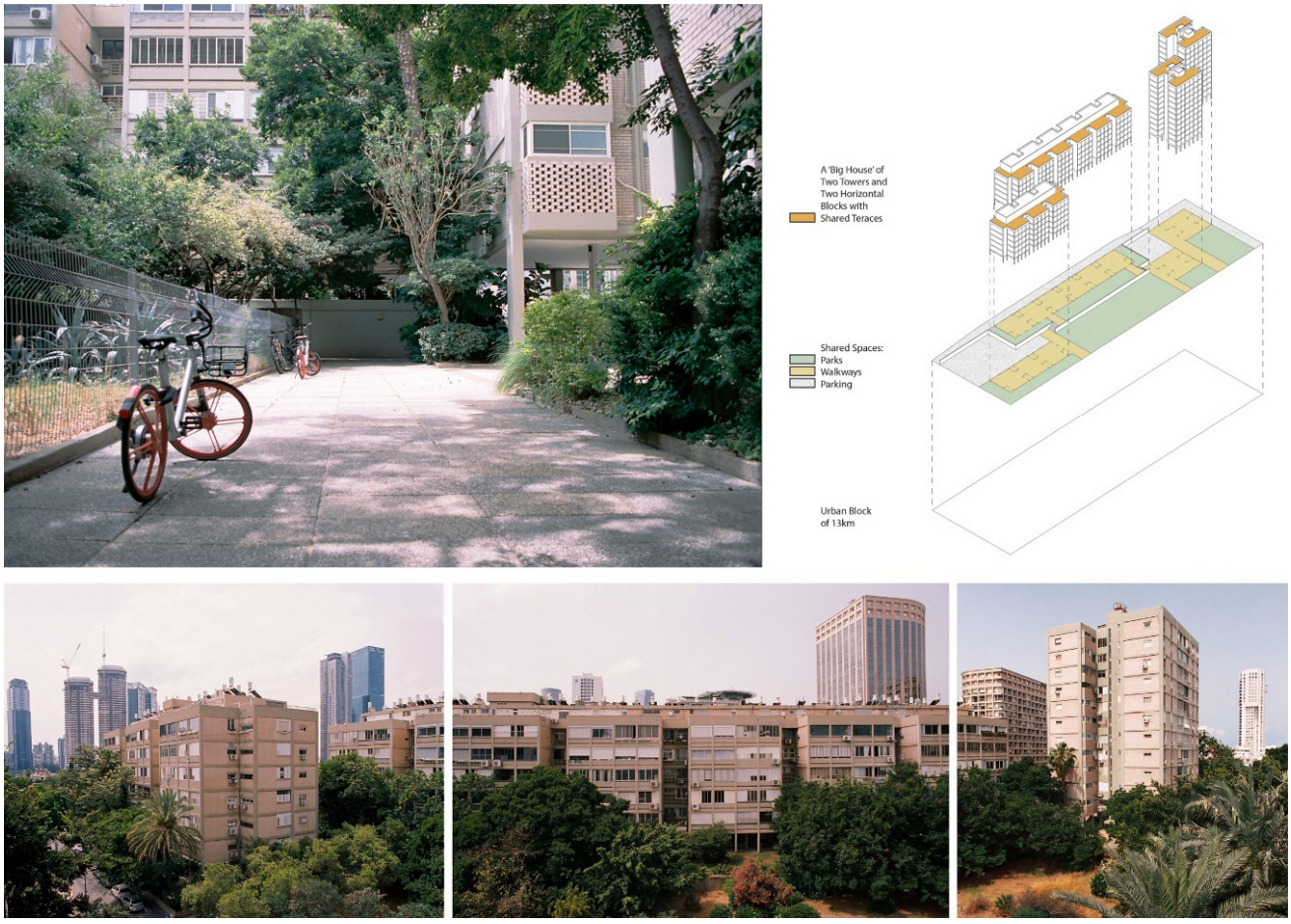

Figure 2. Top: Be'eri estate axonometric view (right) and Be'eri estate's internal pathways (left). Bottom: The estate as an urban unit. Source: Photos courtesy of Guy Margolin, 2019.

in sustaining community? Namely, have New Brutalist ethics supported the viability of this middle-class estate?

Renewed international interest in New Brutalist architecture involving the conflict between housing as a lived, social space and housing as real estate commodity points to the importance of the questions posed here (Marcuse & Madden, 2016; van den Heuvel, 2019). We propose two important sets of findings, concerning the architectural articulation of community: (1) Analysing the New Brutalist architecture of Be'eri, we identify the architectural elements enabling resident negotiations over uses of the estate as an object of agonism, forming a non-harmonious yet long-lasting democratic community. We thus demonstrate exactly how the architecture of Be'eri fosters its viable community; (2) analysing the urban, socio-economic, political-economic, and historical context of Be'eri as a middle-class housing estate, we consider both class identity and state-citizen dynamics in mass housing as significant elements in the formation of viable communities.

2. New Brutalism and Community

Community—understood as a key concept to approach housing throughout the second half of the 20th century—has roots in early 20th-century writings on "community lost" and the disappearance of social and emotional ties in urban environments hindering community growth (Lewis, 2016; Mahmoudi Farahani, 2016; White & Guest, 2003). In the aftermath of the Second World War, Team 10 objected to CIAM members' uncritical realization of the welfare state's demand for housing units for the masses via Brutalist mass housing and new towns, producing what CIAM's younger generation viewed as sterile, unlively housing environments. Facing community fragmentation, the diverse voices comprising Team 10 strived to complement two rights of citizens of the western welfare state: the right to unit ownership and the right to genuine identification with their housing environment. Members of this critical group of CIAM, while diverse in their views and approaches, as well as designs (as reflected in the Primer for example), argued that housing architecture should encourage human interactions and foster local communities. Thus, New Brutalism proposed an opposition to modernist planning conventions by questioning CIAM's analytical tools of rational planning, and offering alternatives attuned to typology and scale (De Graaf, 2013; Mumford, 2000; Risselada & van den Heuvel, 2005; Team 10, 1968).

However, what type of community takes shape in Team 10's discourse? In the Doorn Manifesto, Team 10 members discuss community as a built projection of the pattern of human associations, suiting its particular environment (Team 10, 1954). Promoting innovations in housing architecture, they developed housing megastructures—systems of linked building complexes—intending to reflect and enhance the network of human associations in the city (Smithson, 1962). These involved attending to the dependencies between architectural and urban space, as well as to the social order of the communities inhabiting those spaces (Mumford, 2018; Risselada & van den Heuvel, 2005). Alison and Peter Smithson, discussing the modern city's problem of identity, suggested that a community should be built up from a hierarchy of associational elements. Each level of the hierarchical framework designed as a plastic reality aimed at connecting inhabitants to their environment (Cupers, 2016; Risselada & van den Heuvel, 2005; Team 10, 1954). Van den Heuvel (2015), revisiting Reyner Banham's seminal essay "The New Brutalism," addresses the Smithsons' pivotal shift from aesthetics to ethics as a shift away from singular buildings toward town planning (Banham, 1955).

The ethical, formal, material, and architectural attention to community proposed by Team 10 found great resonance among Israeli architects. The latter were facing similar challenges in the new towns designed for Jewish immigrants in the first decade of state sovereignty, where Brutalist mass housing and modern planning produced anonymity and identity loss which culminated in social unrest (Shadar & Yacobi, 2016). Israeli architects regularly participated in CIAM meetings, nurturing a long correspondence with members of the modern movement. Likewise, they published their built projects in well-circulated modernist journals such as *L'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui* (Ben-Asher Gitler & Geva, 2018; Efrat, 2019; Mumford, 2018; A. Sharon, 1976). Be'eri architecture team members were highly versed in these debates. Architect Arieh Sharon participated in several Israeli delegations to CIAM meetings, including the Team 10-led 1956 meeting on "Scales of Association," which addressed the city as a series of semi-autonomous associational elements (Mumford, 2000, 2018). Ram Karmi graduated from the AA school in London (1951–1956), achieving his architecture diploma amid CIAM's takeover by Team 10, led by British architects Alison and Peter Smithson (Ben-Asher Gitler, 2021). Echoing Team 10 rhetoric, in a 1965 essay Karmi criticized Israel's post-war Brutalist housing environments as socially insignificant arrangements of buildings producing an urban dreariness where no one could find their place (R. Karmi, 1965; Van Eych in Team 10, 1954). Like Team 10, he called for constructing housing as a framework for complete urban life (Ben-Asher Gitler, 2021; R. Karmi, 2001). Akin to Team 10's assessment, and inspired by Clarence Perry's "neighbourhood unit" to foster communal life within the modern environment, Brutalism in Israel served as an architectural critique to the state's post-war massive public housing project (Hoffman & Nevo-Goldberst, 2017; R. Karmi, 2001; Perry, 2020; Shadar, 2016; see Figure 3).

Tel Aviv's urban principle as housing-based urbanism draws from Sir Patrick Geddes' 1925 masterplan for a city of 100,000 inhabitants extending north up to the Yarkon river, now identified as the "Old North" section of the city (Allweil & Zemer, 2019). Since Geddes' interest in urbanism revolved around his conception of

Figure 3. A collection of the *Architectural Design* journal issues found in architect Eli Mashiah's private archive, the team architect of Be'eri at Sharon's office. Sources: Courtesy of Idith Levy.

housing as the building block for cities, his approach to urban planning involved seeing housing and urbanism as one single problem. Geddes famously wrote that "Urban Planning cannot be made from above using general principles…studied in one place and imitated elsewhere. City planning is the development of a local way of life, regional character, civic spirit, unique personality…based on its own foundations" (Geddes, 1915, p. 205). This statement, quoted in the Doorn Manifesto as well as in the Team 10 Primer, has explicitly influenced the work of the younger generation of CIAM (Risselada & van den Heuvel, 2005; Team 10, 1968). Within the Israeli architecture discourse, the critique of Brutalism was therefore also rooted in the local context of Tel Aviv, Geddes' only fully-realized urban master plan (Allweil, 2017; Allweil & Zemer, 2019).

Geddes' urban structure for Tel Aviv laid down a non-orthogonal grid, based on the region's geography and existing routes and landmarks in the landscape. This made possible urban blocks of varied size and character within a unified urban structure for the city. The home-block idea had appeared in Geddes' work as early as his 1915 *Cities in Evolution* (Welter, 2009). Geddes examined cases of superblock design and made an active departure from the cul-de-sac blocks to the use of "homeways" that distinguished main from local roads yet kept inner-block parks and civil facilities as part of the city's civic system (Payton, 1996; see Figures 4 and 5). Geddes' explorations of the urban block in multiple planning schemes for cities in India, especially in his Indore plan, culminated in his Tel Aviv plan into well-articulated home-block urban units: urban blocks composed of two rings of detached houses, around the inner circumference and the outer circumference of the block. Each block included a small public park with communal facilities such as playgrounds and tennis courts. "Mainways" through traffic surround the home-block. Narrow "homeways" and pedestrian ways lead to the inner block without traversing it (Allweil & Zemer, 2019; Geddes, 1925; Meller, 1990). Geddes' town planning report was adopted into a masterplan containing a colored map and written by-laws, drafted in accordance with the British Mandatory *Town Planning Order* of 1921 (Marom, 2009). The Geddes Plan is addressed in the literature primarily as urban layout, based on the assumption that Geddes' worker housing was never constructed (Meller, 1990; Weill-Rochant, 2003).

Most of the research and discourse of Tel Aviv's worker housing revolves around the few well-known Meonot Ovdim (worker residences) designed by Arieh Sharon. Self-built "worker neighborhood" home-block dwellings all over the city were largely forgotten since they were not designed by architects (Greicer, 2017; A. Sharon, 1937). However, findings uncovered in the archives and the built environment prove that Geddes'

housing scheme was fully realized by the mid-1930s, its realization founded on worker housing via the sweat of the city's disenfranchised worker community (Allweil, 2017; Allweil & Zemer, 2019).

The city as a housing problem and the concerns for Tel Aviv's housing-based urbanism carried over into the 1950s and 1960s. Israel's "first generation" architects critiqued CIAM's urban principles by adopting and appropriating the social values of European New Brutalism (R. Karmi, 2001; Shadar, 2014). Influenced by Team 10, themselves influenced by Geddes, architects aimed to create viable communities related to their own culture and environment (Hoffman & Nevo-Goldberst, 2017; R. Karmi, 2001; Yaar & Eitan, 2016). The concepts of "neighborhood" and "neighboring unit" were highly used in the planning professional discourse in Israel. Often discussed revolving post-war new towns in Israel's periphery (Shadar, 2014), little attention is given to the significance of these planning concepts to the extension of housing-based urbanism in Tel Aviv beyond the scope of the Geddes plan area. Scant research of Israeli New Brutalist housing estates revolves around estates developed in Tel Aviv, incorporated as home-blocks in the East and North of the Geddes plan area, as part of the city's post-war expansion (Hoffman & Nevo-Goldberst, 2017; Marom, 2009). Indeed, prior to designing Be'eri estate, its designers often objected to Tel Aviv's market-driven development, which had altered the Geddes plan's urban fabric. While the city's home-block urban units have maintained through multiple cycles of development, many small garden-city housing designed by Geddes were replaced by apartment houses. The Israeli Team 10 critiqued the growing privatization of civic life and stood against the speculative realization of Geddes' plan, which increasingly replaced self-built home-blocks with multi-story, market-led apartment houses, thus losing much of its communal character (A. Sharon, 1937, 1970). The extension of the city to the east following the annexation of agricultural lands for the development of urban housing led to the development of the "New North" masterplan of 1940, whose principles conversed with those of the "Old North" plan. The group of Israeli Team 10 architects therefore extended their opposition to the New North quarter's homogenous urban planning. Approaching housing as a tool for social reform, architects Arieh Sharon and Ram Karmi—who both served in key positions in the Ministry of Housing—developed novel housing schemes, aimed at creating viable communities within the modern urban environment. Prior critical attempts include (Dov) Karmi's 1946 proposal for overcoming Tel Aviv's insufficient open spaces for communal interactions—the neighbouring problem—by challenging the city's typical urban layout and offering several rearrangements of adjacent plots to provide wider communal spaces between apartment buildings (D. Karmi, 1946; see Figure 4).

Be'eri estate is part of the New North residential quarter at the then-outskirts of the city. The New North master plan of 1940 encouraged market-driven development of four-story apartment buildings, extending the urban fabric and housing typology of the city centre, which is based on 500 m^2 individual plots composing urban

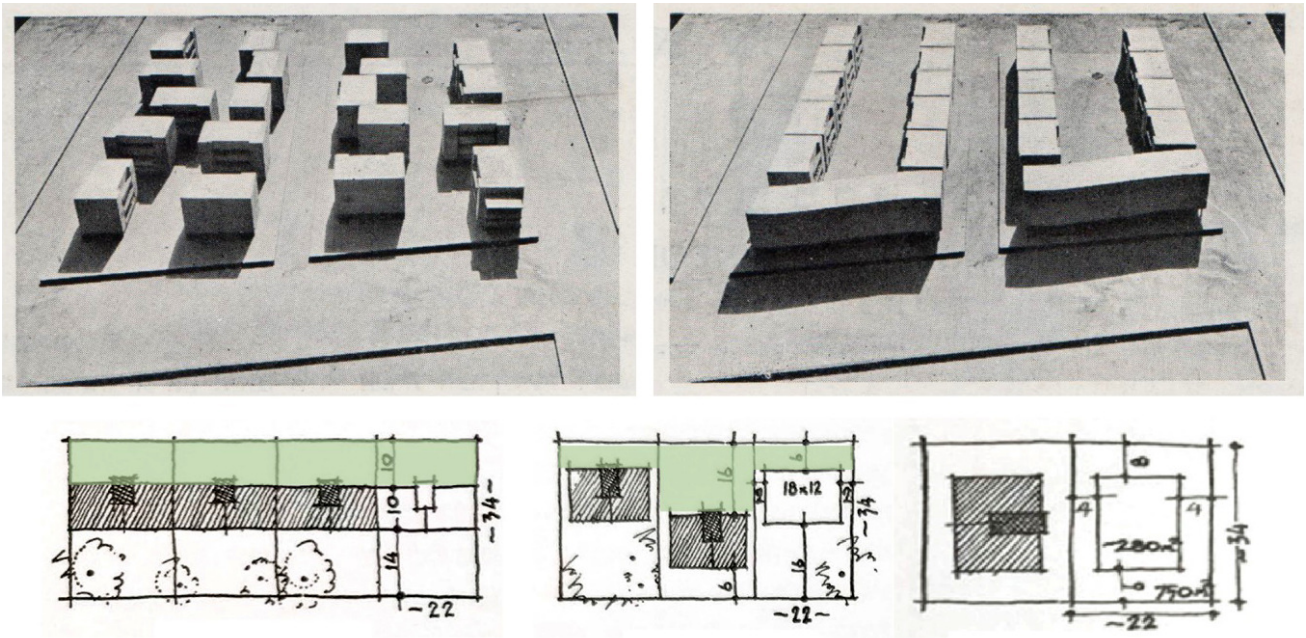

Figure 4. Top: Arieh Sharon's proposal for the extra-large house (right) vs. Tel Aviv's common urban housing blocks (left). Bottom: Dov Karmi's critique of the Tel Avivian house plot (right) by offering two alternative rearrangements of housing parcels in a "chess form" (middle) and a "continuous form" (left). Both alternative rearrangements, providing wider green spaces around apartment buildings, appear later in Be'eri's estate layout. Sources: A. Sharon (1937, p. 2; top) and D. Karmi (1946, p. 3; bottom).

blocks (Marom, 2009; Taba Now, n.d.; see Figure 5). In 1958, the Solel-Boneh semi-public construction company acquired a full urban block of 13 km^2 as part of the privatization of Tel Aviv's medical-centre lands and invited a team of noted Israeli architects, including Arieh Sharon and Ram Karmi, to devise the plan. This unique team of architects, the Israeli Team 10, viewed Be'eri estate as an opportunity to realize its planners' urban critique. Designing Be'eri's urban block as a big house—maintaining one self-managed community—aimed to constitute a framework for community (Figure 6).

Rather than subdivide the large urban block into typical Tel Avivian apartment house plots, as seen across the street, the design team proposed one estate sharing the entire block. Echoing New Brutalist estates of the time, Be'eri planners designed the estate as a big house that

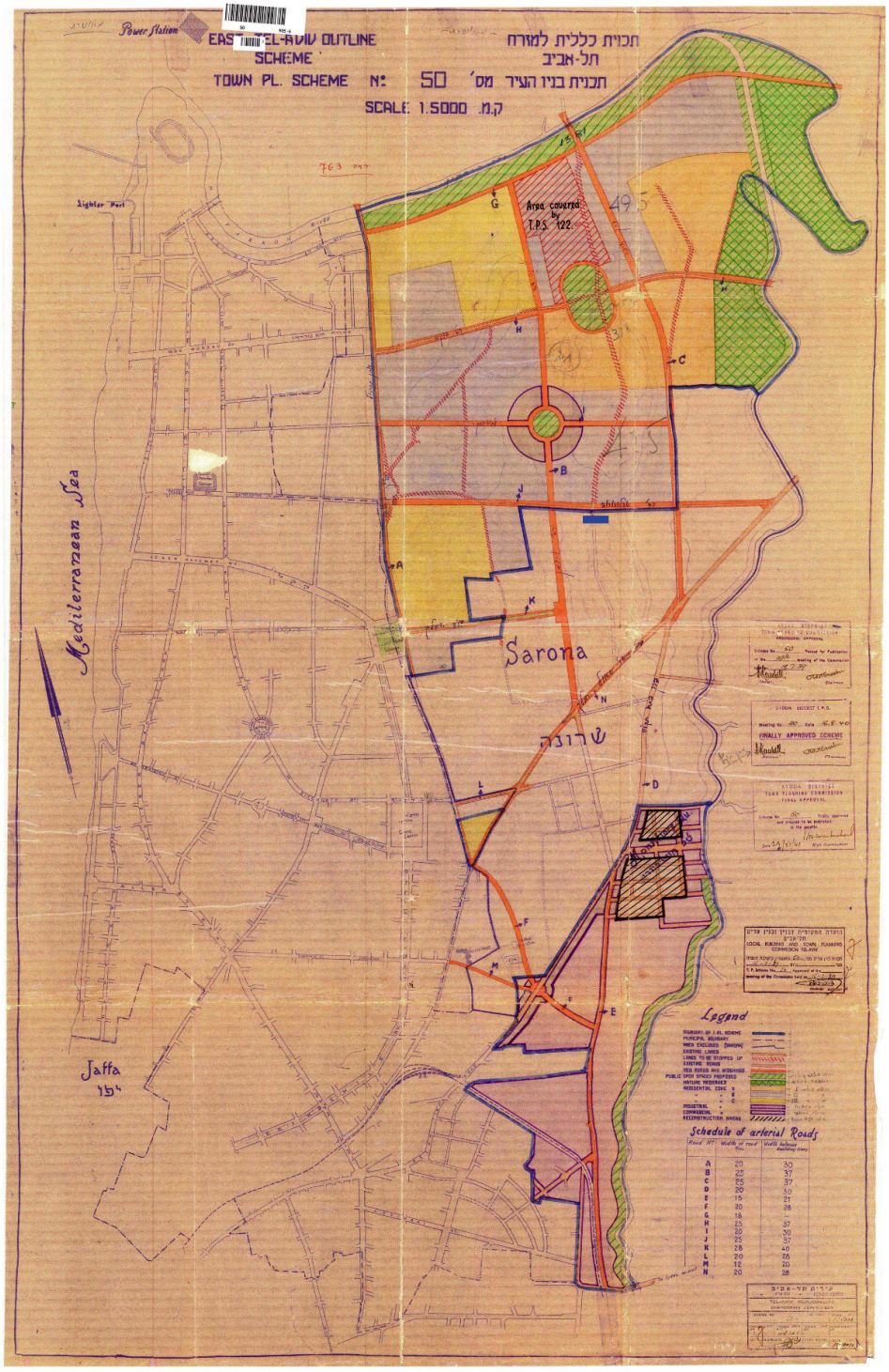

Figure 5. General plan for East Tel Aviv: Master Plan 50, 1940, with location of Be'eri estate in blue. The spots in yellow, orange, and oval define residential land use. Source: Taba Now (n.d.).

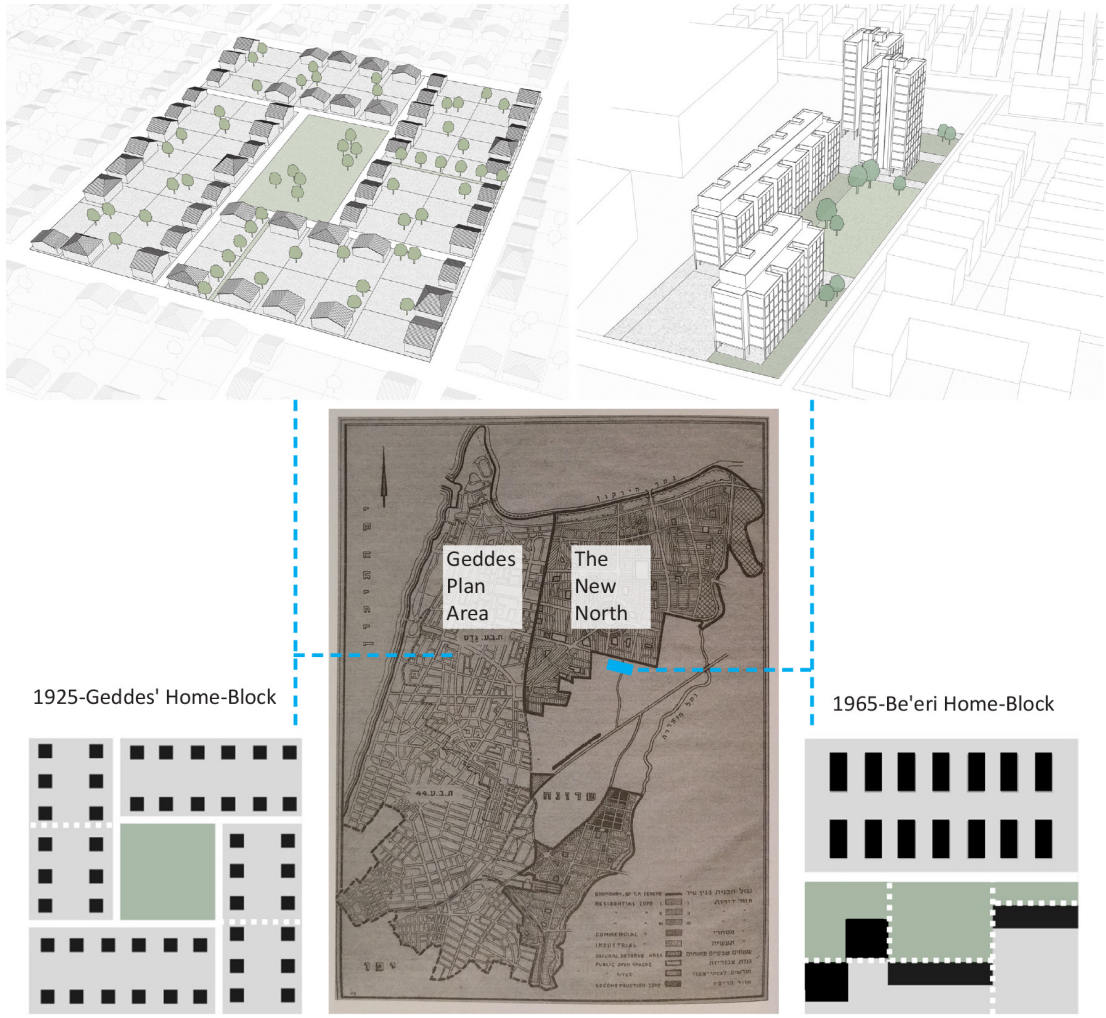

Figure 6. Be'eri estate typological criticism of Tel Aviv's urban block.

functions like a small city, involving various city-like common facilities, shared by all residents.

The architect team suggested a new type of urban block, rethinking the existing urban layout—an architectural approach termed by Tafuri as "typological criticism" (Borsi et al., 2018; Tafuri, 1980). An architectural drawing, one of many found in Sharon's archive, attests to the estate's design as typological criticism of Tel Aviv's urban layout composed of 500 m^2 individual housing plots with no social amenities (Figure 7). The common facilities include an internal walkway connecting between estate buildings, two parking areas, a service road, a large central park, and four smaller parks. Complementing the estate's "architectural separation," the four parks vary in levels—each park attached to a different building (A. Sharon, 1970, p. 1). Granulite-covered walkways frame the different parks, leaving them open for resident appropriation. While the big house constituted an urban-block-sized framework for human contact, its spatial fragmentation encircled within its boundaries four smaller frameworks of human associations, with several scales of social interaction among residents (D. Karmi, 1946; D. Karmi & A. Sharon, [ca. 1960]).

Taking advantage of the site's topography—with level differences of 2.5 m between its north and south edges—the planners sculpted a three-dimensional ground level, allowing the upper-slab's park to overview other common facilities as parks and parking areas, while wide stairways connect between the differently levelled walkways. The walkways reach Be'eri street in four different points, connecting the internal route with the external street network. Additionally, each slab's shared roof terrace functions as a street in the air—an elevated pathway inviting urban intensity up to the thresholds—allowing movement between the slab's different sections. To enhance the sense of privacy, the designers sub-divided the longitudinal slabs by recessed terraces, containing the apartments' service areas. Designing each slab as a merge of several separated volumes, they added yet another, more intimate level to the hierarchy of human associations. They then provided each separated looking volume with an independent entrance, and doorstep—thus echoing Team 10's stress on the threshold—a crucial space for inhabitants to meet and encounter, transitioning between the private and the collective (Figure 8).

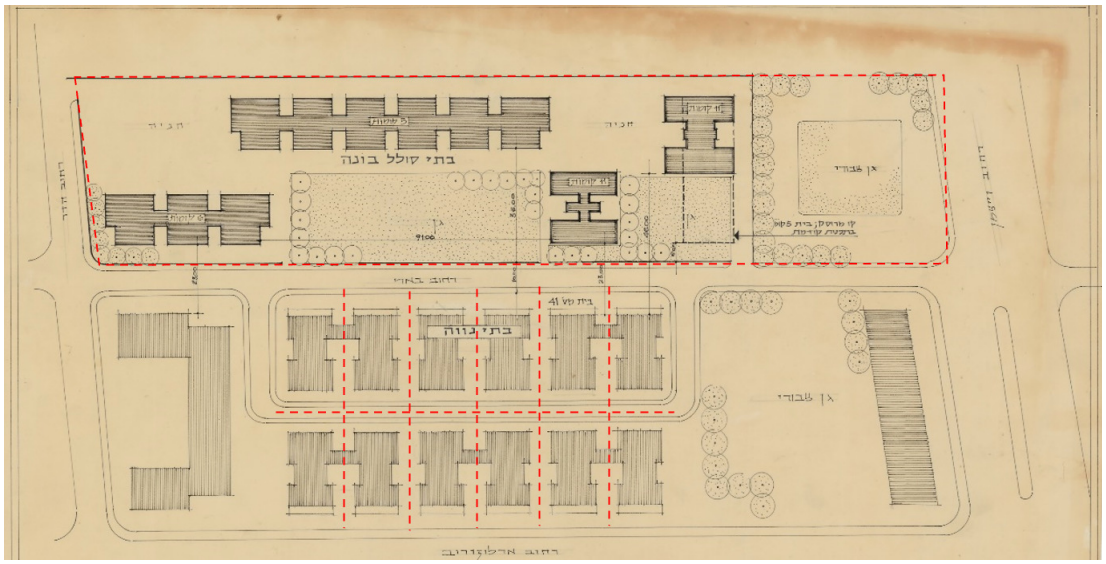

Figure 7. Schematic plan of Be'eri estate, unknown year, with graphic additions by the authors illustrating the difference between the proposed planning scheme for Be'eri estate (top) and Nave houses representing the common urban layout (bottom). Source: A. Sharon (n.d.).

Figure 8. Facades and roof plan of one of the elongated buildings (40–50 Be'eri street). Note in the facades the recessed service balconies (dark grey) shaping the large building as a series of separate-looking volumes. Top: the facades' drawing, 1963; Bottom: roof plan, unknown year, with graphic additions by the authors. The building's design as a series of separate-looking volumes softens the large building's massiveness and produces a colonnade with extensive thresholds for each entry. Sources: A. Sharon (1963); photos by the authors.

In 1970, Be'eri estate won the City-of-Tel Aviv Rokach Award for architecture, recognizing its contribution to the city's development. The award stated that Be'eri's planning "sees architecture as a means towards the creation of a living environment" and expresses "a humanistic approach to architecture rather than a mechanistic or formal one" (Gilbert, 1970, p. 1; Y. Rabinowitz, 1970, p. 5). Receiving the award, Sharon delivered a speech titled "Individual buildings or comprehensive architecture," advocating the latter rather than the former (A. Sharon, 1970, pp. 1–7). Designing a dynamic landscape and leaving certain spaces open for resident appropriation, Be'eri designers aimed to fuel and animate residents' immediate housing environment with life and activity. They thought about environment in both social and architectural terms.

Indeed, the residents of Be'eri have employed the characteristics of this design by appropriating parts of the shared estate. While enjoying environmental advantages deriving from the urban-block-sized big house and its vast open spaces, residents have carried out organizational and spatial rearrangements that appropriate the estate's initial architectural separation. Be'eri's residents have chosen to sub-divide the estate in terms of management, maintaining the estate's buildings and parks through a four-tier democratic committee of elected residents, who represent the interests of each entry within the estate. The estate sub-divided management is spatially evident. Following disagreements over the parking areas' maintenance expenses, the estate residents have divided the shared parking area in half, uneconomically placing two automatic entrance gates—side by side. "We would further split the parking area if it was technically possible," says N. L., who has been residing in Be'eri since the 1970s, and who has served as chairperson for the upper block (N. L., interview, May 9, 2018). Further, the estate's series of differently designed parks reflects how each committee chose to appropriate and control its buildings' open space (Figure 9).

Within the estate's smaller "human associations," intimate relationships have developed. During the Covid-19 pandemic lockdown, for example, families sharing the same building celebrated holidays together, and children visited each other's apartment without having to step outside the building. O. W., who purchased his apartment five years ago, says: "Friendships have formed here. Unlike a single building, there are many people—a potential to encounter and get acquainted with each other" (O. W., interview, November 4, 2020). Furthermore, residents testify that they feel closer to residents sharing with them the same slab's sub-section, frequently encountering them in the shared stairway.

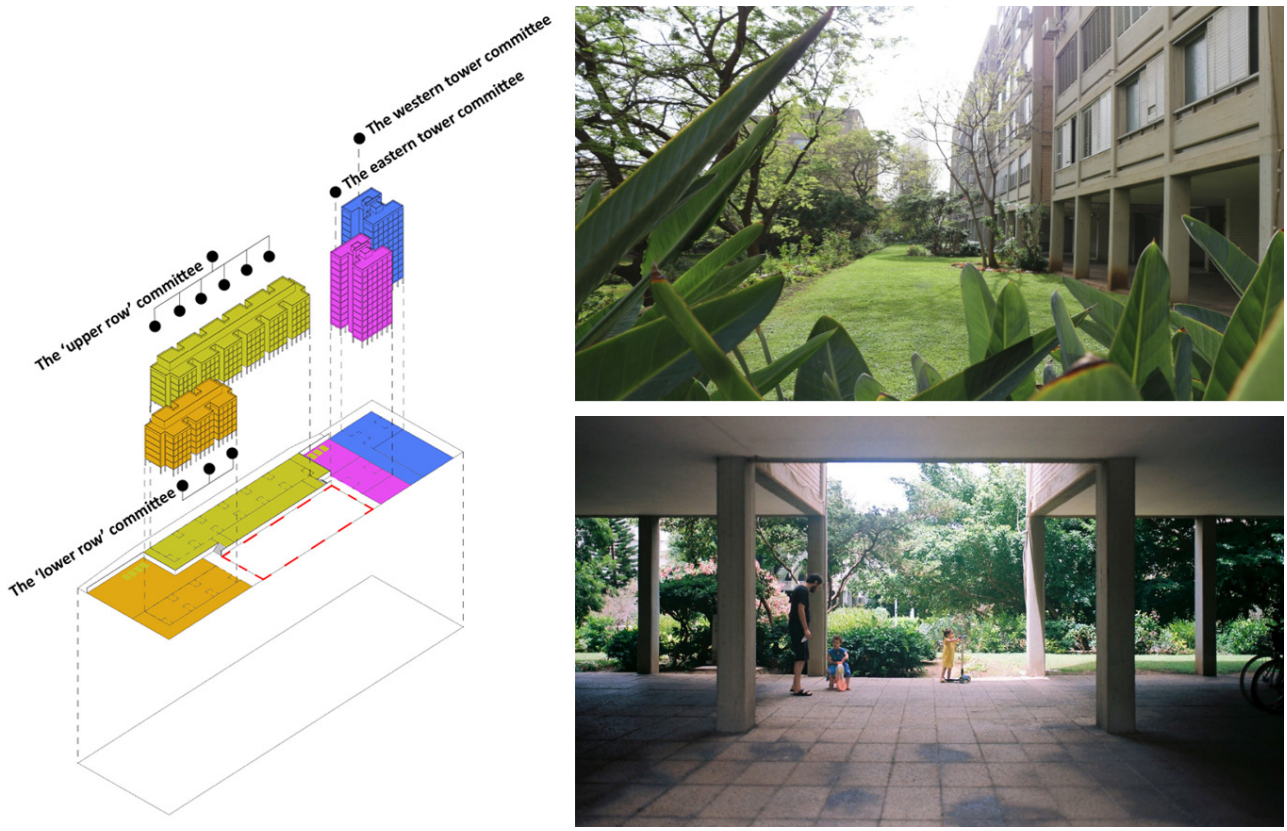

Figure 9. Left: Diagram showing the organizational structure of the Be'eri estate's community. The different colors mark the part of the common space for which each of the four houses is responsible. The red line shows the central park that the tenants have taken out of the equation. Right: The series of gardens at the foot of the buildings provides spaces for children and communal events. Sources: Photos courtesy of Ali Hasan, 2018, and Guy Margolin, 2019.

One resident states: "The friendship and partnership in the complex are special in our alienated world, especially in a big city like Tel Aviv" (survey, May 10, 2020). As these examples show, the estate's sub-divided structure enables residents to operate in smaller semi-autonomous cooperatives, partly breaking from the wide-shared ownership (Figures 10 and 11).

However, although strictly maintaining the cooperative management's sub-divided structure—consistently preventing certain residents from appointing themselves as overall "estate managers"—the estate's separate "human associations" occasionally collaborate over the "big house" maintenance. A renovation process that took place in one of the estate's towers exemplifies how maintenance activities, taking place in one of the estate's buildings, may draw residents from all around the estate to multi-participant acts. To renovate the shared parking area, the tower residents established an inter-building collaboration involving three building committees, collectively managing renovation works. Shared ownership of the big house, promoting in-house political participation, generates daily communal interactions. Residents cooperate, negotiate, and solve problems, involving individual and group engagements—realizing the estate as a dense network of human relations.

Drawing on Eleb we ask: Is there a link between the form of housing and the middle classes? What vision of society and of family supported developers when they conceived their constructions? (Eleb in Caramellino & Zanfi, 2015, p. 11).

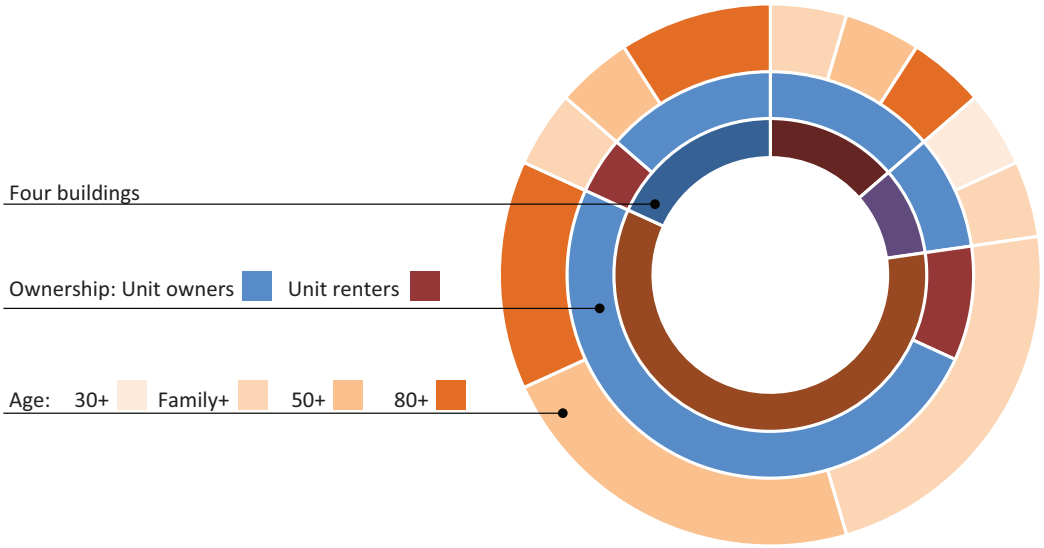

Figure 10. Diagram of the interviews conducted by this study. Interviewees are segmented per residence in each of the estate's buildings, owners vs. renters, and age group.

Figure 11. During the Covid-19 pandemic lockdown residents celebrated holidays together and organized collective childcare solutions.

3. Middle Class Mass Housing: Community and Imagined Community

While social housing complexes are characterized by an explicitly reformist, socio-democratic choice towards lower income residents, the middle class—and middle-class housing—generally lacks a clear definition. This is especially the case when it is constructed and inhabited in the context of real estate development. While access to public housing was typically monitored by the state via various administrative conditions such as income restrictions, private ownership shaped a community in middle class mass housing which is less explicitly defined and remains under-researched to date (Caramellino, 2015).

What is middle-class housing? Although it is one of the main aspects of the urban fabric in Europe, the Middle East, East Asia, and Latin America, middle-class mass housing has been generally underestimated in urban and architectural studies. There is still a lack of comparative analysis and global perspectives to develop a common critical understanding of this phenomenon and a more precise understanding of its different expressions and premises.

While important research exploring the middle-class mass housing phenomenon in the UK, Sweden, the Netherlands, Portugal, France, Belgium, and Italy already circulates, "the construction of a residential environment for the middle classes in the period following the Second World War has been little observed" (Caramellino & Renzoni, 2016, p. 9; Caramellino & Zanfi, 2015; De Vos, 2010; Heynen, 2010; Mattsson & Wallenstein, 2010; Pilat, 2016; Urban, 2012; Wagenaar et al., 2004). This despite the importance of the phenomenon, of the weight that this real estate stock still has in cities, and of the role that the buildings of the period had in contributing to the definition of cultures and housing practices of over a generation (Caramellino & De Pieri, 2015).

As the middle class bears different social-economic and political meaning in various historical and geographic contexts—for example, the middle class in socialist societies—the study of middle-class mass housing involves developing a set of concepts and definitions derived from specific cases and applicable to a wider range of situations.

Be'eri estate, built for the purpose of housing more middle-class urban dwellers, enquires into the very nature of middle-class housing. Marking the beginning of the end of the Israeli welfare state, this market-built development was explicitly directed at a developing section of the housing market: open-market housing for the Middle Class as the "backbone of society," which previously chose detached or apartment housing (Karmon & Chemanski, 1990).

"When observing the architectural quality of some of the collective houses built for the middle classes," writes Eleb, "we are led to the conclusion that the characteristics of the individual house are central, because even the dwellings in high-rises are designed in an attempt to preserve home qualities: outdoor spaces that extend the residential space, attention to storage room, or even bricolage areas, gardens and sports grounds and meeting areas surrounding the residences" (Eleb in Caramellino & Zanfi, 2015, p. 11). As one resident stated, there is direct correlation between the estate's active community and social spaces and its class status: "I would like to point out that when a community of good neighbours is created the [real estate] value of apartments increases" (survey, May 10, 2020).

This crucial balance between the individual and the collective, highly discussed in New Brutalist discourse revolving post-war public housing, was nonetheless relevant in market-led mass housing planned one decade after Israel's consolidation. It was a period that revealed initial cracks in the public's will to individually devote for the common good, and a growing tendency toward individualism (Hoffman & Nevo-Goldberst, 2017). While the shared estate constituted an urban-block-sized framework, its spatial fragmentation encircled within its boundaries four smaller frameworks of human associations gradating between city, neighbourhood, and house.

The legal registration of the four separate buildings as a single shared house under the Israeli Shared Houses Law of 1961 takes part in the architectural balance between private and collective. The estate's legal registration grouped the separate buildings as one big house, encircling a shared habitat of houses and open spaces within the estate's boundaries. The law clearly distinguishes the private domain to the individual apartments only, marking all other elements as shared property, including stairways, walkways, roofs, parks, and other common facilities (D. Rabinowitz, 2007).

Although residents recognize the estate's vast open spaces as the most cherished quality of their estate, they do not necessarily enjoy sharing them with others. Resident interviews revealed that the cooperative management over many shared spaces provokes many conflicts and confrontations, more than once leading to reciprocal prosecutions, possibly due to the legal framework of the estate as a shared home: "The cooperative management has provoked numerous conflicts," attests N. L., who has had to negotiate among residents as block chairperson (N. L., interview, May 9, 2018). "There were times when the building committees did not talk to each other," says D. T., who moved to the estate 10 years ago and led the renovation of one of the tower blocks as chairperson. "Maybe in old-days Tel Aviv it used to be a communal place, now it is not" (D. T., interview, May 13, 2018). G. C., a renter who leads the estate's community garden, states that "there is a thin line between addition and development—everything I add I think whether I cross the line or not" (G. C., interview, November 5, 2020) and N. P. says that "it was a mistake to establish the shared statute" (N. P., interview, April 25, 2018).

Some residents even disclaim the estate's communal character, stating: "No community here, each resident to

himself" (A. S., interview, May 28, 2018); "Only hello and goodbye, nothing more, no community" (A. G., interview, April 12, 2018); "I do not think this place has managed to develop a community" (N. P., interview, April 25, 2018).

Furthermore, original residents were not initially aware of the estate's collective dimension: Be'eri's 1963 newspaper advertisement emphasized its technical specifications and spacious gardens rather than its cooperative structure ("Binyanei Be'eri," 1963; see Figure 12). "When we bought our apartment, we did not think about it. Only when we wanted to apply physical changes, we realized we are bound to each other" (N. P., interview, April 25, 2018).

Different interpretations residents give to the shared spaces are subject of ongoing conflicts and confrontations, provoking constant tension between the individual and the idea of sharing. The upper-slab's park, for instance, is a subject of ongoing inter-generational struggles, with each generation's representatives interpreting it differently. While young families use the open lawn as a gathering place, other residents see it as a decorative garden: "Young families sitting on the grass….It changes the house's character. For me it is a decorative garden, not a gathering place. When residents use the shared lawn for birthday celebrations or for children water games, the house looks like a slum," says N. L., whose personal photo album includes pictures of her own children playing water games in the lawn in the 1970s (N. L., interview, June 6, 2018; see Figure 13).

Other contested spaces include the shared parking areas and rooftops, which provoke constant disagreements. Some residents consider attempts to privately use the rooftop terraces as "violent acts" (D. N., interview, May 17, 2018). In one case, residents required a rooftop "trespasser" to invest in the estate commons—financing the shared parking area renovation—to compensate for privately using shared spaces: "One cannot do whatever one likes because it is shared space. It is not a private villa—it is a shared house" (N. P., interview, April 25, 2018).

A major conflictual space is the estate's central park—originally the main gathering place—comprising a rare, semi-public green space of over 2 km^2 in central Tel Aviv. Following disagreements over maintenance expenses, and to prevent outsider access, the estate committees decided to enclose the central park with a fence and a locked gate (Figure 14). As a resident claims, "the planning created a natural connection between the buildings

Figure 12. Be'eri estate advertisement. Source: "Binyanei Be'eri" (1963).

Figure 13. Birthday parties and children's play on the upper lawn. Sources: Right photo by the authors, 2019; left photo courtesy of N. L., ca. 1985.

and the small parks. In contrast, the central park was always perceived as something artificial" (N. L., interview, May 17, 2018). Transforming the central park's role from a neighbourhood gathering place to a partly neglected, decorative park, Be'eri residents have converted communal disagreements over maintenance expenses into a spatial advantage of privacy and space from surrounding neighbourhoods. As a result, wildly growing vegetation has gradually hidden the buildings' facades, replacing the open terraces' original sliding shutters as mediators between the privacy of the individual units and the collective all-shared central park.

Political scientists and urban theorists posit that community is not a static form of association but rather an open political process, in which the meaning of living together is constantly questioned (Harvey, 2012; Mouffe, 2005; Rancière, 2014; Stavrides, 2016). Mouffe offers the concept of agonism, which signals a radical model of democracy, to criticize liberalism's current tendency to promote political consensus and consequently being

Figure 14. The central park, then and now. Left: Top row's facade with original aluminium shutters on the balconies, 1970s. Right: Be'eri estate today, with vegetation hiding the top row's facade. Source: Left photo courtesy of Nava Leibowitz.

unable to adequately envisage the pluralistic nature of the social world, with the conflicts that pluralism entails. From an agonistic point of view, the central category of democratic politics is the category of the adversary, the opponent with whom one shares a common allegiance to the democratic principles of liberty and equality for all, while disagreeing about their interpretation. Mouffe identifies the object of conflict, around which adversaries conduct agonistic struggle, as the very condition of a vibrant democracy—a democracy constantly evolving through confrontation (Mouffe, 2005; Studdert, 2016). Israeli scholars exploring conflict and confrontation in Israeli spaces have often discussed communities as arenas of constant tension between the individual and the idea of sharing (D. Rabinowitz, 2007; Shani, 2021).

4. New Brutalism and the Middle Class

Interestingly, the urban layout and architecture proposed by the architecture team and constructed by the developers—marketed for middle class consumers—employed the urban and architectural vocabulary of New Brutalism to produce modern architecture for a traditional community. We therefore explore the interrelationship of middle-class identity and (imagined) community formed in the estate via and vis-à-vis the architecture, landscaping, and urban block layout, as both community and built environment sustain over time.

The very idea of New Brutalist middle class mass housing—namely, of market housing employing New Brutalist architectural ethics, vocabulary, design principles, and materiality—seems like a contradiction in terms in contemporary historiography. In response, we suggest that New Brutalism indeed addressed issues explicitly relevant for the middle class, such as privacy and identity for individuals within a community.

Be'eri architects argued that a house should promote a sense of belonging within the urban environment. They addressed housing as a framework in which, as Candilis stated, "man can again be master of his home," applying New Brutalist architecture vocabulary as a style that "leaves itself open to intervention, without itself being changed" (Candilis in Team 10, 1968, p. 76; Smithson in Engel, 1999, p. 41). "Ready for dressing by the art of inhabitation," New Brutalist architecture's often bare structures expressed post-war planners and sociologists' increasing comprehension that individual inhabitants need to be given an active role in making their habitat (Cupers, 2016, p. 173).

Be'eri's architectural image derives from its buildings' exposed reinforced concrete structure—a repetitive framework of columns and beams. The materiality associated with Brutalist state housing blurs the distinction between Brutalism and New Brutalism in both professional and popular discourse of large housing estates in Israel. Usually associated with social housing, the bare concrete aesthetics reflected a "direct and honest expression" of "Tel Aviv's typical building materials'' (A. Sharon, 1970, p. 2). Further, Be'eri designers infilled the concrete frameworks with either one of two filling materials: (1) "Silicate" brick walls, a local building material made from local raw material—sand from Tel Aviv's shore relating the estate with modern Tel Aviv's traditional building technology; (2) open terraces, framing the community's raw material—the residents themselves. The facades' rigid concrete structure, which frame the open terraces, disclose resident appropriation of units through renovation works. Finally, sliding aluminium shutters installed to the open terraces enabled mediating between the very private, i.e., the individual units, to the very collective, i.e., the shared parks, and the city at large (Figure 15).

According to van den Heuvel (2013), designing housing to foster community life meant, for Team 10, assimilating the welfare state's inherently contradicting demands: involving the ideal of a democratic, egalitarian society while acknowledging "human aspirations," namely liberty of personal choice and individuality.

Figure 15. Left: The exposed concrete structure and silicate bricks of Be'eri estate's tower. Right: Be'eri estate, 1969. Note the estate's upper park at the center of the photo, overlooking the central garden and the street, while wide stairways lead to it. At the center-right of the photo, the central park extending Be'eri Street. Source: U. Sharon (n.d.).

Further, van den Heuvel suggests that New Brutalist structural honesty, inviting "affinity between man and building should also be understood as an ambition to redesign the relationships of production and consumption," explaining New Brutalist ethics as opposition to the post-war welfare state production of a controlled consumer society (van den Heuvel, 2015, p. 305). Banham defined one of the main characteristics as the notion of "image" of New Brutalism, and that only "Conceptual" types might be considered image making—an expression of a major conceptual shift in architecture theory (Mould, 2017).

5. Conclusion: Community and Imagined Community in Middle Class Mass Housing

Be'eri estate forms a perplexing, imagined community. It pits (a) residents' individual ownership and middle-class identities with (b) the estate's bare concreate aesthetics associated with Brutalist social housing, (c) the intricate everyday practices for administrating uses of the shared estate, and (d) the now prime real estate location with upper-class amenities. The estate's middle-class identity and everyday life is therefore positioned between lower class association of large concrete estates and shared facilities vs. upper-class access to vast, lush, open spaces and control of a full block at the centre of the city.

Do housing estates on the open market, catering to the self-serving middle classes, include imagined communities of shared homes? If so, how do designed built environments work for (or against) these imaginations of shared community?

Interrogating the strong sense of collectivity in Be'eri and how the intricate practices of managing the estate shape its middle-class identity, this article proposes two key conclusions. In the mid-1960s, the collectively managed Be'eri estate spoke of the civilian ethics of privileged white-collar "workers." Their housing, produced in the open market, enabled them private property and individuality within a collectivity. In neoliberal Tel Aviv, the estate distinguishes Be'eri residents from upper-class gated condominium towers, managed by lower-class service personnel. As more and more middle-class mass housing developments attempt an upper-class identity via gating and service labour, Be'eri community insists on the civilian role of the middle class by relying on self-management, which could have been easily swapped via the market. Self-managing themselves as the "backbone of society," the middle-class estate exercises and communicates middle-class identity, holding some power (rather than null or absolute) and fostering the constant need for negotiation.

Further, when examining the architecture and urban block of Be'eri, we might ask whether New Brutalism indeed offered an architecture for middle class housing rather than social housing for the working class. When we examine noted examples like the Unite, Habitat, and others, now upper-middle-class built environments, what do we learn from their use over time? Examining the process of architectural decision-making, and the life the latter "animated," we argue that Be'eri is an architecture for self-housers rather than for the housed. In other words, Be'eri offers an architecture for the formation and constant re-articulation of the imagined community of the middle class. Be'eri marks a typological and productional shift involving planners, policy makers, and private investors. These stakeholders re-designed the city's urban layout via estate-scale developments. They built a framework for shared community life incorporating New Brutalist social values, usually associated with social housing, with market-led mass housing for the middle class.

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Conflict of Interests

The authors declare no conflict of interests.

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Article

"You and Your Neighborhood": Neighborhood, Community, and Democracy as New Paradigms in Wartime American Architecture

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Abstract
This article argues that a radical reconceptualization of the notion of neighborhood was introduced by architects in the United States during WWII in response to the new political, cultural, and economic conditions of the war. The efforts of architects and planners like Oskar Stonorov and Louis Kahn contributed to reconfiguring the organizational principle of the "neighborhood unit" model envisioned by Clarence Perry during the 1920s, transferring the discourse from the domain of urban sociology and technical planning to the realm of the American profession. This article revolves around the unexplored and intense period of architectural experimentation during WWII, when the neighborhood emerged as a vibrant platform for the efforts of professional circles to question the values of American democracy and introduce new participative practices in neighborhood and community design, fostering new forms of collaboration between citizens, governmental agencies, and speculative builders under the leadership of architects. Neighborhood design appeared as the testing ground to renegotiate the role and social responsibility of American architects and a foundational value of post-war American society, while its new meanings were to be renegotiated in post-war city planning and built communities.

Keywords
community; neighborhood; Oskar Stonorov; wartime architecture; WWII

Issue
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1. Introduction

In 1954, Lewis Mumford defined the American neighborhood as a natural phenomenon founded on the relations between inhabitants, highlighting how the neighborhood principle could not by itself solve the problem of its design (L. Mumford, 1954, p. 257).

This article analyses one of the most ambiguous terms in 20th-century urbanism: the neighborhood. An equivocal notion and a timeless phenomenon, constantly shifting between material concept and abstract term, universal value and localized meanings, the neighborhood emerged as a foundational principle of post-war American society (Harris, 2012; Jacobs, 2015; Lasner, 2012; Looker, 2015) and a transnational phenomenon in the aftermath of WWII, exported as a key notion of mid-20th century planning and a fundamental device of post-war reconstruction policies, massively applied in its several translations to the spatial organization of post-war modern housing estates since WWII (Couperus & Kaal, 2016; Cupers, 2016).

A dominant narrative revolves around the multiple origins and the genealogies of the neighborhood concept, formulated in urban sociology and technical planning between the 1910s and the 1920s, when Clarence Perry (1872–1944) first transferred the sociological formulation of neighborhood proposed by the School of Chicago and the prescriptions of the Community Center Movement into the spatial device of the neighborhood unit (NU; Perry, 1926). The NU model was conceived as a scheme of arrangement for family-life community built on the social conception of the neighborhood as

an aggregation of families based on "primary" relations (Cooley, 1909; Follett, 1918; Perry, 1924).

The expression of the translation from a social indicator to a planning principle over the 1920s, the NU scheme published by Perry in 1929 proposed a settlement unit of 5,000–6,000 inhabitants based on the daily needs of families and organized around the common core of educational equipment, parks, and local commercial activities. Founded on the idea of "proximity," "walkability," and "pedestrian safety" of children, the organizational principle was limited by a perimetral transportation system and was adopted both to regenerate existing urban sectors and develop new private suburban estates on the outskirts of American cities (Beach, 1995; Johnson, 2002; Perry, 1929).

Profoundly rooted in the garden city concept of Ebenezer Howard, spread in the United States partly through the contribution of Raymond Unwin, the spatial model proposed by Perry was highly influenced by the discourse of the Regional Planning Association of America during the 1920s. Published in the framework of the *Regional Plan of New York and Its Environs* by the Russell Sage Foundation, Perry's proposal for the NU acquired stability as an organizational structure in its many adaptations, and, if observed in a narrow sense, assumed the meaning of a technique of measurement that became a structural paradigm of physical planning during the years of the New Deal, finding massive levels of application in post-war public housing and city planning in the United States and abroad (Brody, 2013; Dahir, 1947; Schubert, 2000; Silver, 1985).

However, various attempts to reconceptualize the NU concept formulated during the 1920s occurred during WWII when the new implications of neighborhood design arose through the agency of the American profession in response to the new political and economic conditions of the war (Albrecht, 1995; Cohen, 2011; Goodman, 1940; Wynn, 1996). Wartime research on neighborhood and community disclosed a new understanding of the values of "democratic citizenship" expressed in the framework of a growing interest in participative approaches and the design of community facilities for everyday use (Churchill, 1945; "Design for democracy," 1942). Wartime research on neighborhood design also reveals the attempts to renegotiate the restrictions on the right to ownership and the trends towards residential segregation by racial, economic, and social groups, rooted in the social and income cohesion of the "one-class" model promoted by the NU planning also advocated by federal public agencies during the inter-war years (Bauer, 1945; Churchill & Ittleson, 1944, p. 13).

This article examines the new meanings that the notion of neighborhood—and the changing discourses conveyed through it—assumed when transferred from the domain of urban sociology and city planning to the realities and languages of architectural profession during WWII. The neighborhood moved to be used to designate new practices by American progressive architects who aimed to calibrate the urban structure to the human scale and the changing patterns of daily living, as a way to return to organic communities.

Institutional, technical and commercial publications, and exhibitions attest to the multiple attempts to reassess the meanings of "neighborhood" in architectural research and renegotiate the boundaries of the profession during WWII, intersecting city planning, housing, and social research and introducing unprecedented forms of professional collaboration, marked by the affirmation of the new figure of the "architect-planner" (Hamlin, 1940). In the framework of the war, architects addressed the neighborhood as the intermediate unit between the building and the city and the dispositive to reorganize an everyday urban environment by translating in spatial forms the new values of "democracy" at an intermediate scale and introducing a new participative agenda and a community life ideology in neighborhood design through the active involvement of inhabitants (Bauer, 1945; Walker, 1941, p. 60).

2. Re-Conceptualizing the Neighborhood During WWII

> Like a living organism, a city must continuously renew its cells—the neighborhoods—or die. It is agreed that there exists great interest in every community for a "down-to-earth" approach to neighborhood replanning and it is also believed that such ideas as are current in the USA may be of interest to other nations for them to witness how we are tackling a problem common to all city dwellers around the world. Citizens' participation is the greatest factor in successfully and democratically achieving the replanning of neighborhoods. (Stonorov, 1943a)

With these introductory words, the German-born architect Oskar Stonorov (1905–1970), who had relocated to the United States in 1929, explained the new significance that the notion of neighborhood acquired during WWII as a foundational concept to reframe American society and the professional world. His 1943 documentary, provocatively titled *Can Neighborhood Exist*? was produced during the war to be displayed in the Better Philadelphia Exhibition to be held in Philadelphia in 1947 and prefigured the role that neighborhood design would acquire after the war as the minimum natural and logical unit of post-war social structure based on community life (Stonorov, 1943a; Wynn, 1996).

2.1. The "Human Scale" in Neighborhood Design

A first attempt to recontextualize the model formulated by Perry emerged in the background of the transnational discourse on "the human scale" in city planning established during WWII as a form of criticism of modernist planning principles and functionalist approaches. The attention devoted to the "human scale" as a manifestation of American democracy in architecture and city

planning grew in the United States also through the multiple attempts to propose "democratic" design of naturalized and humanized environments in response to the ongoing programs of urban renewal and suburban development ("Design for democracy," 1942). Neighborhood design as an opportunity to create new human settlements started to germinate during the war and contributed to the introduction of a new system of values through the metaphor of the human scale (Couperus, 2016; Giedion, 1958; Kuchenbuch, 2016).

In the article "The Human Scale in City Planning," incorporated by Paul Zucker in his 1944 collection of essays entitled *New Architecture and City Planning*, the Catalan émigré architect José Luis Sert translated the metaphorical search for a human scale into an actual scheme, one that portrayed the human scale as a model of American democracy (Figure 1). His scheme proposed to divide the modern city into well-defined units. The neighborhood (an entity of 56,000 to 80,000 inhabitants) was conceived as a component for the design of new "human settlements" based on a cluster of six "townships" of around 300,000 inhabitants, each composed of eight neighborhoods. The township aimed to reconcile the human qualities of medieval cities (e.g., walking access to social services as well as to open country) with the advantages of the modern open plan (Sert, 1944, p. 405). Additionally, it sought to promote the design and distribution of multiple facilities at the scale of the neighborhood, the urban sector and the city, thus encouraging reflection on the spatial connotation of the human scale (Kuchenbuch, 2016; Sert, 1944).

In his scheme, Sert introduced anthropometrical categories based on the human body, supplemented by a social understanding of the human scale, naturalizing the scale of the neighborhood. He used Leonardo's geometrical approximation of the Vitruvius man in order to define an abstract scheme organized around community institutions, which intended to replace the centrality of the educational facilities in Clarence Perry's NU scheme, similar to how cells in an organism represent the individual needs of the social body (Kuchenbuch, 2016). In so doing he introduced new imagery for the organization of communities. Translated to a spatial model, the discourse on the human scale showed the adaptation of space to everyday family life, forming the basis for a new social organism where the size of the township was defined by walking distance (Sert, 1944).

Other positions were issued in Zucker's book, which constituted the result of a symposium on post-war American architecture and city-planning held in 1942. The book was the outcome of the encounter between the study group of the CIAM New York Chapter for Relief and Postwar Planning and the realities of wartime American profession (E. Mumford, 2000; Zucker, 1944). Numerous essays pointed out the new value of the neighborhood as a tool for architectural criticism during WWII and its changing character, as argued by Gropius, from a quantitative agglomeration to a living organism

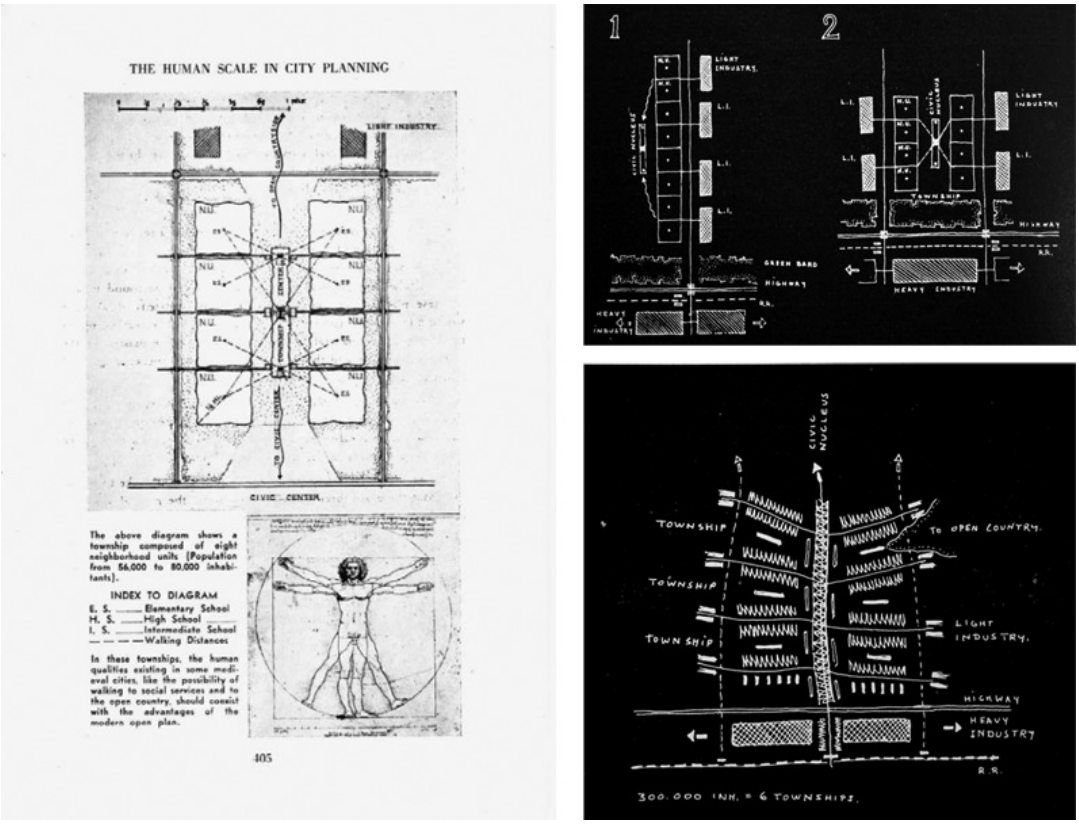

Figure 1. Sert's "The Human Scale in City Planning," 1944. Source: Sert (1944, pp. 402–403, 405).

adapted to the life-cycle of the family (Kuchenbuch, 2016, p. 1052). According to Gropius, the human scale "fits the cycle of the 24-hour day and determines the space and time conception of the living environments in the design of the new organic social structure," locating the points of interest within 10 to 15 minutes walking distance (Gropius, 1945, p. 20).

While in Europe the debate on the human scale paved the way for the discourse on the "Heart of the City" held at CIAM 8 in Hoddesdon, UK, in 1951 and was elaborated through the notions of "core" and "habitat" (E. Mumford, 2000; Zucker, 1944), the research on the human scale contributed to the introduction of new values of democracy in American architecture through experiments that aimed to encourage the mixture of diverse professional and socio-economic conditions through neighborhood design (Bauer, 1945; "Design for democracy," 1942).

2.2. A Neighborhood Is Everybody's Business During WWII

During WWII, a plethora of platforms (e.g., architectural periodicals, exhibitions and conferences, institutional publications, technical manuals, and promotional materials published by private developers) attested to a growing interest among professionals and the lay public in neighborhood design and community planning, and saw the participation of architects, planners, sociologists, governmental bodies, cultural institutions, and real estate developers.

Private corporations and building companies actively involved in providing defense housing during WWII engaged in debates about neighborhood design by featuring promotional materials aimed at addressing a general public that contributed to creating and circulating shared imageries on post-war architecture and city planning. Between 1940 and 1945, the company Revere Copper & Brass sponsored the publication of a series of 20 promotional booklets devoted to "post-victory, neighborhood and community planning," campaigning for better living conditions, promoting a public understanding of the principles and guidelines for the design of community life, and seeking to persuade a general audience about its advantages (Figure 2). The enterprise invited leading American architects involved in war commissions to author the booklets, furnishing in-depth prescriptions and assuming the role of educators of a general audience (including, among others, William Lescaze, Lawrence Kocher, Simon Breines, Buckminster Fuller, Serge Chermayeff, Norman Geddes, Antonyn Raymond, William Wurster, George Keck, Oskar Stonorov, and Luis Kahn).

Oskar Stonorov had a quintessential part in redefining the notion of "neighborhood" during WWII. In the framework of his partnership with Louis Kahn between 1942 and 1947, he attempted on several occasions to reconceptualize the organizational scheme proposed by Clarence Perry for the NU, taking into consideration the lesson provided by the American urban sociology and the early 20th-century settlement work, and introducing a new focus on the popular participation in the processes of neighborhood and community design. The two architects authored two of the 20 booklets sponsored by Revere Copper & Brass, addressing the general public. Titled *Why City Planning Is Your Responsibility* and published in 1942 (Figure 3), the first booklet proposed innovative strategies to convert an existing urban sector into a "modern community" for 935 families. Distributed among six neighborhoods, the new community was grouped around a common central commercial and recreational area that included playgrounds

Figure 2. Advertisement of the booklets on "post-victory community design" published by Revere Copper & Brass during WWII. Sources: Lescaze (1942 [center], 1944 [right]).

and leisure facilities for children designed in the former streets (Stonorov & Kahn, 1942, p. 4). The booklet renegotiated the centrality of the educational equipment proposed by Perry in the 1920s and proposed a new model for the rehabilitation of typical existing middle-income neighborhoods, intended as "social units" and situated both in urban contexts and decentralized new areas, through the joint effort of local industry, public action, technical experts, and citizens. They defined a procedure and an organizational structure with guidelines and principles, which regulated the contribution of inhabitants, from the primary group—the family—conceived as the main unit and protagonist, moving through institutions like community organizations, neighborhood planning committees, and city planning commissions (Stonorov & Kahn, 1942, pp. 9–11).

Stonorov's neighborhood-oriented approach encouraged citizens' participation in community building and found a legitimacy in Stonorov's active role in wartime America through research and demonstration projects that reconciled his understanding of modern architecture, social experience, and political activism. His transnational background, his involvement in creating better living conditions for workers, and his awareness of the potentials of participative processes in neighborhood and community design stemmed from a series of collaborations inaugurated during the interwar period with labor unions, national and federal housing, and planning organizations. He was a consultant for the Public Works Agency from 1933, a member of the Philadelphia Housing Authority and the Citizens City Planning Council, responsible for the definition of the national program for workers' housing for the Labor Housing Conference, and engaged as consultant in the Tennessee Valley Authority programs along with Frederick Gutheim (Gutheim, 1972).

On the one hand, Stonorov and Kahn reconceptualized and combined the spontaneous sociability of the "primary group" advocated by the Chicago School sociologists and the prescriptions of the contemporary Community Center Movement (Dahir, 1947; L. Mumford, 1954). On the other hand, their model also tried to grant a spatial connotation to the informal notion of neighborhood introduced in a romantic way by the philanthropic agenda of 19th-century social reforms, defining the physical aspects and design regulations of the concept framed by the American settlement movement in the early 20th century to establish programs of public welfare. Their wartime research tried to translate the notion of "measuring the social needs" and alluded to the first research on neighborhood management established by settlement workers through the Neighborhood Houses, which helped to define codes and principles for regulating the distribution and dimensioning of facilities at local community level (Simkhovitch, 1936, 1938).

Their wartime research was also informed by the political and normative assumption that the neighborhood acquired as an "operative tool" for designing and measuring urban facilities when transferred to the New Deal's official discourse on public housing and into the set of norms and standards for the efficient design of facilities that inaugurated a new national welfare agenda.

However, it was in 1944, with the publication of their second booklet titled *You and Your Neighborhood: A Primer for Neighborhood Planning* (Figure 3), that Stonorov and Kahn finally elaborated an overarching system to regulate the collaboration between inhabitants

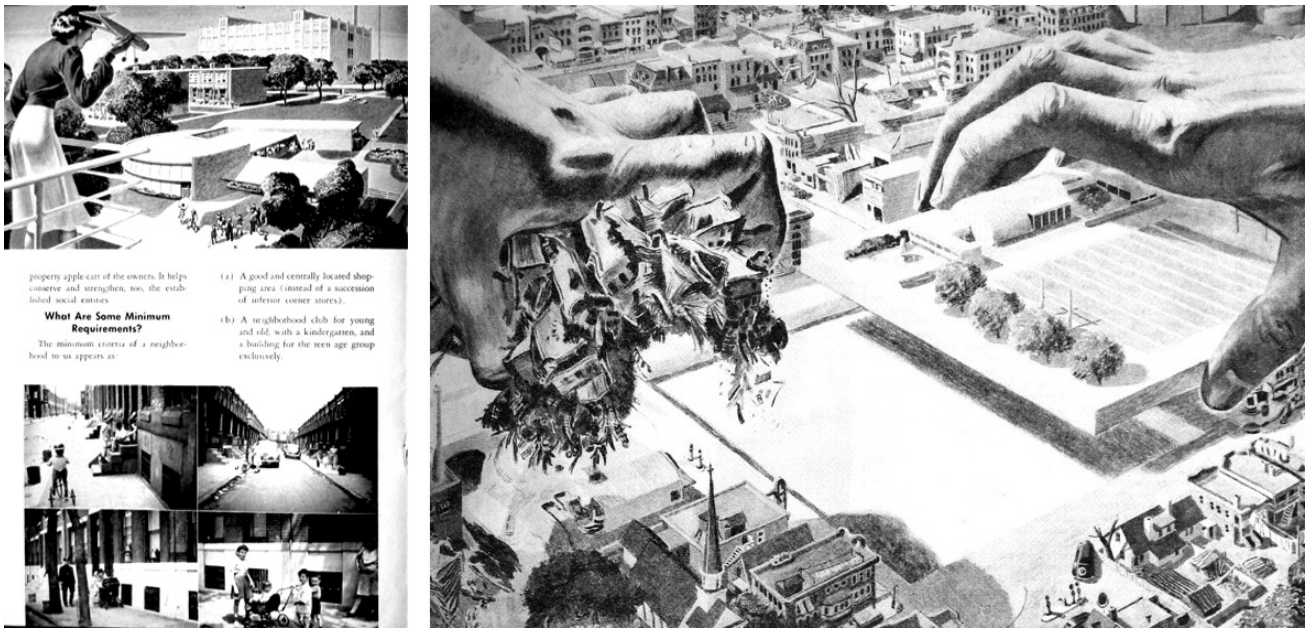

Figure 3. "Let YOURS be these helping hands." Advertisements by Revere Copper & Brass of *Why City Planning Is Your Responsibility* and *You and Your Neighborhood*. Sources: Stonorov and Kahn (1942 [left], 1944 [right]).

(defined as a self-organizing unit of individuals living in proximity), designers, and social and cultural institutions and the relation between citizens, neighborhood, and city planning associations through the publication of a real "primer for neighborhood design," which introduced new architectural values and instances of democracy into the realities of wartime research on neighborhood (Stonorov & Kahn, 1944; Figure 4).

The languages used in the booklet echoed graphic techniques, pictorial guidelines, visual strategies, modes of display, and tools used by the Federal Media to allegorize New Deal official planning culture (Shanken, 2006). Organizational charts, diagrams, and isotopes were used to reconceptualize outstanding planning experiences, such as the project for the privately built Radburn development in New Jersey, designed by H. Wright, C. Stein, and F. Ackerman in 1923 in the framework of the Regional Planning Association of America, or the analytical charts showing the needs in terms of facilities and recreational spaces of inhabitants of different ages, published by J. L. Sert in his *Can Our Cities Survive?* (Sert, 1942). In line with Sert's idea of human scale, transferred into the wartime research on architecture and democracy, the primer by Stonorov and Kahn promoted a new understanding of the neighborhood as a social unit to design human settlements, built on the idea of "proximity" and the needs of the daily life of the community. It defined a method to regenerate central urban districts, converting them into neighborhoods, and to plan new decentralized residential zones:

> Based on the differentiation of the transportation system and the reuse of former streets for parks and recreational facilities, the centralization of shopping facilities in a central shopping center, the neighborhood house, the modern school situated at a walking distance, the day nursery, rooms for the meetings of the local community, library, parks and playgrounds (calculated in 100 sq ft per child), the swimming pool, and the replacement of industries with modern public housing. (Stonorov & Kahn, 1944, p. 10)

This second booklet reveals, even more explicitly, Stonorov's engagement with modern architecture and activism, mediated with an emerging interest for leisure and recreational facilities in community design. It is also a testament to his belief in "political architecture" and to his commitment with New Deal technical experts, agencies, and labor unions, represented by the design with Alfred Kastner of the union-sponsored housing project for the Carl Mackley Houses (Figure 5), built under the Public Works Agency for the Full Fashioned Hosiery Workers Union in Philadelphia (1931–1933). On this occasion, Stonorov and Kastner first experimented a participatory design method with the union workers, which was largely based on the outcomes of a questionnaire addressed by the architects to the workers. The method was in line with the union's progressive position and was reorganized in the wartime procedure proposed by Stonorov and Kahn in their primer on neighborhood design (Stonorov & Kahn, 1944).

Stonorov's interest for participative practice had already emerged on the occasion of his involvement as the designer of Federal Pavilions at the San Francisco Golden Gate International Exposition in 1938 and the New York World Fair in 1939. In 1938 he was in charge of the project of the "Your America" pavilion project for the United States Government Science Exhibit, while in 1939 he was the designer of the Federal Housing Administration pavilion "City for Children's World," the Model Community Center for leisure facilities for workers, and the "cooperative pavilions" that promoted wartime co-op movement as an instrument to build for post-war America.

In the 1944 booklet, Stonorov and Kahn devote a particular attention to the definition of the methods and procedures for citizen groups to plan their neighborhoods in order for them to fit into the City General Plan and to the

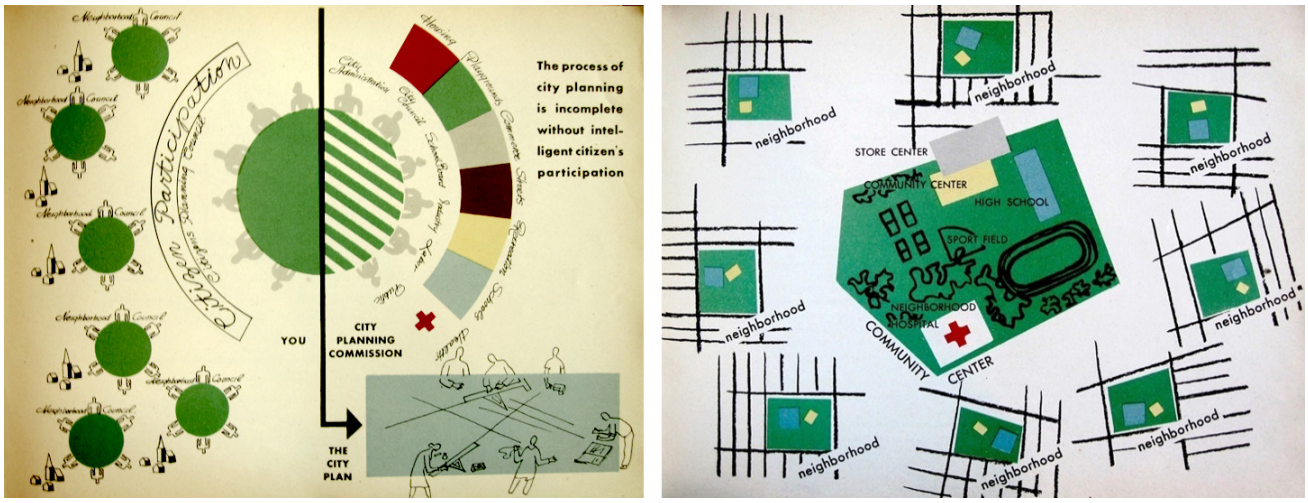

Figure 4. Schemes from *You and Your Neighborhood*. Source: Stonorov and Kahn (1944).

Figure 5. Carl Mackley Houses, Juniata Park, Philadelphia (1931–1933). Source: "A tale of two cities" (1938).

design of the tools to be used by inhabitants to express their necessities, preferences, and aspirations in the collective design of their neighborhoods, such as 3D models of the neighborhood with removable parts, wooden blocks, collages, puzzles, and 3D maps (Stonorov & Kahn, 1944; Figure 6).

2.3. The Plan of the City Is Like the Plan of a House

Moving from the assumption that the plan of the city can be associated to the plan of a house (Stonorov & Kahn, 1944), the house became the basic unit of the community and the limits of domestic life extended to the boundaries of the neighborhood (organized at the human scale), while the family was acknowledged as the foundational element of neighborhood-oriented city planning. The continuity between the scale of housing design and city planning explained the difference between an urban sector and a planned neighborhood, equipped with local amenities of everyday use.

The wartime research on neighborhood design incited the idea of a "transcalarity" in the approach that found in the neighborhood its intermediate ground, transferring to the field of design its sociological interpretation as an intermediate group between the family and the State (Cooley, 1909; Follett, 1918). The neighborhood was understood as the intermediate unit between the house and the city and the proper medium for architects to address city planning and confront the urban scale during WWII. This attitude introduced a new system of governance that coordinated local action and city planning and regulated the contribution of citizens and the relationship between inhabitants and designers (Figure 7).

In addition, the booklet presented a language drawing from the notion of "democratic participation" and the involvement of inhabitants, families, and social entities, intended as "primary groups," with a new centrality in the process of designing modern communities. This grassroots approach based on social relationships and on the hegemony of the family as the main unit and actor in neighborhood design, raised a call for urban citizens' participation, which, in the framework of WWII, anticipated post-war experiences of advocacy planning.

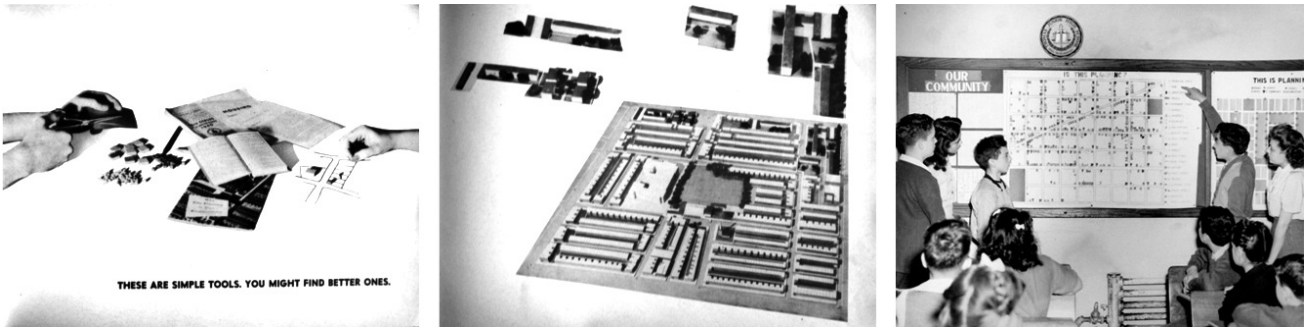

Figure 6. Tools for neighborhood planning from *You and Your Neighborhood*. Source: Stonorov and Kahn (1944).

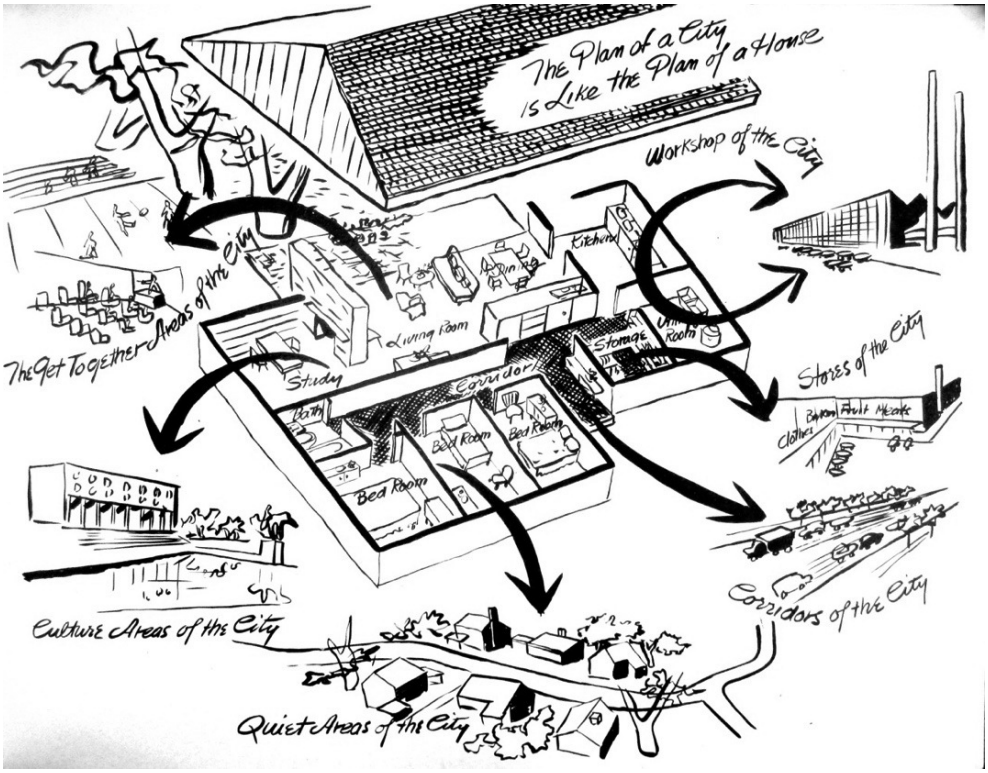

Figure 7. "The plan of the city is like the plan of a house." Source: Stonorov and Kahn (1944).

These attempts intended to create a balanced residential environment and encouraged the diversity of functions, incomes and social groups in neighborhood design, fostering through modern architecture a racial, economic, and social diversity that was hardly achieved in the prewar implementations of the NU model and were still rare in wartime large-scale housing interventions promoted by public administrations and the National Committees on Housing. Amongst the arguments against the deployment of one-class neighborhoods, the architects proposed to diversify work opportunities, including suitable productive activities within the domestic environment to incorporate light industries within the confines of the neighborhood, which subserved neighborhood life and originated in self-contained communities with respect to employment (Bauer, 1945; L. Mumford, 1938, p. 473).

With a print run of 15,000 copies, the booklet became a key reference for American civic associations, neighborhood houses, federal authorities, schools, and local committees to regulate the collaboration between inhabitants, architects, private investors, developers, and public enterprises involved in the design of facilities and collective services based on the daily needs of the neighborhood. Through a ground-breaking system the primer encompassed monopolistic public and private initiatives (Churchill, 1945, p. 173), promoting collaboration between welfare-minded public agencies and profit-minded private developers in designing accommodations and facilities for private and public tenants, including sectors of the dwellings for low-income families (Hudnut, 1943).

The two authors proposed to establish a series of neighborhood planning councils that, in collaboration with the delegates from each residential block, collected information and data to study the neighborhood. Each neighborhood was composed of 1,000–1,500 families and, along with other 14 other neighborhoods, formed a community, equipped with various facilities such as an auditorium, a clinic, a library, and sports fields (Stonorov & Kahn, 1944; Figure 8).

The wartime experiments in neighborhood design built on inhabitants' participation found its first application in the programs of defense housing inaugurated by the federal agencies with the participation of workers, which used the neighborhood as a design unit. In 1941, the same Oskar Stonorov joined the interdisciplinary team of "architect-planners" commissioned by the Federal Works Administration Division for Defense Housing and was involved in the government housing projects developed by the National Housing Agency and the Federal Public Housing Authority, to secure government housing commissions. Like many American professionals, in this capacity Stonorov found in the neighborhood design for defense housing complexes the testing ground to experience new forms of collaboration based on the intersection between landscape design, community planning, and mass-housing architecture (Howe & Associates, 1940).

Stonorov's interest in neighborhood organization, community ideology, democratic design, and modern architecture is also echoed by his wartime workers' housing projects, which were promoted by private initiatives

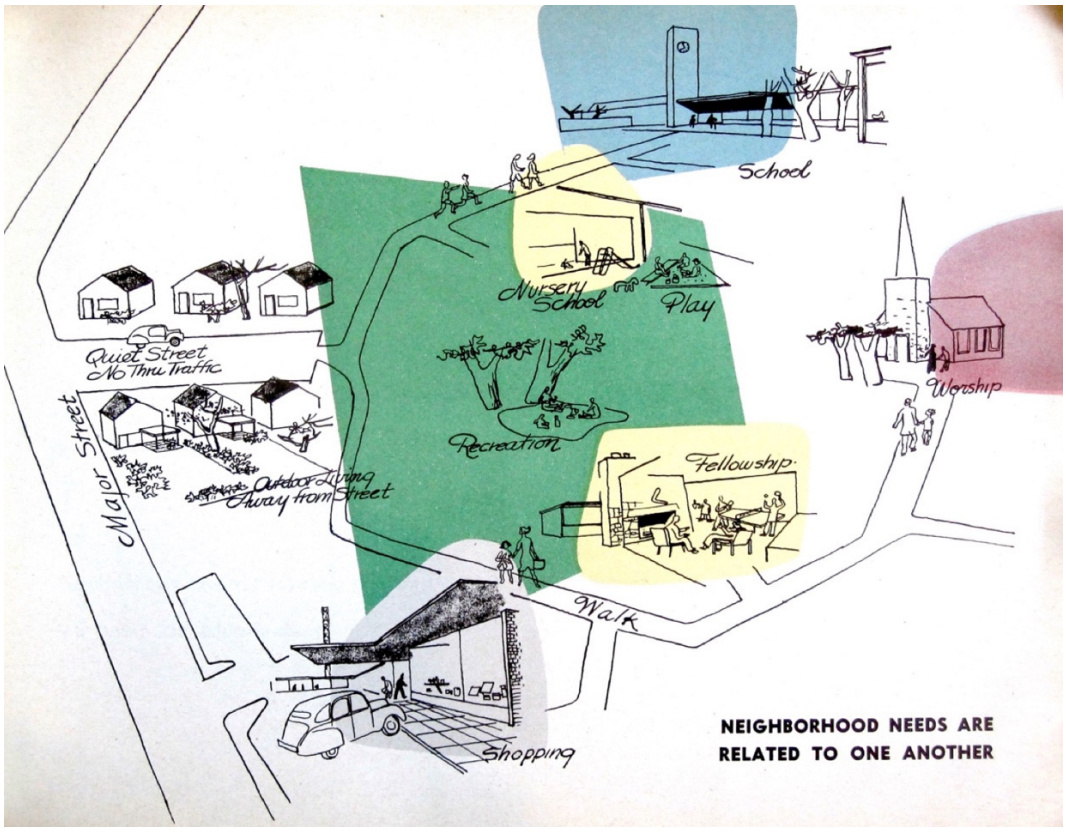

Figure 8. Diagrams representing neighborhood needs from *You and Your Neighborhood*. Source: Stonorov and Kahn (1944).

and epitomized by the experimental community planning project for the "Defense City" (Figure 9), developed under the Federal Housing Administration for the Willow Run Ford plant in Ypsilanti. The new town for 6,000 autoworkers was designed by Stonorov with his partners in 1941 for Walter Reuther and the United Automobile Workers union in Detroit (Herrington, 2015; Jordy, 1943/2005). The project for "500 Planes a Day:

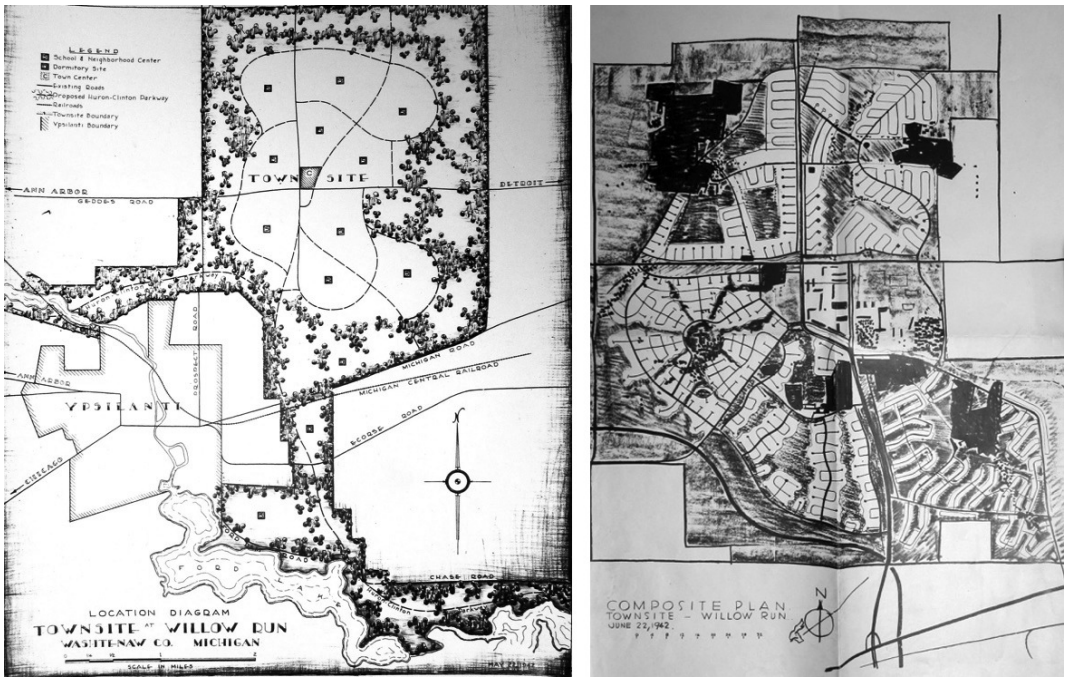

Figure 9. Willow Run, Defense City, Detroit: Location diagram (left) and composite plan (right). Sources: Stonorov (1941 [left], 1943b [right]).

A Program for the Utilization of the Automobile" was a model city based on a mutual ownership plan, conceived with the engagement of workers who expressed their needs and desires by contributing to planning and design processes and who were involved as shareholders. Originally planned as a system of 12 neighborhoods for 10,000 families and organized around a shared recreational core and central green area, the scheme adopted methods and tools envisioned by Stonorov and Kahn in their contemporary research on neighborhood design. Even though it was never implemented according to the original idea, the project became a major force behind the neighborhood design and community planning experiment. Described by the union in 1941 as "the most workable and most human guide to the integrated community produced to date" (Stonorov, 1941), the innovative model plan for 32,000 workers was intended to become another symbol of wartime American architecture and New Deal visions. The novel forms of professional cooperation with the involvement of workers introduced by the project echoed the experiments in the design of the demonstration farms conducted by the Tennessee Valley Authority during WWII (Herrington, 2015; Stonorov, 1941).

In the framework of the Detroit Defense City Project for the Willow Run Ford plant, the 1941 project of the "Bomber City" built on the interest to design human spaces and integrated communities and introduced the innovative idea of the "new house," featuring a set of experimental units and improved standards in response to diversified modes of living (introducing covered parking spaces, basement work areas, facilities on the second floor, etc.). Under the direction of Oskar Stonorov who selected the site and was responsible for the "planning, land survey, investigations and negotiation with boroughs and technical departments of cities for cooperation agreements with the Federal Government," G. Howe was appointed as chair of the executive committee and the Saarinens as the urban designers (Stonorov, 1943b). The defense plan included the project of a community center by E. Saarinen and R. Swanson, and 10 individual projects: five housing neighborhoods (including 1,200 dwellings each) designed by the architects in charge of the plan of the Defense City (Stonorov; Howe and Khan; Skidmore, Owings & Merrill; among others) and other projects by established professionals involved in defense housing.

Even if the project for Bomber City was canceled in 1942 after the defeat of the Division of Defense Housing, we can argue that the experiments in defense housing used neighborhood design as the opportunity to redefine the social responsibility of American architects involved in housing provision and to re-negotiate the boundaries of the profession through the affirmation of the new figure of the "architect-planner" and "community builder" (Joch, 2016, p. 1036; Stonorov, 1943c, p. 1). Wartime research on neighborhood rehabilitation and participative community design soon became a testing ground to experiment innovative forms of professional organization and collaboration imposed by the war to secure new commissions, which would flourish in the post-war years (Albrecht, 1995; Cohen, 2011; Goodman, 1940; Hamlin, 1940; Lescaze, 1942).

Similar values were expressed in the sketches produced by Louis Kahn in the same years in the notes he took for his unpublished manuscript "Workable and Human Guide to the Integrated Community," dedicated to the participatory process in the design of integrated communities for workers. According to Kahn, defense and wartime workers' housing became an ideal conceptual ground for architects to synthetize, in the principles of neighborhood organization, the redemptive power of modern architecture and the ideology of planned community for workers' housing (Kahn, [ca. 1944]). His sketches, graphs, and diagrams (Figure 10) reveal Stonorov and Kahn's drive to "humanly and technically experiment with the integration of static human elements and experimental technique, with middle-class taste and living habits" in the design of modern settlements for a community of families organized in neighborhoods (Kahn as cited in Shanken, 2009).

2.4. Towards a "Democratic" Architecture

The new forms of workers' participation advocated by Stonorov and Kahn and experienced in defense housing were progressively transferred to the strategies of both American private real-estate developers and Federal Agencies involved in the design and construction of new large-scale housing estates during WWII. These strategies embraced a neighborhood-oriented approach based on citizens' active participation and envisioned unprecedented forms of interaction between the State, the market, designers, and policy-makers (Hudnut, 1943).

Wartime research on the regenerative forces of the neighborhood also had a lasting impact on the planning of new large-scale housing estates. Architects and housing organizations involved in neighborhood design devoted new attention to the design of community facilities used in everyday life, according a new centrality to the planning, design, and regulation of common recreational and leisure facilities in the organization of the neighborhood. Community centers, neighborhood houses, playgrounds, schools, shopping centers, and sports fields designed at the neighborhood scale for a daily use also started to be considered an additional value in the sales strategies of speculative builders, who turned to large-scale development and explored the advantages of "intelligent street planning." New planning tools and settlement models were also defined by federal and local authorities for public housing programs initiated during WWII, revealing a new emphasis on the design of collective facilities for the community and the active participation of inhabitants in the process of neighborhood planning (Stonorov, 1939).

This general understanding of the neighborhood as the basic social unit and the foundational concept of

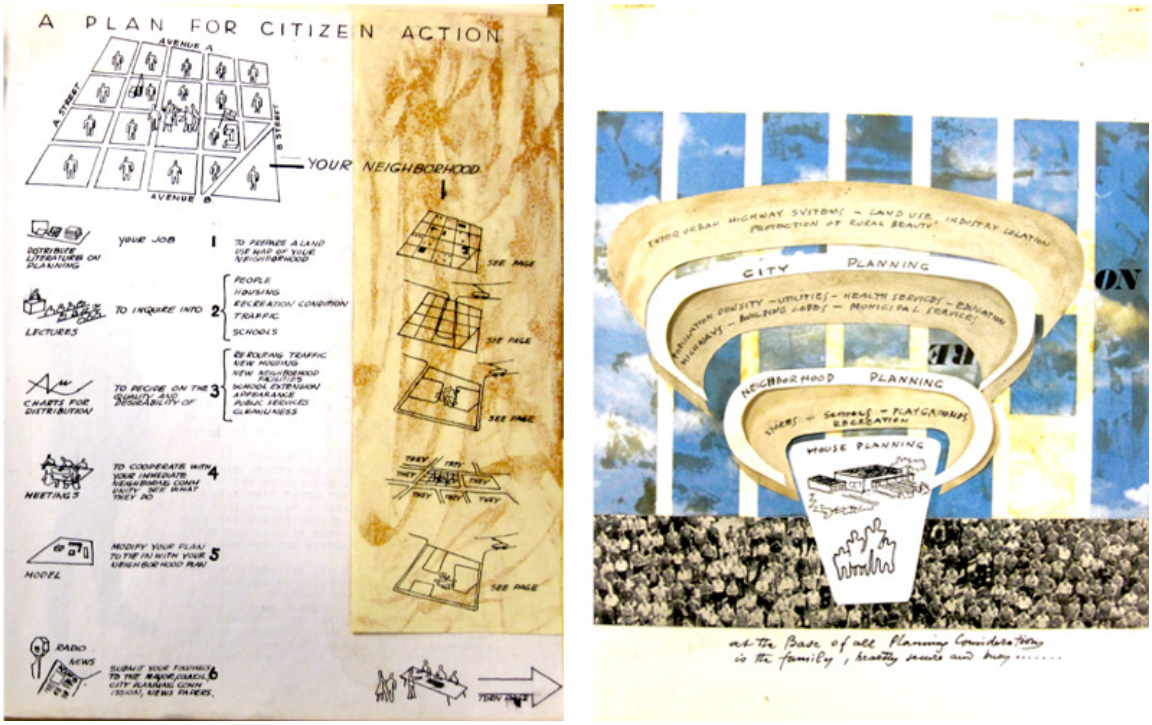

Figure 10. Planning diagrams: "A Plan for Citizen Action." Source: Kahn [ca. 1944].

the post-war American city is expressed in the two special issues that *Architectural Forum* published in October 1943 and April 1944 to circulate reflections and projects for "projected postwar neighborhoods" formulated during the war—including strategies, guidelines, prescriptions, and new architectural imageries—that will have significant implications in the foundation of post-war city planning built on neighborhood design ("Planned neighborhoods for 194X," 1943, 1944).

The two issues appeared in a series of volumes that, between 1942 and 1944, the journal devoted to post-war American architecture and planning addressed at multiple levels and scales, carried out with the collaboration of 23 leading architects and designers. While the first issues reflected on the design of "The New House of 194X" and the "New Buildings for 194X," the two volumes revolved around neighborhood research in design and emphasized the shifting focus from the single building to the new scale of the "integrated and organic settlements." The latter benefited from the contribution of inhabitants and neighborhood associations, moving away from a traditional system based on the individual property and towards new large-scale operations of community planning conceived as the outcome of the cooperation among architects, planners, banks, insurance companies, developers, and constructors ("Planned neighborhoods for 194X," 1943). The issues also outline the shift in contemporary planning culture, from the territorial and regional planning values advocated during the 1920s to the design of units of manageable size conceived as "cells from which the city grows," understood as tools to regenerate existing urban sectors through a controlled development at the level of community planning (Stonorov, 1942).

New forms of democratic initiative in neighborhood design were exemplified by the proposals displayed in the issue. An archetypal case is the West Harlem Housing Development (Figure 11), the masterplan submitted by William Lescaze with a New York real estate developer in 1942 for the competition held by the Architectural League and the A.I.A. to identify a viable alternative to the new urban structure proposed by Robert Moses for New York in 1943, when Moses launched his privately funded large-scale slum clearance urban redevelopment housing intervention supported by the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company.

The plan for the redevelopment of 80 blocks in Harlem, accommodated in 12 autonomous superblocks, was entrusted by independent cooperatives, speculative builders, and public administration and generated a new neighborhood for all income levels, built with private funds and affordable government-sponsored housing. The community plan and the "comprehensive neighborhood studio" encouraged democratic forms of initiative and responsibility at the smaller scale of the neighborhood, and introduced prescriptions and diagrams for the redevelopment of other New York slums. The Lescaze project for one of the superblocks, featured by Revere Copper & Brass, became a manifesto of the wartime research on neighborhood and was to be renegotiated in post-WWII large-scale housing estates design and city-planning (Caramellino, 2016; Lescaze, 1945; "Planned neighborhoods for 194X," 1944).

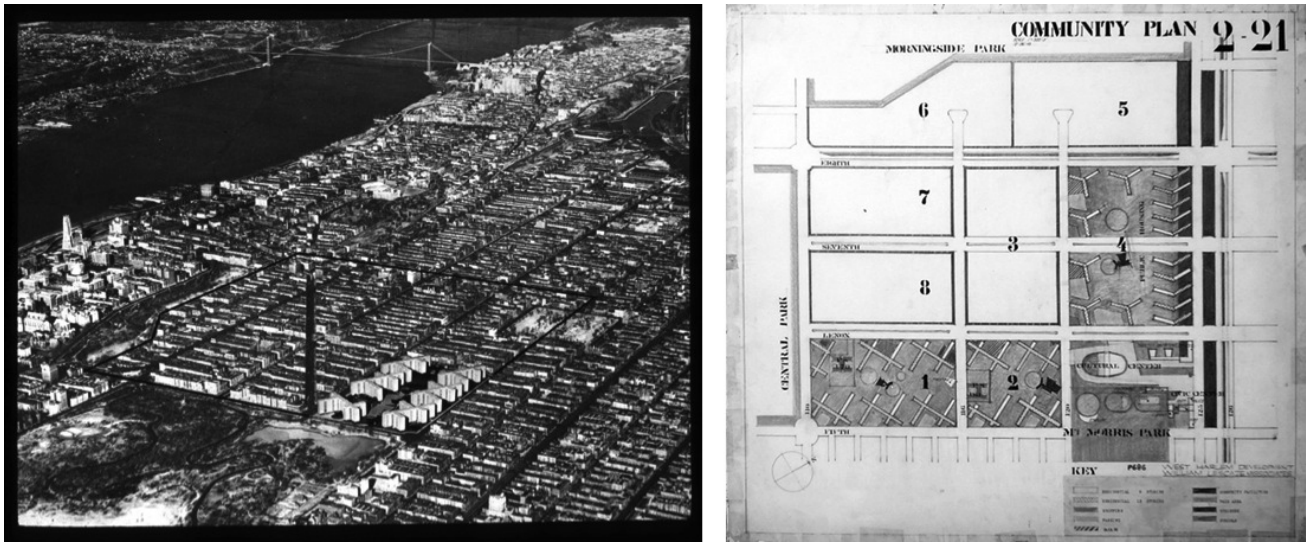

Figure 11. Aerial view of the West Harlem Housing Development by W. Lescaze & Associates (1942–1944; left) and site plan of the Dorie-Miller Housing Project in West Harlem Housing Development by W. Lescaze and J. Felt (1942–1944; right). Sources: "Planned neighborhoods for 194X" (1944, pp. 148, 150).

2.5. From WWII Neighborhood Design to Post-War Built Communities

The Museum of Modern Art (MoMA) in New York had a central role in fostering the wartime research on neighborhood planning, intended as an art and a multidisciplinary field during WWII. Wartime exhibitions devoted to workers' and defense housing contributed to the reconceptualization of neighborhood design as a positive alternative to the disruptive impact of urban sprawl and urban renewal and became a practical step in post-war city planning (Caramellino, 2020, pp. 233–235). Dealing with various scales, collaborative projects like the "House in the Neighborhood," proposed by the architects Vernon De Mars and Serge Chermayeff, reflected on the necessity to provide community facilities at cooperative or municipal levels (Mock, 1945, pp. 19–20). As outlined by Oskar Stonorov in his correspondence with Elizabeth Mock in1943, his wartime research on neighborhood revitalization based on participative design offered support for the organization of the exhibition Look at Your Neighborhood, curated by Mock between March and June 1944, in collaboration with the United States Housing Authority and with the support of the United Neighborhood Houses (Caramellino, 2020; MoMA, 1944b).

Designed by Rudolph Mock in collaboration with the planner Clarence Stein, the exhibit made extensive use of blown-up photographs, drawings, charts, models, cartoons, and diagrams to introduce to a non-professional audience the guiding principles for the design of a post-war urban environment based on the needs of individuals and families involved in the process of neighborhood design and community planning. The show analyzed the deplorable living conditions in select New York urban slums and established a range of principles for strengthening the "democratic participative and comprehensive planning of good neighborhoods" (MoMA, 1944a)—equally city neighborhoods or rural communities—built on vacant land or for replacing slum areas in the city. Other experiments of neighborhood regeneration carried with the involvement of organizations of residents at the same time, like the 1940 Mitchell program for the blighted Welwerly neighborhood in Baltimore, were displayed to illustrate the use of the neighborhood as the optimal-sized intermediate structure to guide city growth and to regenerate existing residential sectors. The 12 panels became influential educational tools, used by civic and neighborhood associations, schools, planners, and federal authorities, to organize the post-war coordination between the local actions of the neighborhood and city planning through the contribution of community councils, re-contextualizing the early 20th-century attempts to regulate recreational spaces and amenities to regenerate the neighborhood (MoMA, 1944a; Simkhovitch, 1938).

As argued at the exhibit's opening by Mary Simkhovitch, vice-chair of the New York City Housing Authority and author of the book *Neighborhood* (1938), the notion of neighborhood contributes to fixing the new patterns of American life during WWII and can be planned only in the larger framework of the city, state, and nation, with the involvement of private enterprises and cooperative techniques. She argued that:

> What made the strength of pioneer life in this country was the sense of boundary. The family's self-sustaining economic life, bolstered by school and church created a good but tough life. In town meetings, the life of the community was organized. Everything necessary was contained in that compact unit….We are now in the process of becoming world citizens….There never was a time when the word

> neighbor meant as much as it does today. For the neighbor is beginning to realize he is master of his fate if he lives in a purposeful fellowship of neighbors, which is perhaps a pretty good definition of that vast and hazy word "democracy." (MoMA, 1944b)

In his wartime activity, Oskar Stonorov transferred techniques, visual strategies, languages, and modes of displaying used by New Deal media into the realities of wartime neighborhood design, thus also providing an explicit reference for the Better Philadelphia Exhibition, held in Philadelphia in 1947 to educate the general public on post-war American city planning (Figure 12). Designed by Stonorov and Edmund Bacon in collaboration with the Philadelphia City Planning Commission, the exhibition featured the main outcome of the work conducted by Stonorov with the Commission before and during the war and expressed his idea, developed since 1941 in collaboration with local community leaders, of city planning as the large-scale application of an everyday process based on the cooperation between citizens and professionals in neighborhood and community design (Stonorov & Bacon, 1946).

On this occasion, the neighborhood was officially defined as "the cornerstone of the City-Nation" (Philadelphia City Planning Commission, 1947) and the foundational element to cement 20th-century American democracy, used to lay the foundations for a new public works program and a plan for the civic improvement of nine Philadelphia urban sectors. Introduced by the documentary *Can Neighborhoods Exist?* produced by Stonorov in 1943, the installations incorporated contents, languages, techniques, and methods (pictographs, action demonstrations, movies) used in 1944 for the *You and Your Neighborhood* primer and the exhibition held at MoMA, and demonstrated Stonorov's intent to encourage the participation of architects, dwellers, and institutions in neighborhood design. The exhibit promoted a public understanding of and personal identification with city planning, emphasizing the interest of Stonorov in experimenting with the design of humanely conceived community planning and democratic participative housing, with the involvement of community leaders (Stonorov, 1943a). His ground-breaking approach to neighborhood rehabilitation built on community involvement and modern design was proposed as a convincing alternative to the post-war urban development and suburban growth.

3. Conclusions

In the aftermath of WWII, the neighborhood became an epistemological framework, an essential reference, and a recurrent rhetoric in the post-war discourses and practices of American architects, giving rise to a "neighborhood ideology" that mobilized multiple forms of modernity (Harris, 2012; Looker, 2015). Wartime research reconceptualized the neighborhood as a renegotiated paradigm of American society and the expression of a system of values representing American democracy.

The entanglements between the discourse on "neighborhood," "community," and "democracy," which emerged from the wartime attempts to redefine Perry's NU model in the vocabulary of American architects, had

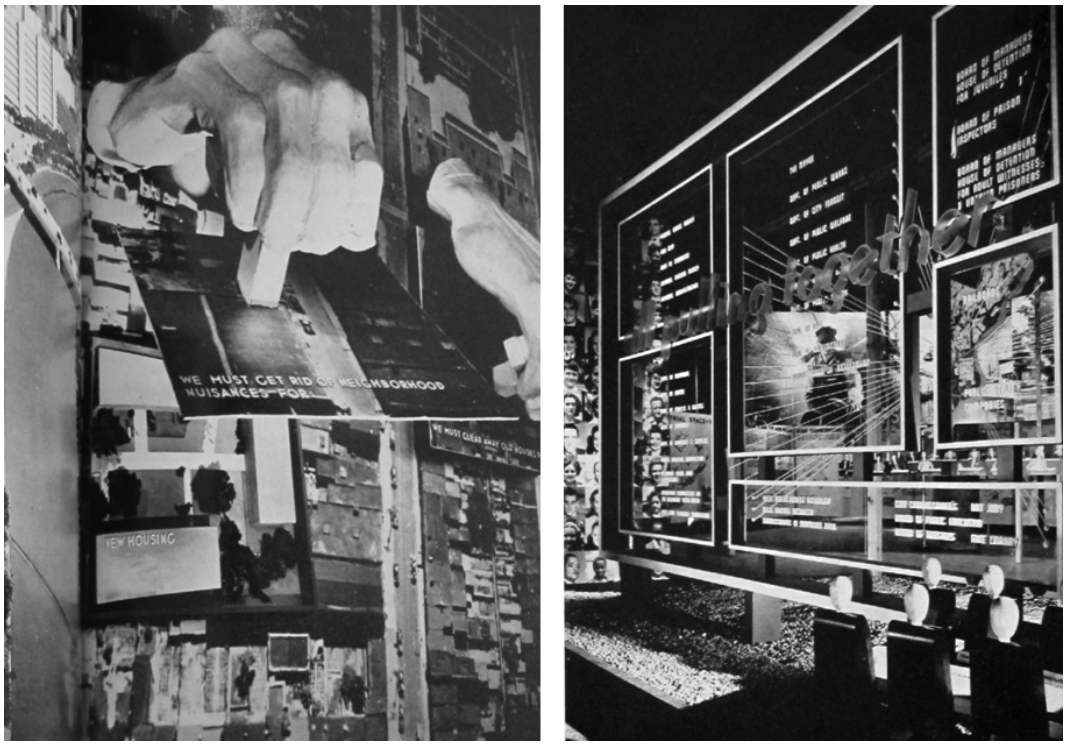

Figure 12. Better Philadelphia Exhibition, 1947. Source: Stonorov and Bacon (1946).

a profound impact on post-war American society, when the notion of neighborhood came to be used increasingly as a design dispositive and re-negotiated in the physical reality of post-war, large-scale estates and suburban white, middle-class built communities (Harris, 2012; Jacobs, 2015; Lasner, 2012).

Similarly, neighborhood design became a powerful vehicle of knowledge transfer and a vibrant platform for architectural debate between American experts—architects, planners, and intellectuals—and European culture. It developed as a transnational concept with unprecedented impact across post-war Europe and acquired a strategic value in terms of global politics (Joch, 2016). It quickly developed as an instrument of post-war European reconstruction plans, one that enhanced the realm of architecture after WWII and became a normative assumption used by design offices and planning departments of well-known international public agencies. Disseminated across the emerging Cold War networks of experts, and reconfigured by the encounter with localized planning and technical cultures and with divergent living and urban models, it underwent processes of reception, adaptation, and appropriation, which in turn generated varied forms of resistance. However, its transatlantic dissemination often resulted in misunderstandings and (mis)translations when transferred into the discourses and practices of European professionals (Couperus & Kaal, 2016; Cupers, 2016). Its usage in technical planning, reconstruction policies, and public housing programs reveals the multiple interpretations and translations of the notion, in its shifting between a material concept and an abstract term. Both built projects and theoretical speculations reveal a limited awareness of the original values and spatial character rooted in wartime American architecture, converting the concept into a technical instrument applied to the composition of housing programs and often reducing its understanding to a device and a graphic tool with a purely visual significance, or to the abstraction of spatial strategies and an organizational scheme for settlement design. The trajectories of circulation of the concept across times, cultures, and languages pose fundamental questions about its multiple translations and bring to light the tension between its universal value and its relative, localized meanings.

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Conflict of Interests

The author declares no conflict of interests.

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