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Ricardo Agarez and Nelson Mota, editors

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Introduction

Architecture in Everyday Life

Ricardo Agarez and Nelson Mota, editors

> One does not need to be particularly 'Left', or, indeed, politically minded at all, to appreciate that the architectural opportunities of the future are more likely to lie in the hands of administrative authorities and commercial corporations (whether publicly or privately controlled) than in the hands of any private individuals whatever; or to appreciate the many excellent reasons for such bodies having permanent architects' departments of their own. (Summerson, 1942)[1]

> Where lies the real importance of design in the modern world? Not in the individual building designed by the individual architect so much as in the whole material environment […]. The design for one precious building served up as a coloured perspective becomes suspect, otiose. (Summerson, 1956)[2]

The words of architectural historian Sir John Summerson (1904–1992) resonate strongly today, albeit not always in a positive sense. The more extravagant the commission given by a powerful commercial conglomerate to a well-known architectural practice, the more blatant appears to be the need for a different understanding of the social role of the profession; of the choices architects have before them to engage with their communities; of how this translates into the everyday of architecture; and, ultimately, of what exactly constitutes this 'everyday'. Architecture has many faces that captivate the interest of designers, theoreticians and historians, and the ordinary, quotidian tasks of the designer clearly fail to do so. Yet as the pace of urbanisation in the world reaches new levels, it seems clear once more that those tasks need to be examined, studied and discussed if architects are to participate meaningfully in developments that are less about designing the 'one precious building' (indeed, they are often not about that at all) but rather require a competent, rigorous and comprehensive approach in which inconspicuous, ordinary actions and a sense of collective purpose prevail. This issue of *Footprint* investigates the everyday operations of architects in disparate contexts – in private and public offices, in school and at war – and discusses their physical, ethical and philosophical effects and untapped potential. Summerson's consistent elaborations on the changing social and professional roles of the architect in the mid-twentieth century offer a stimulating starting point for this discussion.[3]

Beyond the brass-plate ideal

Our two epigraphs were written fourteen years apart, with one World War in between. In his 1942 essay 'Bread & Butter and Architecture' – the source of the first quote – Summerson took the pulse of the architect's profession in Britain and, importantly, reflected on how the new circumstances of the post-war era might impact on the architect's role in society. The young designer, he noted, could no longer 'pursue the brass-plate ideal' of having a private practice with 'clients in the aristocracy, the City and the Church' as in the past. As these traditional forms of patronage dwindled, a 'permanent salaried employment' became a worthy alternative

to provide those 'three essential things for any born architect – bread, butter, and the opportunity to build.'[4]

Summerson's reflections on the future of the profession were chiefly triggered by the shock-waves of the Second World War and framed by the British context. In his essay 'Humdrum Tasks of the Salaried Men' for this issue of *Footprint*, Nick Beech depicts a sharp image of that historical time and space, examining the work developed by Edwin Williams for the London County Council (LCC) Architects' Department. Beech bypasses the common emphasis on architectural products to focus on the daily, often unconventional practices of architects, showing how Williams played a key role in the formation of a skilled, mechanised, modern demolition industry through his commitment to developing training schools and curricula for the Rescue Service personnel during the war. With his account of Williams' 'humdrum' work for the LCC in the 1940s, Beech goes beyond the fetishism of the formal and structural innovation traceable to the drawing board, exploring instead the relationship between architectural practice and transformations in the building industry, against the background of welfare state politics.

The lineage of the salaried architect's difficult positioning in architectural culture – often caught, in retrospect, in the split history of masterpieces and banal products, as Beech would put it – is the subject of Andri Gerber's 'Independent or Bureaucratic?' Focusing specifically on the struggle between self-employed architects and those working for the state administration in Germany, France and England at the turn of the century, Gerber averts that split and discusses different regional perceptions of the engagement of architects as part and parcel of the state administrative apparatus vis-à-vis the emergence of the entrepreneurial professional. Gerber navigates complex hierarchical structures to position the figure of the architect against the political and social structures of Europe, revealing a nuanced negotiation between anonymity and prominence, and between creative freedom and technocratic deference.

Other contributions to this issue address the multidimensional and heterogeneous reality of the architectural profession exposed by Gerber. Architect Javier Arpa has coordinated the team investigating the work of the organisation Paris Habitat, the most recent iteration in a lineage of public sector agencies that have produced affordable housing over the last century in the French capital. This colossal output was exhibited earlier this year at the Pavillon de l'Arsenal in Paris. In his contribution, Arpa explains how, and why, his curatorial focus was on the 'what' (architecture and urban form) instead of on the 'who' (the agents). This deliberate obliteration of the figure of the architect resonates in Amir Djalali's article 'The Architect as Producer', an incisive account of architect and educator Hannes Meyer's drive to blur the distinction between avant-garde and everyday practices. Gerber's reading of the social role of the architect in turn of the twentieth century Germany can be followed up, in remarkably different circumstances, in Djalali's discussion of Hannes Mayer's strategy to redefine, three decades later, the figure of the architect in the building process; to reintroduce the proletarianisation of architectural labour in avant-garde modern architecture; and to reformat the entire sphere of architectural knowledge production. Meyer, as Djalali suggests, tried to push for a comprehensive transformation of the procedures and means through which architecture and the city were produced: a subversive proposition that would have brought about a dramatic change in architects' everyday engagement with their community and direct co-workers – and one that un-revolutionary, late-capitalist developments have paradoxically made a reality in the present day at considerable professional and social cost.

(Salaried) architects as producers

The Second World War helped shape architects' awareness of their social role and led to a different perception of the architect within society. Employment in local authority housing offices, welfare commissions and commercial organisations (as Summerson suggested) was not only a significant, new opportunity for a financially fragile profession, it became the chance to revert the negative aura of working as a salaried architect, a prospect 'which [in the mid-1920s] attracted few and was entertained by the unambitious and the not very talented […] sought only by those to whom the pay-envelope was a very much more urgent consideration than opportunities for the creation of architecture.'[5] The perception of salaried employment as an unexciting way out for the least able (i.e. least creative) young architects is a recurrent shadow in the culture of architecture that has certainly been cast over the most recent generations, now that the heyday of our belief in the public sphere as a provider of quality services and a locus of technical expertise is over.

In the new *Footprint* catergory of visual essay, João Paulo Martins and Sofia Diniz challenge conventional wisdom on this subject by drawing on the work of architects performing as civil servants under the aegis of the administrative apparatus of the Portuguese dictatorship from the 1940s through the early 1970s. Martins and Diniz examine the 'invisible' contribution of better- and lesser-known architects who operated as designers of the furniture and fittings that equipped extensive public building programmes across the country. By looking at instances of negotiation that took place in obscure government departments between a generally conservative tutelage and a number of officials who were eager to keep up with international developments, their research reveals how noteworthy examples of architectural agency surface in inconspicuous everyday objects and practices.

Research into the ample evidence of qualified work delivered by 'departmental architects', such as those working for the LCC Architects' Department or the Furniture Acquisition Commission in Portugal, runs counter to the persistent anathema towards the everyday role of the salaried architect – even, or especially, within the discipline of architecture itself. Indeed, when asked to reflect on their careers, architects themselves are the first to belittle their more 'bread-and-butter' works as second-rate by-products, if not to simply disavow them, redressing their personal narratives according to what oral history theorists call 'collective and retrospective versions of the past'.[6] At the root of this self-prejudice lies the prevalence of the 'resistant hero-genius' figure as the architect's model, stemming from what Andrew Saint perceptively saw (already three decades ago) as the enduring 'strain of artistic individualism' in architectural ideology, whereby 'a building is significant or insignificant in so far as it incorporates an idea or ideas conceived by its individual designer, and the history of architecture becomes the web of such significant ideas, worked out in special buildings.'[7] The corollary of this concept, still popular because it enables architects to 'see themselves not only as top dogs in the construction process but also as creators and romantics [with] a chance of fame and remembrance from posterity',[8] is that the profession is generally unwilling or unprepared to consider other sides of its activity to be worthy of historical or theoretical discussion, regardless of how central these may have been to its survival.

The role of architects in public service or working as team members in private practice for the construction industry more often than not falls through the cracks of a markedly celebratory architecture culture. Yet time and again, the self-aware architect has sought to revise his or her position within the equation of built environment production, whether by following more socially-disruptive strategies – as pursued by Hannes Meyer – or by working within the cadre of full-blown capitalism.

The exploration of the 'other sides' to the profession gained momentum in the context of architectural education and production in Europe and the United States in the 1960s and 1970s, despite the growing importance of authorship as a marker of the architect's creative responsibility. Elizabeth Keslacy's 'Fun and Games' examines emerging conceptions of the architect that radically departed from conventional models. By using instructional studio games to both explore the productive capacities of collective creativity and re-position the designer as one of many figures embedded in a network of design stakeholders, educators such as Juan Pablo Bonta opened new doors for architecture students to engage with their social and professional circles, substantially redressing their everyday remit.

The article by Ellen Rowley, 'The Architect, the Planner and the Bishop', offers a specific example of the designer's complex entanglement with the everyday conditions of practice that occurs in often surprising teamwork settings – one that might have provided inspiration for an academic studio game, with the added element of the Irish Catholic Church as a powerful stakeholder. Rowley examines the tense dialogues and negotiations between different categories of spatial planners in Dublin, emphasising the overwhelming influence of Ireland's theocratic governance in shaping the everyday life of the ordinary citizen and, ultimately, the landscape of Irish suburbia. The interplay of forces that emerges in Rowley's piece portrays the subdued spatial agency of the architect and the planner in contrast to the prominence of the bishop. Drawn from the idiosyncratic context of 1940s Ireland, this case elicits discussions of the 'bread-and-butter' of architecture, and of the latent power structures that determine the everyday of the salaried architect in many other contexts.

Rendering architecture effective in real life

Summerson actively countered the 'artistic' strain of architecture with his persistent focus on the outsider and his 'support of the underdog', be this a Georgian architect, a Victorian builder or, we might add, an Irish civil servant. He believed 'there is a special interest to be derived from examining the position of a minor artist because it shows how the intellectuals of a generation are inevitably forced into a single pattern of growth – however different their capacities or their choice of medium.'[9] This attention to the 'minor' and humble but competent designer was as valid for the past as it was for Summerson's day: a 'tradition of competence and quality in architecture comes along' when the young architect stops being 'always out to ring the last bell rung by a great name' and 'settles down to something not quite as adventurous as his thesis design but not as cautious as the average of new buildings he sees around him.'[10] Summerson was a committed proponent of modern English architecture, yet thought that it would not thrive in the hands of individual geniuses. Rather, he held a 'political belief' in forms of collaborative practice, such as corporate offices and official departments, which were key in order to 'change and clarify the relation of the architect to the public';[11] in other words, to strengthen the relevance of the profession for its wider community. In Summerson's view, these forms of collaboration had the potential, as Philip Goad has noted, to simultaneously ensure 'consistent service, the preservation of the freedom and integrity of the individual designer, and formal and programmatic innovation.'[12]

> Altogether, it seems to me that the highfliers – the Lloyd Wrights and the Corbusiers and their satellites – have broken as many barriers as needed breaking for the present. They have liberated architecture and equipped it for all the real-life adventures which are looming ahead. The next thing to be done is to render architecture *effective* [original emphasis] in English life.[13]

The 'bread-and-butter architecture' of corporate offices and administrative authorities became an essential field for the dissemination of modernism

and modern building processes after the war, and it was the everyday work of the salaried designer – the architect of bureaucracy – that eventually rendered the discipline *effective* in contemporary society, regardless of what little attention it gets from our dominant, hagiographic historiography. In the text from 1956 that we drew on for our second epigraph, Summerson could not hide his satisfaction at showing how, in the game-changing operations of British post-war housing and school building, the 'big official department' with its salaried architects had found the opportunity to 'demonstrate architecture as a public service. […] For many young men returning to their drawing boards after the war, the hypothetical had become the real – the opportunities present were such as a new generation of architects was fully prepared to accept.'[14] Summerson's prewar calls for an 'architecture of bureaucracy' were, to borrow Goad's observation, 'vindicated' by the late 1950s.[15]

While the figure of the salaried architect was, in effect, partly rehabilitated through the post-war architecture of the welfare state, this has since been perceived as a predominantly male ecosystem: symptomatically, Summerson's words concerned a group of young *men*. As Karen Burns, Justine Clark and Julie Willis put it in their 'Mapping the (Invisible) Salaried Woman Architect', women remained invisible but active participants, yet their practices were marginalised within the historical record. Their review of the Parlour project delivers a more nuanced view of the profession, revealing the extent to which surveying the careers of women architects offers a fine-grained understanding of how workplaces operate through gender channels. Women were, and are, instrumental in rendering architecture effective in life: scholarly, professional and social discussions are bound to reflect this increasingly.

In England, key women players, such as social housing reformer Elizabeth Denby in the interwar period, demonstrated the pertinence of another essential strand in the everyday of architecture: teamwork and interdisciplinary collaboration, through which single authorship faded away. Across the Atlantic, this strand was developed in large-scale collective enterprises that were gathering attention just as Summerson issued his 'Bread & Butter and Architecture' call – and well before Henry Russell Hitchcock published his article admitting the need for a specifically commercial (note, not public administration-based) architecture of bureaucracy.[16] In April 1941, the Museum of Modern Art in New York opened its exhibition *TVA Architecture and Design*, where the architectural-engineering achievements of the Tennessee Valley Authority were displayed. Speaking at the members' preview, David E. Lilienthal, Director of TVA since the project's inception in 1933, stressed how relevant it was that the MoMA 'should see fit to recognise TVA structures as noteworthy examples of modern American architecture and design.' The 'building of the TVA', he noted, was planned as 'an anonymous undertaking' ('You will search in vain for bronze tablets […] listing the names of engineers or architects.'), although it had been touched with the 'special talent and genius' of individuals such as Chief Engineer Theodore Parker or Chief Architect Roland Wank. For the museum's Architecture Department, the 'architectural significance' of the TVA works was to show 'that a huge government project <u>can</u> [original emphasis] produce fine architecture, a gratifying truth we often forget. […] These structures handsomely combine dignity, logic and beauty – from the minor buildings built around them to the colossal dams themselves.'[17] The terms of MoMA's endorsement and the structures they refer to read as an unintended declaration, complete with concrete present-day built evidence, in support of Summerson's campaign for the future of public architecture.

In fact, unlike many of Summerson's (British) examples of the post-war vindication of bureaucratic

architecture, the influence of TVA's methods and approach (from territorial to building scale) on the architecture of the welfare state across the world is increasingly attracting interest in scholarly accounts – a trend most recently testified to by the publication of the edited volume *Architecture and the Welfare State*.[18] In his review of this anthology for *Footprint*, Tahl Kaminer underlines the editors' commitment to redeem figures: for example, the departmental architect designing public housing in Western Europe, typically associated with maligned planning and technocratic policies. Highlighting the 'elusiveness of welfare state specificity', Kaminer suggests that the study of governmental responses to the social critique of society still needs to go beyond traditional geopolitical frames and a narrow definition of 'architecture', usually conceived as an artistic field of creativity rather than a field of social production and reproduction.

Towards a flat ontology

Over the last four decades, the attention paid to the 'underdogs', as it were, has been ambivalent. From the late 1970s, widespread change in the public perception of civic administrations, seen with increasing scepticism, has taken its toll on the image of the official salaried architect; the social prestige that, in some contexts, was associated with his position has waned. In its turn, employment in increasingly large private practices remains a bitter-sweet experience for architects who are, to this day, still generally taught in the old tradition of the 'artistic individualism' mantra. In parallel to this trend are resistant approaches fought militantly to promote the social scope of architecture, as C. Richard Hatch put it. Indeed, confronted with the relentless advance of neoliberalism, in the mid-1980s Hatch bitterly asserted that 'needs formerly considered the most important are lost, among them the needs for many-sided competence and for creativity.' He went on to stress that 'together, these losses imply a greater loss, the loss of the need for architecture and for the city, that is, for rich social existence.'[19] He called on all architects to loosen their concern with authorship and promote the principle of user participation in design decision-making processes. This would eventually, Hatch contended, make a specific contribution to developing critical awareness and catering for the wealth of human needs, thus tackling 'the anomic production of commercial architecture and the elitist cultural models of the postmodern academics.'[20]

Despite Hatch's praise for the engaged professional, over the last three decades the figure of the architect qua anonymous spatial agent has been swiftly eroded from our collective social conscience. To be sure, as we look back at the twentieth century while well immersed in the problems of the present, the architectural production of those who played their part in inconspicuous offices and unexciting departments, and the place of 'bread-and-butter' architecture in the politics of building design, history and theory, continue to demand attention.

Recently, new emphasis has been put on other ways of doing architecture, operating in contested areas of spatial production that challenge the politics of pragmatic laissez-faire.[21] Following in Summerson's steps, authors such as Jeremy Till and Tatjana Schneider challenge the mythology of the sole architect as hero-author still played out through the figures of the Rems, Zahas and Normans, whose first names are used, they contend, to give 'a comforting familiarity with genius that disguises the reality of how little of the built environment is associated with any architect-author whatsoever.'[22]

This issue of *Footprint* aims to investigate practices that have been eclipsed by the spotlights of mainstream media. In doing so, we are well aware of the need to avoid the lure of a separation between the 'high' and the 'low': a 'split ontology' as Tim Gough describes it in his contribution to this issue, 'Architecture is Always in the Middle…' Instead, our drive to re-examine the bread-and-butter of

architecture aims to contribute to a flat ontology, avoiding the pitfalls of what Gough calls 'the prejudice of the split' that is somewhat implicit in Summerson's writing. In this issue, we seek to explore the many facets of the continuous interplay between architecture, politics, culture and construction, as well as the many nuances connecting the realms of creative composition and its reception. Paraphrasing Tim Gough's title, we want to explore the middle, where architecture always is.

Notes

1. Sir John Summerson, 'Bread & Butter and Architecture', *Horizon. A Review of Literature and Art* VI, no. 34 (1942): 234.
2. Sir John Summerson, 'Introduction', in Trevor Dannatt, *Modern Architecture in Britain* (London: Batsford, 1959), 27. This was a reprint of Summerson's introduction to the catalogue of the Arts Council of Great Britain exhibition *Ten Years of British Architecture, '45–'55*, of 1956.
3. Summerson's 'Bread & Butter and Architecture' text was also the leitmotif of our conference session '"Bread & Butter and Architecture": Accommodating the Everyday' at the European Architectural History Network Third International Meeting (Turin, June 2014). This issue of *Footprint* shares the fundamental premises of the session, as well as some of the papers originally given there.
4. Summerson (1942), 235.
5. Ibid., 234.
6. Cf. Alistair Thomson, 'Memory and Remembering in Oral History', in *The Oxford Handbook of Oral History*, ed. Donald A. Ritchie (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 77–95.
7. Andrew Saint, *The Image of the Architect* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1983), 6.
8. Ibid.,7.
9. John Summerson, 'Gandy and the Tomb of Merlin', *The Architectural Review* (April 1941): 90, quoted in Neil Jackson, 'John Summerson and the View from the Outside', in *Summerson and Hitchcock: Centenary Essays on Architectural Historiography*, ed. Frank Salmon (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2006), 263–80. Jackson saw in Summerson's work 'that rather British characteristic of fair play and gamesmanship apparent in the support of the underdog.' Jackson (2006), 275.
10. Summerson (1942), 241–242.
11. Ibid., 237.
12. Philip Goad, 'Genius and Bureaucracy: Hitchcock, Summerson and Post-War Modern Architecture', in *Summerson and Hitchcock: Centenary Essays on Architectural Historiography* (2006), 281–311. Goad's essay, discussing the roles of Summerson and Hitchcock in bringing 'the dichotomous model Genius vs. Bureaucracy' up to the higher echelons of historiography, offers an insightful account of Summerson's (numerous) writings on the subject of the salaried architect, published in the 1930s and 1940s.
13. Summerson (1942), 243.
14. Summerson (1959), 19.
15. Goad (2006), 301.
16. Henry-Russell Hitchcock, 'The Architecture of Bureaucracy and the Architecture of Genius', *The Architectural Review* (January 1947): 3–6.
17. The Museum of Modern Art, New York, 'David E. Lilienthal, Director of TVA, Opens Exhibition of TVA Architecture and Design at Museum of Modern Art', press release, 28 April 1941. The Museum of Modern Art Exhibition Records, Files for MoMA Exhibition #125, *T.V.A. Architecture and Design* (on view from 30 April through 7 June 1941).
18. Examples of this recent surge of interest are Mardges Bacon's account of Le Corbusier's confrontation with TVA's collaborative practices, integrating architecture and infrastructure, and Tom Avermaete's essay on the importance of TVA's model on the work of ATBAT, the organisation created by Le Corbusier to develop new forms of cooperation between architects, engineers and quantity surveyors. See Mardges Bacon, 'Le Corbusier and Postwar America: The TVA and Béton Brut', *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 74, no. 1 (2015): 13–40; Tom Avermaete, 'From Knoxville to Bidonville: ATBAT and the Architecture

of the French Welfare State', in *Architecture and the Welfare State*, eds. Mark Swenarton, Tom Avermaete, and Dirk van den Heuvel (Oxon and New York: Routledge, 2014), 218–35.

19. C. Richard Hatch, 'Introduction', in *The Scope of Social Architecture*, ed. C. Richard Hatch (Van Nostrand Reinhold, 1984), 7.
20. Ibid.
21. Some examples of this new trend were identified in Nishat Awan, Tatjana Schneider, and Jeremy Till, *Spatial Agency: Other Ways of Doing Architecture* (Oxon and New York: Routledge, 2011).
22. Tatjana Schneider and Jeremy Till, 'Beyond Discourse: Notes on Spatial Agency', *Footprint* 2, no. 4 (Spring 2009): 97.

Biographies

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Humdrum Tasks of the Salaried Men: Edwin Williams, a London County Council Architect at War

Nick Beech

Introduction

Much of the discussion concerning post-Second World War architecture in Britain revolves around the question whether an appropriate or inappropriate architecture for the social democratic state was ever produced. Questions have been asked as to how civic and political buildings – concert halls, galleries, parliamentary buildings – communicate, express or facilitate concepts and practices of social democratic governance and the formation of a polity.[1] The material, structural and formal values of social housing and education and health care buildings have been assessed for their ability to respond to the requirements of social democracy.[2]

These architectural histories are framed within wider political histories and the emergence of the welfare state from liberal programmes of social security in the 1920s, through to a full-blooded Keynesian mixed economy of the 1950s, which has been variously defined as democratic (in a representational sense), technocratic, bureaucratic, and 'compromised' (to the extent that the new welfare state was concerned with the redistribution of surplus wealth from private to public ends). These different aspects of the welfare state are further complicated in terms of their relation to each other, either simply 'co-existing' (but in this case, which elements are technocratic, which democratic, which bureaucratic and so on?), functionally layered, or competing.

The question posed by architectural history has been whether the *products* of architecture – that is, buildings – answered the needs of the welfare state, and to what extent these products were over-determined by one or other element in the structure of the welfare state. As an example, it was possible for Adrian Forty to identify and categorise Tecton's Finsbury Health Centre of the 1930s and the London County Council (LCC) Architects' Department's Royal Festival Hall of the 1950s as 'social democratic' in the sense that those buildings spatially confirmed liberal democratic values.[3] On the other hand, it was equally possible for the same author to define the Southbank Exhibition of the Festival of Britain as 'technocratic' because of the structural relationship between the architectural and other design professions that produced that event, and the civil service and executive government of the period. The Festival of Britain Exhibition, then, responded in a broad sense to the needs of a welfare state, but in a specific sense to a *technocracy*.[4] But how are we to understand the daily *practices* (rather than *products*) of architecture as contributing to the history of the welfare state?

In his forensic history of the design of the Royal Festival Hall, Miles Glendinning argues that mid-century modern architecture in Britain has largely been (and should be) understood as the result of conflicts and sympathies operating between the 'art' of the singular visionary architectural designer, and the 'social function' of the collective, prosaic municipal authority.[5] The Festival Hall emerges as the culmination of the architect Robert Matthew's struggle to free the municipal office of the LCC

Architects' Department from the 'vast, repetitive workload of minor development-control casework […] of the same everyday character: numbering and naming of streets, the condition of bomb-damaged roofs, and the demolition of Anderson shelters'.[6]

As such, Glendinning frankly and overtly utilises an established historiographic trope in which the history of architectural production is bifurcated. The necessary (or is that perhaps 'necessarily'?) prosaic building programme of modern social democracy in the twentieth century – the planning and codification of the urban environment, municipal over-site of private building production, regulation of the building industries, distribution and control of consumption of building materials and so on – is recalled only in contradistinction to the design and production of 'exceptional' civic and private spaces of modernism.

This split history of the development of modern architecture in Britain is reproduced throughout the criticism and historiography on and of the period.[7] Hiving off the 'humdrum tasks' of the 'salaried men' allows for exclusive attention to be paid to the emergence of modernism in Britain prior to the Second World War and its subsequent development immediately after. This includes the overturning of regressive and conservative architectural principles in the Royal Institute of British Architects (RIBA) and the emergence of a generation of architects educated in modernism and determined to produce it.[8] The bumpy road of British modernist architecture and the contests between 'New Empiricists', or 'New Humanists', and an earlier avant-garde (represented by émigré figures such as Berthold Lubetkin) and later neo-avant-gardes (neoclassicist or new brutalist) can then be set out along strictly formal lines.

Whilst who and what might be covered by any of these stylistic umbrellas is allowed to remain an always-moot point, the interpretative grid is strictly maintained: formal and structural innovation traceable to the drawing board. With very few exceptions, this produces both a powerful, coherent history (of modernist architecture as naturally responsive to social democracy) and a swathe of contradictions and lacunae, not least of which concerns the relationship of architectural practice to transformations in the building industry and developments in social democracy itself.[9] [fig. 1]

Edwin Williams

A figure such as Edwin Williams does not so much fall outside the stylistic umbrella as fall outside the story of British architecture's ever-changing weather entirely. Born in 1897, Williams was a student at the Liverpool School of Architecture in the early 1920s, the very particular training in architecture he received there complemented by a scholarship to the British School at Rome in 1928.[10] Williams moved to London and joined the LCC Architects' Department in the early 1930s. Regarded as professionally competent and well organised, but personally thin-skinned and caustic, Williams's rise through the ranks of the department reached a ceiling as a succession of younger, avowedly 'modernist' architects were appointed above him.[11] In the late 1930s, Williams applied for the position of Deputy Architect, but this was given to his colleague John Forshaw. Williams subsequently applied for the position of Architect to the Council; again, this was given to Forshaw. Yet again, in the 1940s, and despite high regard for Williams within the department, Robert Matthew (appointed as Architect to the Council) and then Leslie Martin (appointed as Deputy and later promoted to Architect) were brought in to the department from outside.[12]

With little evidence of any contribution to the advancement of modern architecture, Williams has been safely placed in the backroom of modern architecture's production throughout the twentieth century, dismissed with his Beaux Arts training. The implication (particularly in Glendinning's reading) is that if Williams was competent and a good manager,

Fig. 1: Royal Festival Hall architects – Peter Moro, Sir Leslie Martin, Sir Robert Matthew, and Edwin Williams (1948). Courtesy: RIBA Library Pictures.

he would never have been able to achieve the kind of *architectural* leadership within the department that either Matthew or Martin could and did.

This paper presents an argument that depends on pulling a figure like Williams – and the kind of work that he conducted – into historical relief. This is not to suggest that Williams can be shown to have produced any remarkable but previously unrecognised architecture of merit. The paucity of biographical material further mitigates against a fuller historical account of Williams as an individual.[13] Rather, and following Andrew Saint, the 'real subject' is not the individual authorship of certain architectural products, 'but a particular attitude of mind, an approach towards architecture'.[14] It is the roles that Williams undertook throughout his career, and the manner in which Williams conducted those roles, that contribute to our understanding and appreciation of fundamental concerns in the provision of architecture within the peculiar social democratic welfare state instituted in Britain. Crucially, Williams's career raises questions about the matrix of relations established between the profession (of architecture), the industry (of building) and various forms of state institution and agency (the LCC and central government) that emerged during and immediately following the Second World War.

The office of the architect to the council that Williams joined in the 1930s was probably one of the largest in the world, certainly the largest in Britain.[15] Services provided by the council's architect included the design of a wide range of building types, major civic buildings (such as County Hall) and regulative (weights and measures, gas meter testing stations, and coroner's courts), educational, health, emergency services (fire), and power services (electricity). The Architect's office superintended slum clearance, designed large-scale housing production and improvement works (paving, street realignment, bridges and parks). The office sustained at least thirteen committees for construction works and thirty-three sub-committees.[16] This large body of work still remains underrepresented in architectural history.[17] Yet the origin of the role of the council's architect lies not in direct construction activity conducted by the LCC itself.

With its formation in 1889, the LCC inherited most of the functions of the former Metropolitan Board of Works (MBW) – a non-democratic institution of governance that had fallen into disrepute.[18] The responsibilities of the architect to the MBW were therefore passed to the LCC, who appointed a 'superintending architect' for the purpose of oversight and regulation of metropolitan building. The later London Building Act of 1894 confirmed this role:

> The Council may for the purposes of aiding in the execution of this Act appoint some fit person to be called "the superintending architect of metropolitan buildings" together with such number of clerks as they think fit.[19]

As such, the first purpose of the council's architect was not to design or conduct architectural practice, but to regulate building production in London. Direct exercise of the London Building Act was continued by district surveyors operating at borough level (the county of London, instituted with the LCC, included forty–four districts), thus maintaining a balance of regulative control between boroughs and the new county-level authority: the LCC. Ultimate authority resided with the council's architect as the statutory official, but a district surveyor's powers were considerable, supervising on site all building works for their compliance with the Act and byelaws.[20] Whilst the office of the architect to the council was, then, engaged in the widest design activity imaginable, that office was also engaged in regulative practices for the whole of London's material reproduction. Uniquely, the architect's office at the LCC engaged in both of these activities.

Major E. G. G. Bax (1939–)
Coordinating Officer
(London Regional Headquarters)

F. R. Hiorns (1939–1940); J. Forshaw (1940–)
Officer-in-Charge
(LCC Architect's Department)

Mr W. H. Carey (1939–)
General Administration
(County Hall)

Mr Edwin Williams (1939–)
Team Training
(LCC Architect's Department)

5 'Group' Co-Ordinators
(LCC Architect's Department)

Assistant Deputies, Technical Staff, Office Staff
(LCC Architect's Department)

27 District Surveyors ' Local Officers in Charge'
(Metropolitan Boroughs)

'Rescue Parties'
(Contractors and Direct Labour)

Fig. 2: Organisational Chart of the Rescue and Recovery Service in 1941. Derived from LMA LCC/AR/WAR/1/30, 'Miscellaneous working papers used in preparation of history' (1945). Source: London Metropolitan Archives.

Although there has been some considerable historical reflection on the various ways in which progressive, moderate and Labour regimes of the LCC enacted metropolitan regulation, motivated by specific political and moral imperatives, little has been done to examine how professionals enacted these in their practice.[21] The following analysis contributes to such a history, and, in doing so, focuses on the central functions of the Architects' Department during the Second World War. It is in that period that the design work of the office was necessarily reduced, and the functions of planning and urban regulation and control came to the fore. It is also the period when Williams exercised some considerable influence by utilising the structural relationship between the LCC superintending architect and borough district surveyors, not for the purposes of regulating London's building, but for London's survival.

The Second World War and the role of the LCC Architects' Department

On 8 February 1939, with the threat of aerial bombardment looming, the Home Office contacted the Clerk of the Council to relay the Lord Privy Seal's decision that the LCC should assume responsibility for the organisation of 'demolition, shoring and rescue work'.[22] Although there was general recognition that the size and complexity of London's civil defence operations required close supervision and control by municipal authorities, a debate continued throughout the period regarding the extent to which oversight and ultimate authority should arrogate to officers of a central state civil service, to the LCC or to borough district surveyors.[23] The resulting structure appeared as a loose pyramid, with the LCC Architects' Department operating at a middle tier between central government and borough levels, who in turn liaised with private professionals and contractors.[24] [fig. 2]

Nine days after the announcement that the council would be responsible for rescue and recovery services in London, a conference was held to review the operational position.[25] There, the nature of the problem became clear. The Borough Engineer of Hampstead explained that

> as regards Hampstead an organisation might be said to be practically non-existent. Building firms in Hampstead were practically restricted to decorative work and they had neither the materials nor employed the type of men required for the work of demolition and rescue.[26]

Although certain borough engineers were slightly more optimistic, particularly in Holborn and Westminster, it became clear that the organisation of the Rescue Service would have to develop some way of generating manpower from a building 'industry' that had largely been absorbed into the war effort.[27]

The proposed Rescue Service faced two problems. First, how to integrate operatives from various building trades – and the ragged edge of the building industry in particular – with professional officers from the county and borough councils. Second, how to get that work force at all, given that they were in direct competition with the military for young, fit, able men. A growing concern developed over 'ill-discipline' in the service, ranging from petty theft to major theft of salvage, and absenteeism.

It was in response to these problems that five training schools were established. Training was, for the most part, provided through a system of lectures and practical exercises. These were delivered by members of the LCC Architects' Department and Engineers' Department, by invited specialists, and by military personnel from the armed forces.

The training programme and five schools

It was Williams who coordinated the schools and produced the council's *Notes on Training for Rescue Parties*, which became the model document for

Fig. 3: Cover of London County Council, Notes on Training for Rescue Parties (London: LCC, 1941). Courtesy: London Metropolitan Archives.

a national training programme.[28] [fig. 3] From this document and the memoranda on timetables distributed throughout the Rescue Service, a practical educational programme emerges that can be classified in five parts.[29]

Basic construction skills were complemented with recovery skills, such as how to move about in a structure that is unstable and/or on fire, and how to extract bodies, whether injured or lifeless. [fig. 4] Further training was provided by experts in basic bomb detection, management and disposal, as well as in the deployment of explosives for large-scale demolition works.

The organisation and utilisation of equipped lorries was soon supplemented by training in the deployment of heavy plant: mechanical derricks, cranes, and adapted trucks and tractors. Finally, basic instruction in domestic building structures was provided, as well as instruction in core demolition skills, following the 'upside down' or 'top-down' method of deconstruction. These five elements constituted the core of the training programme. They did not constitute training in a craft, nor a technical training, but rather, training in emergency operations. The programme provided a disparate and, in terms of skill, extremely uneven labour force with the most basic understanding of the material and structural qualities of simple buildings.

However, another aspect of the training that became increasingly pronounced was training in the discipline of Rescue Service parties. The early programmes and Williams's *Notes* include forms of training that not only introduced Rescue Service trainees to various skills and services, but also to constant structured exercises testing organisational activity on and off duty. These exercises were initially framed by Williams as necessary due to the peculiar nature of the work to be conducted by the Rescue Service groups; that is, the emphasis placed on 'improvisational discipline' under extreme conditions.

However, there was a progressive development toward a hierarchical structuring of activity and oversight, and of disciplinary programmes such as 'competitive' exercises, whereby operatives were organised into competing teams. Increasingly, the training of Rescue Service operatives moved from a concern with teamwork for the effective operation of equipment and rapid response, to 'teamwork' as a means to prevent and/or exorcise deviant behaviours.

In operation

> The indescribable mess at the incidents, piles of debris covered with a fog of dust and dirt through which the figures, by the light of flares or perhaps a blazing gas-main or a burning building, could be seen passing dimly, were reminiscent of pictures from Dante's Inferno. Daylight only brought a sense of devastation and desolation with a curious impression that buildings after all consisted merely of broken timbers, bricks and rubbish.[30]

As well as immediately attending to bomb-damaged sites – rescuing trapped people and recovering bodies – the service was responsible for recovering valuable items: salvageable material such as lead, timber, brick, iron and steel, ceramics, furniture, textiles, food and water.

The result of salvage operations was the development of a number of distribution networks in the form of salvage stores in government warehouses and hard core dumps in London's parks (and the use of hard core as ballast in shipping to North America). Furniture found its way to a number of markets. Foodstuffs recovered from bomb-damaged sites were immediately distributed through the Health Service. Later, firebombing caused considerable

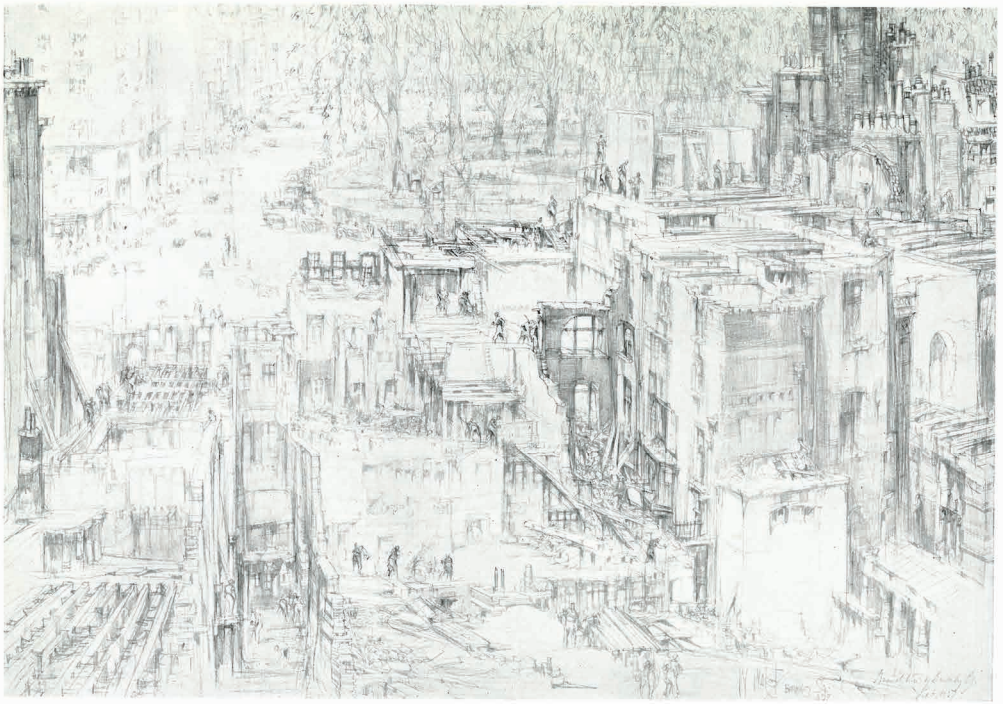
Fig. 4

Fig. 5

Fig. 4: Rescue Service Operatives in Training, 1941. LMA LCC/AR/WAR/1/30, 71920. Courtesy: London Metropolitan Archives.

Fig. 5: Ministry of Information Photo Division. Reconstruction of 'An Incident': Civil Defence training in Fulham, London, 1942. Courtesy: Imperial War Museum.

Fig. 6: Rescue Service Officers in Training, 1941. LMA LCC/AR/WAR/1/30, 72010. Courtesy: London Metropolitan Archives.



1937

CHANGING LONDON

William Walcot

1941

1937—Transition in peace, showing the demolition of properties in Berkeley Square.

1941—Transition in war; the aftermath of air bombardment, demolition and the removal of danger and debris.

Plate LVIII, facing page 153

Fig. 7: Final plate in Patrick Abercrombie and J.H. Forshaw, County of London Plan (London: HMSO, 1943), Plate LVIII, facing page 153.

problems, particularly in London's docklands, with the Rescue Service managing lakes of molten cheese clogging up docks, and the burnt shells of warehouses barely holding mountains of poisonous tobacco dust (resolved through collection and distribution to the agro-industry as a pesticide). Finally, the Rescue Service provided support for emergency medical and mortuary services.

In the historical accounts of these operations, whether first-hand or in subsequent histories, there are two distinct but, I think, related elements that recur: the first affective, the second epistemological. First, in descriptions of the service the *figure* of the rescue operative is always 'a part of', 'continuous with', or 'hidden within' changing or indeterminate matter (fire, smoke, rubble, etc.). The operative emerges from or recedes into a traumatic material landscape. Not without the caveat that they offer hope, these figures *are* the human dimension of a built environment in transformation. And they disappear with it. [fig. 5]

At the same time, the basis of the history of the service resides in the notebooks of the district surveyors, the statistical tables produced at the LCC, and the memos of instruction issuing from the same, which establish, maintain and police distribution networks. Accounts of the service are essentially accounts of how to quantify and analyse newly 'released' material, how to redistribute the building fabric, how to establish networks for such distribution and how to police them. And this includes populations: from the workers within the service who would later perform the first stages of reconstruction, to the urban population that was identified, measured, allocated to, and relocated from the built environment.

The role of the architect in the Rescue and Recovery Service was to maintain an overview and structure for these two levels, or systems, in play. On the one hand, training, disciplining and instructing the operatives not only in the management of direct material conditions but also in the emotional circumstances of those conditions. This was achieved within the training schools. At another level, administering and controlling the distribution of materials and populations in London was achieved through the compilation of statistical tables and maps.

Post-Second World War

It is clear that Williams, acting in a role that bridged the work of the LCC Architects' Department and the borough district surveyors, contributed to the formalisation and technical development of the demolition industry. Prior to 1939, demolition was strictly a 'craft' industry relying on a transient work force using traditional methods and equipment of deconstruction.[31] By 1943, those contractors employed in the service had formed the National Federation of Demolition Contractors and, with pressure from the National Federation of Building Trade Operatives, entered into annual agreements through a Demolition Wages Board.[32]

Municipal architects became intimate with and operated the very technical, mechanical and organisational means by which London would be transformed. The same contractors and workers who, at the beginning of the reconstruction process, employed a mixed technical production programme of skilled work and heavy plant, had been trained by the architects and district surveyors who instructed them as the destruction of the blitz progressed. This is reflected at the very moment of transformation (1943) in the last plate of the *County of London Plan.* [fig. 7] The drawing by William Walcot (top of fig. 7) shows an earlier method of demolition in operation at Berkley Square in the 1930s, the scene filled with demolition workers using hand tools to demolish buildings. In the contrasting photograph (bottom of fig. 7) from the 1940s, the new demolition contractor is shown at work using a mechanical derrick fitted with a wrecking ball, and very few workers are visible at all.

Fig. 8: Nigel Henderson. Photograph showing three unidentified men next to a badly damaged building. Date unknown.

At another level, Williams continued to utilise the 'improvisational discipline' concept. In a 1962 article for the *RIBA Journal*, Williams sets out his position on the appropriate nature of professional practice in the commercial production of building and its control. In the face of the reshaping of London's municipal government (from the LCC to the Greater London Council), Williams warns against the absorption of building control into a national (and therefore Whitehall controlled) framework.[33]

> Building history in London shows that the real problem lies not in the production of high technical standards, but in the formation of practical laws, which must cater for flexibility to meet individual problems, diverse types of building, and technical ingenuity. Laws are required which can speedily and authoritatively be enforced when necessary.
>
> As a result there has evolved in London the office of the Superintending Architect of Metropolitan Buildings, vested with certain statutory responsibilities, who advises the Building Act Authority on the exercise of its powers, together with the system of district surveyors spread over the county area, and entrusted with the administration and enforcement of constructional standards. They also have a certain measure of autonomy.[34]

Williams argues that attempts to construct a set of totalising standards to which building activity would have to submit is both admirable and dangerous. Opposing this technocratic and centralising organisation of building control, Williams argues for the extension of the 'building control officer's' powers. Citing the specific, contingent and concrete nature of building production, Williams contrasts conformity to technical abstraction with submission to professional judgement. The position is argued on pragmatic, commercial, and political grounds: speed, flexibility and redress.

In countering the arrogation of powers from municipal to state authority, in doing so on the basis that such a position protects individual liberty and the commercial imperative, and in defending the status of professional expertise as the exercise of judgement rather than accession to technical abstract knowledge, Williams's statement on building control encapsulates a liberal and empiricist attitude in modern architecture and its conception of social democratic provision.[35]

Post-Second World War: aesthetics and affectivity

Histories of post-war reconstruction in Britain, and particularly architectural histories, are not blind to the effects of empiricism. However, the 'empiricism' operating in architecture identified in the history of Williams's work at the LCC targets quite a different discursive formation than that identified by the 'New Empiricist' style, famously coined by Eric de Maré in the pages of the *Architectural Review*.[36] 'New Empiricism', proposed as a potential import from Sweden to Britain, was always understood as a refusal of the 'International Style' and the promotion of a regional architecture. 'New Empiricism' has always been a muddle of liberal pragmatism on the one hand, and, on the other, a reactionary socialism, rooted in the image of the arts and crafts if not in the tradition.[37]

One could try to crowbar Williams's work into such a stylistic category. His training in the Liverpool School of the 1920s and his time at the British School in Rome suggests a classicism anathema to 'New Empiricism'. But still, the complex relation between American Beaux Arts and late British arts and crafts embodied in the Liverpool School – in both practical and ideological terms – leaves that option open.[38]

But I think there is value in introducing a new schematic for empiricism in the architecture of the period, since it points to a potentially different periodisation of architectural development. Rather

than rely on an account of architecture as a succession of products – whether these are conceived or interpreted rhetorically, aesthetically or ideologically – we can consider architectural development in terms of disciplinary formations and procedures, and processes of production. Williams's work then becomes part of a longer development of a form of architectural practice that seeks to foster and marshal individual judgement to corporate ends. It also begins to blur the boundaries drawn between architectural practitioners on stylistic grounds.

In particular, whilst Williams's work at the LCC rarely touched aesthetic questions of architecture in the formal sense, his work re-engages us with the many issues that revolved around rhetorical and aesthetic attempts in architecture to suture, elide or recall the traumas of the blitzed city through the 1950s.[39] In conclusion, I only wish to suggest that the ambiguities of reconstruction, the politics of memory, and the trauma of a built environment that is required to both recall and be forgotten – which resides in works such as, and only for example, the photographs of Nigel Henderson – are only heightened at a different register when we examine the disciplinary practices of urban reproduction through the Rescue Service and later demolition practices of reconstruction. [fig. 8]

The parallel production of the affective figures – the Rescue Service operatives who must at once appear and disappear (recover and demolish), and the population figures of municipal authority, which enable planning, redistribution and policing of the built environment – suggest a tension that resonates throughout both the practice of welfare state politics and the arts of the same period. What distinguishes them, of course, is that Williams attempted to generate, in conditions of total war, a set of effective operations and instruments for *managing* the affective conditions of destruction, whereas Henderson was attempting to refine an aesthetics of the same.

Notes

1. See, for example, Barry Curtis, '"One Continuous Interwoven Story" (The Festival of Britain),' *BLOCK* 11 (1985/6): 48–52; and Adrian Forty, 'Being or Nothingness: Private Experience and Public Architecture in Post-War Britain', *Architectural History* 38 (1995): 25–35.
2. For examples of particular housing and educational types, see Miles Glendinning and Stefan Muthesius, *Tower Block* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994); Stefan Muthesius, *The Post-War University* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000).
3. Forty, 'Being or Nothingness'.
4. Adrian Forty, 'Festival Politics', in *A Tonic to the Nation: The Festival of Britain 1951*, eds. Mary Banham and Bevis Hillier (London: Thames & Hudson, 1976), 26–38.
5. Miles Glendinning, 'Teamwork or Masterwork? The Design and Reception of the Royal Festival Hall', *Architectural History* 46 (2003): 277–83.
6. Glendinning, 'Teamwork or Masterwork?', 284.
7. See, for example, Trevor Dannatt ed., *Modern Architecture in Britain* (London: Batsford, 1959); Lionel Esher, *A Broken Wave: The Rebuilding of England, 1940–1980* (Harmondsworth: Allen Lane, 1981); John R. Gold, *The Experience of Modernism: Modern Architects and the Future City, 1928–1953* (London: E&FN Spon, 1997); John R. Gold, *The Practice of Modernism: Modern Architecture and Urban Transformation, 1954–1972* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2007); and even John Summerson, *Ten Years of British Architecture, '45–'55: An Arts Council Exhibition, 1956* (London: Arts Council, 1956).
8. Anthony Jackson, 'The Politics of Architecture: English Architecture 1929–1951', *The Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, 24, no. 1 (March 1965): 97–107; and Anthony Jackson, *The Politics of Architecture: A History of Modern Architecture in Britain* (London: Architectural Press, 1970).
9. Work such as Nicholas Bullock's account of reconstruction, Mark Swenarton's on the Building Research Station and, more recently, Christine Wall's on the experience of building workers during the

mid-twentieth century begins to redress this imbalance. See Nicholas Bullock, *Building the Post-War World: Modern Architecture and Reconstruction in Britain* (London: Routledge, 2002); Mark Swenarton, *Building the New Jerusalem: Architecture, Housing and Politics, 1900–1930* (Bracknell: IHS BRE Press, 2008); and, Christine Wall, *An Architecture of Parts: Architects, Building Workers and Industrialisation in Britain, 1940–1970* (New York: Routledge, 2013).

10. RIBA, *RIBA Kalendar 1928–1929* (London: RIBA), 264 and 626.
11. See Nicholas Merthyr Day, 'The Role of the Architect in Post-War State Housing: A Case Study of the Housing Work of the London County Council 1939–1945' (Unpublished PhD thesis, University of Warwick, 1988), 358, no. 31.
12. London Metropolitan Archives (LMA), LCC/MIN/6481, presented papers, General Purposes Committee Minutes, June–July, 1939; LMA, LCC/MIN/6483, presented papers, General Purposes Committee minutes, May–July, 1946; and, LMA, LCC/MIN/6487, presented papers, General Purposes Committee minutes, April–July 1947.
13. The *Dictionary of Scottish Architects* lists Edwin Williams but provides little information, accessed 21 July 2015, http://www.scottisharchitects.org.uk/architect_full.php?id=205350. The brief reference to Williams in James Curl and Susan Wilson, *The Oxford Dictionary of Architecture*, 3rd ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), suggests birth and death dates of 1896–1976. It is possible that his biography is confused with that of his contemporary, Edwin Herbert Horsley Williams ('Willie') b. 1895, d. 1976, http://www.scottish,architects.org.uk/architect_full.php?id=403477.
14. Andrew Saint, *Towards a Social Architecture: The Role of School Building in Post-War England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1987), viii.
15. Comparative data on the size of architectural practices are not currently available for British practices in the 1930s. Later data (1950s) can be found in *RIBA, The Architect and His Office* (London: RIBA, 1962).
16. London Metropolitan Archives (LMA), London County Council (LCC) Architect's Department: Organisational, Financial and General, LCC/AR/GEN; and, Gwilym Gibbon and Reginald Bell, *History of the London County Council, 1889–1939* (London: Macmillan, 1939), 471.
17. Housing has attracted the most attention. For an overview of LCC housing prior to the First World War, see Susan Beattie, *A Revolution in London Housing: LCC Housing Architects and Their Work, 1893–1914* (London: GLC, 1980).
18. See David Owen, *The Government of Victorian London, 1855–1889: The Metropolitan Board of Works, the Vestries, and the City Corporation* (Cambridge, MA and London: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1982), for an account of the Metropolitan Board of Works that resists its reputation as Board of 'Words' and 'Perks'.
19. *The London Building Act, 1894* (London: LCC, 1901), §136, 113.
20. Gibbon and Bell, *History of the London County Council*, 520–7.
21. See, for example, John Davis, 'London Government 1850–1920: The Metropolitan Board of Works and the London County Council', in *The London Journal* 26, no. 1 (2001): 47–56; *The Politics and the People of London: The London County Council, 1889–1965*, ed. Andrew Saint (London: Hambledon Press, 1989); and Ken Young and Patricia L. Garside, *Metropolitan London: Politics and Urban Change, 1837–1981* (New York: Holmes & Meier, 1982).
22. Letter to Clerk from Hughes-Gibb, 8th February 1939, 128/3, cited in London Metropolitan Archive (LMA), LCC/AR/WAR/1/29 'War History of the Architect's Department: 1939–1945', 6.
23. Details of the structure and consequences of this period of London governance are given in Robin Woolven, 'The London Experience of Regional Governance 1938–1945', *London Journal* 25, no. 2 (2000): 59–78; and Robin Woolven, 'Between Destruction and Reconstruction: London's Debris Clearance and Repair Organisation 1939–1945', in *The Blitz and Its Legacy: Wartime Destruction to Post-War Reconstruction,* eds. Mark Clapson and

Peter J. Larkham (London: Ashgate, 2013), 61–72.

24. LMA LCC/CL/CD/3/119, Edwin Williams, *Notes on Training for Rescue Parties* (London: LCC, 1941), 'Preface' and page 9.
25. LMA, LCC/CE/WAR/1/005, 'Air Raid Precautions. Demolition Rescue Parties'. 'Notes of conference with representatives of metropolitan town clerks and metropolitan borough engineers on the question of the organisation of rescue and demolition parties', 17 February 1939.
26. Ibid.
27. A rather gruff account from the district surveyors' perspective of manpower inadequacies is provided in C. C. Knowles and P. H. Pitt, *The History of Building Regulation in London, 1189–1972, with an account of the District Surveyors' Association* (London: Architectural Press, 1972), 118–19.
28. LMA, LCC/AR/WAR/1/29 'War History of the Architect's Department: 1939–1945'.
29. LMA, LCC/CL/CD/3/119, Edwin Williams, *Notes on Training for Rescue Parties* (London: LCC, 1941).
30. Knowles and Pitt, *The History of Building Regulation in London*, 121.
31. Colin Topliss, *Demolition* (London: Construction Press, 1982), 1–2.
32. For a fuller account of this process and issues raised by it regarding 'skill' and 'knowledge' in the demolition process, see Nick Beech, 'Demolition Figures: The Appearance and Expression of the Topman and Mattockman in LCC Contracts, 1941–1951', *Architectural Research Quarterly*, 16, no. 3 (September 2012): 245–252. On the history of the National Federation of Demolition Contractors, see Mark Anthony, *Seven Decades of Strength: The History of the National Federation of Demolition Contractors* (Hemel Hempstead: Demolition Publications, 2011).
33. Edwin Williams, 'Building Control in Greater London: Dogmatic Standards versus Professional Judgement', *RIBA Journal*, 69, no. 3 (March 1962): 84–85.
34. Ibid., 84.
35. A. J. Ley, *A History of Building Control in England and Wales, 1840–1990* (Coventry: RICS, 2000), 143.
36. See Anon. 'The New Empiricism: Sweden's Latest Style', *Architectural Review*, vol. 101 (June 1947): 199–207; and, Eric de Maré, 'The New Empiricism: The Antecedents and Origins of Sweden's Latest Style', *Architectural Review*, vol. 103 (1948): 9–10.
37. Reyner Banham's recollection of Jim Stirling's exclamation – 'William Morris was a Swede!' – encapsulates a great deal of 'New Empiricism'. See Reyner Banham, 'Revenge of the Picturesque: English Architectural Polemics, 1945–1965', in *Concerning Architecture: Essay on Architectural Writers and Writing Presented to Nikolaus Pevsner*, ed. John Summerson (London: Allen Lane, 1968), 266.
38. Christopher Crouch, *Design Culture in Liverpool, 1880–1914: The Origins of the Liverpool School of Architecture* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2002); and Saint, *Towards a Social Architecture*, 5.
39. On the effect of the blitz on British culture and particularly modernism, see Leo Mellor, *Reading the Ruins: Modernism, Bombsites and British Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011).

Biography

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The Architect as Producer: Hannes Meyer and the Proletarianisation of the Western Architect

Amir Djalali

> 'The revolutionary intellectual appears, first and foremost, as a traitor to his class of origin.' This betrayal consists, in the case of the writer, in behaviour which changes him from a reproducer of the apparatus of production into an engineer who sees his task as the effort of adapting that apparatus to the aims of the proletarian revolution.
>
> Walter Benjamin, 'The Author as Producer' (1934)

The architects of the modern movement advocated the advent of mechanisation and standardisation in architecture and its design procedures. Rejecting the position of the architect as a talented individual infused with artistic genius, they promoted an architecture based on repetition and typisation, in which collective needs are placed before the individual's inspiration. Nonetheless, most of the time this emphasis has remained on an ideal level. In the work of the European masters, ideas of standardisation and the assimilation of architecture with industry continued on a rather superficial level, producing at best a new image or a new style for architecture. The ways in which architecture was produced remained quite traditional: except for some experimental schemes, the new architecture was still built relying on pre-industrial craftsmanship. Similarly, the organisation of the architectural offices of the modern movement masters remained those of the traditional artist's workshop. Architectural education, even in its most advanced experiments, was still based on this tradition. Despite Gropius's pleas for the unity of art and technique, the teaching at the Bauhaus was still based on a romantic ideal of formal and artistic autonomy. Industry and the modern world remained somehow an ideal reference; the intellectual separation of the architect from the realm of the labour market and its laws was cherished as a guarantee of artistic freedom.

One exception to this approach is constituted by the work of Swiss architect Hannes Meyer. [fig. 1] Unlike his more famous contemporaries, Hannes Meyer's effort was not concentrated on the construction of new forms of aesthetics and space, but rather on the transformation of the procedures and means through which architecture and the city were produced. For Meyer, this meant radically rethinking not only the means by which architecture was built. Reconstructing architecture also implied understanding the role of architects in the building process, their languages and means of production, and the ways in which they collaborate with each other and with the builders. Ultimately for Meyer, modern architecture did not mean constructing a new image for the city, but rather questioning the very basis on which architecture had been considered since its 'invention' during the Renaissance; namely, by undermining the tendency to see the architect as the only author and *deus ex machina* of architecture. In other words, Meyer's practice was based on a critique of the role of intellectual labour vis-à-vis the pervasiveness of industry in the contemporary world. The scandalous outcome of such a critique would not only be the destruction of architecture as an autonomous discipline and its assimilation in the practice of building. Meyer also

saw the necessity to destroy architects as intellectuals and assimilate their labour to that of salaried workers in a conscious process of proletarianisation.

This article explores a series of concepts developed by Hannes Meyer between 1927 and 1932, during his time as director of the Bauhaus in Dessau (1928–30) and during the first years of his Soviet experience. In these years, Meyer had the opportunity to develop and test new forms of organisation for the production of architecture in his everyday practice as an architect, teacher and school director. His project was destined to fail. Meyer was forced to flee and live in exile many times during his life. Despite the good financial performance of the Bauhaus under his direction, he was expelled from the school because of his ill-concealed leftist sympathies. Free to express his Marxist positions, in the Soviet Union he became an ardent Stalinist. Even so, his loyalty to the dominant doctrine still did not prevent him from being blacklisted as a petty bourgeois advocate of modernist aesthetics. In Mexico, his fame as a Stalinist prevented him from receiving commissions after Trotsky's assassination. In his last years, Meyer lived isolated from the rest of the design world: his Bauhaus experience was erased from the construction of the Bauhaus myth during the post-war period. At the same time, DDR authorities did not like his prewar avant-garde allegiance – in particular his experience as editor of ABC – and saw him as a bourgeois formalist.[1]

Nevertheless, Meyer's liminal position, which blurred the distinction between avant-garde and everyday practices, revolutionary agitation and technical work, is particularly instructive in investigating the genealogy of the contemporary organisation of architectural production. In his archaeology of the architectural profession, Andrew Saint has defined the case of Meyer and his exiled fellow comrades as a continuing challenge to the ideology and the orthodox representation of the Western architect.[2] Although when Saint was writing in 1983 it was still possible to claim the existence of such an orthodoxy, today we are left with professional figures deprived of their previous certainties and defined role in society. Some of Meyer's most visionary prophecies on the nature of architectural labour seem fully realised today, well beyond his own original intentions. 'Diffused intelligence', multidisciplinarity, participation and 'networked practices', far from being revolutionary concepts, are at the core of architectural production today, and the proletarianisation of architectural labour is not emerging as the outcome of a revolutionary process.

Meyer's work as agitator, organiser and school director provides the opportunity to develop a theory of intellectual labour and knowledge production in architecture. This means investigating not only the techniques, languages, institutions and forms of organisation through which architectural knowledge is produced, but also sketching the affective and subjective portrait of architects in a moment in which their traditional role is deeply questioned.

The radicalisation of the Bauhaus curriculum

Meyer was appointed as a director of the Bauhaus in 1928, after Gropius's resignation. Gropius himself suggested Meyer as his successor, since, as he personally declared, he did not suspect his political leanings. On the contrary, he appreciated Meyer's designs for the Petersschule in Basel and his entry for the Society of Nations competition, and he greatly valued Meyer's polemic attitude and social involvement as key elements for reconstructing the Bauhaus' unstable situation both within and outside the school.[3]

Despite the general prestige that the Bauhaus school had among designers and prospective students, it had to face the political suspicion of the reactionary political forces that were growing in the province of Anhalt, and in particular in the city of Dessau. Gropius's idea to move the school to the liberal-democratic Dessau instead of to the more

Fig. 1: Hannes Meyer at the site of the Federal School of the General Trade Unions (ADGB) in Bernau near Berlin (1928). Photo: Erich Consemüller(?), Stephan Consemüller, Stiftung Bauhaus Dessau.

progressive social-democratic city of Frankfurt, was meant to grant a larger degree of didactic autonomy to the school, thus avoiding the capillary control of the Frankfurt authorities over the architecture of the city and its planning matters.[4] But the same political forces in which Gropius trusted would be those that forced Meyer to resign.

On the internal front, the school was divided between the painter's attitude, epitomised by Klee and Kandinsky, who privileged a didactic approach based on the teaching of form and composition, considered autonomous entities with their own specific laws; and Gropius's option for a socially oriented workshop practice capable of training a new kind of professional figure for the rising industrial and machine age. This new practitioner would have to be able to cope with the needs of standardisation and mass production imposed by new emerging lifestyles.[5] But while in 1919 this programme was revolutionary and accompanied by a great wave of enthusiasm, by 1926 it sounded like an empty academic exercise.

By that time, standardisation, mass production and mechanisation were already much more developed than avant-garde artists could have ever imagined, and they entered the everyday life of the masses without the help of the reformist programmes of the Bauhaus.[6] On the contrary, the Bauhaus proved unable to cope with these social transformations, limiting itself to the promotion of a new aesthetic: a Bauhaus style. Despite its programmatic intentions, the Bauhaus ended up isolating itself more and more from society. At best, the masters employed the teaching at the Bauhaus as a tool to procure personal commissions, as in the case of the buildings by Gropius in Dessau, or the production of Marcel Breuer's steel tube chairs.[7]

The social reality of the time seemed much more advanced than any programmatic manifesto. This atmosphere is captured in a text that Hannes Meyer wrote in 1926 titled 'Die neue Welt' (The New World).[8] In this peculiar text, Meyer starts enumerating, in an apparently random order, a series of technical achievements of the machine age and the benefits they had brought to the lives of the masses. In the form of a cinematic montage or of a Dada collage, Meyer juxtaposes the names of brands, patents, sportsmen and actors as the epic characters in the construction of a collective mythology of the present. No distinction is posed between high and low forms of culture. The roles of Sigmund Freud, Anatole France and Albert Einstein in shaping the new world are no less than those of Douglas Fairbanks, Suzanne Langlan and Paavo Nurmi. The development of radio, DIN standardisation norms and the League of Nations are presented on the same level as bobbed haircuts, advertising and the tango. In his rhythmic, obsessive juxtaposition of high and low registers, spiritual and technical language, literary and popular idioms, Meyer is able to sketch the emergence of new forms of metropolitan life. In this process, Meyer finds the elements for the liberation of mankind from the bonds of localism, tradition, patriarchy, individualism, and, ultimately, from the bonds of human nature itself. Constructivism for Meyer means the possibility of actively organising collective forms of perception and coexistence. Through its new means of constructive expression, architecture would be nothing other than the possibility of directly achieving this constructive ethos. In this sense, function supplants composition. Composition is the process of form making based on alleged internal aesthetic properties. Conversely, function is form making based on the capacity to shape life.[9]

Meyer's account of art in 'Die neue Welt' tells of the situation in which he found the Bauhaus when he arrived in 1926. Meyer rejects altogether the possibility of the autonomy of art and the artist. For Meyer, art has the capacity to anticipate what has not yet become possible. In the words of Piet Mondrian: 'What has been achieved so far' is 'a

substitute for the better achievement that still has to be achieved.'[10] Meyer was probably sensing that the role of art had already been superseded by life itself, and that it was time to downscale its role in the Bauhaus curriculum.

The style and content of 'Die neue Welt' were not scandalous at the time, and Gropius was able to find concepts that were very close to those contained in his early writings.[11] Despite its assertive tone, the article can still be read as an idealistic declaration of faith in a harmonious and progressive direction of history, in which capitalistic industry actively paves the way for human liberation. In his attempt to direct the Bauhaus curriculum towards more constructive and social topics, Gropius first invited Meyer to chair the new building department at the Bauhaus, and then, forced to resign as its director, appointed him his successor.[12]

Yet the way in which Meyer structured his directorship was far from a reassuring separation between intent and practice. On the contrary, Meyer actually put into practice what Gropius had theorised in the preceding years. Despite the subsequent polemics between the two, and historians' narratives that distinguish 'two' Bauhaus, one can find a singular continuity between the periods in which Gropius and Meyer were directors. Despite Meyer's attempt to take all the credit for the miraculous financial performance of the Bauhaus in the years 1928–30, the seeds of this success were sown by Gropius in his last years as director. Meyer's genius was to accelerate the process that Gropius had already set in motion and to dramatically unveil its internal contradictions.[13]

When Gropius moved the school to Dessau, he sought to find links with local industries and founded a commercial company called 'Bauhaus G.m.b.H.'. In 1926, Joseph Albers was appointed as the preliminary Bauhaus course master. His approach differed from his predecessors; it abandoned their spiritualistic and perception-based approach to form, colour and materials. Instead, Albers focused on constructive principles, economy and efficiency, privileging an inventor rather than a creator approach. The appointment of Bauhaus alumni as workshop masters allowed them to take advantage of the skills of new professional figures who were able to combine a theoretical and a practical approach to subject matter.[14]

In 1928, Meyer reorganised the Bauhaus course structure. [fig. 2] His programme sought to put the school in the service of the collective needs of the New World: 'Do we want to be in tune with the necessities of the world out there and collaborate with the formation of new forms of life, or do we want to remain an island in which personal values are cultivated?'[15] Meyer organised the school's programme into four curricula: weaving, advertising, interior design and building. The first term was a common preliminary course led by Joseph Albers, meant to wean the student 'away from tradition as much as possible, and to awaken in him the forces dormant in everyone'.[16] For the building curriculum, Meyer envisioned the first two general terms of a building workshop, in which the manual skills and craftsmanship of the students were trained. The fourth, fifth and sixth terms were dedicated to 'building theory', which introduced science and social theory in order for the student to 'fit his activities into modern society', and to achieve a scientific definition of building as 'the organisation of all life's processes'.[17] The final seventh, eighth and ninth terms were dedicated to the building studio, which entailed working on commissions for external partners, thus dealing with real-life building problems. The commissions included the realisation of ninety working-class dwellings in Dessau-Törten, which had been already initiated by Gropius, and the design for the worker's union school in Bernau. [fig. 3] The sixty rooms of the school were furnished with Bauhaus furniture. The weaving workshops produced prototypes for the neighbouring industries, including new

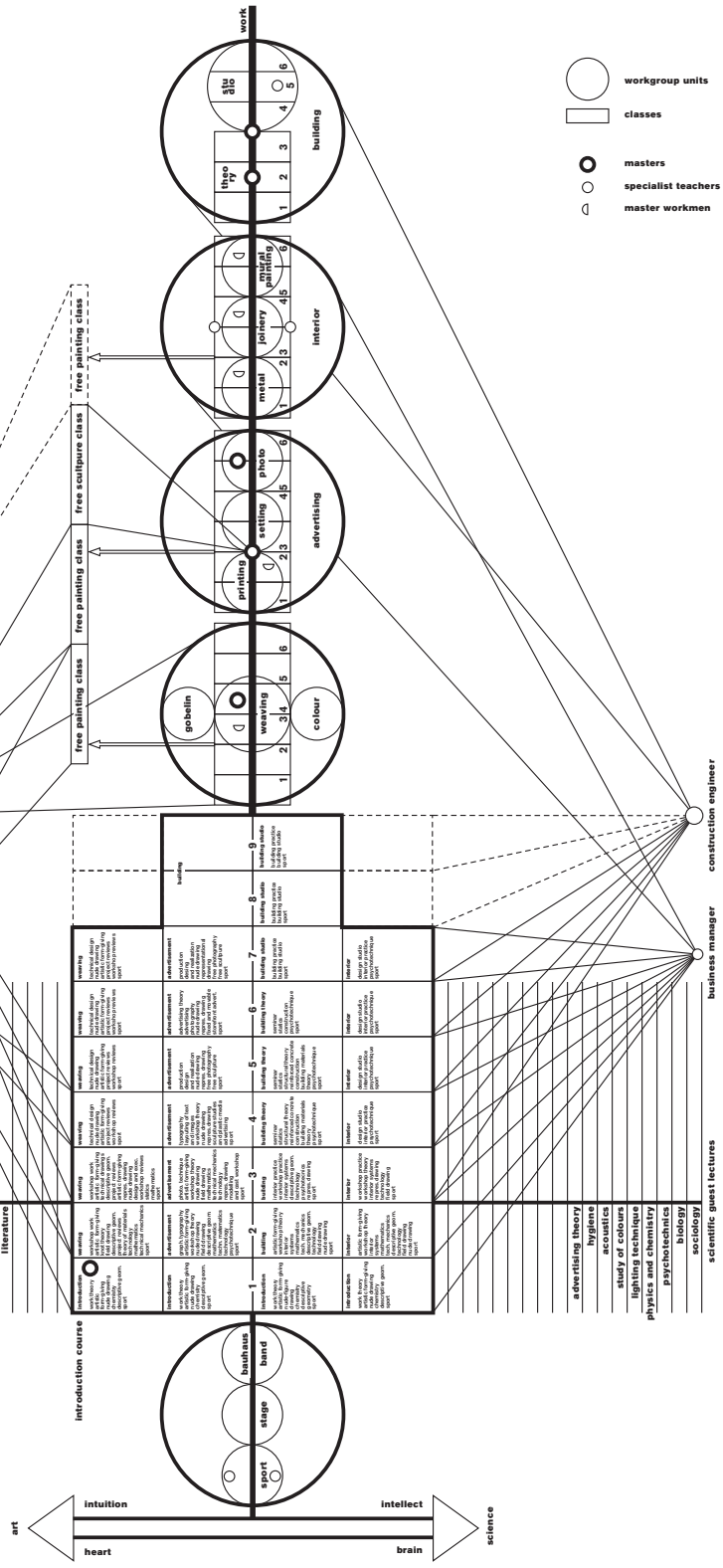

Fig. 2: The curriculum structure of the Bauhaus, 1928. Source: HAB Dessau, redrawn by the author.

Fig. 3: Hannes Meyer, Hans Wittwer and building workshop Bauhaus Dessau (design). Trade Union School of ADGB (Allgemeiner Deutscher Gewerkschaftsbund) Bernau near Berlin, 1930. Source: Bauhaus Dessau Stiftung.

experimental materials. The Bauhaus wallpaper clad 'more than 20,000 rooms in Germany and neighbouring countries', and Bauhaus advertisement posters and catalogues were printed for various firms and public authorities. The new photographic workshop was employed to document construction sites and to work in conjunction with the advertisement workshop, while the metal workshop received commissions from various lamp manufacturers. Even the theatre workshop began to function as an autonomous company, touring both in and outside Germany and exposing its social critique plays to a wider public.[18]

New teachers were appointed for the architecture department, such as Ludwig Hilberseimer, Mart Stam, Anton Brenner, and Hans Wittwer, who was also Meyer's collaborator for the designs of the Petersschule and the League of Nations building.

In this context, the painting classes led by Kandinsky and Klee were removed from the official curriculum and relegated to the role of elective classes. Much emphasis has been placed on showing the reductionist approach to architecture that Hannes Meyer introduced into Bauhaus courses, which was summarised in two articles/manifestos published in the school's magazine.[19] In these fast-paced texts, written with no capital letters and with a sparing use of punctuation, Meyer builds upon the themes of 'Die neue Welt' while pushing the negation of artistic composition to an extreme level and in open opposition to the Bauhaus master painters.[20] He proposes overcoming an individual and emotive artistic discipline through the practice of 'pure construction', seen as a biological function of a collective social body governed by impersonal and objective parameters. Yet is it clear that for Meyer these parameters are not already given, they have also to be constructed. In fact, the selection and the order of the requirements that Meyer prescribes for building a house are the outcome of a specific choice that might have puzzled more traditional functionalists.[21] The artist thus becomes an organiser of collective life beyond the constraints of tradition and the nation state. The sheer reductionism of Meyer's 'building' has the precise scope of liberating the intrinsic richness of life in all its forms: 'Because this doctrine of building is close to life's realities, its theses are constantly changing: because it finds concrete existence in life, its forms are as rich in content as life itself. "Richness is all".'[22]

This organisational effort was shown not only in external commissions but also and especially within the life of the school and in the cooperative organisation of the workshops. No student worked alone. In dealing with commissions, students and masters were organised around multidisciplinary 'vertical brigades', comprising students from various years and various backgrounds. In this way younger students were helped by older ones under the supervision of a master. Meyer sought to ban individual protagonism from the school, both in the masters and in the students:

> the new bauhaus school
> as the centre of education in shaping life
> makes no selection of the gifted.
> […]
> inbreeding, egocentrism, unworldliness, aloofness.
> the new building school
> is a place for testing aptitude.
> everyone has an aptitude for something.
> life refuses no one.
> a capacity for symbiosis
> is inherent in every individual.
> hence education for creative design engages
> the whole man.
> removes inhibitions, anxiety, repression.
> eliminates pretence, bias, prejudice.[23]

Besides the director's bombastic declarations, the school actually experienced an unprecedented period of financial prosperity. The revenues doubled between 1928 and 1929, and the number of

students rose from 160 to 197. During the academic year 1929–30, the administration was even able to grant a salary to the students and to redistribute royalties among the workshops.[24]

The reasons for Meyer's dismissal from the Bauhaus are well known. He was accused of allowing politics to enter the school and of tolerating the emergence of an anti-Nazi Marxist student organisation in a school that, according to the idea of its founder, should be kept apolitical. With the accusation of being involved in a solidarity fundraising to help the striking miners in Mansfeld, Meyer was removed from his office in 1930 by a decision of the Dessau Mayor Fritz Hesse.[25] In actuality, the reactionary authorities of Dessau were unable to tolerate a financially and politically autonomous Bauhaus. The school that should have been kept 'apolitical' became a propaganda instrument for the official politics of the municipality. Following Gropius's advice, Mies van der Rohe was appointed as the new director. He had to enforce the original, apolitical discipline of the school with the help of the police.[26]

The architect in class struggle

Freed from the cautions that his office duties imposed on him, Meyer retroactively espoused his opponents' accusation of Marxism, even going so far as to relabel his experience at the Bauhaus as the 'Krasnyi Bauhaus', or the 'Advanced Institute for Marxist Architecture'.[27] Nevertheless, Meyer never became part of any Communist party, and his Marxism was highly idiosyncratic and cannot be ascribed to any official doctrine. Somewhat naively, Meyer moved to the Soviet Union, where he expected to find socialism actually realised.[28] [fig. 4] But in his writings from the years 1930–32 one can also read a disenchanted, lucid view of his experience at the Bauhaus and the ongoing transformation of architectural practice under capitalist rule.

Meyer declares the liberation of the architect's work from the fetters of private property under a planned economy.[29] Yet his Soviet production does not show the originality and power of his early work in Western Europe. On the contrary, it seems that his best production stemmed from the internal contradiction of the capitalistic economy itself. Paradoxically, it was his experience under the highly advanced capitalism of 1920s Germany that gave him the opportunity to produce the best results of his political project. Meyer was conscious of the fact that the architect is but a cog in a system of power relations, and that no Marxist or revolutionary architecture can ever exist.[30] Like Le Corbusier, Meyer saw architecture as fundamentally opposed to political revolution. But while Le Corbusier advocated architecture as the last hope against political turmoil, Meyer saw revolution as a positive historical force, whose inherent rationality would make architecture redundant. It is in this sense that Meyer's interest in the history of architecture should be read. Indeed, he attempted to bring history back into his teaching activity after Gropius had eliminated it from the Bauhaus curriculum. 'At the Bauhaus in Dessau,' Meyer declared, 'I constantly annoyed students with the analysis of architectonic orders of various epochs, with the analyses of the plans of Paris, Ghent, Basel, and their relation with the dominant social systems in which they arose.'[31] History was no longer seen as a repository of models to be imitated, but as a testing ground for the role of the architect within the power relations that characterise every epoch.

Through his historical analysis, Meyer sensed an ongoing trend of the 'technical collectivisation of bourgeois life', which was manifested first in luxury hotels and resorts, then spread with the Western architect's proposal for bourgeois collective houses. 'In the dying bourgeois building industry,' he declared, 'the germs of the new proletarian building industry are spreading.'[32] Yet the bourgeoisie would not be able to free itself. A political intervention was necessary to turn the crisis into a project of liberation,

freeing science, art and technology to achieve their full potential of emancipation. In this way, one can give new meaning to Meyer's early texts. 'Die neue Welt' in this context appears less a reductionist sociological analysis and more a retroactive manifesto for modernity: Meyer does not describe the reality of the present but isolates a tendency within it with the scope of actively changing it. Our life is not standardised, mechanised and internationalised enough: capital impedes rather than promotes the rational potential that is immanent in the development of our society.

Within this tendency internal to capitalist development, Meyer saw architecture becoming science and the end of the division between architecture and building. In other words, Meyer saw the end of the division between the intellectual labour of the architect and the manual labour of the builder. 'The increasing exacerbation of the crisis will suffocate the class-conscious architect, but from a political point of view, he will become more and more emancipated from his waiting state. He knows that, as an intellectual worker at the drafting table, he is a slave like his comrade – the construction worker.'[33] But in the view of militant architects, this is a welcome development that contributes to their liberation and final assimilation into the proletarian communal form of life.

It is for this reason that Meyer transformed the Bauhaus into a factory and its workshops into research and development departments for the most advanced industries of the day; it was his attempt to accelerate the historical tendency and unleash its unsettling potential. The salary paid to the students was a central part of this strategy. By transforming students into workers, Meyer achieved a twofold result. On the one hand, he allowed students from proletarian backgrounds to access the school, prefiguring a higher education for the masses; and on the other hand, Meyer proletarised the students coming from bourgeois families, introducing them to salaried work, levelling the class differences within the workshops and promoting cooperation between students.[34] The becoming-proletarian of the Western architect is a joyful process when it is organised and well funded.

The underground legacy

Meyer's directorship was eradicated from the official historical chronicles of the Bauhaus and dismissed as a negligible incident.[35] Ten years after his death, controversies surrounded the publication of the first monograph in his honour, edited by Ulm Hochschule für Gestaltung professor Claude Schnaidt. Its publisher Arthur Niggli felt the necessity to write an afterword to distance himself from the positive account that the book gave of Meyer. The epilogue contains a letter that Gropius had sent to Tomas Maldonado some years before, in which the German master discredits the personality and work of Meyer as a Bauhaus director.[36] Despite the positive re-evaluation of the work of Hannes Meyer in Italy in Manfredo Tafuri's Venice circle (due to Francesco Dal Co's 1969 anthology of Meyer's texts for the publisher Marsilio),[37] and Aldo Rossi's inclusion of Meyer's Petersschule in Basel among his selection of canonical 'rational architecture' for the 1973 Milan Triennale,[38] an unprejudiced rediscovery of Meyer's work only appeared during the celebration of Meyer's centenary in 1989, which also corresponded with the reunification of Germany and the end of the cold war.[39]

For Schnaidt and Maldonado, recuperating the last Dessau years of the Bauhaus was part of an attempt to set their work at the Hochschule für Gestaltung in continuity with that experience, and, in particular, with the attempt to merge the activity of the school with the needs of society and industry.[40] For an almost opposing reason, Dal Co and Tafuri saw Meyer's trajectory as part of their polemic against the progressive culture that had dominated Italian design culture since the sixties. Meyer's opposition to Gropius and the design ideology of the

"160 Millionen der Sowjetunion laden deutsche Arbeiter ein."
Hannes Meyer spricht vor Studenten und Lehrkräften der Moskauer Architektur-Hochschule - WASI - 1930

Fig. 4: Hannes Meyer lecturing at the School of Architecture in Moscow (WASI), end of 1930. Documentation of the former Bauhaus Student Konrad Püschel, Stiftung Bauhaus Dessau.

Bauhaus, as well as his capacity to give a political answer to the impasse of the school, was seen as an important precedent for the Italian debate over the role of intellectuals in capitalism's new developments. In this context, Meyer was associated with the German tradition of 'negative thought', which, according to the Venice intellectuals, constituted the most advanced experience of bourgeois ideology in its capacity to accept the irreconcilable contradictions contained in reality and turn them into positive instruments for development.[41]

For Rossi and his collaborators, Meyer was an 'exalted rationalist', for whom the compulsive adherence to a rational, scientific and normative system led to unprecedentedly poetic results, encouraging the proliferation of architectural form instead of repressing it.[42] [fig. 5] On the contrary, the work of the Swiss master inspired the anti-formalist, sociologically oriented analyses of the construction industry which Jörn Janssen led, first at the ETH (occupying the same chair that was later held by Rossi)[43] then later, together with Linda Clarke, at the series of Bartlett International Summer Schools until 1995.[44]

In the 1990s, the work of Meyer was once again recuperated in the debate over the autonomy and criticality of architecture. For Hilde Heynen, Meyer's Petersschule, by imposing its architecture against the contextual condition of the site, and by its humorous use of sunlight calculations, is an example of the militant negativity of architecture in resisting given social constraints and constructing autonomous domains of resistance.[45]

Instead of dealing with the autonomy of the object, K. Michael Hays approached the architecture of Hannes Meyer and his fellow Bauhaus teacher Ludwig Hilberseimer from the point of view of the modern subject. According to Hays, the architecture of the two masters, often considered a minor expression of modern architecture, shows the most original aspect of modernism: the dissolution of the alleged universality of the bourgeois subject and the construction of subjectivity as an open field of experimentation.[46]

Today we are probably facing a new wave of rediscovery regarding Hannes Meyer's work.[47] Such an interest can be seen as part of the current boom of theoretical production in architecture, and it is possibly connected to the present economic crisis.[48] If in the 1990s the interpretation of Meyer's architecture stemmed from reading French post-structuralist theory, it seems that our allegiance with Meyer today is mediated by Italian political thought; in particular, the various analyses of the centrality of cognitive work in the post-Fordist economy.[49] In this context, Meyer's emphasis on cooperation and his idea of architecture as a collective production is read through the analyses of cognitive labour developed by Italian Autonomous Marxism. In this sense, the autonomy of architecture as a discipline is displaced in favour of the redefinition of the autonomy of the producers of architecture, through the liberation and 'self-valorisation' of the forces of social cooperation.[50]

At the same time, the Meyer project for a Co-op Zimmer resonates with the contemporary uprooted condition of precarious cognitive workers. The emphasis on occupation and use rather than on ownership and belonging provides a precedent for the construction of a contemporary ascetic form of life opposed to the austerity measures imposed by mortgages and debts.[51]

Meyer and us

It is uncanny to note how some of Meyer's prophecies, once seen as the delirium of a Stalinist zealot, have become part of our everyday practice as architects, students or educators. Ironically, this did not happen as a consequence of the end of the capitalist economy, but during its most advanced developments.

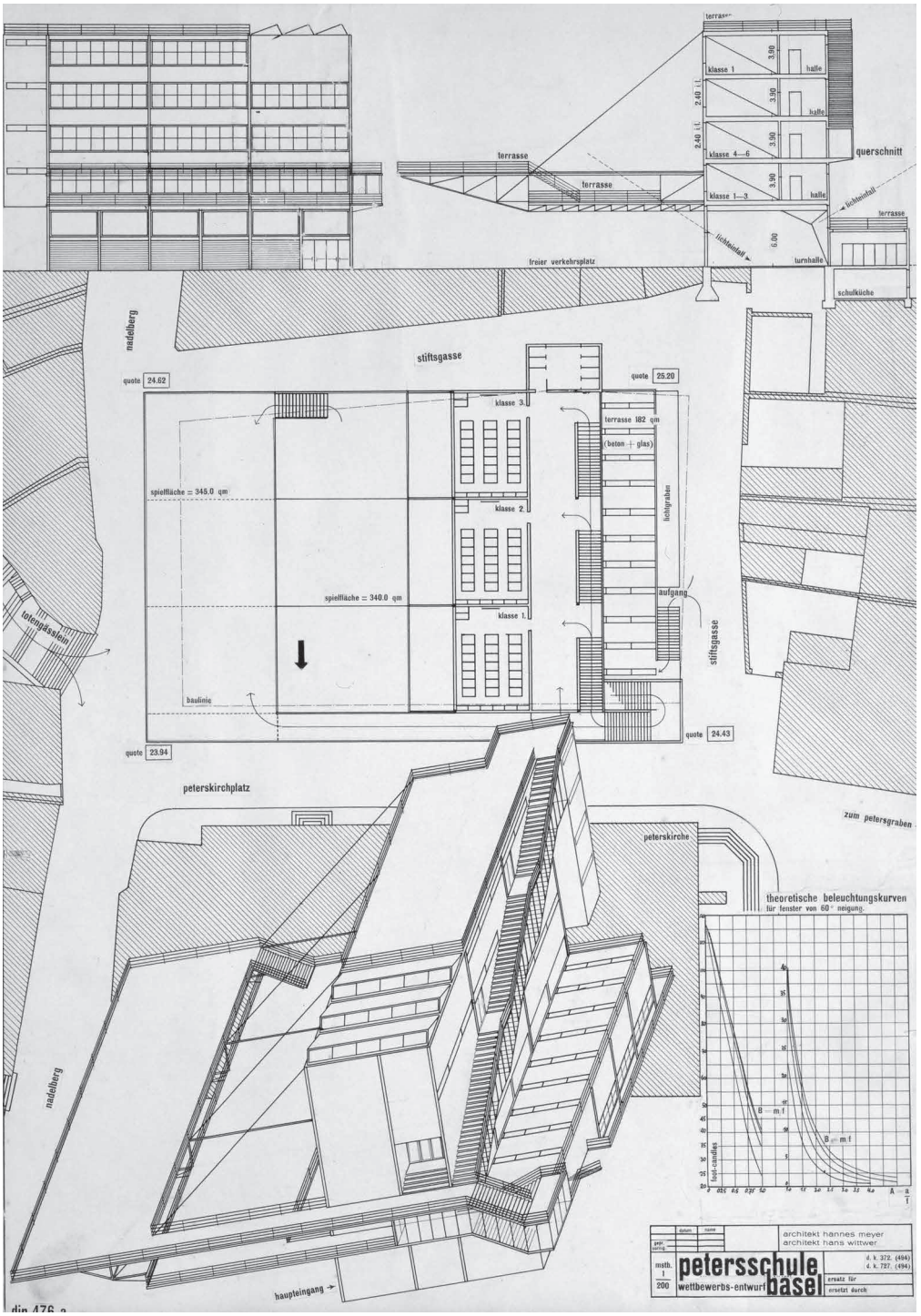

Fig. 5: Hannes Meyer, Hans Wittwer and building course Bauhaus Dessau (design). Competition design for the Petersschule, Basel, 1926. Stiftung Bauhaus Dessau.

Beyond a merely superficial stylistic point of view, the introduction of digital technologies in design has had a threefold effect on the organisation of architectural work and radically changed the role of the architect in the design process. This has occurred to such a degree that historian Mario Carpo speaks of the end of architecture, defined by Filippo Brunelleschi and Leon Battista Alberti as an allographic, notational and authorial art.[52]

On the one hand, through parametric design, the final form of a building is not fully controlled by the will of the single designer. The architect is no longer in charge of intellectually conceiving a building form, instead he becomes an organiser of the diagram of a building expressed as a series of relations between environmental, economic and social parameters, and formalised as an algorithm. Through the variation of such parameters, the same code can produce many different formal outcomes, which the designer cannot predict. Meyer's antiformalism and functionalism is today completely realised to a level that Meyer himself could not foresee.

Secondly, digital prototyping and fabrication have removed the distance between the architect as an intellectual worker in charge of the creative design phase, and the builder, a mere executor of the architect's will. On the contrary, the possibility of rapidly passing from design to prototyping virtually removes the six-century-long architectural division of labour.

Thirdly, building design today is executed less and less by architects alone and is more and more conceived as a collaborative enterprise between a series of social actors and technical specialists. This is made possible by the widespread use of Building Information Modelling platforms (BIM).[53] Computer Aided Design (CAD) software used by architects and engineers as a digital substitute for the drafting table did not change the traditional role of the architect as the producer of drawings – the symbolic representations of physical building elements produced in lines and hatches. Now, however, building information models manage whole series of symbolic objects that not only represent traditional building elements in terms of two-dimensional parallel projections or three-dimensional models, but are also multi-dimensional representations of material characteristics of the objects to be built, while also carrying additional information, such as the climatic performance of interior environments, programmes and functions, building and operational costs, financial data, maintenance information, and so forth. In a way, building information models become a 'permanent, interactive digital *doppelgänger* of each object of design', allowing the control of the architectural object far beyond its physical configuration.[54] The advantage of such a modelling technology is the possibility it provides for various specialists to collaborate on a variety of aspects of the same design through a standardised protocol. Interestingly, the definition of such protocols is not imposed as proprietary software by private companies but through the work of national or international standardisation committees, and several open-source BIM platforms are being developed by independent communities.[55] Meyer's dream of a shared, standardised, universally valid, multidisciplinary and collective design workflow platform is a reality of today's architectural practice. In this context, the 'death of the author' is no longer the provocation of a limited number of avant-garde artists, but the working method of the world's largest design consultancy firms.

As Meyer wanted, architects have really become organisers and their work has become more and more political: not only do they act as mediators between different technicians – structural engineers, HVAC specialists, financial programmers, etc. – but also as mediators between various economic interests, as well as managers of social conflicts between land owners, inhabitants, developers and city administrations.[56]

Ironically and in addition, Meyer's project for merging education with the social productive reality outside academia is today one of the pillars of neoliberal economic doctrine and the organising principle of all higher education institutions. Faced with the shrinkage of public support, universities have turned themselves into corporations, establishing links with external private companies and turning to private funds to support their research activities.[57]

If universities have become factories, then students have really become workers in a seamless productive system comprising academic institutions, private corporations and individual freelance work. Yet, contrary to what Meyer achieved at the Bauhaus, students today do not receive any salary for their activities as students. On the contrary, they have to pay tuition fees that are dramatically rising every year, and many of them are forced to contract study debts with banks. Debt also limits the autonomy of new graduates, whose capacity to choose good jobs is hampered by the necessity of repaying their creditors.[58] In a thriving job market this problem is less noticeable. However, as an effect of the 2008 crisis the architectural job market has shrunk significantly, along with salaries. In this context, students and graduates are often forced to perform unpaid or underpaid work in the form of internships, and to increase their workload. Architects today have fewer possibilities of finding permanent and fulfilling jobs than in the past; and, probably more than other professional group, they are faced with the prospect of a precarious lifestyle.[59]

As Hannes Meyer wanted, architects today are becoming proletarians. But the destiny of the proletarisation of the architect is not affecting only the 'class-conscious architect' as a joyful existential project of liberation from bourgeois morals. On the contrary, it is affecting architects against their will, bringing about the 'sad passions' of competition, depression and cynicism.[60]

In the early 2000s, many analysts expressed their faith in digital technologies and the neoliberal era, declaring the end of theory, seen as a device hampering the free development of positive market forces.[61] Today it is clear that the market is not autonomous and that capitalism will not die a natural death. Concepts such as 'projective' or 'networked' practice, 'design intelligence', 'multidisciplinarity', 'holistic approach to problem-solving', rather than presenting supposedly post-ideological alternatives to cope with the present reality of production, appear more like ideological constructs to conceal such a reality, which is actually based on precarity and existential blackmail. In opposition to such an ideology, we are experiencing today a resurgence of a new engagement for architecture, promised by so-called 'activist architecture'. Yet activist architects seem more involved in representing other people's struggles, often in exotic third-world contexts, while overlooking their own condition as architectural producers.[62]

In 1934, Walter Benjamin already warned against two analogous approaches in a talk titled 'The Author as Producer'. At that time, these tendencies were epitomised by the literary movements of the *Neue Sachlichkeit* (New Objectivity) and of *Aktivismus* (Activism). New Objectivity celebrated the achievements of industry and technique, but by monumentalising and aestheticising its result, it ended up concealing the violence and exploitation that made it possible. On the other hand, Activism was a literary movement that unveiled the harsh living conditions in which the proletariat had to live, and advocated a future advent of socialism in which human values would finally triumph. Despite their good intentions, activist intellectuals ended up talking *about* the proletariat, while ultimately maintaining their bourgeois position and assuming the role of external sympathisers of the proletariat, its wealthy patrons.[63]

Contrary to these two approaches, Benjamin

saw in Brecht and Weill's theatre a third possibility for the intellectual's renewed engagement. The problem for Benjamin is not about the content of the work, but the way in which it acknowledges and positions itself in relation to the production of its day. The work of art should not provide an aesthetic representation of technique. On the contrary, new techniques, according to Benjamin, already produce changes in collective perceptive habits: in other words, they produce a new aesthetics. The work of art should then recognise such aesthetic mutation and reverse-engineer it, in order to turn it into a weapon in the hands of the proletariat. Intellectuals should recognise their position as producers and become actively engaged in a conscious process of becoming proletarian.[64]

Meyer's attitude as an intellectual is strikingly similar. Through his practice he showed that the capitalistic development of the New World, if left alone, will not free our lives. Instead, we should recognise, isolate and accelerate the elements of liberation and autonomy that are immanent in our present reality. Perhaps we should realise that Hannes Meyer's prophecy should be taken even further; that architectural practice is not collaborative enough; that our buildings are not generic enough; that BIM should be more standardised; that schools are not sufficiently factories of knowledge; and that our labour time is not sufficiently merged with our lives. All the apparatuses that prevent the total collectivisation of architecture should be removed, relieving the anxiety imposed through precarity on the life of architect. Meyer showed the necessity of a political project to achieve what architecture alone cannot. Such a project has already been set in motion through the proposals of political movements across the globe: the elimination of debt, tuition fees and the introduction of a universal basic income are its concrete demands.

Notes

1. For the life of Hannes Meyer, see Meyer's own autobiographical notes in Claude Schnaidt, *Hannes Meyer: Buildings, Projects and Writings* (Teufen: Verlag Arthur Niggli AG, 1965); Klaus-Jürgen Winkler, *Der Architekt hannes meyer: Anschauungen und Werk* (Berlin: VEB Verlag für Bauwesen, 1989).
2. Andrew Saint, *The Image of the Architect* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1983), 137.
3. Walter Gropius, 'Letter to Tomàs Maldonado from 24 November 1964', *Ulm* 9/10 (1964).
4. For an account of the history of the Bauhaus, see Hans M. Wingler, *Bauhaus: Weimar, Dessau, Berlin, Chicago* (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 1978).
5. Gropius declared the programme for the new Dessau Bauhaus in a 1926 leaflet that he published under the title *Bauhaus Dessau–Principles of Bauhaus Production*, which was indebted to the original ideas of the Deutsches Werkbund of the merging of art into applied crafts. Kandinsky responded to this text with an article in the Bauhaus magazine in which he pleaded for the discarding of all 'purposes alien to art' and advocated teaching the internal laws of composition in painting. See Wingler, 109.
6. Francesco Dal Co, 'Hannes Meyer e la venerabile scuola di Dessau', in Hannes Meyer, *Architettura o rivoluzione*, ed. Francesco Dal Co (Padua: Marsilio, 1969).
7. Éva Forgács, *The Bauhaus Idea and the Bauhaus Politics* (Budapest: Central European University Press, 1995), 161.
8. Hannes Meyer, 'The New World, 1926', in Claude Schnaidt, *Hannes Meyer,* 91–94, originally published as 'Die neue Welt', *Das Werk* 13, no. 7 (1926).
9. Ute Poerschke, 'Hannes Meyer: Connecting Poetics and Ethics', Proceedings of the Conference *Reconciling Poetics and Ethics in Architecture* held at the Canadian Centre for Architecture CCA and McGill University (Montreal, 2007).
10. Meyer, 'The New World, 1926', 93.
11. See, for example, Gropius's 1919 Bauhaus manifesto. Walter Gropius, *Idee und Aufbau des Staatlichen Bauhaus* (Weimar: Bauhausverlag, 1919). An English

translation titled *Manifesto and Program of the State Bauhaus* can be found at bauhaus-online.de (accessed 26 January 2015).

12. But only after Mies van der Rohe refused the appointment. For this reason, Meyer later defined himself a 'stopgap'. See Hannes Meyer, 'My Dismissal from the Bauhaus, 1930: Open letter to the Oberbürgermeister Hesse, Dessau', in Claude Schnaidt, *Hannes Meyer*, 10 –105.
13. Dal Co, 'Hannes Meyer e la venerabile scuola di Dessau', 47–8.
14. Claude Schnaidt, *Hannes Meyer*, 39–41.
15. Hannes Meyer 'Ansprache an die Studentenvertreterhaus Anlass seiner Berufung auf den Direktorsposten', April 1928, Italian trans. 'Discorso ai rappresentanti studenteschi in occasione della sua nomina a direttore del Bauhaus', in Hannes Meyer, *Architettura o rivoluzione*, 85.
16. Ibid., 85.
17. 'Bauhaus – junge menschen kommt ans bauhaus!', publicity brochure for the Bauhaus (1929), cit. in ibid., 43.
18. Hannes Meyer, 'Bauhaus Dessau 1927–30', 111.
19. Such a criticism can be summarised by Mies's joke, reported by Walter Gropius: 'His philosophy culminates in the assertion that "life is oxygen plus sugar plus starch plus protein",' to which Mies promptly retorted: 'Try stirring all that together; it stinks.' Walter Gropius, 'Letter to Tomàs Maldonado', 70.
20. Hannes Meyer, 'bauen, 1928' and 'bauhaus and society, 1929', in Claude Schnaidt, *Hannes Meyer*, 95–101.
21. These parameters are the following: '1. sex life 2. sleeping habit 3. pets 4. gardening 5. personal hygiene 6. protection against weather 7. hygiene in the home 8. car maintenance 9. cooking 10. heating 11. insulation 12. service.' Hannes Meyer, 'bauen, 1928', 97.
22. Hannes Meyer, 'bauhaus and society', 101.
23. Ibid., 99–101.
24. Hannes Meyer, 'My Dismissal from the Bauhaus', 103.
25. Ibid., 105.
26. Walter Gropius, 'Letter to Tomàs Maldonado', 70.
27. Hannes Meyer, 'Introduction to the Bauhaus Dessau 1928–1930 exhibition' (1931), Italian trans. 'Dal catalogo della mostra viaggiante del Bauhaus in Urss, 1931. Introduzione di Hannes Meyer', in Hannes Meyer*, Architettura o rivoluzione*, 104.
28. 'I am going to work in the Soviet Union, where a true proletarian culture is in the making, where socialism is born, and where the society for which we have fought in the capitalist regime, already exists.' Hannes Meyer, 'Interview with Hannes Meyer', *Sovremennaya Architektura* 5 (1930), cit. in Hannes Meyer, *Architettura o rivoluzione*, 56.
29. Hannes Meyer, *Bauen, Bauarbeiter, und Techniker in der Sowietisch-union*, conference held on 13 October 1931 in Berlin and published in *Das Neue Russland* 8, no. 9 (1931). Italian trans. 'L'edilizia, gli operai e i tecnici nell'Unione Sovietica', in Hannes Meyer*, Architettura o rivoluzione*, 110–114.
30. The first of his theses on Marxist Architecture declares, in fact, the end of architecture itself: 'architecture [arkitektur] is no longer architecture [baukunst]. building has become a science. architecture is the science of building [bauwissenschaft].' Hannes Meyer, 'These über Marxistische Architektur', in Hannes Meyer, *Bauen und Gesellschaft. Schriften, Briefe, Projekte*, eds. Lena Meyer-Bergnen and Klaus-Jürgen Winkler (Dresden: VEB Verlag der Kunst, 1980). Italian trans. 'L'architettura marxista', in Hannes Meyer: *Architettura o rivoluzione*, 159–161.
31. Hannes Meyer, 'Wie ich arbeite', originally published in Russian in *Architektura SSSR* 6 (1933). The original German manuscript from the author is published in Hannes Meyer, *Bauen und Gesellschaft*, 100. Italian trans. 'Il mio modo di lavorare', in Hannes Meyer, *Architettura o rivoluzione*, 123–7.
32. Hannes Meyer, 'L'architetto nella lotta di classe', in Hannes Meyer: *Architettura o rivoluzione*, 118. Originally published as 'Antworten auf Fragen der Prager Architektengruppe "Leva Fronta" (1933)', now in Hannes Meyer, *Bauen und Gesellschaft*, 121–128.
33. Hannes Meyer, 'L'architetto nella lotta di classe', 119.
34. Hannes Meyer, 'Bauhaus Dessau 1927–30', 113.

35. This is particularly clear in Klaus Wingler's rendering of the second Bauhaus director in his *Bauhaus: Weimar, Dessau, Berlin, Chicago*.
36. 'The introduction to this book also presents a picture of Hannes Meyer as Claude Schnaidt sees him, a subjective picture.' Arthur Niggli, 'Publisher's epilogue', in Claude Schnaidt, *Hannes Meyer*, 121–22.
37. Hannes Meyer: *Architettura o rivoluzione*.
38. Ezio Bonfanti et al. (eds.), *Architettura Razionale* (Milan: Franco Angeli, 1977), 43.
39. See, for example, the catalogue of the exhibition at the Bauhaus Archive in Berlin, Werner Kleinerüschkamp (ed.), *Hannes Meyer 1889–1954: Architekt, Urbanist, Lehrer* (Berlin: Bauhaus-Archiv, 1989); Klaus-Jürgen Winkler, *Der Architekt Hannes Meyer: Anschauungen und Werk*; the issue *Bauwelt* 44, (1989); and Martin Kieren, *Hannes Meyer, Dokumente zur Frühzeit, Architektur- und Gestaltungsversuche 1919–1927* (Teufen: Verlag Arthur Niggli AG, 1990).
40. Tomas Maldonado, 'Is the Bauhaus Relevant Today?' *Ulm* 8/9 (September 1963): 5–13, and the subsequent debate on *Ulm* 9/10 (November 1964), with letters by Walter Gropius, Reyner Banham and Gillo Dorfles.
41. For an English introduction on negative thought and the Venice school, see Pier Vittorio Aureli, 'Intellectual Work and Capitalist Development: Origins and Context of Manfredo Tafuri's Critique of Architectural Ideology', *Site* 26–27, (2009).
42. For the definition of 'exalted rationalism', see Aldo Rossi, 'Introduzione', in Étienne-Louis Boullée, *Architettura. Saggio sull'arte*, trans. Aldo Rossi (Padua: Marsilio, 1967). As Winfried Nerdinger has noted, Meyer's architecture is much more subtle and complex than his own reductionist declarations. See Winfried Nerdinger, 'Hannes Meyer e il "rosso sconveniente"', *Casabella* 565 (1990): 30–35.
43. Anne Kockelkorn, Axel Sowa, 'Zurich, 1971: A Conversation on the Housing Question, Academic Intrigue, and an Italian Maestro. Conversation with Bruno Reichlin and Jörn Janssen' in *Candide*, no. 7 (Oct. 2013): 113–140.
44. Janssen's contribution in Hannes-Meyer-Geburtstagskomitee (ed.), *Hannes Meyer - Beiträge zum 100. Geburtstag. Internationales Symosium* (Weimar: Hochschule für Architektur und Bauwesen Weimar, 1990).
45. Hilde Heynen, 'Architecture between Modernity and Dwelling: Reflections on Adorno's "Aesthetic Theory".' *Assemblage*, no. 17 (April 1992): 79–91.
46. K. Michael Hays, *Modernism and the Posthumanist Subject: The Architecture of Hannes Meyer and Ludwig Hilberseimer* (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 1995).
47. See, for example, the extensive blogging activity by Ross Wolfe on thecharnelhouse.org.
48. Joan Ockman, 'Theory and Practice', *Assemblage*, no. 41 (April 2000): 51.
49. For a critical overview of the academic success of the so-called Italian theory, see Matteo Pasquinelli, 'The so-called Italian Theory and the Revolt of Living Knowledge', *Uninomade* (13 April 2011), accessed June 2015, http://www.uninomade.org/italian-theory-en/.
50. Bernardina Borra, 'Hannes Meyer: Co-op Architecture', *San Rocco* 6 (2013); Bernardina Borra, 'Co-op Architecture: The Architect as Organizer, Architecture as Collective Class Consciousness', in id., 'The Architecture of Cooperation: A Project for Organizing Collective Creativity', unpublished PhD dissertation manuscript (Delft: TU Delft, 2014).
51. Pier Vittorio Aureli, 'The Theology Of Tabula Rasa: Walter Benjamin and Architecture in The Age of Precarity', *Log* 27 (Spring 2013).
52. Mario Carpo, *The Alphabet and the Algorithm* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2011).
53. On the consequences of the introduction of BIM in architecture, see Peggy Deamer, 'BIM and Contemporary Labor', *Pidgin*, no. 12 (2012).
54. Carpo, *The Alphabet and the Algorithm*, 125.
55. See, for example, community-maintained projects such as bimserver.org, openbim.org and osbim.org.
56. See also Claire Jamieson, (ed.), *The Future for Architects?* (London: The Royal Institute of British Architects: 2001), accessed November 2013, http://buildingfutures.org.uk.
57. For a critique of the university within contemporary

capitalistic development, see The Edufactory Collective, *Towards a Global Autonomous University* (New York: Autonomedia, 2009).

58. For an account of the political, economic and existential role of debt in post-Fordism, see Maurizio Lazzarato, *The Making of the Indebted Man: Essay on the Neoliberal Condition* (New York: Semiotext(e), 2012).
59. An account of architectural practice after the 2008 crash is contained in Powerhouse Company (ed.), *Rien ne va plus: Texts on the economic crisis and its intricate relation to architecture* (Maastricht: NAiM / Bureau Europa, 2009).
60. On the affective and existential effects of cognitive labour, see Franco Berardi, *The Soul at Work: From Alienation to Autonomy* (New York: Semiotext(e), 2009).
61. This kind of approach was inaugurated by the seminal Robert E. Somol and Sarah Whiting, 'Notes Around the Doppler Effect and Other Moods of Modernism', in *Perspecta 33: Mining Autonomy*, ed. Michael Osman, Adam Ruedig, Matthew Seidel, Lisa Tilney, (Cambridge MA: The MIT Press, 2002), but it reached extreme consequences in the writings of Michael Speaks. See Michael Speaks, 'Design Intelligence and the New Economy', *Architectural Record* 190, no.1 (January 2002): 72–79; and Michael Speaks, 'After Theory', *Architectural Record* 193, no. 2 (June 2005): 72–75.
62. For an idea of the new socially-oriented approaches in architecture, see Nishat Awan, Tatjana Schneider, and Jeremy Till, *Spatial Agency: Other Ways of Doing Architecture* (London: Routledge, 2011) and *Did Someone Say Participate?: An Atlas of Spatial Practices*, eds. Markus Miessen and Shumon Basar, (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 2006).
63. Walter Benjamin, 'The Author as Producer,' *New Left Review* I, no. 62 (July–August 1970).
64. Ibid.

Biography

Amir Djalali writes about the politics of the production of architectural knowledge. His PhD, developed within the programme 'The City as a Project' at the Berlage Insitute/TU Delft, explored the drive towards commonality and collectivity in five episodes taken from the history of Western modern architecture. Amir taught studios and theory seminars at the Berlage Institute, TU Delft and the Rotterdam Academy of Architecture. In 2013 he co-founded Behemoth Press, a multi-modal think-tank platform devoted to the exploration of the architectural project and the power relations that it entails. Since 2012 he collaborates with the Rotterdam-based architecture office Matteo Mannini Architects.

Independent or Bureaucratic? The Early Career Choice of an Architect at the Turn of the Twentieth Century in Germany, France and England

Andri Gerber

Introduction

The general move towards professionalisation, coupled with the dramatic social and economical transformations that followed the Industrial Revolution, had a severe impact on the architectural profession. Alongside the fervent debate regarding historical style, modernism and the rising importance of the role of engineers, architects had to secure new fields of occupation and find private clients, while also struggling with contractors and developers. At the same time, some of the largest employers of architects were state and local administrations.

A glance at the programmes of the several international congresses of architects that were held subsequent to the first congress in Paris, which was organised by the *Société Centrale des Architectes* in 1867 around the international exposition of the same year, reveals the issues and preoccupations that concerned architects at the time: the question of education (the introduction of a diploma); the question of open competitions; the rivalry with engineers; the official recognition of the profession (in particular the protection of the title 'architect'); and, crucially, the question of income.

Although the first conferences were strongly determined by the French context of the international expositions, subsequent conferences were also held in various other European cities. Already during the first conferences, many foreign architects participated in the debates, revealing the need for discussion with colleagues from a variety of countries and highlighting the heterogeneity of the situation in Europe.

At the Seventh International Congress of Architects held in London in July 1906, similar topics were discussed as in previous congresses, among them 'Architectural Copyright and Ownership of Drawings', 'The Education of the Public Architecture', and 'A Statutory Qualification for Architects'. Interestingly, there was also a section dedicated to the nascent discipline of town planning – 'The Planning and Laying-out of Streets and Open Spaces' – and one surprising section devoted to the question of 'The Execution of Important Government and Municipal Architectural Work by Salaried Officials'. In this session, Austrian architect Otto Wagner (1841–1918), Belgian architect Oscar Simon, and French architect Gaston Trélat (1847–1930) were invited to speak. Wagner's presentation introduced the question of architects' education and included a vehement critique of administration and of the difficulty architects encountered when working under the 'saddle of the department' and under the direction of an incompetent supervisor. Clerks working for such administrations were seen as being 'artistically incompetent'.[1] In less crude language, Simon also expressed similar ideas in his speech. Trélat, on the contrary, avoided the question formulated in the section, focusing instead on the quality of public buildings, yet without asking whether these ought to be designed by independent architects or architects employed by the public

administration. In the ensuing public discussion, F.E.P. Edwards, city architect of Bradford, England, highlighted the fact that the panel's question was wrongly posed, since the real problem – from the perspective of an English architect – was that within the administrations 'important municipal and public work is being carried out by engineers and surveyors' and not by architects.[2] Later on in the discussion, the English architect A.B. Plummer relativised Edwards's criticism by agreeing with the general criticism of the panel, saying that he 'would still prefer a non-official with ability, to an official with ability'.[3] After a long debate, the following final resolution was agreed: 'That in the future, in the interests of administrative bodies and the public, and in the higher interests of the art of architecture, public bodies, whether Government, provincial, or municipal, should entrust important architectural works only to professionally qualified architects, either by competition or otherwise.'[4]

This section with its arguments and strong final resolution can be seen as the provisional culmination point of the architect's struggle between independence and communal or state employment. Independent architects were asking for a share in designing the huge number of public buildings needed at the time – houses, schools, hospitals, offices for public administrations and city halls – which were under the auspices of the administrations. Furthermore, this section also reveals how tension of this kind between state employment and self-employment was not perceived in the same way in all European countries. Subsequently in this article, the situation for architects at the turn of the twentieth century in three countries – Germany, France and England – will be discussed, and the opposition between architects working in administrations and those working independently will be looked at in detail. This in turn will explain the differences that emerged in 1906 and continued throughout the period until the end of the Second World War in 1945.

The main focus of this paper is an analysis of the situation in Germany, where such conflicts were most pronounced. It should be stressed that although the history of the architect as a civil servant has been documented within the history of the profession, it has not as yet been adequately researched. Architects working in administrations still encounter the historical stigma of bureaucracy, a prejudice irreconcilable with the image of the architect as an artist-creator. This stigma goes back to the period we are speaking of, but has been cemented by modernist historiography. It is surprising that the historian Henry-Russell Hitchcock (1903–1987), one of the promoters of modern architecture and the quintessential figure of the 'genius-architect', contrasted this figure with the 'architect of bureaucracy', acknowledging in an essay written in 1947 that the former is a rare occurrence.[5] Yet his critique of bureaucratic architecture was firm. Few people at the time acknowledged the importance of 'salaried architects' and the potential of administrations to achieve changes and improve the built environment, as John Summerson (1904–1992) proposed in his essay 'Bread and Butter and Architecture'.[6] It is thus not surprising that in their respective essays, only Summerson acknowledged the importance of public administrations, while Hitchcock ignored their role, or gave them only a brief mention as 'public buildings'.[7] Although we might acknowledge that specialist literature does exist on this particular aspect of history, it has not yet been integrated into mainstream architectural history for architects and architectural students.

Germany: between anonymity and freedom

Architecture has a long tradition of serving an administration. It suffices to mention how both Balthasar Neumann (1687–1753) and Friedrich Schinkel (1781–1851), the 'champions' of German baroque and classicism, were acting within a state administration in Germany, even though this affiliation is generally only mentioned marginally, if at all.

Following the reforms initiated by minister Karl von Stein (1757–1831), foreign minister Karl August von Hardenberg (1750–1822), and assistants such as Theodor von Schön (1773–1856), Germany went through a process of emancipating cities and their administrations after the loss of Prussia to France and the subsequent Treaties of Tilsit of 1807. Whereas traditionally architects were employed in state administration, the rise of cities with their great number of building programmes became a preferred employer for architects. Yet the relationship between administrations and architects in Germany goes further back and concerns the educational model introduced there, which soon became a point of contention in Prussia between the art academy and the state administration. Since the foundation of the first architectural teaching programme, the *École du Génie et d'Architecture* in 1776 – whose title reveals the influence of the French model – the state had been striving towards the education of architects in order to integrate them into its administration, the *Oberbaudepartement* (which in 1804 became the *Oberbaudeputation*). In the words of the school's founder, budget minister Von Zedlitz (1731–1793), the school should produce architects who not only designed 'castles in the air' but also streets, bridges and canals.[8] Several architects opposed this concept and attempted to introduce alternative curricula. The debate concerned both the school's attachment to the administration and the separation between architecture as '*Zivilbaukunst*' (civil art), and '*Ästhetische Baukunst*' (fine art). Significantly, it was Karl-Friedrich Schinkel, a member of the *Oberbaudeputation* (Upper Building Deputation), who designed the new residence for the *Bauakademie* (Architecture Academy) and the *Oberbaudeputation* in 1832. Although the focus of the curriculum was increasingly directed towards a reduced understanding of architecture as *Zivilbaukunst*, ties to the administration remained well into the twentieth century. The degree course curriculum ended with a state exam, which qualified architects to become *Regierungsbauführer* (government approved building managers), and, after three years of further practical experience (to begin with, only within an administration; later, experience in the office of an independent architect was approved), candidates could take a further exam to become *Regierungsbaumeister* (government approved master builders). Those who managed to pass the exams were integrated into the state or local administration. State functionaries were obviously far more prominent and tended to look down upon local functionaries. Architects had secure employment and were discharged from administrations only when there were no available positions. Architect Theodor Fischer (1862–1938) used to tease his fellow architects because of their '*Titelstreberei*', or their eagerness for titles.

The administrative hierarchy comprised five ascending levels with various titles; however, moving to a higher level did not necessarily mean a promotion but might simply represent a token of appreciation, or permit more political participation. Thus, a *Baumeister* or *Bau-Commissar* could become a *Kreis-Baumeister* or a *Land-Baumeister* (*Land* and *Kreis* were administrative entities of different hierarchies). A *Kreis* or *Land-Baumeister* could then advance to become a *Bauinspector*, and later an *Ober-Bauinspector*. A *Land* or *Kreisbaumeister* could also become an *Ober-Landbaumeister* or *Ober-Kreisbaumeister*. In the upper level of the hierarchy were the titles *Regierungsrath* and *Oberbaurath*, each of whom could become *Geheimer Baurath* or *vortragenden Räthen* with the possibility of participating in higher administrative positions. The highest ranks were *Ministerialrat* and *Oberbaurat*, *Wirklicher Geheimer Regierungsrat, Baurat* and *Oberbaudirektoren*. Besides these titles there were five classes (*Klassen* or *Ränge)* referring to those functionaries working in the *Land*, *Kreis* and *Provincial* categories – levels were restricted to the first two classes; only state functionaries could advance to the three highest classes.

Positions in the administrations were much sought-after by architects, since they granted access to the great number of public projects in the cities and also gave architects the opportunity to earn a secure income. In 1953, Bernhard Gaber wrote in an essay on the history of the *Bund Deutscher Architekten* (Federation of German Architects), 'Ninety years ago, there were no independent architects in Germany.'[9] Although an exaggeration, the statement nevertheless reveals the overall situation: administrations – communal administrations as well as state or city-owned railway or gas companies – were the largest employers of architects at the time. Independent architects existed, but they remained an exception. In Berlin and other parts of Germany there were offices such as Ende & Boeckmann, Kyllmann & Heyen von der Husde & Benda, Kayser & von Grossheim, Viehweger & Lossow, Lossow & Kühne, Eitel & Steigleder, Gropius & Schmieden, and Cremer & Wolffenstein, the last founded by Wilhelm Cremer (1845–1919) and Richard Wolffenstein (1846–1919) in 1882. The firm operated until the deaths of both architects in 1919. Cremer & Wolffenstein mainly designed office buildings, churches and synagogues, but also villas for entrepreneurs and private clients. Some self-employed architects did manage to establish independent offices, for example Julius Raschdorff (1823–1914) and August Orth (1828–1901); however, this was only possible with the security of a teaching position, as in Raschdorff's case, or with the financial support of a wealthy sponsor: Orth, for instance, was supported by the railway entrepreneur Henry Strousberg (1823–1884).

The main problem was that once architects left the administration, there was no way to return (unless they won a competition for an administrative building and could be re-employed for its planning and construction). Significantly, it was forbidden to have a private practice while also a member of the administration. Even though neither Cremer nor Raschdorff had any ties with state administrations, they nevertheless both received the honorary titles of *Baurat,* and later, *Geheimer Baurat*. The history of the architect at that time is a history of exceptions rather than of strict adhesion to rules, not least because of the persisting differences between titles and precise competencies, also inside the German states.

From this situation two divergent trends developed in the discipline of architecture. On the one hand there was the struggle to improve the working conditions of architects in administration; and on the other, the aim to give freedom to architects in private practice, thus putting pressure on government departments to assign architects prominent projects through competitions. The first issue united architects and engineers, who were both fighting to improve their status vis à vis lawyers, who traditionally occupied the highest ranks in the administration. The most important body in this regard was the *Verband deutscher Architekten und Ingenieur-Vereine* (Institute of Architects and Engineers), which united most architectural and engineering associations in Germany. On several occasions it debated the issue, and in 1901 and 1903 the institute published recommendations to allow academics – in this case architects and engineers – easier access to the highest positions in the administration. To enable this, reforms were required.[10] [fig. 1]

In contrast to the first issue of status, the second issue of private practice freedom regarded only independent architects or *Privatarchitekten*, as they called themselves, who sought to free themselves entirely from any restrictive ties to the administrations. The first official *Privatarchitekt* is considered to be Eduard Knoblauch (1801–1865), who was born into a wealthy family of silk producers. As early as 1880, the *Vereinigung zur Vertretung baukünstlerischen Interessen aus Berlin*, an association of sixty independent architects (including Raschdorff and Orth), published a pamphlet in the magazine *Deutsche Bauzeitung* pleading for a radical reform

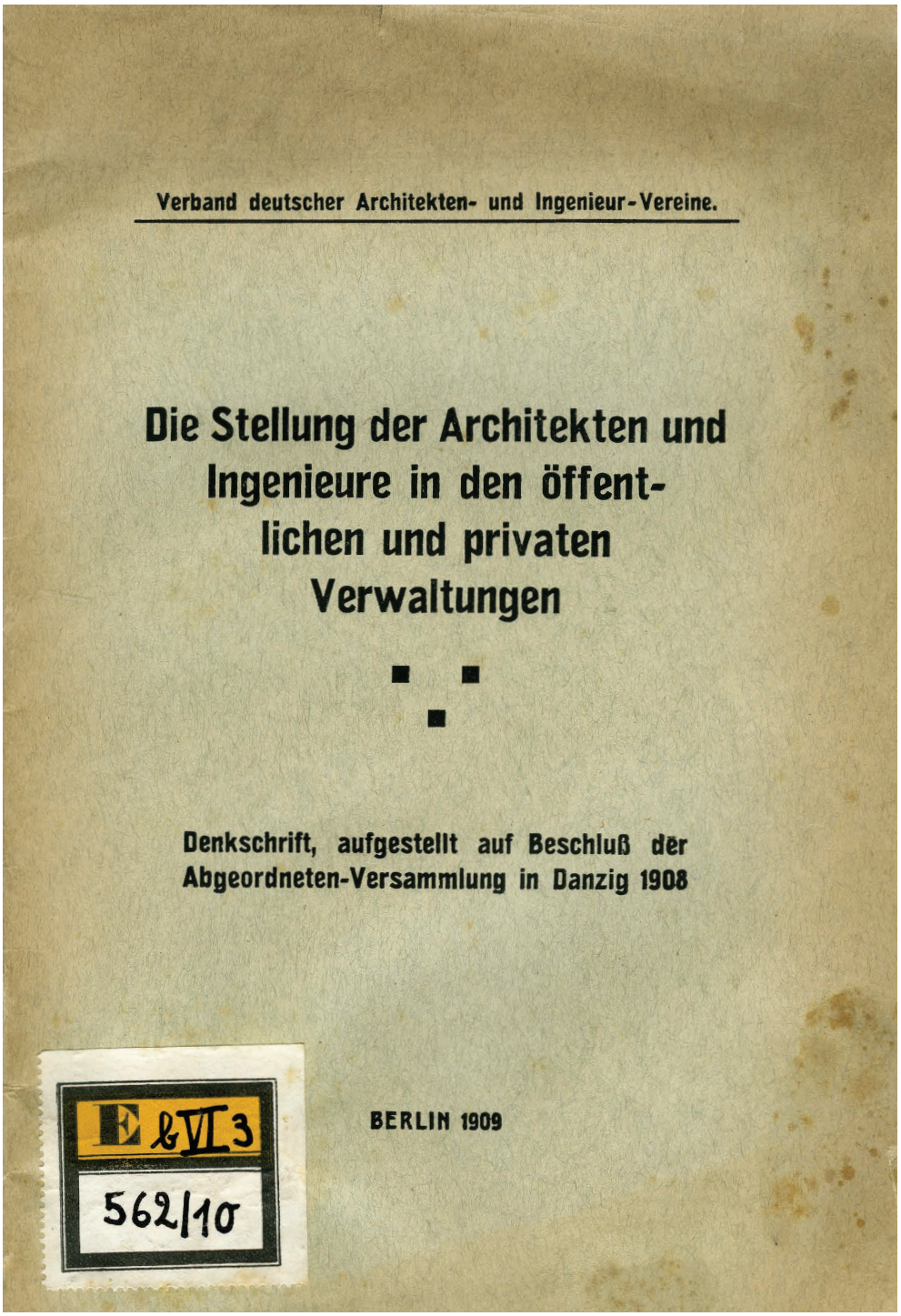

Fig. 1: Cover, Verband Deutscher Architekten und Ingenieur-Vereine, *Die Stellung der Architekten und Ingenieure in den öffentlichen und privaten Verwaltungen. Denkschrift, aufgestellt auf Beschluss der Abgeordneten-Versammlung in Danzig 1908*, Berlin, 1909.

of the administration to allow important public projects to be realised by independent architects.[11] In their eyes, architects working in the administration were incapable of producing creative work.[12] It is worth noting that the local Berlin architects' association (*Berliner Architekten-Verein*) felt the need to respond and highlight that the pamphlet reflected the position of only a minority of architects, and that although they acknowledged problems with architects in the administrations did exist, they felt that criticism of them was unjustifiable.[13]

One of the most virulent critics of bureaucratic architecture was Karl Scheffler (1869–1951). In his influential book *Die Architektur der Grossstadt*, published in 1913, he accused the administration of being incapable of producing 'high architecture' and the architects who worked there of only being concerned with the opinion of their superiors.[14] Publications such as this, as well as other criticism by people like Cornelius Gurlitt (1850–1938) or Karl Henrici (1842–1927), had a profound influence on public opinion and contributed to the stigma attached to architects working in government administrations.[15]

The most important organisation in the process of *Privatarchitekten* emancipation was the *Bund Deutscher Architekten* (BDA), which was founded in 1903.[16] Representing the *Privatarchitekt*, their declared adversaries were entrepreneurs and building administrations.[17] In 1913, the BDA already had as many as 670 members, which is a clear indication of the degree to which architects identified with its aims.

In 1917, the BDA published the memorandum '*Verwaltungsreform auf dem Gebiete des Hochbauwesens*', or 'Administrative Reform for the Domain of Architecture', calling for all public projects to be given to independent architects. In 1918, the highly influential *Vereinigung der technischen Oberbeamten Deutscher Städte* (the Association of Technical Chief-Public Servants of German Cities) replicated this pamphlet in a memorandum '*Denkschrift, die Mitwirkung von Privatarchitekten bei Planung und Ausführung öffentlicher Bauten betreffend*', or 'Memorandum on the Participation of Independent Architects in the Planning and Design of Public Buildings' in which they clearly refuted the arguments and claims of the BDA.[18]

Whereas most architects were employed in administrations, the minority of independent architects were calling for the distribution of projects through competitions. The coexistence of these two positions can best be illustrated by two architects who, despite their opposing ideals, managed to remain lifelong friends – namely, Ludwig Hoffmann (1852–1932) and Alfred Messel (1853–1909). Both men were educated at the *Bauakademie* in Berlin; afterwards, Hoffmann followed the career steps typical of a public servant, becoming *Stadtbaurat* at the building department in Berlin between 1896 and 1924, while Messel became one of the most prominent independent architects of his day, whose work is considered an important forerunner of modernism in Germany. Hoffmann headed eight departments, each employing around a dozen people, many of them architects. He oversaw the execution of a large number of public buildings in Berlin, the most prominent of which was the town hall, built between 1902 and 1911. At the *Grosse Berliner Kunstausstellung* in 1901, an entire section was dedicated to the achievements of Hoffmann's department. With the aid of drawings and models of forty-six buildings: schools, hospitals, public baths, museums and fire stations, the exhibition demonstrated the extent to which Hoffmann had transformed Berlin. [fig. 2]

An image of Hoffmann taken on a public occasion reveals a proud public servant displaying all his numerous accolades. [fig. 3] In contrast, after leaving public administration Alfred Messel started his own practice. This was sustained by the Wertheim company, for whom he built department stores,

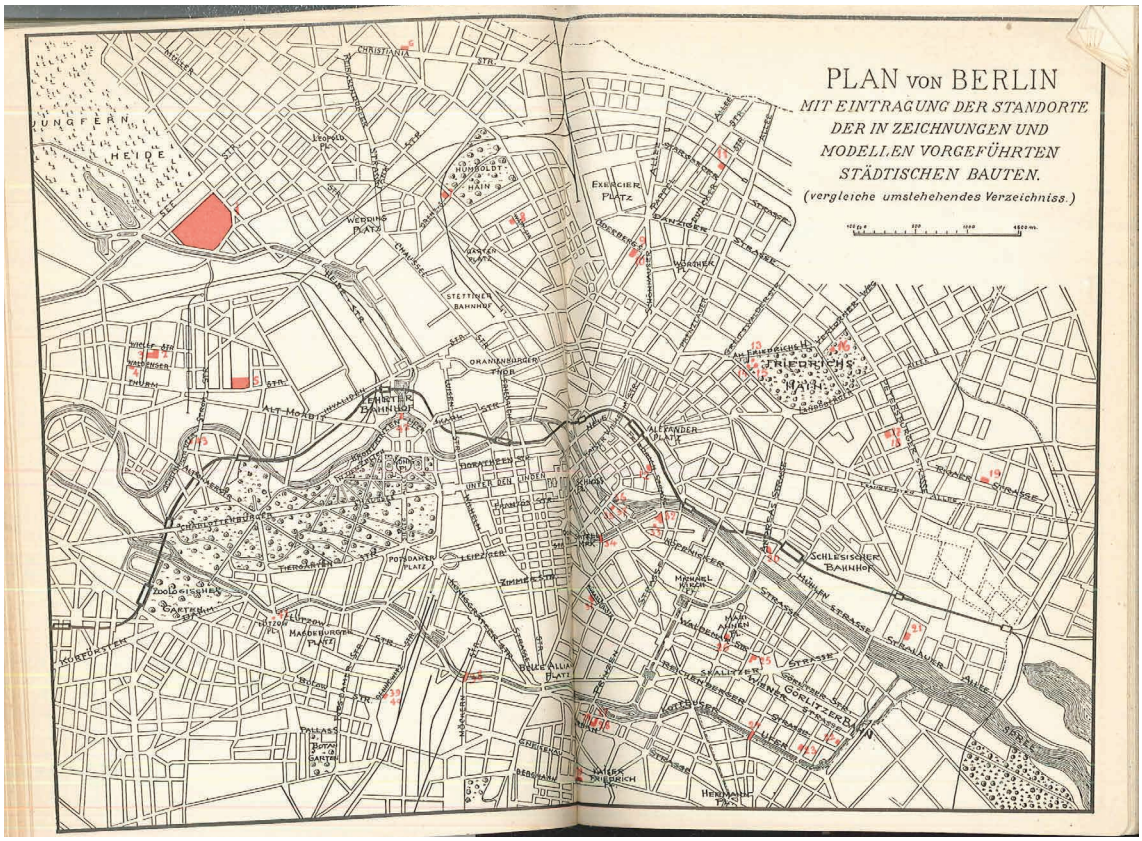

Fig. 2: Map displaying the projects by the Building Department of Berlin in red, in *Grosse Berliner Kunstausstellung 1901*, Berlin: Union, 1901.

and by his part-time employment as a teacher. The majority of his clients were private, among them banks, entrepreneurs and wealthy bourgeois families. Thus Hoffmann and Messel each focused on specific building typologies.

The example of German architect Fritz Schumacher (1869–1947) perhaps better illustrates the tension within the profession between the security and anonymity that the administration offered and the freedom of being an independent architect. Schumacher was a member of both the BDA and the *Vereinigung der technischen Oberbeamten Deutscher Städte*, thus he endorsed both positions, specifically the latter, since he was one of the seven contributors to the *Denkschrift*.

The figure of Schumacher reveals the problematic situation for German architects at the time, often torn between their ambition to be perceived as artists operating independently, and the advantages of being part of the administration. After working as an architect in Leipzig and teaching at the *Technische Hochschule* in Dresden, in 1909 Schumacher was employed as *Baudirektor* and director of the *Hochbauamt* in Hamburg, a city he would transform profoundly, both through his work in town planning and due to his many building projects. It is not surprising that Schumacher became a target for the independent architects, since he capitalised on his position by keeping as many projects as possible for himself. His acquisitiveness is depicted in an amusing caricature published in *Die Hamburger Woche* in 1912, in which Schumacher is shown as a child playing with a construction set while the other children – the *Privatarchitekten* – complain to 'mother Hamburg' that he does not share his toys. [fig. 4]

In the context of the *Städteausstellung* – held in Dresden in 1903 and organised by the mayors of German cities as the first forum for town planning in Germany – Schumacher drew attention to how the city administration had taken the place once held by royals and bishops. By understanding this, Schumacher revealed his political realism and awareness. The city wielded power and also had an 'aesthetic responsibility'.[19] Being a member of an administration with all its difficulties appeared to him a small sacrifice to pay in comparison to all the advantages that such a position afforded him. Only in retrospect, after his dismissal in 1933, would he make critical comments about the path from the 'freedom of an academic teacher' to the 'chains of the public servant'.[20] Yet we should not forget that for every Schumacher or Hoffmann there were hundreds of architects working anonymously in their departments or in small towns.

France: a smooth path

In comparison with Germany, France never achieved the same level of independence from state control, which remained strong, particularly in Paris. Although the revolution had attempted to weaken the central power base, Napoleon with his 1800 law (*Loi du 28 pluviôse an VII*) divided the country into separate departments, each headed by a prefect, thus restoring and strengthening the power of the state once again. Even though mayors received more powers, they nevertheless remained bound to the authority of the prefects. Even the *Loi Municipale* (municipal law) of 1884 and its *Charte Municipale,* which aimed to give greater powers to local authorities, still left a great deal of influence to the state, not least in matters of town planning. All alterations to streets and open spaces or the construction of public buildings first required the permission of the prefecture.[21] Real decentralisation was only achieved a century later with the law of 1982. Due to this general structure and its durability, French administration became legendary. Louis de Bonald (1754–1840) in his *Theory of Power* (1796), wrote in reference to Vincent de Gournay that 'France, according to a man of wit, was neither an aristocracy not a democracy, but a bureaucracy.'[22] The inexorable development of bureaucracy was

Fig. 3: Anonymous photograph of Ludwig Hoffmann, around 1913, Landesarchiv Berlin (LAB), E Rep. 200-50, Nr. 401/2.

accompanied by inevitable criticisms of nepotism, favouritism, inefficiency and also corruption, as in the infamous case of the '*affaire Hourdequin'*, called after a corrupt official of the *Bureau de la Grande Voirie* who awarded building permits in exchange for bribes.[23]

As for architecture, there was a long tradition of architects working for royal powers. The *Administration des bâtiments royaux,* dating back to Charles V (1364–1380), was further developed to introduce the highest ranking figure of the *architecte du roi*, as well as other positions, such as the *Architecte conseiller royal*, *Directeur des bâtiments,* or the *Maître maçon*. Further restructuring under Louis XIV, and later under Napoleon Bonaparte, created a more fragmented organisation with several changes, in particular the creation of the *Service des bâtiments civils* in 1791, which lasted until 1896. For architects there existed several possible roles associated with a particular building or building typology. There was the administration of the *Édifices diocésains*, the *Monuments historiques*, the *Travaux de Paris*, the *Palais royaux* and the *Inspecteur des beaux-arts*, in addition to the administration of the district and the city.

What is striking about the French model is the stark hierarchy and complexity of the administrative systems, which frequently changed titles and pay structures, and the strong relationship between the *École des Beaux-Arts* and the administrations. On their return from Rome, many winners of the Grand Prix de Rome were employed in successive administrations, although, *nota bene,* they started at a lower grade. David Van Zanten has retraced the history of this relationship, emphasising how 'positions in the *Service des Bâtiments Civils* were to be given, first and foremost, to Grand Prix winners, entering immediately upon their return from Rome',[24] and how often the programme of the Grand Prix competition was oriented towards public monument typologies such as '*Panthéon*' (1837) or '*Mairie*' (1840). Van Zanten mentions architects like Charles Percier (1764–1838), Félix Duban (1797–1870), Henri Labrouste (1801–1875), Eugène Viollet-le-Duc (1814–1879) and Charles Garnier (1825–1898), who all became government employees. One could also list architects of the following generations who won the Grand Prix, among them Henri-Paul Nénot (1853–1934), Gaston Redon (1853–1921), Camille Lefèvre (1853–1933), Jacques Hermant (1855–1930), Michel Roux-Spitz (1888–1957), Eugène Beaudouin (1898–1983), and others who did not win the Grand Prix, such as Frantz Blondel (1843–1919), but still became members of one of the many administrations.

The administrations in turn developed various ways in which architects could advance their careers, either by rising in rank or receiving titles. The following positions existed in the *Service municipal d'architecture*, which in theory ascended successively: *Sous-inspecteur stagiaire*, *Sous-inspecteur de troisième classe, Sous-inspecteur de deuxième classe, Sous-inspecteur de première classe*, *Sous-inspecteur de classe exceptionnelle*, then *Inspecteur*, and finally *Architecte*. Furthermore, there were also the positions of *Vérificateur* and *Réviseur*, again subdivided into different classes. There were similar structures in all the other departments, with a greater or lesser degree of complexity and hierarchy. Thus the number of positions for advancement was enormous. However, it was possible in some instances to skip levels. Promotions were often only possible when the supervisor retired or was given a higher position in the hierarchy. In order to be given a position, an applicant had to pass entrance exams.

The career of Achille Hermant (1823–1903) is a good example of a French architect's path at the close of the nineteenth century. In 1860, Hermant entered as an *Inspecteur de deuxième classe* in the *Service d'architecture de la ville de Paris,* advancing to *Inspecteur de première classe* in

Fig. 4: Caricature of Fritz Schumacher, in: Fred Hendriok, 'Aus Hammonias Kinderstube', in *Die Hamburger Woche 7*, 1912, Nr. 45: 7.

1865, and eventually to *Architecte* in 1870. In 1872, Hermant was promoted to *Architecte du IXe arrondissement*, the following year to the 10th section, and, in 1879, to the 7th section of the *Service d'architecture de la ville de Paris.* Subsequently, in 1881, Hermant advanced to the *Service départemental (1re circonscription),* eventually retiring in 1893 at the age of seventy. Hermant was eventually awarded the grand title: *Architecte honoraire et membre du conseil des travaux d'architecture de la ville de Paris*.[25] During his career he built various schools, prisons and barracks for the city.

Contrary to the situation in Germany, architects in France were accustomed to being part of an administration that secured them work and status but also allowed them to have a private practice at the same time. Despite their frequent grievances, French architects enjoyed a better reputation than their German counterparts.

The example of French architect Louis Bonnier (1856–1946) is illuminating. Bonnier studied architecture at the *École des Beaux-Arts* and thereafter began an illustrious career in the administration. He sat on several commissions that drew up new building regulations for Paris. Bonnier started as an *Architecte-voyer* for the city of Paris administration and had numerous parallel roles, among them *Architecte en chef de la section française de l'exposition universelle de Bruxelles*, *Architecte en-chef des installations générales, Exposition universelle*, *Conservateur* and *Architecte-en-chef du palais de l'Élysée, Architecte-en-chef-adjoint à l'Hôtel de Ville*, *Architecte-voyer-en-chef de la Ville de Paris,* and finally *Inspecteur général des Services techniques d'architecture et d'esthétique et de l'extension de Paris*. This was one of the highest possible ranks an architect could reach and was accordingly celebrated by his colleagues. At the same time, Bonnier worked on several housing projects and participated in the competition for the 1900 World Exposition in Paris, producing a couple of noteworthy projects for the exposition: the *Pavillon Schneider* for a gun manufacturer, which was realised, and *Globe Elisée Reclus*, which comprised a huge sphere that could be circumnavigated via spiral ramps. This second project, however, was never built. [fig. 5]

These projects reveal how the 'humble public-officer', as Bonnier liked to call himself, was also a highly talented architect whose projects show the typical development from an Art Nouveau influenced style to unadorned modernist apartment buildings towards the close of his life.[26] Bonnier had no problem moving between two worlds: the world of an administrative functionary, where he tirelessly worked on norms and regulations, and that of an independent architect.

The case of Bonnier, together with the other above-mentioned architects who represent a larger group, shows how architects in France could be members of the administration and at the same time run a private practice. Commissions for public buildings – for example, the Opéra de Paris in 1860, but also the new Paris town hall in 1873 – were often won through competitions. If an architect won such a competition then he would work on the project within an administration, as was the case with Charles Garnier (1825–1898) for the Opéra, and Théodore Ballu (1817–1885) for the town hall.[27]

Yet, when Bonnier rose to the highest rank as director of the *Service d' architecture*, it was made clear to him that any involvement in private projects would be viewed negatively by those outside the administration. Fellow members of the administration did not tend to see such involvement as problematic, thus architects were able to participate in both spheres of the profession. Here, as in Germany, commissions and titles were much sought after and allowed architects to be distinguished members of society. French architects strove to be assigned projects and at the same time worked to

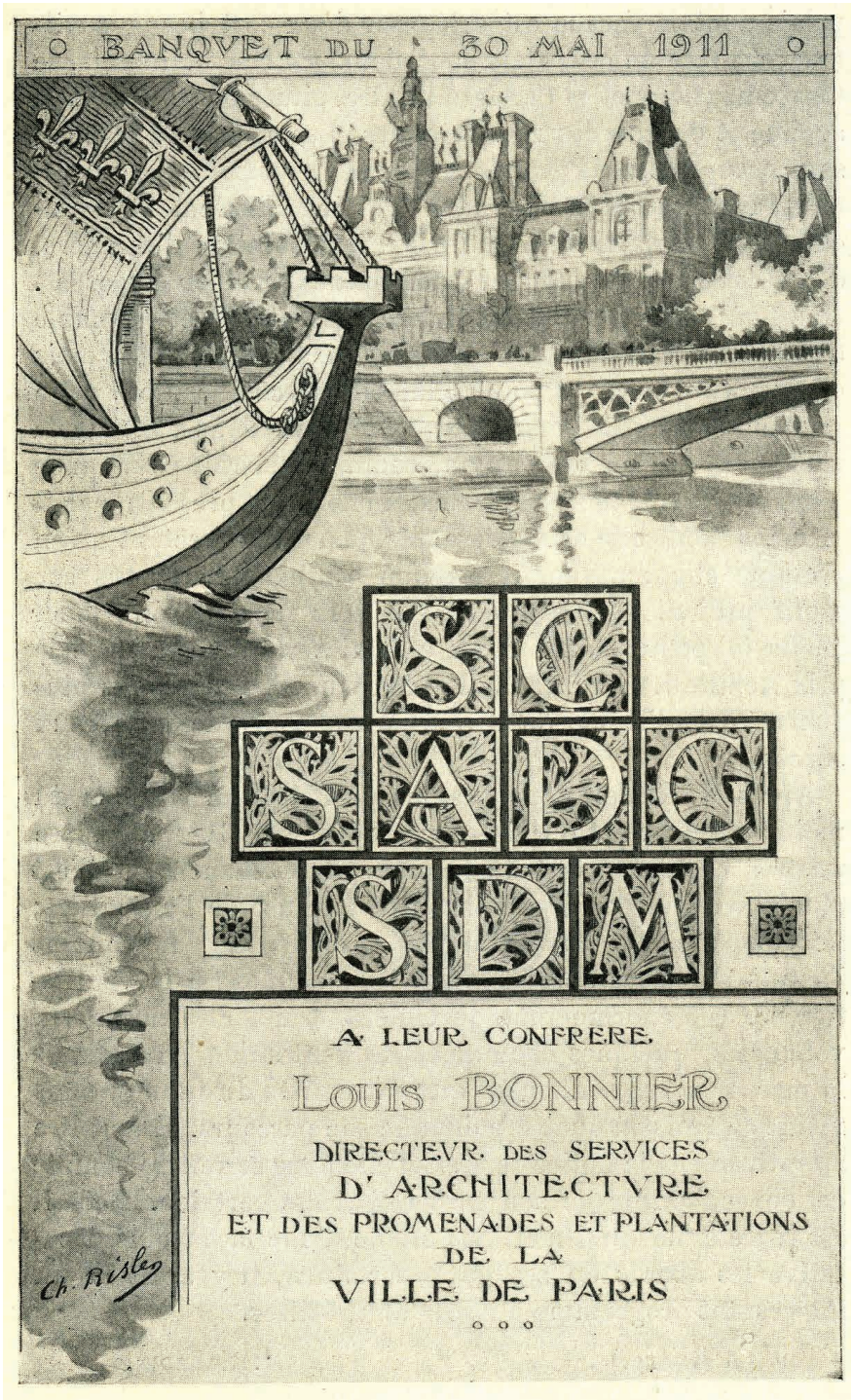

Fig. 5: Announcement of a banquet in honor of Bonnier's new position as Directeur des services d'architetcure et des promenades et plantations de la ville de Paris, 1911.

gain titles, since titles still played an important role in the entrenched social structure of the French Third Republic.

In this context, it is not surprising that grievances against the administration were almost non-existent in France. Architects were well integrated into the structure of the administration and enjoyed too many advantages from this situation to question it.

England: early emancipation

The situation in England was very different from that of Germany and France. On the one hand, the revolution of 1688/89 and the introduction of the Bill of Rights had created a unique framework for architects. Liberalisation, in particular, enabled architects to access public and private demand through open competitions. On the other hand, the institutionalisation of the profession of architect was established rather late against the background of a tradition of apprenticeships, and opposition to the professionalisation of the discipline. These notions were expressed in the discourse 'Architecture: Art or Profession' propagated by artists and architects alike.[28] Architects in England traditionally understood themselves to be artists working for the upper classes. They relegated the bulk of the built environment to builders and entrepreneurs, yet did not reject the option of acting as speculators themselves. As T.J. Jackson expressed in 1892: 'For nine buildings in ten, if not ninety-nine in a hundred, no architect is – or perhaps ever will be – employed.'[29]

In England there exists a long tradition of the royal administration employing architects, the foremost being the Office of Works, founded in 1378 to maintain royal buildings. It ceased to exist in 1832 when it was merged with the Wood and Forests Department to become the Office of Woods and Works. Although an architect of the calibre of Inigo Jones (1573–1652) was employed as Surveyor of the King's Work for many decades, exerting substantial power and gaining recognition, in general, the status of architects was reduced. This situation was exacerbated under the leadership of architect James Wyatt (1746–1813), whose management of the office was a time 'of extravagance and confusion'.[30] Lord Liverpool recalled that although Wyatt was 'a man of the most considerable talents as an architect, he was certainly one of the worst Public Servants I recollect in any office, not I am persuaded from dishonesty, or want of zeal, but from carelessness and from his always choosing to engage in a great deal more business than he was capable of performing'.[31] Wyatt was simultaneously Surveyor General and Controller at the Office of Works, Surveyor to Westminster Abbey, Architect to the Board of Ordinance, Deputy Surveyor of the Office of Woods and Forests, Surveyor at Somerset House, and at the same time he also ran a private practice.[32] Three eminent architects worked under the guidance of Wyatt: John Soane (1753–1837), John Nash (1752–1835), and Robert Smirke (1780–1867). These men were employed as 'attached architects'.

Alongside the continuing perception of themselves as artists, architects' displacement from leading positions within the administration led to a loss of interest in such appointments. The culmination of this development is illuminated by the reconstruction of the Houses of Parliament after the fire of 1834. Initially, the commission was given directly to Smirke, a member of the administration, not least because of the influence of his friend, Prime Minister Robert Peel. However, due to vehement protests from various factions, this appointment was withdrawn and an open competition was organised which was won by Charles Barry (1795–1860). There was, however, a great deal of criticism about his design and the fact that he had won.[33] This could be seen as the breakup of the 'affair' between British architects and the administration.

Besides the Office of Works, there were many local authorities that employed architects, but these

were entangled in the battle between proponents of greater local power and those struggling for more centrality. The result was largely powerless entities with no clear sphere of influence. Such was the case with the Metropolitan Board of Works (MBW) founded in 1875, where a Superintending Architect worked with non-architects and his own staff. The architect Robert Kerr disdainfully described the MBW in 1888:

> In all anxiety, in all sincerity, following the English principle, the Board is constituted of delegates from various quarters of London who come together with a good deal more intelligence than they have had credit for lately. But these gentlemen come together without professing architectural knowledge, and they do not refer architectural matters to architects. They possess a Superintending Architect in our dear old friend Vulliamy, but they could not allow him to be an authority on architectural matters; it was contrary to the genius of the English people to do it. Members of the Board must exercise authority, and although somebody shifts responsibility on Mr. Vulliamy, and says the Board was subordinate to its officers, we know better.[34]

The first superintending architect of the MBW was Frederick Marrable (1819–1872), who resigned prematurely when he did not receive a rise in salary, and complained that he had built more streets than houses. After Marrable's resignation, the above-mentioned Georges Vulliamy won a competition for this position against twenty-three other candidates. In 1865, Vulliamy had twelve staff members working for him.[35] Under his successor Thomas Blashill (1831–1905), the number of employees was raised to seventy. The subdivision of the department reveals the rising importance of this position and its team: 'The Building Act branch, Improvements, Compensation and Estates branch (later Works and Improvements), Parks and Open Spaces, Fire Brigade, Dangerous Structures, Street Nomenclature and Theatre.'[36]

In 1889, London County Council replaced the MBW with a particular division – namely, the Housing of the Working Classes Branch, where, within a short period, many graduates of the Architectural Association made a great impact on London's architecture.[37] The other important institution was the Local Government Board, established in 1871 and absorbed in 1919 by the Ministry of Health.

Although large cities had professional departments with ambitious architects, the reality was very different for the many corporations; county, borough, and town councils; and urban and rural districts. Frequently, surveyors or engineers were employed to do architectural work. The hierarchy of architects' positions within the various architectural or housing departments of these local administrations was far less complex than in France or Germany. This was despite the fact that often, architects also did the work of surveyors and vice versa. The various positions in these administrations included: chief architect, architect, architect's assistant (chief, temporary, first, second, or junior assistant), superintending architect, draughtsman and draughtsman's assistant. The example of one architect can be cited for interest. M. Williamson started his career as chief assistant to M. Ball, an architect and surveyor in Manchester, where he remained for eight years. Subsequently, he worked for five years as chief architectural assistant in the borough engineer's office in Salford. In 1900, Williamson started working as chief assistant for Bradford Corporation, and a decade later he advanced to the rank of chief architect. His role in these positions was 'designing and supervising the erection of all classes of buildings which come under the control of a large municipal authority, and in the multitudinous duties to be performed in a city's architect department, which (in addition to strictly municipal buildings) includes the erection and charge of all buildings under the City Council as education authority'.[38] The architects working in administration remained hidden anonymously

within the department offices.

The path to independency in England was easier than in Germany for many architects working for administrations. This was thanks to their entrepreneurship, the patronage of wealthy bourgeoisie, and the fact that commissioning public buildings was subject to competitions. Architects and architectural firms such as Lockwood & Mawson – founded in Bradford in 1849 by Henry Francis Lockwood (1811–1878) and William Mawson (1828–1889) – specialised in competitions, winning twenty of the thirty competitions they participated in.[39] The practice built hospitals, schools, town halls and churches. Their most well-known buildings are the Wool Exchange Building in Bradford (1867), the New Town Hall in Bradford (1873), and the Civil Service Supply Association in London (1877).

Beyond the influence of the LCC, the work within the administration was perceived rather negatively, not least because of the R.I.B.A.'s elitist attitude, described by John Summerson in his above-mentioned essay. Even surveyors criticised officials as being 'obsessed by administrative detail and … lack[ing] the imaginative mind'.[40] Similar critiques were also disseminated in architectural magazines of the time, When compared with Germany, however, there was almost no tension between independent and employed architects. Therefore it is not surprising that the few examples that can be found were provoked by the R.I.B.A. Early grievances mostly regarded the aforementioned habit of employing engineers or surveyors to perform the function of architects, as expressed in the 1904 *Report of the Committee on Municipal Officials and Architectural Work* published by the R.I.B.A.[41] In this context, architects in France and Germany were also asked to report on the situation in their respective countries. German architect Joseph Stübben was full of praise for the German model and the opportunities for architects in Germany to become influential.[42]

Thus it is not surprising that English architects often looked to Germany and France in their desire to establish a strong state and/or local administration and a strong educational model such as the *École des Beaux-Arts*. Architects in Britain sought inspiration from the pioneering work of Thomas Coglan Horsfall (1841–1932), who enthusiastically emphasised the advantages of the German administrative model.[43] A particularly enlightening document is a book published in 1884 by English architect William Henry White (1862–1949), who had lived for a decade in Paris and confronted the administrations with his stark criticism of the English system:

> Individuals may in one case offer an alternative to ugliness, in another formulate a remedy for abortion and anonymity which generally increases their chance of a successful hearing; but even if public opinion had the power of arriving at any decision in such questions, no organization sufficiently representative to collect its suffrages, or record the result, is at disposal in London. The authorities of Paris, on the contrary, have definite artistic views. They possess a standard of taste and a power of initiation, of which Londoners are wholly devoid; and throughout France there is an abundance of carefully prepared professional talent, at the service of the state, for the design and execution of national monuments and buildings.[44]

Implications of mass housing programmes

In the aftermath of the First and Second World Wars, state and local administrations established huge mass housing programmes that gave architects the opportunity to participate in reconstruction efforts. Once again, the conditions in which architects were engaged in this context were very different and partly a consequence of previous developments.

In Germany, the *Siedlungen-Program* was established mainly by civil servants, such as Martin Wagner (1885–1957) in Berlin or Ernst May (1886–1970) in Frankfurt. Whereas the latter used

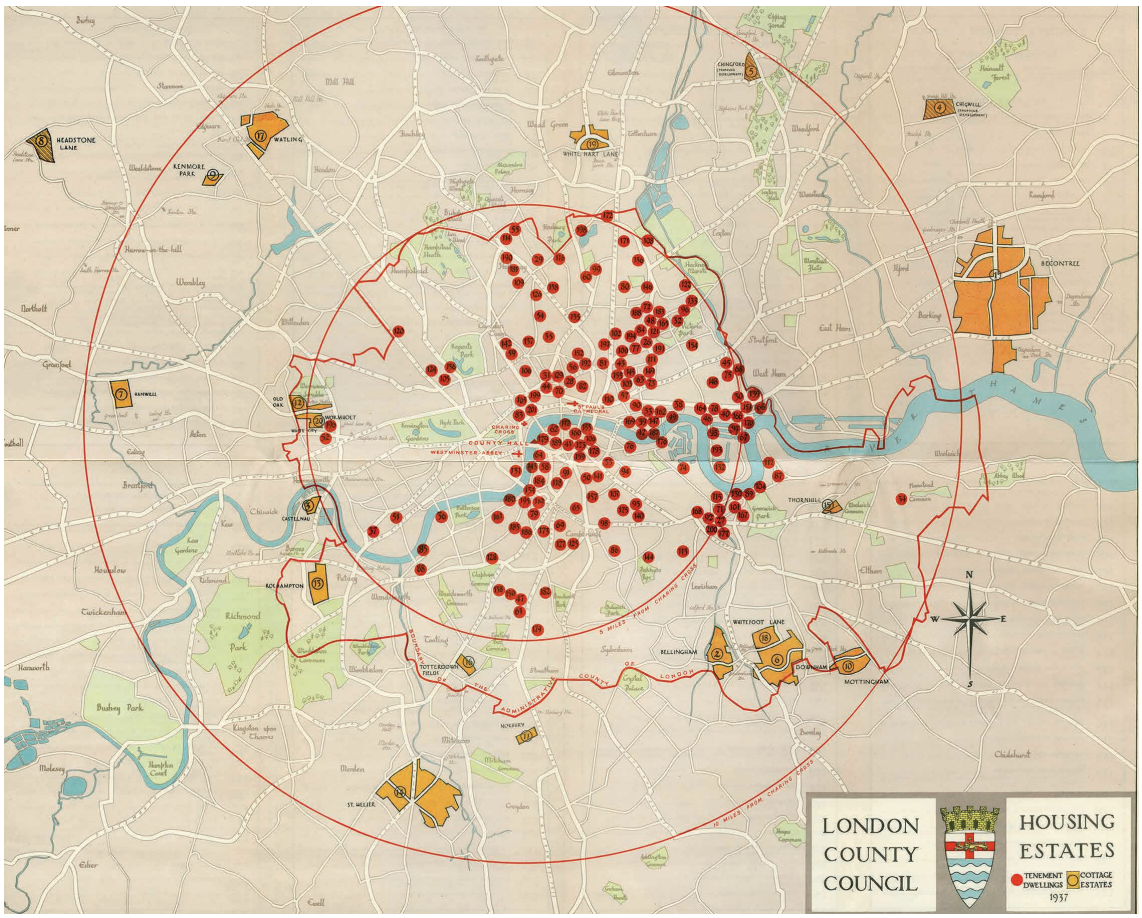

Fig. 6: Map of the London County Council, 1937, 'Housing Estates', in London County Council, *London Housing*, London: King, 1937 © London Metropolitan Archives.

his position to realise the bulk of the programme with the help of a team, Wagner called upon independent architects such as Bruno Taut (1880–1938) or Mies van der Rohe (1886–1969) to collaborate in his ambitious programme. This is a paradox, since German architects fought so hard to gain access to the public building programme. On the other hand, Hellerau, an earlier example of *Siedlungen* that was developed in 1909 by entrepreneur Carl Schmidt, was directly commissioned to an independent architect, Richard Riemerschidt (1868–1957).

Compared to Germany, France lagged far behind with its subsidised housing programmes. Institutions such as the Rothschild Foundation financed the first projects. The foundation created its own design office via an open competition on a case study 'Ilot'. When the *Office Parisien d'habitations à bon marché* was finally founded in 1913/14, along with the already existing *Service d'architecture*, architects for its first eleven buildings were appointed through competitions. Thus a specific design office was created, dedicated to the realisation of these projects. Another key player in public housing in France was the politician Henri Sellier (1883–1943), who was head of the *Office départemental des habitations à bon marché de la Seine*. The architects for the *cité-jardins* that were planned for the *banlieue* of Paris were appointed without a competition process; instead, they were directly selected from among the participants of the above-mentioned Parisian competitions. Architects such as Maurice Payret-Dortail (1874–1929), Joseph Bassompierre-Sewrin (1871–1950), André Arfvidson (1870–1935), Paul de Rutté (1871–1943), Alexandre Maistrasse (1860–1951) and Félix Dumail (1883–1908) were commissioned, all of whom had previously studied at the *École des beaux Arts*. These architects were given a site and were supported by a *Commission d'architecture et d'esthétique*, (of which Bonnier was a member), which could assign individual building projects to their chosen architects.

In England, a series of laws were introduced to intervene in the dramatic situation in English cities concerning both slum clearance and the housing shortage, yet even after the First World War the bulk of dwellings were built by private enterprises. R. L. Reiss calculated that during the period between 1919 and 1940, 4,528,000 dwellings were built in Great Britain, of which local authorities built only 1,393,000, while the remainder were constructed by private enterprises.[45] [fig. 6]

The London County Council remained one of the key players, in particular via the Addison Act of 1919, which had announced the construction of '500,000 new council homes in five years, to be built on generous garden city lines'.[46] The architects working for the LCC remain rather anonymous. Even their managers, among them William Edward Riley (1852–1937) and George Topham Forrest (1872–1945), remain marginal in the history of English architects, not to mention their staff.

Conclusion

With the International Congress of Architects held in London in 1906, the general bias of architects towards employment in administrations was officially sanctioned. The different attitudes of architects from various countries can thus be explained by the different conditions in which architects worked in relation to such administrations, and whether they perceived them as a threat or a possible sphere of influence, both from outside and within. After WWII, the existing differences among countries were swept away, not least by the efforts of modernist historiography, eager to establish not only an 'international style' but also an 'international architect'. This image still affects our perception of the profession.

The history told here is in fact a grey zone between the history of administration, which consistently avoids discussing architects, given that they always had particular conditions, and the history of

architecture, which for too long has collaborated with architects to establish a professional myth. It is a history of exceptions, where no clear pattern seems to emerge, even inside one and the same administration, which makes the telling of it so challenging.

Despite the importance of administrations and their architects, also with regard to the mass housing programmes after the First World War, the professional figure of the architect as civil servant completely disappeared from official discourse after the Second World War. Clearly, many architects remained, and still remain, employed within state administrations. The architect as civil servant was indeed confronted with absurd hierarchies, painful and time-consuming procedures, and so forth, but at the same time he was involved in political processes and had much more influence in shaping society than any independent architect. The striving for freedom from administrative fetters also meant a loss of control and involvement that one cannot but regret.

Notes

1. Otto Wagner, 'Ausführung wichtiger Regierungs- und städtischer Bauten durch besoldete Beamten', in *International Congress of Architcts. Seventh held in London 16–21 July 1906, Transaction* (London: The Royal Institute of British Architects, 1908), 111.
2. F. E. P. Edwards, 'Discussion on Subject I', in *International Congress of Architects. Seventh Session,* 119.
3. A. B. Plummer, 'Discussion on Subject I', in *International Congress of Architects. Seventh Session*, 120.
4. Ibid., 125.
5. 'The world of the mid-twentieth century will need some buildings by architects of genius, for only thus can the necessary monotony and the low level of plastic interest of bureaucratic architecture be balanced and relieved.' Henry-Russell Hitchcock, 'The Architecture of Bureaucracy & the Architecture of Genius', *The Architectural Review* (January 1947): 6.
6. John Summerson, 'Bread & Butter and Architecture', *Horizon* (October 1942): 233–43.
7. For example, in his monumental work: Henry-Russell Hitchcock, *Architecture. Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1958).
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Biography

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The Architect, the Planner and the Bishop: The Shapers of 'Ordinary' Dublin, 1940–60

Ellen Rowley

At the end of September 1948, Dublin Corporation's housing architect Herbert Simms committed suicide, allegedly from overwork. Whatever the precise catalyst was that led to Simms' untimely death, we can be sure that the architect was experiencing considerable stress. By 1948, having overseen Dublin's slum clearance programme since 1932, and the design and construction of ca.17,000 dwellings, Simms was confronted with a change of government in Ireland that brought a Labour Party minister to the Department of Local Government. Housing provision for the masses was to be accelerated. Furthermore, since Dublin's city architect retired in 1945, the position had remained vacant, thus exposing Simms to evermore responsibility. How was Herbert Simms to cope?

As a result of proposals that emerged from the Patrick Geddes and Raymond Unwin-inspired 'Dublin Civic Exhibition and Competition' of 1914, ex-urban areas to the west of Dublin city had been earmarked for development. Patrick Abercrombie's winning design for that competition echoed those proposals, concentrating on the Crumlin area to the south-west where, after decades of hesitation due to international and local conflict – World War I, the Irish War of Independence and civil war – construction began in the mid-1930s on a vast housing colony. Such a mass housing development was unprecedented in Ireland, and by the 1950s, with a population equivalent to Limerick (Ireland's third city), the Crumlin Estate comprised some 6,000 dwellings. Indeed, throughout the 1930s and 1940s, Crumlin dominated Dublin corporation activity and arguably hijacked Simms, absorbing his energy and diverting his talents. Even a cursory overview of one small development, the Captain's Lane extension within the new Dublin neighbourhood, reveals the extent of the housing architect's responsibility and workload. This minor extension engaged Simms in incessant correspondence to do with planning, designing and redesigning schemes from 1944. [fig. 1] Firstly, he laid out 802 houses, alongside which he set aside five acres for a convent, schools, and an acre for shops and a cinema, as well as attempting to purchase a site for a playground.[1] Simms then laid out the scheme's second section, comprising 589 houses on forty-three acres. On the remaining seventy acres he planned two parks, a community centre, a site for the Gaelic Athletic Association (GAA) representing indigenous Irish sports, a Catholic church, two schools (boys and girls/infants), a dispensary, a library and an industrial site.

Clearly, the construction of 1,391 houses, mostly four-roomed and at a density of fourteen per acre, was only one part of Simms' brief: at Captain's Lane the housing architect was projecting an autonomous and fully-serviced neighbourhood. But, again and again, as the archive correspondence describes, Simms' efforts were thwarted, leading ultimately to an internal inquiry. Both the ecclesiastical authorities and the corporation's town planning department were intent upon influencing all design layouts. From 1947 until his death, Simms was

forced to continuously revise the plans, the principal problem being the siting of the new Catholic church and its subsequent relationship to school buildings. Simms would draft a plan and circulate it internally to the town planning department, which would forward it (externally) to the archbishop, who persistently disapproved. The plan would then have to be redrafted within Simms' architecture team, and on, and on.

These processes behind the realisation of the Captain's Lane extension – only later revealed by the archive – began to reposition the Bishop and the Planner of our title as the shapers of ordinary Dublin, while the Architect, bent over his drawing board, becomes a castrated agent. The Bishop was John Charles McQuaid, archbishop of Dublin from 1940 to 1971. The Planner was Michael O'Brien, Dublin Corporation Town Planning Officer from ca. 1941 through the 1960s. Significantly, McQuaid was at the helm of all practices – social, educational and cultural – in what was the most extensive archbishopric in Ireland: the Dublin Diocese. And while his centrality to mid-twentieth-century Ireland's social development has been acknowledged by contemporary Irish history, and to a lesser extent by Irish Studies, Archbishop McQuaid's role in the physical formation of Dublin has not before been considered – most specifically, his close relationship with O'Brien – which in turn forced design decisions upon the architect of our title, Herbert Simms.

This architectural history explores how the unsystematic collusion and everyday agency of cleric and civil servant manipulated the built fabric of the growing city. Yes, we know about Dublin's relatively extensive housing development between 1920 and 1950: certainly the ongoing 'The Making of Dublin City' historical geography series outlines changes to the city's boundaries, explaining economics and the various roles of private developer and public authority along the way.[2] But this paper unpacks the city's recent history with its fringe biases in an alternative manner: by following the archive's lead, along with the everyday reality of the built evidence, this research moves from the Crumlin development towards the vast housing colonies on Dublin's northern edge, which were taking shape from the mid-1950s. Starting out as a way of understanding the architectural make-up of ordinary Dublin, the paper is ultimately a speculation about the Catholic nature of suburbanised development in mid-century Ireland.

Theocratic Dublin

It is not an exaggeration to state that Dublin in the 1940s and 1950s was a potently Catholic city. The mass popular commitment to Catholicism in Ireland ensured that the space of the capital city was infused with religiosity, made manifest physically through the proliferation of new outdoor grottoes and large-scale churches. Visiting Dublin in the 1950s, Heinrich Boll described his impressions of a Sunday morning in a central street, Westland Row, behind Trinity College:

> The Thunder continued, became articulate, the powerful opening bars of the Tantum Ergo. […] I was left with the impression of an overwhelming piety as it flooded Westland Row after Tantum Ergo in Germany you would only see that many people coming out of church after Easter Mass or at Christmas.[3]

Boll's observations tally with those of French researcher Jean Blanchard in his 1950s study *The Church in Contemporary Ireland*. Like Boll, Blanchard was struck by the volumes of people attending masses, and in regard to the new north Dublin suburb of Cabra he stated: 'The entire congregation – with a few exceptions – attend Mass every Sunday.'[4] Mass attendance was so much a part of Irish life in the mid-twentieth century that one commentator wrote in the Dominican journal *Doctrine and Life*: 'On Sundays and Holy Days, especially in the cities, there may be as many as ten or twelve masses to cope with the crowds.'[5] When

Fig. 1a

Fig. 1b

Fig. 1: Views of Crumlin housing estate, c.1948, west Dublin © Life Archive

New Zealand Archbishop P. J. B. McKeefrey came to visit in 1950, he claimed that Dublin's streets were 'impregnated with faith', concluding, like others, that 1950s Ireland was the most Catholic country in Europe.[6]

Irish historiography has established how an integral Catholic nation state was constructed following Ireland's official independence from Britain in 1922.[7] It would seem that the Catholic Church was waiting by, as the moral guardian of constitutional nationalism, to ensure that post-colonial Ireland made the transition to Catholic nationhood. And, inevitably, as patterns settled and the Catholic ethos was legitimised by each government, Catholic hegemony had social welfare implications: frankly, mid-twentieth-century Ireland was becoming something of a Catholic corporatist state.[8] The origins of this were rooted in the fact that church teachings governed most aspects of state and social policy, and, importantly, in the position of the religious orders as providers of Ireland's social services, especially health, charity and education.[9] Let us not forget that by the mid-1960s there were 16,000 nuns and 14,000 male religious and clergy in Ireland, making the Irish Church the most heavily staffed of any Catholic church in the world. These 'foot soldiers' were the teachers, the nurses and the care workers of Ireland's schools, asylums, juvenile homes and hospitals.

Because of shared social and educational experiences among Irish statesmen and Irish churchmen, the language of public discourse was conditioned, most notably around the hazards of excessive state control.[10] So, Catholic social teaching grew into a powerful and dominant ideology at all levels of Irish society. Significantly, in its tension with the state and state control, Irish Catholicism was not in *opposition* to the state but an *extension* of the state, often acting in place of it. Tom Inglis, after Pierre Bourdieu, calls this Irish Catholic collective consciousness a *habitus*. Inglis points to the *habitus's* basis within an inherited disposition to be 'moral', the embodiment of which was crucial to the operation of Ireland's civil society and 'a central element of cultural capital, central to survival and achievement within the educational system, to obtaining employment […] to attaining the honour and respect of people […]. This is what made Ireland an example not so much of a theocratic state, but rather of a theocratic society'.[11]

The sense of shared meaning in 1940s and 1950s Dublin – how Catholicism pervaded the air – had a physical manifestation that is of interest to this study. Symbols and rituals maintained and strengthened the collective consciousness and, for Dublin, this included mass-going as a public display of community solidarity, as did processions for certain religious festivities and the erection of crosses and statues both within and outside the home.[12] [fig. 2] The celebration of the Marian Year in 1954, for example, initiated an informal programme of outdoor grotto and indoor shrine building across the country. [fig. 3] The Marian Year was marked in Dublin by a vast urban procession in May, which, as the *Irish Catholic Directory* described, transformed the city into a sacred domain:

> The procession which started from the Pro-Cathedral, passed through O'Connell Street, where all traffic was suspended for more than two hours as crowds twenty-deep packed the processional route […]. A hush fell over the streets and the great throng knelt on the roadways. The heart of the city for that brief moment was silent in prayer.[13]

The temporary transformation of the so-called profane spaces of the city into a sacred realm through the evocation of Catholic ritual was, unsurprisingly, current in all aspects of Dublin life at this time. For example, Dublin Corporation reports reveal the debate around the naming of new housing complexes, such as the post-World War Two flat blocks by Herbert Simms. In 1949, it was decided

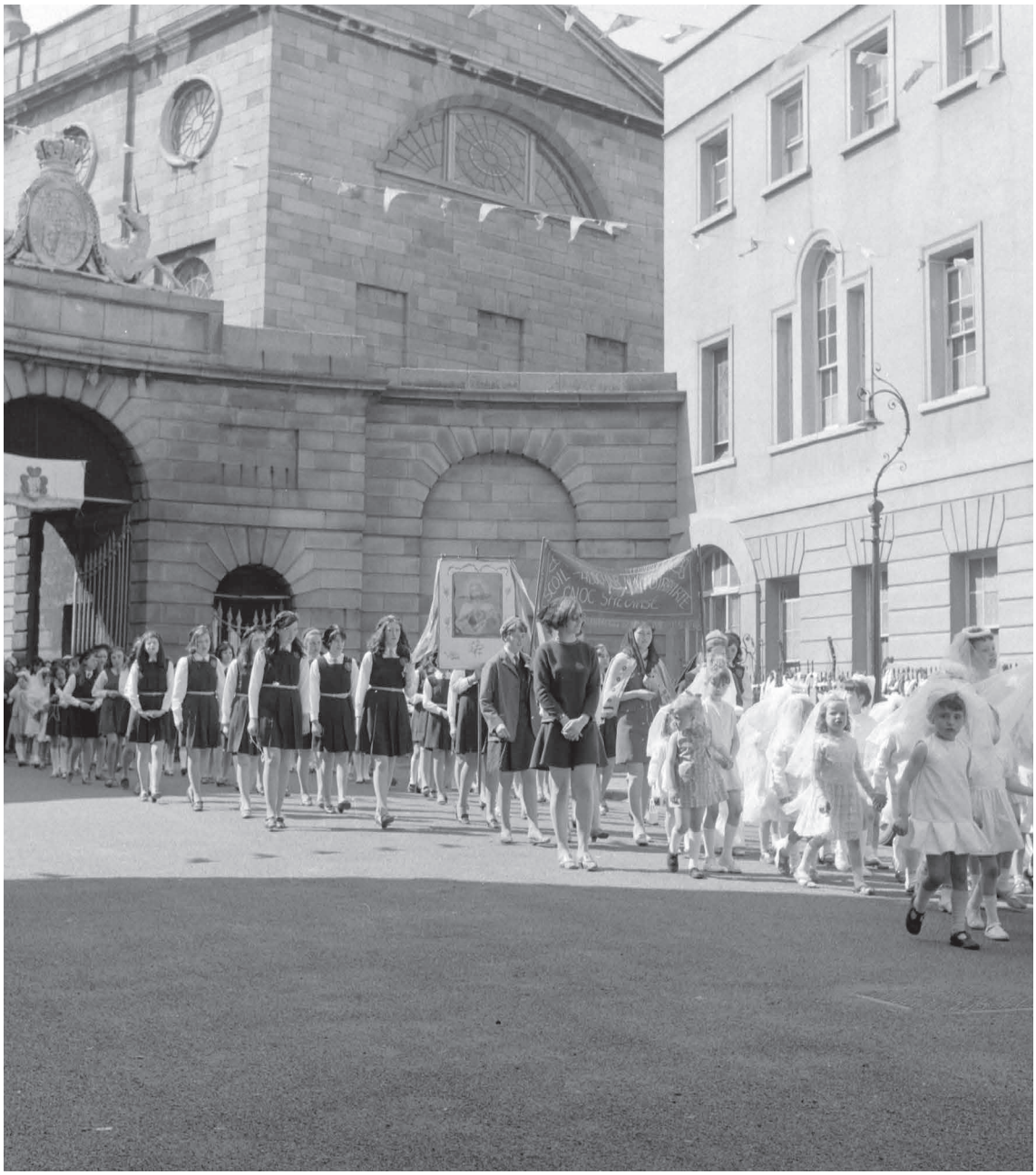

Fig. 2: Children Processing, Henrietta Street, central Dublin, 1960s.
Photo © Elinor Wiltshire collection, National Library of Ireland

to name one scheme Fatima Mansions, followed by the endorsement a year later of an application from a Reverend Canon Turley 'for permission to have a statue of Our Lady of Fatima' erected in the new complex.[14] [fig. 4] In 1950, it was voted to name another scheme St. Teresa's Gardens, while the large scheme at the docklands was to be named St. Brigid's Gardens.[15]

A key protagonist and engineer of this theocratic governance was Dublin's Archbishop McQuaid. It would seem that his art and architectural patronage, although not straightforwardly, was dominantly conservative in terms of twentieth-century representation. Along with the hierarchy in key jurisdictions around Ireland, such as Bishop Michael Browne in Galway, Bishop Cornelius Lucey in Cork and Bishop Birch in Kilkenny, McQuaid was reticent to embrace modernism in Catholic visual and spatial culture, seeking instead continuity with the revivalism of late nineteenth-century practices. As such, throughout Ireland's urban centres during the pre-conciliar age of the 1950s, large concrete churches were built onto which stone and brick dressings were hung and bell towers affixed, surmounted by domes and fronted by rose-windowed west facades. Conversely, Ireland's architectural community were grappling with international sources – most notably from the reform movement in Germany and the architecture of Domenikus Bohm and Otto Bartning – in order to radicalise the hierarchy and overturn public conservative tendencies. As one commentator, Michael Halton, bemoaned in an article to the architects of 1948:

> The flight from reason must be nearly complete when intelligent men can believe that a collection of Italian Romanesque, Byzantine, and Classical-Gothic churches can have any real meaning for the vast majority of the people of Dublin or that the dead generations of middle and eastern Europe have any connection with the people of modern Connaught.[16]

While church design did not dominate Ireland's architectural discussion and debate from the period per se, it did occur on an equal footing with more obviously central issues to architectural discourse, such as urban preservation or new materials in building. Thus, it was a marked concern of the Irish architectural profession during the mid-twentieth century, and there was much lively debate on church design and ecclesiastic art matters.[17] Of note was an exhibition of 150 photographs of recent German architecture at the Royal Institute of the Architects of Ireland (RIAI) in May 1953, followed in April 1954 by a lecture from Herman Mackler on 'Contemporary Ecclesiastical Architecture in Germany'.[18] The debate over church design spilled out into the public domain during the mid-1950s, primarily due to the failed design competition for a new suburban church at Clonskeagh in South Dublin in 1954. Despite the enthusiastic response by the architectural community – 101 designs were submitted making it the single most popular competition in the history of the state – and the fruitful assessment process undertaken by three architects and one priest, Dublin's archbishop negated the competition by overturning the premiated schemes and choosing to construct a non-commended neo-Byzantine design from the crop.[19] The archbishop's decision led to outrage within art and architectural circles, and to an outpouring of commentary and letters in the daily newspapers. A public symposium, 'Church Architecture Today' was held in Dublin city centre in April 1954, attended by a large lay and cleric audience. And ultimately, the RIAI established the 'Church Exhibitions Committee' out of which an impressive itinerary of events was curated.

In May 1957, the Committee succeeded in mounting *Eglises De France Reconstruites*, the first major exhibition of modern sacred art from France to be held in Ireland. Of importance to our study is the fact that the exhibition attracted large numbers of visitors, a fact which not only pointed to the Irish public's interest in Catholic visual culture but, more

Fig. 3: Crowd praying, St. Colmcille's Well, Rathfarnham, Dublin, 1954.
Photo © Elinor Wiltshire collection, National Library of Ireland

basically, to the presence of an extensive Catholic population. After all, this was a period of expansion for the Irish Catholic Church in its urban centres, and particularly around the Dublin area. Significantly, between 1940 and 1965, Archbishop McQuaid oversaw the erection of thirty-four churches and the formation of twenty-six new parishes in response to the Catholic population growth of the Dublin diocese from 630,000 members to 725,058.[20] The demographic backdrop explains such religious zeal: this was a twentieth-century tale of rural depopulation, or, as the Irish euphemistically called it, 'the drift from the countryside', whereby as Dublin swelled with rural migrants, its Catholic congregations expanded.

Catholic expansion: suburban context

Relentless Catholic expansion ensued. And as a written tribute in 1965 to Archbishop McQuaid justified, expansion dictated the revivalist default tone of the new churches:

> Not all of the churches built have been distinguished in their architecture [...] it is enough to record here that as a practical administrator and as an understanding father, Dr McQuaid's decisions in many instances were influenced by his desire to provide adequate churches without unnecessarily putting too grave a financial burden on his people.'[21]

Expansion, as a condition, also led to the new suburban context for Dublin's growing congregation. Ostensibly, the Irish Catholic Church of the mid-twentieth century developed at the edge: furthermore, it would seem that that same church and its hierarchy were the lead *authors* of this suburban context. Indeed, McQuaid's ascendancy in 1940 coincided with the seminal *Report of the Inquiry into the Housing of the Working Classes of the City of Dublin* (1939/43, hereafter *Report of Inquiry*), a report which, above all, confirmed an anti-urban attitude underpinning housing development and planning culture in Ireland from the 1930s.

The report's salient recommendations were in favour of suburban two-storey houses (or 'cottages' as they were known) over urban flats. Figures published by the Dublin Corporation Housing Committee in 1938 revealed that of the schemes then under construction, 6,987 were cottages and only 1,641 were flats.[22] As the *Report of Inquiry* asserted in its lengthy appendices, the average cost during the period 1937–39 for a four-room cottage was £565 as opposed to £992 for a four-room flat.[23] Obviously city centre land was more expensive than virgin sites at Dublin's western edges, and early 1940s material obstacles – more metal and extensive foundations were needed in flat-block construction – clearly discouraged urban flat development.

Not forgetting that housing in 1930s and 1940s Dublin was a crisis situation.[24] The authorities were in the midst of a slum clearance programme, so that suburban preference, stemming from the suburban cottage's relative cheapness, was pragmatic and logical. But economic exigency was conveniently matched by theoretical bias, namely, British Garden City theories, which had been gaining ground in Irish officialdom since the 1910s. Undoubtedly, in the face of extreme urban disorder resulting from tenement squalor, Dublin's predominantly middle-class housing reformers championed garden suburb teaching on the subject of lower densities and fresh air. Conversely, key housing officials in the corporation opposed suburban development, arguing that transport costs would preclude many from easy access to the city, and so, suburbia could only privilege the wealthier tenant. When Dublin's first housing architect, Herbert Simms, was appointed in 1932, he inherited these opposing planning ideologies but mapped out a slum clearance project that in the short time from 1932 to 1939, oversaw the design and construction of 7,638 units. He and his team worked tirelessly to decant slum neighbourhoods and provide Dutch expressionist-style four-storey deck-access perimeter flat blocks on

Fig. 4: Typical Marian shrine near new block of flats, Dublin city centre, 1964.
Photo © Elinor Wiltshire collection, National Library of Ireland

disused urban sites, and to develop a vast housing colony of two-storey pitched-roof houses at the city's edge. [figs. 1 and 5]

While Simms' flats provided some soft modernism in the city centre, they were 'the other': it was really the low-rise pebble-dashed terraces of houses in former green-field sites that became the image of post-war Ireland. Being closer to rural experience, Ireland's inchoate suburban terrains presented officials, housing reformers, former slum-dwellers, rural migrants and, indeed, the Catholic Church with a palpable alternative to expensive urban regeneration. The language employed in relation to Dublin's flat-blocks in the *Report of Inquiry* was at best disdainful. In terms of public health, the level of 'cramping and confinement', 'the drudgery of stair-climbing', the lack of privacy and attendant space for coal storage and laundry facilities were all 'undesirable' factors of the new multi-family housing blocks. On the other hand, as presented in the report, the ever-growing suburban cottage estates provided a healthier context for families: 'The average family prefers a separate dwelling, with a garden if possible. […] A recent investigation carried out in England by Mass Observation, a scientific fact-finding body, has reported that the majority of people there still prefer to live in a small house or bungalow, with a garden, rather than in a flat.'[25]

At its best, the suburban housing estate could offer autonomy of environment, as romanticised by J. M. Richards's 1946 homage to the British suburb, *Anatomy of Suburbia*: 'In the suburb each man can see his own handiwork […] to some extent he can feel responsible for his environment and thus get a sense of controlling his destiny.'[26] For Ireland, suburbia's rural affinity was crucial. Writing a review of Dublin architecture in 1966, Dermot O'Connell described the 'wave after wave of migrants from rural areas, who now constitute in this generation, or at one remove, the major part of the city's population', and suggested that this predominately rural identity had shaped the urban form: 'The effect has been to perpetuate in urban conditions the countryman's characteristic desire to see and to touch the land.'[27] So, Dublin's mid-century suburban vernacular arose out of economic exigency and a degenerate form of liberal Garden Suburb individualism, but also out of Irish Catholicism's pro-rural communalism.

The key to Catholic social teaching was the sanctity of the family unit, which was emphasised in Ireland through the 1937 redrafting of the Irish Constitution. As recent research has shown, Archbishop McQuaid had direct input into the shape of pastoral and family-related articles in the Constitution and sent this wording to the Irish Taoiseach (Prime Minister), Eamon de Valera: 'The State guarantees the constitution and protection of the family as the basis of moral education and social discipline and harmony, and the sure foundation of ordered society.'[28] More specifically in relation to the archbishop's interest in and influence upon the built environment of Dublin, it is interesting to observe what corporation documents he held in his papers. Sent to McQuaid by the various city managers from the 1940s onwards, these documents include a large folder on public lighting (1941); the city manager's remarks and reactions to the *Report of Inquiry 1939–1943*; a report on vandalism of tenement properties (1943); an extensive housing report (1947); a report detailing a new power station in Dublin's dockland area (1949); and a file on the proposed lighting of key Dublin churches for a national festival, *An Tostal* (1953).[29] Evidently, the archbishop was well informed on municipal matters, and, pointedly, as we see from the presence of engineering documents, he was informed beyond social and pastoral affairs.

The question that remains to be asked is whether the Catholic hierarchy (the Bishop) reacted to local government plans (the Planner) or pre-empted and shaped those plans. In other words,

what influenced what? And who influenced who? Returning to Catholic social teaching and the sanctity of the family unit in 1940s–1960s Ireland, clearly this teaching favoured a moral and social order of small-scale capitalism and family property, most appropriately met in the small farm infrastructure of nineteenth-century Ireland. Again, suburbia's affinity to rural experience was central, the inference being that the lower the density of the housing, the higher the moral behaviour therein. While the Garden Suburb movement was mostly motivated on aesthetic grounds of universal human experience (the emotional advantages of the readymade yet natural environment), the Irish Catholic Church aspired towards moral control of a growing and potentially unwieldy urban flock. In 1947, Rev. John Kelleher commented in an influential local Catholic journal, that as rural Catholics moved to urban centres, their innate piety brought 'a fresh accession of strength to the Church in the cities.'[30] Then, to put it crudely, if Ireland's Catholic hierarchy 'managed' the demographic crisis, the cities could become prime Catholic breeding grounds in 1950s and 1960s Ireland – or more particularly, the new housing estates fringing those cities.

Parish architecture: Catholic *habitus?*

The spatial unit at the basis of this expansion and its management was the parish; it provided the physical boundary and structure for the collusion of the Irish state and Catholic Church during the period. In 1949, the American Jesuit sociologist Alexander Humphreys situated the meaning of the parish in both the lived and metaphysical experiences of Dublin's working or 'artisan' classes:

> The parish [...] stands as the liturgical and sacramental centre that effects a strong, over-arching unity among the artisan practitioners in the realm of ideas and ideals. It is the most immediate and articulate source of many of the major values that impregnate its parishioners' lives. From it, the artisans imbibe most of their great definitions of the world, and of their place and meaning in the cosmos.[31]

The architectural makeup of these new parishes, set out on the peripheral territories of Dublin's western edge, was best considered from the sky: wheels of narrow roadways, punctuated by green spaces, provided the low-density frameworks for terraced residential boxes surmounted by pitched roofs and fronted by pocket gardens. The geometrical forms made by radiating and bifurcating roads, enabled the championing of the motorcar over the pedestrian and cyclist, a vision that was not to be suburban Dublin's reality until the 1990s. And these roadways – as the leitmotif of this Abercrombie-inspired settlement pattern – were punctuated by vast structures of ecclesiastic authority.[32] The church building and the suite of Catholic schools were constructed, understood and used as support structures for the mass housing, thereby completing the image and experience of Dublin's new ground-scraping parishes. [fig. 5] From the 1930s, Dublin's 'middle landscape' was carved out – an a priori environment and ordinary world brought about by expedience, amounting to repetitive form and to a sameness of landscape. But behind these vernacular and so-called ordinary developments was a complex web of design decisions, planning preferences and moral imperatives.

Certainly, Archbishop McQuaid understood the need for territorial consolidation in the face of exponential growth and, it would seem, readied himself by appointing a team of advisors on architectural and planning issues. With these advisors – Fr. Fitzpatrick, Canon McArdle, Fr. O'Reilly and Fr. Barrett, to name a few – expansionist planning through the unsystematic chopping up of parishes could be achieved straightforwardly. While initial observation would suggest that the Church was *reacting* to corporation plans, some uncatalogued archive correspondence between McQuaid and his advisors on the subject of parish apportionment

sheds an alternative light, and the active agency and influence of local authority upon church or vice versa becomes increasingly ambivalent. Furthermore, as we know from particular church commissions and religious art censorship, such as McQuaid's overturning of the Clonskeagh Church competition (1954) and his rejection of a Georges Roualt painting from the French art exhibition *Eglises De France Reconstruites* (1957) – not to mention the presence of a British Education Ministry manual on school design among his papers – that the archbishop troubled himself with both aesthetic matters and formal choices.

The first example of the revealing correspondence on evolving parish lands is from 1953 and relates to parishes in west Dublin. One of the Diocesan advisors, Fr. Thomas O'Reilly, outlined four plans (A to D), explaining: '"D" provides a solution for that small triangular piece of Clondalkin district, which could be conveniently annexed to Ballyfermot parish.'[33] Secondly, jumping ahead to 1968, the correspondence from Fr. Cecil Barrett regarding the subdivision of a parish in south Dublin seems alarmingly cold and methodical, yet somehow simultaneously arbitrary and subjective:

> I have seen the PP [parish priest] Canon Redmond, and he is perfectly willing to part with the portion of his parish which I suggest should be allocated to the new parish of Newtown Park. […] I understand, from Canon Redmond and others that the PP of Foxrock would be willing to cede a portion of his parish to the new parish. […] I shall ask him for the Ardagh estate and Ardlui Park, consisting of about 220 houses, situated just south of the present boundary between Blackrock and Foxrock parishes. I expect he will be agreeable. The question arises as to whether the new parish should stretch southwards even beyond Ardlui Park – as far as the Bray Road to include Belmont, the Oblates' House, and the village of Galloping Green.[34]

What is interesting in these exchanges around the development of neighbourhoods in mid-century suburban Ireland is the interplay of everyday forces: those everyday and omniscient agents of church and corporation in the foreground, sharply focused, chopping and rearranging Dublin's peripheral territories, with the architect reacting, bent over his drawing board in some distant background. The supporting mechanism, as both knowable and traditional, yet shifting and emerging is the parish. The parish presented the Irish physical and cultural landscape with a common language, a common place, a common behaviour, and ultimately enabled what we may call 'a homology of structure'; or, as Pierre Bourdieu would term it, a *habitus*.[35] Interestingly, one of Bourdieu's earliest definitions and conceptions of *habitus* came from Erwin Panofsky's *Gothic Architecture and Scholasticism* (1967), where Bourdieu was struck by Panofsky's reading of the shared vision of medieval Paris' cathedral architects and Catholic clerics.[36] Panofsky referred to the common culture as '*the habit-forming force'*, which arguably became the basis for Bourdieu's *habitus*. In the example of mid-twentieth-century Ireland, there is the same homology of structure and habit-forming force between the clerics and the civil servants as there was between scholastic philosophy and Gothic architecture which so tantalised Erwin Panofsky. Not only was the Catholic Church the dominant institution in Irish society, but 'religious capital' was the most powerful form of cultural capital.[37] Through the mechanism of the parish as a web of spiritual, recreational, educational and communal means serving Irish life, the *habitus* was assured physical form. And parish consolidation was a celebration of both the power of religious capital in Ireland, and the common vision and shared culture of the Catholic Church and municipal body.

Probably the most intriguing example of the Church / Local authority interchange, and one that is wholly reflective of Dublin's social development during the mid-century, is the speedy 1950s development of suburban neighbourhoods at

Fig. 5: Relationship of RC church to houses in new suburb of Drimnagh, 1940s.
Photo © Ireland Rebuilding pamphlet, 1955

Dublin's north-eastern edge: Raheny, Donnycarney, Coolock, Killester, Artane. In the Raheny instance, the archbishop's advisor Canon McArdle began by reacting to corporation plans and forwarding a crucial planning document to McQuaid in late 1950:

> I enclose very fine report by Mr O'Brien […] on plans for the years to come. Your Grace will note paragraph (g) referring to development on the North side, depending on the new Howth drainage scheme. They expect now that building will begin there about 1952 or 1953. This whole area is very large. It is to be laid out for private building and large areas of Corporation houses […]. I have discussed this matter with the City Engineer and he is of the opinion that it will be possible to get between the two sites, drainage facilities for approximately 4,000 dwellings.[38]

The infrastructural development in question was a major drainage and outfall scheme, which would ultimately facilitate swathes of mass housing and create whole new communities throughout the north suburbs of Dublin. Taking a typically reasoned and remote approach to parish planning, by January 1953, McQuaid had activated his advisor Fr. Fitzpatrick (also a parish priest in the area) into responding to the corporation plans by notionally subdividing the lands in question and predicting their future shape on the basis of parish culture. Fitzpatrick produced four remarkable hand-drawn maps representing the parishes in 1949, 1954, 1959 and post-1960. [fig. 6] Here was a priest arranging parish boundaries with the liberty and power of a colonising emperor.

While the intentions were worthy in that both Fitzpatrick and the archbishop were great educators and were stimulated by the provision of social and educational services within these blank canvas contexts, the process is striking. As the drawings express, Fitzpatrick's exercise was not about building more churches; there remained four parish churches between 1954 and post-1960. But motivated by Catholic ideology and pragmatism, a *habitus* as such, we witness an almost implausible mix of straightforward naiveté and rational, modernising geographical and cultural engineering. On the one hand, the architecture and layouts of the new neighbourhoods came out of systematic processes, having been defined by the geometric form of Garden City legacies: those wheels of narrow roadways punctuated by green spaces. On the other hand, Fr. Fitzpatrick's map-making points to the unsystematic processes and arbitrary practices unfolding within the Dublin region's planning projections. In his epilogue to Panofsky's study *Gothic Architecture and Scholasticism*, Bourdieu carried the common culture and education at play between medieval Paris's clerics and architects beyond a Hegelian *Zeitgeist*, calling it a 'system of schema [that] constantly orient choices, which, though not deliberate, are nonetheless systematic'.[39] He seems to define *habitus* from that heady mix of the 'not deliberate' yet systematic: as a 'system of thought schemes, of perception and of action'.[40] With these north Dublin maps, we are presented with a similar collision of systematic and unsystematic processes. Considering the immense implications and the subsequent a priori nature of this suburban environment in which most Dubliners grew up, it is potent that such subjective arbitrary methods ultimately shaped Dublin's periphery during the mid-twentieth century. From the maps and other contemporary correspondence, Archbishop McQuaid emerges as a type of medieval God-with-compass figure, carving out the former green fields of Dublin's urban/rural edge and divvying up parish lands with extraordinary ease and calculated detachment.

Fitzpatrick reported that one of the neighbourhoods, Killester, could already become an autonomous parish by 1953; that he had 'drawn in green ink a line to indicate tentatively the area it might claim. As your Grace will see this area might include some of the St. Anne's housing estate'.[41] Fitzpatrick's account continued, inadvertently

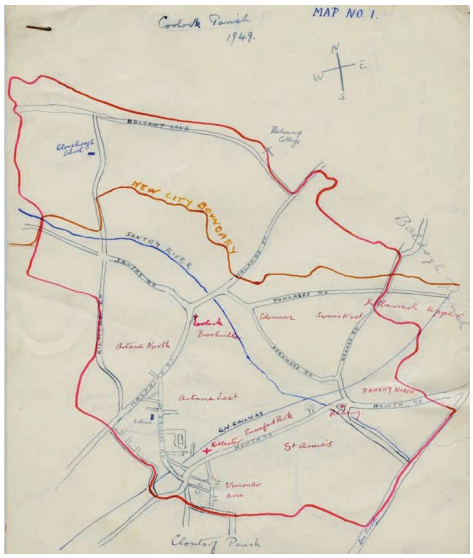

Fig. 6a

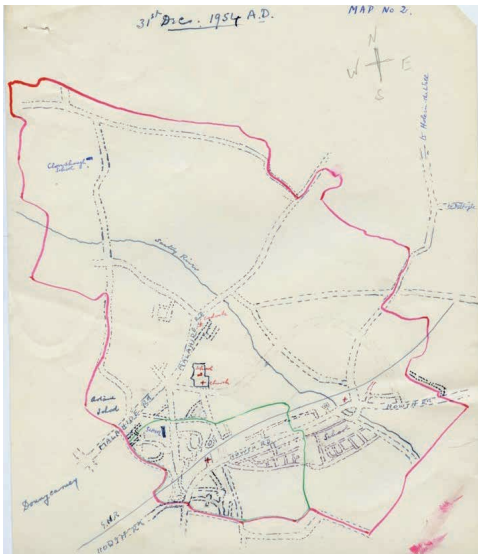

Fig. 6b

Fig. 6c

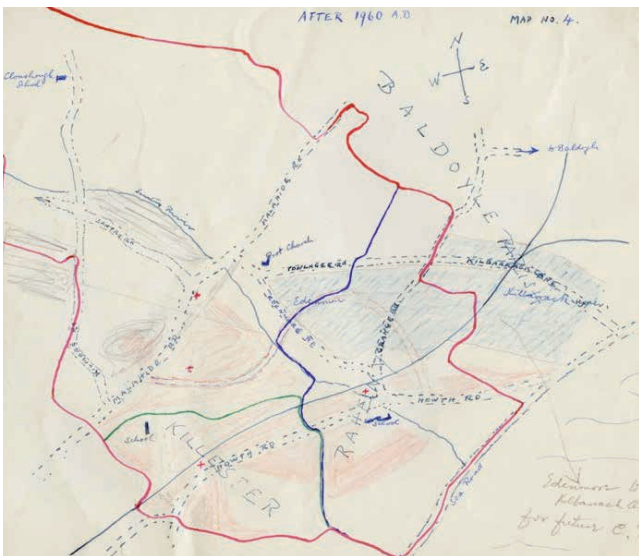

Fig. 6d

Fig. 6: Hand-drawn projections for 1949 (6a), 1954 (6b), 1959 (6c) and 1960 (6d), map, Fr Fitzpatrick, Raheny Dublin, 1953. Source: Bishop McQuaid Papers, Dublin Diocesan Archives.

highlighting the mundane realities of parish formation and the difficulties posed by the 1950s Irish economy:

> Raheny presents great difficulties. Raheny has no money, and even with the new parishioners in St Anne's they will not provide sufficient resources to pay even the interest on the cost of a Church – until the area north of the railway has a population. I was fortunate in getting money from outside sources to pay the debt existing when I came here and to purchase the school and church sites. These sources have now dried up. Yet the population in 1955 will already be too big for the tiny St Assam's Church and it would be a pity to put a temporary church on the fine site chosen by Fr. Gregory Byrne as far back as 1942. With the development of the Edenmore-Kilbarrack area another church and more schools will be needed in the Howth Junction district. Between it and the sea, private building has already laid the foundation of such a need. But this is in another parish.[42]

These documents provide remarkable first-hand accounts of Dublin's suburbs as a mass of inchoate territories to be manipulated. The everyday processes, revealed by the archive correspondence, are unsystematic and naïve. Yet the built outcomes, revealed by walking through the 1940s housing estates and growing up in Dublin's mid-century suburbia, are immense and potent. The means were modest but the ambition was not curbed, amounting to the frenzied making of Dublin's 'middle landscape', an ordinary world into which most Dubliners were born.[43] The effect of the predictions and projections of cleric and civil servant alike is all too harshly captured in the oral histories of the new Dubliners, collected in 1949 by Fr. Humphries. For the new Dubliners, born of rural migrants, and by the 1940s the inhabitants of these new suburban parishes, such a swollen and ever-swelling, alienating place was never their choice:

> When we first moved out here, there were only a few families and the parish was much smaller. […] They used to have all sorts of functions in the little school house. […] The priests were much closer to the people. […] Then in a short time, people just poured in here by the thousands and we had to build a new church. Now everybody here is practically a stranger.[44]

And so…

This study began as a project to understand the architectural fabric of Dublin's mass housing programme from 1930 through the 1950s. In the process, the archive disclosed such mysteries as local Catholic priests projecting and planning by making drawn maps of suburban parishes. The extraordinary nature of these maps, these artefacts, never before situated or analysed historically enlightened a big story through its 'micro-moments': finding the general in the particular.

Returning to the opening micro-moment and the example of the Captain's Lane extension in Crumlin, south west Dublin, we encounter the interplay of forces, revealed through informal unsystematic instruction. In October 1947, Dublin's city manager wrote to the housing architect, Herbert Simms, 'Kindly let me have a plan showing the location of the Church site mentioned in yours of 12th August, so that same may be submitted for the formal approval of His Grace, the Archbishop of Dublin.' Later, Michael O'Brien (our Planner) asserted that Archbishop McQuaid (our Bishop) must be consulted, 'and I would suggest that you might have the views of the Archbishop on the matter before a definite commitment is made as regards the location of these sites.' Following from this, in August 1948, O'Brien established the ecclesiastic authority's proposal, 'I had the opportunity, recently, of discussing this matter with His Grace, the Archbishop, who suggested that it would be preferable to have a site for the Church and School buildings at Kimmage Road West.' And by March of 1949, after Simms' death, the corporation's chief housing officer conveyed to the Irish

government, by means of an enclosed site plan that 'The Planning Officer now reports that His Grace the Archbishop of Dublin has intimated that the site, coloured red on the attached plan, should be reserved for a Church and School. Planning Officer has recommended accordingly.'[45]

And so, controversies around the placement of the schools and church building at Captain's Lane were resolved. The example sums up the situation – our Bishop had the final word. It announces the lacuna between archive / built experience, between everyday / architectural practices, and between systematic social engineering / arbitrary collusion of officialdom as suggested throughout this paper. The position of the architect as strangely marginal yet overworked is compellingly reinforced by Herbert Simms' tragic death in 1948, when the north side of the city fringes was opening up for development. In a tribute from Ernest Taylor, Dublin's city surveyor, the architect of our triad was described as follows:

> Behind a quiet and unassuming manner there lurked a forceful personality; and Mr Simms could uphold his point of view with a vigour that sometimes surprised those who did not know him well. By sheer hard work and conscientious devotion to duty, he has made a personal contribution towards the solution of Dublin's housing problem, probably unequalled by anyone in our time. […] It is not given to many of us to achieve so much in the space of a short lifetime for the benefit of our fellow men.[46]

Just as the serialised pitched-roof windswept houses, set against a horizon of squat mountains, became the image for mid-twentieth-century Ireland, so too was the looming presence of the supporting structures of ecclesiastic authority, the bombastic church with the accompanying collection of schools. The mid-twentieth-century Irish parish or the nascent Dublin parish was a complex mesh of Catholic institutions, integrating the social and the spiritual and whose influence permeated the very fabric of society. Unsurprisingly, then, this Catholic collective consciousness, this *habitus*, shaped the architectural form, giving rise to ordinary Dublin.

Notes

1. The account, including all the correspondence, of the development and extension at Captain's Lane, Crumlin, south-west Dublin, comes from Crumlin South Correspondence, Dublin housing Development Files, Captain's Lane extension 34, B1/03/105, 'File #5. Revised Lay-out Plans', Dublin City Archives, Gilbert Library, Dublin.
2. 'The Making of Dublin City' series by Four Courts Press Dublin, namely the excellent and pioneering work of Ruth McManus, *Dublin, 1910–1940. Shaping the City and Suburbs* (2002); and, more recently, Joseph Brady, *Dublin, 1930–1950. The Emergence of the Modern City* (2015).
3. Heinrich Boll, *Irish Journal* (London: Minerva, 1995), 9–10. Boll came to Ireland in the mid-1950s and his journal was first published in 1957.
4. Jean Blanchard, *The Church in Contemporary Ireland* (Dublin: Clonmore + Reynolds, 1963), 27.
5. Ambrose Crofts OP, 'The Irish Way' in *Doctrine and Life* (June–July, 1954): 258.
6. Archbishop P. J. B. McKeefrey, 'Farewell to Shannon' in *The Furrow* (March 1950): 5–8.
7. James Whyte, *Church and State in Modern Ireland 1923–1979*, 2nd ed. (Dublin: Gill and Macmillan, 1980), 15, and conclusion, 362–376.
8. Eugene McLaughlin, 'Ireland: Catholic Corporatism', in *Comparing Welfare States. Britain in International Context*, eds. Allan Cochrane and John Clarke (London: Open University, 1993), 205.
9. Tony Fahey, 'The Catholic Church and Social Policy', in *Social Policy in Ireland. Principles, Practice and Problems*, eds. Sean Healy and Brigid Reynolds (Dublin: Oak Tree Press, 1998), 413–414.
10. Whyte, *Church and State in Modern Ireland*, 163.
11. Tom Inglis, 'Religion, Identity, State and Society', in *The Cambridge Companion to Modern Irish Culture*,

eds. Joe Cleary and Claire Connolly (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 62–69.

12. Louise Fuller's excellent overview of the proliferation of crosses, processions and pilgrimages, as well as the growing popularity of the rosary in Irish Catholicism during the 1950s, in Louise Fuller, *Irish Catholicism Since 1950: The Undoing of a Culture* (Dublin: Gill and Macmillan, 2002), 21–25.
13. Description of the procession on 16 May 1954 in the *Irish Catholic Directory*, 1955, 632 (copy available at Dublin Diocesan Archives, Bishop's Palace, Clonliffe, Dublin).
14. For the naming of Fatima Mansions see 'Breviate for quarter ending 31st March 1949' in *Reports and Printed Documents of the Corporation of Dublin* (January–December, 1950), 124.
15. 'Breviate for quarter ending 31st June 1950' in *Reports and Printed Documents of the Corporation of Dublin* (January–December, 1951), 203.
16. Michael Halton, 'The Prescription of Society', in *Royal Institute of the Architects of Ireland (RIAI) Year Book* (1948), 8.
17. Discussion and debate on the contemporary situation of church design in Ireland occurred in the following issues and / or lecture series of the *Royal Institute of Architects of Ireland Yearbook* (1945–60), the Architectural Association of Ireland annual *Greenbook* (1945–60) and the annual *Architectural Survey* (only from 1953–1960): 'President's Address' by C. Aliaga Kelly, in *Greenbook* (1951), pages 28–29; Report on Clonskeagh Church Competition, pages 46–47, and 'Architecture and Sculpture' by Garry Trimble, page 49 in *Greenbook* (1955); 'Inaugural Address' by James Green, page 41, lectures on 10 December 1957, 'Painting and Sculpture in the Modern Church' by Donal Murphy A.N.C.A., and 4 November 1958 'Art in the Service of the Church' (lecture reprinted in this *Greenbook*) by Rev. Austin Flannery, in *Greenbook* (1958–9). *When Ireland Builds Again*, (Dublin: A.A.I., 1945); 'The Prescription of Society' by Michael Halton, *RIAI Yearbook*, 1948; 'An Approach to the Design of Catholic Church Interiors', by Dominic O'Connor, pages. 5–10, *RIAI Yearbook*, 1949; illustration only of Church at Limerick, Corr and McCormick, 1949–50, *RIAI Yearbook*, 1951; Report on Clonskeagh Church Competition page 13, and full proceedings of Symposium on Church Architecture, 25 April 1954, *RIAI Yearbook*, 1955; comment on *Eglises De France Reconstruites*, *RIAI Yearbook* (1958), 27–31; and inclusion of contemporary churches in *Architectural Survey*, 1953, 1954, 1955, 1957, 1958, 1959.
18. *The Irish Builder and Engineer* (23 May 1953), 519–525; (24 April 1954); and (25 September 1954), 933. In 1962, the RIAI also brought over an important exhibition, 'Modern Churches in Germany', which was based on a 1960 exhibition held in Munich for the Eucharistic Congress.
19. Ellen Rowley, 'Transitional Modernism: Post-war Dublin Churches and the Example of the Clonskeagh Church Competition, 1954', in *Irish Modernism: Origins, Contexts, Publics*, eds. Carol Taffe and Edwina Keown (London: Peter Lang, Imagining Ireland Series, 2009).
20. Deirdre McMahon, figures taken from the Irish Catholic Directory 1941–72 in 'John Charles McQuaid, archbishop of Dublin, 1940–72', in *History of the Catholic Diocese of Dublin*, eds. James Kelly and Daire Keogh (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2000), 380.
21. Roland Burke-Savage, 'The Church in Dublin, 1940–1965' in *Studies* 54, no. 216 (Winter 1965): 306.
22. These statistics are taken from 'Housing Committee Report No. 6' in *Reports and Printed Documents of the Corporation of Dublin*, January–December, 1938 (Dublin: Sealy, Bryers and Walker Printers). In 1938 there were 1,959 cottages and 1,358 flats under contract (total 3,317 units). In total, there were 11,945 units in the construction programme and 8,946 of these units were cottages.
23. 'Altered Policy Regarding the Classes of Accommodation to be Provided: Flats or Cottages', quotation is from point 333 (p.118) and the statistic is from point 338 in *Report of Inquiry* (Dublin: Stationery Office, 1943), 120.
24. For more on Ireland's housing history at this time, see Ellen Rowley, *Dublin is Building: Housing, Architecture and the Edge Condition* (Farnham, U.K.: Ashgate,

2016 [forthcoming]). For overviews of the slum clearance programme and flat-block architecture in Dublin, see Ellen Rowley, 'Slum Clearance in Dublin, 1930', and (with Eddie Conroy) 'Flat Blocks in Dublin 1930–70', in *Architecture 1600-2000*, vol. 4, chap. 9, *Art and Architecture of Ireland*, ed. Rolf Loeber et al., (Dublin, New Haven: RIA, Yale University Press, 2014).

25. Point 334–335, 'Altered Policy Regarding the Classes of Accommodation to be Provided', Section II, Department of Local Government/Public Health, *Report of Inquiry* (Dublin: Stationery Office, 1943), 118–119.
26. J. M. Richards, *The Castles on the Ground. The Anatomy of Suburbia* (London: Architectural Press, 1946), 27–28.
27. Dermot O'Connell, 'The Irish Architectural Scene' in *Building* (9 September 1966): 115.
28. Cathal Condon, 'An analysis of the contribution by Dr McQuaid to the drafting of the Constitution of Ireland' (unpublished MA thesis, UCC, 1995), 93–94, cited by Dermot Keogh, 'The Role of the Catholic Church in the Republic of Ireland 1922–1995', in *Building Trust in Ireland* (Belfast: Blackstaff Press for the Forum for Peace and Reconciliation in Ireland, chairperson Judge Catherine McGuinness, 1996), 126.
29. All of these documents and files are to be found in Dublin Diocesan Archives (DDA), McQuaid Papers, Dublin Corporation/Government Box, AB8/B (also numbered on its lid, 555).
30. Rev. John Kelleher, 'Catholic Rural Action' in *Studies* 4, (1947): 421.
31. Alexander J. Humphreys, *New Dubliners. Urbanization and the Irish Family* (London: Routledge Kegan Paul, 1966), 190.
32. Patrick Abercrombie's prizewinning design for Dublin plan (1914–22) arguably underpinned all development of Dublin up to the late 1960s. See Ellen Rowley 'Growth of Suburban Housing Estates'; and Brian Ward 'Town Planning in Dublin 1911–17', in *Architecture 1600-2000*, vol. 4, chap. 9.
33. Appendix C, #1: report, November 1953 from Fr. Thomas O'Reilly to Archbishop McQuaid, DDA, McQuaid Correspondence 1949–1971, Killiney collection 6 (uncatalogued letters to McQuaid's house in Killiney, South Co. Dublin).
34. Letter from Fr. Cecil Barrett to Archbishop McQuaid, 24 June 1968, in McQuaid Correspondence 1949–1971, DDA.
35. Erwan Dianteill, 'Pierre Bourdieu and the Sociology of Religion: A Central and Peripheral Concern' in *Theory and Society* 32, no. 5/6 (December 2003): 530.
36. This relationship between Panofsky's *Gothic Architecture and Scholasticism* and Bourdieu's evolving definition of habitus is cited in Dianteill, 'Pierre Bourdieu and the Sociology of Religion', 530.
37. Pierre Bourdieu, 'Forms of Capital', in *Handbook of Theory and Research for the Sociology of Education*, ed. John Richardson (CT: Greenwood Press, 1986), 241–258; David Schwartz, 'Bridging the Study of Culture and Religion: Pierre Bourdieu's Political Economy of Symbolic Power', in *Sociology of Religion* 57, no. 1 (Spring 1996): 71–85.
38. Corporation report outlining 1950s development plans, forwarded to archbishop from Canon McArdle on 21 November 1950, McQuaid Correspondence 1949–1971, DDA.
39. Pierre Bourdieu, 'Postface' (Epilogue) to Erwin Panofsky, *Architecture Gothique et Pensee Scolastique* (Paris: Editions de Minuit, 1967), 161–2, cited in Dianteill, 'Pierre Bourdieu and the Sociology of Religion', 530.
40. Ibid.
41. Report from Fr. Fitzpatrick to the archbishop, 12 January 1953, in McQuaid Correspondence 1949–1971, DDA
42. Ibid.
43. The term 'middle landscape' comes from Peter Rowe, *Making a Middle Landscape* (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 1991).
44. Humphreys, *New Dubliners*, 190.
45. Correspondence, 1944–1949, Dublin Housing Development Files, Captain's Lane extension 34, B1/03/105, 'File #5. Revised Lay-out Plans', Dublin City Archives, Gilbert Library, Dublin.
46. Taylor, Tribute to Herbert Simms, *Irish Builder and Engineer* (16 October 1948): 836.

Biography

Ellen Rowley is an architectural and cultural historian, and recipient of a Provost's Teaching Award for excellence in third level teaching. Ellen's research focuses on Irish architecture from 1940 to 1980 and she is one of the editors of *Architecture 1600-2000,* vol. IV, *Art and Architecture of Ireland* (Yale University Press, 2014); principal author of twentieth-centuary material therein. As White Post-Doctoral Fellow at TRIARC, she has been writing an architectural account of public housing in Dublin, and her approach places suburban houses and flat blocks as routes into Irish culture and society of the mid-twentieth century.

Architecture is Always in the Middle…

Tim Gough

Bread-and-butter architecture starts from the middle. It starts from where we already are, from the machinery within which we are already embedded; or rather (since that is always the case anyhow) it sees this 'starting in the middle' as a positive possibility, *the* positive possibility of architecture. Unlike a tree, it does not grow from a single seed into a hierarchical structure, but instead operates like a little piece of couch grass root, left stranded between the paving stones, happy to carry on growing between them, and however much the trees or hierarchical thought try to stamp it out, annoyingly, *it keeps on coming back* like Le Corbusier's grass between the paving slabs. It starts from the middle and it ends in the middle – it does not come to a conclusion, it does not come to a climax but remains on a plateau; that is, its resources lie not in those of a composition that is completed, as in the strategy of Aristotle's poetics or Alberti's definition of the perfect work of architecture, which requires that nothing be added and nothing be removed in order to avoid spoiling it. But things are always spoilt, buildings above all (dust, rain, dirt, stuff, mess, people, life…). Bread-and-butter work is always already engaged in a provisional, local, practical, legal, contractual, personal, social and political situation or machine – or rather, series of multiple machines operating on different registers. For bread-and-butter architecture there is no autonomy and no autopoesis. There is no autonomy because (contra Luhmann and his followers) the machines, the interplay of activity, never go so far as to separate themselves into autonomous realms, even provisionally.[1] In that respect, bread-and-butter architecture is profoundly anti-Cartesian. Descartes was wrong: we should not split the ontology of the world into two sections, two distinct realms. Not only for the reason that once this is done it is impossible to suture them together again, nor for the reason that once this is done all sorts of conceptual idiocies follow, but also because this habit of mind, this stubborn image of thought, is hard to shake off in all sorts of other areas of thinking and theory. The supposed autonomy of the mind from the physical realm authorises – no, demands – all sorts of additional fantasies of autonomy and separation. These fantasies then become real, and then the separations actually exist because they are accepted and acted upon. Cartesianism is made concrete.

Instead of Descartes, let us try Spinoza. It is not just the famous question of what a body can do, especially if 'a body' is thought of materially or physically.[2] (Is there not such a thing as a body of thought? And how is that less of a body than a so-called 'physical' body?)[3] As Whitehead says, the idea of the physical is just another habit of thought, another secondary phenomenon, which, in our culture, is subject to an almost constant error of categorisation that gives it a false primacy.[4] Spinoza is interested in what a body can do because he wants to remove the illusion that what the body does is somehow determined by the mind – the mind as a free agent, distinct from the extended realm of objects and

the senses. The extraordinary moment in Spinoza is where he proclaims the *sameness* of mind and body, both being made from the same *substance*, the same nature – and again, substance here should not be thought of as a material substrate, but more abstractly – a substance that encompasses within its nature both body and mind. What distinguishes the mind and the body is not that they are of a different nature, but that they are two modes or manners of the same thing: 'Body and mind are one and the same thing, conceived now under the attribute of Thought, now under the attribute of Extension.'[5] We could say that what this then generates is a profound connection between mind and body, were it not for the fact that a 'connection' is unnecessary since it implies a prior separation, which for Spinoza (in contrast to Descartes) does not exist. The mind is nothing other than the idea of the body, no more and no less. It makes no sense, in this un-split world of Spinoza, to claim that the mind controls the body, because how can something be in control of the same thing – the very thing it is itself? 'Control' already implies a split between two things, one controlled (body) and one doing the controlling (mind). This is the Cartesian approach: to maintain the split and give control of extended things to spirit or mind. Cartesianism is thus a split ontology, an ontology of two realms, whereas what Spinoza gives us is a flat or immanent ontology, an ontology where there is no transcendence of one realm over another, no evaluation of a higher realm (mind) over a lower realm (body).

More generally, there is a persistent 'habit of the split' or 'habit of the cut' in architectural theory. Architectural theorists made a fateful decision to take Aristotle too seriously – in particular at the beginning of *Physics* where he states that in order to understand something we must analyse it; that is, we must cut things up into their parts.[6] John Onians has shown how Francesco di Giorgio's architecture treatises of the late fifteenth century were particularly indebted to the method described in *Physics*, in contrast to the more literary structures used by Alberti and Vitruvius.[7] However, the latter two theorists also *analyse* architecture; that is, they divide it into constituent parts. What Spinoza challenges us to try to undertake is a method of understanding that does not begin with the split – that does not begin with a dualistic or hierarchical ontology, or with the division of the discipline into parts.

It is this persistent split image of thought that operates as the key presumption behind Summerson's article on the bread and butter of architecture.[8] Summerson is generous towards the everyday work of architects in their public and private offices, and therein lies the interest of his essay. But the underlying prejudice (and we are made up of prejudices, there is no escaping them, it is just a question of acknowledging and working *with* them) is the prejudice of the split, of the separation of the high and the low, of the difference between two realms, one of which is elevated above the other or transcendent in relation to the other. Is there not a condescending tone in Summerson's piece? Despite its generosity, does it not remain *de haut en bas*? In his essay we are clearly dealing with the same structure of thought that makes Lincoln Cathedral *architecture* and the bicycle shed mere *building*, as Pevsner famously noted.[9] At the same time, Summerson sets a challenge:

> It is competence and quality we need most at the moment, not the vanity of trying to fly level with the poet-innovator Le Corbusier, or the stupidity (as it seems to me) of being more interested in getting a few exciting, immaculate, individual results than in getting the roots of architecture untangled and properly planted in the soil where they belong.[10]

What I wish to explore here is the question of whether we can escape Summerson's sense of condescension towards the bread and butter; and, if so, what possibilities are opened up by fleeing from this way of thinking about things. Is bread-and-butter

architecture necessarily consigned to 'competence and quality', important though these are? Is it mere vanity to try to fly with the poetry of Le Corbusier? How would the competent architect do that? And, as has already been hinted, perhaps this is to do with the type of roots one wishes to put down, or the type of machine that architecture might be. Summerson's roots are clearly those of the traditional hierarchy of architecture, not the messy and tangled ones that were mentioned above. My claim here is that one task of architectural theory is surely to survey the existing symptomatology of the discipline and propose a new table of disorders, a new casting of phenomena and thought in order to open up new possibilities for architecture, and in this case a new possibility that undercuts this conceptual difference between the competent and the poetic. It would not just be a questioning of existing circumstances but the proposing of new ones. As Deleuze puts it:

> There is always a great deal of art involved in the grouping of symptoms, in the organisation of a table where a particular symptom is dissociated from another […] and forms the new figure of a disorder or illness. Clinicians who […] renew a symptomatological table produce a work of art; conversely, artists are clinicians […] of civilisation. It seems, moreover, that an evaluation of symptoms might only be achieved through a novel.[11]

What this implies is that theory indeed will become something other than analysis in the attempt to propose something new, because the thought that does this will not be content with splitting architecture into parts but must necessarily be integrative – in other words must have more the nature of a novel or a work of art than the tone of a treatise.

I said at the outset that bread-and-butter architecture starts from the middle, in the sense that it is embedded in a series of machines which are always already at work. The term 'machine' should be understood as a positive term, referring both to Le Corbusier's use and to that of Deleuze. A machine is not a mechanical device where the movement of certain parts is determined by other parts; it is more like an ecology, a series of interplaying elements or particles. As Deleuze and Parnet explain in *Dialogues II*:

> Machine, machinism, "machinic": this does not mean either mechanical or organic. Mechanics is a system of closer and closer connections between dependent terms. The machine by contrast is a "proximity" grouping between independent and heterogeneous terms.[12]

A machine is an assemblage of things, a more or less open set of things that interrelate. One of Deleuze's favourite examples concerns tools and technology; he and Guattari often mention the assemblage of the stirrup, the horse and the knight:

> The tetravalence of the assemblage. Taking the feudal assemblage as an example, we would have to consider the interminglings of bodies defining feudalism: the body of the earth and the social body; the body of the overlord, vassal, and serf; the body of the knight and the horse and their new relation to the stirrup; the weapons and tools assuring a symbiosis of bodies – a whole machinic assemblage.[13]

We are always already involved in such assemblages or machines, assemblages that operate by means of a symbiosis. (We see here how Deleuze is constantly proposing an understanding of things based on showing the connections between them. In its opposition to the cut, to analysis, Deleuze's thinking stays true to Spinoza's flat and immanent ontology, and particularly to the oneness of thought and thing.) Although technology and tools are a part of this sort of assemblage, they are never primary or determinative because the assemblages with which *we* are involved are intrinsically social from the outset: for Deleuze, 'every assemblage is collective'.[14]

There are other types of assemblage – for instance, geological assemblages or weather systems – that do not involve human or animal agency and therefore do not have a social component. But here we are concerned with what Deleuze and Guattari call the *alloplastic* stratum; that is, the part of reality which relates to us. One noticeable aspect of many architectural interpretations of Deleuze's thought is that they avoid reference to the *alloplastic*, which from the beginning to end of Deleuze's thought is the stratum that interests him most. The result is an overly physicalist, materialist and formal use of this philosophy of architectural theory and practice, a bias which it seems necessary to begin to correct.

Tools and technology only develop as part of an assemblage that is already underway, and which can become more or less transformed by the sudden reinterpretation or invention of a piece of technology or a tool. But the 'particles' or 'bodies' from which an assemblage is formed are hugely varied in type and include the list of matters I mentioned earlier that form the bread and butter of architecture: provisional and inherently local and practical matters such as legal and contractual systems, personal hopes and interests, and social and political situations. At a high level of abstraction, we can extend this list to include the intellectual and philosophical milieu within which the assemblage operates, which is more or less acknowledged but all the more powerful if not acknowledged.

What would we ask of an ontology of everyday architecture? Precisely that it acknowledges these multiple machines, this whole ecology which makes up the bread and butter of existence in any architecture office. Here, acknowledgment means not simply acceptance or resignation, but rather seeing this complex ecology as the positive possibility of architecture, and this is the reason for citing Deleuze's philosophy in this context: it is one of the very few which 'begins in the middle' and does not depreciate the common or garden variety of existence that has a place for the ordinary woman or man, for the journeyman or the artisan. Contrast this with the usual definition of architecture: we still have not done for architecture what Heidegger demands at the beginning of *Being and Time* - we have not clarified what its manner of being is, we have not laid out a clear ontology of architecture, and this leaves it conceptually and ontologically confused. And this confusion maintains within it, not coincidentally, a nihilistic contrast between the 'low' and the 'high', between the bike shed and the cathedral.[15]

Architecture is still almost invariably regarded as building, but with something 'added', some *supplement*, which makes it approach the poetic or the work of art. We are within what Deleuze will call, following his interpretation of Nietzsche, a *nihilistic* way of thinking which, contrary to the vulgar use of the term, defines nihilism as the *depreciation of our current existence*, our middle-of-the-way life, our intramundane, bread-and-butter daily occurrences. Nihilism deprecates our life in the name of a beyond, in the name of a transcendent or ideal realm; and it is the nasty, priestly task of nihilism to make us ashamed of who we are by comparison with that ideal realm (and for Deleuze there are plenty of secular priests too – psychoanalysis, for example, or some of the priests of architectural theory).[16] An ontology of everyday architecture would be anti-nihilistic in that it takes as its positive possibility the machines of the everyday, the machines within which we constantly operate. Such an ontology of architecture would act to destroy the desire for architecture and architectural theory to *even pose the question* about the difference between bread-and-butter architecture and high architecture.

A reader of Nietzsche, Le Corbusier was anti-nihilistic in this way.[17] This is why there is a profound connection between his most misquoted and mistranslated aphorism and the way in which

Deleuze takes up the notion of the machine. 'Une maison est une machine-à-habiter' is persistently and wilfully misunderstood as a reference to the machine aesthetic and a sour pragmatics of housing, whereas the context within *Vers une architecture* makes it clear that this is a poetic question *at the same time* as a pragmatic one.[18] But then, unless one accepts a flat ontology, unless one *begins with* the *prejudice* that we will *not* split the world into high / low, poetry / pragmatics, matter / spirit, it is impossible to do anything other than misinterpret the phrase. In turn, the phrase is often mistranslated as 'a house is a machine for living *in*', which destroys Le Corbusier's intended meaning that the house is a machine for *living*. It is not a question of inserting life into the house, conceived as a machine or otherwise. The house *is* architecture. The house *is* architecture *as machine*. It is a machine in exactly the manner that Deleuze later explicates; and this is not by coincidence, because in using the term 'machine' he is making reference to its history, to its hinterland of use in Le Corbusier's famous phrase. At the end of Deleuze's final book, *What is Philosophy?,* the remarks about the foundational status of architecture for all art, and how it derives from the machinic / ecological practices of the animal, are further indications of this.[19]

Why, or in what way, is the house, *as house*, architecture? A clue comes from another of Le Corbusier's aphorisms in *Vers une architecture* when he says that 'architecture only exists where there is a poetic emotion'.[20] How should we read this, which again, like the sentence about the machinic house, seems oddly phrased? Let us first try to read it via a Cartesian mode of thought. Within that prejudice, one takes as a conceptual given that the mind is distinct and separate from the material body it inhabits. Within this conceptual schema or 'image of thought' (as Deleuze sometimes names it), architecture is within the realm of the physical; it is a building with a physical presence.[21] Poetry, on the other hand, is of the free realm of the mind or spirit. Strictly speaking, therefore, within this schema Le Corbusier's sentence makes no sense, because it is saying that within, or with regard to a physical object (architecture) there exists a spiritual quality of poetry. The way we would traditionally get around this is to say that what Le Corbusier really means is that when we (the human subject) approach the work of architecture, we will have a poetic emotion or feeling, and that he is writing 'poetically' in putting it in this more obscure way.

Let us try, instead, to read it through Spinoza, through a non-Cartesian mode of thought. For Spinoza, as we have seen, body and mind are essentially the same thing; there is no separation between the two. Architecture, therefore, within this schema of thought, can be both body and mind. What I do not wish to posit here is any mystical vibrancy of matter, any vitalism.[22] So how can architecture be both body and mind? What ontology of architecture would permit that? Simply, an ontology that posits architecture as a machine assemblage of the type that Deleuze presents us with, a machinic assemblage that, I submit, takes one of its hints *already* from Le Corbusier's house-as-machine. What are the particles that make up this machinic assemblage? What things are in interplay within this mobile ecology, this symbiosis? Again, the answer is straightforward: architecture consists of the machinic interplay of people and place; that is, it is a subtle mixture of what Cartesianism would separate into body and mind. And it *is* this subtle, interwoven and mobile mixture without any hint of mysticism, because we can clearly and distinctly outline what the set of particles are (people, society, the physical building…) that make up this thing called architecture.

When Le Corbusier says that the house is a machine for living, what he is positing is a new ontology of architecture whereby the house is not the physical building, but rather the interplay between the building and those who come to inhabit

it. And when he states that architecture *is* a poetic emotion, we should take this quite literally, because we can see clearly that within this individual thing 'architecture', which is made up of what we usually like to keep separate (us, buildings…), there *can* occur and *should* occur a poetry, a poetry that would be an integral part of that assemblage, that individual.

Deleuze, following Spinoza, goes so far as to say that we must rethink the 'individual'. We can recast the table of symptoms; if we wish, we can jettison the common or garden, bread-and-butter manner of defining the individual and say that the individual is not the object (or subject), but rather an assemblage made up of what we so often (in our unconscious Cartesianism) wish to keep separate. Architecture is an individual, but an individual that consists of place-people-event all at once, thought all at once. The connecting hyphen, the drawing-together-under-one that it marks, as with the *machine-à-habiter*, is an implementation of this anti-Cartesianism. Deleuze and Guattari use it often: for instance, the 'draft horse-omnibus-street,'[23] and 'WASP-TO ENCOUNTER-ORCHID'[24] are two of their favourite examples. It is not a question of considering the horse standing in the street, or the omnibus to which the horse is attached, but the whole assemblage of the horse acting together with the bus which it pulls along the street, and the street where it is pulled – an assemblage which depends on the fine tuning of each of the parts to the others in order to function. It is not a question of considering either the wasp in its evolution or the orchid alone, but rather their a-parallel evolution, their symbiosis, the event of their interplay.

Deleuze gives these sorts of assemblages a particular name: 'haecceities'. The term comes from the Scholastic philosopher John Duns Scotus, and refers to the 'thisness' of a thing, its particularity. In literature, the term is well known for having been used by the early twentieth-century poet Gerard Manley Hopkins. We can gain a sense of what Deleuze means by a machinic assemblage with respect to something like architecture by quoting Hopkins' poem 'Duns Scotus' Oxford':

> Towery city and branchy between towers;
> Cuckoo-echoing, bell-swarmèd, lark-charmèd, rook-racked, river-rounded;
> The dapple-eared lily below thee; that country and town did
> Once encounter in, here coped and poisèd powers;
>
> Thou hast a base and brickish skirt there, sours
> That neighbour-nature thy grey beauty is grounded
> Best in; graceless growth, thou hast confounded
> Rural, rural keeping – folk, flocks, and flowers.
>
> Yet ah! this air I gather and I release
> He lived on; these weeds and waters, these walls are what
> He haunted who of all men most sways my spirits to peace;
>
> Of realty the rarest-veinèd unraveller; a not
> Rivalled insight, be rival Italy or Greece;
> Who fired France for Mary without spot.

Hopkins attempts to overcome the sequential nature of spoken language and to speak all at once of an Oxford 'cuckoo-echoing, bell-swarmed […] here coped and poised powers.' This is Oxford as a machinic assemblage, as haecceities. A haecceity is not 'a décor or backdrop that situates subjects', but 'it is the entire assemblage in its individuated aggregate'.[25] The horse-in-the-street-at-noon (read together almost as one word) is such a haecceity, such an affective assemblage according to Deleuze, as is the towery-cuckoo-echoing-city-of-Oxford.

Deleuze and Guattari say:

> We must avoid an oversimplified conciliation, as though there were on the one hand formed subjects

> of the thing or person type [i.e., us], and on the other hand spatiotemporal coordinates of the haecceity type [i.e., architecture]. For you will yield nothing to haecceities unless you realise that that is what you are, that you are nothing but that.[26]

We are the haecceity that occurs, the affect that occurs within the architectural machinic assemblages of which we are a part. And since we are nothing but the haecceity of architecture, it becomes clear why architecture, for Le Corbusier, *is* a poetic emotion: it is because within this haecceity of architecture there is from the outset, and always already included, an 'us', a people, a 'particle' of this haecceity which can experience the poetic.

We have gone from a consideration of bread-and-butter architecture to the poetry of architecture, but the issue is that within this flat ontology there is no necessary distinction between the two; there is no supplement that needs to be added to the bread and butter of architecture to give us its poetry. Both operate within the haecceity of architecture: architecture as assemblage. But this does not mean to say that bread-and-butter architecture is necessarily poetic – or even benign. On the contrary, the most evil architecture is that architecture which understands only too well how to operate the machinic assemblage that includes its inhabitants. We might think of the concentration camp, for instance. In his book on Foucault, Deleuze cites the latter's interest in Bentham's Panopticon; it is the example of the prison that leads Foucault to his own interpretation of the assemblage or *dispositif* (device, apparatus, system), an interpretation to which Deleuze acknowledges his debt.[27] The idea of the assemblage, as well as having roots in Le Corbusier, makes explicit reference to Foucault's work on the prison and the military camp: on buildings that become architecture in order to *discipline*, in order to *control*. This notion of the assemblage, therefore, comes both from architecture and also from a place where architecture can be evil, or at least can represent and implement social repression. For Foucault, architecture enacts discipline, it enacts power (*pouvoir*), and it must be resisted. Although we have posited a non-Cartesian ontology of architecture, this is not to argue – quite the contrary – that all must necessarily be well within such a space.

What Deleuze and Guattari do in *A Thousand Plateaus*, however, is to make Foucault's assemblages into something positive. They remove the negative aspect of the *dispositif* in Foucault. As they state in a long footnote:

> Our only points of disagreement with Foucault are the following: (1) to us the assemblages seem fundamentally to be assemblages not of power but of desire (desire is always assembled), and power seems to be a stratified dimension of the assemblage; (2) the diagram and abstract machine have lines of flight that are primary, which are not phenomena of resistance or counterattack in an assemblage, but cutting edges of creation and deterritorialization.[28]

What does this mean? Firstly, the transformation from *power* to *desire* is a transformation from the necessarily repressive nature of power in Foucault to the positive movement of desire in *A Thousand Plateaus*. For Deleuze and Guattari, desire is essentially positive; in contrast to psychoanalysis, desire, for them, has nothing to do with lack. Secondly, the assemblages allow for 'lines of flight', and these 'lines of flight' are primary. Lines of flight, or lines of fleeing, are possibilities for creativity, for escape from a prevailing system of organisation, and these possibilities of and for creativity are not a side-effect, they are not a supplement or an addition to the ontology, but rather form the very basis or element of that ontology.

Deleuze and Guattari often express this by means of the term 'plane of consistency'. The plane of consistency is like an underlying primary field or element within which things are cast, onto

which things 'take' and organise themselves. This plane of consistency is a field made up of multiple differences, movements, flows; it is out of these differences that individualities are formed, and these individualities are both things within the world, and our common or garden ways of thinking about things. (In Deleuze and Guattari there is a peculiar rocking backwards and forwards between the two, a strange movement or ambiguity that derives from the moment in Spinoza where the unity of thought and thing – mentioned above – is asserted.) A distinction is drawn by Deleuze between this *Plane of Consistence* and a *Plane of Organisation*:

> We should distinguish between two planes, two types of planes. On the one hand, a plane that could be called one of organization. It concerns both the development of forms and the formation of subjects. It is therefore, as much as one wishes, structural and genetic. In any case, it possesses a supplementary dimension, one dimension more, a hidden dimension, since it is not given for itself, but must always be concluded, inferred, induced on the basis of what it organizes […]. And then there is a completely different plane which does not deal with these things: the plane of Consistence. This other plane knows only relations of movement and rest, of speed and slowness, between unformed, or relatively unformed, elements, molecules or particles borne away by fluxes. It knows nothing of subjects, but rather what are called "haecceities". In fact no individuation takes place in the manner of a subject or even of a thing. An hour, a day, a season, a climate, one or several years – a degree of heat, an intensity, very different intensities which combine – have a perfect individuality which should not be confused with that of a thing or of a formed subject.[29]

We see clearly here the differences that have been the topic of this essay: the plane of organisation deals with things in the manner of a Cartesian split ontology; it deals with *forms* (the extended realm of objects) and *subjects* (the realm of thought). It always has a supplementary dimension, a transcendence that controls what it organises. The plane of consistency, on the other hand, has nothing to do with subjects or objects, nor with forms; it works with haecceities, not things regarded as separate items, and it deals with intensities.

The key thing is that the plane of organisation is derived from – is an affect-effect of – the plane of consistency. This is what Deleuze and Guattari mean when they say that the plane of consistency is primary, or that lines of fleeing/flight are primary. To follow a line of fleeing means to escape the plane of organisation and to return to the plane of consistency, which always remains in place as a possibility.

To return to the bread and butter of architecture: architecture is always subject to a plane of organisation, a work space which must be controlled, more or less, by the pragmatics of economics, construction, function, longevity, law… This is a part of the discipline of architecture well portrayed by Summerson in his essay. And when he calls for competence and quality in architecture, it is, in Deleuze's terms, the plane of organisation to which he is referring. For Deleuze, the plane of organisation is *not* a negative thing. Although it is 'opposed' to the plane of consistency, this opposition is not to do with an evaluation. Organisation is necessary, inevitable, and neither good nor bad in itself. The opposition Deleuze points to is a non-evaluated difference between the two planes. What should be understood within the situation of the bread-and-butter architecture office is that the multiple organisations within which opposition happens, occur only on the basis of a plane of consistency that always provides the chance for a line of fleeing, for moments of creativity. It is always possible to return to the plane of consistency, to set aside the pre-established forms of the organisation within which one operates and propose a difference, something new; it is possible to make an opening.

In a beautiful passage, Deleuze and Parnet illustrate this with reference to Schumann:

> Guattari speaks of a Schumann-assemblage. What is a musical assemblage like this, designated by a proper name? What are the dimensions of such an assemblage? There is the relationship with Clara, woman-child-virtuoso, the Clara line. There is the little manual machine that Schumann puts together to hold the middle finger tight and secure the independence of the fourth finger. There is the *ritornello*, the little *ritornellos* which haunt Schumann and run through all his work like so many childhood blocs, a whole concerted enterprise of involution, restraint and exhaustion of the theme and form. And there is also the use of the piano, this movement of deterritorialization which carries away the *ritornello* ('wings have sprouted on the child') on a melodic line, in an original polyphonic assemblage capable of producing dynamic and affective relations of speed or slowness, of delay or anticipation which are very complex, on the basis of an intrinsically simple or simplified form. There is the intermezzo, or rather there is nothing but intermezzi in Schumann, making the music pass to the middle preventing the sound plane from toppling under a law of organization or development. All of this is articulated in the constitutive assemblage of desire. It is desire itself which passes and moves. There is no need to be Schumann. Listen to Schumann.[30]

The assemblage of Schumann – the composing machine – is comprised of a miscellaneous, messy set of 'particles' of hugely varying types: his love of Clara Schumann; the way he holds his middle finger as he plays; the structure of 'little phrases' (*ritornellos*) which make up his compositions; the way he is always working from the middle, in intermezzi, so that above all he avoids being tied to a plane of musical organisation. Not that organisation is lacking, it is just that *it does not become primary* – there is always a return to the plane of consistency, to a plateau maintained in the middle.

Architecture, likewise, is an assemblage made up of such heterogeneous particles. As a discipline it has a messy set of dimensions that seem to relate to organisation, among them law, function, contracts, buildability, budget and so forth. But consistent with these, on the same plane, intermingled, can be other particles such as the memory of a place, the fixation with a certain form (the hand, for instance), the repetition of elements (the repeated brick, the repeated window), autobiographical moments, translations from literature, poetic emotion… There is an assemblage occurring here which involves the interplay of all these elements under the auspices of the architect, the one who has the chance to leave the plane of organisation and engage on the level of the plane of consistency. But since the plane of organisation occurs only on the plane of consistency, and since, as Deleuze states, the plane of consistency does not exist prior to the plane of organisation, but rather each is immanent in the other, this does not require any magic; all that is needed is that the law of organisation or development is not allowed to overturn the consistency of these interplaying elements.

At the end of this passage on Schumann, Deleuze and Parnet speak about us. What is *our* relation to this Schumann-assemblage? This assemblage is clearly one of composition, of the moment when a work is put together. How do we relate to this moment of composition? In the simplest manner possible: we just need to listen. The moment of listening is the moment when we become a part of this compositional assemblage. The haecceity is Clara-middle finger-*ritornello*-intermezzi-listener, all interplaying. Schumann has put together a block of stuff (Clara-finger-*ritornello*-*intermezzi*) into which the particle of the listener is inserted to make another individual (the whole assemblage/haecceity), which is then the haecceity of music. Music includes the listener; the ontology of music is neither its composition nor its playing, but its *inter*playing. What Deleuze proposes here is

an ontology that links the moment of composition with the moment of reception. No longer do these consist of separate realms: in this flat ontology these moments and movements develop from the same resources, move in the same manner. No less for architecture is it a question of either composition or construction, but of its continued interplay. This is why I said that architecture is always in the middle. The bread-and-butter architect is always in the middle of something – there is no *tabula rasa*, no starting from first principles, they are always caught up in the assemblages of the office, of the discipline; but this movement of always being in the middle comprises the reality of architecture, because architecture does not reach its climax with a final composition, a competed form, but rather in a continuation of the same movement and the same assemblage, projected into an open future of a people to come – those who will listen to it.

Notes:

1. See principally Patrik Schumacher, *The Autopoiesis of Architecture: A New Framework for Architecture,* vol. 1 (London: Wiley, 2011) and vol. 2 (London: Wiley, 2012), which is indebted to the sociology of Niklas Luhmann.
2. Baruch Spinoza, *Ethics*, II, Proposition 2, Scholium.
3. Regarding this lack of metaphor, see Jacques Derrida, 'Qual Quelle', in *Margins of Philosophy*, trans. Alan Bass (Brighton: The Harvester Press, 1982), 273–305.
4. Alfred North Whitehead, *Science and the Modern World* (New York: New American Library, 1948), 57.
5. Spinoza, *Ethics*, III, Proposition 2, Scholium. Spinoza was criticised by Leibniz for having made the mind and body the same thing: 'Mind and body are no more the same thing than are the principle of action and the principle of passion.' Quoted from 'Comments on Spinoza's Philosophy' in G.W. Leibniz, *Philosophical Essays*, trans. Roger Ariew and Daniel Garber (Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing, 1989), 275.
6. 'Thus we must advance from generalities to particulars' Quoted from 'Physics' in *The Basic Works of Aristotle*, ed. Richard McKeon (New York: The Modern Library: 2001), 218.
7. John Onians, *Bearers of Meaning: The Classical Orders in Antiquity, the Middles Ages, and the Renaissance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 172.
8. John Summerson, 'Bread & Butter and Architecture', *Horizon* 6, (October 1942): 233–43.
9. Nikolaus Pevsner, *An Outline of European Architecture* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1957), 23.
10. Summerson, 'Bread & Butter and Architecture', 242.
11. Gilles Deleuze, *Logic of Sense,* trans. Mark Lester with Charles Stivale, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1990), section 33.
12. Gilles Deleuze and Claire Parnet, *Dialogues II*, trans. Hugh Tomlinson and Barbara Habberjam (London: Continuum, 2006), 77.
13. Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia*, vol. 2, trans. Brian Massumi (London: Continuum, 2004), 98; (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press: 1987), 89.
14. Deleuze and Parnet, *Dialogues II*, 71.
15. Martin Heidegger, *Being and Time*, trans. John Macquarrie and Edward Robinson (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1962), 2.
16. Gilles Deleuze, *Nietzsche and Philosophy*, trans. Hugh Tomlinson (London: The Althone Press, 1983), 33, 34, 96.
17. See amongst others Paul Venable Turner, *The Education of Le Corbusier: A Study of the Development of Le Corbusier's Thought, 1900-1920*, (PhD diss., University of Harvard, 1971).
18. Le Corbusier, *Towards a New Architecture*, trans. Frederich Etchells (New York: Dover Publications, 1986), 4, 107.
19. Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari, *What is Philosophy?* trans. Graham Burchill and Hugh Tomlinson (London: Verso, 1994), 186. Although this book is credited to both Deleuze and Guattari, their biographer claims that in fact it was written by Deleuze alone: '*What Is Philosophy?* was manifestly written by Deleuze alone, but he agreed to a co-author credit with Guattari, as

a tribute to their exceptionally intense friendship.' François Dosse, *Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari: Intersecting Lives*, trans. Deborah Glassman (New York: Columbia University Press, 2010), 456.

20. Le Corbusier, *Towards a New Architecture*, 215.
21. See Gilles Deleuze, *Difference and Repetition*, trans. Paul Patton (London: Athlone Press, 1994), chap. 3.
22. For this tendency, see primarily Jane Bennett, *Vibrant Matter: A Political Ecology of Things* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2009).
23. Deleuze and Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus*, 284.
24. Deleuze and Parnet, *Dialogues II*, 48. Deleuze takes this example from the scene in Proust's *Sodom and Gomorrah* where M. de Charlus seduces Jupien in the courtyard.
25. Deleuze and Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus*, 289.
26. Ibid.
27. Gilles Deleuze, *Foucault*, trans. Seán Hand (London: The Athlone Press, 1988), 24.
28. Deleuze and Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus*, 585.
29. Deleuze and Parnet, *Dialogues II*, 68.
30. Ibid., 73.

Biography

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Fun and Games: The Suppression of Architectural Authoriality and the Rise of the Reader

Elizabeth Keslacy

It is hard to tell exactly when the conception of the architect as 'lone author' or 'creative genius' first emerged. Perhaps we have Vasari to blame, structuring his book *The Lives of the Most Excellent Painters, Sculptors, and Architects* (1550) – considered by many to be the very first art historical text – around thirty-four individual biographies, largely ignoring the workshop structure of production at the time. More recently, the emphasis seems to have shifted from the Howard Roark caricature, which foregrounded the architect's rejection of collaboration as the key to the purity of his design, to the figure of the starchitect, exemplified by the *character* of Frank Gehry in Sydney Pollack's 2006 film *Sketches of Frank Gehry,* whose singular creativity obviates the contributions of his many employees who appear to simply carry out his directives. Between the heroic modernist and the contemporary *visionnaire*, there was a time when the architect's *authoriality* – his status as author and the authority conferred by that role – was widely challenged by practitioners, architectural theorists and researchers, and educators. One of the most explicit challenges was issued through the use of gaming and simulation in architectural education and practice in the 1960s and the 1970s, particularly in the work of Juan Pablo Bonta and Henry Sanoff – both of them architectural scholars, educators, and game enthusiasts. By tracing the importation of gaming and simulation techniques from war and planning games into architecture, this paper will show how architectural games sought to refigure the architect as a collaborative figure embedded in a network of experts, participants and constituents, and to modulate the architect's design authority by foregrounding the contributions of viewer-interpreters – of *readers* – to the creation of meaning.

Any conversation about authorship must acknowledge a debt to Roland Barthes and Michel Foucault. Their seminal essays, 'The Death of the Author' (1967) and 'What is an Author?' (1969), radically criticised traditional notions of authorship, forever complicating the figure of the author in three key ways. First, their work revealed the *historicity* of the author, demonstrating how dramatically the definition of the author, the authority accorded to him, and the intellectual rights he retained, changed over time.[1] Secondly, Foucault pointed out that 'the author' was less an individual of any real dimension than a constructed figure that functioned to enforce a series of interpretive assumptions, such as the conceptual coherence and stylistic uniformity within a body of work.[2] Finally and most importantly, Barthes sounded the death knell of the author in order to make room for the *reader* as an active participant in the formation of the meaning of the literary work.[3]

Despite these revelations, when the idea of 'authorship' is extended to other creative non-textual endeavours such as architecture, we seem to fall back on the myths that Barthes and Foucault

worked so hard to dispel. Thinking of the architect as an 'author' allows certain assumptions to be projected on to the work of architecture that deeply affect how we understand and interpret it, and ultimately serve to obscure its reality. First, the work of architecture that is produced becomes *authored*. That is, its attribution to its creative source is highlighted as one of its most important qualities and a key to understanding it. The clarity of the architectural idea and the quality of the resulting built work are figured inversely to the number of authors understood to have contributed creatively to the project. Secondly, the work is grouped and placed in a dialogue with the other works of the same authorial origin, which then downplays the other possible groupings in which it might participate, such as those based on locale, style, type, or programme. Third, and most crucially, the origin of the work is assumed to lie in a singular creative mind, when in fact the circumstances around the creation of architecture are always complicated, involving multiple groups and structures interacting in a complex web of relationships. Architectural gaming and simulation explicitly took aim at this paradigm of architectural authoriality, targeting one root of the phenomenon: architectural education as a prime site of professional enculturation in which the design studio model conspired to convince the student not only of his or her own authority as the architect, but also of design itself as the foremost concern in the production of building.

The American context of architectural education and production in the years leading up to the late 1960s and the emergence of gaming in architecture was one in which the conception of creative architectural work as solitary and highly individualistic was only starting to be reassessed. The architect's role was increasingly understood to be situated within a network of professionals, including landscape architects and engineers, who worked together under the direction of the architect to produce building. The development of a modernist architectural pedagogy at Harvard under the leadership of Joseph Hudnut and Walter Gropius, for example, emphasised not only collaboration between architects – requiring design proposals to be created in teams – but also between the disciplines of architecture, landscape architecture and city planning.[4] The locus of creativity and authorship was dispersed into the corporatised team, though architecture retained its primacy within the professional hierarchy, while the public and the client continued to be discounted as active players in the design process.[5] Even some of the most experimental attempts to encourage community participation in the late 1960s, such as Lawrence and Anna Halprin's Take Part workshops, distinguished between the productive capacities of 'collective creativity' and professional expertise.[6] Community participation was designed to generate ideas and grow consensus around a particular decision, but it was the professional who was called upon to implement that decision, bringing his or her training and experience to bear on the particulars. Instances in which architects utilised the workshop format to elicit the client-community's ideas and develop consensus around the proposed design, such as in Moore Ruble Yudell's project for St. Matthew's Parish Church in the Pacific Palisades (1979–83), were rare and driven by the client rather than the architect.[7] At mid-century, the Roarkian caricature of the architect persisted in the public imaginary amid challenges in education and practice, where the continued insistence on the primacy of architecture in the network of players involved in producing building functioned to maintain architectural authoriality.

Dissatisfactions with the outsized view of the architect's role were broadly felt in educational institutions across the country. A 1967 report published in *Progressive Architecture*, 'Revolutions in Architectural Education', was assembled from the responses to a survey the journal circulated to the deans and chairs of architecture and environmental design schools, and it revealed the magnitude of

the growing backlash against the architect's heroic figuration.

> There is a whole new generation of students learning that questions are more important than answers, that process is more important than product, that the architect is more than a form-giver, that architecture is more than a series of individual monuments. What now exists primarily as a revolution in the schools could well become a revolution in the profession.[8]

In its place, a new conception of the architect was posited that framed him as deeply embedded in a network of collaborators.

> There is at least lip service given to the idea of the architect as only one among many involved in creating and changing the physical environment, and while his exact position on "the team" is not clear – as catalyst, coordinator, colleague, or leader – many feel that he can no longer claim to be the only person responsible.[9]

This notion of the 'architect as form-giver' was challenged through a shattering of the myths surrounding the design process, foremost among them the perceived necessary isolation of the architect's creative activities. Broadly, this occurred through a turn to the social sciences born of a desire to root design decisions in quantifiable data and recognised forms of expertise, relying heavily on psychology and sociology to understand the needs and desires of architecture's inhabiting subject. A corollary to the turn to the social sciences was the rise of 'environmental design' programmes, recoding architecture through a rejection of aesthetic, symbolic and historical concerns in favour of viewing the building as but one point on a scalar continuum of design that stretched from the object to the city. In practical terms, this required changes in curriculum, and the leadership of some schools even envisioned a phasing out of the traditional design studio in favour of the interdisciplinary design laboratory, where teams made up of architects, sociologists, political scientists, psychologists, and urban economists would collaboratively design. The most powerful corrective, though, was the simplest one: the exposure of the student to the 'reality' of the design and building process. This included exercises that 'approximate the actual working conditions of the professional', that expose the student to 'the people, agencies, site, and all other parameters involved in the existing problems', allowing them to 'experience a totally different system of values from their own'.[10] The use of gaming and simulation as an instructional technique followed precisely from these intentions.

War, commerce and planning: the origins and influences of architecture games

The source of gaming and simulation in architecture has been traced by some to martial origins in war games, particularly to the gridded board games developed post-war by the RAND Corporation.[11] Others have suggested that their influence was routed through the intermediary of business management games used by corporations from the mid-1950s on for purposes that ranged from inventory control logistics training to the development of business strategy.[12] The immediate precedent for architecture games, however, was unquestionably those developed in urban and regional planning, where the lessons of war and business games were adopted as a heuristic method of instruction rather than a tool for the formulation of strategy. Beginning in the early 1960s, planners realised that war games, by virtue of their ability to play out various scenarios while accounting for complex conditions, could be adapted for growth rather than destruction. From military games, urban planners took on the goal of *optimisation* rather than solution in the face of competing objectives, such as the negotiation between cost and public benefit. However, while military gaming proceeded from von Neumann and Morgenstern's game theory and its paradigm of the zero-sum game, in which one side's loss was the

other's gain, urban planning games were designed with an ethos of *cooperation*, promoting dialogue and encouraging empathy and understanding of other stakeholders' perspectives.

Impressed by the tactical complexities and ability to test multiple strategies offered by war games, by the mid-1960s planners had begun utilising gaming and simulation to explore solutions to the complex problems of declining American cities as part of a larger use of systems analysis and other social science methods in governmental policies and programmes.[13] Indeed, the turn to gaming and simulation was part of a much wider turn to the social sciences in architecture, urban design and urban planning that had emerged post-war.[14] Initially developed in the academy by planning scholars, researchers such as Richard Duke founded laboratories to create and test urban planning games, such as the Environmental Simulation Lab in the College of Architecture and Urban Planning at the University of Michigan.[15] Gaming and simulation was an interdisciplinary endeavour at the time, and it prompted the development of formalised curricula. One such programme was the Graduate Certificate in Gaming/Simulation created by Duke in 1982 for masters and doctoral students at the University of Michigan, supported by no fewer than nine departments across campus.[16]

Emboldened by their planning colleagues, architectural educators at Cornell University, Ball State University, and the Universities of Michigan, Cincinnati, Miami of Ohio, and Wisconsin at Madison began creating pedagogical games to simulate real-world conditions in the classroom.[17] Furthermore, game designers, both in academia and in the private sector, began to create games specifically for public and private clients *outside* of the university in order to structure the programming and design processes of complex large-scale projects, to negotiate contentious planning issues, and to promote cooperation across constituencies. Indeed, gaming and simulation was one of the primary methods that architects used to facilitate community participation in design and planning processes.[18]

While some have described the conventional representational practices of architects as 'simulations',[19] and others have argued (if speculatively) that architectural design discourse is itself a game to be played,[20] the games and simulations discussed here are games defined more concretely – codified with such typical accoutrements as clearly defined objectives, rules, procedures, game boards, team structures, scoring schemes, and winners and losers.[21] These games simulate aspects of the real world by abstracting and simplifying the complex phenomena they model. Unlike research-oriented games and simulations, which are used to study the system under examination or played for their predictive capacity, architectural games were teaching-oriented *operational games,* used as heuristic devices wherein learning occurs through the participants' engagement in the decision-making process.[22] Whether played in an educational context or elsewhere, the purpose of gameplay is instructional, both explicitly in terms of the informational content relayed by the game and implicitly through the experience of playing itself.

Architectural games and simulations challenged the authority of the architect in two ways: first, planning simulations were designed to reveal the complex web of people, interests and relationships that are necessary to produce and realise a design, exposing the agency and authority of the architect to be provisional, limited, and modulated by others, such as the client, the city, neighbourhood groups, and regulatory agencies. The building is thus understood as the outcome of a complex process rather than as the result of an architect's decisions made in isolation, thus downplaying the singularity of the architect's role in the design process. Secondly, following the planning games, a series of games

emerged that focused on issues of architectural aesthetics, foregrounding the reading of architecture by the *receiver* rather than the intentions of the designer. These games exposed the wide latitude with which architectural readers could understand and interpret designs, demonstrating the importance of reception in the creation of meaning.

METROPOLIS: the first land-use game

One of the first urban planning games was Richard Duke's METROPOLIS (designed 1960–64), based on East Lansing, Michigan, where Duke taught as a professor of urban planning at Michigan State University.[23] METROPOLIS was designed to train 'university students or young professionals in the basic decision processes involved in urban land use changes'.[24] [fig. 1] Players were assigned to one of three roles – city administrator, politician, or speculative developer – and game play occurred in three cycles, each representing a calendar year. Presented with general information in the form of news headlines, a budget of limited funds, and a series of proposals that outstripped available resources, players had to negotiate with one another and decide what programmes to invest in. At the end of each cycle, points were awarded or deducted based on the pressures of each role, encouraging fidelity to the assigned perspective: the administrator earned points for a balanced budget, while the politician earned them for high spending in his ward, for example. The consequences of the players' decisions were served in the forms of changing tax rates, population growth, school expenditures, and discretionary fund availability, thus setting the stage for the following cycle.

Urban planning games sought to simulate reality, to abstract from the complexities of the real world in order to simplify and essentialise it by focusing in on the structures and mechanisms in question. Richard L. Meier, an important urban thinker active in the latter half of the twentieth century often referred to as 'the grandfather of gaming',[25] stressed the dependency of the simulation on its model:

> The task of simulation is invention in reverse. When an inventor conceives of a new product or process, he is often forced to construct a model to demonstrate to all doubters that his new principle really works. The simulation builder, on the other hand, is conscious of the fact that the institution he is modelling has functioned for a long time; he hopes to capture the essential elements and produce in miniature a sequence of outcomes that strongly resembles the original.[26]

As such, urban planning games treated the existing conditions of reality, particularly its structures, as rigid, permanent, and unchangeable. Action within the game, as in real life, was only possible within predetermined rules and procedures.

The point of playing METROPOLIS was not to test out real decisions facing the city it simulated, but rather for players to come away with an appreciation for the complexities of decision-making at the urban scale, including the types of information that come to bear on such decisions, to understand the motivations and values that drive various constituencies, and to realise the value of communication and negotiation. Meier elaborates:

> The most significant advantage is that gaming-simulation rapidly enhances the sophistication of the players regarding the factors at work and the relationships between the key roles in the real world. Players come to the games with imperfect concepts of community, and they leave it with shattered myths. Usually they achieve a sense of what kind of action, when coordinated, yields what kind of outcomes. A well-constructed game and its environment should yield a more realistic mental impression about how a large system (like a metropolis) works. It offers a low cost substitute for experience in the most responsible decision-making roles.[27]

Filling a gap in professional education that left

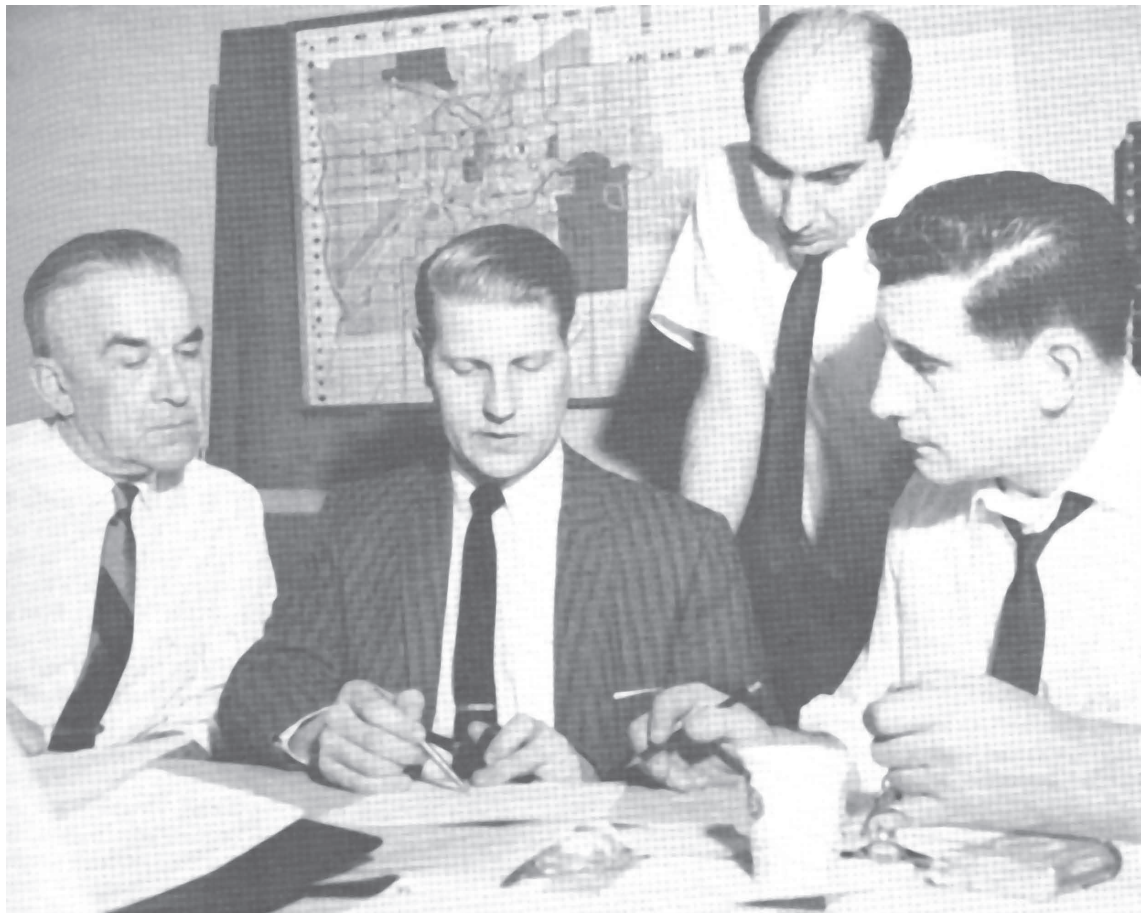


Fig. 1: METROPOLIS at play. Courtesy: Richard Duke.

Fig. 2: Cover, *Journal of Architectural Education*, Vol. 33, No. 1 (September 1979). Guest-edited by Juan Pablo Bonta. Photograph depicts an outcome of Bonta's game, AWARDS. Courtesy: Association of Collegiate Schools of Architecture.

students with an oversimplified view of the agency of their future role as planners, and perhaps seeking to temper a rigid idealism in planning students, Duke's game exposed its players to an abstracted simulation of the real world in preparation for actual engagement in similar processes in the future.

From planning to design games: Juan Pablo Bonta at Ball State University

Following the development of gaming and simulation in planning, the interest in applying such techniques to the design process, especially in the educational context, grew in both the United States and in Britain, prompting the study and development of games, the convening of conferences, and wide publication, including not only a special topics issue of the *Journal of Architectural Education* but even write-ups in *Newsweek* and *Playboy*. [fig. 2] One of the most enthusiastic developers of architectural games and simulations was Juan Pablo Bonta, an architectural theorist, educator, and game designer.[28] Best known today for his 1979 book *Architecture and its Interpretation,* Bonta was a professor of architecture at the University of Maryland, College Park from 1980 until his death in 1996.[29] Prior to that, Bonta taught at Ball State University in Muncie, Indiana, where he became interested in the potential of gaming and simulation for architectural education. During that time, he taught a series of seminars in which students designed games after playing and studying established ones.

Two early planning games were very influential for Bonta and his students. The first, CLUG (Cornell/Community Land Use Game), was designed in 1965 by Allan Feldt, then a Professor of City and Regional Planning at Cornell University.[30] CLUG utilised a gridded game board and Legos to simulate the development of an industrialising city, with each team of players cast as developers in competition for the most profitable sites, while considering the impact of location, infrastructure, zoning regulations, among other variables.[31] [fig. 3] Given a limited amount of funds, teams were charged with securing land and constructing buildings with programmes appropriate to the zoning of that land, while negotiating with both the municipality and other teams for cooperation.[32] The scale of CLUG was quite large, with each grid unit approximating one square mile that could only be designated for one type of use.[33] Seeking to model the realities of such development, each round of the game included both rule-mandated activities, such as paying for property assessments and taxes, as well as time for extra-regulatory negotiations in the forms of bribery and collusion. For the students, playing CLUG foregrounded the complex economic logics that drive urban development patterns, as well as the deeply interpersonal nature of both the competition and cooperation embedded in the development process.

The second, INHABS (Instructional Housing and Building Simulation), was designed in 1970 by Cedric Green, then a practising architect and Senior Lecturer in the Department of Architecture, Landscape Architecture and Planning at the Gloucestershire College of Art and Design (UK). Attempting to address the scalar problems of CLUG, Green modelled a neighbourhood-sized area at a finer grain, the acre, rather than the square mile.[34] INHABS also utilised Legos, but in this case they represented programmatic building elements, such as a kitchen, living room or bedroom, rather than whole buildings. [fig. 4] The game was reconfigurable and could be used to simulate real-world situations, such as Bonta's utilisation of the game to simulate a Scottish fishing village whose traditional way of life was threatened by a group of speculators interested in developing the town as a tourist destination. Students were assigned to play the roles of the various interest groups, each with a specific stake in the conflict. The game exposed its players to the complexities of housing and neighbourhood development through exposure to the competing

Fig. 3: Allan Feldt at the CLUG gameboard (ca. 1966). Courtesy: Allan Feldt.

interests of the multiple constituencies involved. In fact, Green believed that groups embroiled in real-world conflict over building and planning decisions could diffuse animosities by playing the game,[35] the abstraction of the simulation providing the critical distance that was impossible in real-world dealings. Green was concerned with demystifying the design process, which he felt was still in thrall to the modernist concepts of functionalism and creative genius.[36] Objecting most strenuously to the latter, Green believed that the activity of design had for too long been held hostage by specialists and was, in fact, a basic human impulse. In his view, games were a way to facilitate the exercise of a cognitive faculty – design – possessed by everyone.

While CLUG and INHABS were both useful as examples of urban-scale games, Bonta himself was interested in developing games that addressed the architectural scale of the single building and its aesthetic concerns. In a series of seminars at Ball State University in the mid-1970s, Bonta worked with students to invent and develop games of their own. [fig. 5] Some of the games they produced were meant to simulate the complexities of an architect's professional activities. For example, in THERMAL DESIGN, players competed to minimise the costs of heating and cooling a single-family house on an assigned site.[37] [fig. 6a, 6b & 6c] The game accounted for variables such as HVAC system type, climatic region, local site conditions, and even family size, assigning some values by chance – a roll of the dice – while others were negotiated by students through the purchasing power of their limited funds. In playing to achieve the lowest yearly conditioning costs, the game play revealed to students the variables' interrelationship and the impact of the architect's design choices on the long-term costs of heating and cooling a home.

Another game, the CONSTRUCTION MANAGEMENT GAME, exposed students to the competing economic interests at play between construction managers and individual contractors.[38] Players were divided between these two roles. Construction managers had to balance the cost of hiring contractors and the speed at which the work proceeded with the revenue that the completed building would produce. Contractors, on the other hand, carefully priced their bids while accounting for the inflation of labour and material costs. Game play centred on negotiations between construction managers and contractors, but individuals were actually competing against players in the same roles – the winners were those who netted the highest gain in each category. The game thus exposed students to the perspective of the building trades, particularly the complexities of negotiation and organisation between general and subcontractors, by offering a glimpse into the often conflicting aims that drive their decision-making over the course of the construction process.

The theme that unites THERMAL DESIGN and CONSTRUCTION MANAGEMENT with games like CLUG and INHABS is the emphasis on the complex interplay of forces and interests, whether these are physical, interpersonal, or economic. The lesson for students is exactly this awareness of other perspectives and their underlying motivations, culminating with the revelation that the designer's perspective is simply one of many involved in the production of buildings. Indeed, Bonta was explicitly critical of the authority claimed by architects, taking aim at the traditional model of the design process that assumed what he called 'the heroical image of the architect'.[39] In his Prologue to the 1979 special issue of the *Journal of Architectural Education* on gaming, which he guest-edited, Bonta elaborated:

> Architects and architectural educators are becoming interested in gaming. There is a philosophical reason: since the collapse of the modern movement, we are no longer sure that the architects' values, stylistic preferences or prejudices are better than anyone else's. In abandoning the messianic role we fabricated for

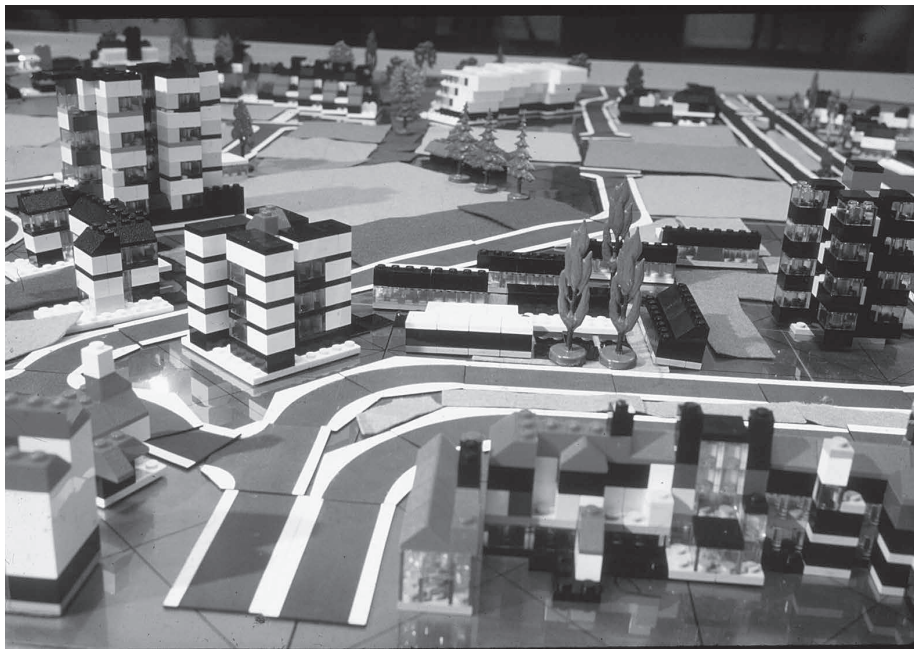


Fig. 4: The result of a typical game of Cedric Green's INHABS (ca. 1973). Courtesy: Cedric Green.

Fig. 5: Juan Pablo Bonta (far right) and students playing THERMAL DESIGN (ca. 1979). Courtesy: Diego Bonta.

Fig. 6a

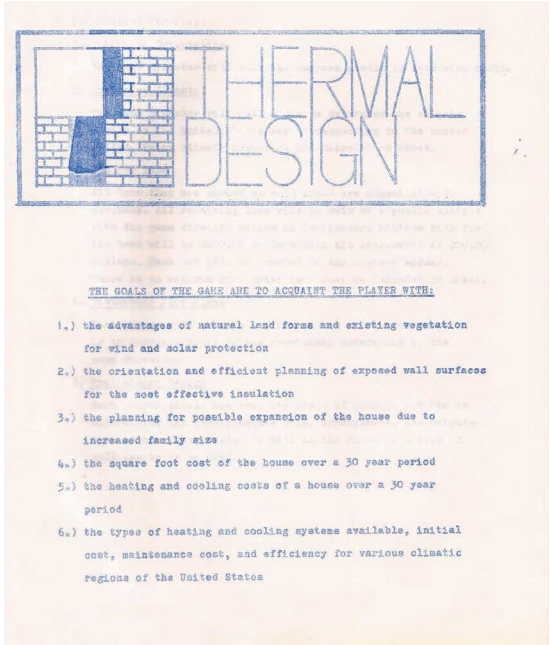


Fig. 6b

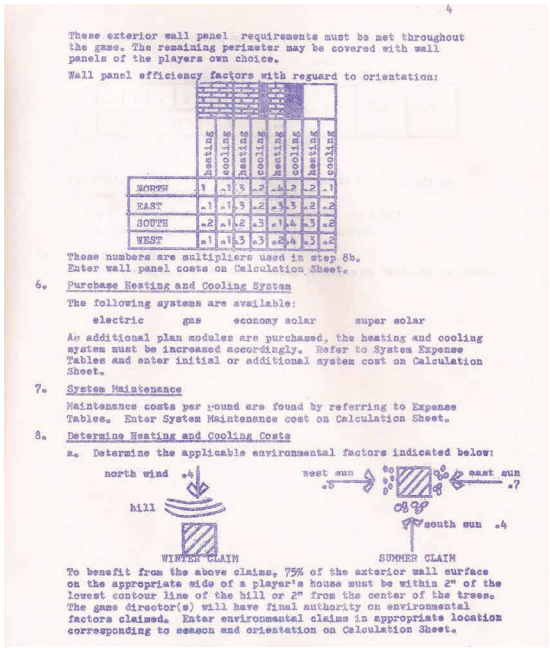


Fig. 6c

Fig. 6: Juan Pablo Bonta, THERMAL DESIGN game; Photo of a game set (6a), Cover (6b), Page (6c). Courtesy: Diego Bonta.

> ourselves, we can see architecture as a transaction between groups with different goals and values – the users, the owners, government, labor, industry, public opinion, architects themselves.[40]

The use of these games was thus an attempt to reform this image and remake the architect as a collaborator and facilitator. And it is no accident that the games were aimed at architects in training, at a time when their professional identity was just beginning to form. At a moment when the avant-gardist elements in the discipline increasingly figured architecture as hermetic and self-referential, in some quarters going so far as to reject building as the culmination of the architect's labours, Bonta sought to re-centre the design process by articulating it as bounded by externally defined restrictions within which the designer sought to achieve the greatest utility. Bonta's invocation of 'reality' through role-playing the transactions between various groups, however, did not persist across all of the games he created with his students. Whether Bonta was influenced by the growing interest in architectural semiosis, or whether he was simply confronted with the necessity of teaching design to architecture students, some of Bonta's games specifically focused on the potentialities of architectural aesthetic expression and experience.

If many of his games proceeded from the crisis of architectural authority, another set went a step further by positioning the experiencing subjects of architecture and their interpretation of the work as an active force in the creation of its meaning. To this end, Bonta's students developed games that focused on the formal and communicative aspects of architectural design. One of the most interesting examples of this game type was called SEMIOTICS. [fig. 7] Players were assigned a building type and chose a set of three adjectives from a deck. These included terms such as 'functional', 'traditional', 'bold', 'modern', and 'vernacular'. The players then created assemblages using a kit of assorted blocks to reflect the type and its modifying terms. [figs. 8a & 8b] After the designs were complete, players reviewed their competitors' work to guess the terms that motivated it. SEMIOTICS thus imparted a lesson about the limits of designerly intention and the agency of interpretation, something that was reinforced through its scoring mechanism. When the game was first invented, points were earned when the interpretation conformed to the designer's intentions. Later, the scoring rules were changed: all of the interpretations were tallied and points were awarded to those that made up the majority consensus. Bonta explained, 'We live among buildings whose intended meaning has long been forgotten; their continued, successful endurance can be explained only by accepting that what we think those buildings are matters more than what they were meant to be.'[41] By reworking the scoring mechanism, Bonta sought to teach students about the limits of their designerly agency, placing the viewer's interpretation on a par with the design itself as responsible for creating its meaning.

Indeed, Bonta also pursued this argument from the other side of design – reception, interpretation, and criticism – in his 1979 book, *Architecture and its Interpretation.* Carefully examining decades of reception (from popular criticism to academic histories) of canonical works of architecture such as Mies van der Rohe's Barcelona Pavilion (1929) and Adler and Sullivan's Carson Pirie Scott (CPS) department store (1903), Bonta demonstrated how the formal, compositional and discursive interpretations of these buildings – how they were *read* – changed dramatically over time. For example, earlier architectural histories couched the CPS in terms of its horizontality in comparison to Sullivan's earlier work, while later readings viewed the building's verticality as dominant, particularly in contrast to modernist European projects such as Mendelsohn's Stuttgart Schocken department store.[42] These readings, he argued, depended on the 'expressive systems' that their readers brought to the buildings and by

Fig. 7: SEMIOTICS discussion time (ca. 1979); From Juan Pablo Bonta, 'Simulation Games in Architecture,' *Journal of Architectural Education*, Vol. 33, No. 1 (September 1979): 14. Courtesy: Association of Collegiate Schools of Architecture.

which they evaluated them. Including such categories as 'horizontality / verticality' and 'ornamented / unornamented', Bonta's 'expressive systems' – or what we might call 'interpretive lenses' – reflected the contemporaneous context and concerns of the readers rather than the historically situated interests of the designers. Ultimately, Bonta rejected the conception of architectural design as a form of *communication*, which views the work as the architect's utterance to a passive audience. Instead, he favoured an interpretive paradigm that recognises the reader as an active force in the formulation of meaning – a reader whose historicity and context is just as important in producing interpretation as the work itself.[43]

Henry Sanoff and the introduction of the readerly into design

By foregrounding the interpretation process, Bonta's SEMIOTICS game enculturated students into design as a form of *reading*, thereby teaching students not only that interpretation takes place actively and consciously, but that a design can elicit a range of interpretations both near and far from the designer's intentions. Just as one can be a more or less sophisticated reader of poetry or literature – and indeed hone one's reading skills through practice – the same holds true for the reader of architecture. Aiming not only at students, but also lay people who might participate in a community design workshop, Henry Sanoff, Professor of Architecture at North Carolina State University, designed a series of 'evocative games' which he collected and published in his 1979 *Design Games: Playing for Keeps with Personal and Environmental Design Decisions*.[44] These explicitly addressed the problem of reception by teaching players how to read and interpret the built environment. They did so by directing players' attention to the affective nature of space and asking them to describe their impressions in direct language.

One game, *Spaces that Connect*, asked players to consider three scenarios of travelling from one place to another: a rushed walk from Point A to Point B, a more leisurely stroll with a destination in mind, and an aimless wander around a neighbourhood.[45] [fig. 9] Players were then asked to examine a series of twenty-four photographs of hallways, corridors and passages, and choose the spaces they most closely identified with each form of travel. In this way, the players were asked to read the spaces depicted by the photos in terms of the kinaesthetic experience they associated with them. This game asked its players to consider how the architectural cues facilitated or reflected certain types of travel over others, leading to a greater conscious understanding of how the inhabitant's frame of mind interacts with the design of the spaces it experiences. Students could undoubtedly imagine dashing through a silent reading room or taking a leisurely stroll through a bustling train station, but gained a deeper understanding of how architectural design could style certain behaviours as appropriate or transgressive.

Another game called *Descriptive Words* sought to enlarge its players' spatial vocabularies. It provided an extensive list of descriptive terms in binary form, such as 'efficient-inefficient', 'plush-austere', 'rickety-stable', and 'resonant-flat'.[46] [fig. 10] Players could utilise these terms to describe photographs or drawings of interior spaces or even the space they found themselves in during the game. The players' enlarged vocabularies empowered them to articulate the meaning of their environment for themselves. As the instructions for the game elaborate:

> Meaning can be very precise and descriptive; for example Mr. Webster states that a house is a building to live in. Meaning can also be associated since Mr. Webster's house can be roomy, old, liveable, urban and beautiful. We believe that the environment has an important meaning for each of us although our associations about the environment may be different. Sometimes it is possible to understand an environment

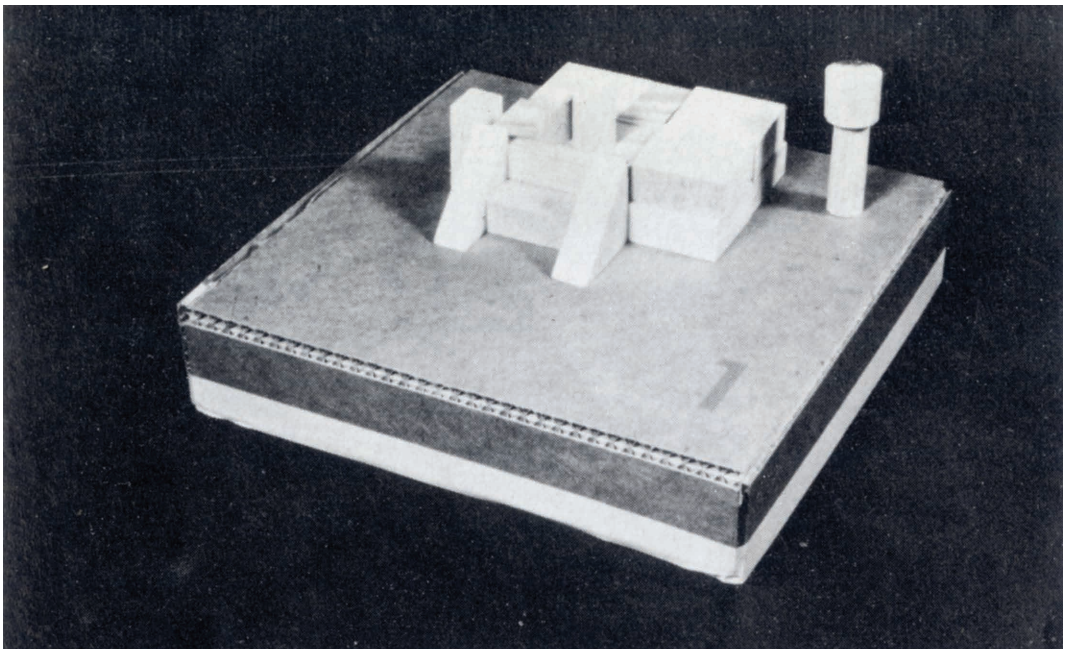


Fig. 8a

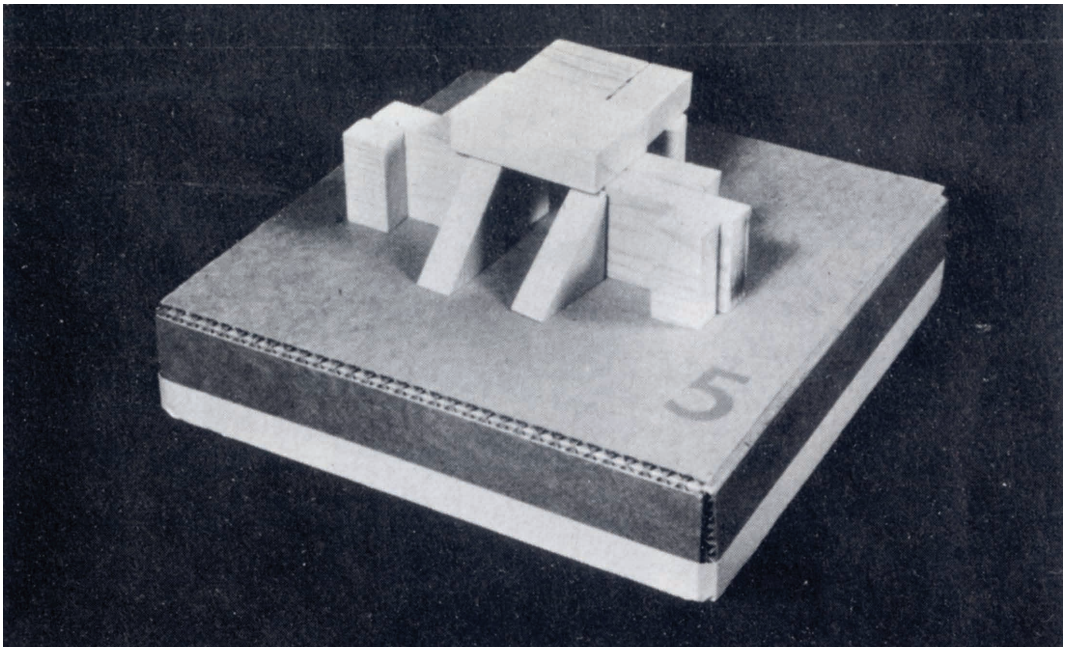


Fig. 8b

Fig. 8: Example of design assemblage from SEMIOTICS gameplay (ca. 1979). From Juan Pablo Bonta, 'Simulation Games in Architecture,' *Journal of Architectural Education*, Vol. 33, No. 1 (September 1979): 15. Courtesy: Association of Collegiate Schools of Architecture.

> better if we free-associate or generate as many descriptive words that we can identify. […] This new vocabulary can help you see and understand subtle and varied qualities about your built environment.[47]

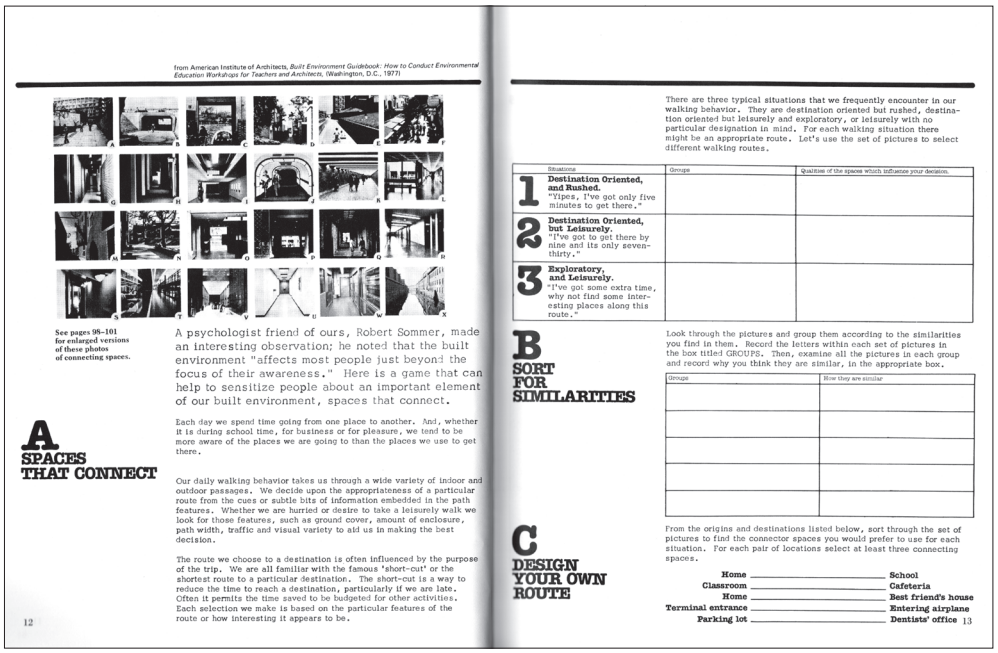
In both *Descriptive Words* and *Spaces that Connect*, there were no right or wrong answers, nor any scoring mechanisms. The payoff, rather, was a discussion between players about their interpretations, the point of which was ultimately to hone their visual acuity and descriptive abilities – that is, to make them better readers of architecture and space.

This emphasis on reading and interpreting the aesthetic and spatial qualities of architecture that the games engendered was a form of attack on architectural authority, taking aim at the privileging of designerly intention as the locus of meaning that is the corollary of the paradigm of 'architect as author'. Sanoff explicitly designed the games to be used by the layperson, often as a warm-up exercise for the participants of a community design meeting. The games' pop-influenced graphic design, simply worded instructions and step-by-step procedures styled the activity of architectural interpretation as fun and accessible by narrowly circumscribing an otherwise open-ended activity. While Sanoff's focus was on enabling the community by 'transferring power from the designer to the user through a social technology', his games crucially functioned to empower the lay designer *as a reader.*[48] By placing reading at the beginning rather than the end of the design process, Sanoff's games completed the loop by positing the language and procedure of interpretation as the *basis of design* – something implied but not made explicit by Bonta's SEMIOTICS. Reflecting on his students' experience of the game, Bonta reported that after becoming familiar with the game, students developed a formal shorthand or a private language of associations between certain compositions and adjectives. The structure of reading – indeed, the ability of the design to be read in a particular way – became the prime determinant of form. While in Bonta's game this was an interesting and unintended consequence, in Sanoff's games the structure of architectural reception preceded design, thus framing the design process in its terms by placing interpretive language at its starting point.

Reading, readings, and readers: architecture and reader-response

In order to end where we began, we might return to literary theory to consider what came after Barthes' declaration of the death of the author and the corresponding birth of the reader. In the discourse of literary theory at the time, there emerged a number of developments that explored the nature of the reader's experience, that framed reading as a transaction between reader and text, and that emphasised the agency of the reader in creating the meaning of the literary work. Those developments included the American discourse of reader-response theory by Louise Rosenblatt and Stanley Fish, the German *Rezeptionsästhetik* (aesthetics of reception) of Hans-Robert Jauss and Wolfgang Iser, theories of the reader's agency by Harold Bloom, as well as inquiries into the semiotics of reading from theorists such as Umberto Eco.[49] While there is little evidence to suggest real points of contact between theorists of reader-response and architectural thinkers and educators (aside from Eco), the temporal synchronicity and the conceptual resonance in the turn to reading in literature and architecture suggest further investigation into their points of connection.

A detailed account of the reader as described by literary theory is beyond the scope of this article.[50] However, the coincident emergence of similar concerns in literature and in architecture suggests that we might revisit the terms of architectural production of that period, particularly postmodernism and its framing of architecture in terms of *language*, through the related but distinct lens of the *reader* and his or her activity of interpretation.



from American Institute of Architects, *Built Environment Guidebook: How to Conduct Environmental Education Workshops for Teachers and Architects*, (Washington, D.C., 1977)

See pages 98–101 for enlarged versions of these photos of connecting spaces.

A psychologist friend of ours, Robert Sommer, made an interesting observation; he noted that the built environment "affects most people just beyond the focus of their awareness." Here is a game that can help to sensitize people about an important element of our built environment, spaces that connect.

A SPACES THAT CONNECT

Each day we spend time going from one place to another. And, whether it is during school time, for business or for pleasure, we tend to be more aware of the places we are going to than the places we use to get there.

Our daily walking behavior takes us through a wide variety of indoor and outdoor passages. We decide upon the appropriateness of a particular route from the cues or subtle bits of information embedded in the path features. Whether we are hurried or desire to take a leisurely walk we look for those features, such as ground cover, amount of enclosure, path width, traffic and visual variety to aid us in making the best decision.

The route we choose to a destination is often influenced by the purpose of the trip. We are all familiar with the famous 'short-cut' or the shortest route to a particular destination. The short-cut is a way to reduce the time to reach a destination, particularly if we are late. Often it permits the time saved to be budgeted for other activities. Each selection we make is based on the particular features of the route or how interesting it appears to be.

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There are three typical situations that we frequently encounter in our walking behavior. They are destination oriented but rushed, destination oriented but leisurely and exploratory, or leisurely with no particular designation in mind. For each walking situation there might be an appropriate route. Let's use the set of pictures to select different walking routes.

Situations	Groups	Qualities of the spaces which influence your decision.
1 **Destination Oriented, and Rushed.** "Yipes, I've got only five minutes to get there."		
2 **Destination Oriented, but Leisurely.** "I've got to get there by nine and its only seven-thirty."		
3 **Exploratory, and Leisurely.** "I've got some extra time, why not find some interesting places along this route."		

B SORT FOR SIMILARITIES

Look through the pictures and group them according to the similarities you find in them. Record the letters within each set of pictures in the box titled GROUPS. Then, examine all the pictures in each group and record why you think they are similar, in the appropriate box.

Groups	How they are similar

C DESIGN YOUR OWN ROUTE

From the origins and destinations listed below, sort through the set of pictures to find the connector spaces you would prefer to use for each situation. For each pair of locations select at least three connecting spaces.

Home _____ School
Classroom _____ Cafeteria
Home _____ Best friend's house
Terminal entrance _____ Entering airplane
Parking lot _____ Dentists' office

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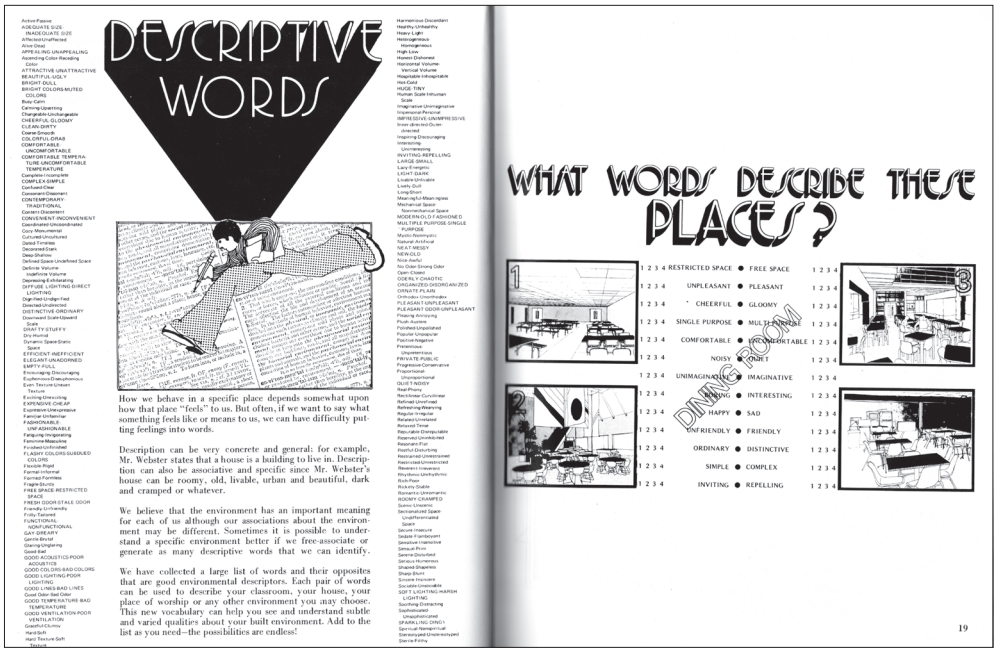
Fig. 9



DESCRIPTIVE WORDS

How we behave in a specific place depends somewhat upon how that place "feels" to us. But often, if we want to say what something feels like or means to us, we can have difficulty putting feelings into words.

Description can be very concrete and general: for example, Mr. Webster states that a house is a building to live in. Description can also be associative and specific since Mr. Webster's house can be roomy, old, livable, urban and beautiful, dark and cramped or whatever.

We believe that the environment has an important meaning for each of us although our associations about the environment may be different. Sometimes it is possible to understand a specific environment better if we free-associate or generate as many descriptive words that we can identify.

We have collected a large list of words and their opposites that are good environmental descriptors. Each pair of words can be used to describe your classroom, your house, your place of worship or any other environment you may choose. This new vocabulary can help you see and understand subtle and varied qualities about your built environment. Add to the list as you need–the possibilities are endless!

WHAT WORDS DESCRIBE THESE PLACES?

1 2 3 4	RESTRICTED SPACE ●	● FREE SPACE 1 2 3 4
1 2 3 4	UNPLEASANT ●	● PLEASANT 1 2 3 4
1 2 3 4	CHEERFUL ●	● GLOOMY 1 2 3 4
1 2 3 4	SINGLE PURPOSE ●	● MULTI-PURPOSE 1 2 3 4
1 2 3 4	COMFORTABLE ●	● UNCOMFORTABLE 1 2 3 4
1 2 3 4	NOISY ●	● QUIET 1 2 3 4
1 2 3 4	UNIMAGINATIVE ●	● IMAGINATIVE 1 2 3 4
1 2 3 4	BORING ●	● INTERESTING 1 2 3 4
1 2 3 4	HAPPY ●	● SAD 1 2 3 4
1 2 3 4	UNFRIENDLY ●	● FRIENDLY 1 2 3 4
1 2 3 4	ORDINARY ●	● DISTINCTIVE 1 2 3 4
1 2 3 4	SIMPLE ●	● COMPLEX 1 2 3 4
1 2 3 4	INVITING ●	● REPELLING 1 2 3 4

DINGRAM

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Fig. 10

Fig. 9: Game instructions for 'Spaces that Connect' in Henry Sanoff, *Design Games: Playing for Keeps with Personal and Environmental Design Decisions* (Los Altos, CA: W. Kaufmann, 1979), 12–13. Reproduced courtesy Henry Sanoff.
Fig. 10: Game instructions for 'Descriptive Words' in Henry Sanoff, *Design Games,* 18–19. Courtesy: Henry Sanoff.

The turn toward the reader that manifested itself in architectural games appears to be the tip of the iceberg. Indeed, concern with interpretative procedure – specifically with articulating *how* interpretation would and should be performed – was widespread in postmodern architectural discourse. For instance, Charles Jencks' *The Language of Postmodern Architecture* (1977) was less concerned with identifying a new visual, formal or compositional language for designers than it was with equipping its readers with new categories and terminology of interpretation that allowed them to better understand postmodern architecture. Robert Venturi's *Complexity and Contradiction in Architecture* (1967) might be better understood as less a revisionist history of Mannerism than a detailed manual for how to read and understand his own design projects, examples of which are helpfully included at the close of the book. However, like Sanoff's games, one might also productively understand both Jencks' and Venturi's texts as advocacy for a design process that takes the categories of interpretation (i.e. metaphor, complexity) as the starting point of design. While the planning and architecture games discussed here took explicit aim at the architect's authoriality, they also were symptomatic of a broader postmodern condition in which the reader's interpretive activities – in reality and as imagined by the architect – became a constitutive force in design.

Notes

An earlier version of this paper was delivered at the Creating_Making 2014 conference held at the University of Oklahoma College of Architecture, November 5–7, 2014. I am grateful for the comments and questions that I received there, which were generous, helpful, and encouraging. I also acknowledge Dr. Christian Sandvig and Joss Kiely, whose suggestions were invaluable in the development of this article.

1. Michel Foucault, *Language, Counter-Memory, Practice: Selected Essays and Interviews*, Cornell Paperbacks (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1980), 124–25.
2. Ibid.
3. Roland Barthes,'Death of the Author', in *Image, Music, Text* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1977), 148.
4 Anthony Alofsin's 2002 book *The Struggle for Modernism* details the history of architectural education at Harvard University. He distinguishes an earlier notion of collaboration, involving students from the disciplines of architecture, the fine arts, landscape architecture and urban planning, from Walter Gropius' later version that emphasized teamwork between architects.
5. Michael Kubo has written about the collaborative design processes of The Architect's Collaborative in the context of increasing corporatisation and bureaucratisation of the profession. See Michael Kubo, 'The Idea of Anonymity in Postwar Architectural Practice', *Proceedings of the Creating_Making Conference, November 5–7, 2014 at the University of Oklahoma College of Architecture* (2014), 131–35.
6. Lawrence Halprin and Jim Burns, *Taking Part: A Workshop Approach to Collective Creativity* (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 1974), 96–97.
7. The congregation of St. Matthew's was unique in that they required a two-thirds vote of approval for the adoption of any design proposal. Moore Ruble Yudell was one of the few firms willing to take on a project with such a requirement, but even they were unaccustomed to the process of gaining such consensus. Moore brought on Jim Burns, a colleague of the Halprins, to implement the Take Part workshop process to develop a proposal that would win approval. See Charles Willard Moore, 'Design by Congregation: St. Matthew's Parish Church, Pacific Palisades, California', *Architectural Record* 172, no. 2 (1984).
8. 'Revolution in Architectural Education', *Progressive Architecture* 48, no. 3 (March 1967): 136–47.
9. Ibid., 137–38.
10. Ibid., 141.
11. Richard D. Duke, 'Operational Gaming in Urban Planning', in *Selected Papers on Operational Gaming*,

ed. Allan G. Feldt (Division of Urban Studies, Center for Housing and Environmental Studies, Cornell University, 1966). While these origins were not particularly significant to him, Juan Pablo Bonta pointed to war games as a distant precursor of his own endeavours in 'Simulation Games in Architectural Education', *JAE* 33, no. 1 (1979). For a brief and enlightening history of military gaming, see Roger Smith, 'The Long History of Gaming in Military Training', *Simulation & Gaming* 41, no. 1 (2010). For scholarship that links military game history with contemporary developments, see Dr. Sheila Seitz and Courtney Uram, 'Gaming and Simulation', in *Instructional Design: Concepts, Methodologies, Tools and Applications* (Hershey, PA: Information Science Reference, 2011).

12. Richard D. Duke, *Gaming-Simulation in Urban Research* (East Lansing, MI: Institute for Community Development and Services, Continuing Education Service, Michigan State University, 1964), 8–10.
13. Jennifer Light has written on the Model Cities program developed by the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development in the 1960s and 1970s, a national program involving 150 cities that used gaming and simulation to empower citizens to engage the urban planning process. See Jennifer Light, 'Taking Games Seriously'.
14. Brendan Moran and Joan Ockman have attributed this direction in architectural education to a rejection of the aestheticism of the Beaux-Arts model after WWII, and the desire to inject a measure of rigour and certainty into the design process. See Joan Ockman and Avigail Sachs, '1940–1968: Modernism Takes Command', in *Architecture School: Three Centuries of Educating Architects in North America*, ed. Joan Ockman and Rebecca Williamson (Cambridge, MA; Washington, D.C.: MIT Press, Association of Collegiate Schools of Architecture, 2012). See also Brendan Daniel Moran, 'Sociological Imagination and the City: Encounters between Architecture and Planning Education in America, 1933–1957' (PhD diss., Harvard University, 2009). Joy Knoblauch has written on the collaboration between design and social science, particularly U-C Berkeley and the remaking of their architecture and urban planning school into a school of environmental design. See chapter 4, 'Transcendence: The National Institute of Mental Health and the Production of Architectural Theory (1963–1974)', in Joy Ruth Knoblauch, 'Going Soft: Architecture and the Human Sciences in Search of New Institutional Forms (1963–1974)' (PhD diss., Princeton University, 2012). Unfortunately, most of the scholarship in this area has tended to focus on East Coast Ivy League schools, and more work has yet to be done on the social-scientific turn in other institutions. While gaming and simulation was undoubtedly understood to be a social-scientific method of inquiry by its users, ironically the games themselves could not be utilised to evidence the superiority of any particular solution with any scientific certainty, and indeed they demonstrated just the opposite – the necessary plurality of interpretation.
15. The lab was founded in 1968. Richard D. Duke, 'Origin and Evolution of Policy Simulation: A Personal Journey', *Simulation & Gaming* 42, no. 3 (2011): 344.
16. Ibid., 349.
17. Indeed, many of these institutions were centres of the social-scientific turn in architecture and planning.
18. Henry Sanoff, *Designing with Community Participation* (Stroudsburg, PA: Dowden, Hutchinson & Ross, 1978).
19. Ernest E. Burden, *Design Simulation: Use of Photographic and Electronic Media in Design and Presentation* (New York: Wiley, 1985); Roderick J. Lawrence, 'Architectural Design Tools: Simulation, Communication and Negotiation', *Design Studies* 14, no. 3 (1993): 299–313.
20. Wesley C. Jones, 'Architecture Games', *Log*, no. 19 (Apr 2010).
21. Computers, however, were not central to the endeavour. Because the focus was on participant interaction, computers would eventually be utilised as a tool to calculate the consequences of decisions made in gameplay, but the simulation itself did not take place in the computer's virtual space. For instance, the instruction booklet for Feldt's CLUG included code for the computer's optional use. Allan G. Feldt, *The*

Community Land Use Game: An Heuristic Gaming Device (Ithaca, NY: Division of Urban Studies, Center for Housing and Environmental Studies, Cornell University, 1968). In contrast, American military gaming and simulations relied heavily on computation, leading one scholar to describe military strategy in the post-war as a 'closed world' that eschewed personnel's past experience in favour of data digestible by the computer in its decision-making. Paul N. Edwards, *The Closed World: Computers and the Politics of Discourse in Cold War America*, Inside Technology Series (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 1996).

22. In the early days of urban planning gaming simulations, it was hoped by some that simulations could help planners explore not only scenarios of actions within existing rules, but also help them understand the consequences of potential rule changes. Burnham Kelly, Dean of the College of Architecture at Cornell University, opened a conference on gaming and simulation in May 1968 with precisely these sentiments, though game designers themselves quickly abandoned this line of inquiry and focused their efforts on creating games in which playing was itself a learning experience for its participants. Burnham Kelly, Introduction, in *Selected Papers on Operational Gaming*, ed. Allan G. Feldt (Division of Urban Studies, Center for Housing and Environmental Studies, Cornell University, 1966), 3–4.
23. The custom of capitalizing the titles of urban planning and architecture games, even when they were not acronyms, was borrowed from the war games that served as their precedents.
24. Duke, *Gaming-Simulation in Urban Research,* 13.
25. Ellen Perry Berkeley, 'The New Gamesmanship', *Architectural Forum* (December 1968): 58.
26. Richard L. Meier, 'Foreword' in Duke, *Gaming-Simulation in Urban Research,* iii.
27. Ibid.
28. Bonta and Sanoff were by no means alone. A good indication of the range of games, game developers and their home institutions can be found in Luis H. Summers, 'Operational Games in Architecture and Design', *JAE* 33, no. 1 (1979).
29. 'Juan Bonta dies at age 62; U-Md. Architecture Professor,' *Washington Post*, Dec. 7, 1996.
30. CLUG was one of the most influential of the early planning games, as Feldt found himself invited to departments of planning, law, business, geography, sociology and economics in American and British universities to introduce students to his game and facilitate play. CLUG even made it onto the pages of such publications as *Newsweek*, *Playboy*, and the Northwest Airlines in-flight magazine, spreading awareness to the general public.
31. Berkeley, 'The New Gamesmanship'. 60.
32. Allan G. Feldt, 'Experience with Simulation/Gaming 1960–2010', accessed 22 October 2014, http://www.clug.co/2013-fifty-years-of-simulationgaming.html
33. Bonta, 'Simulation Games', 12.
34. Ibid.
35. Cedric Green, 'Playing Design Games', *JAE* 33, no. 1 (1979): 26.
36. 'Design, Games and Language', *Building International* 6 (1973): 617–18.
37. Bonta, 'Simulation Games', 14.
38. Ibid., 14–15.
39. Bonta, *Games in Design*, *Guest Lecture Series* (Muncie, IN, 1972), Lecture.
40. 'Prologue', *JAE* 33, no. 1 (1979).
41. Bonta, 'Simulation Games'. This was one of the fundamental arguments that Bonta would go on to make in his 1979 book *Architecture and its Interpretation.*
42. *Architecture and Its Interpretation: A Study of Expressive Systems in Architecture* (New York: Rizzoli, 1979). See chapter 3, 'Expressive Systems in Architecture', particularly 100–110.
43. Indeed, Bonta closes his book with the following: 'Architects are deluding themselves if they believe that they are addressing submissive audiences, eager to *communicate*; that their public wants by all means to understand (even to decipher, if necessary) the meaning of architecture as seen by the designer. Nothing could be further from the truth. What people want is to see *their own meanings* in the environment – with their own systems of values, from their own frames of reference, shaped by the expressive

systems that they share with their community but not necessarily the designer. And this is exactly what they do, whether designers like it or not'. *Architecture and its Interpretation,* 232.

44. Some of the games were also included in Sanoff, *Designing with Community Participation*.
45. *Design Games: Playing for Keeps with Personal and Environmental Design Decisions* (Los Altos, CA: W. Kaufmann, 1979), 12–13.
46. Ibid., 18–19.
47. Ibid.
48. Sanoff, *Designing with Community Participation*, 3.
49. Some of illustrative examples of the turn to the reader include Harold Bloom, *The Anxiety of Influence: A Theory of Poetry* (London and New York: Oxford University Press, 1975); Umberto Eco, *The Role of the Reader: Explorations in the Semiotics of Texts*, Advances in Semiotics. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1978); *The Open Work* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1989); Wolfgang Iser, 'The Reading Process: A Phenomenological Approach', *New Literary History* 3, no. 2 (1972); *The Act of Reading: A Theory of Aesthetic Response* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1978); Hans Robert Jauss, *Toward an Aesthetic of Reception*, Theory and History of Literature. Vol. 2 (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1982); Louise M. Rosenblatt, *The Reader, the Text, the Poem: The Transactional Theory of the Literary Work* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1978).
50. Tim Gough has written one of the very few articles on reader-response and architecture. While I take issue with some of his conclusions, his description of reader-response theory is accurate and accessible. See Tim Gough, 'Reception Theory of Architecture: Its Pre-History and Afterlife', *Architectural Theory Review: Journal of the Department of Architecture, the University of Sydney* 18, no. 3 (2013).

Biography

Elizabeth Keslacy is a doctoral candidate at the Taubman College of Architecture and Urban Planning at the University of Michigan and a Dissertation Fellow at the Winterthur Museum, Garden and Library. She is at work on her dissertation, entitled 'The Architecture of Design: the Cooper Hewitt, Smithsonian Museum of Design (1896–1976).' Her dissertation research explores architecture's shifting affiliations with the decorative arts and design in the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries, tracking the changing forms of utility imputed to historical ideas and objects between the pre-modern and Postmodern periods.

Visual Essay

Layers of Invisibility in Portuguese State Furniture Design, 1940–1974

João Paulo Martins and Sofia Diniz

In Portugal, the political regime resulting from the 1926 military coup – led almost throughout by António de Oliveira Salazar (1889–1970) – was known as *Estado Novo*. One of its main features was a policy of promoting architectural works and basic infrastructure in the country through the centralised organisation of services and a strict definition of procedures. In 1929, even before the creation of the Ministry of Public Works some three years later, the Directorate-General of Buildings and National Monuments (*Direcção-Geral dos Edifícios e Monumentos Nacionais* – DGEMN) was set up, an institution responsible for the planning and construction of public service buildings and the maintenance and conservation of Portugal's national monuments. In 1940, the intentions that motivated the DGEMN were replicated in the realm of furniture, with the creation of the Furniture Acquisition Commission (*Comissão para Aquisição de Mobiliário* - CAM), which remained active until 1980. As laid down by the law that created the commission (Decree-Law no. 30.359), the work of the CAM was to focus on 'studies and the acquisition of furniture for the State's buildings that are to be newly created, and others that have undergone radical alterations or extension works', with the aim of ensuring 'harmony between the furniture used and the architectural language of these buildings' to ensure the adoption of common principles', and to ensure 'the appropriate technical management and controls'.

However, the research project entitled *Móveis Modernos* (Modern Furnishings) has led us to acknowledge that the greater part of the work done by CAM was limited to a group of well-defined programme categories: buildings representing the state, including Parliament and the official residences of the president and prime minister, public offices, public care and health structures (with particular attention to tuberculosis and mental health), some schools, tourism (some hotels and the *Pousadas*), and installations for military and security forces (army, police and customs).[1] We also discovered that apart from CAM, other authorities in Public Works and other ministries also had responsibilities in furnishing and equipping state facilities, namely those promoting installations for specific functions, often having responsibility for large sets of public buildings across the entire country. We should also point out, among others, those authorities working in the realm of elementary and secondary education facilities, health services, justice venues, the agencies of the state bank, post offices and the universities of Lisbon, Porto and Coimbra, including the teaching hospitals. The Ministry for Overseas Territories (*Ministério do Ultramar*) had competencies for the furnishing of public buildings constructed in territories that were then Portuguese colonies; the Ministry of Justice was responsible for court buildings (with the exceptions of the central facilities in Lisbon and Porto); and the Ministry of Finance conducted works for diplomatic representation and facilities abroad.

This diversity of promoters meant that there were professionals working on furniture design in all of these authorities, employed in the fundamental work of guaranteeing the image and operation of the country's public services. This shows that the objective of centralising and imposing standards expressed in the law that created CAM was not fulfilled. And since the universe of agents with responsibilities for the design and decision-making process in this field was divided among different authorities and working programmes, its true dimension remains, even today, ignored by historiography.

The examples we have selected to illustrate the work of this group of agents help to build up a picture that throws light on a narrative that is often seen only in black and white. Through this approach we intend to provide a snapshot of significant cases of furniture design that have remained hidden under consecutive layers of invisibility – masked by preconceived ideas about the nature of the official architecture used by a repressive, conservative state, by a widespread lack of interest in architecture designed for the network of public services, and by a general failure to understand the smaller scale items (fittings and furniture) found in the universe of public buildings. From among the examples that we will look at, we will find evidence that even under restricted economic, political and social conditions, there was room for serious research and for a balanced search for consistency without excess, the results of which can be considered satisfactory. By acknowledging these works, we aim to contribute to a more integrated, complete view of the built environment, and to enrich the discussion on the products, processes and producers involved in design tasks within the sphere of the civil service.

This kindergarten (inaugurated, 1936; demolished, 1958) was a small part of a significant and exceptional plan implemented by the *Junta Geral do Distrito de Coimbra* in the central part of Portugal, under the direction of Fernando Bissaya Barreto (1886–1974), a physician and politician who adopted the most recent European initiatives as models in providing facilities for public care and health. Architect Luís Benavente (1902–1993) was associated with projects in this context from 1934. The use of tubular steel furniture was a recurrent theme in these works and a pioneering approach at the time in Portugal. This was clearly a legacy of central European modernism, promoting the use of replicas that closely resembled their international models – German and Austrian, as well as French – adapted to the specific needs of the programmes for which they were required and the country's available industrial resources.

Benavente was on the staff of the Ministry of Public Works from 1932, after receiving his diploma in architecture from the Porto School of Fine Arts in 1930. Over the following decades he would spend the most substantial part of his career adapting existing buildings to new functions, such as the *Palácio Foz* (1941–1953), in Lisbon, an eighteenth-century building which became the headquarters for the regime's official propaganda services. In this case, Benavente resolutely opted for revival furniture in the form of replicas rather than contemporary reinterpretations, thus attempting to establish links of continuity and mimicry with the architecture of the spaces he was dealing with. We might say that both in architecture and furniture design, this move away from a clearly modern language to a more classical, revivalist flavour is mainly due to his efforts to adapt to functional programmes and a specific architectural context. But this process also had a clear ideological basis: to relinquish international trends and technically-oriented solutions in favour of the products of the erudite elites of the past, considered better suited to conditions at that time.

Dr. Oliveira Salazar Kindergarten, Coimbra. Project (inaugurated 1936): architect Luís Benavente (1902–1993).
Photo: C. Henriques (ca. 1936). Private collection.

The furnishings and equipment intended to be used in high schools and technical colleges built throughout the country were designed at the *Junta das Construções para o Ensino Técnico e Secundário* (active within the ministry of Public Works during the period 1934–1969), namely by Jorge Tavela de Sousa (1914–1998), one of the designers working in that office.

The designs were meant to respond in a systematic and coordinated way to all planned functional needs (seats, tables and desks, containers, laboratory benches, gymnasium equipment, etc.), to be available in numerous dimensions and to take into account the various hierarchical categories. The catalogue thus created was used in around one hundred building projects (twenty-nine secondary schools and sixty-nine technical colleges), which were designed and executed up until the end of the 1960s, using common functional and ideological guidelines.

A certain art deco taste is visible in the shapes of these items, with their elementary volumes, flat surfaces and straight lines, combined with natural, elegant curves, mostly built from the dense, dark, heavy, highly resistant types of wood that the vast colonial territories provided at the time. Such a preference was justified by the expectation that they would be used on a daily basis by many pupils, teachers and other staff for decades to come. The existence of a catalogue of furniture types testifies to the need to find a way to facilitate the process of school installations, but also to the fact that a level of understanding had been reached on the needs and uses of these facilities, providing a tried and tested *corpus*.

Tavela de Sousa did not complete his training as an architect at the Lisbon School of Fine Arts, and his professional career led to scarce personal visibility. He employed his graphic skills in collaborating with older professionals or in partnerships with colleagues of his generation.

Francisco Arruda Technical College, Lisbon. Office. Furniture design (inaugurated 1956): Jorge Tavela de Sousa (1914–1998). Photo: Mário Novais (ca. 1956) FCG / BA. Mário Novais estate.

For the Palace of Justice in Porto (inaugurated 1961), architect Raul Rodrigues Lima designed an extensive plan, with complete, formal coherence between architecture and furniture, and in a tone both monumental and authoritative, much favoured by the conservative and totalitarian character of the regime. In finding a solution to this project, Lima then recognised that he had established a close dialogue with the agents of power, namely the Director General for Justice, in order to codify the desired order and materialise the intricate hierarchical web of justice.

Rodrigues Lima (1909–1980) graduated as an architect from the Porto School of Fine Arts in 1931. Appointed deputy architect of the Commission for Prison Construction (1939), he was responsible for planning several dozen prisons throughout the country. At the same time, in his own private practice, and with an undeniable overlapping of status, he worked on several official commissions – sixty or so building projects for law courts, including furniture – executed in a solid formal language but with no particular boldness.

Rodrigues Lima's extremely fruitful career in public procurement has received scarce recognition from either critics or historiography, no doubt due to the stigma of his having been an architect close to the regime, the nature of the programmes in which he worked (particularly within the context of restricted freedom and repression), and the language he adopted to achieve this.

Palace of Justice, Porto. Architecture and furniture project (inaugurated 1961): architect Raul Rodrigues Lima (1908–1980). Photo: Mário Novais (ca. 1961) FCG/BA. Mário Novais estate.

The modern-style blocks of the main building of the Service for the Development of Mining in Porto (*Serviço de Fomento Mineiro;* 1958–1959, inaugurated 1963) housed structures that represented the institution and its hierarchy (director's office, meeting room, auditorium, etc.), as well as laboratories and other working areas. For the furniture project, the architects engaged in an exercise of modern design that was somewhat eclectic in its choice of references: Scandinavian in the elegance of the structures, but also Italian in the refinement of construction details and geometric complexity.

A movement clearly intended to bring official Portuguese production once again closer to that of the international architectural culture of the time was implemented from the second half of the 1950s, both by civil service architects working for the state and independent professionals contracted specifically for occasional jobs. This happened either in Lisbon, where state control would supposedly have been tighter, or in Porto, where, according to more conventional historiography, the distance from the main decision-making centres allowed architects a greater degree of freedom of action.

In this particular project we find a partnership between architects Eduardo Coimbra de Brito (1930–1999) and António Linhares de Oliveira. Brito graduated from the Porto School of Fine Arts in 1957. He was on the staff of DGEMN from 1959 on and remained a civil servant for most of his career, becoming Director of Building and Monuments of the Centre Region (1995–1997). Oliveira was a civil servant with the *Serviço de Fomento Mineiro*; he graduated as an architect from the Porto School of Fine Arts in 1966.

Service for the Development of Mining, Porto. Architecture and furniture project (1958–1959; inaugurated 1963): architects Eduardo Coimbra de Brito (1930–1999) and António Linhares de Oliveira. Armchair (model 10).
Photo: Luísa Ferreira, 2013.


FIVES-CAIL BABCOCK

The Officers' Mess (1955–1957) at Pedrouços in Lisbon was built as a support structure for the Institute of Advanced Military Studies, an institution dedicated to the higher education of army officers. Norberto Correa (b. 1926) worked on its furniture project and interpreted its functional programme as a hotel facility, adopting the modern expression of the most recent standards for this type of structure. Given that it was a building to be used by officers of the armed forces, it is surprising that its author achieved such a degree of creative autonomy in working for an authority that might have been expected to exert conservative pressure on those responsible for its design.

Corrêa graduated in architecture from the Lisbon School of Fine Arts in 1953. He worked as a member of the official body that planned the University Campus of Lisbon, and went on to have a long career as an independent professional, involved in projects that ranged from urban planning to architecture, interiors and furniture – particularly in the hotel sector. Despite the vast amount of work accomplished by Corrêa both at home and abroad, recognition of his work and critical acclaim are still slow in coming.

Officers' Mess, Pedrouços, Lisbon. Architecture project (1955–1957): architect Sabino Correia; furniture project (1957): architect Norberto Corrêa (b. 1926).
Main living room. Photo: Mário Novais (ca. 1957) FCG / BA. Mário Novais estate.

The Institute of Tropical Medicine *(Instituto de Medicina Tropical*) was one of the first furniture projects for which architect José Luís Amorim (1924–1999) was fully responsible. In its creation, he established a number of principles and models that he subsequently developed in several other furniture and facilities projects for DGEMN up until the 1970s. Amorim mainly designed furniture for public buildings in Lisbon and the surrounding region – namely, the *Junta de Energia Nuclear* headquarters (1961; 1965–1980); the National Agronomy Station (from 1962); the National Library (1965–1968); the Doctor Ricardo Jorge National Health Institute (1967–1971); the Palace of Justice in Lisbon (inaugurated 1970); and the Infante D. Henrique Naval College (1970; inaugurated 1972).

On the whole, Amorim reinterpreted traditional typologies, formally modernised with an eye to the international trends of the time. He developed a coordinated series of items clearly related in their formal familiarity, matured and established over time. They included hierarchical series of seats, containers, desks, support furniture and laboratory benches. Initially, his work bore the mark of precision and a demanding assessment of needs, as well as a critical monitoring of the technical conditions of production and the respective results. This attitude later gave way to a tendency that apparently accommodates and settles for solutions not so well adapted to the specific context (scale, spaces, style and geometry), giving an impression of a lack of adjustment.

One positive feature of Amorim's performance as the official in charge of interventions of this kind in public works was his demanding and rigorous attitude towards monitoring the conditions of production in furniture contracts and their outcomes, sometimes in a very critical manner. The reports he made denote a constant demand for rigour in the production and installation of furniture and equipment, and present an inexhaustible diagnostic of problems, shortcomings and failures. Repeatedly over the years, he produced reflections on the system, developing plans and structuring solutions with a genuine commitment to solving problems and streamlining processes. Time and again, however, these efforts were hindered by the inertia of the other actors involved: managers, institutional officials and the industry.

José Luís Amorim graduated in architecture from the Lisbon School of Fine Arts in 1956. He was hired by the Ministry for Overseas Territories for urban planning and architecture functions (1958–1961), and was an employee of the Lisbon Municipal Council in the town-planning sector (1962–1968). Despite his considerable amount of work for the state, Amorim was never officially a civil servant of either the ministries of Public Works or Overseas Territories, and continued his career as an independent professional.

Institute of Tropical Medicine, Lisbon. Architecture project (1953–1958): architect Lucínio Cruz (1914–1999); furniture project (1955–1958): architect José Luís Amorim (1924–1999). Armchair and sofa (models P1 e PS1).
Photo: Patrícia Almeida, 2013.

Daciano da Costa (1930–2005) designed the most distinctive interiors in Lisbon's National Library (1965–1968): the principal reading room, the catalogue room, cafeteria, auditorium, director's office and meeting room. Some years after, he designed all the furniture for the documentation and meetings centre at the National Civil Engineering Laboratory (1971–1972). In both cases he managed to produce a mixed balance of civic monumentality and humanism, the familiar and the unexpected, together with an appropriate sense of scale for the whole and the detail, recalling the history of modern design in a clear, geometrical language and, with an undeniable author's mark, wisely avoiding monotony and repetition.

After graduating as a painter from the Lisbon School of Fine Arts in 1961, Daciano not only dedicated himself to interiors and furniture design, but also to industrial design and teaching. His own research involved a constant, critical attitude towards the public facilities' project – he consistently refused to become a civil servant in the design field for fear that this might make his position more limited or less demanding.

In defending methods of design in achieving an adequate and rational approach to context, Daciano did not underestimate the roles of sensitivity, intuition and virtuosity in challenging convention, even in his work on civil service interiors. The diligence and talent he brought to the various activities in which he became involved guaranteed him total professional autonomy, and – unheard of until then – distinction among his peers and in the eyes of the critics and the public, which irreversibly removed the many layers of invisibility that had impeded public awareness of those activities for so long.

Documentation Centre, National Civil Engineering Laboratory, Lisbon. Architectural project (1964–1972): architects Norberto Corrêa (b. 1926) and J. G. Pinto Coelho; interior architecture and furniture project (1971–1972): designer Daciano da Costa (1930–2005). Meeting Room. Photo: Anonymous, ca. 1972. Daciano da Costa estate.

Note

'Modern Furnishing. The work of the Furniture Acquisition Commission in the Scope of the Directorate-General of Buildings and National Monuments. 1940–1980'. This project was conducted by the *Centro de Investigação em Arquitetura, Urbanismo e Design* of the Faculty of Architecture, University of Lisbon, with support from the Foundation for Science and Technology. As a result, the exhibition *Respect and Discipline Imposed Upon All* was held in Lisbon at the Museum for Design and Fashion (MUDE, *Museu do Design e da Moda, Coleção Francisco Capelo*; July–November 2014). See also J. P. Martins (ed.), *Mobiliário para Serviços Públicos em Portugal 1934–1974* (Lisbon: Caleidoscópio, 2015); J. P. Martins, S. Diniz, 'Layers of Invisibility. Portuguese State Furniture Design 1940–74', European Architectural History Network, Third International Meeting 2014, Turin.

Biographies

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Review Article

Mapping the (Invisible) Salaried Woman Architect: The Australian Parlour Research Project

Karen Burns, Justine Clark and Julie Willis

The (invisible) salaried woman architect: The Parlour project

During the 1970s, feminist historians highlighted 'women's invisibility' in written histories and argued that these absences exposed structural biases in history writing.[1] Through mainstream history and its privileging of particular topics and institutional structures, history's very objects of inquiry threatened to perpetuate women's invisibility. For example, although women had been political participants throughout history, they had organised and operated in informal ways and their practices were marginalised within the historical record.[2] For some historians, it was not simply a task of adding women in and correcting exclusion with inclusion. Instead, writers invented new subjects and unknown topics and drew on unfamiliar sources in order to enable 'the prevalent structures and experiences of women's lives' to be recognised and accorded the same level of interest as men's stories.[3] The trope of invisibility governed both history writing and contemporary political action. Historian Joan Scott joined historical inquiry to present-day protest by declaring that 'women's subordination – past and present – was secured at least in part by their invisibility.' 'Making women evident' became a political project.[4] The idea of the 'salaried architect' has particular resonance for feminist projects driven by concepts of historical invisibility and the bias and privileges of the dominant historical narrative.

Footprint has invited writers to consider the category of the 'salaried architect', particularly those architects in the service of bureaucracies. This special journal issue retrieves a domain of 'invisible' architects, and our paper offers a distinctive focus on the topic by exploring the gendering of the salaried architect. We begin by drawing attention to the over-representation of women as salaried architects in both the historical record and contemporary practice. Moving beyond this demographic outline, the paper studies women architects' everyday work in the office.[5] Focusing the gaze of historians and theorists on the office rather than the building site provides an important shift of attention that challenges them to conceptualise the production of buildings within the organisation of the architectural workplace. Mythologies of design genius are countered by an analysis of the conditions of production. Furthermore, investigations of work and gender reveal an even less visible topic: the stratification of architectural professionals through labour hierarchies. Women are over-represented as employees and part-time workers, with lower earnings and reduced status. As we will argue, these absences and delays can be explained by the theory of 'accumulative disadvantage', a term denoting the uneven but persistent and accumulating impacts of gender stereotypes on individual careers. Finally, this paper describes some of the activist programmes founded by Parlour. We will explain how these initiatives work to transform the everyday office lives of women in architecture.

Research on women architects and their daily labour must strive against a double invisibility: it

has to contend with both low numbers of women in the profession and a dearth of information on the quotidian practices of the office. The environment in which many architects spend their working lives remains obscure, and office life is generally omitted from accounts of buildings, design, or narratives of architecture's symbolic meaning. In order to discover the hidden workings of gender and the architectural office, this paper draws on a large inquiry undertaken by a team of researchers that investigated women and the Australian architectural profession during 2011–2014.[6] As part of a broad study, the research project mapped the micro practices of the workplace. By studying transactions, exchanges and tacit practices, we came to understand how particular professional and institutional rules and unconscious processes limit women's participation and delay career progression. We theorise the everyday practice of architecture by drawing attention to work cultures, hierarchies and rules. The architectural office is a site for producing, distributing and maintaining work 'norms' and identities. These norms include beliefs on how work should be organised and distributed, and involve mechanisms that produce and reinforce powerful mythologies of the 'ideal' architectural worker.

The figure of the salaried woman architect dominates the larger history of women in architecture and still forms the majority experience of female architectural professionals. Historical scholarship has confirmed the presence of women in the design and construction of architecture and attested to their later qualification as architects when the professionalisation of architecture progressed in the second half of the nineteenth century.[7] From early pioneers, women increasingly became active members of the profession in many Western societies, their presence encouraged by the establishment of formal, institutionalised architectural education. Their small numbers reflect the difficulties such women faced in joining the profession, but individual stories of architectural engagement were not, by definition, ones of overt discrimination. Digging far enough into the historical record reveals these women architects, usually working quietly in a large firm or on their own, carving out a place for themselves within the profession and earning the respect of their clients, colleagues and peers.

To reveal the history of women architects, the researcher needs to delve further than the 'named' architect and, in doing so, calls into question the standard practices of architectural historiography, where the named architect of a work, be it a partnership or individual, is considered the author of the work. For the history of women architects is, in many instances, the history of architects working for other architects – the hidden labour force that fuels the profession and its production. The historical record of the profession consists of evidence that is commonly left behind: professional journals, reports in the popular press, photographic collections, drawing collections, and manuscript and archival holdings. Architectural activity by individuals is largely understood through the tropes of named architects – owners of firms – rather than those who work for them, simply because these are the names attached to buildings. Only in the details of drawings and job lists can the keen observer determine the other hands that contribute to such works.

The question might be why women were – and are – more likely to work for another architect. Prior to second-wave feminism, the answers lay in social expectations or gender norms that had a significant limiting effect on women's full participation in every aspect of the architecture profession. Women lacked capital or access to it due to their exclusion from inheriting capital and obtaining bank credit, which limited their capacity to start and run businesses. They faced gendered assumptions or structures that limited their access to potential clients (such as men's clubs or public bars). They faced assumptions about their physical and mental capacity for the demands of architectural practice,

or about their predilections for certain types of architectural practice, which tended to pigeon-hole or propel them towards domestic practice, interior design or 'caring' institutional work, such as welfare buildings and hospitals. Women also faced expectations that, for many, dictated their enforced departure from the profession upon marriage and/or childbirth, underscored by a lack of social services to support a continued engagement with their career. The capacity to marshal capital and clients and to undertake significant risk are the factors that enable architects to begin, and to control, their own practices – factors that probably continue to play a major role in the career decisions made by contemporary women architects. Working for someone else was, and remains, the safe option in the volatile world of architectural work.

The project

Footprint's call for a study of 'salaried architects' positions itself against the canon's roll-call of individual signatures by focusing on the larger organisational structures of 'inconspicuous offices and unexciting departments'. Our research on women within the organisational structure of the profession also moves beyond individual names. Instead of representing architecture as a collection of designers and design, our project presents a demographic portrait of the profession. Focusing on demography transforms the categories we bring to bear on architecture. Instead of searching for key buildings or names, architects are sorted into gender categories and then further sorted by age, employment level, owner or employee, salary, weekly hours worked and full or part-time status. These categories construct a social portrait of the profession.

Introducing gender, a social category, into a discussion of architects and architectural practices displaces design 'talent' as the criteria for historical notability. Instead of asking how architecture shapes the social practices of everyday life, we inquire into how architecture operates as a social practice: who is included and excluded, promoted and rewarded, noted and ignored. Gender as a category of analysis reveals stark differences between men and women's participation in the profession. By focusing on cohorts we mask individual identity and suppress accounts of buildings and offices as the expression of key individuals. Examining the group instead of the individual brings structural patterns and privileges to the fore. Everyday social practice operates within the profession. The social is not an exterior world but an internal dynamic.

In the 1830s, the British government introduced large-scale statistical mapping as civil servants worked to better know, administer and (many would add) control its population. Statistical mapping makes a population visible. Our gendered architectural demography exposes gender differences within the profession and allows us to see architecture's distinctive differences from university populations, other professions and society as a whole. The graphic shown in Figure 1 provides a key evidence base.[8] [fig. 1] Firstly, we can map the participation rate of women in the profession when compared to women within university architecture schools. In October 2012, women comprised 21% of registered architects in the Australian Commonwealth, but this registration figure is much lower than the 44% graduation rates of women architects in the period 2005–2010. A comparison with the 2011 census data unearths a slightly more promising insight into women's participation in architecture. The census maps women and men who self-nominate as architects, and here women working in architecture comprised 28% of the overall category – the 2011 Australian census includes 4,138 women who identify as architects, yet there are only 2,079 registered women architects in the profession's official institute and registration rolls. Half the women working as 'architects' participate in the profession outside formal means of recognition, in comparison to 27% of men.[9] [fig. 2] The census brings mixed news. It's cheering to know that there

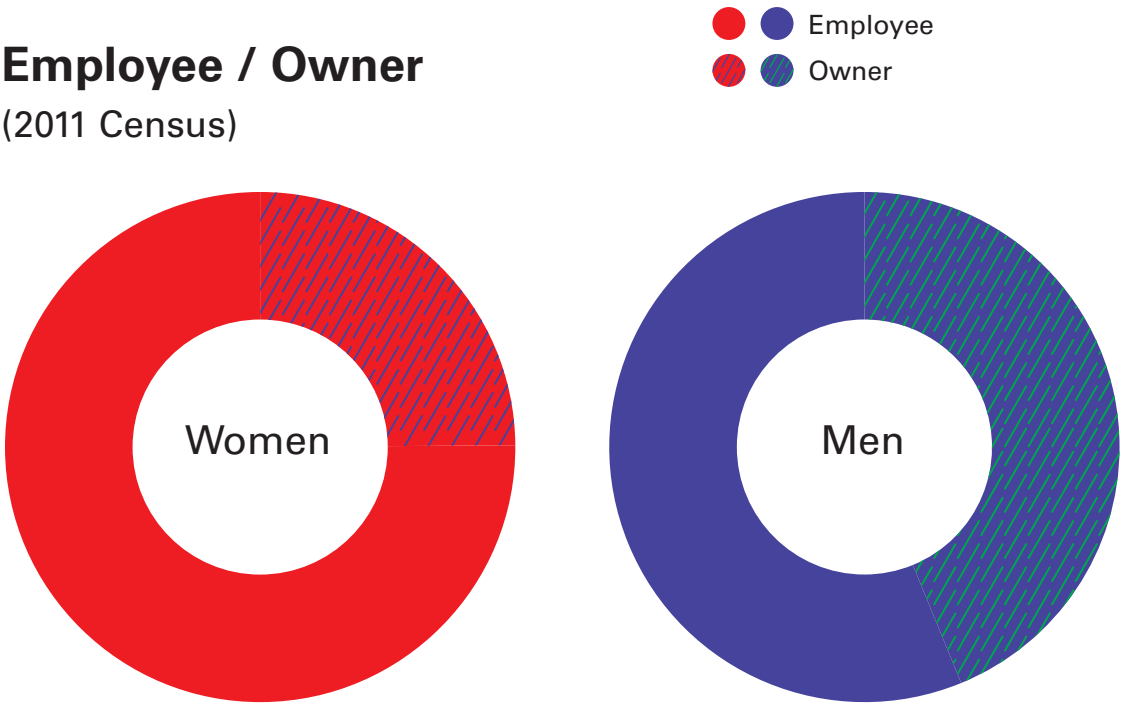

Fig. 1: Employees and owners. Data compilation and analysis by Gill Matthewson. Source: 2011 Australian Census.

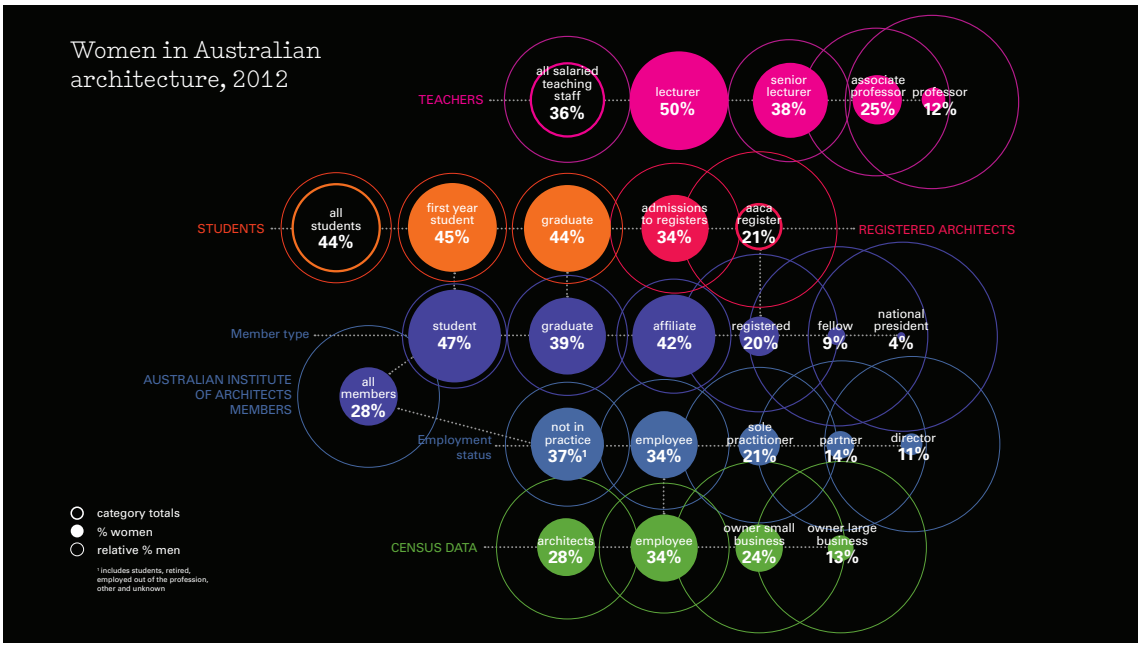

Fig. 2: Women in Australian Architecture (2011). Data collection and analysis led by Gill Matthewson, with data visualisation by Georgina Russell and Catherine Griffiths. Sources: University schools of architecture; State registration boards; Architects Accreditation Council of Australia combined register, 2012; Australian Institute of Architects, Architecture Schools of Australasia Handbook, 1988–2013; ABS 2011 Census of Population and Housing, customised data, code Architect ANZSCO 232111; Paula Whitman, Going Places: The Career Progression of Women in the Architectural Profession, Brisbane: Queensland University of Technology, 2005; Julie Willis, A Statistical Survey of Registered Women in Australia, Adelaide: University of South Australia, 1997.

are more women in the profession than are officially mapped, although it raises the issue of a continuing gap between school and work participation rates. Women's over-representation in the informal group has significant implications: being registered gives greater access to the traditional power structures through which reputations are made and influence obtained. This is also one of the principal means of attaining professional visibility.

Secondly, we can map women across professions. When we examined comparable professions we discovered that architecture was exceptional in retaining lower numbers of women. In law women comprise 46% of legal professionals, and in medicine women make up 36% of the overall professional group. And, lastly, we might map architecture against a map of Australians. In Australia, women are 51% of the overall population. Australian architecture does not reflect civil society or correlate well with other professional groups.

Comparing the two categories of male and female participation rates presents a stark gender differential but offers little insight into how this disparity comes into being, or where men and women are clustered in the profession. The 2011 Australian Census data can be used to offer a more fine-grained account of demographics by age, employment position and salary level. This material identifies the importance of life stages and age cohorts beneath the larger categories of male and female architects. We discovered that women cluster at the younger end of the profession.[10] This is not surprising, because at a certain point in the career journey the shared profiles of men and women architects rapidly diverge. In the 2011 census, men aged 25–29 comprise 53% of the workforce, but at age 30 the number of men increases to make up 63% of the profession. The proportion of women in the profession reflects graduation rates until age 30, after which there is a significant decline.[11] The disappearance of women will be discussed in the next section, but here we will focus on a further stratification of the profession and how it reflects the gendering of participation.

The majority of architects in Australia are employees, 62.3%, an increase from 2006 when 58.6% of architects were listed as employees. In 2011, women comprised 76% of employees, while 10.9% were owner / managers of incorporated enterprises, and 12.1% owner / managers of unincorporated enterprises. The architectural profession is unusual amongst Australian professions in its high rates of owners / managers – 36.7% compared to 14% for other professions – and architecture appears to be an industry dominated by smaller enterprises. The Parlour surveys indicate that women who are directors of practices tend to lead small practices.

Our project was driven by an initial inquiry into women's under-representation at senior management levels and in leadership positions, but we aimed to map and record the voices of women at the top, middle and bottom of the profession. Nevertheless, any portrait of women in Australian architecture is the result of writing contemporary history from below.[12] If the 2011 Australian census records that 76% of women architects describe themselves as employees compared to 56% of men in architecture, lumping women architects into one category does not map stratification amongst women. [fig. 3] Female architects are scarce in the upper levels of the profession, and since most women are employees rather than directors, women generally experience different workplace power relations and exercise different professional agency.[13] The public representation of women in architecture and the voices of women architects are dominated by women leaders, just as the public representation of men in architecture is dominated by the voices of male leadership. Noting the salaried woman architect majority acknowledges the experiences of many and raises, of course, the broader issue of the

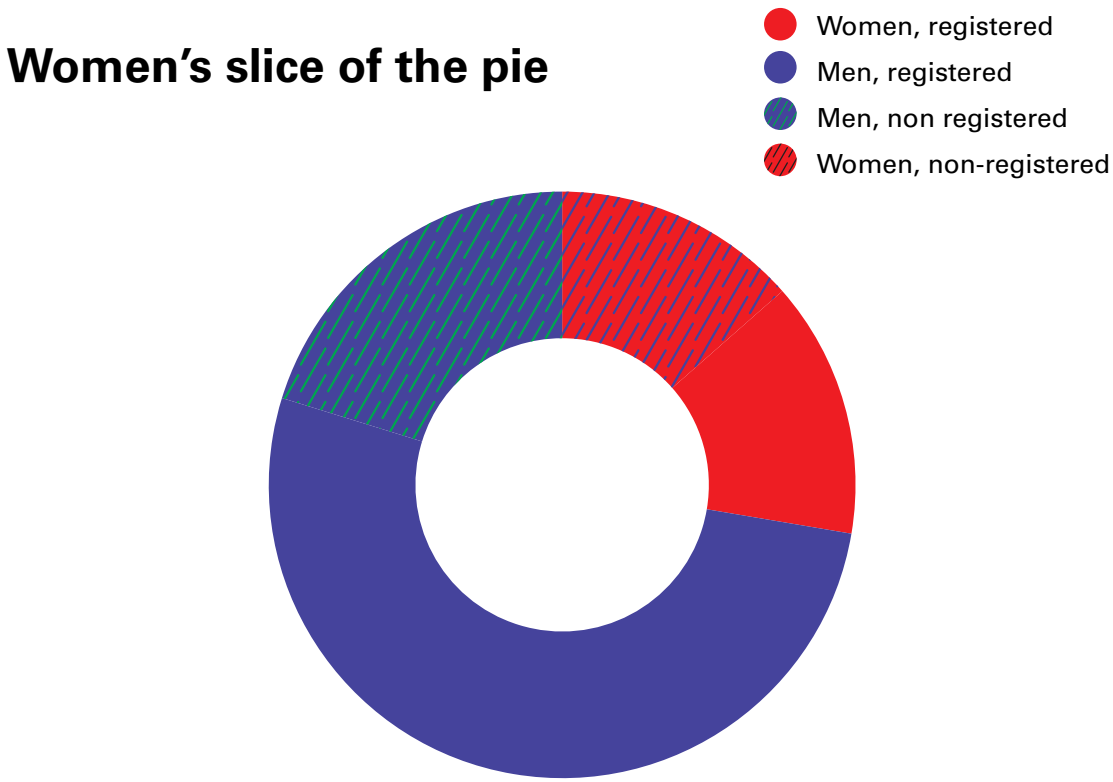

Fig. 3: Women's slice of the pie, registration data combined with information from the 2011 Census. Data compilation and analysis by Gill Matthewson.

differences between the general category ‘woman’ and the differences between women.

Written narratives of women’s professional lives are caught between the large social structures of gender and the particular texture of individual life stories. Feminism argues that gender is formed and experienced in the everyday, and that ‘experience’ is central to feminist analysis, but tension remains between the specificity of singular experiences and the general characteristics of groups of women. Feminist theory has long acknowledged conflicts between the political strategy of speaking on behalf of all women in order to press for gender equality, and the range of differences amongst women.[14] These difficulties form a central dynamic of feminism, which still posits everyday experience as a primary field for analysis: a place where structure and individual account interleave.

One way to better include the silent majority in discussions and portraits of the profession is through large-scale online surveys. We conducted two surveys. The first of these, ‘Where Do All the Women Go?’, aimed to establish a broader portrait of women’s participation, to which twelve hundred women responded. The second survey ‘And What About the Men?’ asked an identical set of questions to which 900 men responded. The surveys took an expanded view of what constitutes architectural engagement and activity, and captured those working in non-traditional ways within architecture, including a substantial number of women working to all intents and purposes as architects within conventional practice, but without being registered. The survey also sought information about those who had either moved sideways into allied fields or ‘left’ architecture.

Our findings confirm those of earlier surveys in Britain and Canada, but a much finer grain is added to the picture by augmenting the formal architectural measurement of school and registration and institute rolls with data from quite different sources, drawn from the census and our own surveys.[15] This new detail enables us to identify pressure points for women, and to map the differences between male and female careers in architecture. Variation in women’s working lives is under-theorised in architecture, where data is invariably organised around the category of ‘Women’ as a starting point.[16] Our project seeks to address this by developing a theoretical framework through which we might discuss difference as well as similarity. Two ideas are useful in framing the heterogeneous nature of women’s experience in architecture: firstly, the recognition that disadvantage and advantage are both cumulative, and, secondly, the idea of a career as a journey marked by key career turning points.

The notion of accumulative advantage and disadvantage is a powerful concept for explaining the delays or acceleration of individual careers. Very few women in our survey reported an illegal incident of sexual discrimination or sexual harassment. Discrimination occurs in much more informal ways, beyond the definitions enshrined by law. Instead, the instances of discrimination experienced by our women survey respondents were more cloaked: the withdrawal of leadership roles in project work when a woman architect began an IVF programme, the accidental discovery of gendered salary discrepancies for the same roles, or the failure to be considered for leadership opportunities. Together, these incidents reveal a pattern of slow erosion of equity.

Our research inquiry was interested in progress and delays as we sought to explain the barriers and pathways that constructed women’s march upwards, downwards, or their stasis within office structures. Whilst a snapshot focus on statistical data is useful, a longer-term model of women’s working lives across time is important for developing a meaningful analysis of women across the decades. A parallel study of women in the construction industry aimed to describe women professionals through their

career journeys, and this idea has been usefully borrowed to analyse women in architecture.[17] The 'journey' structure can highlight seminal events and turning points, and it allows for the accretion of incidents and responses. Such a narrative framework enables us to incorporate the multiple intersecting factors that work to disadvantage women, a multiplicity that is not easily captured in a crisp 'problem and solution' message about gender problems. Although conventional models of storytelling – such as the narration of historical change – often focus on decisive events with causal consequences, in order to make sense of women's careers we have to conceptualise the problem differently. One frame for doing this is the idea of 'everyday sexism', a pervasive, frequently low-level form of discrimination.[18]

Constructing accounts of women's careers over time as they intersect with key career milestones and life events also allows us to account for variations in experience of gender disadvantage and the use of gendered explanations to account for individual experiences. Anecdotally, we have noticed a profound 'feminist belief gap' between many students / recent graduates and women in their 30s and above. This can be accounted for by the structuring conditions of women's experience as they begin their careers in architecture. Many young women have spent years in educational institutions with strong administrative provisions for gender equality. This is not to suggest that no gender discrimination occurs within the secondary schooling or university system, but much stronger systems of governance do prevail.

When women leave university and move way from these heavily managed bureaucratic systems, their careers unfold in complex ways. Women's advancement in key professional fields and the factors producing or inhibiting career progression have been studied and theorised by Professor Virginia Valian. She argues that success can rarely be attributed to one breakthrough event, but that 'success is largely the accumulation of advantage, the parlaying of small gains into larger ones.'[19] Just as success accumulates, disadvantage similarly accumulates through small, incremental occurrences. This thesis of accumulative advantage and disadvantage allows us to incorporate the many different moments of missed opportunity that our women survey respondents reported: the small gendered salary gap, the failure to be offered leadership on a project, the gendered distribution of tasks, the inability to find meaningful part-time work after returning from a maternity and childcare break. These may all be micro events but they cascade.

This theory of everyday micro events acting as the builders of accumulative disadvantage needs to be supplemented by a theory of key career turning points – our second framework. Having children and caring for them is one of the major career turning points for many women in architecture. It is perhaps no coincidence that men and women's careers diverge after the age of 30, when a woman's career coincides with the lifecycle of pregnancy, childbearing and childrearing. Conflicts between clock time and care time, or office time and home time can be discerned if we consider the broader context of work patterns.

Architects work long hours. Data gathered from the 2011 census records high levels of overwork and long working hours in the Australian architectural profession. In an analysis of the data gathered in late 2011, of those who self-nominate as architects, 32% of men aged 40–44, and nearly 35% of men aged 55–59, work 49 hours or more per week. Just under 30% of men aged 60–64 work 49 hours or more. Only half the number of women reported working more than 49 hours a week: 11.92% of women compared to 26.35% of men, making a total for all architectural workers of 22.37%.[20] Architecture diverges from other Australian professions in its high rates of overwork (40+ and 49+ hours per week), which are several percentage

points higher than other professions.[21] Particularly telling is the data on working hours and the availability – or lack – of part-time work. This reveals that architecture is less supportive of part-time work than other professions, and our survey responses suggested that the low levels of part-time work and the drive for long hours impact particularly on women.[22] [fig. 4] In architecture, office time dominates people's working lives. The data on work hours can be tied to the micro stories supplied by architects as responses to our survey. These stories suggest that the preference for full-time work, the long hours culture in architecture and normative gender ideals have significant negative effects on the careers of women caregivers.

Women respondents were riled that the survey did not ask directly about children, although it did ask about caring responsibilities. Stories about the impact of children on careers dominated many of the open-ended survey responses. Some respondents declared that care and career were incompatible. 'Architecture + babies + no options' said one woman and another respondent declared: 'Children and major corporations do not mix.' Women architects parenting young children described their careers as 'slowed down', 'shaky', 'on hold', 'stalled' and 'unsupported'. Several of the respondents puzzled over the impact of a fairly brief period of maternity leave of six months on a subsequent career slow down.[23] Gender ideals and gender norms come into play.

When we first began this project we encountered a folkloric belief that women's disappearance from the profession could be attributed to their childbearing responsibilities alone. This is a particularly pernicious narrative that can exempt architecture from changing its working culture. Women's continuing participation and presence in the profession is a more complex issue than maternity and childcare. If the problem is envisaged as a purely biological issue, women's 'disappearance' can be externalised as a societal issue: women have babies and provide the greater share of care. The impossible reconciliation of an architectural career and childcare is sometimes blamed on construction industry schedules: architects explain that their hands are tied by clients and builders, who expect consultations on a demand basis rather than according to an agreed timetable. In these accounts, the problem is seen as external to the profession, and the profession adopts a passive, 'feminised' position of having no agency to change the situation. Importantly, survey anecdotes and knowledge sharing at our consultation sessions have also unearthed architectural offices that provide a positive range of working structures and methods, and this knowledge has gone into the Parlour Guides to Equitable Practices, to be discussed below. Nonetheless, Immediate Past President of the Australian Institute of Architects Paul Berkmeier has noted a 'resistance to other ways of working' in the profession.

The issue of discrimination within the profession cannot be tackled if women's lower rates of participation are explained away by their biological role as mothers. As Valian's work discovered, childless women in other professions experience slower rates of progression than men. Even in workplaces 'where nothing seems to be wrong, where people genuinely and sincerely espouse egalitarian beliefs and are well intentioned, where few men or women overtly harass women', they still experience slower rates of advancement. She argues that we need a much more widespread understanding of how we all share a 'gender schema': a tacit mode of categorising and understanding the world through assumptions about gender and its attributes. These kinds of everyday cognitive structures are useful and not necessarily sexist but 'sexism steps in when values are attached and prescriptions imposed'.[24] Through evidence gathered from experimental psychological studies, Valian argues that both women and men are likely 'to overvalue men and undervalue women'. These presumptions affect our perceptions of competence – such as having a

Fig. 4: Hours worked per week, 2011. Data compilation and analysis by Gill Matthewson. Source: Australian Census.

higher threshold of competence to judge one gender rather than another. These values affect 'the ability of women to benefit from their achievements and to be perceived as leaders'.[25] The 'gender schema' concept deserves to be more widely disseminated to explain stubborn and subtle discrimination, and account for the kind-hearted and the adamantine.

Our surveys furnish anecdotal evidence and offer a fine-grained understanding of how workplaces operate through gender channels. Accounts from the workplace floor document the everyday operations of gender bias and norms and fill in the gaps between the statistical graphs. For over thirty years we have pondered why so few women remain in the profession after architecture school. Individual stories are portals into the daily grind of gendered relations.

Outcomes

Research and activist politics were linked at the project's inception, and media platforms became a central means to collect and disseminate information. Our project has pursued a number of activist outcomes in order to support gender change in architecture. This has happened incrementally as we disseminate the findings of the research. Some of the working patterns that impact most severely on women's career progression – and indeed their ability to stay in the profession at all – are based on perceptions about women and work, and in mythologies about architecture and labour: 'You can't be a part-time architect'; 'Women are less ambitious'; 'There is no gender pay gap'; or 'The only way to be a successful architect is to sacrifice all to the work.'

Although clearly ridiculous, such disciplinary myths and perceptions are slippery and persistent. Nonetheless, our research has provided the evidence to start disassembling these mythologies, and our activism has revealed a strong appetite for change among significant sections of the profession. Justine Clark developed a specific presentation addressed to these mythologies, but the project of 'attitudinal change' has also been confronted in two other ways.[26]

Information has been shared and published via our public platform 'Parlour'. The Parlour website was developed and continues to be edited by Justine Clark with support from the rest of the research team.[27] Parlour was launched a year after the research began as a place for women in Australian architecture to speak. It had multiple aims: to disseminate the research findings beyond academia; to offer a space for the architectural audience to reflect upon the research; to promote discussion and debate; to publish informed, provocative opinion; and to present a more complex, diverse view of what an 'architect' is.

In establishing Parlour, we were highly aware that there had been many reports on women in Australian architecture over the years, all of which had made excellent recommendations, yet few of these had been followed. We realised that if our work was to have a widespread impact we had to create a strong demand for it – a demand that would mean our reports and analysis could not be left to moulder on an institutional shelf. We had the advantage that our work was unfolding at a significantly different historical moment than earlier researchers had encountered. Nowadays, new media and social media offer wider possibilities for building a larger coalition and stronger consensus around the issue of gender reform. As other scholars have noted, the Internet offers social movements a further means of building a collective identity, disseminating information and achieving mobilisation, as well as acting as a lobbying mechanism for social andpolitical change.[28]

By November 2014, over 80,000 individuals from 3,836 cities and 172 countries had engaged with Parlour. Surprisingly, 38% of our participants come from outside Australia, enabling us to build connections with similar activist projects elsewhere. This expanded involvement has also added

Fig. 5: Covers of the Parlour Guides to Equitable Practice. Graphic design, Catherine Griffiths.

significant impetus and credibility to our campaign within Australia. We have continued to expand our Australian audience and, in doing so, have made gender and labour issues much more visible in the wider professional community. We publish opinion pieces on the workplace and architectural culture – some based on personal experience – and we alert readers to findings from studies of other professions. Inadvertently, perhaps, we have become a benign public watchdog on gender issues. As one architect commented recently, 'Parlour has put the profession on notice.'

Reports from other professional fields and Virginia Valian's research recommend transparency, structure and accountability as ways of advancing gender equity in the workplace. Recruitment, interviewing, promotion, pay, leave and project opportunities can all benefit from being more clearly structured and making their procedures and outcomes more transparent. To this end we have developed a series of eleven guides, the Parlour Guides for Equitable Practice. Topics include long hours, part-time work, recruitment, flexibility, career progression, negotiation, and leadership. [fig. 5] Each guide employs about nine to eleven pages to outline the issue, establish why it matters and provide strategies for change. This last section is addressed to multiple audiences: individual employee architects, employer practices, and institutional and professional bodies. Importantly, the guides acknowledge that different parts of the profession have different types of agency, and suggest that all of them can take a proactive role in facilitating change. The guides arm individuals, companies and organisations with the skills, knowledge and systems to activate these varying types of agency. This encourages the profession as a whole to attend to the work and labour practices of architecture – to see them and take them seriously, rather than looking straight through them.

Parlour aims to put women and gender at the centre of discussions on the future of the profession – another kind of visibility. In 2013, we held a one-day workshop: 'Transform: Altering the Future of Architecture'. Attended by two hundred architects, it addressed the question: 'If architecture was more equitable would is also be stronger?' Together, Parlour, the Parlour Guides and the Transform workshop have placed issues of workplace flexibility, reasonable working hours, broader definitions of the profession, and more diverse career pathways after architectural training at the centre of current debates about the future of the profession. These issues have moved from being 'women's issues' to becoming issues of concern for a far larger constituency. We have built consensus by focusing on these key issues and, in so doing, moved our agenda from the margins to the mainstream.

The initial research proposal foresaw certain outcomes, notably a Gender Equity Policy for the Institute of Australian Architects, and the compilation of information from parallel professions on effective structures for gender change. But one of our most important initiatives, the Parlour website, emerged as the project progressed. Parlour became a central means for collecting grass-roots information on the profession and the operations of the office. We undertook the large-scale online surveys via the Parlour website and gathered other information from the census, a little-used demographic resource, as well as collecting statistical data from more mainstream institutional bodies, such as architecture schools and the Australian Institute of Architects.

The final significant outcome of the project to be noted here is the first Australian Institute of Architects' Gender Equity Policy, developed over the course of a year by key members of the research team.[29] The policy formally acknowledges the underlying structural issues that result in inequitable opportunity for women in Australian architecture. It sets out an agenda for change and is obliged to monitor and report on progress.

Australia has a strong tradition of 'state feminism'. With the reforming Labour government of the early 1970s, key women's agendas were institutionalised through legislation; for example, the establishment of bureaucracies and budgets for specific new areas of state intervention, such as childcare and women's refuges.[30] Moving gender change into the Institute provides enormous legitimacy for the idea of structural gender inequity. Even if the policy has varied impacts within the broader profession – and we don't yet know what these will be – it establishes standards for the major industry body itself to adhere to. Now the Institute must begin by sorting out its own house.

Presenting the profession with a new, nuanced picture of itself has had multiple effects. It has provided many women architects with a larger and more visible context in which to understand their own career trajectory. This sense that they are not alone has been empowering for many. It has also helped architects, practices and institutions to see and recognise the systemic, structural issues at play in women's careers. Lastly, the process of making these statistics, stories and analyses visible – and indeed visualising them through striking graphics and presentations – has also helped us to convince sections of the profession that there is, indeed, a problem. This is the first step to initiating change.

Notes

1. Judith Allen, 'Evidence and Silence: Feminism and the Limits of History', in Carole Pateman and Elizabeth Grosz, *Feminist Challenges: Social and Political Theory* (Sydney: Allan and Unwin, 1986), 174.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.
4. Joan Scott, 'Feminism's History', *Journal of Women's History* 16, no. 2, (2004): 10–29.
5. Work has been a key topic for feminist historians. For a brief discussion see Elizabeth Fox-Genovese, 'Placing Women's History in History', *New Left Review* 1, no. 133 (May – June 1982): 23–28.
6. LP 100200107 'Equity and Diversity in the Australian Architecture Profession: women, work and leadership' led by Associate Professor Naomi Stead (University of Queensland).
7. See, for instance, the work of Lynne Walker on British women architects: L. Walker, 'Women in Architecture (1671–1951)', in L. Walker, ed., *Women Architects: Their Work* (London: Sorella Press, 1984), 7–28; L. Walker, 'The Entry of Women into the Architectural Profession in Britain', *Woman's Art Journal* 7, no 1, (1986): 13–18; and L. Walker, 'Women and Architecture', in *A View from the Interior: Feminism, Women and Design*, eds. J. Attfield & P. Kirkham (London: The Women's Press, 1989), 90–105; and numerous contributions on US women architects in S. Torre, ed., *Women in American Architecture: A Historic and Contemporary Perspective* (New York: Whitney Library of Design, 1977).
8. The project's statistical survey was compiled by Gill Matthewson within the larger project directed by Associate Professor Naomi Stead. Gill worked with research assistants Kirsty Volz, Georgina Russell and Chandana Rajanna to compile and check the statistical map. See Gill Matthewson, 'Appendix A: Women's involvement in the Australian architecture profession: building a clearer and more inclusive picture', accessed 8 July 2015, http://archiparlour.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/08/Appendix-A_womens-involvement-in-the-architecture-profession_sml2.pdf. See also http://archiparlour.org/ updating-the-numbers-at-school/; http://archiparlour.org/updating-the-numbers-part-2-at-work/; http://archiparlour.org/updating-the-numbers-part-3-institute-membership/; and http://archiparlour.org/the-half-life-of-women-architects/.
9. In contrast, 10,836 men in architecture are identified through the census and there are 7,877 registered male architects. This correlates with membership data from the Australian Institute of Architects. As Gill Matthewson points out: 'A minimum 65% of the women members are in membership categories that indicate they are definitely not registered architects.

These categories are: affiliate, graduate and student. With the male membership only a minimum 33% of the men fall into these same definitely-not-registered categories. Overall, 42% of the total membership is in these definitely-not-registered categories. This reminds us that the profession is larger than any count of registered architects can give us, but it is even larger for women.' See http://archiparlour.org/updating-the-numbers-part-3-institute-membership.

10. For example, although women make up 26% of members of the Australian Institute of Architects, over half of these women are either student (29%) or graduate members (24%), in contrast with one third of male members (17% students, 12% graduate). This is also evident in the registration statistics. Looking at the New South Wales Registration Board data, Gill Matthewson notes that 'in NSW the greater proportion of women are in the younger age groups: 77% of the practising registered women are under the age of 50, and 60% of the men are over the age of 50'. Gill Matthewson, 'Appendix A: Women's involvement in the Australian architecture profession', 8–11.
11. Gill Matthewson and Justine Clark 'The "Half Life" of Women Architects', Parlour, 15 September 2013, accessed 8 July 2015, http://archiparlour.org/the-half-life-of-women-architects.
12. 'Writing history from below', is of course a famous phrase from labour history. For a recent summary and review of new directions in this field of scholarship see Katrina Navickas, 'What happened to class? New histories of labour and collective action in Britain', *Social History* 36, no. 2 (2011): 192–204.
13. Julie Connolly et al., 'Appendix C: Architects in Australia: A snapshot from the 2011 Census' (Melbourne, Parlour, September 2013), 8.
14. Sneja Gunew, 'Feminist Knowledge: Critique and Construct', in *Feminist Knowledge: Critique and Construct* (London and New York: Routledge, 1990), 30–31.
15. Ann de Graft-Johnson, Sandra Manley and Clara Greed, 'Why Do Women Leave Architecture?' Technical Report. (Bristol and London: University of the West of England and Royal Institute of British Architects, 2003), and *Consultations & Roundtables on Women in Architecture in Canada*, assembled by Eva Matsuzaki with assistance from Patricia Gibb and Imbi Harding (2003).
16. New online survey technologies have made the process of large-scale surveys much easier. Earlier studies often worked with small survey samples. Val Caven's terrific research had a sample size of 49. See Val Caven 'Constructing a career: women architects at work', *Career Development International*, 9, no. 4/5 (2004): 518–531. Ten male and female architects are interviewed for Mary Shepard Spaeth and Katarzyna Kosmala's 'Identification through Disidentification: A Life Course Perspective on Professional Belonging', *Architectural Theory Review* 17, nos. 2–3 (2012): 216–233. Fowler and Wilson's landmark study interviewed seventy-two architects (both male and female), and used the analysis for the basis of their essay, Bridget Fowler and Fiona M. Wilson, 'Women Architects and their Discontents', *Sociology* 38, no.1 (2004): 101–119.
17. Shu-Ling Lu and Martin Sexton, 'Career Journeys and Turning Points of Senior Female Managers in Small Construction Firms', *Construction Management and Economics* 28 (February 2010): 125–139.
18. Karen Burns, 'The Elephant in our Parlour: Everyday sexism in architecture', Parlour, 20 August 2014, accessed 8 July 2015, http://archiparlour.org/the-elephant-in-our-parlour-everyday-sexism-in-architecture/.
19 Virginia Valian, 'Sex, Schemas, and Success: What's Keeping Women Back?', *Academe* 84, no. 5 (September/October 1998): 50–55.
20. Julie Connolly et al., 'Appendix C: Architects in Australia', 20.
21. Ibid.
22. The census data shows that 28% of women architects are employed part-time (as compared to 12% of men and 17% of all architects). This compares with 38% of women professionals as a whole and 26 % of all professionals. 'Appendix C: Architects in Australia'.
23. This section draws on a brief analysis provided by one of our researchers. See Sandra Kaji-O'Grady, 'The

open-ended responses in the Parlour surveys: Three views', *Architecture Australia* 103, no. 5 (September/October 2014): 65.

24. Virginia Valian, 'Beyond Gender Schemas: Improving the Advancement of Women in Academia', *Hypatia* 20, no. 3 (Summer 2005): 198–213.
25. Ibid.
26. Justine Clark, 'Six Myths about Women and Architecture', Parlour, 6 September 2014, accessed 8 July 2015, http://archiparlour.org/six-myths-about-women-and-architecture/.
27. Including Karen Burns, who came up with the name. Its striking visual identity was designed by Catherine Griffiths, while Peter Johns of Butterpaper advised on and built the website.
28. See Wim van de Donk, Brian D. Loader, Paul G. Nixon, Dieter Rucht, eds., *Cyberprotest: New Media, Citizens and Social Movements*, (London and New York: Routledge, 2004); Mary Joyce, *Digital Activism Decoded: The New Mechanics of Change* (New York: International Debate Education Association, 2010); and Shae Garwood, *Advocacy Across Borders: NGOs, Anti-Sweatshop Activism and the Global Garment Industry* (Sterling, VA: Kumarian Press, 2011).
29. The policy was developed by the Australian Institute of Architects' Gender Equity Working Group. Research team members Naomi Stead, Amanda Roan and Justine Clark sat on this group and were instrumental in assisting with the preparation of a draft policy. See http://archiparlour.org/australian-institute-of-architects-gender-equity-policy.
30. Marilyn Lake, *Getting Equal: The History of Australian Feminism* (Sydney: Allen and Unwin, 1999), 253–28.

Biographies

Karen Burns is an architectural scholar based at the University of Melbourne. Karen is co-founder of Parlour: women, equity architecture and participated in the Australia Research Council-funded project investigating gender equity in Australian architecture.

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Review Article

The Elusiveness of Welfare State Specificity

Tahl Kaminer

The welfare state

The recently published anthology *Architecture and the Welfare State*, edited by Mark Swenarton, Tom Avermaete and Dirk van den Heuvel, includes an array of intricate vignettes, linked via threads of common interest and impetus.[1] The anthology brings to the fore many under- or unacknowledged efforts by architects operating within the institutions of the welfare state, often embodying within their own work or practices the institutional worldview, as well as the types of negotiation required in the process of realising their ambitions. Its focus is not the 'heroic' modernism of the leading members of the movement, but the 'everyday' architecture that, at the end of the day, due to its proliferation and ubiquity, shaped the European built environment.

The anthology attempts to redeem the most vilified form of architectural modernism: social housing, often produced in tight relation to maligned planning and technocratic policies. The anthology is thus posited first and foremost against the postmodern critique of such architecture, though it also forgoes the redemption of an aesthetic form of modernism by Eisenman, Hadid, Meier and others, and counters the rejection of planning and large-scale development by the contemporary participatory movement.[2] It is also posited against a consumerist 'modernism' (often simply referred to as 'modern'). Consequently, the anthology implicitly opposes the systematic destruction of this architecture as well as the methodical demolition of the welfare state itself.

The argument presented in *Architecture and the Welfare State* is communicated already in the choice of title. The highly significant omission of 'modernism' infers the intention to avoid assimilating the discussion in the book into a familiar narrative of modernist development and dissipation that privileges an 'internal' and often aesthetic discourse on architecture. The preference of 'welfare state' to 'post-war' infers the desire to associate the architecture in question not just to an era but to a specific form of society. Yet the editors also avoid a title such as 'The Architecture of the Welfare State', which would reflect full commitment to such a thesis.[3] The mixture of courage and hesitation evident in the title adequately describes the aggregate position sketched by the diverse contributions available here – an attempt to pierce through the (ideological-specialist) walls separating 'architecture' from 'politics' and 'society' and to reach sharp and clear conclusions, contrasting the desire to remain academic, neutral and distantiated, and to avoid universalisms by focusing on particularities.

The task of the introductory article by the editors of such a volume is to provide context, to offer the necessary shared definitions, and to generally form the meta-argument that provides coherence and consistency, uniting the fragments into a whole. 'The aim [of the book] is to investigate the complex kinship between the welfare state and the built environment,' write the editors.[4] The anthology was produced via a series of symposia, and the editors react in their introduction to comments and questions

collated by Adrian Forty during the symposia, available in the book's appendix. One of the comments highlights the question of the limits of the territory covered by the term 'welfare state'; in particular, the relation of the welfare state to colonialism, the Cold War and the Eastern bloc. Colonialism and the Cold War served as 'externalities' to the welfare state and were consequently vital to its self-identity. The relationship both of these have with the welfare state is dealt with in the introduction and in the volume itself, yet the issue of the Eastern bloc is mostly disregarded.

This matters, because the editors strive to identify an architecture that is specific to the welfare states of Western Europe, produced by and for a specific society. A necessary step in achieving such a correlation is to identify major differences in the social structures, economies, institutional cultures and architecture of Western Europe, Eastern Europe, the USA and elsewhere. Or, in other words, to identify the particularity of all aspects of the welfare state itself. The volume appears to undermine such a case. It underlines the diversity of welfare states and emphasises international exchanges and influences.

A few important ingredients of the welfare state do not receive the attention they deserve in the introduction or in the book: Fordism, Keynesian economics, and *planism*. While Fordism was an organisational theory which emphasised efficiency and productivity, *planism*, developed in parallel in the 1930s by Belgian Henri de Man and the French Groupe X-Crise, was a technocratic theory which identified the means to plan society: a form of social engineering, via governmental policies and procedures. Likewise, Keynes' general theory was a product of the 1930s and a reaction to the 1929 crisis.

All three theories were put into practice globally to different degrees – in Europe, America, Asia and Africa. In this sense, the specificity of the welfare state appears difficult to pin down. Keynesian economics, however, is arguably the key to the particularity of the welfare states.[5] While Keynesian theory and policies were implemented circa 1960 in the United States by neo-Keynesian economists such as John Kenneth Galbraith, and by Khrushchev in the USSR, it was the West European welfare state which perfectly epitomised the 'spirit' of Keynes' theory. In the laissez-faire dominated United States, just as in the highly planned economy of the USSR, the implementation of Keynesian economics and its usefulness was selective and partial. Keynes' theory was aimed, arguably, at the type of mix of capitalism and planned economy achieved in Western Europe in the post-war years. The intertwining of a liberal democratic political process, capitalism, and a partially planned economy, mark the specificity of the welfare state.

Such a description identifies the differences between the welfare state, the Eastern bloc model and the United States as differences of degree. With Keynes' theory, Fordism and *planism* were assimilated into a global hegemonic order; differences of degree rather than substance are all that can identify the welfare state, yet these differences are, arguably, more substantial than those that separate the disparate welfare states. All this may seem like hair-splitting, but it touches upon the issue that is so vital to the book's argument; that is, the specificity of the welfare state, without which there cannot be a specific welfare state architecture.

Another issue worth questioning is the description throughout the book of the interwar period as a 'proto-welfare state' era.[6] While the importance of the era for the formation of the post-war welfare state is beyond doubt, a counter-argument emphasises the shortcomings of the social democratic governments and policies of this era in actually implementing, in a consistent way, any of the key aspects of the later welfare state. The social democratic parties

that came to power in France, Britain, Germany, Sweden and elsewhere were significantly different from their successors in the post-war period. They were positioned in an ambiguous place between 'evolutionary socialism' and revolution: on the one hand, their not-so-distant split from the Communist parties meant that their ethos was still Marxist and revolutionary, and that they fiercely opposed capitalism; on the other hand, they had become the political mouthpiece of the sectarian agenda of the trade unions, channelling the demands for higher wages and job security via 'bourgeois democracy'.[7] The economic, social and political programmes of these parties in the interwar years were extremely limited. The major proposal was nationalisation, but beyond a few minor and isolated cases, examples of nationalisation did not take place in European social democratic-run countries in the 1920s. So, while the interwar years evinced meaningful experimentations in social housing, planning and in other policies, in the absence of a rigorous economic or technocratic theory, the effects were necessarily very limited.

As mentioned above, the stated aim of the anthology is to discuss architecture via the particular lens of the welfare state. The anthology assembles an impressive set of contributors who have already demonstrated their prowess in previous endeavours. Each chapter opens with a general discussion of the relevant context, outlining the characteristics or key moments in the development of the local provision of welfare before investigating a particular case. Each writer brings his or her own approach to the question of the relation of architecture to society, offering the reader an overview of such arguments.

Architecture and society

The symbolic relation of architecture to society, or, alternatively, a shared worldview shaping both, appears in a number of chapters here. Hilde Heynen and Janina Gosseye, in discussing recreation and leisure buildings in post-war Flanders, point out that 'modern architecture['s] celebrated principles such as sobriety, rationality and functionality […] were in line with the equality, openness and social justice aimed for by socialist organizations.'[8] Eve Blau attributes symbolic meanings to Red Vienna, which merge with political intentions. While the symbolic, associative and representational relation is often considered a 'weak link', it nevertheless operates on a purely ideological or even political level.[9]

Less common but with its own history is the argument for the existence of a direct relation between architectural typology, urban morphology and society. Here, it appears in the chapter by Heynen and Gosseye and is a major feature in Eve Blau's. Social forms assume architectural and urban form, and a direct correlation is established between the social and spatial organisation of society.

Another means of identifying the relation of architecture to society is pursued by studying the assimilation of ideals, concepts and theories into state policies and procedures that shape architecture and the city, or directly into architectural discourse and practice. In Lukasz Stanek's chapter, theories that were developed as critiques of the state by radical sociologists end up being absorbed into the state, mutilated and 'technocratised' – yet at the same time they shape the built environment and society. Dirk van den Heuvel follows the struggles of Team 10, and particularly those of Piet Blom, to implement Karl Popper's 'Open Society' in architectural and urban form.

The issue of international 'importation' of ideas stands at the centre of a number of chapters, attesting to the global character of the diverse exchanges. Caroline Maniaque-Benton traces French architects' fascination with the American counterculture in the 1970s, describing the manner in which ideas regarding self-build, individual autonomy and low-energy consumption were imported and adapted via media and realisation. Also tracking the 'importation'

of ideas is Tom Avermaete, who follows ideas and practices that were developed by the Tennessee Valley Authority in the 1930s, borrowed by ATBAT in North Africa, and which finally arrived in France in the late 1950s. Mark Swenarton studies the idea of 'Englishness' in the gravitation from high-density high-rise to high-density low-rise in the work of Patrick Hodgkinson. By closely following architecture, he constantly keeps 'the cultural' at arm's length, with the question of 'Englishness' appearing as a strictly architectural issue. Michelle Provoost studies the importation of Western urban planning models to Ghana in the design of the new town of Tema, whereas Miles Glendinning discusses the transformation in Singapore and Hong Kong of British ideas regarding mass housing, highlighting the impact of local political concerns and the particular conditions of both colonies in shaping policies and their outcome.

A more direct relation between architecture and society than the symbolic or the transposition of ideas is established by following the decisions that determine a project, the manner in which diverse agents take part in a negotiation within or between institutions, and how the outcomes are never predetermined. Nicholas Bullock studies how the housing and regeneration policies of the London Borough of West Ham and its successor, Newham, 'went wrong', whereas Simon Pepper, by studying discussions within the London County Council (LCC) regarding an ambitious housing estate, attempts to uncover the unwitting emergence of the much disliked high-rise housing policy of the 1960s. Helena Mattsson, in her study of the building of the new town of Skärholmen, investigates the various agencies involved in determining the town and the exchanges held between them, demonstrating the corporatist character of the Swedish welfare state by identifying the leading role played by interest groups representing the private sectors of commerce, roads and the building industry. Luca Molinari outlines De Carlo's Terni and Aymonino's Gallaratese as two distinct reactions to the Italian state's attempt to shape urban development and housing via its laws and regulations: one which is first and foremost political, and the other which is primarily architectural in its expression. In their turn, Heynen and Gosseye address the institutional conditions that shaped the commissioning of leisure centres in Flanders.

Taken together, these diverse approaches to the relationship between architecture and society construct a bigger picture, a totality. They attest to the complexity and multifaceted character of such a relationship, as well as to the intricate correlation of the welfare state itself to the architecture it produced. The overall impression is of an architecture umbilically connected to the society that produced it, and to a degree that cripples Daniel Bell's (postmodern) thesis of a disjuncture between society and culture.[10]

Dissipation

The demise of the architecture of the welfare state, or rather the demise of both the architecture and the welfare state, is an issue that many of the contributors address. In particular, the bewildering change of tone in the media, which around 1965 was mostly supportive of the endeavour, but within only a few years had turned on the welfare state's provision of housing, attacking it with vitriol and venom. The proximity in time between unconditional support and total rejection is the most astonishing aspect here and the most difficult to interpret. While much of the critique of post-war social housing is embedded in the critiques associated with 1968, their sudden eruption in the media is inexplicable. The generational change, which also meant the replacement of deference towards experts with a more critical mindset, explains the change rather than its speed. Florian Urban, in his chapter about the Märkisches Viertel housing estate in Berlin, highlights a lingering question: to what extent did the media actually represent public opinion and, more particularly, the

opinion of the residents of the despised estates? The sociologist Richard Sennett has commented that 'the New Left critique was my own, until in the late 1960s I began interviewing white, working-class families in Boston […]. Far from being oppressed by bureaucracy, these were people anchored in solid institutional realities. Stable unions, big corporations, relatively fixed markets oriented them.'[11]

The students and workers demonstrating in Paris in May 1968 voiced very different critiques. While the students primarily demanded freedom, spontaneity, creativity and self-realisation, denouncing not only 'capitalism' but also the state and bureaucracy (hence, 'the artistic critique of society'), the workers demanded higher wages and job stability ('the social critique of society'). This disparity of critiques reflects class as much as generational differences. It was as a response to the latter critique, dominant since the late nineteenth century, that the welfare state was formed. Its housing was likewise a response to the social critique. At the end of the 1960s, the fissure between the demands was made visible, and with the ascent of the critique voiced by the students and the dissipation of that of the workers came the demise of the welfare state and its diverse projects, including housing. The media seems to have been slow at first in channelling the demands of the students. Was the shift in the media's position driven by the 'baby boomer' generation entering jobs in the media, or by savvy editors identifying a shift in the public mood? The ferocity and suddenness of the media attack merits a study in its own right. In any case, the chapters that address the attacks on the welfare state and on modernist housing and planning also raise the question of whether the media is necessarily the measure of public opinion.

What was, then, the architecture of the welfare state? Judging by the number of chapters devoted to social housing, it appears, unsurprisingly perhaps, that mass social housing stood at the centre of the welfare state's intervention in the built environment. More than simply a response to an acute shortage in housing after the Second World War, mass social housing was a key aspect of 'rectifying' society, of producing an equitable society. A means of addressing the social 'content' of the built environment. The provision of universal housing by government as a response to the social critique of society was necessarily burdened by the direct involvement of the government in financing, commissioning and managing the effort; in effect, often limiting 'architecture' in the process – that is, as long as 'architecture' is conceived in beaux arts terms as an artistic field of creativity rather than a field of social production and reproduction.

Yet while it is easy in all this to identify the particular architecture of the era's mass housing and that of planned economies in general, the specificity of welfare state housing in Western Europe remains elusive. The post-war mass housing of West and East Berlin in some cases appears more similar than the mass housing in post-war London and Hamburg, complicating matters with the incorporation of cultural and historic differences beyond the question of welfare state specificity. The elusiveness of a welfare state architecture may be reason enough to prefer *Architecture and the Welfare State* to *The Architecture of the Welfare State* as a title, and ought to provide the motivation to continue the study of post-war architecture in coming years.

Notes

1. Mark Swenarton, Tom Avermaete and Dirk van den Heuvel, eds., *Architecture and the Welfare State* (Oxon and New York: Routledge, 2015).
2. See, among others, Maros Krivy, Tahl Kaminer, eds., The Participatory Turn in Urbanism, *Footprint* 13 (Autumn 2013).
3. To qualify the comment, it is necessary to point out the proliferation of the use of the word 'architecture' to

describe the design or structure of systems and institutions well beyond the strict disciplinary sense means that 'the architecture of the welfare state' could be understood as referring to the structure of the welfare state.

4. Swenarton, Avermaete and Van den Heuvel, 'Introduction', in *Architecture and the Welfare State*, 2.
5. The major difference between the Eastern and Western blocs was, of course, their political systems, but here Western Europe and the United States are no longer differentiated.
6. Swenarton, Avermaete and Van den Heuvel, 'Introduction', in *Architecture and the Welfare State*, 10.
7. Ernesto Laclau and Chantal Mouffe, *Hegemony and Socialist Strategy: Towards a Radical Democratic Politics*, 2nd ed. (London; New York: Verso, 2001 [1985]), 73.
8. Hilde Heynen and Janina Gosseye, 'The Welfare State in Flanders: De-Pillarization and the Nebulous City', in *Architecture and the Welfare State*, 56.
9. See, for example, Meyer Schapiro's critique of Emil Kaufmann's associative correlation of architecture and society, in Anthony Vidler, 'The Ledoux Effect: Emil Kaufmann and the Claims of Kantian Autonomy', *Perspecta* 33 [Mining Autonomy issue] (2002): 23.
10. Daniel Bell, *The Cultural Contradictions of Capitalism* (New York: Basic Books, 1996 [1976]).
11. Richard Sennett, *The Culture of New Capitalism* (New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 2006), 6.

Biography

Tahl Kaminer is Lecturer in Architectural Theory and Design at the University of Edinburgh. He published in 2011 the monograph *Architecture, Crisis and Resuscitation* (Routledge), and co-edited the three volumes *Urban Asymmetries, Critical Tools, and Transformer Houses*. Tahl is currently completing a manuscript for a new monograph, scheduled for publication in 2017.

Review Article

Housing and the Construction of the City: The Paris Habitat Experience

Javier Arpa

Between February and May 2015, the Pavillon de l'Arsenal held the exhibition *Paris Habitat: Cent ans de ville, cent ans de vie*, to commemorate one hundred years of public housing in Paris. This exhibition and the accompanying publication focused on the work undertaken over the course of a century by the largest public housing authority in Europe: Paris Habitat.

Paris Habitat manages about 1,200 buildings in the metropolitan area of Paris. Constructed over the last hundred years, this housing accommodates more than 200,000 residents. In the city of Paris alone, where this built legacy shapes much of the urban fabric, some 180,000 people (eight per cent of the population) live at affordable prices in the heart of the metropolis.

We were commissioned by the Pavillon de l'Arsenal to carry out an investigation that would bring to light a century of architectural innovations, public housing policies and, above all, the making of an entire city. This research includes a selection of buildings organised in relation to the urban fabric they compose.

Paris by Paris Habitat

To discover the form of a city, a building or a home in order to understand their process of formation… We began an investigation that, for over a year, led us from the city to the home and from the home to the city. This is not a cliché: it is this toing and froing that defines the urban.

We traversed Paris and the metropolis, visiting many homes in search of treasure. Our outsider's vision became lost in the city. An exploratory vision that submerged itself in the unknown, the unexpected. Surprised at what it was finding, getting lost again, pausing and resuming. We searched for the appropriate tools to decode one hundred years of social housing. The scale of this production overwhelmed us; we were engulfed by history. We began by diving in and investigating the current form of the city and decided to flatten the layers of history that constitute what now exists. We walked Paris in order to inhabit it. We catalogued the heritage of Paris Habitat with the prudence of outsiders, overcoming our fear of failing in this task. We analysed the form of the present, delaying the critic's impulse until enough evidence was gathered.

However, certain convictions accompanied us on this journey. We know that housing is a right, not merely a product. We know that housing is the thread that weaves the city. And we know that it is an extremely sensitive subject, because for many citizens it holds the hope for a better life. Thanks to these and other certainties, we selected – because in order move forward we must choose – the architecture that best responded to our concerns, while realising that by making such a selection, more than one treasure would fall by the wayside. Thus, with great care, we reconstructed the city hand-in-hand with Paris Habitat.

Fig. 1: Patrimoine Paris Habitat-OPH, 1914-2014.
Paris Habitat-OPH, the largest public housing authority in Europe, manages a legacy of 122,500 housing units that represent a total of 6,892,592 m^2 of net floor area. This built form shapes much of the urban fabric of Paris and includes a total of 100 hectares of gardens: the largest park within the city limits of Paris. More than 200,000 residents (about 8% of the city's population) live at affordable prices in the heart of one of the most expensive metropolis of the continent. Drawing by Fernando Altozano and Claire Graeffly. Courtesy of Pavillon de l'Arsenal, Paris.

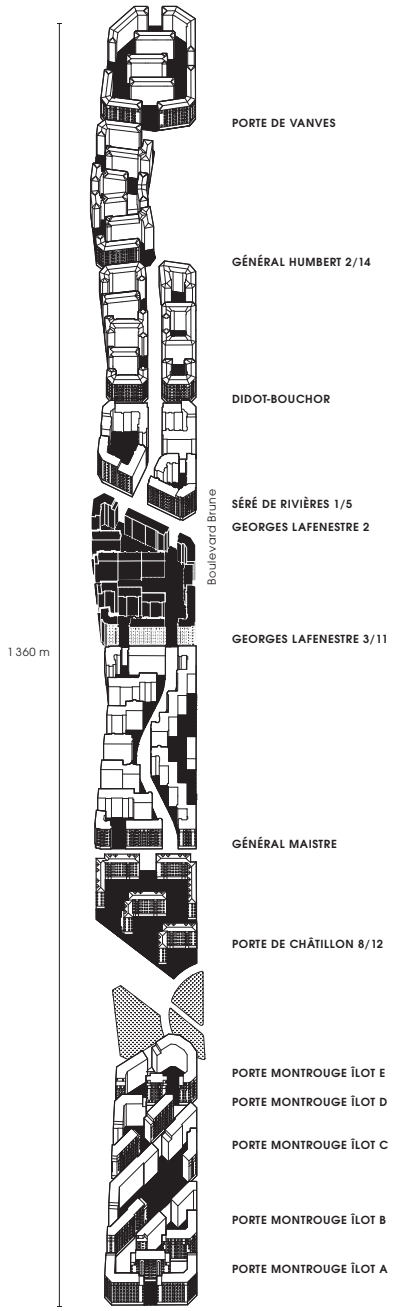

Fig. 2: HBM des Boulevards des Maréchaux. Various Architects, 1927–1950.
The demolition of the Thiers fortifications between 1919 and 1929 liberated a vast territory of 8,000 hectares that were in part occupied by a new 'wall' of social housing. This belt was built following the new hygiene criteria of the time. All units have cross ventilation, and their small size is compensated by the presence of generous green courtyards. These open spaces are linked to the street by monumental gates that offer their residents the luxury of entering, every day, the doors of a 'palace'. Drawing by Fernando Altozano, Sebastián Severino, Licinia Aliberti, Juan José Martínez, and Miguel Saiz. Courtesy of Pavillon de l'Arsenal, Paris.

Actions for the construction of the city

We have defined ten urban fragments to show Paris Habitat's contribution to the production of the metropolis. But we have also endeavoured to go a little further, because we want this analysis to serve a broader purpose: to reveal the crucial contribution of both social housing and public initiative in general to the construction of the city of the future. Of any city of the future.

These fragments do not correspond to any administrative demarcation. They are neither planning figures nor official urban sectors. They omit municipalities, districts and physical barriers. They include – or do not – urban plans in progress, in part or whole, but do not adhere to them. Sometimes they are not continuous territories but geographies linked by the power of an infrastructure. The common thread of each fragment is the Paris Habitat production, and the reason they exist is due to the ability of this heritage to respond to contemporary concerns.

We employed five filters to the analysis of these fragments: *density, diversity, intensity, fertility* and *agility.* These filters were our first curatorial decision and result from many questions: what is the city we want like? How is it built? What can we do without? What is missing? What will my house be like one day?

Housing is a very delicate issue, overwhelmed by policy, regulations and cost control. For this reason we avoided the 'who' (the agents) and focused our efforts on the 'what' (architecture and urban form). Policy makers, planners, designers and citizens play an evident and fundamental role in the construction of Paris by Paris Habitat, and the city is the result of their intervention. However, we decided that describing local processes of city making was not the best way to make this investigation about housing and the construction of the city transferable to other contexts.

Instead, our analysis assigns to each building one or more attributes relating to its contribution to the construction of the city *(dense, diverse, intense, fertile* and *agile)* in addition to the objective data available (*floor area ratio, number of households, living area* and *non-residential uses)*.

We do not wish to pigeonhole every urban fragment or building by assigning it a single attribute: we prefer more blurred boundaries and more fluid relationships. We are attracted by the coexistence of several attributes in both urban fragments and housing complexes, because the sum total is what enriches community life. We know there are many more filters, as many as there are approximations to the city and housing. But these five are the most responsive to our vision of building the city. Each building, read through one or more filters, allows us to learn from Paris and reach another goal: to draw a vast network of transferable actions, applicable to other city or housing projects in different contexts. There are no magic recipes for building a city that is *dense, diverse, intense, fertile* or *agile*, but in the Paris Habitat heritage we found a number of clues.

Building the dense city

We know that density is the best ally of sustainable development. We know that a dense city consumes less land, which optimises the cost of infrastructure, transport and public facilities. This in turn reduces the cost of construction and maintenance. It is the most efficient solution because any detached house in the countryside, however efficient it may be, needs a road and, most likely, a private car to reach it. For its part, the dense city also facilitates sharing and encourages interaction with others.

Paris, the most densely populated capital in Europe, is a model of compact urban development, saving territory and resources. The Paris Habitat production has accumulated a wide range of actions for growing within and compressing the city fabric. Actions that fill voids, gaps and cracks,

that increase height, and so forth.

But the construction of the dense city must not forget that every dwelling (type) should be a unique home, and that each home should be full of reasons for its future residents to want to live there. Perhaps the living space of an apartment in the city can never compete with a house in the countryside, but we know we must contain urban sprawl. And that is where architecture must tread lightly and deploy other attractions, especially in social housing, where limited resources further reduce the available surface area.

Dense units are those integrated into the context, increasing density without the city noticing, and assuming the location data as their own. They offset the reduced size of the dwellings with generous communal spaces, well-tended gardens and appropriate connections with public space.

Dense buildings make the best use of every square metre of floor space by means of compact and well-articulated floor plans. They enable their occupants to enjoy all the spatial qualities obtainable in a small area. They establish a fluid relationship between spaces, limiting circulation, unifying rooms and deleting partitions. They provide privacy within the sphere of the collective, as well as views and varied spaces. They hold surprises. They make each house a spacious, safe and comfortable home. A house one would wish to inhabit.

Building the diverse city

One hundred years of social housing production shows that it is possible to live in the heart of the metropolis at an affordable price. We visited homes in places to dream of: on the water, opposite a park, *in* a park, next to a museum, in a square or on an avenue. The presence of more than 110,000 Paris Habitat homes in Paris alone is the best strategy for ensuring social cohesion on an urban scale. So while housing prices rise, this heritage is home to a diverse population, and encourages us to believe that life in the city is not a privilege available only to the few.

This housing mass is distributed in towers, strips, rows and *immeubles à rédans,* or it completes city blocks through insertions between party walls. It opens patios, creates breaks and adds terraces, balconies and cantilevers. Single orientation, double orientation, corners. Elevated streets, interior corridors and central cores. The Paris Habitat heritage includes almost all possible types; it constructs the city and is a lesson in the construction of multifamily housing. If we also consider that this kind of multifamily housing is probably the principal place for interaction among many individuals, then the architectures that comprise it play a key role as tools for social integration and improving community life.

Diverse actions promote the integration of everyone within the city, introducing suitable types and sizes of housing for different lifestyles. Actions that include people of certain ages or specific groups (the disabled, people at risk of exclusion, students, etc.); actions that allow for the hybridisation of housing and work, enabling artists, professionals and workers to continue to maintain production within the city's fabric.

There are *diverse* operations that foster social relationships, breaking the isolation of domestic life: those enriched by shared spaces and those that include common areas of flexible use, collective kitchen gardens, playgrounds or generous gardens. There are *diverse* realisations that involve participation by residents in the management of these common spaces, or in the design of the housing, or in building maintenance.

There are *diverse* actions that can break the isolation of existing housing clusters and improve security and privacy. There are *diverse* actions that, in addition to improving the quality of housing,

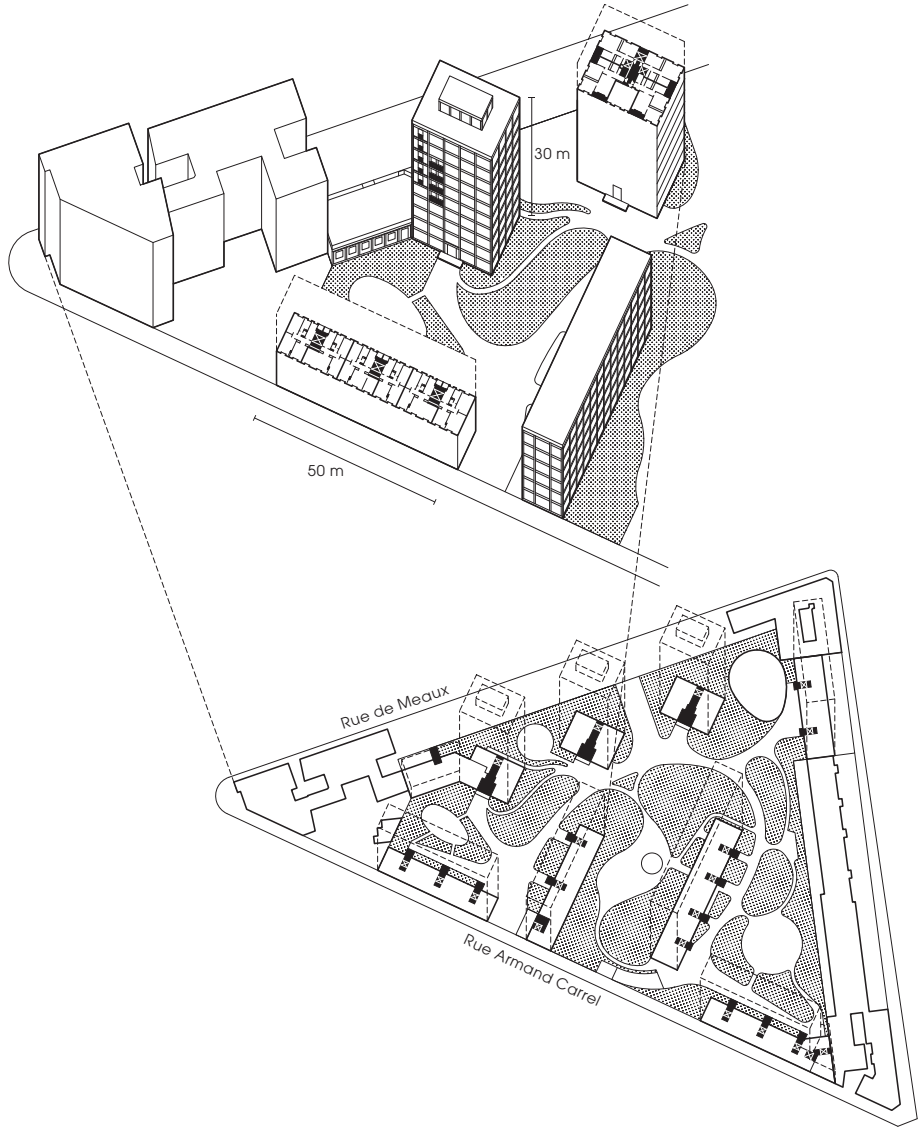

Fig. 3: 72-80 Rue de Meaux. Denis Honegger, 1957 / Rehabilitated in 1998. Number of units: 424 Net floor area: 22,514 m^2 Residents: 770 Net floor area per resident: 29.2 m^2 Non-residential uses: Retail, Church.
Denis Honegger introduces here the best elements of suburban life within the consolidated urban fabric. While respecting the existing street alignments, the architect opens a vast urban block to the city. Housing towers and slabs, as well as an array of public facilities, share a generous garden that increases the porosity of the compact surroundings. All buildings are made of the same modular system and materials: a concrete structure organizes the façades, clad of gravel panels made on site. Drawing by Fernando Altozano, Sebastián Severino, Licinia Aliberti, Juan José Martínez, and Miguel Saiz. Courtesy of Pavillon de l'Arsenal, Paris.

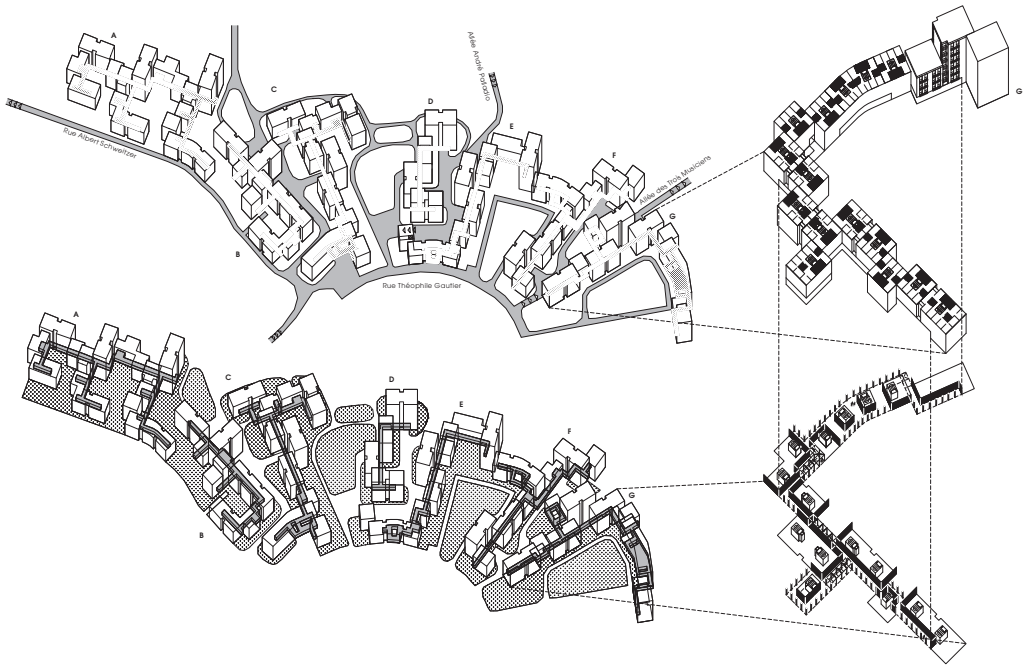

Fig. 4: Hautes Noues Complex. Denis Honegger, 1973 / Rehabilitated in 2000. Number of units: 1,190 Net floor area: 85,111 m^2, Residents: 3,261, Net floor area per resident: 26,2 m^2.
Denis Honegger, one of the most influential architects in the production of Paris Habitat, explores this time the 'garden city' typologies, keeping high densities in small buildings of different height. This architecture has proven an important capacity of adaption to new times: the area was rehabilitated in 2000, and is currently being regenerated again. Drawing by Fernando Altozano, Sebastián Severino, Licinia Aliberti, Juan José Martínez, and Miguel Saiz. Courtesy of Pavillon de l'Arsenal, Paris.

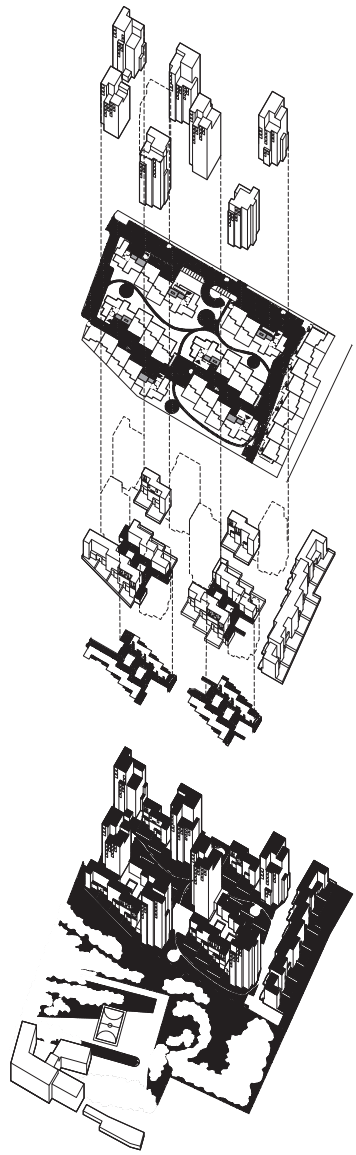

Fig. 5: 2-14 Rue de la Bièvre. Pierre-Paul Heckly, Guy Prache, Michel Rouet, Jean Simay, 1977. Number of units: 342, Net floor area: 20,712 m^2, Residents: 733, Net floor area per resident: 28,3 m^2.
This intervention is located in the town of Bagneux, between two stations of the circular metro line that will soon encircle the region of Paris. This new infrastructure will deeply alter the relationship of the residents of most of these projects in the periphery with the rest of the metropolis. The vegetation of the nearby park Robespierre colonises the communal gardens, private courts, balconies and façade planters that shape the project. The location of the seven towers respects the site´s topography and reduces the visual impact of the parking areas. Drawing by Fernando Altozano, Sebastián Severino, Licinia Aliberti, Juan José Martínez, and Miguel Saiz. Courtesy of Pavillon de l'Arsenal, Paris.

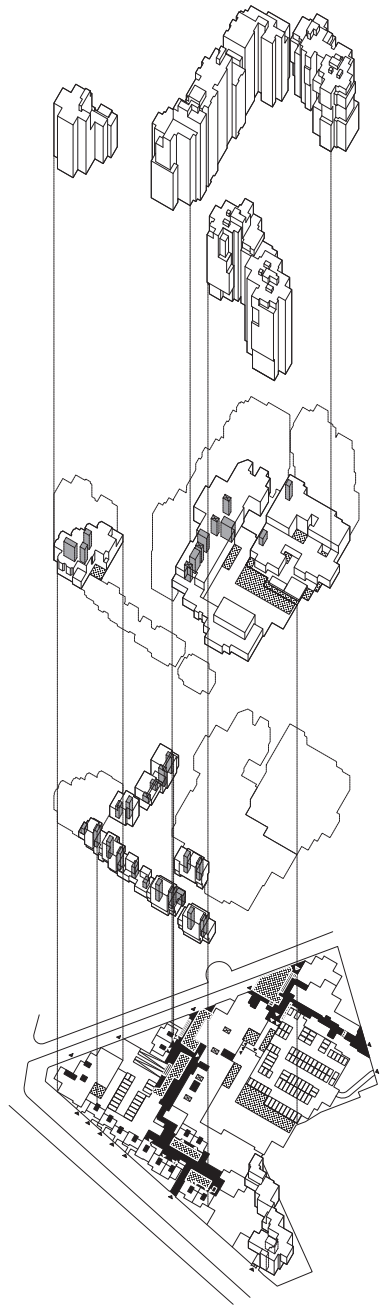

Fig. 6: 2-22 Rue du Clos. Jean Zunz, 1979. Number of units: 569, Net floor area: 35,218 m^2, Residents: 1,291, Net floor area per resident: 27,27 m^2, Non-residential uses: Retail, Workshops, School.
This unique block shakes the fabric of the Charonne quarter. The high F.A.R. introduced (3,04) is compensated by means of volumetric fragmentation and typological diversity (split level, back to back, central corridor, duplexes and row houses). The intervention contributes to the network of public spaces in the area with two triangular spaces fitted with shops, workshops and public facilities. Drawing by Fernando Altozano, Sebastián Severino, Licinia Aliberti, Juan José Martínez, and Miguel Saiz. Courtesy of Pavillon de l'Arsenal, Paris.

also help to improve the emotional state of the inhabitants.

Building the intense city

Interaction, relationship, and exchange. Everything that promotes greater closeness between housing and intermixing interests us, whether it be usage (housing or any other compatible utilisation), users (residents and non-residents), or the types of development (private or public). This is the reason why we insist on the process of hybridisation we have discovered.

We are interested in overlapping urban uses and the consequences this has on the building section, the construction of hybrid blocks, and the ability to inject intensity into areas in decline. *Intensity* derives from the closeness of public transport networks or the presence of spaces reserved for bicycles and car sharing. *Intensity* includes the introduction of pedestrian routes, because we believe that only through a strong network of public spaces it is possible to weave any physical and social discontinuities into the city fabric.

The success of the metropolis implies a polycentric conception of the city. A city understood as a fluid body, which passes through zones and sews together fragments, punctuated by pockets of activity, where housing, infrastructure and various flows exist together. This intensity promotes the social, economic and cultural regeneration of the city and depends above all on the mix of uses and to a much lesser degree on the scale. A mix of housing and open programmes ensures the intermingling of dissimilar individuals; it breaks down barriers and enriches us as people.

We are fascinated by infrastructures, because they are the backbone of the polycentric city and create enormous possibilities for the public sphere. How can we make more efficient infrastructures? Is there room for reversible infrastructures? Can we hybridise infrastructures with other uses to make them more intense?

Intensity results from the convergence of many interests. It needs agreement between public and private actors and a consensus of users and residents. But it is worth reaching agreements because intensity can optimise land use, help combat social exclusion and counteract the centrifugal force that condemns urban development to become urban sprawl.

Building the fertile city

We have cautiously approached the old debate between town and country. Having overcome the antagonism between rural producers and urban consumers, we are searching for new pacts between man and nature. We believe *green* is much more than an aesthetic alibi, much more than a passive response to the occupation of territory. We believe that ecological principles can be an active substrate for the construction of a fertile urban form. It is therefore necessary that nature and its production capacity be incorporated into the programming of the city. If infrastructures have been the generating lines of urban development for some time, is it not time to make nature a new fermenting agent?

Paris Habitat manages the largest urban park in Paris. A vast repertoire of courtyards, communal gardens, shared kitchen gardens, buffer or private gardens that totals over one hundred hectares of permeable soils, spread throughout the city and next to homes. This surface is double the fifty-five hectares of the Parc de la Villette (the largest public park in Paris) and four times the size of the twenty-five hectares of the Parc des Buttes-Chaumont.

Maintaining this territory is itself a determined *fertile* action *because* these spaces return oxygen to the atmosphere and promote biodiversity on a metropolitan scale. And while this is happening, another one hundred hectares of flat roof belonging

to Paris Habitat await high up.

But we have also approached other scales where the fusion between natural and artificial also has a place. We have considered integrating existing vegetation into new housing projects, in situ rainwater harvesting, the introduction of agricultural production in residential areas and vegetal façades. Similarly, actions on traditional architectural elements that give importance to the shape of the building as a determining factor in limiting consumption are also *fertile*.

Although one hundred hectares on the ground and another hundred in the sky will not significantly affect climate change; and although their contribution to the circular economy is insignificant compared to the needs of Paris, what is beyond doubt is that these spaces introduce nature into our homes, alter our relationship with the environment, and teach us that agriculture, forestry and organic production can be the catalyst for other ways of making the metropolis.

Building the agile city

The future of the city depends largely on its *agile* response to changes, to new environmental requirements, and social and economic transformations. Actions aimed at building a resilient city, regenerating urban tissue and transforming architecture are *agile*. Actions that allow one to face contingencies and heal the wounds of the past are *agile*.

We have paid special attention to the introduction of Paris Habitat's housing as the main lever of regeneration in some neighbourhoods, and to the construction of social housing on land vacated by industry or infrastructures. We searched the social *bailleur* portfolio for examples of disused office transformation, in a context in which the pressing demand for housing intersects with the gold mine of a million vacant square metres. And we discovered a treasure of experience in the rehabilitation, conversion and maintenance of a huge residential stock. These rehabilitation policies were initiated by Paris Habitat in past decades and cover all scales, from the repairing of a home to the reconciliation of *grands ensembles* between the city and its inhabitants.

The manufacturing of an agile city also involves the construction of flexible homes that are able to evolve as life evolves for its inhabitants. Neutral containers with high ceilings and serial façades are *agile.* Undifferentiated spaces with a great distance between structural axes are *agile* because they adapt best to changes in use and the needs of each user. Reversible or modifiable constructions with light construction elements and industrial methods are *agile*.

All solutions that contribute to the construction of *landscape housing* are *agile,* and which, in addition to a living area, offer their occupants an ample *habitable volume.* Let us turn the construction of a city into an act that anticipates disruptions and inflections and cushions the consequences: a demountable, elastic and malleable act.

A generous project

We went in search of treasure and found it. We found a great, unique project by Paris Habitat, which has been operating for one hundred years. A total of 1,200 collective housing interventions have produced a continuous public fabric. A project of metropolitan scope without which Paris as we know it would not exist. A lesson in maturity and urban generosity.

We have included a graphical analysis of some of the interventions, unified by a common language, because it seems the best way to present a project that is alive. All these interventions are operational and their homes occupied. All of them contribute to the production of a *dense, diverse, intense, fertile* and *agile* city.

Fig. 7: Exhibition *Paris Habitat. Cent ans de Ville-cents ans de vie*. Pavillon de l'Arsenal, Paris.
To depict the huge patrimony of Paris Habitat, the exhibition was organised around a 120 square-meter scale model-installation, a representation of Paris composed of fragments of reality, each expressing the aim to change the city through its housing. The model depicts the urban areas managed by Paris Habitat, some of which are currently under construction. Photograph by Antoine Espinasseau. Courtesy of Pavillon de l'Arsenal, Paris.

Fig. 8: Exhibition *Paris Habitat. Cent ans de Ville-cents ans de vie*. Pavillon de l'Arsenal, Paris. Photograph by Antoine Espinasseau. Courtesy of Pavillon de l'Arsenal, Paris.

Graphical analysis highlights the most relevant aspects of the built work and is accompanied in the exhibition and the attendant catalog by some of the documents originally used to build the projects. These documents reflect one hundred years of exchanges between Paris Habitat and, in many cases, anonymous architects, and give an account of the fabrication process rather than the end result.

We thank Paris Habitat, which opened its doors to us, and the archive personnel who placed at our disposal all the documentation we requested. Without their help our team would not have been able to analyse all our findings. We thank the workers and residents for giving us their time, allowing us to enter their homes and sharing their experiences with us. And we congratulate them for keeping this project alive.

Our journey exceeded all expectations. We thank the Pavillon de l'Arsenal for their generosity in giving us this treasure, allowing us to make the journey and helping us to carry it out. We arrived in Paris from another latitude, convinced of the importance of the public initiative in responding to collective aspirations, but we cannot deny we were somewhat pessimistic. Paris Habitat and the Pavillon de l'Arsenal have returned our confidence in the public sector's ability to make the city and the home we dream of.

Note

Javier Arpa was assisted by Fernando Altozano and Sebastián Severino.

Biography

Javier Arpa is an architecture and design author, curator, researcher and lecturer. Having completed a Master of Science in Architecture at Delft University of Technology, Javier specialises in the dissemination of architectural and design practice and is currently Design Critic at the Harvard Graduate School of Design. He is the curator of the exhibitions *Paris Habitat and Paysages Habités*, held in 2015 at the Pavillon de l'Arsenal in Paris, and the author of the monograph *Paris Habitat: One Hundred Years of City, One Hundred Years of Life*. Javier was Senior Editor for a+t research group and has lectured at numerous universities, institutions and international workshops.

Footprint is a peer-reviewed journal presenting academic research in the field of architecture theory. The journal addresses questions regarding architecture and the urban. Architecture is the point of departure and the core interest of the journal. From this perspective, the journal encourages the study of architecture and the urban environment as a means of comprehending culture and society, and as a tool for relating them to shifting ideological doctrines and philosophical ideas. The journal promotes the creation and development – or revision – of conceptual frameworks and methods of inquiry. The journal is engaged in creating a body of critical and reflexive texts with a breadth and depth of thought which would enrich the architecture discipline and produce new knowledge, conceptual methodologies and original understandings.

In this issue, the following papers were peer-reviewed: 'Humdrum Tasks of the Salaried Men: Edwin Williams, a London County Council Architect at War'; 'The Architect as Producer: Hannes Meyer and the Proletarianisation of the Western Architect'; 'Independent or Bureaucratic? The Early Career Choice of an Architect at the Turn of the Twentieth Century in Germany, France and England'; 'The Architect, the Planner and the Bishop: The Shapers of 'Ordinary' Dublin, 1940–60'; 'Architecture is Always in the Middle…'; 'Fun and Games: The Suppression of Architectural Authoriality and the Rise of the Reader'; 'Mapping the (Invisible) Salaried Woman Architect: The Australian Parlour Research Project'.

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